

Encyclopedia of
Children and Childhood
In History and Society



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Editor in Chief

Encyclopedia of
Children and Childhood
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Encyclopedia of
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In History and Society

Paula S. Fass, Editor in Chief

Volume 1
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Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society

Paula S. Fass, Editor in Chief

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Contents

Contents

| | |
|---|---------------|
| <i>List of Selected Illustrations</i> | <i>vii</i> |
| <i>Preface</i> | <i>xi</i> |
| <i>List of Articles</i> | <i>xvii</i> |
| <i>List of Contributors</i> | <i>xxv</i> |
| <i>Outline of Contents</i> | <i>xxxvii</i> |
| | |
| ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD | 1 |
| | |
| <i>Primary Sources</i> | <i>927</i> |
| <i>Index</i> | <i>1021</i> |

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List of Selected Illustrations

List of Selected Illustrations

VOLUME 1

| | |
|---|-----|
| Page from <i>Noah's Ark ABC</i> (c. 1872), by Walter Crane | 3 |
| Engraving showing the Ages of Man (c. 18th century). | 39 |
| <i>Boy with a Clubfoot</i> (c. 1642–1652), Jusepe de Ribera | 101 |
| <i>Naked Breton Boy</i> (1889), Paul Gauguin. | 108 |
| <i>The Children of Edward Holden Cruttenden with an Indian Ayah</i> (1759–1762), Joshua Reynolds | 119 |
| <i>First Communion</i> (1896), Pablo Picasso | 135 |
| Young girl at spinning machine in textile mill (c. early 20th century), Lewis Hine | 160 |
| “The Chimney Sweeper” from <i>Songs of Innocence and Experience</i> (c. 1802–1808), William Blake | 161 |
| Calvin Klein ad featuring Brooke Shields | 163 |
| John Tenniel's illustration of Alice from the first edition of Lewis Carroll's <i>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</i> (1865) | 179 |
| Beatrix Potter's <i>The Tale of Peter Rabbit</i> (1902) | 180 |
| Dr. Seuss's <i>The Cat in the Hat</i> (1957). | 182 |
| Illustration by Clement Hurd for Margaret Wise Brown's <i>Goodnight Moon</i> (1947) | 183 |
| Illustration of Eloise by Hillary Knight. | 184 |
| <i>The Important Visitors</i> (17th century), Jan Brueghel the Elder | 188 |
| Shirley Temple | 198 |
| Still of Judy Garland in <i>The Wizard of Oz</i> (1939) | 199 |
| Page from the 1780 edition of Johann Amos Comenius's illustrated textbook <i>Orbis sensualium pictus</i> | 218 |
| <i>The Sick Child</i> (c. 1660), Gabriel Metsu. | 245 |
| Soviet postcard to halt spread of contagious diseases (c. 1920s). | 246 |
| Still from the movie <i>Boys Town</i> (1938) | 256 |
| Original sketches of Mickey Mouse by Walt Disney | 274 |
| Still from <i>Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs</i> (1938). | 275 |
| <i>Girl with a Doll (Franzi)</i> (1910), Erich Heckel | 280 |
| <i>Unruly School</i> (also known as <i>The Village School</i> and <i>A School for Boys and Girls</i> , c. 1670), Jan Steen. | 288 |
| <i>Cranberry Pickers</i> (1910), Lewis Hine. | 296 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>The Meeting</i> (1884), Marie Bashkirtseff | 303 |
| <i>Child Bitten by a Crayfish</i> (c. 1558), Sofonisba Anguissola | 314 |
| <i>Girl Mourning over Her Dead Bird</i> (1765), Jean-Baptiste Greuze | 322 |
| <i>The Graham Children</i> (1742), William Hogarth | 330 |

VOLUME 2

| | |
|---|-----|
| Still from Leni Riefenstahl's Nazi propaganda film <i>Triumph of the Will</i> (1936) | 343 |
| <i>Blue Boy</i> (c. 1770), Thomas Gainsborough | 345 |
| <i>The Richard K. Haight Family</i> (c. 1849), attributed to Nicolino Calyo | 346 |
| <i>Eugène Manet and Daughter at Bougival</i> (1881), Berthe Morisot | 349 |
| <i>Jean Renoir Sewing</i> (c. 1899), Pierre-Auguste Renoir | 378 |
| <i>Penelope Boothby</i> (1788), Joshua Reynolds | 382 |
| <i>The Boit Children</i> (1882–1883), John Singer Sargent | 383 |
| “Migrant Mother” (1936), Dorothea Lange | 397 |
| Illustration from <i>Under the Window: Pictures and Rhymes for Children</i> (1878), Kate Greenaway | 400 |
| Funerary portrait (c. 1909–1930), Juan de Dios Machain | 401 |
| Still from <i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (2001) | 416 |
| <i>Bubbles</i> (1886), John Everett Millais | 443 |
| <i>Madonna and Child with Pear</i> (c. 1500), Giovanni Bellini | 450 |
| Portrait of Edward VI of England (1538), Hans Holbein the Younger | 451 |
| <i>Studio</i> , subtitled <i>A Real Allegory</i> , (1855), Gustave Courbet | 452 |
| <i>The Double Star</i> (1864), Julia Margaret Cameron | 453 |
| <i>Little Dancer Aged Fourteen</i> (1878–1881), Edgar Degas | 454 |
| <i>Children's Afternoon at Wargemont</i> (1884), Pierre-Auguste Renoir | 455 |
| <i>Sphinx</i> (1994), Judy Fox | 456 |
| <i>Liberty Leading the People</i> (1830), Eugène Delacroix | 459 |
| <i>Children Playing</i> (1909), Oskar Kokoschka | 464 |
| <i>Death Taking a Child</i> (c. 16th century), Hans Lutzelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger | 475 |
| <i>The Abandoned Doll</i> (1921), Suzanne Valadon | 547 |
| <i>Seven Ages of Childhood</i> (1909), illustration by Jessie Willcox Smith | 554 |
| <i>The Golden Days</i> (1944–1946), Balthus | 558 |
| <i>The Virgin and Child before a Firescreen</i> (c. 1440), follower of Robert Campin | 567 |
| Our Lady of Guadalupe (c. late 17th century) | 568 |
| <i>Adoration</i> (c. 1897), Gertrude Käsebier | 570 |
| <i>The North-West Passage</i> (1874), John Everett Millais | 571 |
| <i>Young Girl in a Blue Armchair</i> (1878), Mary Cassatt | 575 |
| December, from “The Hours of Adelaide of Savoy” (c. 15th century) | 589 |
| <i>The Worship of Venus</i> (c. 1560) [detail], Titian | 590 |
| <i>Sistine Madonna</i> (1513), Raphael | 604 |
| <i>Fur Traders Descending the Missouri</i> (c. 1845), George Caleb Bingham | 618 |
| <i>The Snake Charmer</i> (c. 1870), Jean-Léon Gérôme | 662 |
| <i>Miss Anna Ward with Her Dog</i> (1787), Joshua Reynolds | 669 |
| <i>The First Stage of Cruelty</i> (1751), William Hogarth | 670 |
| <i>Self-Portrait with Hydroglider</i> (1904), Jacques-Henri Lartigue | 673 |
| <i>Final Fantasy, Ursula</i> (1993), Inez van Lamsweerde | 674 |
| <i>Alice Liddell as the Beggar Maid</i> (c. 1859), Lewis Carroll | 675 |
| <i>Children's Games</i> (1560), Pieter Brueghel the Elder | 683 |
| <i>Puberty</i> (1894–1895), Edvard Munch | 702 |

VOLUME 3

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Cupid as Link Boy</i> (1774), Joshua Reynolds | 743 |
| <i>Louise Vernet</i> (c. before 1816), Théodore Géricault | 744 |
| <i>The Artist's Daughters Chasing a Butterfly</i> (c. 1756), Thomas Gainsborough | 754 |
| Joe Camel ad, c. 1990s | 761 |
| <i>Death of Joseph Bara</i> (1794), Jacques-Louis David | 777 |
| <i>Work</i> (1852–1865), Ford Madox Brown | 790 |
| <i>New York</i> (c. 1942), Helen Levitt | 791 |
| <i>Two Children with a Kitten and an Eel</i> (c. 1630s), Judith Leyster | 819 |
| <i>Lady Charlotte Fitzroy</i> (c. 1674), Peter Lely | 820 |
| <i>The Age of Innocence</i> (c. 1788), Joshua Reynolds | 821 |
| <i>The Hülsenbeck Children</i> (1805–1806), Philipp Otto Runge | 822 |
| <i>Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries</i> (1848), Honoré Daumier | 823 |
| <i>The Wounded Angel</i> (1903), Hugo Simberg | 824 |
| <i>The Wood Children</i> (1789), Joseph Wright of Derby | 826 |
| <i>Making a Train</i> (1867), Seymour Guy | 827 |
| Tintin and his dog Snowy | 833 |
| <i>Boy with Toys on Porch</i> (c. 1909), photographed by Underwood and Underwood | 839 |
| <i>The Children's Holiday</i> (1864), William Holman Hunt | 858 |
| <i>Cherry Ripe</i> (1879), John Everett Millais | 865 |
| <i>The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania</i> (1849), Joseph Noël Paton | 866 |
| <i>Farewell to the Wet Nurse</i> (1777), by Etienne Aubry | 885 |
| <i>The Old Musician</i> (c. 1861–1862), Édouard Manet | 893 |
| Engraving of a charivari (18th century), William Hogarth | 911 |
| Cars and teenagers, from <i>McCall's Magazine</i> (1953) | 912 |

Preface

The history of children and childhood is a new and energetic field of inquiry that provides critical insights into the human past and contemporary social experience. By gathering articles by the best investigators and by approaching the subject both with a global focus and from an interdisciplinary perspective, the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society* provides the interested reader with a necessary introduction to the wide range of issues that define the field. In devising its selections and choosing contributors, the editors aimed to offer general readers as well as researchers a significant means to embark on an exploration of the very latest scholarship in an exciting and burgeoning area of social research.

Starting in the early 1960s, historians began to probe the past for insights into lived experience and became newly attuned to the many social and community institutions involved. Family relations, religious experience, and various forms of education including schooling, work life, peer and voluntary organizations, sports, and recreations all became areas for disciplined historical study. Together investigations into these areas began to yield significant knowledge about the texture, meaning, and complexity of human experience in the past. In turning their attention to a fuller people-centered history, historians also turned to the tools and questions of allied disciplines, especially sociology, anthropology, and psychology, to better understand human behavior and the nature of social organization. This explosion of historical scholarship into previously underexplored or unexplored arenas was one of the signal achievements of social science in the second half of the twentieth century. Social history broke down the tight walls of earlier historical scholarship that was largely confined to an exploration of the people at the top and the politics of power.

In breaching those walls, scholars allowed children to come into view. Largely excluded from active politics (with a very few exceptions such as infant rulers or as participants in youth politics), children and adolescents became everywhere visible as the family, the school, and work in factories and fields were opened to investigation. Discovering the presence of children in history was exciting to many of us who began to work in the new field of social history in the later 1960s and early 1970s. The *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* brings the full range of that new work together for the first time.

Just as exciting was the growing understanding of the crucial role that childhood played in how cultures defined themselves, fashioned their instruments of socialization, and sought to control their futures. In 1960 Philippe Ariès's seminal book, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous*

l'Ancien Régime (published in English in 1962 as *Centuries of Childhood*), encouraged historians to think about childhood itself as an invention, a historically driven phenomenon, not a transcendent category. Linked to a complex and subtle argument about how European society isolated childhood as part of a wider process of social differentiation, Ariès's provocative thesis about the absence of childhood before the seventeenth century stimulated a wide range of inquiries. Most questioned his conclusions but were firmly indebted to his most profound insight: childhood is a historically embedded definition that opens up deep layers of culture by exposing how societies code the earliest period of life and organize it in consequential ways. The definition of childhood is connected to fundamental institutions, technologies, and a range of social relationships. Gender was an especially important aspect of that definition, and as the fields of women's history and then gender studies evolved in the 1970s and 1980s, children's history developed alongside its many insights.

By the late 1970s, children and childhood were firmly part of a refashioned vision of the past. That past was made new by the work of scholars seeking out materials hitherto hidden in birth registers and wills, tomes of philosophy and psychology, slender volumes of poetry and novels, private diaries and letters, paintings and photographs, toys and the built environment. In other words, as the full panoply of human experience came into view as a setting for real children in the past as well as for how our ancestors thought about and imagined children, a whole range of sources could be refreshingly brought to bear on these matters.

The three volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* draw upon that extraordinary range of historical sources. In examining its pages the reader will immediately encounter the wealth of pictorial means through which children and youth have been represented at various times and in various settings. They can be found at play and at work, in school and in war, as the embodiment of innocence and the absence of experience, as well as knowing and sexually seductive. The illustrations, provided through the skills and special knowledge of one of our editors, Anne Higonnet, are only the first taste of the wide array of issues awaiting the reader's plain curiosity or more scholarly needs. These volumes include short biographical introductions to the important thinkers through the ages who have understood the centrality of childhood—from Plato and Aristotle through Erasmus, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to Sigmund Freud, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget. In seeking to understand children globally, the editors have invited scholars who specialize in most of the regions of the world, such as Africa, Latin America, China, India, and Australia, among others, to add to the knowledge that American and European historians have been accumulating over the past thirty years. Similarly, we have tried to include the great religious traditions, Judaism, Islam, as well as the early Catholic Church fathers and the innovations of the Protestant Revolution, in our understanding of global childhood. And we have urged the authors to try to adopt a cross-cultural perspective in many of the general essays, such as those on naming, infant mortality, games, sexuality, and adolescence. This wide-ranging comparative perspective adds to the historical depth we have tried to create with articles on childhood over time in the West from ancient Greece and Rome through the Middle Ages, early modern Europe, and European colonialism, down to the modern world.

Modernity (Europe and the United States since the mid-eighteenth century) has offered scholars the richest range of sources as well as the most complex focus for investigation. This is largely because childhood as we now understand it, with its elaborate emphasis on the early years of life and its drive to protect the young and to prepare them for adulthood, is largely an expression of the European Enlightenment and the institutions of the nation-state. Modern schooling and developmental psychology, which are its products, have provided a set of questions and an institutional focus that now largely take this perspective as a categorical given as

they have refined our modern Western understanding of childhood and children. The *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* explores these issues in great detail, including notions of proper child rearing and parenting, schooling and other forms of instruction, the role of various emotions, the nature of child development, and the importance of age. In a technological culture where child survival has become an expectation, issues of birth and conception have come prominently into view and the editors of the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* have given special attention to its many expressions in contemporary reproductive issues.

The encyclopedia also includes adolescence and youth in its definitions of the child and childhood because modern schooling, modern psychology, and the modern state with its laws and labor regulations have made the period from twelve to eighteen (and increasingly even beyond this) a feature of youthful dependency and development. We have many articles that focus on this period of life—from its definition and bodily transformations in puberty, to rituals of dating and sexuality, to youth's commercial entertainments, political engagements, and socially problematic behaviors (drinking, smoking, delinquency, pregnancy). We pay considerable attention to the schooling of adolescents, as well as to younger children, especially in Europe and the United States, and include articles on a variety of public and private school contexts and related contemporary issues. Schooling is often also addressed in the entries on other countries and parts of the world in the globally framed articles.

While work has, in the twentieth century, become a marginal experience for most children in the industrialized world as school has replaced it as focal feature of daily and weekly activity, children have been important economically in the past and remain very important workers in many parts of the world to this day. Many entries address this experience, from the lives of slave children in North America and in colonial Brazil, to industrial workers in Europe and part-time workers in the modern American consumer economy.

In the modern world, play became almost synonymous with our views of a proper childhood. The *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* contains many entries on theories of play and the experience of play from the sports field to the computer screen, with many steps via the long history of toys (dolls, trains, teddy bears). Eager to provide readers with a sampling of the books that, since the eighteenth century, have been an important ingredient in the lives of Western children, we include articles on Bible stories, ABC hornbooks, and fairy tales, as well as the tales of Christopher Robin, Peter Pan, Nancy Drew, and Harry Potter (among many others) as well as the comic books that defined the reading experiences of twentieth-century children. Indeed, we chose to emphasize literature written for and read by children, rather than the great varieties of literature that portrayed children (which began to proliferate in the nineteenth century), because children's literature is written by adults with very particular views in mind of who and what their readers are like. Even in a compendium as wide-ranging as this one, choices have to be made because the field has grown so vast and so bountiful that we simply could not hope to include all aspects and elements of the latest scholarship.

In choosing representations of childhood we leaned heavily in the direction of the visual rather than the literary. And we have chosen not just to illustrate our entries but to include major landmarks in the history of art as they pertain to children. Thus the reader will be given an introduction to many of the most important and iconic images of children, representations that have helped to organize how we see and think about children over the past several centuries. These images are therefore in themselves primary sources in the history of childhood. In so doing, we expected both to engage the reader pursuing the subject and to entice the casual reader who flips through to proceed from these to the equally enticing array of articles on almost every facet of the life of children and the concept of childhood in the past and present,

from conception and birth through passages to adulthood. The *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood* thus hopes to make the study of childhood and children, first nurtured in the university library, laboratory, and classroom, a compelling subject for a wide array of professionals who work on children's issues and want to know more about its past, including doctors, lawyers, teachers, and social workers, as well as students of all kinds eager to learn about their own childhood, that of their parents, and of the many diverse people of our shrinking world.

There are 445 articles in the *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood*, arranged in alphabetical order for easy reference. The articles range from five hundred to five thousand words in length and are written by over three hundred scholars from many parts of the world who are active researchers in history, social science, literature, education, medicine, law, and art history. Each signed article features several carefully chosen cross-references to related entries, indicated within the text with small capital letters or listed at the end of the article, as well as an up-to-date bibliography of print and Internet sources. In Volume 3, readers will find an annotated collection of fifty primary sources, reproduced in whole or in part, identified by the editors as essential documents in the field. A topical outline appears in Volume 1. It groups articles by broad categories, thereby offering teachers and readers alike an informed map of the field. A comprehensive index in Volume 3 provides yet another entry point to the set, encouraging readers to explore the information contained in these three volumes.

In selecting a group of editors and creating a board of consultants, I have sought to include experts with different backgrounds and specialties. Peter Stearns, himself the editor of Scribner's *Encyclopedia of European Social History* and an early creator of the field as the pioneering editor of the *Journal of Social History*, is the author of dozens of books in both European and American history and a founder of the new field of the history of emotions. He has recently become an important presence in matters of world history and global history. He brings all these varied experiences to this project. Ning de Coninck-Smith, a Danish scholar familiar with the field of childhood history as it is currently practiced and developing in Europe, also brings a deep knowledge of the history of education and the material culture of childhood to her work as an editor. Anne Higonnet's writings brought the study of the representations of children powerfully into the history of art, and her knowledge of the history of photography and illustrations has grounded that enterprise in the everyday experience of people as well as the more refined precincts of the museum and exhibition hall. Stephen Lassonde's work on American schooling, immigration, children's work, and definitions of age makes his knowledge of the institutions of childhood and the varied contexts of child life an invaluable one in an enterprise oriented to exploring the many differences as well as the similarities in the lives of modern children.

Our consultants are an eminent group of scholars whose unparalleled knowledge about both childhood and the wider contexts within which childhood functions and their broad-ranging acquaintance with practitioners of this history have been critical to the success of the project. They include Natalie Zemon Davis, the leading cultural historian of early modern Europe and an intellectual with a truly international stature; historical sociologist Viviana Zelizer, whose book *Pricing the Priceless Child* was, together with the work of Philippe Ariès, seminal in how we have come to define the field of childhood history; Michael Grossberg, editor-in-chief of the *American Historical Review* and the most prominent historian of the law as it pertains to children and family matters in the United States; and David Kertzer, whose deep research on a range of family-related subjects and several edited volumes make his contributions to our understanding of children and their families in the modern European past preeminent. In addition, Susan Schweik has generously shared her knowledge of children's literature with me, and Tobias Hecht provided an invaluable introduction to scholars and issues in Latin American history.

I am indebted to all these individuals for their advice and assistance. I also want to thank the staff of Macmillan Reference USA, whose patience, devotion to the project, and hard work have been essential to its successful completion. From Anne Davidson's initial commitment to the idea, this has been a subject that Macmillan has supported warmly. Especially critical throughout has been Jill Lectka's friendship, support, and constant assistance and good sense. It has been a pleasure to work with her as well as with Jeffrey Galas and Jennifer Wisinski, whom I have known only as e-mail correspondents and on the telephone, but for whom I have developed great regard and affection. The staff at the History Department at the University of California at Berkeley, especially Sherrill Young, Chris Egan, and Jennifer Sixt provided important assistance at various stages of my work. Several of my wonderful graduate student assistants have also made critical contributions to this project. They include Andrea Kwon, Laura Mihailoff, and especially Rachel Hope Cleves whose good cheer and energetic work made the excellent collection of primary sources in Volume 3 possible. Finally, Jack Lesch has been through my excitements at the very possibility of such a project coming about, the long labors to sustain it, and the exhilaration at its completion. He allowed me the time, sustained my energy, and provided the emotional resources that helped to make it happen. My thanks go to all of these people and to the several hundred contributors who are making the field of children's history in its many varieties and different cultural settings flourish as we go to press.

PAULA S. FASS

List of Articles

List of Articles

A

Abandonment
Pier Paolo Viazzo

ABC Books
Melissa Geisler Trafton

Abduction
Paula S. Fass

Abduction in Modern Africa
Tabitha Kanogo

Academies
Kim Tolley

Accidents
Mark Tebeau

Addams, Jane (1860–1935)
Laura S. Abrams

Adolescence and Youth
Howard P. Chudacoff

Adolescent Medicine
Heather Munro Prescott

Adoption in the United States
E. Wayne Carp

Advertising
Lisa Jacobson

Africa
Benedict Carton

African-American Children and Youth
Andrew Thompson Miller

Age and Development
Stephen Lassonde

Age of Consent
Vern L. Bullough

AIDS

Inon I. Schenker

Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)
Hamilton Cravens

Alcott, Bronson (1799–1888)
Rachel Hope Cleves

Allowances
Lisa Jacobson

American Indian Schools
Michael C. Coleman

Ancient Greece and Rome
OVERVIEW
Elise P. Garrison

SELF-FORMATION
Susanna Elm

Andersen, Hans Christian
(1805–1875)
Jackie Wullschlager

Anger and Aggression
Deborah C. Stearns

Anorexia
Linda Smolak

Apprenticeship
Hal Hansen

Ariès, Philippe (1914–1984)
Patrick H. Hutton

Aristocratic Education in Europe
Thomas Lyngby

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.)
J. J. Chambliss

Artificial Insemination
Lara Freidenfelds

Australia

Jan Kociumbas

Autobiographies
Arianne Baggerman
Rudolf M. Dekker

B

Baby Boom Generation
Don Romesburg

Baby Farming
Caroline Hinkle McCamant

Baby-Sitters
Miriam Forman-Brunell

Baden-Powell, Robert (1857–1941)
Martin J. Dedman

Baptism
Richard L. DeMolen

Barbie
Miriam Forman-Brunell

Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah
Paula E. Hyman

Baseball
Gai Ingham Berlage

Basedow, Johann Bernhard
(1724–1790)
Pia Schmid

Basketball
Gerald R. Gems

Bastardy
Astri Andresen

Baumrind, Diana (b. 1927)
Hendrika Vande Kemp

- Belloti v. Baird
Amy L. Elson
- Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940)
Henrik Reeh
- Beyond the Best Interests of the Child
Arlene Skolnick
- Bible, The
Ruth B. Bottigheimer
- Bicycles and Tricycles
Hans-Christian Jensen
- Bilingual Education
Carlos Kevin Blanton
- Binet, Alfred (1857–1911)
Katharine Norris
- Birth Control
James W. Reed
- Birthday
Howard P. Chudacoff
- Birth Defects
Ann Dally
- Birth Order
Frank J. Sulloway
- Bobby Soxers
Kelly Schrum
- Bowlby, John (1907–1990)
René van der Veer
- Boxing
Gerald R. Gems
- Boyhood
Lorinda B. Cohoon
- Boy Scouts
Michael J. Foster
- Brace, Charles Loring (1826–1890)
Lori Askeland
- Brazil
HISTORY
Ana Cristina Dubeux Dourado
CONTEMPORARY
Tobias Hecht
- Breeching
Jacqueline S. Reinier
- British Colonialism in India
Nupur Chaudhuri
- Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Waldo E. Martin Jr.
- Bühler, Charlotte (1893–1974)
Eileen A. Gavin
- Bundling
Yochi Fisher-Yinon
- Burt, Cyril (1883–1971)
William H. Tucker
- C**
- Campus Revolts in the 1960s
Brendan Dooley
- Canada
Mona Gleason
- Carroll, Lewis (1832–1898)
Diane Waggoner
- Cars as Toys
Niels Jonassen
- Cassatt, Mary (1844–1926)
A. Cassandra Albinson
- Catholicism
Timothy Kelly
- Century of the Child
Ronny Ambjörnsson
- Charivari
Sara Beam
- Charter Schools
Jubal C. Yennie
- Child Abuse
Larry Wolff
- Child Care
IN-HOME CHILD CARE
Amy Harris-Solomon
INSTITUTIONAL FORMS
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UNITED STATES
Geraldine Youcha
- Child Development, History of the Concept of
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- Child Labor in the West
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- Child Pornography
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- Child Prodigies
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- Child Prostitution
Alyson Brown
- Child Psychology
Jerome Kagan
- Child-Rearing Advice Literature
Jay Mechling
- Children's Defense Fund
Hamilton Cravens
- Children's Hospitals
Hughes Evans
- Children's Libraries
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- Children's Literature
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- Children's Rights
Mary Ann Mason
- Children's Spaces
Annmarie Adams
Abigail A. Van Slyck
- Child Saving
Caroline Hinkle McCamant
- Child Stars
Samantha Barbas
- Child Study
Hans Pols
- Child Witch
Kristina Tegler Jerselius
- China
Jon L. Saari
- Christian Thought, Early
Martha Ellen Stortz
- Church, Charlotte (b. 1986)
Nika Elder
- Circumcision
Elliot Horowitz
- Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling
John L. Rury
- Collections and Hobbies
Bjarne Kildegaard
- Comenius, Johann Amos (1592–1670)
Norbert Störmer
- Comic Books
Gene Kannenberg Jr.
- Commercial Curriculum
John L. Rury
- Common Schools
Edith Nye MacMullen
- Communion, First
Richard L. DeMolen

- Communist Youth
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Peter N. Stearns
- Compulsory School Attendance
John G. Richardson
- Conception and Birth
Lisa Forman Cody
- Confirmation
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- Construction Toys
Inge Aaen
- Consumer Culture
Gary Cross
- Contagious Diseases
John M. Last
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Brian Patrick McGuire
- Cosmetics
Elizabeth Haiken
- D**
- Dating
Paula S. Fass
- Delinquency
Victoria L. Getis
- Dentistry
Steven Schlossman
- Dependent Children
Roberta Wollons
- Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536)
Brian Patrick McGuire
- Dewey, John (1859–1952)
Arthur Zilversmit
- Diapers and Toileting
Caroline Hinkle McCamant
- Discipline
Jacqueline S. Reinier
- Disney
Beverly Lyon Clark
- Divorce and Custody
Mary Ann Mason
- Dolls
Kirsten F. Schmidt
- Dr. Seuss (1904–1991)
Rachel Hope Cleves
- Drugs
Nancy Campbell
- Dumas, Alexandre (1802–1870)
Sandra L. Beckett
- E**
- Early Modern Europe
Joanne M. Ferraro
- Eastern Europe
BALKANS
Traian Stoianovich
POLAND
Bogna Lorence-Kot
- Economics and Children in Western Societies
FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY
David Levine
THE CONSUMER ECONOMY
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- Egg Donation
Lara Freidenfelds
- Emotional Life
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- Enlightenment, The
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- Epidemics
Sheldon Watts
- Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994)
Richard Stevens
- Eugenics
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- European Industrialization
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- Ewald, Wendy (b. 1951)
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- Ex Parte Crouse
Amy L. Elson
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- Fairy Tales and Fables
Ruth B. Bottigheimer
- Family Patterns
Joanne M. Ferraro
- Fascist Youth
Kimberly A. Redding
- Fashion
Phyllis Magidson
- Fathering and Fatherhood
Jessica Weiss
- Fear
Rudolf M. Dekker
Hugo Röling
- Female Genital Mutilation
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch
- Fénelon, François (1651–1715)
Anne Elisabeth Sejten
- Fertility Drugs
Lisa H. Harris
- Fertility Rates
David Levine
- Flappers
Laura Mihailoff
- Foster Care
Laura Curran
- Foundlings
Wendy Sigle-Rushton
- Francke, Aug. Hermann (1663–1727)
Juliane Jacobi
- Frank, Anne (1929–1945)
Rudolf M. Dekker
- Freinet, Célestin (1896–1966)
Ellen Nørgaard
- Freud, Anna (1895–1982)
Gail Donaldson
- Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)
Zvi Lothane
- Friendship
Linda W. Rosenzweig
- Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm August (1782–1852)
Kevin J. Brehony
- Furniture
Kirsten Hegner
- G**
- Geddes, Anne
A. Cassandra Albinson
- Gendering
Deborah Gorham
- Gesell, Arnold (1880–1961)
Linda C. Mayes

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| Girlhood Rachel Devlin | Herbart, J. F. (1776–1841) Rotraud Coriand | Infancy of Louis XIII Thomas Lyngby |
| Girl Scouts Mary Logan Rothschild | High School Stephen Lassonde | Infant Feeding Sally G. McMillen |
| Girls' Schools Rebecca Rogers | Hine, Lewis (1874–1940) George Dimock | Infant Mortality Richard Meckel |
| Globalization Mark Hunter | History of Childhood EUROPE | Infant Rulers Steffen Heiberg |
| Godparents Agnès Fine | Benjamin B. Roberts | Infant Sexuality Ole Andkjaer Olsen |
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| Great Depression and New Deal Robert Cohen | Hitler Youth John T. Lauridsen | In re Gault Amy L. Elson |
| Greenaway, Kate (1846–1901) Diane Waggoner | Holocaust Jeffrey T. Zalar | Intelligence Testing April Bleske-Rechek |
| Grief, Death, Funerals Deborah C. Stearns | Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and the Jeffrey Glanz | International Organizations Sonja L. Taylor |
| Guilt and Shame Deborah C. Stearns | Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States Peggy A. Shifflett | Interscholastic Athletics J. Thomas Jable |
| Gulick, Luther (1865–1918) Ellen L. Berg | Homer, Winslow (1836–1910) Melissa Geisler Trafton | In Vitro Fertilization Lisa H. Harris |
| Guns Rachel Hope Cleves | Homeschooling Mary Anne Pitman | IQ Hamilton Cravens |
| Gutmann, Bessie Pease (1876–1960) A. Cassandra Albinson | Homework Brian Gill | Isaacs, Susan (1885–1948) Deborah Thom |
| GutsMuths, J. C. F. (1759–1839) Jørn Hansen | Steven Schlossman | Islam Shireen Mahdavi |
| Gymnasium Schooling Willem Frijhoff | Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation Vern L. Bullough | Israel Joav Merrick |
| Gymnastics Roberta Park | Hygiene Jacqueline S. Wilkie | J |
| H | Hyperactivity Peter N. Stearns | Japan Kathleen Uno |
| Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924) Diana Selig | I | Japanese Art, Contemporary Anne Higonnet |
| Halloween Shira Silverman | Images of Childhood Marilyn R. Brown | Jealousy and Envy Susan J. Matt |
| Hammer v. Dagenhart Patrick J. Ryan | Incest Hughes Evans | Judaism Jay R. Berkovitz |
| Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling Chris McGee | India and South Asia Nita Kumar | Junior High School P. Gayle Andrews |
| Head Start Josh Kagan | Indoor Games Shira Silverman | Juvenile Court Laura Mihailoff |
| Healy, William (1869–1963) Kathleen W. Jones | Industrial Homework Hugh D. Hindman | |

- Juvenile Justice
INTERNATIONAL
Diane E. Hill
UNITED STATES
Victor L. Streib
C. Antoinette Clarke
- Juvenile Publishing
Paula Petrik
- K**
- Keene, Carolyn
Kimberly Stratemeyer Adams
- Kerschensteiner, Georg (1854–1932)
Knud Jensen
- Key, Ellen (1849–1926)
Ronny Ambjörnsson
- Kindergarten
Ellen L. Berg
- Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936)
Jennifer Marchant
- Klein, Melanie (1882–1960)
Gail Donaldson
- L**
- La Leche League
Lynn Y. Weiner
- Latin America
OVERVIEW
Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof
COLONIALISM
Nara Milanich
WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA
Anna L. Peterson
- Latin School
Willem Frijhoff
- Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial
Hamilton Cravens
- Law, Children and the
Michael Grossberg
- Levitt, Helen (b. 1913)
James Oles
- Life Course and Transitions to
Adulthood
John R. Gillis
- Lindbergh Kidnapping
Paula S. Fass
- Literacy
Gavin Kendall
- Little Women and Louisa May Alcott
Rachel Hope Cleves
- Locke, John (1632–1704)
Peter Schouls
- Lolita
Anne Higonnet
- Lord of the Rings and J. R. R. Tolkien
Dinah Hazell
George W. Tuma
- Love
John C. Spurlock
- Lycée
Philippe Savoie
- M**
- Madonna, Orthodox
Bissera V. Pentcheva
- Madonna, Religious
Melissa R. Katz
- Madonna, Secular
Melissa R. Katz
- Magnet Schools
Claire E. Smrekar
- Manners
C. Dallett Hemphill
- Mann, Horace (1796–1859)
Edith Nye MacMullen
- Mann, Sally (b. 1951)
A. Cassandra Albinson
- Masturbation
Lesley A. Hall
- Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)
Ray McDermott
- Media, Childhood and the
Kirsten Drotner
- Medieval and Renaissance Europe
Philip Gavitt
- Megan's Law(s)
Stephen Robertson
- Menarche
Barbara Brookes
- Mental Hygiene
Hans Pols
- Mental Illness
Steven Noll
- Middle East
Elizabeth Warnock Fernea
- Montessori, Maria (1870–1952)
Kevin J. Brehony
- Mortara Abduction
John M. Efron
- Mothering and Motherhood
Kathleen Uno
- Movies
Ulrich Breuning
- Multiple Births
Elizabeth Bryan
- Music Education
Gordon Cox
- N**
- Naming
Margareth Lanzinger
- National Child Labor Committee
Kriste Lindenmeyer
- Native American Children
Joseph E. Illick
- Neill, A. S. (1883–1973)
Ellen Nørgaard
- New York Children's Aid Society
Stephen O'Connor
- New Zealand
Jeanine Graham
- Nursery Schools
Kevin J. Brehony
- O**
- Obstetrics and Midwifery
Alison Klarlont Lingo
- Oliver Twist
Larry Wolff
- Open Air School Movement
Anne-Marie Châtelet
- Opie, Iona and Peter
Ulf Palmenfelt
- Organized Recreation and Youth
Groups
Lynn A. Barnett
- Orphanages
Nurith Zmora
- Orphans
Guy Brunet
- Orphan Trains
Laura Curran

P

Pacifier
Jonathan Gillis

Parades
Martin Zerlang

Parenting
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Parents Magazine
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Parent-Teacher Associations
William W. Cutler III

Parochial Schools
JoEllen McNergney Vinyard

Pediatrics
Jeffrey P. Brosco

Pedophilia
Ning de Coninck-Smith

Perpetua, Saint
Susanna Elm

Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich
(1746–1827)
Daniel Tröhler

Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie
Larry Wolff

Pets
Kathleen Kete

Photographs of Children
George Dimock

Physical Education
Roberta Park

Piaget, Jean (1896–1980)
Anne-Nelly Perret-Clermont
Marie-Jeanne Liengme Bessire

Pierce v. Society of Sisters
Patrick J. Ryan

Piggy Bank
Halina Pasierbska

Placing Out
Barry M. Coldrey

Plato (427–348 B.C.E.)
Samuel Scolnicov

Play
William A. Corsaro

Playground Movement
Jerry G. Dickason

Police, Children and the
David Wolcott

Polio

John M. Last

Posture
Peter N. Stearns

Potter, Beatrix (1866–1943)
Victoria Sears

Pram
Lene Floris

Private and Independent Schools
Leonard L. Baird

Progressive Education
Robert L. Hampel

Proms
Amy L. Best

Protestant Reformation
Karen E. Spierling

Puberty
Crista DeLuzio

Public Schools: Britain
Nathan Roberts

R

Radio
Anne-Li Lindgren

Recovered Memory
Rael Jean Isaac

Religious Revivals
Jon Pahl

Retardation
Parnel Wickham

Rites of Passage
John R. Gillis

Rock and Roll
Eric Weisbard

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
(1712–1778)
Hans van Crombrugge

S

Salzmann, Christian Gotthilf
(1744–1811)
Signe Mellempgaard

Same-Sex Parenting
Amanda H. Littauer

Sandbox
Roger A. Hart

SAT and College Entrance Exams
Harold S. Wechsler

School Buildings and Architecture

EUROPE
Anne-Marie Châtelet

UNITED STATES
Marta Gutman

School Choice
Peter W. Cookson Jr.

School Desegregation
Harvey Kantor

School Shootings and School Violence
Jan Price Greenough

School Vouchers
Peter W. Cookson Jr.

Scientific Child Rearing
Julia Grant

Scottsboro Boys
Waldo E. Martin Jr.

Self-Esteem
Peter N. Stearns

Sendak, Maurice (b. 1928)
Thomas Laqueur

Series Books
Chris McGee

Sex Education
Jeffrey P. Moran

Sexuality
Beth Bailey

Sheppard-Towner Maternity and
Infancy Act
Hamilton Cravens

Shyness
Patricia A. McDaniel

Siblings
Linda W. Rosenzweig

Slavery, United States
Wilma King

Sleep
Peter N. Stearns

Smith, Jessie Willcox (1863–1935)
A. Cassandra Albinson

Smoking
David T. Courtwright
Andrew M. Courtwright

Social Settlements
Laura S. Abrams

Social Welfare
HISTORY
Hamilton Cravens

COMPARATIVE TWENTIETH-CENTURY
DEVELOPMENTS

Ning de Coninck-Smith
Bengt Sandin

Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty
to Children
Rachel Hope Cleves

Sociology and Anthropology of
Childhood
Barrie Thorne

Soldier Children: Global Human
Rights Issues
James Marten

Sonography
Lara Freidenfelds

Spears, Britney (b. 1981)
Nika Elder

Special Education
Philip Lane Safford

Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)
Michael Zuckerman

Sports
Sarah K. Fields

Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)
Jürgen Oelkers

Stepparents in the United States
Mary Ann Mason

Street Arabs and Street Urchins
Clay Gish

Street Games
Bernard Mergen

Student Government
Glenn Wallach

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome
Ann Dally

Suicide
Brian L. Mishara

Summer Camps
Abigail A. Van Slyck

Sunday
Alexis McCrossen

Sunday School
Jack L. Seymour

Surrogacy
Lara Freidenfelds

Swaddling
Kirsten Linde

T

Tattoos and Piercing
Michael Hardin

Teddy Bear
Shira Silverman

Teenage Mothers in the United States
Velma McBride Murry
Dionne P. Stephens

Teenagers
Kelly Schrum

Teen Drinking
Ellen L. Berg

Teen Magazines
Kelly Schrum

Teen Pregnancy
Kriste Lindenmeyer

Television
Ingegerd Rydin

Temple, Shirley (b. 1928)
Samantha Barbas

Theme Parks
Stephen J. Rebori

Theories of Childhood
Catherine Burke

Theories of Play
Kevin J. Brehony

Tinker v. Des Moines
John W. Johnson

Tintin and Hergé
Gene Kannenberg Jr.

Title IX and Girls' Sports
Andrea Kwon

Toilet Training
Jay Mechling

Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia
Andrew Wachtel

Toys
Gary Cross

Toy Soldiers (Tin Soldiers)
Nils Eric Boesgaard

Toy Technology
Paula Petrik

Toy Trains
Halina Pasierbska

Twain, Mark (1835–1910)
Joseph T. Thomas Jr.

Twenty-Sixth Amendment
Amy L. Elson

U

UN Convention on the Rights of the
Child
Diane E. Hill

UNICEF
Diane E. Hill

Urban School Systems, The Rise of
Hal Hansen

U.S. Children's Bureau
Kriste Lindenmeyer

V

Vacations
Gary Cross

Vaccination
John M. Last

Venereal Disease
Lynn Sacco

Verne, Jules (1828–1905)
Jennifer Marchant

Victorian Art
Susan P. Casteras

Victory Girls
Amanda H. Littauer

Violence Against Children
Barbara Finkelstein

Vocational Education, Industrial
Education, and Trade Schools
Howard R. D. Gordon

Vygotsky, L. S. (1896–1934)
Stig Broström

W

War in the Twentieth Century
Monika Janfelt

Watson, John B. (1878–1958)
James T. Todd

Wayland, Francis (1796–1865)
Rachel Hope Cleves

Welfare Reform Act (1996)
Hamilton Cravens

Wet-Nursing
Jacqueline H. Wolf

White House Conferences on Children
Marshall B. Jones

Wizard of Oz and L. Frank Baum
Peter E. Hanff

Women's Colleges in the United States

Lynn D. Gordon

Work and Poverty

Hugh Cunningham

Working Papers

Hugh D. Hindman

Wright, Henry Clarke (1797–1870)

Rachel Hope Cleves

Y

Youth Activism

Kenneth J. Heineman

Youth Agencies of the New Deal

Richard A. Reiman

Youth Culture

Joe Austin

Youth Gangs

Laura Mihailoff

Youth Ministries

Jon Pahl

YWCA and YMCA

Margaret A. Spratt

Z

Zoos

Martin Zerlang

Zoot Suit Riots

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List of Contributors

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Cassatt, Mary (1844–1926)
Geddes, Anne
Gutmann, Bessie Pease (1876–1960)
Mann, Sally (b. 1951)
Smith, Jessie Willcox (1863–1935)
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Century of the Child
Key, Ellen (1849–1926)
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Enlightenment, The
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Private and Independent Schools
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Temple, Shirley (b. 1928)
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Dumas, Alexandre (1802–1870)
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Kindergarten
Teen Drinking
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Judaism
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Baseball
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- | | | |
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- Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch
Paris, France
Female Genital Mutilation
- Rotraud Coriand
Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena,
Germany
Herbart, J. F. (1776–1841)
- William A. Corsaro
Indiana University
Play
- Andrew M. Courtwright
University of North Carolina
Smoking
- David T. Courtwright
University of North Florida
Smoking
- Gordon Cox
University of Reading, United
Kingdom
Music Education
- Hamilton Cravens
Iowa State University
Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)
Children's Defense Fund
IQ
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Social Welfare: History
Sheppard-Towner Maternity and
Infancy Act
Welfare Reform Act (1996)
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Consumer Culture
Economics and Children in Western
Societies: The Consumer Economy
Toys
Vacations
- Hugh Cunningham
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Work and Poverty
- Laura Curran
Rutgers University
Foster Care
Orphan Trains
- William W. Cutler III
Temple University
Parent-Teacher Associations
- Ann Dally
University College London
Birth Defects
Sudden Infant Death Syndrome
- Ning de Coninck-Smith
The Danish University of Education
Pedophilia
Social Welfare: Comparative
Twentieth-Century Developments
- Martin J. Dedman
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Baden-Powell, Robert (1857–1941)
- Rudolf M. Dekker
Erasmus Universiteit, Netherlands
Autobiographies
Enlightenment, The
Fear
Frank, Anne (1929–1945)
- Crista DeLuzio
Southern Methodist University
Puberty
- Richard L. DeMolen
Our Lady of Tahoe Parish, Nevada
Baptism
Communion, First
Confirmation
- Rachel Devlin
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- Jerry G. Dickason
Montclair State University
Playground Movement
- George Dimock
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Greensboro
- Hine, Lewis (1874–1940)*
Photographs of Children
- Dwayne Emil Dixon
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Ewald, Wendy (b. 1951)
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Union College
Freud, Anna (1895–1982)
Klein, Melanie (1882–1960)
- Brendan Dooley
Florence, Italy
Campus Revolts in the 1960s
- Charles Dorn
Bowdoin College
Grammar School
- Ana Cristina Dubeux Dourado
Federal University of Pernambuco,
Brazil
Brazil: History
- Kirsten Drotner
University of Southern Denmark
Media, Childhood and the
- John M. Efron
University of California, Berkeley
Mortara Abduction
- Nika Elder
Wellesley College
Church, Charlotte (b. 1986)
Spears, Britney (b. 1981)
- Susanna Elm
University of California, Berkeley
Ancient Greece and Rome: Self-
Formation
Perpetua, Saint
- Amy L. Elson
Bellotti v. Baird
Ex Parte Crouse
In re Gault
Twenty-Sixth Amendment

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| Nicole Eustace New York University <i>Emotional Life</i> | <i>Baby-Sitters</i> <i>Barbie</i> | John R. Gillis Rutgers University <i>Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood</i> <i>Rites of Passage</i> |
| Hughes Evans University of Alabama at Birmingham <i>Children's Hospitals</i> <i>Incest</i> | Michael J. Foster Rector, Chase Benefice Dorset, United Kingdom <i>Boy Scouts</i> | Clay Gish ESI Design, New York <i>Street Arabs and Street Urchins</i> |
| Paula S. Fass University of California, Berkeley <i>Abduction</i> <i>Dating</i> <i>Lindbergh Kidnapping</i> | Lara Freidenfelds Harvard University <i>Artificial Insemination</i> <i>Egg Donation</i> <i>Sonography</i> <i>Surrogacy</i> | Jeffrey Glanz Wagner College <i>Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and the</i> |
| Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris <i>Inheritance and Property</i> | Willem Frijhoff Vrije Universiteit, Netherlands <i>Gymnasium Schooling</i> <i>Latin School</i> | Mona Gleason University of British Columbia <i>Canada</i> |
| Elizabeth Warnock Fernea University of Texas at Austin <i>Middle East</i> | Elise P. Garrison Texas A & M University <i>Ancient Greece and Rome: Overview</i> | Howard R. D. Gordon Marshall University <i>Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools</i> |
| Joanne M. Ferraro San Diego State University <i>Early Modern Europe</i> <i>Family Patterns</i> | Eileen A. Gavin College of Saint Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota <i>Bübler, Charlotte (1893–1974)</i> | Lynn D. Gordon University of Rochester <i>Women's Colleges in the United States</i> |
| Sarah K. Fields University of Georgia <i>Sports</i> | Philip Gavitt Saint Louis University <i>Medieval and Renaissance Europe</i> | Deborah Gorham Carlton University, Canada <i>Gendering</i> |
| Agnès Fine Université de Toulouse, France <i>Godparents</i> | Gerald R. Gems North Central College <i>Basketball</i> <i>Boxing</i> | Jeanine Graham University of Waikato, New Zealand <i>New Zealand</i> |
| Barbara Finkelstein University of Maryland at College Park <i>Violence Against Children</i> | Victoria L. Getis Ohio State University <i>Delinquency</i> | Julia Grant Michigan State University <i>Scientific Child Rearing</i> |
| Yochi Fisher-Yinon The Hebrew University of Jerusalem <i>Bundling</i> | Brian Gill RAND <i>Homework</i> | Jan Price Greenough University of California, Berkeley <i>School Shootings and School Violence</i> |
| Lene Floris Holbaek Museum, Denmark <i>Pram</i> | Jonathan Gillis The Children's Hospital at Westmead, Australia <i>Pacifier</i> | Michael Grossberg Indiana University <i>Law, Children and the</i> |
| Miriam Forman-Brunell University of Missouri, Kansas City | | Marta Gutman University of California, Berkeley <i>School Buildings and Architecture: United States</i> |

- Elizabeth Haiken
El Cerrito, California
Cosmetics
- Lesley A. Hall
Wellcome Library and University
College, London
Masturbation
- Robert L. Hampel
University of Delaware
Progressive Education
- Peter E. Hanff
The Bancroft Library, University of
California, Berkeley
Wizard of Oz and L. Frank Baum
- Hal Hansen
Suffolk University
Apprenticeship
Urban School Systems, The Rise of
- Jørn Hansen
University of Southern Denmark
Guts.Muths, J. C. F. (1759–1839)
- Michael Hardin
Bloomsburg University of
Pennsylvania
Tattoos and Piercing
- Lisa H. Harris
University of Michigan
Fertility Drugs
In Vitro Fertilization
- Amy Harris-Solomon
Easter Seals of Tennessee
Child Care: In-Home Child Care
- Roger A. Hart
City University of New York
Sandbox
- Harry Haue
University of Southern Denmark
Education, Europe
- Joseph M. Hawes
University of Memphis
History of Childhood: United States
- Dinah Hazell
Independent Scholar
Lord of the Rings and J. R. R. Tolkien
- Tobias Hecht
Independent Scholar
Brazil: Contemporary
- Kirsten Hegner
University of Copenhagen, Denmark
Furniture
- Steffen Heiberg
Fredriksborg Museum, Denmark
Infant Rulers
- Kenneth J. Heineman
Ohio University—Lancaster
Youth Activism
- C. Dallett Hemphill
Ursinus College
Manners
- Colin Heywood
University of Nottingham, United
Kingdom
European Industrialization
- Anne Higonet
Barnard College
Child Pornography
Japanese Art, Contemporary
Lolita
- Diane E. Hill
University of California, Berkeley
Juvenile Justice: International
UN Convention on the Rights of the
Child
UNICEF
- Hugh D. Hindman
Appalachian State University
Industrial Homework
Working Papers
- N. Ray Hiner
University of Kansas
History of Childhood: United States
- Kerstin Holmlund
Umea University, Sweden
Child Care: Institutional Forms
- Margo Horn
Stanford University
Child Guidance
- Elliot Horowitz
Bar Ilan University, Israel
Circumcision
- Mark Hunter
University of California, Berkeley
Globalization
- Patrick H. Hutton
University of Vermont
Ariès, Philippe (1914–1984)
- Paula E. Hyman
Yale University
Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah
- Joseph E. Illick
San Francisco State University
Native American Children
- Rael Jean Isaac
Independent Scholar, New York, NY
Recovered Memory
- J. Thomas Jable
William Paterson University
Interscholastic Athletics
- Juliane Jacobi
University of Potsdam, Germany
Francke, Aug. Hermann (1663–1727)
- Anette Faye Jacobsen
Danish Institute for Human Rights
Child Labor in Developing Countries
- Lisa Jacobson
University of California, Santa Barbara
Advertising
Allowances
- Monika Janfelt
Southern Denmark University
War in the Twentieth Century

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| Hans-Christian Jensen University of Southern Denmark <i>Bicycles and Tricycles</i> | <i>Madonna, Religious</i> <i>Madonna, Secular</i> | <i>Age and Development</i> <i>High School</i> |
| Knud Jensen The Danish University of Education <i>Kerschesteiner, Georg (1854–1932)</i> | Timothy Kelly Saint Vincent College <i>Catholicism</i> | John M. Last University of Ottawa, Canada <i>Contagious Diseases</i> <i>Polio</i> <i>Vaccination</i> |
| Kristina Tegler Jerselius University of Uppsala, Sweden <i>Child Witch</i> | Gavin Kendall Queensland University of Technology—Carseldine, Australia <i>Literacy</i> | John T. Lauridsen The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark <i>Hitler Youth</i> |
| John W. Johnson University of Northern Iowa <i>Tinker v. Des Moines</i> | Kathleen Kete Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut <i>Pets</i> | David Levine University of Toronto <i>Economics and Children in Western Societies: From Agriculture to Industry</i> <i>Fertility Rates</i> |
| Niels Jonassen Humblebaek, Denmark <i>Cars as Toys</i> | Bjarne Kildegaard Rudkøbing, Denmark <i>Collections and Hobbies</i> | Kirsten Linde Akershus Fylkesmuseum, Norway <i>Swaddling</i> |
| Kathleen W. Jones Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University <i>Healy, William (1869–1963)</i> | Wilma King University of Missouri, Columbia <i>Slavery, United States</i> | Kriste Lindenmeyer University of Maryland, Baltimore County <i>National Child Labor Committee</i> <i>Teen Pregnancy</i> <i>U.S. Children's Bureau</i> |
| Marshall B. Jones Pennsylvania State University <i>White House Conferences on Children</i> | Jan Kociumbas University of Sydney, Australia <i>Australia</i> | Anne-Li Lindgren Linköping University, Sweden <i>Radio</i> |
| Jerome Kagan Harvard University <i>Child Psychology</i> | Nita Kumar Center for Postcolonial Studies, Varanasi, India <i>India and South Asia</i> | Alison Klarmont Lingo University of California, Berkeley <i>Obstetrics and Midwifery</i> |
| Josh Kagan New York University, School of Law <i>Head Start</i> | Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof University of Kansas <i>Latin America: Overview</i> | Amanda H. Littauer University of California, Berkeley <i>Same-Sex Parenting</i> <i>Victory Girls</i> |
| Gene Kannenberg Jr. University of Houston—Downtown <i>Comic Books</i> <i>Tintin and Hergé</i> | Andrea Kwon University of California, Berkeley <i>Title IX and Girls' Sports</i> | Bogna Lorence-Kot California College of Arts and Crafts <i>Eastern Europe: Poland</i> |
| Tabitha Kanogo University of California, Berkeley <i>Abduction in Modern Africa</i> | Margareth Lanzinger University of Vienna, Austria <i>Naming</i> | Zvi Lothane Mount Sinai School of Medicine <i>Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)</i> |
| Harvey Kantor University of Utah <i>School Desegregation</i> | Thomas Laqueur University of California, Berkeley <i>Sendak, Maurice (b. 1928)</i> | |
| Melissa R. Katz Brown University | Stephen Lassonde Yale University | |

- Thomas Lyngby
University of Aarhus, Denmark
Aristocratic Education in Europe
Infancy of Louis XIII
- Mary Niles Maack
University of California, Los Angeles
Children's Libraries
- Edith Nye MacMullen
Yale University
Common Schools
Mann, Horace (1796–1859)
- Phyllis Magidson
The Museum of the City of New York
Fashion
- Shireen Mahdavi
University of Utah
Islam
- John Mangan
Yale University
Child Prodigies
- Jennifer Marchant
Middle Tennessee State University
Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936)
Verne, Jules (1828–1905)
- James Marten
Marquette University
Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues
- Waldo E. Martin Jr.
University of California, Berkeley
Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Scottsboro Boys
- Mary Ann Mason
University of California, Berkeley
Children's Rights
Divorce and Custody
Stepparents in the United States
- Susan J. Matt
Weber State University
Jealousy and Envy
- Linda C. Mayes
Yale University
Gesell, Arnold (1880–1961)
- Velma McBride Murry
Center for Family Research, Athens, Georgia
Teenage Mothers in the United States
- Caroline Hinkle McCamant
University of California, Berkeley
Baby Farming
Child Saving
Diapers and Toileting
- Alexis McCrossen
Southern Methodist University
Sunday
- Patricia A. McDaniel
Public Health Institute, Berkeley, California
Shyness
- Ray McDermott
Stanford University
Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)
- Chris McGee
Illinois State University
Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling Series Books
- Brian Patrick McGuire
Roskilde University, Denmark
Convent Schools (Cathedral Schools)
Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536)
- Sally G. McMillen
Davidson College
Infant Feeding
- Jay Mechling
University of California, Davis
Child-Rearing Advice Literature
Toilet Training
- Richard Meckel
Brown University
Infant Mortality
- Signe Mellemegaard
University of Copenhagen
Salzmann, Christian Gottbilf (1744–1811)
- Bernard Mergen
George Washington University
Street Games
- Joav Merrick
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Israel
Israel
- Laura Mihailoff
University of California, Berkeley
Flappers
Juvenile Court
Youth Gangs
- Nara Milanich
University of California, Davis
Latin America: Colonialism
- Andrew Thompson Miller
University of Michigan
African-American Children and Youth
- Steven Mintz
University of Houston
Parenting
- Brian L. Mishara
University of Quebec at Montreal
Suicide
- Jeffrey P. Moran
University of Kansas
Sex Education
- Steven Noll
University of Florida
Mental Illness
- Katharine Norris
American University
Binet, Alfred (1857–1911)
- Ellen Nørgaard
The Danish University of Education
Freinet, Célestin (1896–1966)
Neill, A. S. (1883–1973)

Stephen O'Connor
New York, New York
New York Children's Aid Society

Jürgen Oelkers
University of Zürich
Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)

James Oles
Wellesley College
Levitt, Helen (b. 1913)

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Infant Sexuality

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Religious Revivals
Youth Ministries

Ulf Palmenfelt
Gotland University, Sweden
Opie, Iona and Peter

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Gymnastics
Physical Education

Halina Pasierbska
Bethnal Green Museum of
Childhood, United Kingdom
Piggy Bank
Toy Trains

Bissera V. Pentcheva
Columbia University
Madonna, Orthodox

Martin S. Pernick
University of Michigan
Eugenics

Anne-Nelly Perret-Clermont
Université de Neuchâtel, Switzerland
Piaget, Jean (1896–1980)

Anna L. Peterson
University of Florida
*Latin America: Wars in Central
America*

Paula Petrik
George Mason University
Juvenile Publishing
Toy Technology

Mary Anne Pitman
University of Cincinnati
Homeschooling

Hans Pols
University of Sydney
Child Study
Mental Hygiene

Heather Munro Prescott
Central Connecticut State University
Adolescent Medicine

Stephen J. Rebori
West Hollywood, California
Theme Parks

Kimberly A. Redding
Carroll College
Fascist Youth

James W. Reed
Rutgers University
Birth Control

Henrik Reeh
University of Copenhagen
Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940)

William J. Reese
University of Wisconsin, Madison
Education, United States

Richard A. Reiman
South Georgia College
Youth Agencies of the New Deal

Jacqueline S. Reinier
California State University
Breaching
Discipline

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Western Washington University
Compulsory School Attendance

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Free University of Amsterdam,
Netherlands
History of Childhood: Europe

Nathan Roberts
University of Manchester, United
Kingdom
Public Schools: Britain

Stephen Robertson
University of Sydney, Australia
Megan's Law(s)

Rebecca Rogers
Université Marc Bloch—Strasbourg,
France
Girls' Schools

Hugo Röling
University of Amsterdam,
Netherlands
Fear

Don Romesburg
University of California, Berkeley
Baby Boom Generation

Linda W. Rosenzweig
Chatham College
Friendship
Grandparents
Siblings

Mary Logan Rothschild
Arizona State University
Girl Scouts

John L. Rury
University of Kansas
Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling
Commercial Curriculum

Patrick J. Ryan
University of Texas at Dallas
Hammer v. Dagenhart
Pierce v. Society of Sisters

Ingegerd Rydin
Halmstad University, Sweden
Television

- Jon L. Saari
Northern Michigan University
China
- Lynn Sacco
University of California, Santa Barbara
Venereal Disease
- Philip Lane Safford
Kent State University
Special Education
- Bengt Sandin
Linköping University, Sweden
Social Welfare: Comparative Twentieth-Century Developments
- Philippe Savoie
Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, Paris, France
Lycée
- Inon I. Schenker
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
AIDS
- Steven Schlossman
Carnegie Mellon University
Dentistry
Homework
- Pia Schmid
Martin-Luther-Universitaet-Wittenberg, Germany
Basedow, Johann Bernbard (1724–1790)
- Kirsten F. Schmidt
Søllerød Museum, Denmark
Dolls
- Peter Schouls
Simon Fraser University
Dewey, John (1859–1952)
- Kelly Schrum
George Mason University
Bobby Soxers
Teenagers
Teen Magazines
- Ellen Schrupf
Telemark University College, Norway
Child Labor in the West
- Samuel Scolnicov
The Folger Shakespeare Library
Plato (427–348 B.C.E.)
- Victoria Sears
Barnard College
Potter, Beatrix (1866–1943)
- Anne Elisabeth Sejten
Roskilde Universitet, Denmark
Fénelon, François (1651–1715)
- Diana Selig
Claremont McKenna College
Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924)
Parents Magazine
- Jack L. Seymour
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary
Sunday School
- Peggy A. Shifflett
Radford University
Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States
- Wendy Sigle-Rushton
London School of Economics
Foundlings
- Shira Silverman
Merchant's House Museum, New York, NY
Halloween
Indoor Games
Infant Toys
Teddy Bear
- Arlene Skolnick
New York University
Beyond the Best Interests of the Child
- Linda Smolak
Kenyon College
Anorexia
- Claire E. Smrekar
Vanderbilt University
Magnet Schools
- Karen E. Spierling
University of Louisville
Protestant Reformation
- Margaret A. Spratt
California University of Pennsylvania
YWCA and YMCA
- John C. Spurlock
Seton Hill University
Love
- Peter N. Stearns
George Mason University
Comparative History of Childhood
Hyperactivity
Posture
Self-Esteem
Sleep
- Deborah C. Stearns
Montgomery College
Anger and Aggression
Grief, Death, Funerals
Guilt and Shame
- Dionne P. Stephens
Center for Family Research, Athens, Georgia
Teenage Mothers in the United States
- Richard Stevens
The Open University, United Kingdom
Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994)
- Traian Stoianovich
Rutgers University
Eastern Europe: Balkans
- Norbert Störmer
University of Applied Sciences Zittau/Görlitz, Germany
Comenius, Johann Amos (1592–1670)
- Martha Ellen Stortz
Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary
Christian Thought, Early

- Victor L. Streib
Ohio Northern University College of Law
Juvenile Justice: United States
- Frank J. Sulloway
University of California, Berkeley
Birth Order
- Jan Susina
Illinois State University
Children's Literature
- Sonja L. Taylor
George Mason University
International Organizations
- Mark Tebeau
Cleveland State University
Accidents
- Deborah Thom
University of Cambridge
Isaacs, Susan (1885–1948)
- Joseph T. Thomas Jr.
California State University, Northridge
Twain, Mark (1835–1910)
- Barrie Thorne
University of California, Berkeley
Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood
- James T. Todd
Eastern Michigan University
Watson, John B. (1878–1958)
- Kim Tolley
Los Altos, California
Academies
- Melissa Geisler Trafton
University of California, Berkeley
ABC Books
Homer, Winslow (1836–1910)
- Daniel Tröhler
Research Institute for the History of Education, Zurich, Switzerland
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1746–1827)*
- William H. Tucker
Rutgers University—Camden
Burt, Cyril (1883–1971)
- George W. Tuma
San Francisco State University
Lord of the Rings and J. R. R. Tolkien
- Kathleen Uno
Temple University
Japan
Mothering and Motherhood
- Hendrika Vande Kemp
Clinical Psychologist, Annandale, Virginia
Baumrind, Diana (b. 1927)
- René van der Veer
Leiden University, Netherlands
Bowlby, John (1907–1990)
- Abigail A. Van Slyck
Connecticut College
Children's Spaces
Summer Camps
- Pier Paolo Viazzo
University of Turin, Italy
Abandonment
- JoEllen McNergney Vinyard
Eastern Michigan University
Parochial Schools
- Andrew Wachtel
Northwestern University
Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia
- Diane Waggoner
The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California
Carroll, Lewis (1832–1898)
Greenaway, Kate (1846–1901)
- Glenn Wallach
Horace Mann School, New York
Student Government
- Sheldon Watts
Cairo, Egypt
Epidemics
- Harold S. Wechsler
University of Rochester
SAT and College Entrance Exams
- Lynn Y. Weiner
Roosevelt University
La Leche League
- Eric Weisbard
Experience Music Project
Rock and Roll
- Jessica Weiss
California State University, Hayward
Fathering and Fatherhood
- Susan B. Whitney
Carleton University, Canada
Communist Youth
- Parnel Wickham
Dowling College
Retardation
- Jacqueline S. Wilkie
Luther College
Hygiene
- David Wolcott
Miami University of Ohio
Police, Children and the Zoot Suit Riots
- Jacqueline H. Wolf
Ohio University
Wet-Nursing
- Larry Wolff
Boston College
Child Abuse
Oliver Twist
Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie
- Roberta Wollons
Indiana University Northwest
Dependent Children

Jackie Wullschlager
Financial Times (London)
Andersen, Hans Christian
(1805–1875)

Jubal C. Yennie
EdSolutions, Inc.
Charter Schools

Geraldine Youcha
Independent Scholar
Child Care: United States

Jeffrey T. Zalar
Valparaiso University
Holocaust

Martin Zerlang
Copenhagen University
Parades
Zoos

Arthur Zilversmit
Lake Forest College
Dewey, John (1859–1952)

Nurith Zmora
Hamline University
Orphanages

Michael Zuckerman
University of Pennsylvania
Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)

Outline of Contents

This topical outline was compiled by the editors to provide a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society. Individual entries along with primary source documents found in Volume 3 are organized by broad category, thereby offering teachers and readers an informed map of the field and an alternate entry point into the content of the encyclopedia.

Many subjects studied in the history of children and childhood cross thematic and disciplinary lines and articles on this list often appear in more than one category. For example, “Abduction” is listed under Law and Institutions; Child Advocacy, Protection, Politics; and Contemporary Childhood. “Hyperactivity” can be found in the categories Education and Schooling and Health, Medicine, and Disease.

The categories below are not listed in alphabetical order. Instead, topics are grouped together by curriculum, an order customary in the fields within the history of childhood. Individual articles are listed alphabetically and documents are listed chronologically. Because topics are not in alphabetical order, please consult the master list of topics that appears directly after this paragraph.

HISTORY AND THEORIES OF CHILDHOOD
CHILDHOOD IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
CHILDREN IN HISTORY
PARENTING AND FAMILY RELATIONS
EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING
PLAY, MUSIC, AND ENTERTAINMENT
MATERIAL CULTURE AND CHILDREN'S SPACES
RACE AND GENDER
PSYCHOLOGY
CHILD ADVOCACY, PROTECTION, AND POLITICS
LAW AND INSTITUTIONS
ECONOMICS AND WORK
INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION
RELIGION, RITUALS, AND CELEBRATIONS
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD
ADOLESCENCE AND TRANSITIONS TO ADULTHOOD
HEALTH, MEDICINE, AND DISEASE
BODY AND SEXUALITY
CONTEMPORARY CHILDHOOD

HISTORY AND THEORIES OF CHILDHOOD

Ariès, Philippe (1914–1984)
Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.)
Basedow, Johann Bernhard (1724–1790)
Burt, Cyril (1883–1971)
Child Development, History of the Concept of
Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536)
Dewey, John (1859–1952)
Enlightenment, The
History of Childhood: Europe
History of Childhood: United States
Locke, John (1632–1704)
Medieval and Renaissance Europe
Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1746–1827)
Plato (427–348 B.C.E.)
Play
Progressive Education
Protestant Reformation
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778)
Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood
Theories of Childhood
Theories of Play
Vygotsky, L. S. (1896–1934)
Wright, Henry Clarke (1797–1870)
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke, 1693
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762
Primary Source: Excerpt from “The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis” by Sigmund Freud, 1910
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Schools of To-Morrow* by John Dewey, 1915
Primary Source: Excerpt from “Conditioned Emotional Reactions” by John B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner, 1920

CHILDHOOD IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Abduction in Modern Africa
Africa
Ancient Greece and Rome: Overview
Ancient Greece and Rome: Self-Formation
Aristocratic Education in Europe
Australia
Brazil: Contemporary
Brazil: History
British Colonialism in India
Canada
Child Labor in Developing Countries
China
Communist Youth
Comparative History of Childhood
Early Modern Europe
Eastern Europe: Balkans
Eastern Europe: Poland
Enlightenment, The
Globalization
India and South Asia
International Organizations
Islam
Israel
Japan
Juvenile Justice: International
Latin America: Overview
Latin America: Colonialism
Latin America: Wars in Central America
Medieval and Renaissance Europe
Middle East
New Zealand
Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF

Primary Source: United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959

Primary Source: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Child Soldiers Global Report*, 2001

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, 2002

CHILDREN IN HISTORY

Baby Boom Generation

Fascist Youth

Hitler Youth

Holocaust

Infancy of Louis XIII

Infant Rulers

Scottsboro Boys

Victory Girls

Youth Activism

Zoot Suit Riots

PARENTING AND FAMILY RELATIONS

Abandonment

Adoption in the United States

Anger and Aggression

Artificial Insemination

Baby Boom Generation

Baby Farming

Baby-Sitters

Bastardy

Baumrind, Diana (b. 1927)

Birth Order

Bowlby, John (1907–1990)

Child Care: In-Home Child Care

Child Care: United States

Child-Rearing Advice Literature

Child Study

Conception and Birth

Discipline

Divorce and Custody

Egg Donation

Family Patterns

Fathering and Fatherhood

Fear

Fertility Drugs

Foster Care

Freud, Anna (1895–1982)

Gesell, Arnold (1880–1961)

Godparents

Grandparents

Guilt and Shame

Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924)

Incest

Infant Feeding

In Vitro Fertilization

Jealousy and Envy

Klein, Melanie (1882–1960)

Love

Madonna, Orthodox

Madonna, Religious

Madonna, Secular

Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)

Mothering and Motherhood

Multiple Births

Nursery Schools

Obstetrics and Midwifery
Orphanages
Orphans
Parenting
Parents Magazine
Parent-Teacher Associations
Same-Sex Parenting
Scientific Child Rearing
Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act
Siblings
Sonography
Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)
Stepparents in the United States
Surrogacy
Teenage Mothers in the United States
Toilet Training
Watson, John B. (1878–1958)
Wayland, Francis (1796–1865)
Wet-Nursing
Primary Source: Excerpt from a Letter from William Penn to His Wife and Children, 1682
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762
Primary Source: A Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to His Son Ted, Advice and News, 1901
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Christian Nurture* by Horace Bushnell, 1847
Primary Source: A Letter from Rufus W. Bailey to His Daughters at School, 1857
Primary Source: A Letter from Jeanette Hulme Platt to Samuel C. Damon, 1861
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs, 1861
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young* by Jacob Abbott, 1871
Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Souls of Black Folk* by W.E.B. DuBois, 1903
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Schools of To-Morrow* by John Dewey, 1915

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

ABC Books
Academies
Adolescence and Youth
Age and Development
Age Grading
Alcott, Bronson (1799–1888)
American Indian Schools
Ancient Greece and Rome: Self-Formation
Aristocratic Education in Europe
Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.)
Basedow, Johann Bernhard (1724–1790)
Bilingual Education
Binet, Alfred (1857–1911)
Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
Campus Revolts in the 1960s
Charter Schools
Child Guidance
Child Prodigies
Children's Libraries
Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling
Comenius, Johann Amos (1592–1670)
Commercial Curriculum
Common Schools
Compulsory School Attendance
Convent Schools (Cathedral Schools)
Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536)
Dewey, John (1859–1952)
Discipline
Dr. Seuss (1904–1991)
Education, Europe
Education, United States
Fénelon, François (1651–1715)
Francke, Aug. Hermann (1663–1727)

Freinet, Célestin (1896–1966)
 Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm August (1782–1852)
 Girls' Schools
 Grammar School
 Great Depression and New Deal
 GutsMuths, J. C. F. (1759–1839)
 Gymnasium Schooling
 Head Start
 Herbart, J. F. (1776–1841)
 High School
 Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and the
 Homeschooling
 Homework
 Hyperactivity
 Intelligence Testing
 Interscholastic Athletics
 IQ
 Isaacs, Susan (1885–1948)
 Junior High School
 Kindergarten
 Latin School
 Literacy
 Locke, John (1632–1704)
 Lycée
 Magnet Schools
 Mann, Horace (1796–1859)
 Manners
 Montessori, Maria (1870–1952)
 Music Education
 Neill, A. S. (1883–1973)
 Nursery Schools
 Open Air School Movement
 Parent-Teacher Associations
 Parochial Schools
 Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1746–1827)
 Physical Education
 Pierce v. Society of Sisters
 Plato (427–348 B.C.E.)
 Private and Independent Schools
 Progressive Education
 Public Schools: Britain
 Radio
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778)
 SAT and College Entrance Exams
 School Buildings and Architecture: Europe
 School Buildings and Architecture: United States
 School Choice
 School Desegregation
 School Shootings and School Violence
 School Vouchers
 Special Education
 Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)
 Student Government
 Sunday School
 Title IX and Girls' Sports
 Urban School Systems, The Rise of
 Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools
 Vygotsky, L. S. (1896–1934)
 Wayland, Francis (1796–1865)
 Wright, Henry Clarke (1797–1870)
Primary Source: *Republic* by Plato, 370–65 B.C.E.
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke, 1693
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762
Primary Source: Excerpt from *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, 1801
Primary Source: Excerpt from “A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School” by Catharine E. Beecher, 1841

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Christian Nurture* by Horace Bushnell, 1847

Primary Source: Lesson Eight from *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader* by William Holmes McGuffey, 1879

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Schools of To-Morrow* by John Dewey, 1915

Primary Source: *Meyer v. State of Nebraska*, 1923

Primary Source: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954

Primary Source: English Language Education for Immigrant Children, California Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998

PLAY, MUSIC, AND ENTERTAINMENT

Baden-Powell, Robert (1857–1941)

Barbie

Baseball

Basketball

Bicycles and Tricycles

Bobby Soxers

Boxing

Boy Scouts

Cars as Toys

Charivari

Child Prodigies

Child Stars

Church, Charlotte (b. 1986)

Collections and Hobbies

Construction Toys

Disney

Dolls

Drugs

Flappers

Girl Scouts

Gulick, Luther (1865–1918)

GutsMuths, J. C. F. (1759–1839)

Gymnastics

Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling

Indoor Games

Infant Toys

Interscholastic Athletics

Juvenile Publishing

Lord of the Rings and J.R.R. Tolkien

Media, Childhood and the

Movies

Music Education

Opie, Iona and Peter

Organized Recreation and Youth Groups

Parades

Pets

Play

Playground Movement

Proms

Radio

Rock and Roll

Sandbox

Spears, Britney (b. 1981)

Sports

Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)

Street Games

Summer Camps

Sunday

Teddy Bear

Teen Drinking

Television

Temple, Shirley (b. 1928)

Theme Parks

Theories of Play

Tintin and Hergé

Toy Soldiers (Tin Soldiers)

Toy Technology
 Toy Trains
 Toys
 Vacations
 Youth Culture
 YWCA and YMCA
 Zoos

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* by Jane Addams, 1909

Primary Source: Children's Bureau Pamphlet #189, *Public Dance Halls*, 1929

MATERIAL CULTURE AND CHILDREN'S SPACES

Advertising
 Baden-Powell, Robert (1857–1941)
 Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940)
 Bicycles and Tricycles
 Child Care: In-Home Child Care
 Children's Spaces
 Collections and Hobbies
 Construction Toys
 Consumer Culture
 Cosmetics
 Diapers and Toileting
 Fashion
 Furniture
 Guns
 Infant Toys
 Media, Childhood and the
 Pacifier
 Pets
 Photographs of Children
 Piggy Bank
 Pram
 Radio
 Sandbox
 School Buildings and Architecture: Europe
 School Buildings and Architecture: United States
 Spears, Britney (b. 1981)
 Summer Camps
 Swaddling
 Teddy Bear
 Television
 Theme Parks
 Toy Soldiers (Tin Soldiers)
 Toy Technology
 Toy Trains
 Toys
 Vacations

RACE AND GENDER

African-American Children and Youth
 American Indian Schools
 Bilingual Education
 Boyhood
 Brazil: History
 Breeching
 Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas
 Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling
 Dolls
 Fashion
 Female Genital Mutilation
 Fénelon, François (1651–1715)
 Gendering
 Girlhood

Girls' Schools
Girl Scouts
Native American Children
School Desegregation
Scottsboro Boys
Slavery, United States
Title IX and Girls' Sports
Twain, Mark (1835–1910)
Urban School Systems, The Rise of
Women's Colleges in the United States
Work and Poverty
Primary Source: Excerpt from *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* by Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1552
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs, 1861
Primary Source: Excerpt from *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* by Lucy Larcom, 1889
Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Souls of Black Folk* by W.E.B. DuBois, 1903
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Adolescence* by G. Stanley Hall, 1904
Primary Source: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954
Primary Source: English Language Education for Immigrant Children, California Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998

PSYCHOLOGY

Adolescent Medicine
Age and Development
Anger and Aggression
Anorexia
Baumrind, Diana (b.1927)
Binet, Alfred (1857–1911)
Birth Order
Bowlby, John (1907–1990)
Bühler, Charlotte (1893–1974)
Burt, Cyril (1883–1971)
Child Development, History of the Concept of
Child Guidance
Child Psychology
Child-Rearing Advice Literature
Child Study
Emotional Life
Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994)
Fear
Freud, Anna (1895–1982)
Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)
Gendering
Gesell, Arnold (1880–1961)
Grief, Death, Funerals
Guilt and Shame
Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924)
Healy, William (1869–1963)
Infant Sexuality
Isaacs, Susan (1885–1948)
Jealousy and Envy
Klein, Melanie (1882–1960)
Love
Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)
Mental Hygiene
Mental Illness
Parenting
Parents Magazine
Recovered Memory
Retardation
Scientific Child Rearing
Self-Esteem
Shyness
Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)

Watson, John B. (1878–1958)

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Adolescence* by G. Stanley Hall, 1904

Primary Source: Excerpt from “The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis” by Sigmund Freud, 1910

Primary Source: Excerpt from “Conditioned Emotional Reactions” by John B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner, 1920

CHILD ADVOCACY, PROTECTION, AND POLITICS

Abduction

Addams, Jane (1860–1935)

Age of Consent

Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)

Brace, Charles Loring (1826–1890)

Century of the Child

Child Abuse

Child Labor in the West

Child Pornography

Child Prostitution

Children’s Defense Fund

Children’s Rights

Child Saving

Compulsory School Attendance

Dependent Children

Ex Parte Crouse

Foundlings

Gulick, Luther (1865–1918)

Guns

Head Start

Hine, Lewis (1874–1940)

Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States

Key, Ellen (1849–1926)

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

Mortara Abduction

National Child Labor Committee

New York Children’s Aid Society

Organized Recreation and Youth Groups

Orphan Trains

Playground Movement

Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act

Social Settlements

Social Welfare: Comparative Twentieth-Century Developments

Social Welfare: History

Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues

Tinker v. Des Moines

Twenty-Sixth Amendment

U.S. Children’s Bureau

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF

Violence Against Children

War in the Twentieth Century

White House Conferences on Children

Youth Agencies of the New Deal

YWCA and YMCA

Primary Source: *Ex parte Crouse*, 1839

Primary Source: Excerpt from “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” by W. T. Stead, 1885

Primary Source: Excerpt from a Report on Child Labor in New York City Tenements by Mary Van Kleeck, 1908

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* by Jane Addams, 1909

Primary Source: Children’s Bureau Pamphlet #189, *Public Dance Halls*, 1929

Primary Source: United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959

Primary Source: Excerpt from *In re Gault*, 1967

Primary Source: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Child Soldiers Global Report*, 2001

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, 2002

LAW AND INSTITUTIONS

Abandonment
Abduction
Addams, Jane (1860–1935)
Adoption in the United States
Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)
Apprenticeship
Bastardy
Bellotti v. Baird
Beyond the Best Interests of the Child
Birth Control
Birth Order
Brace, Charles Loring (1826–1890)
Brazil: History
Child Guidance
Children's Rights
Child Saving
Common Schools
Communist Youth
Delinquency
Dependent Children
Divorce and Custody
Eugenics
Ex Parte Crouse
Foster Care
Great Depression and New Deal
Hammer v. Dagenhart
Healy, William (1869–1963)
Holocaust
Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States
Infant Rulers
Inheritance and Property
In re Gault
Juvenile Court
Juvenile Justice: International
Juvenile Justice: United States
Law, Children and the
Lindbergh Kidnapping
Megan's Law(s)
Orphanages
Orphans
Orphan Trains
Pierce v. Society of Sisters
Placing Out
Police, Children and the
Social Welfare: Comparative Twentieth-Century Developments
Social Welfare: History
Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
Stepparents in the United States
Tinker v. Des Moines
Twenty-Sixth Amendment
U.S. Children's Bureau
Welfare Reform Act (1996)
Youth Agencies of the New Deal
Youth Gangs

Primary Source: Isaiah Thomas's Indenture Papers, 1756

Primary Source: *Ex parte Crouse*, 1839

Primary Source: Excerpt from a Report Issued by the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909

Primary Source: *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 1918

Primary Source: *Meyer v. State of Nebraska*, 1923

Primary Source: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954

Primary Source: Excerpt from *In re Gault*, 1967

Primary Source: Excerpt from California Megan's Law, 1996

Primary Source: English Language Education for Immigrant Children, California Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998

ECONOMICS AND WORK

Allowances

Apprenticeship

Baby Farming

Baby-Sitters

Child Labor in Developing Countries

Child Labor in the West

Child Stars

Church, Charlotte (b. 1986)

Commercial Curriculum

Consumer Culture

Economics and Children in Western Societies: From Agriculture to Industry

Economics and Children in Western Societies: The Consumer Economy

European Industrialization

Fertility Rates

Great Depression and New Deal

Hammer v. Dagenhart

Hine, Lewis (1874–1940)

Industrial Homework

Inheritance and Property

National Child Labor Committee

New York Children's Aid Society

Placing Out

Slavery, United States

Street Arabs and Street Urchins

Temple, Shirley (b. 1928)

Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools

Work and Poverty

Working Papers

Primary Source: Isaiah Thomas's Indenture Papers, 1756

Primary Source: Two Interviews with English Workhouse Children from the *Ashton Chronicle*, 1849

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs, 1861

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Germinal*, Émile Zola, 1885

Primary Source: Excerpt from *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* by Lucy Larcom, 1889

Primary Source: Excerpt from a Report on Child Labor in New York City Tenements by Mary Van Kleeck, 1908

Primary Source: *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 1918

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION

African-American Children and Youth

Apprenticeship

Child Care: In-Home Child Care

Child Labor

Children's Spaces

Economics and Children in Western Societies: From Agriculture to Industry

European Industrialization

Social Welfare

Play

Playground Movement

Social Settlements

Street Games

Urban School Systems, Rise of

Work and Poverty.

Primary Source: Two Interviews with English Workhouse Children from the *Ashton Chronicle*, 1849

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Germinal*, Émile Zola, 1885

Primary Source: Excerpt from *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* by Lucy Larcom, 1889

Primary Source: Excerpt from a Report on Child Labor in New York City Tenements by Mary Van Kleeck, 1908

Primary Source: *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 1918

RELIGION, RITUALS, AND CELEBRATIONS

Baptism
Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah
Birthday
Breeching
Catholicism
Charivari
Child Witch
Christian Thought, Early
Circumcision
Communion, First
Confirmation
Convent Schools (Cathedral Schools)
Early Modern Europe
Godparents
Grief, Death, Funerals
Halloween
Islam
Judaism
Manners
Mortara Abduction
Naming
Parochial Schools
Perpetua, Saint
Proms
Protestant Reformation
Religious Revivals
Rites of Passage
Sunday
Sunday School
Wayland, Francis (1796–1865)
Youth Ministries
YWCA and YMCA
Primary Source: Matthew 2, King James Bible, 1611
Primary Source: Kings 1:3, 15–28, King James Bible, 1611
Primary Source: The Qur'an, 2:233, 4:11, Pickthall translation, 1930
Primary Source: Excerpt from a Letter from William Penn to His Wife and Children, 1682
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Christian Nurture* by Horace Bushnell, 1847
Primary Source: *Meyer v. State of Nebraska*, 1923

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

ABC Books
Andersen, Hans Christian (1805–1875)
Autobiographies
Bible, The
Carroll, Lewis (1832–1898)
Children's Literature
Comic Books
Dr. Seuss (1904–1991)
Dumas, Alexandre (1802–1870)
Fairy Tales and Fables
Frank, Anne (1929–1945)
Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling
Juvenile Publishing
Keene, Carolyn
Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936)
Little Women and Louisa May Alcott
Lord of the Rings and J.R.R. Tolkien
Oliver Twist
Opie, Iona and Peter
Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie
Potter, Beatrix (1866–1943)
Sendak, Maurice (b. 1928)
Series Books
Teen Magazines

Tintin and Hergé
 Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia
 Twain, Mark (1835–1910)
 Verne, Jules (1828–1905)
 Wizard of Oz and L. Frank Baum
Primary Source: Matthew 2, King James Bible, 1611
Primary Source: Kings 1:3, 15–28, King James Bible, 1611
Primary Source: The Qur'an, 2:233, 4:11, Pickthall translation, 1930
Primary Source: “Before the Birth of One of Her Children” by Anne Bradstreet, c. 1645
Primary Source: “Rosalie and Hetty” from *Little Ferns for Fanny's Little Friends* by Fanny Fern (Sarah Willis), 1854
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Ragged Dick* by Horatio Alger, 1868
Primary Source: Lesson Eight from *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader* by William Holmes McGuffey, 1879
Primary Source: “Sleep, Sleep, Happy One” by Christina Rossetti, c. late nineteenth century
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Tarzan of the Apes* by Edgar Rice Burroughs, 1914
Primary Source: “Stormy Nights” by Robert Louis Stevenson, 1922

REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

Advertising
 Autobiographies
 Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940)
 Bible, The
 Boyhood
 Cassatt, Mary (1844–1926)
 Child Pornography
 Children's Literature
 Comic Books
 Ewald, Wendy (b. 1951)
 Frank, Anne (1929–1945)
 Geddes, Anne
 Girlhood
 Greenaway, Kate (1846–1901)
 Gutmann, Bessie Pease (1876–1960)
 Hine, Lewis (1874–1940)
 Homer, Winslow (1836–1910)
 Images of Childhood
 Japanese Art, Contemporary
 Levitt, Helen (b. 1913)
 Lindbergh Kidnapping
 Little Women and Louisa May Alcott
 Lolita
 Madonna, Orthodox
 Madonna, Religious
 Madonna, Secular
 Mann, Sally (b. 1951)
 Mothering and Motherhood
 Oliver Twist
 Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie
 Pets
 Photographs of Children
 Sendak, Maurice (b. 1928)
 Smith, Jessie Willcox (1863–1935)
 Sonography
 Street Arabs and Street Urchins
 Victorian Art
Primary Source: “Before the Birth of One of Her Children” by Anne Bradstreet, c. 1645
Primary Source: “The Barefoot Boy” by John Greenleaf Whittier, 1855
Primary Source: A Letter from Jeanette Hulme Platt to Samuel C. Damon, 1861
Primary Source: Excerpt from *Ragged Dick* by Horatio Alger, 1868
Primary Source: “Sleep, Sleep, Happy One” by Christina Rossetti, c. late nineteenth century

ADOLESCENCE AND TRANSITIONS TO ADULTHOOD

Adolescence and Youth
 Adolescent Medicine

Age of Consent
Anorexia
Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah
Bellotti v. Baird
Bobby Soxers
Bundling
Campus Revolts in the 1960s
Cosmetics
Dating
Delinquency
Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994)
Flappers
Frank, Anne (1929–1945)
Gymnasium Schooling
Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924)
Healy, William (1869–1963)
High School
Hitler Youth
Junior High School
Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood
Menarche
Proms
Puberty
Rites of Passage
Smoking
Spears, Britney (b. 1981)
Teenage Mothers in the United States
Teenagers
Teen Drinking
Teen Magazines
Teen Pregnancy
Youth Activism
Youth Culture
Youth Gangs

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Adolescence* by G. Stanley Hall, 1904

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* by Jane Addams, 1909

Primary Source: Children's Bureau Pamphlet #189, *Public Dance Halls*, 1929

HEALTH, MEDICINE, AND DISEASE

Accidents
Adolescent Medicine
AIDS
Anorexia
Artificial Insemination
Baby Farming
Birth Control
Birth Defects
Child-Rearing Advice Literature
Children's Hospitals
Conception and Birth
Contagious Diseases
Dentistry
Diapers and Toileting
Drugs
Egg Donation
Epidemics
Eugenics
Fertility Drugs
Fertility Rates
Hygiene
Hyperactivity
Infant Feeding
Infant Mortality
In Vitro Fertilization
La Leche League

Mental Illness
 Multiple Births
 Obstetrics and Midwifery
 Pediatrics
 Physical Education
 Polio
 Posture
 Recovered Memory
 Retardation
 Scientific Child Rearing
 Sex Education
 Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act
 Sleep
 Smoking
 Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)
 Sudden Infant Death Syndrome
 Suicide
 Teen Drinking
 Vaccination
 Venereal Disease
 Violence Against Children
 Wet-Nursing

Primary Source: Excerpt from a Report Issued by the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Report on the Physical Welfare of Infants and Mothers*, 1917

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, 2002

BODY AND SEXUALITY

Abduction
 Adolescence and Youth
 Age of Consent
 AIDS
 Anorexia
 Bellotti v. Baird
 Birth Control
 Bundling
 Child Abuse
 Child Pornography
 Child Prostitution
 Circumcision
 Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling
 Cosmetics
 Dating
 Female Genital Mutilation
 Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)
 Gymnastics
 Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation
 Hygiene
 Incest
 Infancy of Louis XIII
 Infant Sexuality
 Lolita
 Mann, Sally (b. 1951)
 Masturbation
 Menarche
 Pedophilia
 Posture
 Puberty
 Sex Education
 Sexuality
 Spears, Britney (b. 1981)
 Swaddling
 Tattoos and Piercing
 Teen Pregnancy

Venereal Disease

Victory Girls

Primary Source: Excerpt from “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” by W. T. Stead, 1885

Primary Source: Excerpt from “The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis” by Sigmund Freud, 1910

Primary Source: Excerpt from California Megan’s Law, 1996

CONTEMPORARY CHILDHOOD

Abduction

Abduction in Modern Africa

Advertising

AIDS

Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)

Anorexia

Artificial Insemination

Baby Boom Generation

Baumrind, Diana (b.1927)

Birth Control

Brazil: Contemporary

Charter Schools

Child Abuse

Child Care: In-Home Child Care

Child Care: Institutional Forms

Child Care: United States

Child Pornography

Drugs

Egg Donation

Fertility Drugs

Fetal Imaging

Globalization

Guns

Head Start

Hyperactivity

In Vitro Fertilization

Intelligence Testing

International Organizations

IQ

Juvenile Justice: International

Latin America: Wars in Central America

Magnet Schools

Mann, Sally (b. 1951)

Megan’s Law(s)

Multiple Births

Pedophilia

SAT and College Entrance Exams

School Choice

School Shootings and School Violence

School Vouchers

Smoking

Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues

Sonography

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome

Suicide

Surrogacy

Teenage Mothers in the United States

Teen Drinking

Teen Pregnancy

Violence Against Children

War in the Twentieth Century

Welfare Reform Act (1996)

Primary Source: Excerpt from California Megan’s Law, 1996

Primary Source: English Language Education for Immigrant Children, California Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998

Primary Source: Excerpt from *The Child Soldiers Global Report*, 2001

Primary Source: Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, 2002



Abandonment

Child abandonment, mostly in the form of exposing newborn babies either in the wilderness or in public places where they could be noticed, is a widespread theme in religious and imaginative literature. Famous examples include Moses, who was rescued by Pharaoh's daughter, and many gods and heroes of classical mythology, from Zeus and Oedipus to the twins Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, who were found and suckled by a wolf. Similar stories have been reported from societies all over the world. The Yaudapu Enga of New Guinea, for instance, have a narrative tradition that includes supernatural beings who take abandoned children and rear them to live privileged lives. Such a pervasiveness in myths and folktales is, however, no proof that abandonment was widely practiced in real life. One may also wonder whether most deserted infants were actually rescued, as the happy ends of legendary tales would seem to suggest. These issues are the subject of intense debate among historians and other scholars.

The Kindness of Strangers

Until the mid-1980s historians and anthropologists broadly agreed that in most premodern societies, including ancient and medieval Europe, infanticide was an important means of population regulation. They also maintained that exposure, rather than outright killing, was the most common method of disposing of unwanted babies, thereby implying that abandonment was tantamount to infanticide. This view was challenged in 1988 by John Boswell in his influential book *The Kindness of Strangers*, which traces the history of child abandonment in Western Europe from late antiquity to the Renaissance. Boswell did not deny that in the ancient world abandonment was widespread. His analysis of a large body of literary, legal, and ecclesiastical sources confirmed that abandonment was not confined to deformed babies or infants born of incestuous and other forbidden relationships; legitimate children, too, were likely to be given up by parents who desired to limit family size. This led him to estimate

that in the first three centuries C.E. urban Romans abandoned 20 to 40 percent of their children through exposure. According to Boswell, however, the same evidence also indicated that most of them were rescued. Since in the ancient world there were no institutional arrangements for abandoned children, they owed their survival to what Latin sources called *aliena misericordia*, or the "kindness of strangers" who found and raised the unwanted children. Although some FOUNDLINGS doubtless became slaves, most of them were apparently granted the status of foster children. Childless couples, or parents who had lost some of their offspring, were especially keen to retrieve exposed babies and raise them.

Boswell's picture of child abandonment as an efficient and almost painless mechanism of redistribution, whereby families with a surplus of children surrendered some of them to parents who had too few or none at all, has been criticized on various grounds. It has been argued, in particular, that his contention that most exposed children did not die is too rosy, for survival clearly depended on a combination of lucky circumstances, such as being discovered before harm had been done and being placed with a woman who had fresh milk to give. Nevertheless, Boswell's point that child abandonment should not be conflated with infanticide, whatever its death toll, is supported by ethnographic studies that emphasize that in many cultures it makes a crucial difference that abandoning parents do not actually take the child's life and therefore give the baby a chance to survive. These studies also show that abandonment does not always end in death. Even in supposedly infanticidal societies such as the Netsilik Eskimo society, in which abandonment was frequent, the infant's crying was a message to other members of the group that they might save the infant and adopt it if they wished.

Indeed, in much of Europe as well as in many other societies, abandonment was actually regarded as an alternative to infanticide. This distinction is crucial to understanding

Christian attitudes toward abandonment. Like Jews and Muslims, and in contrast to the Greeks and Romans, Christians believed that infanticide was murder and condemned it resolutely. On the other hand, abandonment was treated less harshly. Sharing the views of philosophers like Epicurus, Musonius, and the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo, who had been the only ancient writers to object to abandonment, early Christian moralists initially had denounced child abandonment as equivalent to infanticide. From the fourth century on, however, early disapproval was replaced by an attitude of resignation and sympathy toward those who abandoned their children as a result of destitution or other misfortune. Whereas infanticide and abortion were strongly condemned throughout the Middle Ages, no councils or ecclesiastical authorities prohibited abandonment. A similar attitude prevailed in medieval Muslim society.

Public Intervention

From about 1000 to 1200 abandonment was less common than it had been previously, but in the thirteenth century it was again on the increase owing to the combined effects of demographic growth and adverse economic circumstances. It was in this period that foundling homes were created in a number of Italian cities, as part of a more general movement by civic institutions, both religious and secular, to handle social problems. Until the nineteenth century foundling homes were regarded as important manifestations of Christian piety. One major reason behind the establishment of these hospices devoted to the care of abandoned children was the fear that infants might be killed by unwed mothers who wanted to avoid social disapproval or by parents made desperate by poverty and hunger.

The appearance of foundling homes was a turning point in the history of child abandonment; the private “kindness of strangers” was superseded by public intervention. The Italian model spread rapidly to Portugal, Spain, and France, though not immediately to the rest of Europe. A new chapter in the history of the care of infants opened during the ENLIGHTENMENT, when a second generation of foundling homes was established in many European cities, especially in the Catholic countries and in Russia. This institutional development paralleled a dramatic growth in the number of exposures, which in early nineteenth-century Europe reached a height of perhaps 150,000 per year. Such a massive increase was due partly to rising rates of illegitimate births, and partly to the growing tendency of impoverished parents to trust the care of at least some of their offspring to the foundling hospitals. In most parts of Europe admission was supposedly restricted to illegitimate children, but large numbers of unentitled children were smuggled into the hospitals through the “wheels,” revolving cradles that were arranged so as to allow people approaching from the street to introduce infants without being seen from within the building. Tokens of various kinds were often left as potential signs of identification, and it was not unusual for abandoning parents to return to

the hospital after a year or two to reclaim their children. However, the chances of finding them alive were slim, since it was rare for more than half the foundlings to survive the first year of life.

Although institutionalized abandonment made some inroads in northwestern Protestant Europe, by the early nineteenth century a striking contrast was clearly discernible between such countries as Prussia, England, Switzerland, and the United States, where newborns were seldom abandoned, and Russia and the Catholic countries of southern and central-eastern Europe, where mass abandonment was exerting a mounting pressure on foundling homes originally intended for a much lower number of children. During the course of the nineteenth century, the closure of the wheels began to be seen as the only way out of an increasingly unbearable situation. French hospitals were the first to make this move. By 1853 most wheels there had been shut, and in the second half of the century the French example was to be followed all over Europe.

The closure of the wheels resulted in a sudden and drastic decline of child abandonment, which helped to curb foundling mortality. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the abandonment of illegitimate children also began to fall, a change partly linked to the spread of contraception. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the classic form of child abandonment had virtually disappeared. The term *abandonment* is nowadays used to designate a different and much wider range of childhood experiences, including the few cases of infants and young children who are exposed, but also the predicaments of street children, victims of war, CHILD PROSTITUTES, children of refugee parents, and runaway children who actually abandon their parents and unhappy homes to escape from troubled environments.

See also: **Foster Care; Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States; Orphanages.**

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PIER PAOLO VIAZZO

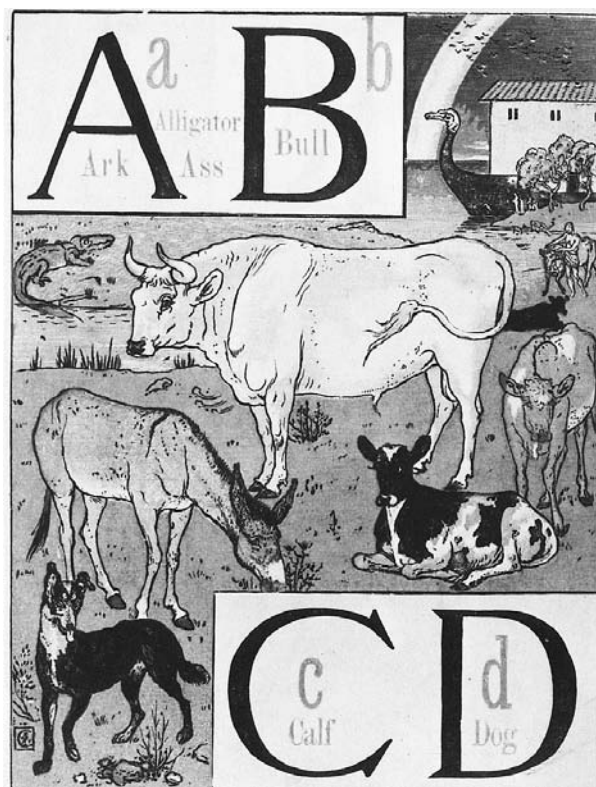
ABC Books

ABC (or abécédaire) books also have been known as *abcee-books*, *absey-books*, *abeces*, and other, similar, variations. In 1596 Shakespeare wrote in *King John* "that is question now, And then comes answer like an Absey booke." In 1751, when Denis Diderot mentioned the word *abécédaire* in his *Encyclopédie*, he defined it as an adjective that applied not only to books but also to people in the process of learning.

From the fifteenth century through the eighteenth century, the teaching of the Roman alphabet was associated with religious instruction. The primer, or book of prayer and religious instruction for students of all ages, often opened with a page of the letters of the alphabet, as well as a short catechism. Although not intended solely for children, these books became associated with simple teachings and those who were just learning. One of the earliest existing primers, published by Thomas Petyt in London around 1538, includes the alphabet, a table of vowels and syllables, prayers, and graces for meals. Petyt was under license to provide "The BAC [*sic*] bothe in latyn and in Englysshe." During this period in England, there was a distinction between the ABC, the first text, and the primer, the second text. *The ABC with the catechisme* (1549), the standard ABC book of its time, sold hundreds of thousands of copies during the next century.

Students also learned their alphabet from hornbooks, or letter boards, which were pieces of wood shaped like a paddle and hung by ribbon or twine threaded through a hole in the handle. To the paddle was affixed a letterpress sheet on which was printed the alphabet in both uppercase and lowercase. Eventually the alphabet was joined by the Lord's Prayer, an invocation to the Trinity, and often, the vowels, a table of syllables, and nine digits. The alphabet was generally preceded by a cross and therefore was called "Criss-Cross Rows." In England and America thin pieces of horn were used to protect the paper, leading to the name *hornbook*. The paddles were used by active school children as rackets and they became known as *battledores*, after the game of battledores and shuttlecocks. In 1746 Benjamin Collins invented a format for a folding cardboard booklet and called it a *battledore*; these small printed texts quickly replaced hornbooks.

Other forms of teaching the alphabet included needlework samplers and even gingerbread. As early as the fourteenth century, gingerbread, printed with designs like letters, was sold in stalls in open markets. There are many references to *book gingerbread*, and by the eighteenth century



A page from *Noah's Ark ABC* (c. 1872), by Walter Crane, an important and innovative illustrator of the late nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, ABC books became a way to teach children the alphabet and introduce them to new subjects, such as types of animals or the names of common household items.

gingerbread was shaped like hornbooks and printed with letters.

Initially the alphabet appeared in table form. Eventually, however, illustrations were added to the letters, as a mnemonic aid. The earliest known printed English pictorial alphabet is John Hart's *A methode, or comfortable beginning for all unlearned* (1570). This text paired each letter with a woodcut illustration of an object that began with that letter. From this point on, illustrations became a standard part of ABC books.

In 1658, in Nuremberg, the educational theorist JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS printed in Latin and German the *Orbis sensualium pictus*. In 1659 Charles Hoole printed an English version. This text is thought to be the first picture book designed specifically for children. The text, in both Latin and the vernacular, includes an alphabet in which each letter is illustrated by an animal that makes a sound beginning with that letter (e.g., the letter B is illustrated by a lamb "baaing").

Juvenile literature was given fuel by JOHN LOCKE's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) in which he recommended that children learn by enticement instead of fear of

punishment. “There may be Dice and Playthings, with the Letters on them, to teach Children the Alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of Learning a Sport to them.”

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Publications

Eighteenth-century England was a time of immense growth in the publication of children’s books, addressing both secular and religious subjects. One London bookshop was even called the “GREAT A, little a AND BIG BOUNCING B.” T. W.’s *A Little Book for Little Children* (c. 1702), very different from Thomas White’s earlier book by the same name, was an eight-page reading and spelling book that depicts a tiny picture and verse for each letter. It starts with a verse that underwent many variations in later years: “A was an Archer and shot at a Frog, B was a blind Man and led by a Dog.” Publisher John Newbery was a key figure in the growth of juvenile literature. He opened a children’s bookshop in St. Paul’s Churchyard in 1745 and ran it for twenty-two years, during which time he published, sold, and perhaps wrote at least fifty original books for children. One of his first books was *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744), which included the alphabet (in both uppercase and lowercase) linked with woodcuts and verses about types of children’s games. Interestingly, the letters and images have no direct relation; instead, the letters function almost as page numbers. Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, Massachusetts, was responsible for copying many of Newbery’s books and introducing them to an American audience.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, literature for children also flourished in the form of chapbooks. These cheaply produced, small format booklets (about 2 1/2 x 4 inches), with crudely illustrated images, were carried by chapmen or peddlers, in their packs, and sold for a penny or less. Traditionally for adults, by the end of the eighteenth century there were many written for children that included the alphabet.

In America the *New England Primer* (c. 1690) was the most widely used schoolbook during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Compiled by the English bookseller and writer Benjamin Harris during a brief stay in Boston, the exact publication date is uncertain but the earliest known existing copy is dated 1727. It contains an illustrated alphabet with rhymes, an “Alphabet of Lessons for Youth” (which uses sentences from the Bible for each letter), other prayers and religious lessons, and the catechism. Published until at least 1886, it was altered slightly by each publisher.

By the nineteenth century, printing technology made possible complex pictures and color printing in text for children. The purpose of alphabet books changed from using familiar images and verses as mnemonic aids to using the alphabet as a framework to introduce new subjects, including farm animals, exotic animals, birds, children’s names, the

BIBLE and virtues, vocations, common objects, railways, the seaside, patriotic symbols, and the world’s nations. Patriotism was a popular subject in America at the end of the Civil War (*Union ABC*, 1864) and in England at the end of the Crimean War (*Alphabet of Peace*, 1856). Edmund Evans, a London publisher, was especially concerned with improving the quality of children’s picture books, and published the works of such authors as Walter Crane, KATE GREENAWAY, and Ralph Caldecott. Nineteenth-century children’s magazines serialized alphabets, publishing a few images each month. Although the subjects were extremely varied in the nineteenth century, the formats chosen were relatively simple—generally a single word or rhyming verse accompanying an image for each letter.

Modern Publications

In the twentieth century authors continued to expand the variety of subjects addressed by ABC books and explored the style as much as the subject. Some authors used extended narratives of one sentence per letter, or even one story or book per letter, such as Wanda Gág’s *ABC Bunny* (1933) and Angela Banner’s *Ant and Bee* (1950) *Richard Scarry’s Cars and Trucks from A to Z* (1990) is a whole story that is just one long sentence. Scarry’s book is shaped like a car, which demonstrates growing interest in the physical format of books. Pop-up books from this period include Robert Crowther’s *The Most Amazing Hide-And-Seek Alphabet Book* (1978) and Robert Sabuda’s *A Christmas Alphabet* (1994). Alliterative verses, as seen quite early in “Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers” from *Peter Pipers Principles of Practical Pronunciation* (1813), have found modern versions in Graeme Base’s *Animalia* (1986) and MAURICE SENDAK’s *Alligators All Around* (1962).

Art was a growing theme toward the end of the twentieth century; it was featured in Lucy Micklethwait’s *I Spy: An Alphabet in Art* (1992), museum alphabets by Florence Cassen Mayers, George Mendoza’s *Norman Rockwell’s Americana ABC* (1975), and in Caroline Desnoëttes’s *Le musée des Animaux* (1997). Some other noteworthy twentieth-century alphabets include C. B. Falls’s *ABC Book* (1923), Margaret Tempest’s *An ABC for You and Me* (1948), Tasha Tudor’s *A is for Annabelle* (1954), Garth Williams’s *Big Golden Animal ABC* (1957), *Brian Wildsmith’s ABC* (1962), *Dr. Seuss’ ABC* (1963), and William Steig’s *Alpha Beta Chowder* (1992).

The ABC book genre now includes texts that do not instruct but instead provide amusement for an audience already familiar with the alphabet. Some examples are nonsense alphabet books, such as DR. SEUSS’s *On Beyond Zebra* (1955) and *Aldiborontiphosskypborniostikos* (1820), printed by Dean and Munday of London. Books intended for an adult audience include David Hockney’s *Hockney’s Alphabet* (1991), George Cruikshank’s *A Comic Alphabet* (1836), and Man Ray’s *Alphabet pour adultes* (1970).

From Hart’s 1570 text to recent versions, some common themes emerge. Authors have explored the relation of letter

and image and have made decisions about the style and the case of letters. One continual challenge has been some of the difficult letters, especially X. Xerxes is a frequent stand-in, and authors have found ways to evade using it, even omitting the entire letter upon occasion. Hilaire Belloc's explanation for the letter in *A Moral Alphabet* (1899) was: "No reasonable little Child expects / A Grown-up Man to make a rhyme on X."

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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Abduction

The abduction of children for various purposes (ransom and extortion, work, sex, power, custody) has historically been a

feature of many societies. In the twentieth century, these abductions became more widely publicized and came to carry very great symbolic power. As childhood itself became an enormously potent focus for social and personal anxieties, child abduction registered as a threat to ordinary people as well as to the prominent individuals to whom it once seemed restricted. The perception of the frequency of such abductions has increased markedly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, largely because childhood seems to have become more vulnerable and less sheltered while a



The kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh Jr. on March 1, 1932, was the most notorious child abduction in modern history. This photograph, taken on the baby's first birthday, appeared in newspapers around the world in the days after his kidnapping. © Bettman/CORBIS.

number of issues relating to the family have become important public concerns. The mass media have also learned to use child abduction as an issue that evokes strong emotions. In the recent past in the United States and Europe, accelerating divorce, women's growing role outside the home, and public fears about PEDOPHILIA have put a spotlight on child abduction, while dissatisfactions about class disparities in the developing economies of LATIN AMERICA has once again brought ransom abduction into international headlines.

Through most of human history and for the vast majority of people, child ABANDONMENT has been a far more serious social matter than the deliberate abduction of children. Nevertheless, in Europe and many parts of the Mediterranean world, among kings, nobles, and merchants, the abduction of children for reasons of state or alliance could be a serious means to usurp power or force large payments. And even among the general population brigandage, which often involved the threat of theft in property or children, could be a way to challenge power relationships. This kind of abduc-

tion was also practiced, on a group rather than individual basis, among native peoples in North America and Africa. Usually as a part of war strategy, the abduction of women and children was a means to augment population and undermine the strength of competing clan or tribal groups. European colonists in North America experienced some of these abductions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as native peoples sought to defeat their enemies by absorbing their children into their own culture.

Although they also raise questions about cultural and personal identity, modern forms of abduction have been overwhelmingly individual acts that prey on personal sentiments and attachments to children rather than challenges to cultural or political domination. Thus the most common form of child abduction in late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century America were kidnappings for ransom. In these cases, a child's safe return was predicated on the delivery of a large sum of money. The first such well-known abduction was of four-year old Charley Ross in 1874 in Phila-

delphia. But historically the case most closely associated with this type of crime, because of the enormous publicity it generated, was the abduction and murder of Charles Lindbergh Jr. in New Jersey in 1932. The child's father was aviator-hero Charles A. Lindbergh, the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic (in 1927) and his fame assured that the case would dominate world headlines for months. Ransom abductions exploited the modern Western family's attachments to children and strongly confirmed the cultural elevation of each child to the status of a precious, irreplaceable individual within the family.

Other forms of abduction also became prominent during this time. In the nineteenth century some children were abducted, usually briefly, for the purposes of begging or street entertainment, some ("Black Hand" abductions), as part of extortion demands by one crime group against another. Since the mid-nineteenth century, some abductions resulted from the desire of women to mother children they could not otherwise obtain. In the 1970s and 1980s, the abduction of the children of prominent business figures in Europe and the United States became a part of the operations of left-wing terror groups. (Such abductions also became common in Latin America at the end of the twentieth century.) The most famous of these was the abduction of the twenty-year-old newspaper heiress, Patricia Hearst, in Berkeley, California in 1974. This case lasted for several years, as the group of terrorists who kidnapped her (the Symbionese Liberation Army) engaged in a campaign against American institutions in which cause they enlisted their victim.

The most common modern form of abduction, and certainly the one with the most momentum, has been the abduction of children caught in custody disputes between parents or other family members. In these cases, children are prevented from returning to parents who either share legal custody, or are entitled to visitation rights with the child. Children in such cases are often pawns in a tense battle between parents or other family members, and they are sometimes abducted to protect them from what one parent may believe is abuse or neglect on the part of the other parent. Parental abductions became very numerous in the last third of the twentieth century, as divorce rates skyrocketed in Western societies, but they have been well known and amply documented throughout the century. At their most extreme, such abductions can result in parents not seeing their children for years. But the vast majority of these family disputes usually involve short periods of time during which the child is absent from a parent's life. A recent variant of these family kidnappings has been those which involve international abductions, the consequence of disputes between parents of different nations and cultures. The international cases are often the most aggravated and frequently result in the complete severance of relations between the parent (usually the mother) from the life and activities of the child. The situation has led to a great deal of publicity and diplomatic activi-

ty, and the creation of the Hague Convention on International Child Abduction (1988) in an attempt to both prevent and mediate disputes of this kind among signatory nations.

By the end of the twentieth century, the number of parental abductions in the United States had grown very large (the number of serious parental abductions in the United States has been estimated as close to 150,000 cases each year), and its prominence as a social problem became intertwined with another old, but newly alarming form of child abduction—the abduction of children by strangers for sexual and sadistic abuse. Although such cases had been suspected before (for example, the abduction and murder of Robert Franks by Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb in 1924), by the 1970s and 1980s, several factors came together to bring these terrifying forms of abduction vividly into the public arena. These included widespread changes in sexual mores; the vastly expanded workplace participation of women with young children and attendant childcare problems; and the prominence of new victims' advocacy groups eager to pass protective legislation. Especially important in this regard were new laws introduced in the 1980s that required doctors and others invested with public authority to report all kinds of suspected CHILD ABUSE. Several cases of child abduction heavily covered by the media brought the issue to the public's attention: the kidnappings of Etan Patz (1979), Adam Walsh (1981), Kevin White (1984), Jacob Wetterling (1989), and Polly Klaas (1993). These cases, which took place in all parts of the country and in small towns as well as big cities, were a source of great alarm as the public discussion merged the various strands of the modern missing-children phenomenon into one public campaign. Children abducted by strangers (always a small number) and children abducted in custody disputes, together with runaways were all counted together as part of a newly hysterical fear about missing children.

The campaign created in the 1980s on behalf of missing children involved private foundations, as well as newly publicly funded institutions (the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 1984), and it was monitored by legislative committees, a new FBI registry, and in the media. Together these created elaborate parental fears about the vulnerability of all children in America, fears fanned by proliferating posters and billboards, missing-children advertisements on milk cartons and in home mailings, new kidnapping insurance and public finger-printing efforts, and the massive news coverage of suspected cases and television programming of real and invented kidnappings.

By the 1990s, some of the furor had subsided in the United States as new information gathered by the Justice Department about the actual prevalence of stranger abductions calmed an inflamed atmosphere. But a similar kind of hysteria enveloped a number of European countries, among them Belgium, France, and Germany. In these countries, and oth-

ers, a new concern with the prevalence of pedophile rings, and gruesome publicity about the discovery of the bodies of missing children spread alarm throughout European culture, hitherto largely unresponsive to the American issues of sexual stranger abductions. In 1996, 300,000 concerned Belgians gathered in a massive demonstration in Brussels to speak out against the perceived threat to their country's children, a threat they believed to have been mishandled by a corrupt police.

In the 1990s, the spread of the Internet and the possibilities that this seemed to offer for strangers to lure children from inside their own homes created a new kind of alarm about the safety of children. By the late twentieth century these fears about the safety of children was gathering in a number of places and around an assortment of issues, most of them centered on sexual exploitation. Child abduction seemed to be only the most fearsome of the many sexual dangers to which children now seemed exposed, such as sex rings in child-care centers, satanic rituals, and pedophilia in churches and other public places. The sexual exploitation of children, which is hardly a new phenomenon, became in the late twentieth century a startling symbol of parents' inability to protect their increasingly vulnerable children. Where in the past, only the rich or powerful were subject to abductions, today, all parents seem helpless before the possibility that their children, to whom they feel a deep emotional attachment, might be exploited, mutilated, or killed. The new fear haunts the early-twenty-first-century imagination, an imagination fed by a news and entertainment industry which has learned over the course of the twentieth century how best to titillate and shock the modern sensibility. Today, the child's place in that sensibility has been secured through the very threat to its well-being that child abduction seems to bring into every home.

See also: Abduction in Modern Africa; Divorce and Custody; Lindbergh Kidnapping; Mortara Abduction.

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PAULA S. FASS

Abduction in Modern Africa

During the last four decades of the twentieth century, the most notorious and widespread abductions of children in Africa have been closely associated with armed conflict in such countries as Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Uganda, among others. On the other hand, pervasive poverty, large demands for child labor, and the huge profits to be made by child-marketers have created a massive trade in African children within and outside of AFRICA. Some of the children sold in this network are abducted. Less visible but more persistent and equally deleterious, child abductions thrive in the context of a host of sociocultural practices.

In precolonial Africa, large-scale abductions of children occurred in the course of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries in West Africa, and in the eastern and central African Arab-Swahili slave trade, which peaked in the nineteenth century. In both cases, children were sold into slavery to lands beyond the continent. Traders created intricate conduits for conveying abducted populations from the interior to the coastal trading houses. Perpetrators included individual traders, brokers, royal houses, and European partners, the latter stationed at the coast.

Additionally, localized ethnic conflicts produced limited and intermittent abductions of children as war hostages during the precolonial period. The common practice was to integrate the children into the families and social structures of their captors. The children were looked upon as additional social capital vital for productive and reproductive activities.

As illustrated in the case of Zena (discussed below), the practice of abducting child brides has evolved beyond customary sanction and has increasingly attracted greater attention in judicial circles. There is also an emerging phenomenon of infant abductions traced to desperate childless women. Children of unsuspecting mothers in hospitals and crowded townships become easy targets of such desperate women. It appears also that there is a market for abducted children among childless women who feign motherhood upon returning to their homes. A breakdown of extended family networks has robbed childless women of the benefit of access to communal child-rearing responsibilities. This may have forced the women to child abduction.

Elsewhere, amidst political instability and the emergence of religious cults, there are reports of child abductions associated with ritual sacrifice. Whether the children are targeted for their innocence, and hence ritual purity, for their vulnerability, or as vital social capital, adults, in their efforts to transact political, economic, or social-religious contracts, brutalize children.

Abducted Child Soldiers

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, civil wars constitute the single major cause of child abduction in Africa. The scale, complexity, and brutality of modern, armed-conflict-related child abductions dwarf the precolonial situation by far. Both rebel forces and governments perpetrate the abductions. Abducted children serve as domestics, porters, messengers, and general camp followers. Girls, some as young as ten, become sex slaves for the soldiers. Boys, and some girls, are forced to perform armed combat duties.

While internal precolonial abductions sought to integrate their victims into the captors' society, modern abductions seek to isolate, separate, brutalize, and intimidate the children into malleable errand boys and girls. Thus, in addition to being forced into regular combat, abducted children are also forced to commit rape, torture, and killings, sometimes directed at fellow children. This serves as initiation into a life of violence, and serves as warning of what will befall them should they become recalcitrant, or try to run away. In order to elicit and sustain such criminal responses from the children, some captors are reported to drug the children. Thus children become both perpetrators and victims of violence.

Present-day concentration of settlement has made children more vulnerable to abductions. Schools are popular hunting grounds for rebel armies. For example, between 1994 and 1998, the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda abducted about 8,000 children, most of them schoolchildren. In April 2001, the UN High Commission for Human Rights reported that more than one-third of the more than 26,000 abduction cases recorded so far in Uganda were children under the age of eighteen. Some were as young as nine. In 2002, most schools in northern Uganda had been shut down for fear of further abductions. In Angola, child soldiers were as young as eight.

The LRA is also said to sell children in exchange for arms and ammunitions. The resurgence of slavery, and the juxtaposition of child abduction and the trade in weaponry, constitute new variables in the child abduction syndrome. The cordial relations between the LRA and the Sudanese government imply government complicity in the trade in children.

Modern Africa has surpassed other regions in using children to fight its wars. This is a new development. Abducted children comprise an appreciable proportion of child soldiers. In some countries, including Sierra Leone, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), child soldiers have played pivotal roles in civil wars. For example, in the DRC, it has been claimed that child soldiers, referred to as *kadogo*, or little ones, constituted the majority of the rebel soldiers used to oust dictator Mobutu Sesse Seko in 1996.

Straddling an international military network, these child soldiers operated among Ugandan and Rwandese soldiers. The new regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo con-

tinues to use demobilized child soldiers on street patrols, while in rebel-held sections of the republic continuous child abductions have forced parents to pull their children out of schools. In Angola in 1994, 12 percent of the rebel Unita forces were children.

Trade in Children

The astronomical resurgence of a clandestine trade in children in West Africa is an open secret. Some of these children are abducted. The trade is especially rampant in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Gabon, Central Africa Republic, Mali, and Togo, countries that are not engaged in civil wars. This is a marked contrast to the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which fuelled wars that in turn provided war captives.

The current trade in children constitutes a wide network of porous, cross-border trade conduits including destinations in Europe, the Gulf states, and Lebanon. Demand for child labor in the domestic, sex, and drug trafficking networks, coupled with massive profits from these circuits, has revived, and massively expanded, child-kidnapping practices.

The majority of the children thus traded are girls, up to 95 percent in the Benin-Nigeria circuit. They are between the ages of seven and seventeen. Storage depots, office markets, and ships for transportation have been established to facilitate the disbursement of kidnapped and other enslaved children. In a 2002 debacle in Côte d'Ivoire, children abducted from Mali for employment in the cocoa sector were set free by the Ivorian government, but not before an international uproar. The government of Côte d'Ivoire was quick to blame immigrant Malian cocoa producers and residents from Burkina Faso for the abductions.

Child Bride Abductions

In the precolonial period, the general practice of forced marriage also involved the abduction of girls below the marriageable age, with or without the knowledge of their parents. In some regions, this practice had the social sanction of the community. In others, the practice was represented as jestful theatrics, implying that there was no forced removal and that the screaming bride was merely joking. While still evident, today the practice has been criminalized and in some cases the abducted child brides, or their parents if they are not party to the abduction, at least in theory have recourse to law. In fact, however, their legal position is ambiguous. This is demonstrated by an ongoing legal battle in Swaziland, which is complicated by the fact that the prospective bridegroom is a man of great social and political standing. In October 2002, eighteen-year-old Zena Mahlangu was abducted from school by two royal messengers to await marriage to thirty-four-year-old King Mswati III. The king is reported to have nine other wives. Zena is a victim of a convoluted practice still sanctioned by customary law but criminal under common law.

While historically the Swazi royal household was expected to consult with the families of prospective brides, this did not happen in Zena's case. More daunting is the fact that under Swazi law neither the king nor the queen can be arrested, sued, or prosecuted. Efforts to make the king a defendant seem unlikely to be successful. In a dramatic turn of events, press releases in late October 2002 stated that Zena Mahlangu had declared that she was ready to be married to the king and that she had settled into her new life. This change will likely bring the litigation to an end.

Modern child bride abduction is often occasioned by males' desire to marry a virgin in the belief that virgins are free from HIV/AIDS. The loss of their virginity upon marriage ensures that even if they flee from their unwanted marriages most of these girls would not return to their homes since this would bring dishonor to their families, and on their ethnic group as a whole. The juxtaposition of a modern scourge and an age-old practice render girl children even more vulnerable than before. So too do child and maternal deaths due to the undeveloped physiology of child mothers. Child marriages also increase school dropout rates among the girls, depriving them of economic independence in the long run.

To the victims, abduction is psychologically traumatic. The torture, killing, and exploitation of abducted children increasingly call into question the conscience and morality of a whole continent. The conniving of a cross-section of global participants, driven by struggles for political power, and by avarice, sexual depravity, and individual inadequacy, have created a horrifying milieu for a large number of African children. All abducted children are robbed of their childhood and most are blatantly exposed to an adult world of senseless killing.

See also: **Abduction; Child Labor in Developing Countries; Juvenile Justice: International; Soldier Children.**

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TABITHA KANOGO

Academies

From the revolutionary era to the late nineteenth century, academies were the dominant institution of higher schooling

in the United States. Academies generally served students between the ages of eight and twenty-five, providing a relatively advanced form of schooling beyond the elementary level. The Catholic order of the Ursulines founded the first academy for women in French-speaking New Orleans in 1727. Philadelphia's Franklin Academy received a colonial charter in 1753, and the Colonial Assembly introduced a bill to incorporate New Bern Academy in North Carolina in 1766. According to Henry Barnard, by 1850 there existed more than 6,100 incorporated academies across the United States, with enrollments nine times greater than those of the colleges.

Characteristics of Academies

Late eighteenth and nineteenth-century academies can be distinguished from other forms of higher schooling by their corporate structure, legal status, and by the breadth of their curricula. A school bearing the name *academy*, *seminary*, or *institute* differed from an entrepreneurial venture school by having some form of financial support other than tuition, in addition to articles of incorporation, and the oversight of a board of trustees. The trustees secured land and buildings for the institution, helped with fundraising, recruited and hired teachers, and supervised the public examinations of academy students. Because of this corporate support and governance, academies tended to enjoy a greater degree of financial stability and longevity than venture schools.

Like the many private venture schools in the nation's early years, academies offered a broad range of subjects in response to popular demand. Typically, institutions offered reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, classical languages, and the higher branches of "English" education, including the sciences, mathematics, composition, history, rhetoric, theology, and philosophy. Most academies also offered applied subjects on a pay-as-you-go basis, such as ornamental needlework, music, painting, drawing, navigation and surveying, and bookkeeping.

In contrast to the early Latin GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, which provided instruction to males and emphasized the classical languages, academies served a broader clientele. Both boys and girls attended academies, either in single-sex or in coeducational institutions where instruction was provided in separate departments. Students hailed from the families of farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen as well as professionals, plantation owners, and wealthy merchants.

Academy Expansion

Religious groups founded many of the earliest academies in both northern and southern colonies and in the southwest. Various teaching orders in the Roman Catholic Church established academies in the early seventeenth century, particularly in the Catholic colony of Maryland and in the French and Spanish territories. The Moravians opened a number of academies for women in the Mid-Atlantic states during the mid-eighteenth century. Irish Presbyterian ministers estab-

lished more than forty-four academies in prerevolutionary America to train students for the ministry in the middle and southern colonies.

During the decades following the American Revolution, the number of academies in the United States expanded. Many entrepreneurial venture schools were incorporated as academies during this era, and pre-existing academies broadened their curricula in response to community demand. By 1825, the New York Board of Regents had chartered a total of forty-six academies. Ohio incorporated approximately one hundred academies between 1803 and 1840, and Illinois chartered at least one hundred and twenty-five from 1818 to 1848. By the 1830s, there existed as many as twenty-four incorporated academies in Alabama and fifty-five in Virginia, and Texas had ninety-seven academies by 1850.

A number of factors contributed to the expansion of academies and the growth in academy enrollments in the nineteenth century, including Jacksonian politics, population growth, and the Second Great Awakening. Jacksonian political leaders argued in favor of distributing state benefits widely. Legislators in some states facilitated the incorporation process, making corporate charters more widely available. During the same period, state governments also increased the amount of financial support for academies, either in the form of funding or grants of land. Additionally, the first decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an enormous expansion in population, coinciding with a great migration to the western and southern regions of the country. This was the age of canal-building, town-building, and railroad construction; in many communities the establishment of an academy became a traditional feature of a town's internal improvements. Finally, the evangelical fervor of the Second Great Awakening, a period running roughly from 1795 to 1837, gave rise to collaborative educational enterprises among some Protestant denominations. In virtually every community during the 1820s and 1830s, Protestant evangelicals played an important role in the consolidation of free urban schooling and the establishment of academies to provide a form of higher education for women as well as men.

The local communities, individuals, and religious groups that organized and supported academies acted from diverse motivations. Throughout the nineteenth century, various community groups, individuals, and mercantile associations established academies to provide a form of higher schooling for their youth, train a skilled workforce, or increase the property values in their towns. Some communities founded academies as an alternative to the forms of higher schooling provided by dominant cultural groups. For example, the Catholic Institution in New Orleans actively promoted a radical political agenda among free children of color; the academies founded by African Americans in Mississippi provided literacy and racial uplift during the post-Civil War Reconstruction Era; the Chinese Western Military Academy in

California—together with its affiliates across the country—sought to empower young Chinese men by providing higher schooling and military training during a period when higher public schooling was denied to Chinese youth in that state.

The Transformation of Academies

In the post-Civil War era, different forms of higher schooling came into intense competition with each other. During the period immediately before and after the Civil War, some independent academies were absorbed into the expanding public education system. In New York, this process began in 1853, when the state legislature passed a law enabling neighboring school districts to unite for the purpose of establishing a local “academical department” or public HIGH SCHOOL. Local districts could establish academic departments either by organizing a new school or by adopting an existing academy. In some communities, the transformation from tuition-driven academy to public high school occurred within the context of a political struggle over the issue of providing tax-support for higher schooling.

Many independent academies continued to exist after 1870, and some communities and religious groups continued to establish new ones. However, as more towns established tax-supported high schools and more families paid the taxes necessary to support them, academies faced increasing pressure either to become public high schools themselves or to transform themselves into some other sort of institution that could continue to attract tuition revenue or other sources of public funding. When states established normal school systems in the 1860s and 1870s, they competed directly with existing academies that had provided much of the regional teacher training up to that time. Some academies met this challenge by successfully applying to become normal schools for their areas. Other academies sought to serve a particular student clientele by remaining independent private schools. Among this group, some institutions transformed themselves into independent colleges or into elite private preparatory schools. Others survived by emphasizing a particular form of schooling, such as religious training, education in the visual and performing arts, scientific and technical training, or compensatory schooling.

The academy movement left many historical legacies. Academies established an infrastructure of capital assets and political and financial support for higher schooling that continues to live on in both public schools and in alternatives to the public system. Academies provide a body of evidence for considering a number of current policy issues in education, including CHARTER SCHOOL and SCHOOL CHOICE policies, as well as broader issues of community-based schooling, teacher autonomy, school funding, local control, and issues of the roles of both church and state in education.

See also: **Common Schools; Convent Schools (Cathedral Schools); Girls' Schools; Latin School; Private and Independent Schools.**

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KIM TOLLEY

Accidents

Accidents have been a common feature of childhood in Western and non-Western cultures for much of human history, but their nature and location, as well as whom they affect, have shifted over time. There is a striking amount of continuity in the physical causes of children's mishaps; fire, falls, and being crushed by carriages or other vehicles are hazards that transcend time and place. The family dwelling has remained a common site of mishaps, especially for younger children. Contrary to being a haven—as the nascent middle class defined homes in the nineteenth century—dwellings may have been the site where children faced the most pernicious and intractable risks. Even so, over time, a bevy of new types of accidents have appeared and supplanted older dangers. For example, dangers such as electrical shock, automobile accidents, and accidents involving poisonous chemicals replaced hazards such as "laying over" (or rolling onto children sharing the parental bed) and those associated with caring for animals.

Children, of course, faced many dangers outside their homes, which increased during periods of rapid economic change, such as when the industrial revolution swept Europe and North America in the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, with the triumph of an urban society and especially the advent of the automobile, the dangers associated with public spaces, including particularly roads, increased in severity. For example, in modern automobile societies, car accidents have become the leading source of accidents to children—especially to TEENAGERS.

The Medieval Period

In medieval Europe, children faced a variety of hazards, including fire, animal bites, falling objects, drowning, scalding, laying over, or being crushed by a passing cart. These dangers appear to have varied little from rural to urban settings,

with fire posing perhaps the most dramatic threat, especially for infants. More than one-third of the children listed in coroner's inquests in medieval England died from fires in their cradles, and approximately one-fifth of the children under three died in house fires. To modern audiences, the image of a sow devouring a baby, which appears in Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale," borders on the bizarre, but it almost certainly reflected the common threat that animals posed to children—and one all too frequently recorded in official records.

In a pattern that has remained more or less constant from medieval times through the modern era, the home was the place of greatest hazard, especially for younger children. According to coroner's records from medieval England, most fatal childhood accidents occurred at home. About 49 percent occurred in a child's own home; approximately 20 percent occurred in other people's homes; 20 percent occurred in public places; and 12 percent occurred in bodies of water. Accidents tended to occur during the busiest part of a parents' day—early in the morning or at noon. Nearly half of all fatal accidents happened during the summer months, as families turned their attention toward the fields and their agricultural labors, suggesting that at least part of the cause for such mishaps can be attributed to parental neglect or moments of inattention.

In premodern Europe, most records of accidents come from parish and government records. Accidents constituted only a small portion of childhood mortality, estimated by demographers at between 30 and 50 percent for infants. They are also evidenced in lullabies and songs of the period. Death in childhood was so common in the period and accidents did not represent a chief cause, and thus were probably not of major concern to most families. Even so, basic child-rearing strategies reveal at least some concern about accidental death. SWADDLING was commonly practiced as a way of protecting children from "chills." It also may have been practiced to keep infants safe and immobile—unable to crawl into problems at home, or even out of the house onto streets. Paradoxically swaddling may have facilitated behaviors that actually may have endangered infants. For example, tossing babies from one person to another was a popular form of amusement—something easily accomplished with swaddled children—and one that frequently led to accidents.

As children grew older and stepped outside the protection of their parent's or caregiver's attentions, the dangers facing children changed and new dangers presented themselves. In medieval times, fire accounted for fewer accidental deaths among older children than among their younger siblings. Yet older children's mobility increasingly figured into serious accidents, with PLAY accounting for 65 percent of all fatal accidents. As children aged, they also stepped into the gender roles that would accompany them throughout their lives, and the dangers they faced began to be differentiated. For example, little girls tended to have more accidents in the

home and boys were more likely to have fatal mishaps while accompanying their fathers into the fields. Even so, home remained a site of persistent hazard, with 60 percent of boys and 79 percent of girls being injured in or very near the family dwelling. However, by the time that boys reached five or six, the majority of accidents they experienced occurred in the fields, often with tools, animals, and vehicles. By contrast, the home remained the most constant source of danger for girls until at least age eight or nine.

Industrialization

Industrialization brought dramatic changes to Western societies in the nineteenth century, reshaping both childhood and the nature of accidents. The introduction of a cash economy, and of mechanized factories and production processes, exposed everyone in society, including children, to entirely new dangers, as did rapidly changing urban settings, with their poor health conditions. Yet in these new urban and industrial environments, a host of other factors—such as high mortality rates, unprecedented rates of accidents for all workers, and extreme societal dislocation—childhood mishaps did not receive wide attention. When children's accidents did receive reformers' attentions, they did so in the context of broader efforts to address workplace safety, an increased focus on a wide range of issues associated with children's welfare, and concerns about deteriorating health conditions in urban settings.

The new cash economy drove children, and especially boys, into the paid labor force at earlier and earlier ages. For example, in England and the United States, industry made frequent use of children's labor, thus exposing them to new dangers. In Rhode Island, by 1801, one hundred children between four and ten years old worked at Slater's mill, cleaning raw cotton, tending spindles, removing and attaching bobbins, and knotting broken threads. In about the same period, in the coal mines of Lancashire, England, children under twelve accounted for as much as 25 percent of the labor force and suffered the same rash of injuries that struck their parents—fingers cut off by machinery, limbs and skulls crushed by vehicles, and fractures resulting from falls. Yet the presence of children under ten or twelve years of age in factories appears to have been a relatively short-lived phenomenon. By the 1870s, this practice became relatively rare in England and the United States. Reformers' efforts, an increased emphasis on schooling, the influx of adult immigrants, and automation in factories, among other things, all contributed to the decline of CHILD LABOR in manufacturing—and of children's propensity to be victims of factory accidents.

As industrial society emerged in the nineteenth century, children's exposure to dangerous conditions at home and in the community varied with their social class and ethnic or racial origins. The children of relatively poor families faced more hazards because of substandard housing and hazardous conditions, and because their parents had less time to moni-

tor them in the home, neighborhood, or at work—which these children encountered at younger ages than did those of the middle class. Likewise, economic and political refugees migrating to new homes faced dangerous treks to unfamiliar surroundings that exposed their children to a range of hazards. For example, the children of immigrants to New York City at the turn of the twentieth century were pushed outward into the streets from their overcrowded homes. These children discovered a host of delights and dangers; they played in freshly dug tunnels and rode subways. They experienced automobiles at ground level and saw electricity light their world. The streets—full of possibilities and dangers—were their world as much as home, parents, and school were.

At about this time, accidents in childhood slowly began to emerge as a broad societal concern. Individual family homes began to be viewed less as a safe haven from the world than as a place of danger. Already in 1897, Frances Fisher Wood noted in her landmark advice manual, *Infancy and Childhood*, that windows should be barred, open fires shielded, and stairways gated in order to protect children from hazards lurking in family dwellings. Even so, Wood devoted only this brief mention to accidents and as late as 1914 advice guru Dorothy Canfield Fisher made fun of those who took safety precautions in the home. Yet accidents were rapidly replacing disease as the leading cause of death for children early in the twentieth century United States. Indeed, by the 1910s, accidents were the single leading cause of death among children between five and fourteen years old, although among toddlers (one to four year olds) accidents did not eclipse influenza, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and diphtheria as the primary cause of death until the 1940s.

Not surprisingly, in the teens and 1920s, societal clubs, Progressive politicians, and workplace safety organizations, such as the National Safety Council, began to focus attention on dangers in the home. The responsibility for keeping children safe, not surprisingly, emerged in a gendered fashion, as home economists and others argued that women should manage households and their dangers in much the same way that their husbands managed the economy and safety in industry and the public sector.

Efforts to control these hazards shifted, though not completely, away from mothers and families beginning in the 1930s, when the National Safety Council and public health organizations began to collect statistics on accidents in the home and community, including especially the hazards of automobiles. President Herbert Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection was one of the first explicit recognitions of the rights held by children, including the right to health and to safe dwellings and schools. In 1960, the White House Conference on Children and Youth targeted accidents to children.

Technology

In the twentieth century, technology played a paradoxical role in the history of accidents. As new technologies, such as electricity and a related range of labor-saving appliances, became fixtures in homes and communities, the hazards faced by children and their families changed. Perhaps more than any other innovation, automobiles transformed the landscape of accidents. In Upton Sinclair's muckraking 1906 novel *The Jungle*, an automobile is responsible for killing a young child, and following World War II, fatal motor vehicle accidents became increasingly prevalent, so much so that by the 1970s motor vehicles were the major sources of accidental deaths to children.

Yet, as technology presented new dangers, new safety devices promised protection in a consumer society in which safety increasingly could be purchased in the burgeoning number of shopping malls. Already in the 1950s, consumers could purchase poisons, chemicals, and medicines protected by childproof caps. In the 1960s, safety restraints became common features in automobiles—one mandated in the United States by the federal government. In the 1970s, battery-operated smoke detectors made their way into the marketplace, and their use was also mandated in many legal codes. The United States government pushed these technological consumer solutions through various institutional means, such as the National Highway Safety Bureau (later the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration), which was established by the Highway Safety Act of 1966 and National Commission on Product Safety that resulted from the Consumer Product Safety Act of 1970. Such broad efforts often included a special focus on child safety, which led to the introduction of child car safety seats and labeling on games and toys of potential hazards to children. *Childproofing*—especially the home—became a buzzword as consumer and technological solutions to the problem of accidents in childhood proliferated late in the twentieth century.

By the late twentieth century, accidents remained the leading cause of childhood death in Western industrial countries, but efforts to control them achieved results and the rate of fatal accidents diminished. Even so, in the industrial world, childhood accidents continue to plague poor families significantly more than middle-class and wealthy families, and in the nonindustrial world childhood accidents take a distant back seat to more pressing concerns about disease, poverty, and war.

See also: **Infant Mortality.**

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MARK TEBEAU

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. See AIDS.

Addams, Jane (1860–1935)

Jane Addams, social reformer, settlement house director, and international peace activist, was born in Cedarville, Illinois, in 1860. She was the eighth child of John H. Addams, a business entrepreneur and Republican state senator. Her mother, Sarah Weber Addams, died during childbirth when Jane was two years old. As a young woman, Jane Addams aspired toward higher education and she graduated as valedictorian from Rockford Seminary in 1881. She entered Women's Medical College in Pennsylvania but withdrew during her first year due to health problems and emotional distress over her father's unexpected death.

After leaving medical school, Addams traveled throughout Europe as she pondered a suitable career. Like many educated, unmarried women of her era, Addams looked to social reform activities to fulfill her high professional ambitions. These burgeoning charitable and service endeavors allowed women to exercise their professional authority while remaining within the acceptable sphere of "women's work." Following an extended visit to East London's Toynbee Hall social settlement, she returned to the United States to found Hull-House, Chicago's famed social settlement, in 1889. Hull-House became the center of her social and political pursuits for the remainder of her life. She resided at Hull-House with her long-term companion, Mary Rozet Smith, and a cadre of progressive social reformers, activists, artists, and intellectuals who took up residence there.

Addams devoted her personal and professional life to improving the human condition through a blend of public sector activism, published writing, and community service. She committed herself to an array of social issues, including labor

reform, juvenile justice, public education, women's suffrage, and international peace. Frequently cited as the "mother of social work," Addams was elected as the first female president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1909. Her career also carried her far into the national and international political arena, where she advocated for women's suffrage, civil rights, and international peace. Among many major historical achievements, Addams was elected the first chairperson of the Women's Peace Party in 1915. That same year, she presided at the International Congress of Women in The Hague, Netherlands. She also founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and served as its leader from 1919 until her death in 1935. In 1931, Addams's work was honored with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize (which she received jointly with Nicholas Murray Butler).

Addams's ideology and reform activities were anchored in her deep concern for children and her firm belief in children's innate goodness. In her published writings and speeches, Addams insisted that children possessed a unique creative intellect and a spirit of adventure. Her book *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* condemned modern industrial society for corrupting children's nascent curiosity by exposing them to modern city vice while failing to provide appropriate recreational venues. Both of her autobiographical works, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910) and *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930), document the benefits of after-school clubs and supervised recreational opportunities for children's development and socialization.

Addams routinely voiced a particular set of concerns for working-class immigrant children and families. She believed that immigrant youth faced unjustifiable hardships stemming from poverty, acculturation, and the exploitation of their labor. As a leader in the Progressive CHILD-SAVING movement, she launched fervent state and national campaigns against CHILD LABOR and in favor of compulsory education. She also pressed for labor legislation that would allow working-class parents to spend more time with their children. Her drive to help women and children through protective legislation placed Addams and her colleagues in the center of controversies among the labor movement, the child savers, and some feminist groups.

Addams was also concerned about the plight of modern young women. In stark contrast to her own sheltered upbringing, she believed that the industrial city robbed young women of their innocence. Her work *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912) documents her deepest fears that young working-class women's unfulfilling low-wage work in factories or as domestics would eventually launch them into lives of prostitution. To address these concerns, she encouraged working-class girls to seek protection in a traditional domestic life of marriage and motherhood. Although this belief contradicted some of her outspoken feminist princi-

ples, her concern for young working-class women reflected her overarching quest to preserve the sanctity and innocence of youth.

Jane Addams's persistent community activism and work for social justice has left a long-standing imprint on American ideology and policies concerning children, youth, and families. The Hull-House museum in Chicago has preserved many artifacts and some of the original structure of Addams's famed social settlement. Her papers on peace and justice are housed at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection in Pennsylvania.

See also: **Juvenile Court; Juvenile Justice; National Child Labor Committee; Social Settlements; Social Welfare; U.S. Children's Bureau.**

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LAURA S. ABRAMS

Adolescence and Youth

The term *adolescence* derives from the Latin *adolescere*, "to grow up." The Random House Dictionary defines adolescence as "the process or condition of growing up; the growing age of human beings; the period which extends from childhood to manhood or womanhood; ordinarily considered as extending from fourteen to twenty-five in males, and from twelve to twenty-one in females." As a concept, adolescence has evolved in its biological, social, and psychological implications, but its most consequential evolution has occurred in adult perceptions of the norms and behavior of young people.

Throughout most of history, adolescence was unknown as a stage of life. Native societies have observed RITES OF PASSAGE signifying the emergence of young people from child-

hood into adulthood, but no concept of adolescence intervened between stages. In the classical world, ARISTOTLE recorded what now is known as adolescent development, that is, the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics in both males and females, but he and other ancients recognized only three distinct periods of life: childhood, youth, and old age. Among Romans the term *child* (*puer*) could be applied almost without regard to age, and through the Middle Ages it served as a demeaning label for any person of low social status. By the Renaissance, the establishment of schools for a somewhat larger proportion of the population helped to extend the period of childhood but still did not define a separate stage of adolescence because neither school attendance nor grade in school was based on age. Other factors inhibiting the evolution of distinct life stages included the brevity of total life span, the necessity for almost all people except elites to work, and the rigid social hierarchies that made most people, regardless of age, dependent on nobility.

The largely agrarian world of early modern Europe kept young people in a condition of semidependence, in which economic and personal status involved important contributions to the family economy but left the individual dependent on parents. Among lower classes in western (though less frequently in southern) Europe, England, and colonial America, many boys and girls in their teens were sent from their homes to work as employees for other families, a practice that served both economic and upbringing functions. Though the French word *adolescence* existed, the term *youth* (or its equivalent) was more pervasively applied to people in this semidependent condition. Some historians have posited that a YOUTH CULTURE, manifested by organizations and activities, existed to some extent in the eighteenth century. Moreover, in Europe and America at this time, adults—particularly religious leaders—expressed concern over presumed emotional and behavioral problems of young people and began to urge their education as preparation for future roles in the family and community.

The Formal Study of Adolescence

During the late eighteenth century and through the nineteenth century, biologists and physicians undertook more formal study of adolescent phenomena. European scientists researched aspects of physical growth such as the onset of MENARCHE in females and seminal emission among males. These works provided scientific and philosophical background when, in the 1890s, psychologists began investigating the abilities, behaviors, and attitudes of young people between the onset of PUBERTY and marriage. Their work marked the first emergence of adolescence as a formal concept.

The notion of youth as a time of sexual awakening and rebellion received particular expression in JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU's philosophical narrative, *Émile* (1762), which described the evolution of a noble boy into a civilized man. At

age fifteen or sixteen, according to Rousseau, a boy experiences crisis, and his mind is in such "constant agitation" that he is "almost unmanageable." With proper care and education, however, he learns to enjoy beauty and wisdom so that at the end of adolescence he is ready to marry and raise children.

At the same time as scientists and philosophers were developing the concept of adolescence, the industrialization of Western society placed new pressures on the process of growing up. Industrial capitalism and its attendant mechanization reduced the participation of children in the workforce, thereby diminishing the incidence of APPRENTICESHIP that formerly had characterized the youth of many people. Fewer young persons left home to go to work; more stayed in their parents' homes, often attending school. The removal of work and production from the household made the family more isolated, and, particularly among emerging middle classes, left moral responsibilities in the mother's sphere. Declining birth rates enabled middle-class families to place new values on children, viewing their worth in moral and emotional rather than practical and economic terms. Advances in nutrition and disease control quickened the process of sexual maturation. In the mid-eighteenth century the average age of menarche in America occurred at over sixteen; it dropped to just over fifteen by the end of the nineteenth century, but fell to twelve years and nine months by the end of the twentieth century. Urbanization, with its accompanying employment and entertainment opportunities, was also seen as creating threatening environments from which children needed to be protected. Girls could be sheltered at home, where they prepared for domestic adulthood, while boys were confined to school, where they learned skills needed for professional and community life. As a result, the semidependence that previously had characterized adolescence gave way to even more dependence.

Reacting to these trends, American psychologist G. STANLEY HALL, a pioneer in the study of children and their learning processes, gave adolescence its first full definition in *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, published in 1904. Widely read in the United States and Great Britain, Hall believed that the stresses and misbehavior of young people were normal to their particular time of life, because human development mirrored the evolution of civilized society. To Hall, just as the human race evolved from savagery to civilization, so too did each individual develop from a primitive to an advanced condition. Adolescence in the individual corresponded to, or recapitulated, the period of prehistory when upheaval characterized society and logical thinking began to replace instinct. Although later theorists rejected Hall's recapitulation scheme, much of his characterization of adolescence as a time of storm and stress endured.

A year after Hall's book appeared, SIGMUND FREUD published an essay in which he identified adolescence as a period when psychosexual conflicts could cause emotional upheaval, inconsistent behavior, and vulnerability to deviant activity. Freud related much of adolescent behavior to genital developments in puberty, which, he said, induced a need among adolescents to become emotionally independent of parents. This need induced rebellion accompanied by anxiety, moodiness, and aggressive behavior. Concern over self-image, often influenced by social interaction, also comprised one of the challenges of adolescence.

By the mid-twentieth century, the leading theorist of adolescence was the neo-Freudian ERIK ERIKSON, who constructed a staged sequence of lifetime ego development consisting of eight psychosexual, or "identity," crises. How successfully an individual resolves the identity crisis at each stage is determined by the ego strength created in previous stages combined with influences from the cultural environment of the current stage. To Erikson, adolescence, with its marked physiological changes and sexual awareness, is a period of experimentation that creates a crisis between the self concept created in earlier stages and role diffusion, which involves relationships with peers and institutions. The task that an adolescent faces in resolving the crisis requires integrating self-knowledge amid judgments emanating from contemporaries and peers. At various times during this crisis resolution, the adolescent has to decide whether to rebel or submit to prevailing cultural institutions. Throughout the twentieth century, the qualities of anxiety and awkwardness resulting from radical physiological development and sexual awareness that Hall, Freud, and Erikson emphasized pervaded popular as well as scientific definitions of adolescence.

Peer Cultures Resulting from Schooling and Age Grading

In the modern era in both the United States and Europe, adolescence was a middle-class phenomenon, and it received particular impetus from the expansion of secondary schools. Established in part as a means to create a literate work force in industrial society, the American HIGH SCHOOL, English boarding school, and German GYMNASIUM helped construct a new image of youth. Age grading (i.e., grouping students into classes based on their age), which began in lower schools in the mid-nineteenth century, narrowed the age range of students likely to be attending the high school that spread in the late nineteenth century. Though only a minority of youths enrolled in secondary schools until the 1930s, the process of concentrating TEENAGERS in high schools spurred the formation of youth peer groups and enabled adults to attempt the control of young people during their supposedly stormy years. Several Western countries passed COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE laws that kept children in school until they were fourteen or older. Such laws had a strong impact in the United States, where by 1930 nearly half of all youths aged fourteen to twenty were high school students. Enroll-

ment of rural youths and African Americans remained relatively low (only one-sixth of American blacks attended high school in the 1920s). But large proportions of immigrants and native-born whites of foreign parents attended high school. Educational reformers developed curricula to prepare young people for adult life, and an expanding set of extracurricular organizations and activities, such as clubs, dances, and sports, heightened the socialization of youths in peer groups. As a result, secondary school and adolescence became increasingly coincident.

In Great Britain, fewer youths attended high school than in the United States, mainly because a more rigid class structure made state-funded high schools primarily a realm for middle-class adolescents. Working-class youths, especially males, grew accustomed to using the streets to resist institutional means to regulate them. Nevertheless, by 1900 British youth workers were attempting to socialize adolescents into law-abiding, productive adults by herding them into educational institutions and supervised extracurricular activities. The resistance by youths in Great Britain, the European continent, and the United States to adult attempts at control—resistance that galvanized fears of juvenile DELINQUENCY—provoked educators and psychologists to distinguish adolescence even more distinctly as a life stage needing strict supervision.

Beyond the structural changes, the age consciousness of Western society that intensified in the early twentieth century sharpened the distinctiveness and peer socialization of adolescence. By the 1920s, most adolescents spent more waking hours with peers than with family. In the United States, extended opportunities for time and space away from parental eyes, combined with new commercial entertainments such as dance halls, amusement parks, and MOVIES fortified a unique youth culture. These amusements attracted adolescent peer groups in Europe and England as well.

This culture of youths ironically—or perhaps understandably—raised consternation among and conflict with adults who fretted over adolescents' independence in selecting friends, activities, dress styles, and sexual behavior that eluded adult supervision. The American practice of DATING, which by the 1920s had replaced adult-supervised courtship and which was linked to high schools and new commercial amusements, was just one obvious new type of independent adolescent behavior. (Dating was slower to develop in Europe because adolescents there lacked the disposable income generally available to American youths.) The proliferation of automobiles and the opportunities they provided for youthful activity and privacy was another.

Equally important was heightened adult concern over the supposed emotional problems that adolescents experienced, particularly their awakening SEXUALITY and penchant for getting into trouble. Indeed, in the adult mind sexuality stood at the center of adolescence. Male youths especially

were seen as having appetites and temptations that lured them into MASTURBATION and HOMOSEXUALITY. Young women's sexuality could allegedly lead to promiscuity and prostitution. In general, adults worried that adolescents were growing up too rapidly. As a result, psychologists and physicians in the 1920s insisted that adolescence necessitated exacting control, not only by the self but also by parents, doctors, educators, social workers, and the police. Moreover, the combination of peer association—sometimes in gangs—with the stresses and challenges to adult authority that characterized adolescence contributed to a rising concern over juvenile delinquency. The street gangs of American cities and rowdy behavior of British hooligans reinforced adult desire to supervise young people's behavior because in theory every adolescent was a potential delinquent. Thus JUVENILE COURTS, reform schools, and other CHILD-SAVING institutions were created to remedy the problems that adolescents, in their unhealthy precocity, allegedly experienced and caused.

Adolescence in the Depression and World War II

During the Depression years of the 1930s, adolescents underwent new strains but also encountered new opportunities. The potential for intergenerational conflict increased as scarcity of jobs and low pay thwarted young people's personal ambitions and delayed their ability to attain economic and social independence. Adult control was challenged, even in Germany where members of the Hitler Jugend (HITLER YOUTH) resisted Nazi party leaders. In the United States, joblessness and lack of income forced many young people to stay in school longer than had been the case in previous generations. By 1940 49 percent of American youths were graduating from high school, up from 30 percent in 1930. Though adolescents in the 1930s had less disposable income than those in the 1920s, they still influenced popular culture with their tastes in music, dance, and movies.

Exigencies of World War II disrupted the lives of European adolescents, but in the United States an expanding war economy brought three million youths between ages fourteen and seventeen, about one-third of people in this age category, into full or part-time employment by 1945. The incomes that adolescents earned helped support a renewed youth culture, one that idolized musical stars such as Glenn Miller and Frank Sinatra and created new clothing styles such as that of the BOBBY SOXER. Their roles in the national economy and mass culture complicated the status of adolescents, who now were caught between the personal independence that employment and war responsibilities provided and the dependence on family and institutional restrictions that the larger society still imposed on them.

Postwar Teen Culture

After the war, the proportion of adolescents in the population in Western countries temporarily declined. Children reaching teen years just after World War II had been born

during the Depression, when a brief fall in birth rates resulted in a smaller cohort of people reaching adolescence. Furthermore, a marriage boom followed the war, drastically reducing the age at which young people were entering wedlock, especially in Great Britain and the United States where the median age at marriage for women declined from twenty-six to twenty-three and twenty-three to twenty-one respectively. By 1960, 40 percent of American nineteen year olds were already married.

Soon, the marriage boom translated into the BABY BOOM, which eventually combined with material prosperity to foster an ever-more-extensive teen culture. By 1960, the first cohort of baby boomers was reaching their teen years, and in America goods such as soft drinks, clothing, cars, sports equipment, recorded music, magazines, and toiletries—all heavily and specifically promoted by advertisers to young people with expanding personal incomes—comprised a flourishing youth market that soon spread overseas. At the same time, RADIO, TELEVISION, recording companies, movies, and mass market publications directed much of their content to this segment of the population. Marketing experts utilized long-standing theories about the insecurities of adolescence, along with surveys that showed adolescents tending toward conformist attitudes, to sell goods that catered to teenagers' desires to dress, buy, and act like their peers.

Inevitably, as adolescents began manifesting independent behavior in their tastes and buying habits, they heightened fears among parents and other adults that teenagers were maturing too rapidly. Experts in the helping professions tightened the link between the concept of adolescence as a troubled period of life and uncertainty, crime, and other problems that accompanied the process of growing up. Even before the baby boomers had entered their teen years, social scientists, educators, and government officials were reaching a near-panic state over premarital pregnancy and juvenile delinquency. In the United States, the rate of premarital pregnancy among white women aged fifteen to nineteen doubled from under 10 percent in the 1940s to 19 percent in the 1950s. The rock and roll generation in the United States and teddy boys in England signified a type of rebellion that often included antisocial behavior, which in turn garnered heavy media attention. Much of the concern reflected theory more than reality, however. Especially in America, newspapers eagerly publicized gang wars and other sensational cases of juvenile crime, and police departments created juvenile units to deal with a presumed teenage crime wave.

Though perpetrated by only a minority of youths, antisocial conduct gave adolescence an international flavor by the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s in Great Britain, sadistic, mostly working-class skinheads helped generate the punk style of boots, leather outfits, and nihilistic music. Germans accepted the term *Teenagers* into their vocabulary and saw

rising numbers of alienated youth engage in destructive acts, some random and others political such as protests over housing policies and police harassment. France and Sweden experienced countercultural uprisings from *blousons noir* (teenage “black shirts”) and *raggare* (alienated youths) respectively. In eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as well, industrialization pressed wedges between children and adult society, creating opportunities for adolescents to adopt deviant fads in dress and behavior. Russian sociologists began reporting problems of teenage drinking, assaults, and thievery. A 1973 survey found adolescent alienation in Japan to be the highest among a dozen industrial nations, and problems of juvenile delinquency even reached Communist China by the 1980s.

Remarkably, adolescence of the 1960s and 1970s reflected a quest for conformity that seemed to validate Erikson’s theory about identity crisis. In 1961, psychologist James S. Coleman published *The Adolescent Society*, a study of American high school teenagers, in which he noted that youths often sought acceptance among their peers by placing higher value on nonacademic activities, such as sports and social interaction, than on accomplishment in school. They told researchers that their heroes were not teachers or humanitarians but rather athletes, movie stars and musicians. This kind of conformity was at odds with what parents and educators wanted for adolescents, but it reflected both the prevailing peer values and the larger pressures for conformity in an expanding corporate society.

Many postwar trends in adolescence, especially adolescents’ influence on the consumer economy, continued to the end of the twentieth century. However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s new attitudes about gender equality and BIRTH CONTROL, aided by increased access to automobiles and generally higher material well-being, helped fashion new sexual values among adolescents. Increasingly, peer groups in American high schools and colleges (in 1970 three-fourths of Americans were graduating from high school and a third were enrolled in college) replaced dating with informal, mixed-gender “going out” and “parties.” As well, looser attitudes toward marriage, for which a date had been seen as a first step, and greater acceptance (among adults as well as youths) of nonmarital sex, arose among adolescents in many countries and heightened concern over society’s ability to control adolescents’ sexual behavior. By 1976 surveys in the United States showed that nearly one-fourth of sixteen-year-old white females and one-half of sixteen-year-old black females had had premarital intercourse. By 1990, 55 percent of women aged fifteen to nineteen had experienced intercourse. Though this figure declined to slightly below half by century’s end, the seeming sexual abandon practiced by many young people was prompting some analysts to conclude that marriage was losing its special meaning. A sharp rise in average age of marriage, for men from twenty-three to over twenty-six and for women from twenty-one to over

twenty-three between 1970 and 1990, reinforced such a conclusion.

At the same time a minority—but a vocal and well-publicized minority—of youths began to infuse adolescence with a new brand of political consciousness that seemed to widen the growing “generation gap.” Much of the YOUTH ACTIVISM flourished on college and university campuses from Berkeley to Berlin, but enough of it filtered down to high schools that educators and other public authorities faced challenges they had not previously encountered. The civil rights movement and the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 had caused American teenagers to question the values of adult society, but the Vietnam War ignited them and many of their European cohorts politically. Though the majority of youths did not oppose the war, a number of them participated in protests that upset traditional assumptions about the nonpolitical quality of high school life. This political activity reached as far as the Supreme Court of the United States when, in 1969, the court declared in *TINKER V. DES MOINES INDEPENDENT SCHOOL SYSTEM* that the right of free speech applied to high school students who wished to wear black armbands in protest of the war. Major protests by young people also occurred in European capitals such as Bonn, Germany, where students stormed and looted city hall in protest over a visit by South Vietnam’s president.

After the Vietnam War ended, the alienation of adolescents from society—as well as, in adolescent minds, the alienation of society from adolescents—seemed to intensify rather than abate. Anger over the deployment of nuclear weapons on European soil and dangers to the ecosystem worldwide sparked student protests on both sides of the Atlantic. Moreover, a spreading drug culture, the attraction by teens to the intentionally provocative lyrics of punk rock and rap music, the rise of body art and piercing, the increase in single- (and no-) parent households, and the high numbers of families with two parents employed and out of the home for most of the day—all have further elevated the power of adolescent peer associations. Juvenile crime continued to capture attention as surveys in the 1980s estimated that between 12 and 18 percent of American males and 3 to 4 percent of females had been arrested prior to age twenty-one. To the frustration of public officials, crime-prevention programs ranging from incarceration to aversion to job placement and counseling have failed to stem teen violence and recidivism. As identity politics pervaded adult society, youths also sought havens within groups that expressed themselves through some behavioral or visual (though only occasionally ideological) manner. Neo-nazism attracted youths in Germany and France, but not strictly for its politics. American high school populations contained dizzying varieties of identity groups such as “Goths,” “jocks,” “nerds,” “Jesus freaks,” “preppies,” “druggies,” and many more. All the while, commercial interests in a new global economy, whether they be

sneaker and sportswear manufacturers, music producers, or snack-food makers, stayed hot on the teenage trail, eager to capitalize on or guide every new expression of adolescence.

Adolescence as a Universal Concept

In the twenty-first century, multiple models of adolescence bring into question whether or not the historical concept has as much uniformity as some experts implied it had in the twentieth century. Certainly almost all adolescents, regardless of race, class, or nationality, undergo similar biological changes, though characteristics such as the age of menarche have shifted over time. But the social and psychological parameters appear to have become increasingly complex and diverse. Though the most common images of adolescents set them inside the youth-oriented consumer culture of clothes, music, and movies, the variable dark side of growing up has captured increasing attention. Poverty, sexual abuse, substance abuse, learning disabilities, depression, eating disorders, and violence have come to characterize youthful experiences as much as the qualities of fun and freedom-seeking that media and marketers have depicted. Popular theory still accepts that almost all adolescents confront similar challenges of stress and anxiety, but the processes involved in growing up display complexities that confound attempts to characterize it. A continuing rise in age at marriage, which in the United States is approaching the late twenties for males and mid-twenties for females, has made family formation less of an end point for adolescence, and the assumption by preteens of qualities and habits once exclusive to teenagers, such as musical choice, dress (including COSMETICS), hair styles, and even drug and sexual behavior, has challenged the cultural definition of the age at which adolescence begins. Even within adolescence itself, the trend of young people assuming adult sexual, family, social, and economic responsibilities—and their attendant problems—has blurred many of the qualities that previously gave adolescence its distinctiveness.

See also: **Age and Development; Apprenticeship; Baby Boom Generation; Consumer Culture; Flappers; Teen Pregnancy; Victory Girls.**

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HOWARD P. CHUDACOFF

Adolescent Medicine

Throughout its history, the field of adolescent medicine has striven to address the needs of the whole person from a variety of psychological, sociological, and physiological perspectives, not simply diseases or disorders that affect adolescents. Currently, the trend in adolescent health care has been to go even further beyond the disease paradigm and examine not only health risks but also assets in the environment that contribute to an adolescent's physical and emotional well-being.

The field began in the early twentieth century with the work of G. STANLEY HALL, a developmental psychologist who firmly established adolescence as a distinct developmental category. Hall was also the first to suggest establishing a field of medicine for adolescents. Yet a new medical specialty dedicated to this age group did not appear until the 1950s, when adolescent medicine first emerged as a branch of PEDIATRICS. The first medical unit in the United States devoted exclusively to adolescents was founded by Dr. J. Roswell Gallagher at Boston Children's Hospital in 1951. The Adolescent Unit represented a major shift in approach to the teenage patient: prior to the 1950s, most physicians who treated adolescents discussed the patient's health problems with the parent, and seldom allowed young people to speak for themselves. In contrast, Gallagher and his staff insisted that teenaged patients needed "a doctor of their own" who

would see patients separately from their parents, who would protect their confidentiality, and who would place teenagers' concerns first.

The Boston Adolescent Unit served as a model for other hospitals in North America. By the mid-1960s, there were fifty-five adolescent clinics in hospitals in the United States and Canada, and by 2002 over half of all CHILDREN'S HOSPITALS in the United States had units dedicated to the health care of teenagers. The expansion of adolescent health services led to the creation of a professional organization for adolescent specialists, the Society for Adolescent Medicine (SAM), established in 1968; the founding of a professional journal, *The Journal of Adolescent Health*, first published in 1980; and the decision in 1991 to institute a board-certification examination for physicians interested in becoming subspecialists in adolescent medicine.

Despite this dramatic growth in the field of adolescent medicine, there still is a critical shortage of age-appropriate health services for American teenagers. A report entitled *Partners in Transition: Adolescents and Managed Care*, issued in 2000 by Children Now, a national nonprofit child policy organization based in Oakland, California, provides an overview of the gaps in adolescent health care that still exist in our society. The report states that twenty percent of teenagers surveyed had gone without medical treatment they thought they needed because there were no appropriate services in their community, because they lacked transportation to medical facilities, and/or because they feared their parents would be notified if they sought medical care.

In addition, since the 1960s, adolescents have engaged in behaviors that placed them at risk for new health problems. Changing social norms during this period exposed teenagers to new "social morbidities" such as sexually transmitted diseases, drug addiction, violence, and pregnancy. Although these problems have affected the population as a whole, they appear to affect teenagers disproportionately and may be responsible for the fact that adolescent mortality has risen since 1960, while mortality for other age groups has declined.

Adolescence as a social category also appears to be both disappearing and expanding. Children are exposed to violence, SEXUALITY, and other "adult" themes at ever earlier ages. There is even evidence that children are literally "growing up" faster than ever before, since improved health care and nutrition has caused a steady decline in the age of PUBERTY. At the same time, growing numbers of young adults are living with parents for longer periods of time because of unemployment, divorce, graduate education, loneliness, or the high cost of housing. Since the late 1960s, the number of adult children living with parents has more than doubled from 2 million to 5 million, and it is estimated that nearly 40 percent of all young adults have returned to their parents' home at least once. Therefore, it appears that the

period of economic dependency usually associated with adolescence is expanding into the twenties, and for some individuals, the thirties and forties. The Society for Adolescent Medicine responded to these changes in both the biological and social features of adolescence by recently adopting a position statement that declared that adolescent medicine covered the ages of ten to twenty-five, with some members even arguing that the field should be extended to cover the late twenties and early thirties.

Experts in adolescent medicine have also attempted to deal with the complex issues that continue to plague adolescents. One of the major goals of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), the Search Institute, and other institutions dedicated to improving adolescent health has been to reconceptualize health as more than the absence of disease or risk, but also in terms of assets in family and community that help young people engage in positive behaviors. Researchers involved in these studies have helped communities around the country begin initiatives that bring together families, schools, youth-serving organizations, congregations, and other institutions "to build the foundation of development that all young people in our society need."

Since its inception, the field of adolescent medicine has led the way in helping to ensure that all adolescents have access to quality medical care, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, or socioeconomic status. Adolescent specialists argue that giving teenagers age-appropriate care not only helps eliminate the most troubling adolescent health problems, such as pregnancy and substance abuse, but can also prevent adult health problems by educating young people about the importance of lifelong healthy habits.

See also: Adolescence and Youth.

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Adoption in the United States

Adoption in the United States is a social and legal process whereby a parent–child relationship is established between people not related by birth. American adoption practices have changed radically over the past two and a half centuries. Originally an informal, spontaneous occurrence comparable to APPRENTICESHIP, adoption has become a formalized legal institution governed by a patchwork of statutes in fifty separate state jurisdictions with increasing federal involvement. During the last century the professionalization of social workers emerged, along with uniform standards for regulating adoptions by the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU and the Child Welfare League of America. Adoption has gone through a revolution since World War II, from an elitist institution that restricted who could adopt and who was adopted to one that is more inclusive and diverse. Moreover, the past fifty years have seen a movement away from secrecy to an embrace of open adoption and legislative mechanisms for uniting adult adopted people with their biological parents. All of these trends toward inclusiveness and openness are likely to continue. In spite of all these changes, however, Americans' cultural bias toward blood ties remains pervasive, and adoption is still viewed by many as a form of second-rate kinship.

Adoption touches upon almost every conceivable aspect of American society and culture and commands our attention by the enormous number of people who have a direct intimate connection to it. Some experts put the number as

high as six out of every ten Americans. Others estimate that about 1.5 million children in the United States live with adoptive parents, and that between 2 and 4 percent of American families include an adopted child. According to incomplete and partial estimates in 1992, there were a total of 126,951 domestic adoptions, of which 53,525 (42 percent) were kinship or stepparent adoptions. Because of the dearth of healthy white infants for adoption, 20,099 adoptions in 2002 were intercountry adoptions, slightly more than half coming from Russia and China. In short, adoption is a ubiquitous social institution in American society, creating invisible relationships with biological and adoptive kin that touch far more people than is usually imagined.

Although adoptions took place in the United States before the twentieth century, they were infrequent and achieved through private legislative action. Children who were adopted in the colonial period or more frequently in the nineteenth century typically ranged in age from six to sixteen years of age. Most of them were boys who had been placed out to work on farms. By the mid-nineteenth century, state legislatures began enacting the first general adoption statutes, which were designed to ease the burden legislatures assumed from the many private adoption acts they were forced to enact. The most important of these statutes was called An Act to Provide for the Adoption of Children, America's first adoption statute. It was enacted in 1851 in Massachusetts. The enactment of the Massachusetts Adoption Act marked a watershed in the history of the American family and society. Instead of defining the parent–child relationship exclusively in terms of blood kinship, it was now legally possible to create a family by assuming the responsibility and emotional outlook of a biological parent. In the next quarter century, the Massachusetts Adoption Act came to be regarded as a model statute, and twenty-five states enacted similar laws.

Progressive-Era Reforms

The true beginning of child welfare reform in adoption began during the Progressive Era (1890–1920) as a response to the nation's high INFANT MORTALITY rate, itself a product of the unsanitary conditions in vastly overcrowded industrial cities that lacked medical knowledge of CONTAGIOUS DISEASES. Most infants were born at home, but single mothers often lacked that option, and their babies were born in crowded maternity homes or public infant hospitals where mortality rates reached nearly 98 percent. Galvanized by this knowledge, philanthropic women reformers in New York City founded the first private adoption agencies, such as the Alice Chapin Adoption Nursery (1911) and the Child Adoption Committee (1916, later called Louise Wise Services). Similar institutions, such as the Cradle Society (1924) would soon follow. These private adoption agencies, however, handled only a small minority of adoptions. More typical were institutions such as the State Charities Aid Association of New York or the Children's Home Society of Washington. Dur-

ing this period and in the following years of the Depression, adoptive parents preferred to take in girls, and 50 percent of adoptive parents preferred children above three years of age.

Progressive reformers also lobbied state legislators for measures to safeguard children, which heralded the expanded role of the state in regulating adoptions. In 1917, lawmakers enacted the Children's Code of Minnesota, which became the model for state adoption laws in the next two decades. It was the first state law that required an investigation to determine whether a proposed adoptive home was suitable for a child. The statute also ordered that adoption records be closed to the public, but not to the adoption triad: birth parents, adopted people, and adoptive parents. Three other reforms in adoption practice and law mark the Progressive Era. Child welfare advocates were successful in lobbying many states for the removal of the word "illegitimate" from birth certificates and inventing the amended birth certificate to shield children from public opprobrium of their adoption. Child welfare reformers were also successful in advocating that children should not be separated from the family of origin for light or transient reasons, such as poverty.

Progressive-era social workers institutionalized their reform efforts in two public and private national organizations. In 1912 the U.S. Children's Bureau was established, and until World War II was the leading provider of information about adoption. It was also instrumental in setting standards for adoption agencies and guiding state legislatures, social workers, researchers, and the public in every aspect of adoption. In 1921, the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA), a private, nonprofit institution, was founded; it would become increasingly important in setting adoption standards for public and private agencies. By the 1950s the Children's Bureau had been eviscerated by Congress, and the CWLA emerged as the leading authority in the field of adoption.

Acting as a counterweight to the reform and popularization of adoption practices before World War II was Americans' cultural definition of kinship, which was based on bloodties and stigmatized adoption as socially unacceptable. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a broad segment of the American public believed that adoption was an "unnatural" action that created ersatz or second-rate families. Medical science contributed to popular cultural prejudices against adopting a child by coupling the stigma of illegitimacy with adoption. After 1910 the rise of the EUGENICS movement and psychometric testing led adopted children to be linked to inherited mental defects. Adopted children were thus doubly burdened: they were assumed to be illegitimate and thus medically tainted *and* they were adopted, thus lacking the all important blood link to their adoptive parents. The result was that during the Progressive Era the vast majority of dependent children continued to reside in ORPHANAGES, rather than being placed in FOSTER CARE or adopted.

Post-World War II

The upheaval of World War II was a watershed in the history of adoption. Following the war, social workers and state bureaucrats began for the first time to shroud adoption records in secrecy, preventing adoption triad members from gaining access to adoption records. This was a gradual process that was not completed until the 1980s, because each state legislature acted on its own and adoption agencies sometimes continued informal policies that ignored state statutes mandating secrecy. Another change in the postwar period was adoptive parents' preference for boys rather than girls, wishing perhaps to replace symbolically the men who went off to war. But by the end of the war, the shortage of adoptable children led prospective adoptive parents to be more flexible, and many more would-be adoptive parents were willing to accept children of either sex.

The demand by childless couples for infants also led to radical changes in adoption practices. The baby boom, beginning in the mid-1940s and reaching its peak in the late 1950s, saw a dramatic rise in marriages and births and created an increased demand for adoptable children. Adoption agencies were inundated with requests, and adoptions rose spectacularly: between 1937 and 1945 adoptions grew three-fold, from 16,000 to 50,000 annually; a decade later the number of adoptions had nearly doubled again to 93,000 and, by 1965 the number had increased to 142,000.

Although adoptions increased in number and popularity in the twenty years after World War II, the availability for adoption of white, out-of-wedlock infants declined radically in the decades after the 1960s. A number of factors were responsible for the decline, including the sexual revolution of the 1960s, the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and many unwed mothers' decision not to relinquish their babies. These profound cultural, social, legal, and demographic changes in American society caused a substantial decline in the number of adoptions and precipitated important shifts in adoption policy. First, by 1975 adoption agencies across the nation began to stop taking requests for healthy, white infants. Social workers often informed prospective adoptive parents that they would likely have to wait three to five years for such a child. Second, social workers abandoned the idea of the "unadoptable" child and broadened the definition of adoptability to include any child who needed a family and for whom a family could be found. With the enlarged definition of adoptability, social workers for the first time initiated serious efforts to place children with special needs—individuals with physical or mental disabilities, minority and older children, and children born in foreign countries—in adoptive homes. Third, the shortage of infants available for adoption and the emphasis on minority adoption led social workers to practice transracial adoption. By 1965, transracial adoption had become known as the "little revolution," as adoption agencies all over the nation increasingly placed black babies with white fami-

lies. Four years later, the CWLA revised its guidelines to reflect the new practice, unequivocally stating that agencies should not use race to determine the selection of an adoptive home. In 1971, transracial adoptions reached their peak, with 468 agencies reporting 2,574 such placements.

Transracial adoption was highly controversial. The first manifestation of discontent emerged in 1972 when the National Association of Black Social Workers denounced transracial adoption as cultural genocide; between then and 1975 only 831 transracial adoptions occurred. In the following years transracial adoptions declined steeply as child welfare workers chose to keep AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN in foster care rather than place them with a white family, even though repeated studies demonstrated that transracial adoptions were successful. Reaction to social workers' discriminatory practices resulted in Congress enacting the Howard M. Metzenbaum Multiethnic Placement Act in 1994. The act prohibited adoption agencies from denying any person the opportunity to become an adoptive parent based solely on the person's race, color, or national origin.

A fourth consequence of the demographic decline in babies available for adoption was to further redefine the concept of adoptable children to become more inclusive and less concerned with "matching" the physical, mental, racial, and religious characteristics of adoptable children with adoptive parents. Increasingly, the population of children available for adoption was composed of older children, members of minority groups, and children with special needs. In the 1990s, drug-exposed infants, children with AIDS, and infants born HIV positive were added to the special-needs category. Because social workers were often unable to find adoptive homes or unable to free them legally for adoption, these children, numbering some one hundred thousand at the end of the twentieth century, became fixtures in foster care, where they were shunted from one caretaker to another. This situation prompted Congress to pass the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980, one of the first federal laws to address the problems of adopted children. Congress's landmark legislation mandated that child welfare agencies provide preplacement services, take steps to reunify children with their biological parents, and periodically review cases of children in long-term foster care. "Permanency planning" legislation, as it was called, had as its goal either to return children to their family of origin or place them in an adoptive home. By 1993 the federal government was distributing an estimated \$100 million to forty states to fund this program. Consequently, there were an increasing number of older child and special-needs adoptions in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

A fifth consequence of the shortage of infants for couples to adopt was an increase in intercountry adoption. Since World War II, intercountry adoptions have increased tremendously, but they have been denounced by critics as a

shameful admission of a nation's inability to care for its own people, exploitative of its poorest class, destructive of children's cultural and ethnic heritage, and riven by baby-selling scandals. Critics' objections were answered by the United States in 2000, when it ratified the Hague Convention, which sets standards and regulates intercountry adoption by placing adoption agencies under the scrutiny of the international community.

A sixth consequence of the demographic decline in infants has been a veritable revolution in the latter half of the twentieth century in adoption agencies' practices toward adoptive parents. In the past, social workers' standards were elitist and rigid. The vast majority of adoptive parents were Caucasian, heterosexual, childless, married couples. African-American couples who wanted to adopt either did so informally or through the few African-American orphanages which had been established; during the first half of the twentieth century they were routinely refused service by mainstream public and private adoption agencies. By 1997, African Americans adopted 38 percent of all children, disproving a popular belief that few African Americans choose to adopt. Caucasians adopt 28 percent of all children adopted, followed by Hispanics, who adopt 12 percent. Adoption agencies have also changed their policies radically to make adoption possible for a broader range of adults, including foster parents, older individuals, families with children (42%), single parents (4 percent), individuals with physical disabilities, and families across a broad economic range. Many of these changes have been controversial. The issue of gay or lesbian adoption did not emerge until 1973; before that, the fields of psychiatry and psychology had defined HOMOSEXUALITY as a mental disorder. And it was not until 1987 that a court allowed a gay adoption to take place. Subsequently, however, there has been an increasing trend toward inclusiveness regarding gay and lesbian adoptions.

A seventh effect of the decline in adoptable infants was open adoption, an innovation in adoption practice that began in the mid-1980s. In an effort to encourage birth mothers to relinquish their babies for adoption, caseworkers began allowing some birth mothers to decide who would parent their child. The result was open adoption, where the identities of birth and adoptive parents were exchanged and, in some cases, continuing contact of varying degrees between the parties was encouraged. It has become increasingly popular, commanding center stage in adoption practice. Between 1990 and 2002, a majority of adoption agencies in the United States had moved toward fully disclosed open adoptions.

Accompanying the revolution in adoption practices during the last three decades of the twentieth century was the birth of the adoption search movement. In 1971, adoption rights became a major social issue when the movement's most vocal and visible leader, Florence Fisher, who searched

for twenty years before finding her birth mother, founded the Adoptees Liberty Movement Association (ALMA). ALMA's example sparked the creation of hundreds of other adoptee search groups across the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. By 1978, the number of such groups led to the formation in the United States of a national umbrella organization, the American Adoption Congress (AAC). By 1996, complacency within the movement sparked a mini-revolt, resulting in the creation of the Internet-based adoption activist organization Bastard Nation, which successfully challenged the AAC leadership by passing a citizens' ballot initiative, Measure 58, in Oregon that gave adoptees access to their original birth certificates. Research suggests that women make up 80 percent of adult adopted persons who search for members of their birth families.

Adoption rights activists, composed mostly of adopted adults and birth mothers, contend they are entitled to identifying information in the adoption record. Through court challenges, reform of state legislation, and state initiatives, they have pursued their agenda to repeal laws that sealed adoption records. Although only four states, Kansas, Alaska, Oregon, and Alabama, provide for unconditional access to adult adoptees' original birth certificates, the vast majority of other states provide some mechanism—voluntary adoption registries or state-appointed confidential intermediary systems—where adoptees and original family members can meet each other. Nevertheless, this issue remains controversial because the rights of some birth parents, who have been promised confidentiality by adoption agencies, clash with the rights of adopted adults, who want unrestricted access to the information in their adoption records.

See also: **Foundlings; Orphans.**

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E. WAYNE CARP

Advertising

Over the course of the twentieth century, child consumers have played an increasingly important role in the economies of developed nations. Children's consumer clout is especially pronounced in the United States, where, according to early-twenty-first-century estimates, children spend or influence the spending of up to \$500 billion annually. Advertisers in turn spend hefty sums to capture the consumer allegiance and nagging power of children. Thanks to the power of TELEVISION, advertising to children in the twenty-first century has become a ubiquitous practice across the globe. It is, however, by no means a recent phenomenon.

A market for children's goods—books, TOYS, clothing, and FURNITURE—had existed since at least the eighteenth century, but market awareness of children as consumers first emerged in the United States during the 1870s and 1880s, when national advertisers began supplying retailers with colorful trade cards and advertising jingle books based on parodies of Mother Goose rhymes. Corporations hoped that child shoppers would digest the advertising messages on the backs of trade cards and bring the advertisements to their

mothers' attention, but advertisers' primary goal was to stimulate sales at the point of purchase. If a mother had neglected to specify a brand when she sent her child on a shopping errand, an alluring trade card displayed on a store countertop might decide the issue. Children prized trade cards for their luxurious color images—a novelty made possible by advances in chromolithography printing. Collecting the cards in scrapbooks was a favorite childhood pastime, especially among girls. Advertisers encouraged this hobby by producing a set or series of collectible trade cards, and children reveled in the status that an unusual card or fine collection conferred on its owner.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the advertising trade largely dismissed children as members of the buying public, but readily embraced the notion that children constituted the future buyers of tomorrow. Theorists of advertising psychology such as Walter Dill Scott argued that buying was influenced less by rational arguments than by unconscious decision making, including “suggestions” that advertisers implanted in the consumer's mind. The plasticity of young minds, Scott surmised, made children especially valuable targets of advertising. If repeatedly exposed to trademarks and brand names, children could, imperceptibly and unconsciously, acquire brand preferences that would last a lifetime.

Such psychological insights hardly constituted a revolution in children's advertising, but they did suggest, contrary to what some Victorians supposed, that the concept of a sheltered childhood was not inherently at odds with children's exposure to the world of commerce. The whole notion that children possessed a consumer consciousness long before they possessed purchasing power circulated broadly in turn-of-the-century advertising iconography. In magazine advertisements and trade cards read by adults and children alike, admakers depicted children as product endorsers, discriminating shoppers, and voracious consumers. These images traded on new cultural ideals of childhood that prized children as much for their spunk and savvy as their innocence.

These middle-class cultural ideals of the spunky child paved the way for even bolder departures in advertising during the 1920s. By then, advertisers conceived of middle-class children not just as buyers of tomorrow but as buyers of today and selling agents within the home. They recognized children as a more definable and viable group of consumers partly because modern childhood itself had become more organized around peer activities. Compulsory schooling, age-segregated classrooms, and the rise of youth organizations like the BOY SCOUTS and the GIRL SCOUTS all elevated the salience of peer interactions. The fact that the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls published their own magazines provided advertisers a ready means of reaching boys and girls with common interests. Indeed, advertisers frequently capitalized on these peer affiliations by suggesting

that their products could be used to earn scouting merit badges or enhance camping experiences. Transformations within the middle-class family also contributed to advertisers' enthusiasm for cultivating child consumers. Owing partly to their own middle-class backgrounds, admen and adwomen sensed new opportunities in the democratization of the urban middle-class companionate family, which unlike its Victorian predecessor, granted children greater latitude for self-expression and, in many cases, their own allotment of spending money.

Children's magazine publishers such as *St. Nicholas*, *Boy's Life*, and *American Boy* played an important role in promoting advertising to children as a worthy long-term and short-term investment. *American Boy* placed numerous ads in advertising trade journals, touting the exuberance of boy consumers and their influence over family purchasing, thanks in part to boys' expertise on new consumer technologies such as cars, radios, cameras, and batteries. *American Boy's* promotional efforts paid off handsomely. During the mid-1910s, *American Boy* began to swell with ads for bicycles, erector sets, rifles, and breakfast cereals. By 1920 annual advertising revenues for the magazine had reached half a million dollars. By the middle of that decade, *American Girl* and *Everygirl's*, magazines published respectively by the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls, had also attracted advertisers who sought both to cultivate the loyalty of future housewives and to boost present sales.

In the early twentieth century, advertisers and magazine publishers alike initiated numerous games, contests, and educational ventures to teach children an appreciation of advertising and train them in brand-conscious shopping. Publishers' investment in this project was at least as deep as advertisers' because magazines now depended more on advertising revenues than subscription sales for their survival. To gain credibility as a profitable advertising medium, *American Boy* and *Scholastic*, the national weekly for secondary school students, ran a series of columns explaining why their readers should trust in advertisers and the superior economic value of advertised goods over unbranded goods. Juvenile magazine publishers also won advertisers' confidence by sponsoring contests and games that trained children to pay close attention to advertising.

The public schools provided advertisers with another promising venue for raising brand consciousness. Though ostensibly limited by the conventional boundaries of the school curriculum, advertisers spared little effort in getting their messages into the classroom and via the classroom into the home. They offered free booklets, exhibits, charts, and other “enrichment” materials that promised to transform run-of-the-mill lessons into livelier fare. Because restrictive school budgets often curtailed the use of visual aids, teachers and teaching organizations proved remarkably receptive to corporate-sponsored innovations in the curriculum. In the

late 1920s, for example, teachers in some 70,000 schools across the country used Cream of Wheat's graded contest devices, prizes, and breakfast charts to encourage regular consumption of hot breakfast cereals. Although editorialists criticized advertisers for diverting "school facilities to its own selfish purposes," schools provided no substantive counterpoint to the claims of modern advertising until the mid-1930s, when the consumer education movement got underway.

Early-twentieth-century juvenile advertisers struggled to strike the right balance in addressing children's desires and parents' concerns. Overt parental appeals that linked children's consumption to nutrition and achievement often appeared in children's advertising. Yet juvenile advertising in the 1920s and 1930s was remarkably bold in its efforts to empower children within a consumer democracy. Advertisements in children's magazines literally instructed children how to lobby their parents for new purchases, supplying them with sales ammunition that appealed to pressing parental concerns. While Canadian broadcast advertising trade guidelines in the 1970s advised advertisers not to "directly urge children to . . . ask their parents to make inquiries or purchases," early-twentieth-century American advertisers exhibited no such compunctions (quoted in Kline 1993). With boldfaced headlines like "Please—Father—Please," advertisements routinely sanctioned begging and the old childhood standby—battering up mom and dad.

During the interwar years, advertisers also sought to cultivate children's consumer loyalty and interest by addressing their concerns about popularity and personal appearance. As high school enrollments ballooned and adolescents began spending more time in the company of their peers, adjusting to the norms and expectations of age-based peers became an adolescent preoccupation. Even as they presented purchasable solutions to problems of peer approval and image control, advertisers exacerbated adolescent insecurities by reminding teens of their susceptibility to impersonal judgments. Advertisements for products like Postum cereal and Keds shoes encouraged a greater preoccupation with physical appearance in both boys and girls, but advertisers' messages to girls were especially contradictory. They celebrated the athletic girl as emblematic of the post-Victorian gender freedoms modern girls enjoyed, but they narrowed the scope of feminine aspirations and feminine achievement by making peer acceptance and beauty, rather than athletic performance, the ultimate rewards of bodily discipline. If girls purchased their product, advertisers repeatedly counseled, they were sure to garner more dates—a reassuring promise in the newly emerging public culture of DATING, where popularity was measured by the frequency and variety of dates one commanded.

With the advent of children's RADIO programs in the 1930s, advertisers, no longer limited to the typically urban,

middle- and upper-middle-class readers of juvenile magazines, made children's consumer culture a truly national phenomenon. Millions of Depression-era children satisfied yearnings for autonomy and recognition when they joined radio-inspired clubs like Little Orphan Annie's Secret Circle or Post Toasties' Junior Detective Corps and received "free" premiums in exchange for proofs of purchase. Armed with secret passwords, decoding devices, and mysterious languages impervious to adult comprehension, children embraced the privileges of club memberships as a road to empowerment. Membership in such clubs, however, also afforded many children their first lessons in consumer disappointment, when long-awaited premiums failed to live up to advertisers' hype. Children exercised their own limited form of consumer payback in choosing cash contest prizes over dubious premiums and in mocking exaggerated advertising claims. Though some parents complained about broadcasters' advertising excesses, including their practice of inserting ad pitches into story lines, radio paved the way for perhaps even greater advertising intrusions in the television age.

During the postwar years, the spread of affluence and permissive child rearing in the United States gave children greater economic power, while the advent of television gave advertisers new means to reach children en masse. Despite some initial doubts about television's viability as an advertising medium, advertisers enthusiastically took to the airwaves once they became convinced that popular programs like *The Howdy Doody Show* and *The Mickey Mouse Club* could deliver a captivated audience. Radio, however, still had the greater impact on the youth market, as baby boomers accounted for eighty percent of ROCK AND ROLL record sales during the 1950s.

Advertisers' investment in nurturing children's consumer appetites grew along with the expansion of children's own discretionary funds. In 1960, according to a survey by *Seventeen* magazine, the average teenage girl had a weekly income of \$9.53. By 1999, the typical weekly allowance for thirteen- to fifteen-year-olds ranged from \$30.50 to \$34.25, with girls receiving on average three to four dollars more than boys. Supplementary earnings typically doubled the weekly yield for teenage boys and girls. Though younger children aged ten to twelve received only a modest five to six dollar boost to their weekly income from earnings, allowances on average swelled their weekly take by an additional twenty-one to twenty-two dollars. According to one 1996 estimate, ALLOWANCES accounted for more than a third of the \$89 billion in spending money at children's disposal. Children's collective consumer clout was weighty, indeed.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, the barriers between children and the market all but disappeared in the United States. Not only did children's media consumption become more difficult to monitor in families with both parents in the workforce—now the American norm—but pa-

rental restraints became more difficult to enforce. Parental acquiescence, of course, also contributed to the commercialization of childhood. Advertisers' work was made easier when many American children enjoyed personal televisions and computers with Internet access in their own private bedrooms. Still, the most vigilant parents could at best exercise limited control over children's exposure to commercial messages. Even in public schools, a morning viewing of the Channel One news service exposed children to a daily dose of commercials along with reports on current events. Indeed, what began as a marriage of convenience between underfunded public schools and advertisers in the 1920s grew into a virtually irresistible collaboration, thanks to the anti-tax movement of the last quarter of the twentieth century and voters' reluctance to approve school bond measures. Cash-strapped public schools welcomed the additional revenues—an exclusive contract with soda companies could net millions, while a restricted arrangement with a computer company could yield a new supply of "free" computers. In return for their largesse, corporations were rewarded with an advertising venue that reached masses of children far more cheaply than television.

Children's advertisers have added some new spices to old recipes for marketing success. The tradition of weaving product endorsements into children's entertainment programming, a technique first perfected on radio, was taken to new lengths with the advent of toy-based television programs like *The Smurfs*, *Strawberry Shortcake*, and *He-Man* in the 1980s—a marketing ploy the toy industry cynically defended by asserting that children needed preformulated story lines to help them play. This strategy also harkened back to the Depression-ridden 1930s, when toymakers revitalized sagging sales by creating licensed character toys that revolved around children's celebrity idols such as Mickey Mouse, SHIRLEY TEMPLE, Buck Rogers, and Superman.

Much like their early twentieth-century predecessors, contemporary marketers judge the effectiveness of children's advertising by the so-called "nag factor"—the aim being to maximize the nag until the parental gatekeeper yields. But where earlier advertisers were more cautious about upsetting the balance of power within the family—winning parental goodwill, after all, was the goal of winning juvenile goodwill—late twentieth- and early twenty-first century advertisers have pushed the limits of those boundaries. The promises of self-improvement and edification that appeased previous generations of parents have given way to a children's advertising culture in which hedonism, antiauthoritarianism, and kid power reign supreme. Today's kids, as Ellen Seiter puts it, are "sold separately," with appeals designed more to increase the nag factor than to placate the parental gatekeeper.

To acknowledge contemporary marketers' greater investment in creating a distinct children's fantasy culture, however, is not to romanticize the early twentieth century

as some utopian moment in children's consumer culture. Far from it. The Pokemon fad of the 1990s, in fact, can be viewed as a direct descendant of the children's radio clubs of the 1930s. Just as the promise of special premiums from Little Orphan Annie and Jack Armstrong got children to pester their parents for more Cocomalt or Wheaties, the Pokemon craze led children to plead for the precious trading cards that would help them capture all 150 Pokemon characters, the mythical "pocket monster" creatures featured in the popular animated kids' television show and video game. While in each case clever market tie-ins with radio idols or popular television shows provided the building blocks for the craze, the appeal of joining a distinct kids' world fueled the fad. Radio club members decoded secret messages to which only their peers were privy, while Pokemon traders became experts in Pokemon lore, memorizing the names, special fighting skills, and point values of each Pokemon.

In the decades since the 1950s, this privileging of children's culture has contributed to greater age segmentation within the children's market. The often fuzzy distinctions between TEENAGERS and children that typified advertising in the interwar years have evolved into clearly delineated categories ranging from toddlers to kids to 'twens to teens. Marketers also expend more time and money gathering data about their various child audiences. Information formerly gleaned from contest data, children's advertising testimonials, and a smattering of personal interviews now comes to advertising agencies through the more scientific channels of surveys and focus groups. During the 1990s, advertisers found more deceitful means to acquire information about children's tastes by requiring children to provide critical personal data—including name, sex, age, e-mail address, favorite television show, and favorite musical group—before they could enter certain websites. In response to indignant parents and media watch groups, the Federal Trade Commission made it illegal in 1998 to solicit personal information from preteens online without parental permission. Nevertheless, children's advertisers still hold high hopes that the Internet's virtual mall might become as popular a hangout as the neighborhood shopping mall.

Although politicians and consumer advocacy groups have pressured media companies and advertising firms to exercise more restraint and responsibility in promoting violent products and films to children, these limited external controls have done little to rein in a capitalist culture resistant to infringements on free markets and commercial free speech. Indeed, savvy child consumers themselves have discovered avenues of resistance only within the parameters of consumerism itself. One of these avenues is *Zillions*, a magazine for kids published by Consumer Reports that teaches children the basics of product testing and comparative shopping. Children have also turned consumerism into a language of protest, marketing their own anticorporate sentiments through self-styled Internet zines (self-published magazines)

and FASHIONS. Yet such protests have not prevented advertisers from extending their global message. Thanks to rapid commercialization and China's one-child-only birth control policy, Shanghai's singletons have become sufficiently acculturated to consumer abundance and global tastes that they readily grasped the moral dilemma of *Toy Story*—a DISNEY tale, told from the perspective of animated toys, about how easily children lose interest in a favorite old toy when a new one arrives. Consumerism paradoxically allows children more control over fashioning independent identities, but it also increasingly binds them to a global commercial culture.

See also: **Consumer Culture; Media, Childhood and the.**

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Advice. See Child-Rearing Advice Literature.

AFDC. See Aid to Dependent Children.

Africa

It is often said that African children face a short, difficult, and brutish existence. Press coverage often stereotypes the sub-Saharan region as a repository of collapse and death. In news reports of civil conflict, plague, and starvation African children are portrayed simply as victims: forever abandoned, turned to fodder by warlords, or buried in endemic calamity. It is tempting to use these pervasive media descriptions to link past and present childhoods in Africa, as if nothing has

changed over time. Yet the spotty records that exist from previous centuries do not support this narrow approach. Thus a comprehensive history of African childhood requires a broader analytical view and deeper appreciation of how the most biased sources illuminate the lives of children through the ages.

Rare Historical Perspectives of Childhood in Africa

Beginning in the fourteenth century, "outsider" accounts of sub-Saharan families started to reach wider audiences, offering snapshots that contradicted the images of children's static nightmare existence. In such narratives boys and girls exercised agency, defying notions that they were helpless in the grim tide of history. Even scornful European observers portrayed African children as showing assertiveness or human potential. These eclectic writings, generated by travelers, merchants, missionaries, and colonists, are encumbered by ethnocentrism or, even worse, racist ridicule. Yet on a continent steeped in oral tradition, they also provide rare details of how some adults in Africa perceived childhood, and of how African children influenced governing institutions, sexual mores, environmental sustainability, and religious and political debates.

For example, the trip diary of one fourteenth-century Arab trader, Ibn Batutta, lauded boys in the courts of Mali and Kilwa. They cleverly learned the Qur'an, Ibn Batutta remarked, before assuming posts in Islamic administrations. But he criticized noble girls for sauntering naked in the presence of Muslim suitors. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans buying slaves from central and southern Africa noted in shipping logs that drought had periodically ruined crops, compelling children orphaned by famine to sell infant SIBLINGS for grain. Nineteenth-century white missionaries wrote letters home that criticized "heathen" girls on the "Dark Continent" for entering into polygamous marriages and obstructing the spread of Christianity.

In the early 1900s white supremacists justified their subordination of the African "heathen" by asserting they merely ruled over the black "tribal" child. Their ideas, popularized by eugenicists such as Dudley Kidd in *Savage Childhood*, depicted Africans as happy primitives whose development peaked at puberty. Kidd's thesis underpinned a central premise of European rule in Africa, expressed by a British colonial report published in South Africa in 1907: "The treatment of Natives in general must be of an autocratic nature [as the] masses are scarcely out of their childhood. . . . Natives are, in a sense, but children, and should not only be protected from the inherent weaknesses of undeveloped humanity, but guided through the shoals [of] the transition stage" (*Colony of Natal Report*, 11, 12).

The Rise of Scholarship on African Childhood

From the 1920s through the 1960s, anthropologists (and a few missionaries) rejected the pseudoscientific racism permeating colonial administration and instead fostered critical

scholarly interest in African childhood. Contrary to Kidd, they recognized Africans as fully realized adults who arrived at maturity in customary ways. For example, the anthropologists Henry Junod, Daryll Forde, and Hilda Kuper conducted fieldwork on RITES OF PASSAGE, marriage, and childrearing in sub-Saharan communities, while Monica Wilson (among others) distinguished between adult attitudes towards children and the children's own viewpoints. Their findings demonstrated variations between childhoods in pre-colonial periods (pre-nineteenth century) and the colonial era (nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries). From the 1970s onwards, more and more historians adopted anthropological methods and gender analyses to gauge how colonialism and capitalism affected African families, particularly mothers and their offspring.

In the 1980s, research on African childhood gathered momentum with the publication of *Maidens, Meals, and Money*, Claude Meillassoux's anthropological investigations into sub-Saharan relationships between elders and youths. Like Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood*, a milestone in historical explorations of family and childhood in the West, Meillassoux's book developed a bold paradigm that outlined distinct age transitions in "precapitalist" domestic settings from agricultural villages to preindustrial states fused by world religion and international trade. Unlike Ariès, Meillassoux downplayed certain questions, such as: When did adults reckon that children succumbed to "original sin"? or When did parents turn childhood into a stage of indulging innocent individuals?

In sub-Saharan regions, rulers and commoners alike, from the Iron Ages through the Middle Ages and into the twentieth century, understood the role of a child differently from their European counterparts (especially the elite monogamous parents Ariès studied). Rather than being cosseted treasures, African children were valued foremost for their obedient work in families and larger communities shaped by polygyny. Meillassoux claimed that children were on the lowest rung of African society. They were part of a larger group of "juniors" that included subordinates with higher status than children, such as unmarried men and women and young wives. This age-based hierarchy rested on ideals of plural marriage—a social system of reproduction sanctioned by "seniors," consisting of both male elders (patriarchs) and older mothers, who controlled the passage of "bridewealth" (cattle or other prestige goods) and brides between households.

Gerontocracy in African Society

A patriarch, or "Big Man," as the historian John Iliffe recently dubbed this figure, was the custodian of an assortment of wives, children, siblings, relations, and dependents. The "Big Man" household originated in equatorial forests and spread south of the Sahara at the start of the first millennium C.E. Big Men and their families used Iron Age tools to clear

land for agricultural and pastoral production, instituting polygyny to enlarge their labor force in villages, chiefdoms and, later, states. This pattern of social organization had taken root throughout the continent by 1000 C.E. in West Africa among Yoruba, Hausa, and Ibo communities; in central Africa among Kongo and Gisu peoples; in southern Africa among Pondo, Zulu, and Sotho chiefdoms; and among eastern Africa's Somali, Kikuyu, and Chewa families.

The archetypal Big Man's family depended on unequal reciprocity and the work of juniors, principally his brood of children. Over a period of many years (determined by elders), children carried out tasks according to gender division and senior privilege. A father had rights to the labor of his wives and offspring; older wives had rights to the labor of younger wives and their daughters; young women had rights to the labor of their adolescent sisters; and so forth down the domestic pecking order.

Children understood that this generational hierarchy put older adults into positions of esteem. High-placed members of a household earned reverence for leading rites of passage, sealing marriages, and allocating resources. Unmarried sons and daughters were socialized to offer filial piety in return for the means—usually bridewealth for males and garden land for females—to start their own domestic arrangements. Older children could garner assets (a critical first step before rising in stature) only after they met their responsibilities to elders and their web of kin. Personal accumulation fulfilled certain ambitions, but group belonging superseded individual aims.

As children gained in status, not all could become senior wives and patriarchs—a situation that ignited generational struggles. When thwarted aspirations, natural catastrophe, or colonial rule burdened youths with additional heavy obligations, relationships of respect between the old and young could change dramatically. Indeed, examples from sub-Saharan folklore and archival evidence tell of juveniles avenging their exploitation by elders. One Chewa legend portrays children massacring adults—the young rebels reacted to "toiling endlessly while their elders dined and dozed." A somewhat similar struggle occurred in the modern era. In colonial South Africa in 1906, shortly after a rinderpest epidemic decimated the region's cattle (which was used as bridewealth) and colonialists imposed a tax on single males, Zulu youths attacked their patriarchs for failing to forestall the ensuing hardship.

From Birth to Infancy

Perhaps the first lesson of life learned by the very young was that communal acceptance and nurturance could mean the difference between life and death. Virulent diseases stalked children. Malaria, gastroenteritis, and respiratory infections, to name only a few, kept INFANT MORTALITY high until the middle of the twentieth century, when the advent of modern medical treatments improved the health and life expectancy

of newborns. The withholding of clan approval because of severe birth defects, or the arrival of twins, could also prompt infanticide, as these occurrences were considered a harbinger from ancestors that further troubles loomed. Moreover, the mother of a seriously disabled infant might be seen as suffering needlessly if she had to raise an enfeebled child, while a mother of twins might gravely weaken her capacity to survive if she simultaneously nursed two newborns.

Babies less than three years old were typically breast-fed and carried by their mother on the hip or back, with skin-to-skin contact and access to breast milk vital to building immunities. To guard against unforeseen handicaps and illnesses, infants underwent elaborate ceremonies directed by a paternal elder who could administer magical and herbal charms. These special rites strengthened the bonds between young children and their protective network, which included parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, siblings, cousins, spiritual founders long since passed, diviners, and unrelated guardians. Indeed, a baby's name could be chosen to honor her lifelong defenders from revered ancestors to a saint of the Roman Catholic Church (in the fifteenth-century Christian Kongo kingdom).

From Weaning to Puberty

Weaning could come with unforgiving suddenness. For example, some mothers in southern Africa daubed the sap of hot chilies on their nipples when toddlers reached their second or third year. Newly weaned children were expected to contribute almost immediately to domestic upkeep. They could be assigned to teach infant siblings proper conduct, which barred defiance, jealousy, dishonesty, and unjust violence, or they could impart morals through the recitation of proverbs, such as the Sotho expression: *kgotso ke nala*, (peace is prosperity).

As members of a specially recognized group, some youngsters also taught one another about gender and generational expectations. For example, in Ibo communities boys of the same age and village enrolled in an "age-set" to train to be married men. In twentieth-century Kenya, mission teachers divided Kikuyu children into single-sex school grades and taught them to model themselves on monogamous Christian husbands and wives. Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, boys carrying out collective male tasks took their little brothers along to learn how to build huts and fences, forge metals, carve wood, weave fishnets, hunt game, drill for battle, and tend livestock. Similarly, girls instructed their younger sisters in female duties, such as fetching wood and water, making fires, preparing food, thatching huts, making pots, and cultivating crops. In addition, some African states utilized children to fulfill national obligations. Regents in the nineteenth-century Zulu kingdom enlisted regiments of boys to lug provisions during military campaigns and recruited girls to weed the gardens of the royal family.

Children's responsibilities, of course, became more onerous under coercive labor systems. Girls were taken into mil-

lenniums-old domestic slavery to serve an African master far from their natal kin. Males were kidnapped and shipped to New World plantations from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, leaving their younger brothers to fill the void. And twentieth-century European rulers compelled adolescents to travel to find colonial employment (as house servants and commercial farm hands, for example) that brought in money for their family's tax requirements.

Yet such adversity gives an unduly bleak and one-sided picture of African childhoods. Though slavery disfigured many African communities, it scarcely touched others. In parts of central and southern Africa, boys and girls generally lived without fear of raiders, enjoying unfettered PLAY that affirmed family security. Their recreation with peers celebrated the nurturer-mother and warrior-father. Pondo girls, for example, transformed corncobs into DOLLS that they toted on their backs, while boys practiced defensive combat skills by tossing sticks at a branch set upright in the ground.

Even strenuous sacrifices could lead to exploration and benefit. Labor migration, for example, emboldened boys and girls, acquainting them with new cultural possibilities and an economic conduit through which to accumulate their own resources and accelerate their own ascent to seniority. Younger, working sons who bought their own bridewealth did not have to rely on their father's contribution, eroding the generational constraints that prolonged their junior subordination.

Adolescence and Initiation

As children in Africa approached PUBERTY, their games and diversions revealed aspirations to come of age. Not surprisingly, sexual adventuring intensified during adolescence. Various conventions tightly regulated courting, and while romantic interludes could progress to intercourse, this act drew severe censure. The litany of fines and banishments for premarital pregnancy among Yoruba, Kongo, and Zulu people suggests that sexual transgressions occurred with disconcerting regularity. A girl accused of waywardness suffered particularly harsh and lasting punishments, while her male counterpart tended to receive only a firm slap on the wrist. Patriarchal prerogatives dictated this gender discrimination. In many polygynous sub-Saharan societies, a male elder's public pledge that a first-time bride retained her virginity often paved the way for her rites of passage and eventual wedding.

Rites of passage, honored enactments that brought childhood to a close, took place between the ages of twelve and eighteen. In precolonial and colonial times they could entail temporary seclusion from the community, removal of teeth and hair, tattooing, or body incisions. Some coming-of-age ceremonies for boys (that continue to this day) focused on the painful cutting of genitalia, imparting an essential message: achieving adulthood necessitated a sharp separation from childhood and a heightened awareness of the physical

and emotional endurance underlying the ancestral commitment to procreate after marriage. At times, initiation practices atrophied, such as when colonial authorities in eastern Africa campaigned to make tribal CIRCUMCISION a crime; when Xhosa migrants living in congested townships of modern Johannesburg had little space to conduct their rituals; or when precolonial leaders such as Shaka Zulu forbade boys' circumcision and replaced it with two decades of military service to the king.

Girls also underwent circumcision (performed principally by their mothers and grandmothers), but this observance was not widespread in Africa and declined in the twentieth century after missionaries, colonialists, and modernizing African leaders urged its banning. However, toward the end of the twentieth century, female circumcision has apparently been revived in western and eastern Africa. Human rights campaigners have targeted the practice as cruel and unusual punishment, calling it "genital mutilation."

Other rites of passage for girls involved less invasive procedures, such as the cleansing of limbs with sacred liquid (i.e., the gall of livestock) and "coming out" feasts and dances that heralded the female initiates' ascent to a marriageable status. After initiation, boys and girls understood that they maneuvered in a society still dominated by elder authority, but one that was now open to their membership as potential seniors, with the enhanced privileges and responsibilities of young adults.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two intriguing questions are being explored: (1) Does childhood end at initiation or linger into young adulthood, a liminal stage before marriage and parenthood? and (2) Does childhood begin at birth, weaning, or some other phase before rites of passage? On a continent so vast, with few records (oral traditions far outweigh the keeping of documents), wide social diversity (myriad ethnic groups), and remarkable continuities (e.g., prevalence of "Big Man" families), the main concern is to devise a framework through which to examine variations in children's roles. To date, Meillassoux's model offers a crucial starting point, but like Ariès's ideas, it too will spark more debates than answers. The conceptual approaches that promise to emerge from these discussions will doubtless advance nascent scholarship on the history of childhood in Africa.

See also: **Abduction in Modern Africa; Female Genital Mutilation; Globalization; Soldier Children.**

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BENEDICT CARTON

African-American Children and Youth

Because of the cultural definitions of family that grow out of the traditions of continental AFRICA, and because of the unique histories of the populations of the African diaspora, in African-heritage societies and communities, children often play roles that are distinct from those of children in other social groups. These two factors have produced particular childhood patterns that persist into the twenty-first century to varying degrees among the many contexts and groupings that fall under the cultural generalization *African American*. Together, these two broad categories, heritage and history, reflect the more general way in which all children's lives are defined by the hopes and ideals inspired by new lives, and the constraints of the material conditions in which those lives come to exist and be.

Heritage and History

African cultural heritage is significant because of the way societies throughout continental Africa tend to define families by the presence of children. This stands in contrast to the European tradition of viewing marriage as the moment that defines a new family. Of course, in many situations families contain both a couple and children, but in situations on the margin, when family choices must be made, this difference can lead to a significant variation in outcomes. Because of the emotional role that families play in human life, there is also a contrast in the cultural focus of desire between a partner focus and an intergenerational focus. The partner focus can lead to a contractual orientation, with a sexual component that heightens the private and biological emphasis of relations to children. The generational focus tends to highlight the roles of care provision and dependency, reciprocal obligation, and time- and age-defined stages in relationships that place them more strongly in community.

African-American children have also been affected profoundly by the events, circumstances, and geography of African-American history. Systems of enslavement, displacement, segregation, labor, and formal and informal education, and the distinctions they created and enforced, interact with family systems and the ways children are seen by and interact with communities and society. It is important to emphasize,



Schoolchildren, New Bern, North Carolina, c. 1860s. Because it was forbidden by law to teach slaves to read and write in the pre-Civil War South, after emancipation, one of the chief concerns of newly freed African-American parents was for the education of their children. © CORBIS.

however, that local and individual experiences of cultural interaction and variation, in addition to varied customs, opportunity structures, and legal frameworks, speak against a single timeline or common experience for all African-American children.

The practice of enslaving people to do forced labor, like many systems of migrant labor, had the demographic effect of skewing populations towards a large number of young men. Particularly in climates that allowed for year-round agricultural production, such as the Caribbean and South America, the tremendous profits that built the palaces and treasures of Europe allowed for a constant importation of men who could be exhausted and replaced. Dependents were often an unwelcome expense to the enterprises, while the huge demand for labor developed African-majority societies throughout a region that included southern Louisiana and the South Carolina coast. The sexual exploitation of African women who were dragged into the horror of the middle passage, and the separation of children from parents, which was common in the slave trade, meant that few slaves saw both sides of the Atlantic as children. The harsh conditions in these intensely exploitative economic operations also discouraged the migration of European women, and so these areas quickly saw the emergence of free populations of mixed heritage, along with "maroon" or back-country communities of African heritage that had escaped enslavement.



Boys on Easter Morning, by Russell Lee. Many African-American children followed their parents north or were sent to live with relatives during the Great Migration from the South to the industrial Northern cities of the early twentieth century. These children are dressed in their Sunday best for Easter, April 1941, in their South Side Chicago neighborhood. Rare Books and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress. © CORBIS.

The household, town, and back country became the most common environments for children and other dependents, and for the few who became elderly. In many cases, children born into SLAVERY were sent both by their enslaved parents and by their purported owners to spend much of their childhood in these communities before being brought into plantation labor. Near enough to be visited by parents but far enough, perhaps, not to be direct witnesses to the immediate traumas of slavery (other than the not-insignificant pain of parental separation), children raised in these collectives experienced some few early years of love and play, while also being schooled by elders and peers in the painful rules of race-associated slavery. Small communities of grannies and children were common in these areas, living on the fringes of plantations and in the alleys of towns, supported by semi-secret religious societies and by the local free African artisans and visiting runaways, who more often than not returned to plantations, as did the children themselves when they came of age to do useful work. In larger plantations, such arrangements of grannies and children were sometimes formalized,

which restricted connections to outside community, but had the advantage of keeping children close to parents for nighttime study or Sunday contact.

Because of the limited labor value of children under the age of ten or twelve and the expense of their care during these dependent years, this setup was of some mutual benefit to those who regarded themselves as owners of the children, to the actual parents of the children, and to the children themselves. Except on large plantations, it also meant that there was some mixing and common experience among children who were to be enslaved and those born free or whose freedom would later be purchased. On large plantations, a different sort of mixing occurred, often with the free white children of the plantation owners and employees. The terrifying awakenings of those who were enslaved—the large majority of African Americans—are described in many slave narratives written by those who were enslaved as abrupt and stark ends to childhood at the auction block or in the violence of coerced labor.

Children who were still too young to do the sustained and heavy work of slavery had the important social function of linking groups who often were unable, due to distance, time, exhaustion, or physical restriction, or not permitted, by law or local authority, to visit each other. The children would spend time both off and on the plantation, carry important messages, and travel more than the more closely watched and constrained adults. Children of enslaved people also quickly learned to care for each other and tend the garden plots that provided basic sustenance or a necessary supplement to the unhealthy rations that came through the labor system. Children also could be placed intentionally in situations to their advantage and shielded from witnessing the direct humiliation of parents and parental figures subject to plantation labor. Thus for the majority of African-American children in both towns and on plantations, the notion of family was quickly expanded; a number of adults could play a parental role in their lives, and community responsibilities were an immediate part of their lives. An urgent and elaborate education in operating safely and discreetly within the social system was a part of every child's early experience of responsibility and DISCIPLINE. The pain of constant separations from SIBLINGS, loving adults, and familiar environs made community bonds all the more significant, alienation from dominant whites and elites all the more profound, and early maturity a necessary survival attribute.

Children and the Community

Other regions, where agriculture was more limited by soil and season, relied more openly on African-American communities that could sustain themselves, whether slavery was practiced or not. Being less likely markets for the main slave trade, women, children, and family life quickly became a central part of African-American experience, both as means of surviving urban and rural enslavement and as sites of love, support, and cultural sustenance. Emancipation, formal education, APPRENTICESHIP, and social intermingling came to the northern colonies and were enhanced by the rhetoric and ideals of the U.S. revolutionary period. Inequality and segregation remained significant social factors that children had to learn to negotiate, and the restricted occupations of free African-American adults—domestic workers, sailors, miners, and similar jobs—tended to require frequent separation from children and spouses. This meant that children in the North, a much larger proportion of whom were free after the Revolution than before, also experienced multiple households and served as cultural mediators and connectors between adults and within communities, both free and enslaved. The religious societies that were formed in these communities were often more open and public than those in the Deep South and were likely to include social clubs and betterment organizations, along with specialized schools for children, which often included education about Africa, as Anthony Benezet's school in Philadelphia did in the 1760s. During this time period and into the nineteenth century, the general term of reference for themselves and designation by

others was *African*, as in the African Meeting House in Boston, the Free African Society of Philadelphia, and the development of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church.

Contact between free African communities and Africa was constant throughout the antebellum period (1789–1861) through the whaling and sea trades and through the continued trade in humans where slavery persisted. In addition, the Caribbean trade and the Atlantic world in general were frequently traversed, and so the African diaspora and African heritage were not far from the consciousness of most African Americans, as is illustrated in many slave narratives. The Old Testament stories of Joseph, Moses, Daniel, Gideon, Joshua, and David, which are common to ISLAM and Christianity, held significant messages of God's care and the coming deliverance and were familiar and central texts to African-American children. Because many of the people who were enslaved had origins in the predominantly Muslim populations of West Africa, the transition to another "religion of the book," as Muslims traditionally recognize JUDAISM and Christianity, was not drastic. The innocent and persecuted Jesus of Christianity or Issa of Islam also spoke to the condition of African Americans, and all figured in the music and coded messages of cultural communication in which children participated. Community celebrations involving music and dance, recognized calendar holidays, and claimed holidays, such as the Pinksterfest in New York, were times of reunion and reconnection, as well as places to build networks and a way to place children in living situations with broader opportunity, if possible. Such opportunities were, however, severely constrained for most by geography and enslavement.

Children were regular passengers on the Underground Railroad and its antecedents, and were guaranteed a home in African-American communities in free Canada, Mexico, or Florida, as well as in the northern United States. Union armies entering the South during the Civil War were trailed by large numbers of African-American children who had been sent by their parents and communities to find freedom.

The middle colonies and upper South prior to the Civil War were a blend of the above situations, with a mix of large plantation agriculture, smallholdings, and seasonal change, along with varied urbanization and the differing local presence and numbers of free African individuals. When the religious and secular, white-led African American Abolitionist and Back-to-Africa colonization movements rose in the late eighteenth century and grew in importance in the mid-nineteenth, they had at their center the images of defenseless women and children, which also became the dominant feature of the poetry, novels, and narratives of African-American literature of the period. The mobility of children and the strategic placement of children so they would have opportunities for education and freedom were sometimes

enhanced by white patrons and allies but more often were constrained by high mortality, malnutrition, and the violent suspicions of white neighbors and authorities.

Children's TOYS and games in African-American communities were most often homemade and were the hoops, balls, and corn-husk or rag DOLLS typical of the various time periods and locations. Storytelling among children was encouraged by adults and was more distinctively African-American than were toys—as was childhood preaching by both boys and girls. These practices, along with music, dancing, and memory games, were often treated as competitive, while organized outdoor games were somewhat circumscribed until more recent times. Verbal skill and play-acting were essential survival skills for many African-American children. On the occasions they interacted with or were questioned by white authority figures or informers, they needed to be able to protect community secrets, and hide their own possible feelings of fear or resentment.

The distinctive NAMING of children with Africanized or invented names and creative spellings and pronunciations, making each child unique, has always been a part of African-American practice. When resented or disallowed as legal names by whites, such names reemerge as creative nicknames, endearments, chosen names, multiple names for particular circumstances, or names to recognize achievements or social positions. This practice of making a child different and special through a name not only allows for easy identification in a wide community but also gives a child an owned and positive difference in a social context where other experiences of difference will likely have negative impacts. Children are to be both seen and heard in African-American communities, which builds both presence and confidence lest they disappear both literally or figuratively in the discouragement of an oppressive environment. Such naming occurs across the spectrum of education, income, and status up to the present and is one of many strategies used by adults to ensure the normal psychological development of children who will experience discrimination early; it functions as a means to externalize the ignorance of others.

Discipline and Family

Outsiders often regard the disciplining of African American children as demanding or harsh, with an emphasis on minding and respecting elders. In a world of particular danger for African Americans, and in which police and teachers are not necessarily allies or to be trusted, it is important to have children respond immediately to adult warnings or commands. Older children as well as unrelated adults keep an eye out for trouble that might come to African-American youngsters, and responsible adults are prepared to supervise children, whether or not the children are known to them. Such community behavior relies on the kind of strict training that will guarantee a response from children who may need to recognize both subtle and overt warnings and advice from adults.

It also demands clear and frank communication about such situations between adults and children when they are on familiar ground; this often happens through storytelling and relating past experiences. Because many adults feel that the painful realities of contemporary racism must be related to children for their own safety, the painful past, which may not be directly relevant to children, often remains untold. It is typical that the vast majority of children who were born to people who had formerly been enslaved never heard from their parents about the experience of slavery, and many young African Americans have little knowledge of the days of violent legal segregation.

Adolescent rebellion, or self-definition, is normally externalized from family and community so that it is rare for African-Americans to have fraught relationships with their parents as older children or as adults. Children generally understand the situations of their parents and know who their biological parents are, as well as their relationship to the other adults in their lives who may play a parental role. While other cultures may treat the existence of such varied PARENTING as a family secret or as something shameful, it is openly acknowledged to most African-American children from a young age. In this way, children know the vagaries of the world, and also know that their caregivers have chosen them and are doing their best. Children grow up knowing a wide circle of siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles, many of whom may not be blood relations, and regularly experience large reunions of families and communities. The long post-puberty dependence that emerged in white communities in the twentieth century remained atypical for African Americans, who continued to quickly take on adult earning responsibility and sexual experience.

After the Civil War, some of the main concerns of the Freedman's Bureau were centered around children in the search of lost relatives and the demand for education. Many newly freed African-American citizens rejected other forms of agricultural labor in favor of sharecropping because it allowed them to build a family and community structure where the care of children and the elderly could be pooled and the basic community institutions, church and school, could be supported. In both rural and urban contexts, it was typical for both parents to work outside the home and for the older children to be responsible for managing the household during parental absences with the advice of elderly neighbors or friends. While they were responsible for significant duties within the home, African-American children were much less likely to work for wages outside the home than were white children of similar economic status. When African-American children went to live with other adults, it was most likely for educational or apprenticeship purposes or to leave particularly difficult or oppressive circumstances. This was in contrast to the ways impoverished or orphaned white children would be sent off to work for wages and often encour-

tered even more difficult and oppressive circumstances than those they left.

Aspiration, Connection, and Responsibility

After the Civil War, social distinctions became important within communities where the small but significant free African-American populations often had experienced a high degree of interracial marriage. The descendants of these mixed marriages often assumed leadership roles within the community but also sometimes set boundaries between themselves and those who were recently freed. When intermarriage declined drastically in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the U.S. with the end of Reconstruction and the rise of racism based on “scientific” theories, EUGENICS, legal segregation, and in many places prohibition of intermarriage, the elite of the African-American community developed institutions for their own children. Some were based on distinct church congregations, but specialized SUMMER CAMPS and clubs like the Jack and Jill clubs emphasized class differences among African-American children. The Women’s Club movement and the desire for “respectability” helped form the family patterns and aspirations of the elite, and their expectations for their children, while the enforcement of segregation pushed some people toward passing as white and others toward the larger African-American community.

During the Great Migration from the rural South to northern cities, which started before World War I, African-American children continued to play a mediating role, connecting communities and relatives who had become separated. Children would be sent South to friends and relatives to “stay out of trouble” in the summer and North to friends and relatives during the school year to get a decent education. Years and several generations later, these links are still maintained between the cities of the North and the rural South through the exchange of children. Older urban children often remain in charge of significant aspects of home life while all available adults work, just as they did in rural economies. African-American adults and children tend to socialize together to a greater degree than those in other communities, and seek to maintain wide networks of acquaintance and support.

Children and adolescents played a significant role during the civil rights movement, often standing in for parents whose circumstances did not permit their direct participation. The widespread news coverage of the movement led some to criticize this “use” of children, but African-American children have long played significant and strategic social roles in society. As migration and media portrayals led whites to have more and more encounters, both real and virtual, with African-American children, many white adults were critical of the assertiveness of African-American children and of their comfort around adults. This disapproval, along with children’s unfamiliar names and family patterns

that appeared disorganized and immoral to outsiders, has often led sectors of the white public to view African-American children negatively.

In the meantime, the channeling of children into avenues where they will have opportunities to be successful and creative continues. When the New York City budget crisis eliminated all arts and music programs, young people took the musical instruments at hand—their parents’ stereo systems—and by manipulating the recordings to both sample snippets of music and make new sounds, the rap industry and hip-hop visual, literary, and dance culture were born. When sports became a vehicle for academic scholarships and direct material success, parents and children in African-American communities dedicated themselves to encouraging all kinds of athletic endeavors. When community colleges declared open admissions, youth of color flocked into higher education. Children as entrepreneurs and entertainers are not new to African American communities. They participate both in negative and positive ways, but always as full social participants, following the paths of opportunity. The community generally continues to support unconventional and nonconforming children in unfamiliar endeavors. It is much rarer for African-American children to be written off or completely separated from family and community than it is among other groups.

Immigration and U.S. expansion have brought Latino and Caribbean children of African heritage, as well as African children, to the United States. Some of them resist being labeled African American and see themselves as distinct. Ongoing tensions within black communities, including those involving class differences, people of mixed-race parentage or people involved in mixed-race relationships, gender, rural/urban divisions, and religious differences, have brought with them variation and rich infusions of culture, as well as new social options. Children reflect these interactions even as the social segregation of U.S. society increases in the early twenty-first century, particularly for children. Often the objects of social commentary and research, African-American children remain the central subjects of African-American family and community life.

See also: **Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.**

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ANDREW THOMPSON MILLER

Age and Development

Age and development are concepts central to contemporary Western understandings of children's growth and to the way

industrialized societies have been organized since approximately the middle of the nineteenth century. If the notion of development offers a map to social and cultural constructions of maturity, the physiological and psychological characteristics accompanying chronological age are the signposts of notable change along its path. By the late twentieth century, the developmental stages of juvenile maturation were thought to proceed in sequence through eight distinguishable but overlapping stages: from early infancy to later infancy; to early childhood and then middle childhood; to pre-, early, middle, and later ADOLESCENCE.

Ariès and the Modern Family

The so-called modern family as described by PHILIPPE ARIÈS in *Centuries of Childhood* was characterized (in part) by the degree to which parents were alive to these phases of their children's growth, as opposed to earlier, more rudimentary, divisions. Overall, the enlarging discernment of predictable chronological and developmental changes in the child reflected the "sentimentalization" of childhood; that is, children were increasingly regarded as requiring special care and attention by adults and were believed to occupy a stage of life precious to their formation individually and collectively as future adults. The sentimentalization of children occurred on a broad scale and was combined with the creation of institutions—notably universal schooling—that were sponsored, with a few exceptions, by the emerging urban middle class of industrialized Europe and North America. They were later applied by the state at all levels of the social structure in these societies.

The dawning concern with children's development can be traced in part to the ancient recognition of the ages of life (or "ages of man"), a concept acknowledged in Western culture from at least the sixth century B.C.E. According to Ariès, Ionian formulations of the ages of man ultimately found their way centuries later into Byzantine writings and, subsequently, into what he called "scientific vulgarizations" of the sixteenth century. During the 1500s the popular understanding of human biology, according to Ariès, derived from the notion of a "universal system of correspondences," that is, the belief that there is a symbolism in numbers that binds natural phenomena into relations or "correspondences" with one another. (Accordingly, the ages of man, of which there were seven, were believed to parallel the number of planets observed in the night sky.)

The Steps of the Ages

The seven ages of man, from birth to death, were depicted iconographically beginning in the fourteenth century as the seven "steps of the ages," which enjoyed popular currency as a means of visualizing human aging. Ascending from the left and descending to the right, these representations begin with a child on a hobbyhorse (the "age of toys"). On the next, boys are depicted as learning to read and girls as spinning



The ages of human development, from the cradle to the deathbed, are depicted in this eighteenth-century French print. © Bettmann/CORBIS.

yarn. This is succeeded by the “age of love”—scenes of boys and girls walking together, or of wedding celebrations. At the summit is the age of war and chivalry, where a man bearing arms is pictured. Then decline: represented on the next (and lower) stair are “men of law, science, or learning”; just below, the “old bearded scholar” sitting by the fire; and finally, infirmity and death.

While children occupied the first two stairs on the steps of the ages, Ariès contended that it was not until the seventeenth century that idea of childhood was recognized as a stage of life in the West, at which point it began commanding particular attention by parents and society’s institutions. Ariès argued that this change could be seen in the depictions of children that became common in the 1600s, when they were shown as individuals with characteristic childlike features, clothing, and accoutrements. Indeed, Ariès felt it was the increased effort to differentiate children from adults and the physical separation of children from adult society that defined family life as “modern” and suggested a seemingly permanent departure from child-treatment practices that had been common since ancient times.

Since Ariès, historians have looked much more closely for clues to test the validity of his chief claim, that childhood did not exist before the seventeenth century, or more precisely, that anything like the contemporary fixation on children’s well-being and growth flourished before the 1600s. They have discovered a much greater attentiveness to childhood and to the stages of children’s emergence from physical, material, and psychological dependence on adults than had been appreciated by Ariès.

Medieval Views on Childhood

Most notably, Shulamith Shahar found that medieval medical works, didactic literature, and moral treatises not only recognized several stages in human life but commonly divided childhood itself into three stages: *infantia*, *pueritia*, and *adolescencia*. Further, most authorities referred to what is now termed the postadolescent phase as *juventus*. Each of these stages implied fairly uniform age groupings.

Infantia lasted from birth to about age seven. Within this stage an early phase lasted from birth to roughly age two—the point when the child has all of its teeth and can walk.

Some writers detected a second substage that ended around age five, when the child's speech is perfected.

Pueritia lasted from age seven to age twelve for girls and to age fourteen for boys, which recognized the differing physiological maturation of girls and boys. The hallmark of this stage, the so-called age of reason, was marked by the capacity of children to distinguish between right and wrong. And yet this potential was accompanied by a supposed proclivity for sin beginning around the age of seven, which was seen as corresponding with the growth of the child's intellect. Still, some religious moralists argued that such reasoning was not commonly accessible to children until the age of ten or ten-and-a-half. Thus, a substage was spliced into *pueritia* that suggested, again, more acute sensitivity to children's aptitudes than was once thought to have been the case. Hence, children under the age of fourteen usually were not considered accountable for crimes, were not liable for oaths, were not subject to penance for sexual sins, and generally performed a lighter penance than adults for sins to which they confessed. Further, young people in this stage of life were observed to be very impressionable, both moody and carefree, to crave sleep and food, to prefer the company, praise, and admonitions of their peers to those of adults, and to be immodest about their bodies. Like moderns, the medieval sages noted the onset of PUBERTY at age twelve for girls and age fourteen for boys.

While there was wide consensus among writers about the initiation of *adolescentia* there was little agreement about when this third stage concluded. Some set its end at the age of twenty-one, others at twenty-five, twenty-eight, thirty, or as late as thirty-five. Many, as intimated by Ariès, divided the ages into multiples of seven, which meant that this stage began straightforwardly at fourteen and ended at twenty-one. Legally, adulthood could include the rights of males and females to marry, own, inherit, and transmit property, bear witness at legal or ecclesiastical proceedings, and to be fully accountable under the laws of the land. While statutes varied dramatically across the European continent, Roman law remained a powerful influence throughout the Middle Ages. Under Roman law, twenty-five was the age of adulthood, the age at which males entailed many rights and responsibilities.

Notable in Shahar's view is that while writers during the Middle Ages addressed themselves to both girls and boys in their musings on the earliest phases of child life, separate treatments are devoted to girls and boys in discussions of *pueritia*. Boys, it was urged, should be schooled. Girls, on the other hand, might be advised to learn how to perform more homely tasks, yet they received decreasing attention in this literature and, according to Shahar, were "almost overlooked in discussions of transitions to full adulthood" (p. 30).

Childhood as Perceived by the Masses

The relative newness of the concept of childhood—the foundation of Ariès's claims about the supposed modernity

of family life after the seventeenth century and for the eventual articulation of children's observed physical, mental, moral, and emotional development—was modified if not overturned by Shahar and others. Nonetheless, just as the bases of Ariès's inferences were distrusted for having been drawn from the upper strata of Western culture (think of the seven steps which depicted a child on a hobby horse or boys learning to read, for instance), so also were his critics guilty of invoking the formulations of a social elite in studying the early modern era. Until the nineteenth century the great mass of people were illiterate, therefore recommendations to parents to educate their sons could only be aimed at parents who were themselves literate and who saw the necessity of LITERACY for sons who, too, would circulate among other literate men. Popular literacy would spread in the wake of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION after the sixteenth century, as the individual's ability to interpret scripture was critical to personal salvation in nascent Protestantism. Yet it was presumed at that time and for centuries to follow that parents, especially fathers, would be responsible for instructing their children in the basics of literacy. Therefore, the formation of schools for the masses, so crucial to spreading ideas about age and development, still lay far in the future. How prevalent then was the sensitivity to gradations of chronological age and development in the everyday lives of common people? In other words, how common were these ideas among those who constituted the great bulk of humankind, rather than in the observations and judgments of jurists, moralists, and philosophers?

Certainly in agrarian societies children's physical development was not lost on households that needed the labor of every hand. Work and need were always in greater abundance than the capacity to meet them. The ability of children to do small chores was helpful, but eagerly anticipated was the day when a young person could perform the tasks of an adult. In societies in which child mortality was high, disease shortened the adult life span, and illness, accident, or misfortune truncated so many working lives, the individual physical capacities of children must have been contemplated with the passing of each season. It is reasonable to believe that parents and kin were at least grossly attuned to the bodily and emotional changes of young ones, even if without the kind of sensitivity to children's growth that prevails in modern life. Nonetheless, the arc of children's growth as a social, rather than a physical, phenomenon only faintly resembled what we are accustomed to today.

Maturation in Agrarian Societies

One of the most significant reasons for this is that the productive bases of the household lay in agrarian rather than industrial pursuits. A striking difference between agrarian societies and later industrial ones is that agrarian societies did not recognize adolescence as a separate physical and psychological stage in an individual's advance toward adulthood. The addition of adolescence as a recognized life stage would

not become common until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The absence of widespread recognition of adolescence in agrarian societies is arrestingly evident in two descriptions of children's coming of age. The first is historical and is offered by John Demos about children in colonial Massachusetts in the seventeenth century:

Once the child had begun to assume an adult role and style, around the age of six or seven, the way ahead was fairly straightforward. Development toward full maturity could be accomplished in a gradual, piecemeal, and largely automatic fashion. . . . Here was no "awkward" age—but rather the steady lengthening of a young person's shadow, and the whole instinctive process through which one generation yielded imperceptibly to its successor. (p. 150)

The second description is rendered by educator and ethnographer Leonard Covello about attitudes toward young people's development as expressed by southern Italian immigrants to the United States during the 1920s. Notice the similarity to Demos's observations: again, growing up is described as a process of incremental, seamless emergence into adult society:

Under the southern Italian cultural patterns, all children were useful and effective members of their families from an early age [five or six]. As the child became older and increased in physical strength and experience, in judgment and dependability, he performed more numerous and more difficult tasks. . . . There were no sharp age divisions; each shaded into the older and younger. So general was the pattern of life where children fitted into family life and its economy that all people were divided into two groups: children and adults. There was no adolescent group. . . . There were helpless infants and playful tots, young men and women, feeble folk, but there was never a group of adolescents. (pp. 270, 288–289)

As John Gillis points out, until the industrial era relations between the generations within the household were arranged spatially rather than temporally. That is, one's status derived not by achieving a certain age but rather by one's relation to the head of the household. In a very real sense, as Gillis says, until one became the head of one's own household, a man or a woman was ever a boy or a girl. Still, in a functional sense, a boy's or girl's maturation propelled him or her toward full membership in the economy of household relations at a steady rate, and so their subordinate status was also surely provisional and relative.

Children in the Industrial Age

This all began to change, however, with the reorganization of production initiated by industrialization, which in turn

stimulated the rapid growth of cities. Cities and their industries were fed by the migration of people, primarily from the countryside—whether the hinterlands from which these migrations issued were local, regional, national, or intercontinental in nature. Swelling nineteenth-century cities revealed two developments relevant here: the growing degree of household dependence on waged labor and the extent to which children's time, in particular, was unstructured. Children on farms were of no concern to anyone except their own households; children present on city streets and underoccupied, however, made apparent the social costs of production's reorganization under burgeoning industrialism.

As capitalist economies grew and their commodities came increasingly from the expansion of mechanized industries, cycles of prosperity and depression became more frequent, making unemployment a recurrent feature of urban working-class life. Cities concentrated unemployment and poverty and so rendered its victims both visible and anonymous. Despite the eagerness of civic leaders in Europe and, especially, the United States to make individual family heads accountable for their own and their children's penury, eventually it was seen that some accommodation must be made for children and youths whose time and activities were underutilized. During the nineteenth century a connection would be drawn between the presumed moral effects of unoccupied time for children and its broader social consequences: a child of tender age enrolled in the "street school" of idleness, it was perceived, would inevitably become a soul-hardened adult due to frequent encounters with poverty and its twin, vice, both familiar escorts on the road to a life of crime. While the histories of social welfare in Europe and North America are variegated and complex, one common solution to children's exposure to idleness and its reputed effects was schooling.

Schooling, of course, owed its beginnings to ancient civilizations, and in the Middle Ages schools were instituted for the purpose of ecclesiastical recruitment and training. But again, the proportion of children (boys) educated for this purpose was miniscule. Popular schooling, which came to be seen as a panacea to the widening plagues of child unemployment and unsupervised time, could only develop if education were free. The establishment of mass schooling, which was to inculcate age consciousness to an unprecedented degree, was contingent upon two occurrences: the first was to gather all children into schools of some kind, and the second was to arrange schools internally so that children would be kept in schools for as long as was desirable for them individually and for the greater social good. The first examples of efforts to attract the great majority of children (typically children of the emerging working class and of the urban poor) into schools for the purpose of instilling morality and the fundamentals of literacy were the "charity," "Sunday," and "infant" schools of the late 1700s and early 1800s in Western Europe and the United States.

Grading and Compulsory Schooling

In the United States, each of these examples in its way inspired the creation of the COMMON SCHOOL, which offered education at no or low cost to children of all social (if not racial) backgrounds, of all ages, and both genders. The school class, which sorted pupils by age and achievement into cohorts, was pioneered in early sixteenth-century London. Yet the necessity for widespread adoption of this device (grading) was not realized until it became clear that common schools were problematic for both the working class and the middle class. Working-class parents needed their children to contribute to household income by being employed; middle-class parents desired a greater degree of training that would allow their children to master the skills necessary to become accountants, teachers, clerks, businessmen, or professionals. These skills, which included verbal and quantitative facility, familiarity with the arts and letters and fluency in a foreign language, were transportable from industry to industry. By arranging the public school curriculum sequentially, during the second half of the nineteenth century grading endowed the student who progressed through it with great usefulness in an economy in which proprietorship was rapidly being eclipsed by salaried employment. Because grading tended to standardize the curriculum wherever it was implemented, it also certified a level and range of competency at each grade.

Still, pressure on working-class children to quit school to assist the household's need for income or labor was irresistible, both in times of economic depression and prosperity. Therefore, it was decided that school attendance must be made not only free but also compulsory if the majority of children were to be educated for an extended period of their lives. The establishment of COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE and free, graded schools in the United States took many decades to accomplish. Compulsory school attendance was first instituted by Massachusetts in 1852. The last state to pass a compulsory school attendance law was Mississippi in 1918. Of course, compulsory education legislation was not effective without complementary reinforcement by child labor laws, and most forms of CHILD LABOR were not prohibited throughout the United States until the mid 1930s. Similarly, the grading of schools began in Boston in 1847 and spread throughout the northeastern and midwestern United States but was not pervasive until the 1940s.

Nonetheless, where effectively enforced, compulsory school attendance reversed the "wealth flow" between parents and children. By forcing households to withhold their children's earning power from the sphere of commerce, children's status was altered, and parent-child relations were transformed from a spatial to temporal orientation. That is, in agrarian societies children typically worked for the benefit and well-being of the entire household and of the patriarch in particular; with compulsory school attendance and child labor laws, children could not be legally put to work until the age of fourteen, which curtailed their value as assets to the household economy.

Priceless Children

At the same time, new literary and religious sentiments took hold among the middle class that led to children becoming "sacralized." That is, childhood came to be viewed as a special state, and children were increasingly seen as a resource to be preserved, cherished, and celebrated. When this view was imposed on the working class through school requirements, the value of children within the household shifted from their utility as earners to objects of parental sentiment, and assumed a quality that Viviana A. Zelizer has called "pricelessness." One consequence of this was that at the conclusion of the nineteenth century children's BIRTHDAYS began to be celebrated annually for the first time in history. Some societies in the past had recognized specific chronological markers, such as turning age fifteen or age sixteen, but the habit of commemorating the arrival of each new year in the life of the child betokened a novel, sentimental regard for the passing of time. The accrual of experience and competence, which so enhanced child utility in the family wage economy, came at the expense of innocence and thus was viewed as a bittersweet process in the era of "priceless" children.

At the most basic level, the experience of grading revealed the extent to which children's expanding physical and intellectual aptitudes could be captured statistically and mapped onto entire groups of children. "Child accounting," which included statistics on enrollment, attendance, absenteeism, tardiness, and withdrawal from school were implemented in most northeastern and midwestern urban school systems by the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Age-grade tables, which documented the degree to which children's ages in individual schools corresponded to specified grade levels, were developed by the end of the century as well. All of these indicators implicitly measured the school's pedagogical effectiveness but also betrayed the spreading conviction that children's maturation could be normatively defined and so, too, subjected to corrective management. The peer group, previously more socially porous and tolerant of age span, was tightened to exclude children whose ages were too far above or below those set down by the cohorts created and maintained through the age-graded school class.

Philosophical Foundations

Was this sense of a schedule imposed on children by age-grading straightforwardly internalized by them, or did children's increasing awareness of themselves as being in or out of step with their classmates emerge through a process of give-and-take between the school's reinforcing structure and arising conceptions of development growing alongside of this new apparatus? It is important to recall that the philosophical convictions that undergirded compulsory school attendance, the prohibition of child labor, and a dawning awareness of children's biological and mental development were rooted in ENLIGHTENMENT notions of children's plasticity as growing creatures. English philosopher JOHN

LOCKE's essays on the necessity for parental watchfulness and constant correction of the child's natural instincts were grounded in the idea of human perfectibility, which suggested the opposite possibility—that children unmonitored and untutored would fall well short of this goal. Eighteenth-century French writer and philosopher JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU's writings on child rearing promoted the superiority of yielding to the child's natural proclivities as the best guide to parenting. While Rousseau was effectively an antidote to Locke, the belief in the child's destiny as an unfolding natural phenomenon shared the assumption that children's growth revealed a progression of changes, for ill or good. A scientific basis for this conception was stimulated by Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man* (1871), which spawned a generation of studies that sketched out parallels between the course of early human history and phases of the child's development. Nineteenth-century English philosopher Herbert Spencer added to this the notion of human progress.

Thus, the course of child study by the end of the 1800s was committed to charting the progressive appearance of cognitive, emotional, and motor functions in children from birth to adulthood. It is possible that novel theories of child development and new opportunities to observe the mass of children arranged in cohorts enabled both educators and the new discipline of psychology to formulate and test the idea of stages of child maturation precisely because children were now sorted in a way that made it possible to generalize about development with some accuracy for the first time.

Adolescence in Human Growth

The arrival of adolescence as a widely acknowledged stage in human growth signaled the successful linkage of ideas about aging and development current by the beginning of the twentieth century; and again it was schooling that provided this connection. For without schooling, the significance of adolescence would always be overshadowed by the imperatives of the family economy in working-class households. American educator and psychologist G. STANLEY HALL, who popularized the "discovery" of adolescence in 1904, when only 7 percent of all seventeen year olds graduated from high school, provided the rationale for this institutionalized cultural space in children's development. HIGH SCHOOL expanded exponentially thereafter: by 1940 almost half of all seventeen year olds earned diplomas nationally.

For the remainder of the century the nascent discipline of academic psychology vacillated on the question of whether nature or nurture is more important to children's development. Behaviorists such as American psychologist JOHN WATSON insisted on the critical place of environmental influence on children's development, while the rival view stressed the significance of biological and genetic blueprints for human maturation. American psychology for the first half of the twentieth century was Watsonian in orientation,

but this perspective was broken by the ascendance of Swiss psychologist JEAN PIAGET, who proposed a more synthetic interplay between genetic endowment and social environment.

Apart from this preoccupying (and ongoing) issue, however, two other trends arose: (1) The stages of development from birth through adolescence were divided and subdivided as specialization within the discipline proceeded; and (2) there was a tendency to privilege one stage of development over others as the "focal period." Infancy, middle childhood, and adolescence have been stressed variously as the periods of development that impart lasting critical effects on later outcomes for the individual. This line of inquiry led developmental psychologists to cast their eyes to later stages of human development and aging to try to untangle cause-and-effect relationships between stages of maturation.

Hall's disciples such as Frederic Thrasher connected observations of boys' development to justify the creation of a host of organizations ancillary to schooling, such as the PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT, youth athletics, scouting, and other after-school activities to engage children and youths in adult-supervised settings. Child and youth recreational activities adopted the idea of age groupings as an article of faith in organizing athletic competition. It has been reflected in a wide range of activities, from New York's Police Athletic League early in the 1900s to the most popular participatory sport for boys, Little League Baseball, at midcentury. By the 1920s, athletic competition was commonplace in American high schools and they, too, arranged contestants into graduated ability and age groups, typically dividing them into junior varsity and varsity teams.

Progressive Education and Social Promotion

American educator and philosopher JOHN DEWEY and his followers promoted the idea of schooling as preparation for life. The purpose of education was not just to direct intellectual inquiry but to promote "desired social ends" as well (Cahan, p. 157). While the aims of Dewey's philosophy of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION were varied and only ever implemented in a limited way, the idea of child development was a central feature and enabled school reformers to promote the extension of schooling for virtually all young people through the adolescent years by creating a curriculum that addressed their differentiated educational and social needs.

A by-product of this philosophy was the concept of "social promotion," which solidified the connections between the social and educative functions of schooling by more loosely aligning chronological age, achievement levels, and the cohort through secondary school. Social promotion legitimized promotion from one grade level to the next by demonstrating the positive social affects on child development as compared with the outcomes of promotion based on academic merit. By the early twentieth century the academic-merit system was seen as detrimental to both the educa-

tional and social needs of the individual. On the face of it, social promotion, which peaked as an educational policy during the 1970s, would seem to mitigate the heightened consciousness of age induced by age-grading, but it actually reinforced the perceived necessity for taut coordination between chronological age and cognitive and emotional development. The child's, and then adolescent's, concept of self had become so tightly bound up with the progress of his or her age cohort that developmental progress itself was seen as being fostered by keeping up socially if not educationally with one's cohort.

Assessing a Century of Change

Not coincidentally, sociologists and historians during the 1960s and 1970s began to trace the broader outlines of the normative movement from childhood to adulthood in American society. Inspired at least in part by the popular perception that young people were taking longer to come of age—that is, to assume the roles and responsibilities of adult status—they struck out to determine whether social norms involving transitions to adulthood had altered in the period between the mid-1800s and the mid-1900s. What they found was that the age at which the final transition to adulthood (family formation) occurred in the mid-twentieth century was roughly the same as it had been at the midpoint of the nineteenth century. However, the experience of coming of age—the turbulence one felt in moving from childhood to adulthood, especially in adolescence and the postadolescent years—was actually amplified by the rise of institutions to regulate these transitions. Studies by John Modell and others noted that the establishment of universal schooling during the mid-nineteenth century had created a roughly uniform starting line from which children entered and left school, entered the full-time work force, left their parents' household, married, and began their own families. Whereas before the late nineteenth century, a young person could occupy more than one of these states at the same time (i.e., be both at school and working, or working, married, and living in one's parents' household simultaneously), by the early to middle twentieth century, the transitions between them became much more tightly sequenced and separate. Widely observed age norms appeared to coordinate the individual's transition from childhood to adulthood, but the consequences for mixing these states had become (until the 1940s) detrimental to one's life chances. Marrying and remaining in one's parental household, for instance, had come to be regarded as unusual where it had once been an expected condition in agrarian societies in which the first-born male would eventually inherit the property of the household head. This was no longer the case when children were all schooled to the age of fourteen (sixteen by the 1930s) and began working until they could afford to establish their own households, marry, and procreate.

The Late Twentieth Century

By the 1950s, however, this sequencing of transitions began to get jumbled as marriage ages dropped in the wake of

World War II and schooling was extended past the age of sixteen, with larger numbers of young people entering and finishing college. To pay for higher education it was necessary for many college students to work while attending classes, and it was also not unusual for some students to start their own households, marry, and even begin bearing and raising children while enrolled in college. In short, by the 1960s and 1970s a once highly ordered set of transitions to adulthood overlapped extensively. This meant that, on one hand, individuals had wide latitude in the choices they could make about completing school, starting work, and getting married; on the other hand, they experienced greater anxiety both individually and socially about making and ordering these choices.

Since the 1970s several trends affecting the early life course were reversed: ages of first marriage for both women and men returned to their traditional averages, the middle twenties and late twenties, respectively; the average age of women at the birth of their first child increased; the birth rate plummeted; and a new trend, cohabitation, rose steadily during the last quarter of the century, suggesting that men and women no longer felt compelled to remain living with their parents immediately before establishing their own households and could defer both marriage and family formation. By the late twentieth century the early life course of women and men grew more similar. Where previously early life-course transitions were based on the assumption of a male breadwinner, male and female education levels evened out during the last quarter of the century, and wage gaps between them narrowed somewhat.

If the tightly sequenced, non-overlapping set of transitions to adulthood attested to a high degree of age consciousness at midcentury, did their unraveling intimate a loosening concern with age? Historians and social critics see mixed signs. On one hand there appears to be less age segregation than there was earlier in the century when, for instance, universities admitted few undergraduates over the ages of eighteen or nineteen. Increasingly older Americans have reentered the ranks of college students, and educational "retooling" in a rapidly changing economy has become a widely accepted practice for people who may change careers several times in their lives. It has also become more common for women to return to the workforce after bearing and rearing children. On the other hand, in the 1960s a YOUTH CULTURE flourished. It was fed by the expansion of higher education after World War II and the influx of the so-called BABY BOOM GENERATION into U.S. universities, which glorified youthfulness to an unprecedented degree. This preoccupation with the concerns of youth and images of youthfulness were intimately connected with consumer products for a mass audience for the first time and accompanied the abandonment of the previous generation's mortal fear of spending. This trend only gained momentum during the late twentieth century as this large cohort of people has aged,

creating new markets for consumers—whether truly young or young at heart—to express their feelings of affiliation with the young.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood; Theories of Childhood.**

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STEPHEN LASSONDE

Age Grading. *See* Age and Development.

Age of Consent

Traditionally the age at which individuals could come together in a sexual union was something either for the family to decide or a matter of tribal custom. Probably in most cases this coincided with the onset of MENARCHE in girls and the appearance of pubic hair in boys, that is, between twelve and fourteen, but the boundaries remained fluid. In much of classical Greece this was true of both same- and opposite-sex relationships. In Republican Rome, marriage and the age of consent were initially private matters between the families involved. Not until the time of Augustus in the first century C.E. did the state begin to intervene. Marriage then legally became a two-step process, a betrothal which involved an enforceable agreement between the heads of two households, and then marriage itself. Women who were not yet of age could be betrothed with the consent of their fathers, but the woman herself had to consent to marriage.

The Roman tradition influenced peoples and cultures with whom it had come in contact. In the Islamic tradition following Muhammad, betrothal could take place earlier than PUBERTY, perhaps as early as seven, but the marriage was not supposed to be consummated until the girl menstruated and was of age. In medieval Europe, Gratian, the influential founder of Canon law in the twelfth century, accepted the traditional age of puberty for marriage (between 12 and 14) but he also said consent was "meaningful" if the children were older than seven. Some authorities said consent could take place earlier. Such a marriage would be permanent as long as neither party sought annulment before reaching puberty (12 for girls and 14 for boys) or if they had already consummated the marriage. Even if the husband had technically raped his wife before she reached puberty, the marriage was regarded as consummated. It was this policy which was carried over into English common law, and although consent was necessary, force and influence or persuasion seemed to have been permissible elements. Similarly Gratian's ideas about age became part of European civil law.

The age of consent in both English and continental law seemed to be particularly elastic when property was involved or family alliances were at stake. For example in 1564, a three

year old named John was married to a two year old named Jane in the Bishop's Court in Chester, England. Though Shakespeare set his *Romeo and Juliet* in Verona, the fact that Juliet was thirteen probably reflects the reality in England. Her mother, who was twenty-six, calls her almost an old maid.

The American colonies followed the English tradition but the law could at best be called a guide. For example in Virginia in 1689, Mary Hathaway was only nine when she was married to William Williams. We know of her case only because two years later she sued for divorce, and was released from the covenant she had made because the marriage had not been consummated. Interestingly, historian Holly Brewer, who discovered the case, speculated that if William had raped Mary, she probably would not have been given the divorce. The only reliable data on age at marriage in England in the early modern period comes from Inquisitions Post Mortem which involved only those who died and left property. It appears that the more complete the records, the more likely it is to discover young marriages. Judges honored marriages based on mutual consent at age younger than seven, in spite of what Gratian had said, and there are recorded marriages of two and three year olds. The seventeenth-century lawyer Henry Swinburne distinguished between the marriages of those under seven and those between seven and puberty. He wrote that those under seven who had said their vows had to ratify it afterwards by giving kisses and embraces, by lying together, by exchanging gifts or tokens, or by calling each other husband or wife. A contemporary, Philip Stubbes, wrote that in sixteenth-century East Anglia, infants still in swaddling clothes were married. The most influential legal text of the seventeenth century in England, that of Sir Edward Coke, made it clear that the marriage of girls under twelve was normal, and the age at which a girl who was a wife was eligible for a dower from her husband's estate was nine even though her husband be only four years old.

The age of consent was more variable than a summary of the law seems to imply. Peter Laslett, for example, used available statistics to argue marriage and child bearing in the late teens was not common in England and marriage at twelve was virtually unknown. The problem is that his statistics might well be skewed because in England only a small portion of marriages were registered, and even on these registrations it is difficult to tell if they recorded first or second or later marriages. A second marriage by a man in his late fifties or a woman in her early thirties skews the data. Not all marriage records even bother to record the participants' ages. Unrecorded are marriages without parental consent and private weddings and the quality of data varies from region to region. For example in the parish of Middlesex County, Virginia, there is a record of fourteen-year-old Sarah Halfhide marrying twenty-one-year-old Richard Perrot. Only in the last sentence of the register does it indicate that she was a widow. Did the compiler read that far? We

simply do not know what her age at first marriage was, or even if it had been consummated. Of the ninety-eight girls on the ten-year register, three probably married at age eight, one at twelve, one at thirteen, and two at fourteen. Historians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have sometimes been reluctant to accept data regarding young ages of marriage, holding instead that the recorded age was a misreading by a later copier of the records. Natalie Davis, whose book *The Return of Martin Guerre* became a movie, made her heroine, Bertrande, much older than the nine- to ten-year-old girl she was when she married her missing husband.

In the nineteenth century France issued the Napoleonic Code and many other countries, following France's example, began revising their laws. The Napoleonic Code, however, had not changed the age of consent, which remained at thirteen. When historian Magnus Hirschfeld surveyed the age of consent of some fifty countries (mostly in Europe and the Americas) at the beginning of the twentieth century, the age of consent was twelve in fifteen countries, thirteen in seven, fourteen in five, fifteen in four, and sixteen in five. In the remaining countries it remained unclear. In England and the United States, feminist agitation in the late nineteenth century called attention to the young age of consent and called for changes in the law. By the 1920s the age of consent, a state issue in the United States, was raised in every state and ranged from fourteen to eighteen, with most states settling on sixteen or eighteen.

In the last part of the twentieth century the U.S. public once again took note of age of consent issues. Although sometimes it is not possible to identify a single age of consent since the statutory age varies with the age of the defendant and with the particular sexual activity, in the United States as of 2000 the age at which a person may engage in any sexual conduct permitted to adults within a particular state ranges between fourteen to eighteen. In the vast majority of states the age is either fifteen or sixteen. Most states set the minimum age for marriage without parental approval at eighteen, and there are elaborate provisions governing which parent must give consent and who qualifies as a custodial parent or guardian when marriage under eighteen takes place. There are occasional contradictions since some states will allow a minor to marry with parental permission at an age when the minor cannot engage in legal sexual activity, while others allow a minor to engage in sexual activity years before he or she can marry without parental approval.

See also: **Bundling; Dating; Sexuality.**

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VERN L. BULLOUGH

Aggression. See Anger and Aggression.

AIDS

AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) is the final stage of a lethal infectious disease, beginning with an infection caused by a virus and progressing to a serious and severe damage to the body's immune system. Infection occurs when the virus integrates with the genetic material of a CD4 white blood cell in the immune system. AIDS was first reported on June 5, 1981, in the United States.

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which is the cause of AIDS, attacks key cells in the human immune system and destroys them. This leaves the body exposed to life-threatening infections, specific cancers, and other illnesses. HIV is a latent virus. People infected by it may have no symptoms for many years, while their immune system weakens until they develop AIDS. The first pediatric AIDS cases were reported in San Francisco in 1982.

A laboratory test counting less than 200/ml CD4 white blood cells is the method used by the U.S. Centers for Dis-

ease Control to define AIDS. HIV/AIDS is now a chronic and treatable, but not yet curable, disease. Almost all people infected with HIV will progress to AIDS.

Persons who are carriers of HIV may transmit the virus to others, even in the symptom-free period. However, HIV does not spread as easily as many other pathogens (such as those causing tuberculosis or influenza). The virus can be transmitted from an infected individual to others only through four bodily fluids: blood, semen, breast milk, and vaginal secretions. Worldwide, women are infected more frequently than men.

Transmission of HIV is possible when:

Having unprotected anal, vaginal or oral sexual contact with an infected individual. Sexual intercourse is the most common route for HIV transmission from an infected to a noninfected person; 50 percent of cases are youths between fifteen and twenty-four years old.

Through transfusions of blood and blood products (now extremely rare in the United States and other developed countries), needle sharing (e.g., drug use, medical care in developing countries, piercing or tattooing).

Mother-to-child transmission from a pregnant woman to her fetus, via the placenta, at birth or when breast feeding the infant; the most common cause of HIV infection in young children.

Rare circumstances such as accidental needle or laboratory injuries, artificial insemination or through organ donations.

HIV infection is not spread by air, water or by casual contacts, donating blood or organs (in developed countries where sterilized equipment is used), mosquito bites, or during participation in sports.

HIV/AIDS is a public health, social, developmental, and serious humanitarian crisis in many regions of the world. The total number of people infected by HIV from the start of the epidemic was estimated in 2003 to be 60 million. During 2002 alone eight hundred thousand children younger than 15 years old were infected, at a rate of about two thousand per day.

The most affected region is sub-Saharan AFRICA, followed by Asia, LATIN AMERICA, and EASTERN EUROPE. By the year 2010 it is expected that 20 million of the 42 million ORPHANS in Africa will have lost one or both parents due to AIDS. AIDS has led to a dramatic decline in life expectancy in Africa.

Complex biological, psychological, and sociological factors put young people at greater risk for HIV infection. As a result, efforts to prevent infections are focused on this pop-

ulation, with distinctions between in-school, out-of-school and high-risk youth. Curricula, multimedia initiatives, mass media campaigns, games, and role modeling are just a few of the strategies to promote knowledge and skills for HIV/AIDS prevention worldwide. The key prevention messages focus on eliminating or reducing risks for infection by practicing safe behaviors:

Abstaining from sexual intercourse. (Abstinence is the only way to fully prevent sexual transmission of HIV.)

Reducing the number of sexual partners, delaying the initiation of penetrative sex, and correctly using a condom for intercourse in every case where the HIV status of one of the individuals is unknown reduces the risk of infection.

Avoiding any injection of drugs.

Using one-time, nonshared, sterile needle and syringe for injection of medications, blood transfusions or drugs.

For mothers who are HIV-positive, avoiding breast-feeding their infants.

Avoiding direct contact with blood where the HIV status of the bleeding individual is unknown.

Undergoing an HIV test, to determine one's and one's partners' HIV status.

Mother-to-child infection is preventable in most cases by administering medications to the mother before birth and to the infant after birth.

Children with AIDS were able to mobilize enormous public support and attention since the first days of the epidemic. For example, Ryan White (1971–1990) was a hero in his determination to fight both AIDS and AIDS-related discrimination at school. A federal legislation in the United States that addresses the unmet health needs of persons living with HIV was named after him. Nkosi Johnson (1989–2001), South Africa's longest surviving child born with HIV, captured the hearts of thousands when he spoke of his experiences with HIV/AIDS. Ariel and Jake Glaser and their mother, Elizabeth, all infected with HIV, gave rise in 1988 to the Pediatric AIDS Foundation in the United States.

The UN General Assembly Session on HIV/AIDS decided in June 2001 to ensure a massive reduction in HIV's prevalence and a dramatic increase in access of youth education and youth-specific services necessary to reduce their vulnerability to HIV infection globally by 2010.

See also: **Contagious Diseases; Epidemics.**

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INON I. SCHENKER

Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)

Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), which the U.S. Congress enacted on August 14, 1935, as part of the Social Security Act of 1935, began as a program limited to dependent children under sixteen who had lost one or both parents, an outgrowth of the underfunded widows' pensions numerous states enacted after 1911. The assistance was cash only. For every two dollars a state provided, the federal government gave one. States mostly set the eligibility rules, and in those states contributing little, difficulties abounded. Even though ADC enrolled double the children in 1939 that it had initially, it never covered more than one-third of the eligible children—and no adults. Because the aged needy had more leverage in Congress than did dependent children, a mother and her child in 1940 received \$18 a month, while the elderly needy won \$30 a month as individuals. In any event, recipients received very small sums. Until 1950 ADC offered nothing for the caregiver, only the children, forcing many mothers out of the home into the low wage job market. Many states penalized "absent fathers" and mixed moral and economic criteria for ADC. Regional differences in payments and regulations varied widely. Racists, conservatives, and low wage employers manipulated the rules in their favor—and exploited the poor—in many states.

Vastly increased federal spending in the 1940s and 1950s generated enough prosperity to make poverty (apparently) disappear, and to encourage massive movements of peoples of all classes and races around the country, and from farm to city or suburb. By the 1960s ADC and other programs ballooned, and ADC became AFDC, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, with caregivers' stipends added. In 1960 AFDC was the largest federal welfare program, with 3,000,000 enrollees. Even so, only a sixth of those eligible

were enrolled in 1960, whereas a third had been in 1939. Support averaged \$30 monthly for one dependent or \$115 per family in 1960. Well into the early 1970s, the rolls grew at a dizzying pace, due to the growing impoverishment of the lower classes. The age's egalitarianism and individualism encouraged the poor to demand welfare as a right, not merely a privilege, and this, combined with racial tensions, and the growing new conservative movement, led to increasingly fractious criticisms of AFDC. By the early 1990s, AFDC, and the compassionate welfare vision of an earlier era, was increasingly politically out of step with the times. The WELFARE REFORM ACT OF 1996 ended AFDC.

See also: **Great Depression and New Deal; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act; Social Welfare.**

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

Alcohol. *See* Teen Drinking.

Alcott, Bronson (1799–1888)

Born November 29, 1799, in Wolcott, Connecticut, Amos Bronson Alcott (known as Bronson) was an educator, author, child psychologist, reformer, self-styled conversationalist, lecturer, and transcendental philosopher. He formulated an innovative approach to education and revised traditional assumptions about childhood. However, Alcott's strongest legacy is the formative impressions he made on his better-remembered daughter, Louisa May Alcott, and his many friends, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. Often characterized by historians as a dreamy, vague, ineffectual man, Alcott's greatest crime may have been poor writing. Although he was a great conversationalist and public speaker, his intimate companions proved more able to communicate his principles in writing.

Alcott grew up in rural poverty; his schooling began with charcoal letters on the floor and formally ended at age thirteen. Afterward he found employment as a peddler and journeyed to the South before returning to Connecticut to work as a schoolteacher in 1823. His early educational innovations included beautifying the schoolroom with pictures and tree branches, adding physical exercise to intellectual exertions,

and developing his students' reasoning capacities rather than their memorization skills. Alcott found support in the educational reforms proposed by JOHANN PESTALOZZI in Switzerland and Robert Owen in England. Yet his ideas were not well received by local parents, who withdrew their students from his school, forcing him into itinerant teaching after 1827.

In 1830 Alcott married Abigail May, the reform-minded daughter of a socially prominent New England family. At the birth of their first daughter, Anna, in 1831, Alcott started a journal of infant observation. He continued his scrutiny of Anna and her younger sisters for five years, filling over fifty journals. He concluded that children were born with intuitive wisdom and the potential for good; it was the responsibility of parents and educators to elicit children's innate morality and to develop their self-knowledge, self-control, and self-reliance. Alcott's effort to understand child development have earned him a reputation as the first child psychologist.

To put his philosophy into practice, Alcott opened the Temple School in Boston in 1834. The Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing supported the project and persuaded many elite families to enroll their children. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who later founded the American KINDERGARTEN movement, assisted. Alcott tried to elicit his students' inner wisdom through silent study, physical exercise, journal writing, and Socratic conversations. He limited corporal punishment; nonetheless, he was a stern disciplinarian, working on his students' consciences rather than their fears—twice he even had students hit him to evoke their contrition. His school was initially popular, but when Alcott published his *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (1836–1837), many were shocked by his unconventional approach to religion and withdrew their children from his classroom. His admission of a black student the following year lost Alcott the remaining pupils, and the school failed.

In 1840 Alcott moved to Concord to be close to his friends Emerson and Hawthorne. He engaged in many projects before his death in 1888, but few were successful. Alcott's utopian community Fruitlands (1843–1844) attracted many visitors but quickly fell apart. His books had few readers, although his speaking tours were popular. He depended on his wife and daughters for economic support, especially after the success of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868), the text that best captures his ideas.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Little Women and Louisa May Alcott.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Alcott, Louisa May. See *Little Women and Louisa May Alcott*.

Allowances

The practice of giving children allowances developed in the early twentieth century when children's purchases of MOVIE tickets, candy, and TOYS raised concerns about their spending habits. During the Progressive Era (1890s–1920s), allowance advocates recommended giving children a regular but fixed supply of money to inculcate respect for money. Though not the first to advocate allowances—Lydia Maria Child had endorsed allowances to encourage benevolence and fiscal responsibility as early as 1831—Progressive-era child-rearing authorities joined a much larger chorus calling for new money training regimes in women's magazines and parental advice literature.

Allowance proponents believed that lessons in wise spending taught fiscal restraint better than habitual saving. This put them at odds with traditional thrift advocates who valorized saving as a virtue in itself and favored school savings bank programs that made compulsory saving part of the public school curriculum. Nevertheless, allowance proponents and school savings bank enthusiasts both embraced principles of scientific management and behaviorist child rearing that emphasized the importance of system, regularity, and routine to habit formation. Just as advocates of scientific mothering sought to rationalize infants' habits of feeding, sleeping, and toileting, allowance proponents sought to rationalize children's economic habits.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the public culture of DATING and mass recreation intensified family conflicts over spending. Middle-class families faced stepped up demands for spending money, while working-class families found it more difficult to claim their children's wages without granting them a greater share of their own earnings. Child-rearing authorities promoted allowances as a means of modernizing and democratizing the family. Allowances were children's entitlement to their share of the family's resources and psychological compensation for their prolonged dependency.

Viewing allowances as a strictly educational tool, child-rearing authorities criticized using allowance money as a payment for household chores, a reward for good behavior, or a punishment for delinquencies. Doing so, they argued,

confounded principles of duty and family obligation with the principles of the marketplace. In place of parental surveillance and parental admonitions, child-rearing experts advised giving children responsibility for their own spending choices as well as their spending mistakes. Granting children such autonomy, they argued, helped children to improve their taste and develop habits of saving as they learned to forgo candy and cheap trinkets in order to purchase more expensive goods. This was in keeping with JOHN DEWEY's idea that education should be molded to the individual child. These child-centered means served adult-approved ends as children learned to spend wisely within a budget.

Allowances continued to garner support during the Great Depression, partly as a means to moderate children's demands on limited family resources, but also because spending itself came to be seen as vital to economic recovery and emotional well-being. Children's consumer desires were now evidence of a well-adjusted personality and excessive thriftiness a sign of a lackluster imagination.

Statistics suggest that parents increasingly used allowances to allocate family resources. According to a 1936 survey, nearly 50 percent of children from professional families received allowances—an impressive increase over the single-digit percentages that typically prevailed at the turn of the twentieth century—while 28 percent of "semi-skilled" workers and 12 percent of "slightly skilled" workers gave their children allowances. The rising standard of living in postwar America made children's allowances both more common and more generous. Allowance rates climbed substantially after 1960, when a *Seventeen* magazine survey indicated that the average teenage girl had a weekly income of \$9.53. A 1999 Rand Youth Poll found that the typical weekly allowance for thirteen to fifteen year olds ranged from \$30.50 to \$34.25.

Although children's economic clout has risen dramatically, the case for allowances has changed little since the GREAT DEPRESSION. Child experts continue to argue that children with allowances learn fiscal restraint while children without master only how to manipulate family breadwinners. It is not clear how much parents are themselves guided by expert opinion. Though an educational tool in theory, children's allowances are commonly viewed as an economic entitlement—a sign that twenty-first-century American children perhaps owe their spending power more to the tenets of family democracy than to concerns about inculcating wise spending.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Consumer Culture.**

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LISA JACOBSON

American Indian Schools

“You have no education,” declared Capt. Richard H. Pratt, founder of the famous Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to a group of Lakota Sioux in 1879 (p. 222). Like generations of white Americans before and after him, this dedicated but ethnocentric educator assumed that because tribal peoples did not educate their children within the four walls of a school building, they were uneducated. Yet education was highly institutionalized in traditional Indian societies. Family members, especially older people such as grandfathers and grandmothers, along with specialists in economic activities, warfare, art, and spiritual matters *systematically* educated boys and girls into responsible tribal adulthood.

Unable to see such apparently unstructured activities as education, from colonial times until well into the twentieth century, European Americans set out to Christianize and “civilize” Indian peoples through the schooling of their children. The term *Indian schools* thus generally refers to establishments designed specifically for tribal boys and girls. “The Apostle of the Indians,” seventeenth century Puritan missionary John Eliot, for example, established fourteen “praying towns” in New England. Schools were central to his mission. Initially quarantined from their supposedly deficient family backgrounds, pupils would first be saved themselves, and would then return as cultural brokers—mediators—to carry the Gospel and English culture back to their peoples.

The U.S. government continued this crusade. Employing the “Civilization Fund” of (initially) \$10,000 provided by Congress in 1819, the new Office/Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) worked alongside missionaries throughout the nineteenth century. Many treaties provided funds in exchange for surrendered lands, and Indian peoples often willingly utilized such money to help sustain schools, becoming active participants in this enterprise. By 1824 there were thirty-two BIA-sanctioned missionary schools among the tribes, enrolling almost 1,000 children. As the decades passed the BIA increasingly came to dominate the campaign. By around 1900 the vast majority of the 20,000 school-going Native Americans attended a government day school, on-reservation or off-reservation boarding school. Some of the latter schools, such as Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, had become beacons of civ-



These Native American students are pictured with their teachers, c. 1900, most likely at the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Although the treatment of students at these schools could be harsh, many students came to identify with the institutions and considered them “our schools.” © CORBIS.

ilization, at any one time enrolling hundreds of pupils from tens of different tribes. Most of these boys and girls traveled great distances from their homes to a deep immersion experience. Some lived years at the school in the midst of a white community, without a single return home, and spent part of each summer “outing”—working for—white American families or businesses.

Early in the twentieth century more and more Indian children began to attend state public schools, often with government support. But the BIA campaign also continued, and by 1930 almost 38,000 tribal children attended government Indian schools; with a slightly larger number enrolling in public schools. By then almost all tribal children of school-going age were enrolled in some kind of school. This gradual transfer of Indians from BIA to state public schools has continued throughout the twentieth century. In the year 2002 90 percent of tribal children attended public schools with children of other ethnic groups. Most of the remaining ten percent attended the surviving Indian schools: many were tribal-controlled, often run by their own peoples on BIA grants or contracts. Older Indians attended postsecondary institutes such as the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Insti-

tute (SIPI) in Albuquerque, New Mexico. In addition there were twenty-five tribally controlled community colleges by 2003. Tens of thousands of Indian men and women attended a variety of white American colleges and universities.

In 2003 Indian peoples had vastly more control over the running of specifically Indian schools than in 1903. Yet numbering only around two million in a population of 280 million, they were still at the mercy of majority politics and fashions. A federal government-to-tribal government relationship, grounded in the Constitution, treaties, legislation, and court decisions, still forms the basis of federal responsibility for support of Indian schooling. (The making of treaties with Indian peoples ended in 1871 but ratified treaties remain part of federal law.) Native Americans must constantly struggle, however, to maintain adequate local control over the education of their young people, while simultaneously holding the United States to its historical legal and financial responsibilities.

Indian schools themselves experienced massive changes throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. Now the BIA cooperates in helping Indian peoples teach both traditional and dominant cultural values, thus contributing to tribal sovereignty and self-determination. It was not always so. Until the 1930s, when, influenced by the PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION movement and the new academic anthropology, a more culturally tolerant approach began in the BIA, the curriculum at government and missionary Indian schools was rigidly ethnocentric. Almost nothing relating to tribal spiritual and cultural values was taught, although some traditional arts and crafts occasionally made the curriculum in the early twentieth century. Instruction at BIA and many missionary schools was *through English*, even for children totally ignorant of the language—producing greater bewilderment in the already disorientated beginner. The “half-and-half” curriculum at Indian schools mixed vocational training supposedly appropriate to the sexes (such as farming for boys, and kitchen work for girls) with forms of academic instruction. Pupils at small schools hardly got much beyond the “three R’s,” along with a fourth: some form of (Christian) religion. At schools like Carlisle, the curriculum was often as good as that provided for many white children. In addition, big schools encouraged a multitude of extracurricular activities such as football, theater and debating clubs, along with student-produced newspapers (vetted by school authorities, of course). Whether broad or narrow, the goal of this curriculum was to detribalize Indians and turn them into Christian citizens, indistinguishable in anything but skin color from other Americans. BIA education, wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones in 1903, would “exterminate the Indian but develop a man” (quoted in Coleman, p. 46).

One might expect that ex-pupils who attended Indian schools during the era of assimilation, especially those living

in the ethnically conscious later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, would have decried a system exhibiting such contempt for their own cultural heritage. From letters, reminiscences, interviews, and autobiographies, however, it emerges that children responded in many different ways to this schooling. Even the same individual might express strong ambivalence. Large numbers fled the schools (as run-aways); far too many sickened or died at them. Even larger numbers suffered, accommodated, resisted, and used the schools to their own advantage. Perhaps surprisingly, many ex-students left positive recollections of their schooling, even at institutions where corporal and other kinds of punishment were frequently used. Gifted children, especially, and those who quickly learned the language of instruction, sometimes thrilled to the new learning. Although some Indian kinfolk strongly opposed schooling, others saw its advantages for family and group. Thus many children began school with the pragmatic words of tribal adults ringing in their ears: to survive in the modern world, the people need English and the skills of the white man. Learn!

And many did. A combination of factors beyond kin encouragement combined to help tens of thousands of Indian children survive and sometimes thrive in an alien educational environment. The resilience and inventive coping strategies of individual boys and girls, along with the mutually helpful support of peers were crucial. At large schools pupil subcultures developed, with their own rules, rituals, and slang; these helped pupils adapt while allowing a degree of enjoyable resistance to authorities. The sensitivity of gifted teachers must also be acknowledged (although other teachers were harsh or even brutal).

Although tribal identities survived, the Indian schools did achieve a high degree of success by their own assimilationist criteria. For over a century large numbers of children attended, learned English, accepted the alien curriculum (even in retrospect, few adult autobiographers expressed resentment about its content), returned to their peoples, and passed into life on or off the reservation as American citizens of tribal origin. Some consequences were less acceptable from a government perspective. By bringing children from different tribes together the schools probably stimulated pan-Indian identification. Ex-students also used their schooling to resist white encroachments, employing the English language, modern media, American politics and law in defense of tribal rights. In diverse and sometimes unexpected ways, then, these schools did help tribal peoples survive the onslaught of European-American civilization.

Many Indians came to strongly identify with their institutions, and when the BIA closed old boarding schools in the later twentieth century, Indians sometimes agitated to keep them open. For many they had by then become “our schools,” and some still exist in the early twenty-first century in different forms, with strong local Indian support. Haskell

Boarding School in Lawrence, Kansas, for example, became the Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU). “Critics dismiss boarding schools as assimilationist institutions whose intent was to destroy Native culture,” writes Esther Burnett Horne, a woman of part-Shoshone ancestry who was both a student and a highly accomplished teacher at a number of Indian schools throughout the twentieth century. “While this may be a true generalization, the students and teachers at Haskell will forever be an integral part of who I am as an American Indian.” (Horne and McBeth, p. 53).

See also: **Native American Children.**

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MICHAEL C. COLEMAN

Amusement Parks. See Theme Parks.

Ancient Greece and Rome

OVERVIEW

Elise P. Garrison

SELF-FORMATION

Susanna Elm

OVERVIEW

Some contemporary scholarship suggests that adults held children in the Greco-Roman world in small regard, that childhood was simply a period of waiting to grow up, and that what we know today as ADOLESCENCE was unknown in the ancient world. Others argue that the way children were represented in the literary and material arts in ancient times illustrates the LOVE and pride in which family and community held them. In addition, the careful structure society placed on the stages of childhood in this ancient culture, demarcated by very distinct rituals, indicates how much emphasis adults placed on the progress of their children. The clear distinction between childhood and adulthood was felt in all aspects of Greco-Roman society: domestic, civic, sociopolitical, legal, personal, and ritual.

General Considerations and Source Limitations

Typical Greek city-states (*poleis*) shared the values of freedom, competition, individualism, law, commerce, and the

use of slaves, and all city-states worshipped the same Olympian gods. Athens and Sparta are two typical city-states, but they each have a uniqueness that makes them of interest, both separately and in conjunction. The majority of ancient written sources that present views or images of children are primarily written by men in classical Athens (fifth to fourth centuries B.C.E.), and none of the sources present evidence for the everyday life of a child or come from the children themselves. Of equal note is the fact that the ancient sources present cultural values on the one hand and social norms on the other. Cultural values are ambiguous. For example, the representation of children in tragedy, though meager, shows the loving care devoted to them by their nurses, tutors, or parents, while the philosophers present a less attractive picture. For PLATO, children belong with women, slaves, and animals, and as animals stand in relation to humans, so too do children to adults. ARISTOTLE likened the physical appearance of boys to women, and also considered them physically weak, morally incompetent, and mentally incapable. He believed that children knew little and were gullible and easily persuaded. The norms, however, are well articulated and unambiguous. For example, a male infant must be accepted into his family through a specific set of ritualistic steps.

In Rome, because of the extent of the power (*patriae potestas*) of the male head of the household (*paterfamilias*), children had few if any rights throughout the Roman Republic and Empire, and surprisingly little attention has been paid to children per se in contemporary scholarship. Most research focuses on the family (which in Rome includes not only the natal family, but also the conjugal, extended, and foster family and slaves) and genealogies and relationships within the family, and scholars have focused on the rich literary evidence supplemented by ample funerary inscriptional evidence. Recent new scholarship on the iconography of children has added a dimension that allows for a broader interpretation of children and their roles, and there is need for more integrated studies of children in the Roman world.

The numerous deaths caused by continuous warfare undertaken by expansionistic Rome and high INFANT MORTALITY and short life expectancies placed a high value on reproduction, and Roman lawmakers and emperors promulgated class-distinct laws to compensate and make this attractive. Indeed, the primary purpose of a Roman marriage was to produce offspring. Generalizations about children in literature tend to be moralistic or comic stereotypes. *Pietas*, or piety, formed the foundation of the relations between generations: parents were expected to bear, rear, and educate children, who in return were to honor and obey their parents and maintain them psychologically and materially in old age. As in all cultures, the ideal could differ dramatically from the real.

From Earliest Infancy to Prepuberty

In the Greek world, births most probably took place in the women's quarters, exclusively in the presence of women and

with the help of a midwife. Giving birth could be hazardous to the mothers due in part to inadequate standards of HYGIENE, in part because most first-time mothers had barely passed PUBERTY. To announce the gender of a live birth, the family decorated the doorway with wool to designate a girl, and with a wreath of olive for a boy. The household head, the *kyrios*, had the right to accept the children and could reject them based on gender, size of the family, physical deformity or frailty, economic considerations, legitimacy, or because they were the offspring of slaves. Disposal was arranged through exposure, a process that involved abandoning an infant to its death to the elements. This practice, rather than simply killing the infant, may have developed because it freed the household from bloodguilt, or because parents truly believed that they were placing their exposed infants in the care of the gods. Exposure remains a topic of continuing controversy. In Sparta, exposure of physically weak or sickly infants was demanded by law and determined by the elders of the tribes rather than the household head.

Acceptance of the child by the household head was celebrated in a ceremony on the fifth day after birth called the Amphidromia (literally, a walking around). The ceremony took place in the home, and marked the infant's official entry into the family with the right to live. NAMING the child took place on the tenth day in a ceremony known as *dekate* (tenth), though girls or children of parents of lower economic classes may have been named at the Amphidromia. The Athenian system of nomenclature included three parts: the personal name, which could be an indication of family values (e.g., *Philia*, friendship or *Hegesippos*, horse leader); the father's name; and the demotic name, which indicated to which deme (a politically defined subsection of the city-state) the family belonged; for example, *Hegesippos*, son of *Hegesias*, from *Sounion* (*Hegesippos Hegesiou Sounieus*).

Introduction of the infant to the public world took place at a festival called the *Apatouria*, held annually in October/November. All male citizens assembled in their hereditary fraternal groups (*phratryiai*) and the father or legal guardian was required to swear before the altar of the phratry with his hand on the sacrificial offerings to the legitimacy of the infant. Whether or not girls were also registered in the phratry is unknown. Between the ages of three and four all boys were eligible for participation in a more public spring ceremony called the *Choes* (pitchers). At this ceremony, which may have marked the end of infancy, each child was presented with a small pitcher from which he had his first taste of wine. The *Choes* ceremony was confined to Attica (the region around Athens), and marked the first step in the child's progress into the full community.

In the Roman world, births also took place in the presence of a midwife. They generally occurred with the assistance of a birthing chair, in a room with no less than three lights and one entrance, which was guarded by three men

and women who inspected everyone who entered or left the room. Upon delivery five nonpregnant free women kept guard and inspected the newborn for health or lack thereof. After delivery, an infant was placed at its father's feet. If he held it up or placed it on his knee, it was fully accepted into the family. If it was not accepted by the father, it was exposed or abandoned.

For girls on the eighth day and for boys on the ninth, a festival of purification (*lustratio*) took place, at which time the child received its name and its *bullā*, a gold charm worn around the neck. Three names were traditional for boys of noble families: the *praenomen*, or personal name (e.g., Marcus); the *nomen*, or clan name (e.g., Tullius, from the clan of Tullii); and the *cognomen*, or family name (e.g., Cicero). First-born sons were often given the same personal name as their fathers or their grandfathers. Other sons were named for other males in the family such as uncles or named in the order they were born (e.g., Sextus, the sixth). There were only about sixteen common personal names during the Republic. In addition to their formal name, boys sometimes earned or were given an *agnomen*, a kind of nickname (e.g., Scipio *Africanus*, given the *agnomen* Africanus because of his victories in Africa). A girl received her name from her clan name (e.g., Tullia, the daughter of Marcus Tullius Cicero). Girls' names were usually feminized versions of boys' names. Because all girls in a family would receive the same clan name, if there was more than one daughter, each would be named in the order she was born (e.g., Julia *Prima*, Julia *Secunda*, Julia *Tertia*). When she married, she assumed the overall clan name and the possessive form of her husband's name (e.g., Terentia *Marci*, wife of Marcus from the clan of Terentius). She was sometimes given a family name. ADOPTION was a common occurrence in Rome, and entailed the transferring of a son from one *paterfamilias* to another. This might happen between close relations when one family lacked a legitimate male heir. Upon adoption, the son lost the rights to his previous family. Legally girls could not be adopted.

Education

In Athens the upbringing and education of children was the responsibility of the parents until the eighteenth year. Boys and girls to the age of six were confined to the women's quarters and were almost exclusively in the presence of women. During this early period little distinction was made between the activities of girls and boys, but boys wore either no clothes or open-fronted tunics, while girls wore long dresses. At age six, boys were usually sent to private schools, called either the GYMNASIUM or the *palaestra*. The curriculum consisted of letters (reading, writing, memorizing Homer), music (learning to play instruments and sing), and athletic training. Girls remained at home acquiring skill at domestic arts like weaving, cooking, and helping their mothers with younger siblings. To aid in discipline, parents would call on such imaginary creatures as Mormo, who ate children, and Empusa, a shape-changing gremlin.

In Sparta, infants of both sexes were taught to be peaceful, fearless, and austere in diet and physical needs. All children were indoctrinated into the service of the state, males knowing that they would become a member of a well-drilled military unit and females learning that their adult goal would be to produce healthy children to perpetuate the system. At age six, boys left the home and entered the educational system (the *agoge*), where they lived communally with other boys. LITERACY was not emphasized, but discipline and athletic/military training were. At age eleven the training program became more demanding, and physical comforts were decreased. Girls also received formal public education, but the degree to which their program differed from the boys' is still uncertain. Recent scholarship has revealed that the typical view of boorish and illiterate Spartans is a result of Athenian propaganda, and, in fact, that literacy played an important role in the management of the Spartan state.

In early Rome, education was more informal and geared toward teaching children how to conduct simple business: children learned reading, writing, and arithmetic at home with their fathers. A great deal of education focused on teaching children respect for tradition and piety (*pietas*). Children were trained to be good citizens. Job skills were taught through APPRENTICESHIPS. But since the Roman government did not oversee education or require that children be educated, a father could decide to let his children grow up uneducated.

As Rome grew in power, it was necessary for education to become more formal. At an early age, guardian tutors or nurturers were hired for male children, be they upper class, poor but free-born, freed, or slaves. A male child-minder (*paedagogus*) was expected to be of serious disposition, trustworthy, reliable, Greek, and learned, and would have a formative influence on the child as well as accompany him outside the house. Occasionally, girls also had chaperons of this sort. These guardians provided education, nurturing, and moral protection of the children, and guardians and their charges could develop strong ties that continued past the child's maturity. Upper-class male children would be encouraged to prepare for a successful life in politics and government; upper-class female children received the same education as boys, and would be inculcated with the values of the Roman *matrona*. Moral education for girls and boys continued at home, but at age twelve boys' formal academic education (music, astronomy, philosophy, natural sciences, and rhetoric) now took place outside the home. Physical punishment by teachers of students who misbehaved or failed to learn their lessons was commonplace. Children of slaves could look forward to earning their manumission in return for faithful service or to earning a livelihood through the skills they acquired. Children of upper-class families would have leisure time for games and study or accompanying their parents in their daily pursuits; children of lower classes or slaves

would be put to work at an early age for obvious economic reasons.

Art and Religion

In art until the end of the fifth century B.C.E., children were represented as miniature adults, but artists became increasingly interested in depicting them with the appropriate characteristics of their age, perhaps suggesting that there was concurrently an increased interest in children for their own sake. Greek vase paintings often depict young children at play with PETS and TOYS; terracotta statues show children and their activities: babies in cradles, toddlers carried on adults' shoulders, a young girl learning how to cook. Reliefs on Roman sarcophagi show groups of boys playing roughly and groups of girls at quieter activities with their toys, including wagons and scooters. In religion, children played many significant roles. In public service, their duties ranged from temple servants, choirs dancing and chanting poetry, participating in processions, or serving as priests or Vestal Virgins. Vestal Virgins entered their state service between the age of six to ten and served for thirty years; boys as young as fourteen or fifteen could enter into priestly service. In private religious observances like funerals their participation was prominent. Scholars have suggested that this prominence came about because youth symbolizes purity, or because it was believed that they had been minimally polluted through contact with the dead and therefore did not threaten the Olympian gods with physical corruption. It is interesting to note that specific ritual roles for girls (e.g., their role in the annual festival in honor of Athena's birthday in Athens or for Artemis's birthday at Brauron) in which they performed cult functions in the city-states were more elaborate than those for boys. However, participation was limited to a few girls, probably of aristocratic birth, and it can be argued that the few stood symbolically for young girls as a group. More attention was paid to indoctrinating boys as a group into the civic or sociopolitical structure rather than the religious.

Medicine and Law

PEDIATRICS was a recognized branch of ancient medicine, and we know that at least ten pediatric treatises were written. Childhood diseases were categorized, showing an awareness of childhood vulnerability to certain diseases or infections. From the evidence given by Galen and by Hippocratic writings, common childhood diseases included rickets and anemia, diphtheria, chicken pox, mumps, and whooping cough. Much attention was given to female problems. For example, according to Hippocrates, unmarried girls at MENARCHE frequently grow delirious and try to throw themselves down wells. The problem, in Hippocrates' view, comes from the inability of the menstrual blood to flow properly through an unopened orifice. The solution, he suggests, is intercourse.

In law, an Athenian child was completely under the authority of his father or legal guardian, and until the time of

Solon (at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.) could be sold into slavery. If they suffered physical abuse at home, they had no legal recourse. Children could be introduced in court by a male plaintiff or defendant for melodramatic attempts to receive pity, although there is no evidence that they actually could testify. In Rome, the law of the *patria potestas* made children, wives, and slaves subject to paternal authority. Sons were recognized as independent only when their fathers died, regardless of their age, and girls remained dependents. Laws concerning rape did exist. In Crete, a man who raped a free person, male or female, or a female household serf, was subject to a fine. In Athens, a fine would be imposed for rape, whereas death was the penalty for adultery. In Rome, violators of female wards were subject to deportation and confiscation of property.

From Puberty to Adulthood

Greek city-states created rituals to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood, and these rituals were sex specific. Boys went through rituals that were public and civic, focusing on their political life as citizens and socioeconomic status as heads of households, while girls underwent private and domestic rituals, focusing on their biological status as child-bearers and social status as wives. Ancient writers agreed that the onset of PUBERTY was in the thirteenth year, but there was no widespread agreement as to the duration of puberty.

A Spartan boy at age fourteen became an *ephebe* (*ephebos*), and military training became more serious. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth years Spartan *ephebes* entered a group called the *krupteia*, a sort of secret police organization. They lived isolated from society and probably secretly. After this two-year period of service they were not yet full citizens but were eligible for military service.

In Athens the transitional period lasted from the sixteenth to the twentieth year, during which time the youths were indoctrinated into their social and civic roles. At age sixteen a boy was introduced again to his phratry on the day known as the *Koureotis* during the Apatouria festival. The ceremonial cutting of his hair marked the event. At age eighteen, the Athenian boy was registered in his deme and attained legal majority. He then began a two-year period of compulsory military training as an *ephebos*. During the first year the boys lived in barracks and learned light-armed warfare; in the second year they acted as patrolmen along the Attic borders. At the end of this second year, they reentered the citizen body as young adults. *Ephebic* service was no longer compulsory by the end of the fourth century B.C.E., and by the beginning of the third century B.C.E. had been reduced to one year.

In Rome, boys at the age of fifteen or sixteen underwent a ceremony to mark puberty at the *Liberalia*, held on March 17th. Young boys with their fathers and other males marched to the temple for sacrifices and then returned home for domestic sacrifices and a family party. At this time they

gave up their *bulla* and changed from child's clothing (*toga praetexta*) to adult dress (*toga virilis*). These young males were now free of their guardians, and had to choose a public career in politics or enter a period of military service (*tirocinium*).

In neither Sparta nor Athens nor Rome did the same type of graded initiations occur for girls, suggesting that whereas boys take on a social persona as an adult, girls do not. For girls marriage was the goal, and in marriage a girl passed from GIRLHOOD to womanhood, and from the legal and economic control of her father or guardian to that of her husband. Though a few select girls took part in several ritual activities, like weaving the robe for Athena or serving as a Vestal Virgin, it is still unclear whether the few were symbolic of the many.

Conclusion

In Greco-Roman society the position of children vis-à-vis the family, the government, religious activities, and economic considerations was complex, and the recovery of the nature of childhood by scholars is made more difficult on the one hand by the lack of direct testimony by children and on the other hand by the complexity of the ancient sources at our disposal. Scholars conclude that children's marginality in society is highlighted by a lack of legal rights, infanticide, neglect, and emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. However, the complicated portrayal of children in other literature, including drama, poetry, medical writings, biography, novels, and histories, shows the sincere affection or intense pride that parents may have felt for their children. Many funeral monuments attest to the depth of fondness of parents for their deceased children. Likewise the material evidence of toys, games, and pets shows that serious attention was paid to playfulness in the development of human personality and individual talent.

See also: **Abandonment; Ancient Greece and Rome: Self-Formation; Theories of Childhood.**

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SELF-FORMATION

Most inhabitants of the Roman Empire saw their world in strictly hierarchical terms and had little reason to do otherwise, even though some thinkers, especially those influenced by Stoic philosophy, posited something akin to the notion that all men were created equal. Daily life in the ancient Mediterranean world provided numerous proofs that a few were created far better than the many: they had more and better food, did not work, were protected from heat and cold, were by law exempt from torture, and as a result looked different and lived longer. Indeed, the superiority of a select few over the many was foundational for a society understood to function just like the human body, dominated by the head (i.e., the mind), which ruled over a well-organized body, in which every member had its preordained place and function. Only the harmonious operation of all members in strict accordance with their place could assure the well being of the community.

The Greco-Roman Cosmologies

The predominant Greco-Roman cosmologies reflected this strictly hierarchical ordering of the world as divinely or-

dained and natural. Those who belonged to the elites were by nature (i.e., by the very fact of their birth to elite parents) higher up and closer to the divine realm, which in its turn had been created and was guided by the Supreme Good or the Supreme Intellect (i.e., Zeus/Jupiter, etc.). Thus those belonging to the elites (or so the theory went) were intrinsically good and had more intellect by virtue of their good birth (*eugenes*), an inner virtue outwardly manifested by their physical beauty (*kalos kai agathos*).

Intrinsic to this world view, which was widespread throughout the Roman Empire and helped forge unity among elites originating from a wide variety of local backgrounds, were three interrelated concepts.

First, the cosmos was considered an undivided whole and humans but a micro-cosmos mirroring the macro-cosmos. Thus each person (as well as society as a whole) was ruled by the mind, which was of the same essence as the Supreme (divine) Mind/Intellect.

Second, unlike the divine Mind, the human one was intrinsically linked to something ontologically different from the divine realm, namely matter, or the body. This link created an inherent instability, since both matter and the body embodied the opposite of the divine: if the divine was eternal and calm then matter was transient and changing; if the divine was good and just, then the ethical aspects of the physical were the opposite.

Third, since one of the quintessential divine characteristics was the capacity to create and therefore to form matter, so the human mind too created and therefore formed its matter, the physical body and its characteristics (such as desires for food and sex, but also anger, greed, jealousy, etc.), and the physical body in its turn outwardly reflected the inner ruling of the mind (or the lack thereof) through *gestus* and *habitus*. Yet, because everything was essentially one whole, external factors could also imprint the mind; for example, excessive attention to food would leave traces on the mind and incapacitate its ruling facilities. Expressed differently, to be good and beautiful was both the result of good birth and of a lifelong process of self-formation according to the demands of the mind, which were also those of the Supreme Divinity.

Paideia

In practice, this lifelong process of self-formation, also known as *paideia*, was perhaps the single most significant marker indicating elite status in the Roman Empire for the simple reason that it began at birth, continued along a prescribed path of further formation or higher education, and had to be demonstrated at all times throughout the life of an elite male. Each slip in an elite male's behavior—which would be immediately noticed by eyes trained to notice such things since infancy—signified a slip of the mind, which might render the person in question unfit to rule, since who-

ever cannot govern his own body and its desires cannot govern his own household, let alone an empire.

The precondition for this continuing process of self-formation (or self-control) was, of course, wealth. Only those who were rich enough to be free from any pursuit of material gain had the wherewithal to devote themselves to such lifelong formation. Consequently, *paideia* was considered the essential precondition for all forms of governance, since it began at conception and required wealth; those who acquired positions of power by any other than the “natural” way and thus came to *paideia* late in life were never permitted to forget the peculiarities of their accent or gait.

Formation during Pregnancy and Early Childhood

Initiated at conception, the process of formation began in earnest during pregnancy. According to the second century C.E. gynecologist Soranus of Ephesus, who practiced in Rome, elite mothers had to ensure “the perfection of their embryo” through “passive exercise,” which consisted of being carried in a large sedan chair and leisurely walks, “fairly warm baths,” massages, and the consumption of appropriate food: non-greasy fish and meat as well as “vegetables that are not pungent,” and large quantities of water before meals “with a little wine” (book 1.14.46). Birth itself required numerous preparations: a midwife, three female helpers, a soft and a hard bed, a midwife's chair, warm oils, and so on. As soon as the child arrived, “the subject of rearing children” forced issues such as “which of the offspring is worth rearing, how should one sever the navel cord and swaddle and cradle the infant which is to be reared. What kind of nurse should one select, and which milk is best.” (Gyn. 2.5.9–10). A child “worth rearing” could be identified by its crying as well as by the fact that “none of its orifices are obstructed, all limbs and joints [are present and] bend and stretch, and it is properly sensitive in every respect” as ascertained by squeezing. Soranus never mentions gender as a criterion. “Unworthy” children were frequently exposed, though Soranus does not suggest this in case of a negative judgment.

If all was in order and the umbilical cord had been properly severed, the newborn had to be swaddled in such a way that all limbs were “molded according to their natural shape” with soft and clean woolen bandages; the aim was to ensure the proper symmetry of limbs and head, considerations which also governed the manner in which the newborn was laid down, bathed, and massaged, as well as the choice of the wet nurse and her milk (Soranus considers the mother's own milk “unwholesome” for the first twenty days, although others did not). A wet nurse (usually a slave) was, ideally, “between 20 and 40 years old, healthy, of good habitus and color. . . . She should be self-controlled, sympathetic, not ill-tempered, a Greek, and tidy” (Gyn. 2.12.19). In short, from the very first, everything had to ensure that the newborn corresponded to the prevailing notions of “beauty and goodness”: the child's body should be symmetrical and well-

proportioned and its internal “qualities” fostered through correct food, provided by a wet nurse of the appropriate characteristics.

SWADDLING ended when the child had become firm enough to avoid “distortions,” at which point all attempts at standing and sitting were to be constantly monitored for the same reasons—the legs might become too bowed, which would affect the adult’s gait. At around three to four years of age the constant care of nurses was replaced both for girls and boys by that of a tutor and then a *paidagogos*, slaves in charge of supervising the first steps of literary education, which began inside the house but moved with advancing years into a school setting, where the actual instruction was taken over by a grammarian, though the *paidagogos* would often accompany the pupil.

With the beginning of writing exercises, the child further “wrote himself” or herself into one social class, based again on the underlying notion that the mind is both formed and formative (like a wax tablet): each act of writing, speech, and thought impressed notions of ethics, morals, and social class into the child’s mind as well as its body, and thus continuously formed the whole person. In their first exercises (often bilingual, in Greek and Latin), schoolboys wrote and recited their days, beginning with orders to their slaves, greetings to persons according to hierarchy, lists of gods and of distinguished teachers. The pupil’s advancement in grammar was also advancement in proper expression through memorization of classical authors (Homer, Hesiod, Plato, the tragedies), each act of writing and its correction reifying the social order and the student’s place within it. The more advanced the student, the stronger the formative power of written and recited words.

Higher Education

Higher education always occurred outside the house (and thus was rarer for women) and usually in cities other than the native one under a *rhetor*, a person chosen for his fame and the advancement he could ensure for his students through his own connections. Central to the education under a *rhetor* was a further deepening of the classical readings as well as the so-called declamations, set pieces akin to modern American legal case studies. Confronted with admittedly contrived situations (a soldier deserts but then saves his commander; should he be executed? a young man marries against his father’s will and the father kills him, as is his right; did he act justly? a freedman seeks to marry a person above his status, etc.), students learned the intricacies of the law and of forensic speech, but even more importantly practiced being a *paterfamilias* and thus a member of the ruling elite—a *patronus*.

Training to take on an adult persona involved training in persuasion so that those who depended on the patron’s advocacy (such as women, who were not persons under the law) could speak through him, or rather he could speak for them, in their voice. Thus the young man learned to speak both in

his master’s (i.e., his father’s) voice, as a master, and in the voice of his (and his master’s) dependents and subordinates without ever being confounded with one of the latter.

Declamatory training in rhetoric and advocacy was the precondition for public office, and most members of the elite received it. A smaller number continued on to more advanced training as legal experts (in the later empire, Beirut was a center for the advanced study in Roman law), physicians (e.g., in Alexandria), or philosophers (in Athens and Alexandria)—but by the time a student had completed his rhetorical training at around age twenty-five he had been sufficiently formed to know how to walk, talk, dress, eat, drink, think, and govern—in short, how to be an elite man and be recognized as such by all at all times.

See also: **Ancient Greece and Rome: Overview; Aristotle; Plato.**

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SUSANNA ELM

Andersen, Hans Christian (1805–1875)

Hans Christian Andersen is considered the father of the modern FAIRY TALE. While a few authors before him (such as Charles Perrault in France and the Grimm brothers in Germany) collected folk tales deriving from oral lore, Andersen was the first to treat this peasant form as a literary genre. Many of his original tales, such as “The Ugly Duckling” and “The Snow Queen” entered the collective consciousness with the same mythic power as the ancient, anonymous ones.

Andersen was born in 1805 in provincial Odense, Denmark, the son of an illiterate washerwoman and a poor shoemaker, who died when Andersen was eleven. An important influence during his childhood was his grandmother, who told him folk tales. At fourteen, Andersen went alone to Copenhagen to seek his fortune in the theater. Patrons funded his study, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two, at a GRAMMAR SCHOOL, where his life was very much like that of the unhappy, over-large duckling of his story.

At a time when children’s books were mostly formal, instructive texts, intended to educate rather than entertain, the appearance of his *Eventyr* (Fairy tales) in 1835 marked a rev-

olution in children's literature. The colloquial manner, the humor, the exuberant detail, and the fantastical imaginings in his stories all distinguished them from traditional folk tales, which are generally characterized by an anonymous tone and formulaic structure.

Between 1835 and 1845 Andersen wrote "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Little Mermaid," "The Nightingale," "The Ugly Duckling," "The Snow Queen," and many other tales whose grace, simplicity, and penetrating insight into the human condition won him a wide following. These tales were translated throughout Europe and in America (they were translated into English in 1846), making him one of the most famous writers of the nineteenth century.

With his use of comedy and fantasy, Andersen determined the course of children's literature right through to the twenty-first century, and his influence as the world's first great fantasy storyteller is inestimable. He created speaking TOYS and animals, and he gave them colloquial, funny voices that children could instantly identify with. Yet he suffused his domestic settings with the fatalism of legend and his own modern sense of the absurd, so that in stories such as "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "The Fir Tree," and "The Top and the Ball" he became the artist of the idealized world of middle-class childhood. His appeal to a joint audience of parents and children set the standard for the double articulation that has marked all great children's books—as the British *Daily News* said of him in 1875, "it is only a writer who can write for men that is fit to write for children."

Despite his fame, Andersen always remained an outsider: lonely, gauche, sexually uncertain, and socially uneasy. He travelled widely across Europe and had several unhappy, unfulfilled love affairs—with both men and women. His tales are, in fact, often veiled autobiographies: the gawky duckling, the restless fir tree, the poor match girl, the mermaid unable to speak her love; these are self-portraits whose honesty to experience reveals universal truths.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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Anger and Aggression

Definitions of anger vary from theorist to theorist; it has been variously associated with physiological arousal, unpleasant feelings, appraisals of insult, desire for revenge, frustration, and aggressive behavior. Although anger has often been classified as a biologically grounded, universal emotion, it is clear that anger is interpreted, managed, and

regulated differently in different social contexts. Cultures vary in their attitudes toward anger, norms regarding its expression, and beliefs about the extent and normalcy of anger in children, all of which contribute to child-rearing patterns and children's experiences. Teaching children to manage anger is one of the important tasks of child rearing and provides vital socialization into local norms.

Variations within and between Cultures

The degree to which anger is sanctioned differs considerably by culture. Some cultures strive to eliminate anger in children, whether by avoiding mention of the emotion or by extensive discussion of anger and its negative consequences. Jean Briggs's work among the Utku (an Inuit group) established that while expressions of anger in infants up to the age of two were tolerated, older children and adults were held to strict emotional standards that forbade explicit manifestations of anger. In general, parental treatment of children's anger ranges from providing angry children with loving attention to shaming them or imposing corporal punishment. Barbara Ward's account of temper tantrums in the children of Kau Sai, China, during the early 1950s indicates that adults simply ignored children's tantrums, leaving children to cry themselves out. Indeed, adults were so unconcerned about these fits of anger that they often instigated them by frustrating children. However, aggressive responses were feared and strictly controlled; children who fought each other were quickly restrained, and even verbal aggression was considered wrong. Some societies abhor physical violence but tolerate verbal expressions of anger. One anthropologist's account of a southern French village in the 1950s indicated a sophisticated pattern of verbal aggression in the village, with ritual insults and epithets, and a simultaneous absence of schoolyard fighting of the sort familiar in the United States. Cultures and historical periods differ, as well, in their acceptance of adult anger directed toward children. Child-rearing advice in Europe and America since the mid-eighteenth century has been fairly consistent in admonishing parents to avoid expressions of anger toward (or even around) their children, but Michelle Rosaldo's research among the Ifaluk tribe in the Philippines found it common for adults to express anger toward children.

However, even within culture, childhood anger norms also differ across social class and gender. Expressions of anger are often prohibited toward those of higher status, as they may constitute a challenge to the social hierarchy. One of the social nuances children must learn is that of deference, and who is considered an appropriate target for anger. This is particularly relevant for children from families explicitly marked as low status, such as those found in slave or caste societies, but it also applies to children from peasant or working-class backgrounds. Indeed, children must attend to status markers even within their own families; these include age differences among children and the status differences between children and adults. Although expressions of anger to-

ward those of higher status may be limited, stereotypes of the working class (for example, in the United States) have often assumed that they are less in control of base emotions, including anger.

Gender and Anger

In patriarchal societies, where males are accorded higher status, girls are often more restricted in their expressions of anger than boys are. In many cases, the degree of appropriate anger is regarded not merely as a normative component of sex roles but also as a natural difference between males and females. In early modern Europe, for example, girls and women were taught that references to anger as a basis for making demands was simply inappropriate, although similar demands could be grounded in other emotions, such as jealousy. Anger, which was associated with responses of honor, was a male emotion. This differential carried over strongly to the nineteenth century in both Europe and the United States. U.S. standards of femininity argued that anger was unladylike, that a “real” woman would simply not experience the emotion. Since, in fact, girls and women often did feel angry, great effort was urged to keep the emotion in check, and angry feelings often provoked negative self-evaluation and concerns regarding femininity. Novels like *LITTLE WOMEN* detailed how hard girls worked to live up to these expectations, and American girls today still report more self-regulation of anger than do boys.

Ideologies regarding anger have changed over time in Western cultures. While girls were still expected to be free of anger, anger in boys and men (even among dominant males) began to be of greater concern in European society by the eighteenth century, as part of what Norbert Elias has called the civilizing process. In particular, as part of a growing idealization of a loving family, anger was increasingly viewed as inappropriate in the domestic sphere; anger seemed to violate the emotional ties that should positively unite family members. Prescriptive literature also began to warn against anger toward inferiors, such as servants. It is not clear how much this advice altered children’s experiences of anger, but some effect seems likely. Growing concern about dueling by upper-class young males in the eighteenth century, which extended into debates throughout the nineteenth century, expressed new ambivalence about anger and aggression.

By the nineteenth century in the United States, a complex anger formula had evolved for middle-class boys. Boys should be taught to avoid anger in the home because it would contradict the loving relationships that should build family life, and anger toward superiors continued to be considered inappropriate. However, anger was an important part of masculinity, so it should not be completely eliminated in boys, but rather channeled to useful purposes. A boy without the capacity for anger might grow up to be a man without competitive fire or without the ability to fight injustice. Par-

ents were urged to provide boys with experiences that would help them retain their anger but direct it constructively. The popularity of *SPORTS*, including *BOXING* lessons, for boys at the end of the nineteenth century was in part related to their role in maintaining but channeling anger. Many uplifting stories for boys involved the expression of righteous anger against bullies, often in defense of weaker children, including sisters. The standards for boys and men were highly complicated, in that boys were simultaneously warned against lack of anger and against angry outbursts.

The actual culture of nineteenth-century American boys seems to have embodied these directives, albeit in ways that were rougher than some parents would have recommended. Boys were expected to stand their ground in fights without becoming gratuitously angry. Boys who fled, rather than summoning up anger and courage, were derided by their peers. Between the 1840s and the 1880s in the United States, the word *sissy* (originally a British term meaning girl, or sister) evolved to cover boys who could not display appropriate anger and who cowered in fear. *Sissy* came to mean a boy who lacked the emotional apparatus that would prepare him for manhood, of which appropriately channeled anger was a central fixture.

Discouraging Anger

By the 1920s in the United States, multiple forces resulted in a challenge to the belief in the value of anger. Growing concern about juvenile *DELINQUENCY* contributed to an emerging belief that anger should be discouraged among boys, not merely channeled. Child-rearing experts in the 1930s were less convinced of the positive purposes of anger and began to use the term *aggression* instead. These shifts in anger norms coincided with broader changes in socialization and patterns of labor. As more and more men headed toward occupations in the service sector or in corporate management, the importance of smooth, anger-free professional relationships intensified. Channeled anger lost its function. Anger was now a bad, even dangerous, emotion, pure and simple. At the same time, the intense focus on anger-free femininity eased, creating a bit more leeway for expressions of moderate anger among girls.

As anger and aggressiveness emerged as dangerous elements, adults became increasingly concerned about children’s exposure to aggressive or angry behavior in the media. The belief that *COMIC BOOKS*, *RADIO*, *MOVIES*, and *TELEVISION* might provide a stimulus to unhealthy emotions and antisocial behavior instigated recurrent efforts to censor children’s media. The advent of aggressive lyrics in adolescent music, particularly by the 1990s, and the graphic violence of video and Internet games continued to raise questions about access to aggressive impulses. Children’s ongoing fascination with this fare, however, elicited varied interpretations: did this indicate (or even cause) unhealthy aggressiveness, or could media representations provide safe

outlets for anger and aggression? Other possible avenues for venting anger, such as punching bags, were suggested by some experts, but many others believed this would only exacerbate the child's anger. There was more widespread support for encouraging children to identify and talk out their anger so that it would not seem to generate any problematic results and at the same time would not fester.

Even amid the growing concern about children's anger, many of the earlier themes persisted to some degree. Fathers were more likely than mothers to worry about their sons being sissies if they lacked the capacity to stand up for themselves. Girls worried more about anger than boys did, on average, and were more likely to cry when placed in anger-generating situations. The term *sissy* went out of fashion, partly because it was no longer appropriate to encourage boys to be aggressive; but new words, like *wimp*, conveyed some of the same meaning.

As efforts to constrain anger increased, aggressive behavior became a central concern. Schoolyard fighting declined due to adult supervision and changes in boys' culture. By the 1990s in the United States, school violence declined statistically. But individual cases of horrific mass violence, abetted by the availability of lethal weapons, kept adult anxiety high. Early in the twenty-first century, a new concern about bullying reflected the substantial adult consensus that aggressiveness was now bad for children individually and collectively. Building on research pertaining to delinquency, authorities and experts debated the crucial causal factors in aggressive behavior and the possibility of identifying potentially violent adolescents. Childhood aggression increasingly fueled adult anxieties regarding the physical and psychological health of youth, both perpetrators and victims.

See also: **Discipline; Emotional Life; Gendering; Guns.**

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Anorexia

As defined by the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, fourth edition (DSM-IV; 1994), anorexia nervosa is an eating disorder marked by four major symptoms. First, the patient must be less than 85 percent of ideal weight for age, height, and gender. Second, there must be a morbid fear of fat. Third, the person must believe himself or herself to be normal weight or even fat despite emaciation. Finally, the victim should be amenorrheic (i.e., have no menstrual periods) or, in the case of men, show abnormally low levels of testosterone. Anorexia nervosa is considerably more common in women than in men with 80 to 90 percent of the cases diagnosed in adolescence or adulthood being females. The gender difference is somewhat less pronounced in childhood cases, with girls being approximately five times more likely than boys to suffer from the disorder. Less than 1 percent of the postpubertal female population suffers from anorexia nervosa. It is more common among white than African-American girls and women.

Anorexia nervosa has two ages of peak onset: around age fourteen, and at about age eighteen. The frequency of adolescent onset has led theorists to suggest that the developmental transitions to ADOLESCENCE and to adulthood present special risks for girls, making them more vulnerable than boys are not only to anorexia nervosa but also bulimia nervosa and depression. The combination of age and gender factors has also led theorists to suggest that cultural variables, such as the thin body ideal for females and the relative lack of power among women, contributes to the disorder. Finally, it is clear that anorexia nervosa typically starts in a pattern of either dieting or excessive exercise which itself is probably rooted in an attempt to achieve a particular body shape.

There are at least two paths that lead to the modern definition of anorexia nervosa. The first is self-starvation. The

second is a history of defining adolescence and young adulthood as problematic for women. These historical trends meet in the eighteenth century to define anorexia nervosa.

Self-Starvation

Walter Vandereycken and Ron van Deth (1994) suggest that self-starvation is a pervasive phenomenon in human history. Given the cross-cultural and cross-historical presence of self-starvation, it is not surprising that it has many motivations. Perhaps the best-known motives are political and religious. For example, Mahatma Gandhi's lengthy hunger strikes in defiance of British domination of India in the 1930s are well known. Less dramatically, fasting is required of Roman Catholics on certain holy days during Lent and even today, devout Muslims participate in a month-long fast during Ramadan.

The link between religion and self-starvation has received the most attention from students of anorexia nervosa. The link between self-denial, including of food, and spirituality, dates at least as far back as the Egyptian pharaohs. During the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., men went into the Egyptian and Palestinian deserts to dedicate themselves to the worship of Jesus Christ. Self-starvation was part of this dedication. As religious practice was largely limited to men at this time, most of those engaging in religious self-starvation were men.

Of greater interest in terms of anorexia nervosa is the medieval practice of self-starvation by women, including some young women, in the name of religious piety and purity. By the twelfth century, it was increasingly common for women to participate in religious life and to even be named as saints by the Catholic Church. Many women who ultimately became saints engaged in self-starvation, including St. Hedwig of Silesia in the thirteenth century and Catherine of Siena in the fourteenth century. By the time of Catherine of Siena, however, the Church became concerned about extreme fasting as an indicator of spirituality and a path to sainthood. Indeed, Catherine of Siena was told to pray that she would be able to eat again, but was unable to give up fasting.

While there is a long-standing link between self-starvation and piety, there is also a historical relationship between self-starvation and demonic possession or witchcraft. For example, Catherine of Siena ate something everyday so that she would not be labeled a witch. After the middle ages, numerous "fasting saints" were accused of witchcraft under the Inquisition. In some places, women could prove they were not witches if they weighed a sufficient amount on government-designated scales. Again, the relationship between self-starvation and religion was particularly pronounced for women.

The virtually simultaneous designation of self-starvation by women as pious and demonic raises interesting issues concerning the cultural meaning of women's bodies, issues

that are still debated in terms of anorexia nervosa. In the calculus of the early twenty-first century, the ideal body type for women is thin. "Supermodels," actresses, and even singers are typically substantially below the weight of the average American woman. Research indicates that this image is so pervasive that even elementary school-age children are aware of it. Studies routinely find that 40 percent of girls in fourth and fifth grade wish they were thinner or worry about getting fat. Yet, if girls take this message too much to heart, dieting severely and actually becoming as thin as the models, they are considered "mentally ill."

Early Adolescent Girls and Illness

Anorexia nervosa is not the first disorder in history marked by unusual eating and amenorrhea that is found predominantly in adolescent or young adult women. According to Brett Silverstein and Deborah Perlick (1995), a paper by Hippocrates, known as *On the Disease of Young Women*, describes an anorexia nervosa-like disorder. This treatise suggests that the dramatic weight loss is caused by problematic menstrual cycles and recommends marriage and pregnancy as the best treatment.

Similarly, *hysteria*, a disorder made famous in SIGMUND FREUD's Anna O. case but that was also diagnosed earlier in the nineteenth century, was marked by loss of appetite, depression, and amenorrhea. *Neurasthenia* was another late nineteenth century "female disorder" involving disordered eating and amenorrhea.

Probably the best known of these disorders of adolescent girls is *chlorosis*. Chlorosis was made famous by Joan Jacob Brumberg's book *Fasting Girls*. Brumberg argues that chlorosis, like anorexia nervosa, was a disease of middle-class American girls who were fulfilling the expectations of their culture in an extreme manner. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such girls developed exaggerated behaviors concerning food. Chlorosis was a form of anemia, found only in girls, that was linked to both the onset of menstruation and physical attractiveness. Oddly, these ill girls were considered particularly attractive, just as the most "beautiful" women in the United States of the early twenty-first century have an anorexic appearance. Chlorotic girls, like those with anorexia nervosa, were likely trying to exercise some control over their own lives and, like anorexic girls, were considered to be suffering from a "nervous" or "psychological" disorder rather than from a primarily physical illness.

By the early twentieth century, chlorosis was no longer being diagnosed in the United States. While it is possible that improved nutrition led to the decline of this form of anemia, it is more likely that culture changes affected the expression of eating-related pathology among adolescent girls. The belief that women were fragile and physically weak generally declined as opportunities for women in jobs, education, and even politics increased. However these changes

were not quickly or universally accepted, setting up a clash between images of the “traditional” and the “modern” young woman. Young girls received and internalized these conflicting messages about womanhood and may have sometimes felt unable to control their own destinies or to even know what they wanted to do. One thing they could control, however, was their own eating. This culture-based model resonates with current explanations of the causes of anorexia nervosa.

Anorexia Nervosa

Neither the “fasting saints” nor the “chlorotic girls” were anorexic in the sense that the term is used today. Their self-starvation and “nervous” illness reflected beliefs and women’s roles during their historic periods. Although Richard Morton described a case of tuberculosis that resembled anorexia nervosa in 1694, current definitions of the disorder are routinely traced to the work of Sir William Withey Gull and Dr. R. Lasègue, in 1874 and 1873 respectively.

Both Lasègue and Gull describe cases marked by self-starvation and high levels of activity or restlessness. Both note that the problem is particularly pronounced in young women; indeed, Gull suggests that adolescent and young adult women are unusually susceptible to MENTAL ILLNESS. Lasègue notes that these young women are pleased with their food restriction, do not wish to eat more, and do not believe that they are abnormally thin. Lasègue referred to this condition as *hysterical anorexia* while Gull used the term *anorexia nervosa*.

Although Gull and Lasègue considered anorexia to be a “nervous” disorder, both treated it medically. Gull in particular seemed to have remarkable success, at least by today’s standards, in gradually re-feeding the girls. He reported that his clients recovered their eating habits, weight, and health. Lasègue had more pessimistic reports, noting that patients often went many years without recovering.

It is important to recognize that neither Gull nor Lasègue considered anything resembling a “drive for thinness” as key in the etiology of anorexia nervosa. This focus is a product of the twentieth century, probably instigated by the work of Hilde Bruch. Some practitioners are now questioning the wisdom of the twentieth and twenty-first century emphasis on the role of drive for thinness in anorexia nervosa. They note that in some Asian cultures, particularly Hong Kong and China, drive for thinness does not seem to be part of what otherwise looks like anorexia nervosa. Others note that Gull’s success in using medically based treatments ought to encourage us to re-examine the efficacy of such an approach.

Historians have raised a number of issues concerning the emergence of modern anorexia nervosa, which was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon involving both the United States and Western Europe from the mid-nineteenth century onward. The basic issues involve sorting out the “real” disease from

its specific historical cause—why the disease emerged when it did—and the fact that it appears so disproportionately in females. The first outcroppings of the modern disease occurred before thinness was widely fashionable, which has prompted consideration of the dynamic of loving, middle-class families in which some young women chose food refusal as a method of rebellion that could not be explicitly articulated. Obviously, the rise of concern for slenderness from about 1900 onward as a fashion standard particularly bearing on women, helped sustain the disease. But the incidence of anorexia was not constant through the twentieth century in the Western world, raising questions about causation and about fluctuations in medical attention. By the 1970s, societal and parental concern about anorexia was widespread, sometimes working against efforts to limit children’s food intake in a period when the incidence of childhood obesity was rising more rapidly than anorexia nervosa.

In its current form, anorexia nervosa dates from the mid-nineteenth century. Yet, it grows out of a long history of self-starvation and female-specific pathologies. As such, it likely is a disorder that can tell us much about the role of young women in today’s society and why they opt to wage war against their own bodies.

See also: **Gendering; Girlhood.**

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Anthropology of Childhood. See *Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood*.

Antiquity. See *Ancient Greece and Rome*.

Apprenticeship

In a formal sense, apprenticeship is a contractual agreement between an expert practitioner of a trade, art, or profession

and a novice in which, for a fixed period of time, the latter exchanges labor for training. Widely associated with the crafts, apprenticeship traces its origins in the West to the household economies of medieval Europe.

Origins and Practice

Until the separation of work from home that began in Europe and North America around 1800, households were also sites of production and reproduction. Since most families needed their children to contribute to their own support, the young nearly always worked alongside their parents in the home and on the land. In the process, they acquired their parents' vocational skills, learned responsibility, and internalized the values of their society. The practice of apprenticeship extended this family-centered model of work and learning to households not necessarily related by blood. It transferred children or adolescents from natal households to interim, external ones for a set period of time—typically four to seven years.

Throughout the early modern period, two distinct types of apprenticeship coexisted side by side. The first, a predominately instructional form, originated in the guilds of the Middle Ages. Practiced by prosperous merchants, professionals, and artisans, it placed sons in the households of prominent counterparts. Since guild oversight and the influence of parents protected the interests of the young, these apprenticeships generally resulted in genuine training. They were especially useful to large families, which sought to diversify the activities of their sons.

In places where guilds were strong, they exercised strict oversight over training. This permitted them to maintain prices by restricting entry into the trades. Good training mattered too, for it diminished guild exposure to competition from less skilled, nonsanctioned producers. When training became too restrictive, however, government officials and powerful consumers worked to weaken guild authority.

At the opposite end of the social spectrum, apprenticeship took a predominately economic form. Modest artisans and small landholders apprenticed out their children primarily for financial reasons. These groups generally lacked the capacity, due to limited land or capital, to employ the labor of all their children productively. Thus, they contracted out their “surplus labor” to families typically without children or with grown ones. Since food, shelter, and heat consumed most of most families' incomes, shifting older children to other households brought meaningful economic relief.

In turn, apprentices provided masters with needed labor at a marginal cost. In this context, however, training was a by-product of work, not the primary object of the exchange. Although masters promised to instruct their charges in a trade, they had an economic incentive to maximize work and skimp on training. Further, they often withheld crucial trade secrets from apprentices in order to prevent future competi-

tion. In the absence of guild regulation or influential parents, apprentice exploitation was widespread.

Neither form of apprenticeship was universal, however. Young women were only occasionally indentured to learn a trade, although they frequently served in extrafamilial households to acquire the so-called domestic arts and relieve their families of extra mouths to feed. In agricultural regions where primogeniture was practiced, the eldest son rarely left the household he was destined to inherit. Further, in areas where families typically pooled their labor, as in cottage industries or viticulture, apprenticeship outside the family household was uncommon, since parents could productively employ the labor of all their children.

Despite its variety (all manner of intermediate forms existed) apprenticeships shared several characteristics. First, both economic and educational forces were always at work, though the relative importance of each varied greatly. Further, whatever the context, apprentices acquired knowledge and skill inductively through work. Much like children who acquire language without formal study, apprentices learned through observation, imitation, practice, and interaction with experienced practitioners. Finally, all apprentices learned more than practical skills and the meaning of hard work; they also acquired their community's norms of moral and professional behavior. As teacher and role model, the master served a public function—one in which the community as a whole had a vested interest. Within individual households and shops, however, private interests always mediated this public function. As these grew more legitimate and openly pursued, the practice of apprenticeship shed its public purpose, metamorphosing into a private contract.

Modern Development

Apprenticeship experienced a steep, and apparently permanent, decline in the wake of industrialization. Insofar as it functioned as an economic exchange, its transformation into a wage relationship had several benefits. Wages greatly enhanced the freedom of the young, permitting them to limit their hours of work, bring an end to onerous household chores, escape the master's household and round-the-clock surveillance, and change employers freely. They also permitted poorer families to keep their older children at home by pooling incomes. Masters, too, were often happy to rid their homes of unruly and unreliable adolescents. Moreover, wage relations allowed them to hire and fire young workers as the need arose. However, since employment relations implied no training, employers had no obligation to instruct the young beyond what was required to perform the work at hand. Learning continued as a by-product of work, but as the division of labor grew within centralized factories, the scope of learning shrank.

It is easy to overstate the decline of apprenticeship, however. In rural areas it lingered on well into the 1900s. More significantly, firms throughout the industrializing regions of

Europe and North America began to experiment with modern forms of apprenticeship after 1880. As workforce composition shifted from the low-skill textile, leatherworking, and needle trades to metals production, machine building, and metalworking, apprenticeships grew sharply. Employers in the most dynamic and technologically sophisticated sectors of the economy discovered that in-house training offered the only way to provide skilled labor in a period of breakneck expansion. By 1910 nearly all of the world's leading firms had established expensive apprenticeship programs, often accompanied by corporation schools. Few firms captured returns on these training investments, however.

Because of the way modern work conditions transformed work, the initial year of apprenticeship involved costly full-time training, divorced from productive labor. Firms sought to capture these costs during the final year of a three-year indenture, when apprentices produced more than they were paid for. In a period of growing demand for skills, however, apprentices often abrogated their contracts for higher wages elsewhere. This experience taught firms that it was cheaper to poach than to train. But when everybody poached and nobody trained, the global production of skills fell.

Two distinct responses to this quandary emerged. The first, pursued most systematically by U.S. firms, dispensed with apprenticeship. Rapid productivity gains associated with mass production in the 1920s permitted output to expand without a corresponding growth in the labor force. As average job tenure grew and the ratio of green to experienced workers declined, firms found it possible to dispense with preservice training and make do with on-the-job learning. Further contributing to this informal training regime, elaborate divisions of labor, narrow job definitions, and job ladders permitted a stepwise acquisition of experience and skill. Finally, U.S. firms turned decisively to high schools and colleges after 1920 for the recruitment of their white-collar personnel. Thus, apprenticeship survived primarily in the building trades, the one sector of the U.S. economy in which mass production strategies have limited application and unions have remained strong enough to regulate training.

The second strategy, typified by Germany, involved the collective regulation of apprenticeship, a solution built upon a social partnership between organized groups of employers and workers. Germans found it difficult to adopt American mass production strategies in the face of American competition, especially since their historic strength was in the production of custom-made industrial equipment and high-quality consumer goods. Moreover, the importance and modernization of Germany's crafts between 1890 and 1913 made the transition to highly regulated, instructional forms of craft, industrial, and commercial apprenticeship easier.

Gradually, Germany built an elaborate system of vocational training, testing, and certification that forced apprentices to honor their contracts and imposed public training

standards on private training firms. In effect, the practice of apprenticeship professionalized most German occupations, while also providing an appealing educational alternative to full-time schooling for two out of every three Germans.

The great advantage of apprenticeship as an instructional device derives from the way it ties learning to real-world applications, imbuing the process with intrinsic motivation and rewards. In view of the general disaffection throughout the industrialized world with the shortcomings and inequities of school-based educational regimes, government officials, employers' organizations, and unions have developed a renewed interest in apprenticeship. Nowhere has this been greater than in Europe, where nearly all the major European countries (e.g., Germany, Austria, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom) have active vocational programs in which apprenticeship plays a central part. Americans, in contrast, generally consider vocational education to be second class and unworthy of a democratic society. Arguably, this has had more to do with how vocational programs evolved in the United States than with their intrinsic merits. Where apprenticeship programs have been well regulated, rigorous, and led to good jobs, they have proven popular, motivated students to learn, and enhanced social and economic equality.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Early Modern Europe; Economics and Children in Western Societies; European Industrialization; Medieval and Renaissance Europe; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.**

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Architecture. *See* Children's Spaces; School Buildings and Architecture.

Ariès, Philippe (1914–1984)

The French historical demographer and pioneering historian of collective mentalities Philippe Ariès is best known for his *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (1960, pub-

lished in English in 1962 as *Centuries of Childhood*), the seminal study that launched historical scholarship on childhood and family life in the Western world. Born into a middle-class professional family with Catholic religious convictions and sentimental attachments to the traditions of old France, Ariès earned his *licence* in history and geography at the University of Grenoble and his *diplôme d'études supérieures* at the University of Paris (Sorbonne) in 1936 with a thesis on the judicial nobility of Paris in the sixteenth century. During the late 1930s, he was also a journalist for the student newspaper of the royalist Action française and was active in allied right-wing intellectual circles, notably the Cercle Fustel de Coulanges, through which he became acquainted with Daniel Halévy and other old-fashioned men of letters. During the war years, he taught briefly at a Vichy-sponsored training college, then accepted a post as director of a documentation center for international commerce in tropical fruit, where he worked for most of his adult life. But history was his passion, and he led a parallel life as a researcher and independent scholar in a new kind of cultural history.

Ariès's ideas about the history of childhood and family were inspired by the public debate under Vichy about the crisis of the French family. While initially sympathetic with the proposals of Vichy's leaders for the family's rehabilitation, he disputed their claims about its moral decline and their fears about the biological decay of the French population. He embarked on his research in historical demography to challenge such notions. His book *Histoire des populations françaises* (1948), inquired into the secrets of family life, where he discovered what he claimed was a "hidden revolution" in the mores of conjugal life during the early modern era, made manifest in the widening use of contraceptive practices among well-born married couples, the key element of a cluster of medical and cultural "techniques of life" that encouraged calculation and planning in family life. The emerging family that Ariès identified in his demographic research was distinctly modern in its mentality and became the subject of his following study of the rise of the affectionate family, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*.

In this book, Ariès examined the emergence of a new kind of sentiment among well-born families of the early modern era, made manifest especially in the rising value they attached to companionate marriage, their greater concern for the well-being of their children, and their newfound sentimentality about the vanishing mores of the traditional family. The new attitudes toward children, he argued, were not so much about simple affection (which is timeless) but rather solicitude for their proper development. Once relegated to the margins of family life, children increasingly became the center of its attention, and their particular needs for nurture and direction were openly acknowledged. Schooling, institutionalized first under religious and later under secular auspices, furthered this process. Such thinking presaged the elaboration of a developmental conception of the life cycle,

delineated over time in an ever more elaborate demarcation of the stages of life—first childhood, then youth, later ADOLESCENCE, and finally middle age.

L'Enfant et la vie familiale elicited widespread interest during the 1960s, especially among the helping professions in the United States, where its argument spoke to worries about the loosening ties of family life and an emerging crisis of adolescence in contemporary society. It also accorded well with the current vogue of ego psychology as epitomized in ERIK ERIKSON's theory about the lifelong psychosocial growth of the individual. Among historians Ariès's book was initially received appreciatively and stimulated much new historical research on childhood and the family, until then surprisingly neglected.

While historians in the English-speaking world, such as Lawrence Stone, eventually grew disenchanted with the broad cast and imprecision of Ariès's thesis, Ariès himself by the mid-1970s was gaining newfound respect among younger French historians for the bold new directions of his research. By then he had turned to the study of historical attitudes toward death and mourning, published what some consider his greatest work, *L'Homme devant la mort* (1977, published in English in 1991 as *The Hour of Our Death*) and participated in a much-publicized running debate on the topic with a friendly rival, the left-wing historian Michel Vovelle. In 1978 Ariès was elected to the faculty of the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, a research center for new approaches to history. Admired as one of the most original minds in late-twentieth-century French historiography, he designed but did not live to see the publication of the five-volume *Histoire de la vie privée* (1985–1987, published in English in 1987–1991 as *The History of Private Life*), a synthesis of twenty-five years of scholarship in the history of collective mentalities.

Today, nearly a half century after its publication, Ariès's *L'Enfant et la vie familiale* remains a point of departure for the study of the history of childhood and family, although most often as a target for scholars who dispute his thesis about a revolution in sentiment in the early modern era (e.g., Steven Ozment), one that his earlier critics of the 1970s for the most part had accepted. It is interesting to note that late in life, Ariès returned to the topic of childhood and family, publishing articles on long-range changes in attitudes toward SEXUALITY and marriage, as well as on the crisis of adolescence and changing parent/child relationships in the contemporary age.

See also: **Comparative History of Childhood; History of Childhood.**

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Aristocratic Education in Europe

In order for a person to play an aristocratic role in society, education is of tremendous importance. The Shakespearean figure Orlando in *As You Like It* (1599–1600) is bitter in his grievance that his brother, Oliver, has undermined his gentility by training him as a peasant. Aristocrats since Homeric times have been men of honor who want to be the best and keep well ahead of the others; they must be educated to be strong and able to play a prominent role in the world. Our knowledge about the education of kings and noblemen begins to become coherent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which saw the emergence of the important genre of didactic courtesy books giving advice on etiquette as well as treatises addressing the education of children in general.

The Middle Ages

The European aristocrats of the Middle Ages were the land-owning nobility, whose members were privileged by fiefs from the king in return for services in war. Although their prestige was increased by the deeds they exercised as armored knights on horseback, their honor as nobles was thought to be hereditary. In the eleventh century and especially in the twelfth, the upper nobility gained power at the expense of the lower and developed a refined set of manners and lifestyle with which to stage their prestige in great halls and at the kings' courts. Court life became the model of good behavior, and the word *courteous* came into the language.

Aristocratic children were brought up to be courteous knights and chatelaines—even aristocrats who became ecclesiastics learned to handle weapons. Parents made great efforts to organize the education of children by choosing masters, mistresses, and servants and planning marriages and careers. Babies had wet nurses, who fed them, and dry nurses, who took care of them in other ways—for example, rockers to rock the cradles. Aristocratic parents often had a noble lady who surveyed the upbringing of the infants. Royal children could have their own courts governed by noble persons appointed by the king. As soon as they could speak, children were introduced to the adult code of good manners and morality. In the great halls they listened together with the adults to tales about King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table with their ideals of virtue, bravery, loyalty, comradeship, courage, and determination to sacrifice life for something higher, pride deriving from acknowledgment of

proven superiority as well as competition among themselves to exceed the greatest deeds. The children learned proper table manners along with dancing, singing, and playing music. Games were a feature of daily life for both children and adults. Playing chess seems to have been used for educative purposes. Some children were raised by relatives, a custom which strengthened kinship, or they were sent to nobles of higher rank or if possible to the royal court, which gave them opportunities to learn more refined manners and to be educated by more erudite masters.

When children were six or seven years old a transition occurred. They continued to progress in the earlier mentioned topics, but the boys got male tutors, who taught them reading and writing as well as some Latin. Only a few nobles continued their studies at the university. Girls also learned to read and write, but their teaching was less formal and intensive. Boys began to participate in the prestigious sport of hunting, where they learned horsemanship and the management of weapons. Between the ages of twelve to fourteen they began the necessary physical training to become knights, learning to wear armor, handle swords and lances, and joust at tournaments. At age eighteen they entered knighthood. Girls did not learn to fight, but they learned to ride. Mistresses taught the young girls housekeeping and how to sew, weave, and spin. Needlework by aristocratic women, including exquisite embroideries and tapestries, was appreciated all over Europe.

Renaissance and Early Modern Times

During the sixteenth century armored knights lost their military significance, and kings and princes began to rely on mercenaries with firearms. At the same time, Renaissance humanism challenged the nobles' notion of inherited superiority and proclaimed the idea of a spiritual aristocracy deriving from a more refined control of bodily instincts as well as extensive literary skills. Aristocrats therefore needed a better education in order to compete with the learned bourgeois in obtaining the influential offices at the king's government. The image of the knight was still a symbol of nobility as shown in the persistent use of coats of arms and armored portraits, and knightly games continued in derivative forms such as riding at the ring. However, the physical exertions of the aristocratic male were formalized as these were transformed into a ceremonialized lifestyle that culminated in the Baroque and Rococo periods in an emphasis on look and manner, such as the donning of powder and wigs. It became a matter of extreme honor to act in accordance with the correct manners at court. In *Il cortegiano* (1528) the Italian writer Baldassare Castiglione put words to the new aristocratic ideals: the outer refined and carefully choreographed staging of the courtier reflected true inner nobility.

These new features influenced education. Dance, for example, became increasingly significant and attracted the interest of educational writers. Good dancers were more easily

taught the look, the posture, and the gait necessary for success in aristocratic life. Music education continued, but now attention was also given to drawing and painting, which developed the visual sense. Aristocratic children continued to be brought up in the manor houses of their parents, by other noblemen, or at court. The formal literary education of boys was upgraded and now led by professional schoolmasters; such teaching became an occupation regulated by clock time and distinct from everyday life. Latin was the subject given most attention; some boys learned Greek and even Hebrew. As Italian and, later, French succeeded Latin as the lingua franca, it became important to learn these languages.

Boys also began to frequent educational institutions where they mixed with the bourgeoisie. Some, mostly in England, attended LATIN SCHOOLS, and aristocratic boys extended their presence at the universities as well. However, from an aristocratic point of view, universities could not teach the important qualities of honor, virtue, and taste. In 1594 Antoine de Pluvinel opened an *académie d'équitation* in Paris. Here young aristocrats learned horsemanship and fencing but also good manners, playing the lute, painting, mathematics, classical as well as modern languages, poetry, literature, and history. The academy emphasized the teaching of the mind as well as development of the body, which was to be hardened as well as refined according to aristocratic norms. Pluvinel's initiative attained royal support, and when aristocratic academies during the seventeenth century spread throughout Europe they were often founded by kings and princes. Most of the academies were boarding schools and taught Pluvinelian subjects to which later in the eighteenth century were added economics, agriculture, and *Staatswissenschaft* (statecraft). Schoolmasters were competent and sometimes called in from foreign countries.

Another feature of aristocratic education was the grand tour, during which a young man and his tutor traveled around Europe for some years studying at academies and universities. By associating with foreign members of their own rank young men learned refined cosmopolitan manners, eloquence, and languages. When they returned they were able to serve the state as officers, ambassadors, chancellors, counselors, governors, and judges.

The literary education of girls was also expanded. In addition to reading and writing they were now taught Italian and French. Many sixteenth-century writers presented such famous women of learning as Plato's Diotima and Queen Zenobia of Palmyra as models for contemporary women and urged the parents of girls to let their daughters study Latin and Greek as well as literature. Some women became famous in Europe for being learned, but in general the teaching of girls was still second to that of boys; the main emphases were still housekeeping and needlework.

The Decline of Aristocratic Education

The romantic-naturalistic educators who emerged in the eighteenth century saw the polite behavior of the aristocracy

as fraudulent, without true virtue. The ideal was that infants should be brought up according to what was explained as their own inner natures. Thus they should not be polished by courteous manners. As the bourgeoisie took over power in society in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its culture obtained a position of hegemony, and the old aristocratic education became ridiculous and eroded away. Stories from eighteenth-century Eton about well-born children fighting each other with a strong sense of honor were made fun of by the Victorians, and bourgeois ideals also took over at the aristocratic academies. In the patriotic and nationalistic education of the people, however, some fragments of aristocratic values did survive, such as the ideas of virtue, deeds, heritability of honor, and determination to sacrifice oneself for a higher purpose.

See also: Education, Europe; Infant Rulers.

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THOMAS LYNGBY

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.)

The Greek philosopher and scientist Aristotle was born in Stagira, a town in Chalcidice. For twenty years he was a member of Plato's school. He then taught philosophy at Atarneus in Asia Minor, in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, and tutored the future Alexander the Great. In 335 to 334 he founded a school called the Lyceum in Athens.

Like Plato, Aristotle departed from the prevailing idea of childhood in Greek antiquity, according to which children were treated as miniature adults and schooled in adult literature as if their minds were able to function like those of

adults. Aristotle's ideas on childhood are found, for the most part, in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*, in which the aim is to strive for the highest good, happiness, in a city-state. His ethical and political writings are interrelated parts of a whole: because human beings are by nature political (we would say *social*) animals, one cannot become happy apart from a community. People become individuals as participating members of a social context by sharing certain ends with others and working with them to realize those ends.

Aristotle insists that the conduct by which we strive for the highest good is learned; it is not inborn. That conduct comes about as the consequence of growing, as experienced adults attempt to acknowledge (1) the nature of children who are to be educated toward the best conduct of which they are capable, and (2) the nature of educated adults who have gained some measure of that conduct. Children, Aristotle holds, are incapable of happiness inasmuch as they have not developed the ability to use their intelligence to guide their actions. Children live as their desires impel them; as their development is incomplete, so their desires may lead them to harmful consequences. The behavior of children is akin to that of licentiousness in adults, Aristotle says; but while adults are capable of knowing that they are licentious, children are not.

Children should be trained in the direction of virtuous conduct but cannot engage in such conduct until their intellects develop in such manner that they can determine which means to employ in the pursuit of moral and social ends. This is why children need teachers who conduct themselves according to high moral principles. Training children's desires is not just for the sake of their desires; the training is ultimately for the sake of their developing intellects. As a corollary, one may say that training their bodies is not just for the sake of their bodies, but ultimately for the sake of the souls that are being shaped.

The difficulties in educating children's desires for the sake of their intellects, and in educating their bodies for the sake of their souls, are many. For one thing, the intellects of children's teachers can miss the highest principles of morality, with the result that children may be trained incorrectly. For another thing, certain desires of children, if left unattended by wiser adults, get in the way of proper growth. Aristotle generalizes this difficulty in a memorable passage in the *Eudemian Ethics*, saying that while the good is simple, the bad comes in many shapes. With these difficulties in mind, it is clear that training children's desires and bodies so that they may be enabled to gain some measure of virtuous conduct is a difficult undertaking, fraught with many obstacles stemming from children's desires as well as from the shortcomings of their teachers. In one passage, Aristotle calls learning a *painful* process.

While Aristotle departed from the idea that children may be viewed as miniature adults and thus cannot be expected

to engage meaningfully in adult intellectual activities, he was not "permissive" in a modern sense. He did not believe that it should be left to children to determine what they are to do; rather, educated adults, even if they have missed the highest principles of morality, should have some sense of what children can and should do. With this in mind, Aristotle argues that the kind of games children play, as well as the stories appropriate for them, are to be determined by educational officials. Most games, Aristotle holds, ought to be imitations of serious occupations of later life; while children cannot reason as adults are expected to do, they can imitate certain activities without knowing why they are engaged in them. If their education succeeds in realizing the moral aims of their teachers, they can understand the reasons for those activities when they become adults. Their training in childhood is for ultimate happiness, even though children are incapable of happiness: the aim is to enable them to *become happy*.

Private education prevailed in the Greek states in Aristotle's time. Aristotle opposed this practice, arguing that it is an injustice for states to punish citizens who had not been educated in the ways of right conduct. He insisted that states should be responsible for educating their citizens. Pointing out that the state is a plurality that should be made into a community by education, Aristotle argued that public education should strive to work toward common ends to be sought by all citizens, and that the inseparability of the individual and the community constitutes an essential condition requiring public education. Thus the social and moral unity that Aristotle encompassed in his *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* is to be forged and maintained as a *public* responsibility. In this context, the educational officials responsible for determining children's games and stories serve to establish and maintain the public good.

Aristotle connects the pursuit of philosophy with the musical education of children by pointing out that the tunes and modes of musical education must have *ethical* value. He closes the *Politics* by holding that we must be mindful of three aims of education—the happy mean, the possible, and the appropriate. In keeping with his idea that while children are incapable of happiness, education should strive for them to become happy as adults, Aristotle reminds us that what is possible and appropriate for adults is not so for children. What is possible and appropriate for children is for the sake of what they are capable of becoming.

See also: **Ancient Greece and Rome; Plato.**

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Artificial Insemination

Artificial insemination is the mediated use of sperm to impregnate a woman. The term has historically been used in cases where this procedure is done under medical supervision, socially legitimized as a medical treatment for infertility. It has required medical legitimization because in most cases the sperm used is from a man who is not the woman's partner (artificial insemination by donor, or AID). Artificial insemination, likely practiced outside the medical setting for much of history, was first reported in the medical literature by John Hunter in 1790. In the early twentieth century, its popularity grew, and its moral and social implications were debated in both the medical and popular press in the United States starting in 1909, and in Europe by the 1940s. Supporters pointed to the joy of parents who were able to bear children thanks to the procedure. Critics believed that AID was a form of adultery, and that it promoted the vice of MASTURBATION. The Catholic Church objected to all forms of artificial insemination, saying that it promoted the vice of onanism and ignored the religious importance of coitus. Other critics were concerned that AID could encourage EUGENIC government policies.

As popular concerns about AID faded in Europe and the United States, the demand for donor sperm increased tremendously. In 1953, the first successful pregnancy from frozen sperm was reported, leading to the development of a thriving sperm-bank industry starting in the 1970s and the commercialization of AID. While a 1941 survey estimated that 3,700 inseminations had been performed in the United States, by 1987 U.S. doctors performed the procedure on about 172,000 women in a single year, resulting in 65,000 births. The growing number of AID pregnancies has raised new concerns, and in many places sparked new regulation. Because fresh sperm can be a source of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV, testing of donors and donations has become routine in many clinics, and is required by many local and national governments. In addition, because the privacy of the donor is generally protected and it is physically possible to donate semen many times, in many places clinic policies and/or government regulations tightly restrict the number of times a single donor's semen may be used, in order to diminish the chances of unknowing marriage of biological siblings among AID children.

Legal and social questions surrounding AID in many countries reflect cultural concerns with biological paternity

and the maintenance of the heterosexual, married couple as the basis of the family. The Catholic Church and many interpreters of ISLAM consider AID to be adulterous, and as of 1990, it was banned in BRAZIL, Egypt, and Libya. Ireland, ISRAEL, Italy, and South Africa restricted its use to married couples and many more countries have not approved its use by lesbian couples. While a number of European countries have instituted regulations legitimizing AID children as the offspring of the mother's husband or partner, providing he had given written consent, in many places the law remains ambiguous. While many clinics and some governments deny clinical AID services to single women and lesbians, some feminists have organized to demedicalize AID and provide services to women creating nontraditional families. Debates rage about what to tell AID children about their biological parentage. AID is one of several new reproductive technologies which challenge the "naturalness" and inevitability of identifying social kinship with biological kinship.

See also: **Adoption; Conception and Birth; Egg Donation; Fertility Drugs; Obstetrics and Midwifery; Surrogacy.**

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Asia. *See* China; Japan; India and South Asia.

Attention Deficit Disorder. *See* Hyperactivity.

Australia

Perceptions of childhood in Australia have long been dominated by the notion that there used to be and perhaps still is something special, precious, and distinctive about the Australian child. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this generalized national child with the exceptionally broad range of actual childhood experience. In fact, what has been more distinctive about Australian childhood may be the profound and pervasive influence of this nationalist ideal on child-raising concepts and welfare policies, helping to justify and rationalize a broad range of interventions between parent and child.

Colonized at the end of the eighteenth century, largely by British emigrants, it was almost inevitable that the Austr-

lian continent would be seen not just as another New World but as an ideal environment in which to rear the young. Sentimental and economic investment in childhood merged with concurrent ideals of individual liberty and egalitarianism to produce a particularly trenchant version of the prevailing cult of childhood innocence and malleability. Every child was a potential citizen, and the seedbed of all that the individual and the nation might become. And such was the opportunity to realize this potential, and the freedom from the dictatorial Old World constraints of father, church, or crown, that childhood could not but be joyous, mischievous, and free. Thus, as early as the 1820s, it was said that the children of people who arrived as convicts flourished in Australia to the point where they overcame both the vices and disadvantages of their parents.

The Nationalist Ideal

By the late nineteenth century, growing nationalist sentiment stepped in to foster these ideals. The separation and elevation of the child's world became imbued both with patriotic fervor and with EUGENIC concerns, so that the white Australian child, and particularly the adolescent, was seen to epitomize the vitality and resources of nation and race. This was true elsewhere but was especially the case in Australia, where the new nation was perceived as an innocent, energetic, and independent offshoot of the old. Idealistic and young, it was represented as eager to equal and impress the wily old mother country, though not throw off all of the maternal bonds.

This construction of a nationalist child was all the more pervasive in Australia because of its particular identification with the land, or bush. In the lead-up to Federation, nationalists created an influential rural ideology postulating that special spiritual, mental, and physical qualities were fostered by the white Australian's battle to explore, cultivate, and tame the inland. This ideology was soon applied to the young, especially boys. The result was a stream of journalism, ballads, stories, paintings, photographs, and later films celebrating a hardy little bush-bred (white) boy whose potential manhood was honed in helping to fight bushfires, blacks, floods, and drought, then tested and proved on the battlefields of World Wars I and II. This lively little Australian male was a miniature pioneer, fairly rebellious, even a larrikin, but always heterosexual, innocent, and never the moral cripple that social reformers imagined inhabited the city slum.

Viewed through this nationalist lens, the ideal Australian child was also exceptionally healthy, always provided he was reared in the wide sunny spaces of the bush, or failing that, the beach. Even in the days of convict colonization, tallness in the native-born was taken as a measure not just of physical health but of moral rectitude, and by the 1880s the measurement and medical inspection of school children was seen as crucial for assessing how well the white population might fill

up the nation's vast interior and people its tropical north. A falling birthrate and rising rates of INFANT MORTALITY lent fuel to these concerns, the more so since the first generations of "currency" children (the first generations of white children born in Australia) had been isolated by sheer distance from the main infectious diseases that elsewhere afflicted the young. But rising family immigration, peaking during the gold rushes of the 1850s, and the concentration of the child population in the growing ports and towns, meant that mortality rates soon approached those of the main European centers. The presence of more prolific and supposedly expansionist nations to the north lent a special urgency to public health initiatives to reduce mortality and improve the physique of the white Australian child.

This nationalist ideology rested uneasily with the modernization of the family, feminism, and the elevation of women as "mothers of the race." In Australian nationalist cultural products, younger children, mothers, and girls were more often associated with urban life, and even with the perceived disease and corruption of the city. If they strayed into the male realm of the bush, they were routinely depicted as lost in it, or driven mad by it, or even more misogynistically, as spoiling male freedom and camaraderie by venturing there at all. Mothers were invisible, peripheral, or heavily criticized as spoiling the development of their sons, while the ideal father became defined as boyish and egalitarian—a mate. The application of nationalist ideals to girls was seen as doubtful in the extreme. Sisters rarely appeared in the nationalist ideal, and if they did they had to be much more obedient than males, and fairly athletic. Sometimes thought of as "little Aussie battlers," above all they had to be good sports.

State Involvement

This ideology operated not merely to obscure the numerous departures from the ideal, but to justify a broad range of interventions in other patterns of child life that were thought to threaten the nationalist ideal. These departures were not intrinsically different from similar initiatives elsewhere, and were similarly liberal, justified in terms of the need to realize the rights of the child. In Australia, however, they were particularly trenchant, owing to the early and powerful role of the state in constructing and refining family life.

Beginning in the earliest settlements, the lack, for most families, of a network of supportive kin, coupled with the paucity of established, well-endowed charities, meant that the nascent state was forced to provide both food and clothing for impoverished mothers and children and construct a network of ORPHANAGES and asylums to house them. Arguably the penal nature of the earliest societies and the prejudice against women convicts began a tradition whereby it was perceived as mandatory to remove the vulnerable infant from mothers deemed unfit, sending them either into institutions or to families who would take over their upbringing.

During the colonial period, the idea that Australia was a healthy place to send British orphans and juvenile offenders meant that approved families in Australia became accustomed to receiving other people's children, who were both a labor source and a future population resource. And though the extremes of child labor characteristic of industrialized cities in Britain were not a feature of Australian child life, the ongoing demand for domestic and especially rural labor meant that children removed from the care of relatives and parents were exploited, even into the early twentieth century and beyond. Cases of cruelty and sexual abuse in the various children's institutions themselves were not unusual but normally went undetected until a change in legislation or in personnel caused a government enquiry, followed by a reshuffling of staff.

Another factor making for high rates of child removal in Australia was the early demographic imbalance. The colonial convict system, followed by waves of gold rush immigration, favored a predominance of males, which was not corrected by the efforts of moral reformers to import shiploads of pauper women and girls. It was not until the 1860s that sex ratios began to level out and rates of marriage and family formation began to increase, and by that time concerns about illegitimacy, prostitution, male HOMOSEXUALITY, and VENEREAL DISEASE further seemed to justify removal of the "innocent" child.

Patterns of male employment further weakened the family life of children at risk. Even as late as the 1950s, the bush provided opportunities for men, single and married, to eke out a living, usually as itinerant bush workers—fencing, mustering, droving, and shearing—and sometimes as gold-seekers, or fossickers, after the main alluvial deposits had been won. Coupled with the fact that Australia was largely an immigrant society, the result was high rates of family desertion, especially during the nineteenth century, with husbands and fathers slipping away, either up the country or back to families left behind in Britain. Efforts by the state to force men to provide maintenance were largely unsuccessful, and it was the state that assumed the role of father, further creating a tradition of bureaucratic control over family life.

Intervention and Aboriginal Children

This pattern of intervention in child life undoubtedly had its most severe and prolonged effect on the continent's indigenous children. The practice of taking in Aboriginal children who appeared to be ORPHANS dated from the earliest days of settlement at Sydney, when Nanbaree and Booron, left homeless by the first smallpox epidemic, were placed as servants in the homes of two prominent officials. But even this initial act was not entirely charitable. The children were expected to become servants, and within a decade a phrenological report on their "progress" towards "civilization" had appeared in an American scientific journal. Both children were considered failures, beginning a pattern that was to be re-

peated thousands of times around the continent as children whose families had been killed, had died of disease, or simply could not be found at the moment were taken away, first informally by settlers, whalers, sealers, and pastoral workers, either for labor or sexual purposes or both, and later by authorized agents of the state. The fact that these children, if they survived, usually tried to find their way back to their own people was taken as a further indicator of their nomadic habits, and hence of their need to be removed.

While the state never officially condoned cruelty or the sexual exploitation of indigenous children, as was true of all the other Australian children removed "for their own good," the cruelty of the act of removal was not seen as an issue. For non-Aboriginal children, from the early twentieth century on, new theories of the importance of mothering, plus the sheer cost of institutionalizing so many, forced an increasing emphasis on monitoring impoverished children or juvenile offenders in their own households. For Aboriginal children, however, archaic policies of wholesale removal and long-term separation continued to be applied. This racial edge in state policy became apparent as early as the 1880s, when Aboriginal children began to be excluded from compulsory primary education. In this period, spates of new legislation specified precisely where Aboriginal families might live and work, and in some cases legislation also sought to control Aboriginal marriage. These policies continued into the 1960s, and in some states even later. Meanwhile, Aboriginal living conditions remained appalling, and infant mortality and child removal and incarceration rates remained extraordinarily high.

Conclusion

For many children, Australia has undoubtedly been a place to grow up happy and contented. The absence of a rigid, hereditary class structure and of extreme exploitation in factories and mines, the early provision of facilities for education, and even the ever-present bush and beach have all made for equality of opportunity as well as freedom and fun. The down side has been the narrow, interventionist, and in some cases racially motivated agenda that has always underlain the otherwise well-intentioned rhetoric of the rights of the child.

See also: **New Zealand; Placing Out.**

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Autobiographies

Children from the past have not left autobiographies in the strict sense of the word. Most writers working in the genre tend to come to it around the age of fifty. That, at least, was

the age at which JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU wrote his *Confessions*, a work that was to be an influential example over the following two centuries. As the writers of diaries, children under the age of fifteen have left more traces, although even these were initially quite rare. There are only seven known children's diaries from England and the United States written prior to 1800. In the Netherlands, systematic research yielded six surviving diaries by children written before 1814. Among them was that by Otto van Eck, who filled over 1500 pages in seven years, starting in 1791 when he was ten. He wrote his diary at the behest of his parents, in keeping with an educational strategy recommended by pedagogues since the late eighteenth century. The writing of a diary was meant to increase the child's self-knowledge. Parents were to read their children's diaries in order to closely follow their development. In the nineteenth century, the writing of diaries became especially popular with young women, as Philippe Lejeune established. The best-known diary from this period is by the Russian-born Marie Bashkirtseff, who started writing when she was fifteen years old. Her diary was published in 1887, following her early death. The book caused a sensation, first in France, and after being translated also in England and even more so in America. Never before had a young woman openly claimed to have ambitions as an artist, been so hungry for fame and so egotistical. But in another respect it conformed to a more common pattern—it was published by her father who had edited the text. Many children's diaries survived only to serve as a memorial because of an early death; this was also the case with Otto van Eck, who died at seventeen. *The Diary of Anne Frank*, the most famous diary written by a young person, also fits this pattern. ANNE FRANK kept her diary while hiding in Amsterdam during World War II. She and her family were discovered and deported, and only her father survived. The first edition of Anne's diary was published in 1947 through the initiative of her father.

In the twentieth century, the writing of diaries was still being encouraged by educators. Moreover, such texts were now used as sources for their studies. In Germany, for instance, this was done by CHARLOTTE BÜHLER. Educators now saw writing as an aid to the development of self-consciousness, not as a means of control. The diary developed into the ultimate form of private writing, and even parents had to respect this privacy. Teachers encouraged the writing of diaries to promote writing skills. The writing of a fictional diary often became part of language lessons. Later, some children would keep diaries on the Internet, which

again stimulated debate about the private or public character of children's diaries.

Beginning with Rousseau autobiographies written in adulthood began to focus on childhood as a formative stage in the writers' lives. The way in which autobiographers recalled their memories also changed. Associative memories became important, and details once seen as trivial were now regarded as meaningful. In the nineteenth century a specific genre of childhood memories developed. A new literary genre was the *Bildungsroman*, a narrative of the development of a child into adulthood. This genre in turn influenced the lives of its young readers. One of the first examples was published by the German novelist Heinrich Jung-Stilling in 1777. According to Richard N. Coe, poets and novelists were especially able to conjure up their childhood in creative ways. Outside Europe, childhood memories as a genre developed in the twentieth century; with the Japanese writer Ju'ichiro Tanizaki as an early example. Thus, the western view of childhood was exported to the rest of the world in literary form. As a literary form, childhood memories are today written in every part of the world, but content and form can vary in different cultures. Psychological research has made clear that there are significant differences in the working of what is called *long-term autobiographical memory*. Scholars and scientists still have many questions to answer about the act of recalling childhood years and transforming memories into literature.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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Automobiles. See *Cars as Toys*.

B

Baby Boom Generation

Born between 1946 and 1964, the baby boomers represent the largest generational birth cohort in U.S. history—nearly 76.5 million in total. Following World War II, a fertility surge coincided with rapid economic expansion. Government, industry, and society all fueled the boom. Governmental policies encouraged particular models of suburban family life, from expanded veterans' benefits and easy housing loans to the replacement of many women in wartime jobs with men in peacetime employment. From 1950 to 1970, the suburban population doubled, from 36 to 72 million, becoming the largest single sector of the nation's population. Though suburbanization was a predominantly white, middle-class phenomenon, the boom crossed nearly all categories of race, class, ethnicity, and religion. Liberalized immigration policies also contributed to increases in the birthrate, especially for Mexican and Chinese people in the United States, throughout the late 1940s and 1950s.

The Early Boomers

As Cold War anticommunism and pro-corporatism merged with the suburban ideal, the nuclear family became charged with symbolic and practical meanings for the health of the individual, community, and nation. Those who did not fit into the ideal suburban, middle-class, married, white family structure faced stigmatization. Black female household heads were frequently held accountable for their own poverty, and their children were marginalized. Such attitudes made it possible to formally and informally deny young, poor women of color access to a variety of health and social services throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Community displacement due to wartime and postwar mobility and suburbanization decreased the role of extended family networks in providing parenting advice and support. In an age of technological innovation, parents turned to experts such as Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK, who encouraged positive reinforcement and full-time parental devotion to affection-

ate child-raising. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, critics grew concerned with the potential lack of limits that could result from what scholar Richard Hofstadter called “the overvalued child.”

Boomer childhoods were filled with vast institutional, social, and media attention. During the 1950s and early 1960s, elementary schools could not be built fast enough to keep up with demand, and membership in Little League and the Boy and Girl Scouts exploded. Churches enjoyed a rise in membership from 64.5 million in 1940 to 114.5 million in 1960 and especially in the suburbs churches developed recreational and youth programs.

The media quickly recognized the potential to reach the boomer child market via the new phenomenon of TELEVISION. The growth of children's programming, such as *The Mickey Mouse Club*, which began in 1955, allowed direct toy advertising to children, cutting parents and educators out of the loop. TOYS also shifted from parent-directed play to advertiser-led consumption. BARBIE, for example, introduced in 1959, just as older boomers headed into adolescence, modeled a teenage lifestyle of carefree consumerism rather than an idealization of motherhood or family.

In their teens, boomers continued to transform institutions and culture. HIGH SCHOOL enrollment rose due to both the sheer quantity of TEENAGERS and an increasing pressure to keep all teenagers in school through graduation. Perhaps most significantly, boomers experienced the rewards and strains of school integration, which gradually followed BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION in 1954. Questions of racial integration and equality were concerns for most young people. Little practical change occurred until the decade after the Civil Rights Act (1964–1968), when 75 percent of African-American students still attended segregated schools. For later boomers, experiences of mandatory integration through the busing of students to various districts were common. By 1976, only 17 percent of black students still attended formally segregated schools.

Youth DATING culture changed significantly throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In the early postwar years, the previous system of dating many different people was replaced by the ideal of “going steady” with a single partner. Premarital intercourse became more common, although long after the advent of the BIRTH CONTROL pill in 1960, and even the legalization of abortion with *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, young people tended to be critical of “going all the way,” or having sexual intercourse.

Like their parents, boomer teens eagerly embraced consumerism as a means of personal fulfillment, although they rejected the corollary of familial security. Marketing expanded to meet their desires for “self-expression,” with everything from mod clothes to rock music. By the late 1960s, anti-materialist youth aesthetics were conjoined with teens who had higher disposable incomes and greater recreational expenditures than any previous generation. As such, the combination of consumerism and the linked belief in the therapeutic self came to define the baby boom generation. Together, they fueled young people’s insistence on free expression, from boys wearing long hair in high school to the purchasing of “alternative” clothing, rock music, and drugs, to protesting against the Vietnam-era military draft.

Protest they did. In the late 1960s, high school students fought for a say on dress code regulations, textbook selection, and club management, engaging in sit-ins and publishing underground newspapers. They received validation from the more extensive and radical boomer college battles about free speech, the war, civil rights, and women’s issues. They also found support in such institutional high places as the U.S. Supreme Court, which, in *TINKER v. DES MOINES* in 1969, ruled that high school students had a right to free speech. Young people also found inspiration in a countercultural movement for personal liberation that was geared toward universal love and a rejection of such mainstream values as monogamy and careerism.

While the way for part-time, discretionary-fund teen employment was paved by the rise of suburban shopping malls and fast-food restaurants, nonwhite and lower-income teens, especially young men in inner cities, needed jobs. For them, opportunities to work became scarcer throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Young people participated in a wave of urban uprisings throughout the mid- to late-1960s. They also organized to attack systems that failed to address their needs. In March 1968, for example, Chicano and Chicana youth organized a boycott of five East Los Angeles high schools to protest overcrowding, discriminatory practices, and related high drop-out levels.

The Late Boomers

Unlike early boomers, who were born between 1946 and 1955 and were collectively named *Time’s* Man of the Year in 1967, late boomers (born 1956 through 1964) were in many ways the generation’s forgotten members. American society

was less invested in raising them as “ideal” children than it was in simply managing them. Many youth-related institutions were prepared to accommodate them. To further facilitate the gradual transition from childhood to adolescence, the 1970s saw the rise of the middle school. In 1966, only 499 existed, but by 1980 there were over 6,000.

Teenagers in the 1970s, in large part, retreated from political activity into a consumer-based exploration of peer-based belonging. Recreational drug use rose dramatically, and due in part to the women’s movement and sexual liberation, teens experienced a gradual shifting away from formalized steady courtship toward heterosexual group socializing with more informal dating and sexual relations. Nevertheless, for some late boomers the 1970s were a time of involvement within the growing movements for people of color, women, gay people, and the environment.

Baby boomers redefined the meanings of childhood and youth in the United States. YOUTH CULTURE and institutions will continue to feel their presence for decades to come.

See also: **Campus Revolts in the 1960s; Drugs; Twenty-Sixth Amendment; Rock and Roll; Youth Activism.**

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DON ROMESBURG

Baby Farming

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the practice of baby farming came under scrutiny in both Britain and the United States. *Baby farming* referred to a system in which infants were sent away to be nursed and boarded by private individuals for either a flat, one-time fee or a weekly or monthly charge. Baby farmers, usually middle-aged women, solicited these infants through “adoption” advertisements in newspapers, and through nurses, midwives, and the keepers of lying-in houses (private houses where poor, unwed women could pay to give birth and arrange for the transfer of their infants to baby farmers).

In 1868, the *British Medical Journal* published allegations that baby farming was just a form of commercial infanticide, that the infants in the care of baby farmers were deliberately and severely neglected, leading to their deaths. A very large percentage of the infants entrusted to the care of baby farmers did die, but the extent to which those deaths were intentional is less clear. According to historian Linda Gordon, babies sent to orphan asylums were as likely to die as those cared for by baby farmers. Some baby farmers seem to have done the best they could to raise healthy children but were restricted in their ability to provide basic care for the infants by poor parents who could afford only minimal payments and did not even necessarily pay those.

Equally nebulous are the intentions of the parents who turned their babies over to the care of baby farmers. Benjamin Waugh, a British reformer writing in 1890, claimed that most mothers were snared by seemingly respectable procurers who then turned the infants over to nefarious baby farmers. Some mothers, however, “infamous creatures, mere she-things,” according to Waugh, looked to baby farmers to rid them of the problem of an unwanted, sometimes illegitimate, infant. Extreme poverty caused some well-meaning women to seek the help of respectable-seeming baby farmers, sometimes hoping to maintain contact with the child and the child’s caregivers. The same poverty brought other parents to clearly disreputable baby farmers as a means of committing infanticide indirectly, with the promise of infant death sometimes being openly discussed by the parents and the baby farmer. Other infants were sent to baby farmers so that the mother could attain a job as a wet nurse, a relatively easy and well-paid job. Infanticide was very difficult to prove, particularly in cases of neglect. Nonetheless, in Central Middlesex, England, in 1867, 94 percent of all murder victims were under one year old.

The attention given to baby farming, in part through some sensational cases of mass infanticide, helped to build the SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN in the United States and the Infant Life Protection Society in Britain. Reformers fought for laws requiring the registration of all births and of baby farmers. Britain passed the

Infant Life Protection Act in 1872 requiring the registration of those boarding more than one infant. In the United States, Massachusetts passed an act requiring the registration of all boarding homes and of any illegitimate children given to board in 1882, but there were still cases of large-scale infanticide through baby farming operations revealed in the press in the first decade of the twentieth century.

See also: **Infant Feeding; Infant Mortality; Wet-Nursing.**

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CAROLINE HINKLE McCAMANT

Baby-Sitters

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the earliest use of the term *baby-sitter* was in a 1937 publication that described “two high-school girls in the neighborhood who hire out for twenty-five cents an evening as baby-sitters when the family wants to go to the movies.” Up until the 1940s, however, the phrase *mind[ing] the children* was more widely used to describe the temporary care of children, which was principally done by family, kin, neighbors, and friends. Generations of American parents—especially those with few resources—often relied on their older children to care for younger SIBLINGS, despite attempts by reformers’ to decrease child labor and increase school attendance. Typical of Depression-era child-care arrangements (in which children of both sexes played a principle part) is a 1935 episode of the *Little Rascals* in which Spanky is expected to “mind the baby” while his mother goes out. Declining birth rates, however, began to limit this option.

The disruptions caused by conscription, migration, and female employment during World War II challenged these traditional child-care patterns. As mothers and teenage girls worked for wages in the defense industries, retail trades, and the service sector, grandmothers, in addition to landladies and unrelated children, often baby-sat. At 25 cents a night, they were often burdened with housekeeping responsibilities along with caring for all the children of several families. With mothers at work and domestic servants scarce, home-front girls of all ages were expected to “keep house” as well as baby-sit. For all the work they did, wages were low—and sometimes paid only in part, or not at all.

Postwar prosperity, a gender ideology that promoted maternity and domesticity, sharply rising birth rates (with children being born closer together), and a new leisure culture all contributed to a surging demand for baby-sitters in the years following World War II. War-weary couples disrupted long-standing family and kin networks when they relocated to developing suburban communities largely populated by young parents like themselves. Parents—especially housewives and mothers eager for a “day off” and a “night out”—looked to teenage girls to baby-sit. By 1947, baby-sitting had become the principal form of part-time employment and the nearly exclusive domain (called the “petticoat monopoly”) of teenage girls who had been both forced out of the economy and stimulated to consume by a burgeoning commercial teen culture. Empowered by their wartime autonomy, however, teenage girls protested poor working conditions (e.g., housekeeping, low wages), issued manifestos, devised labor codes, and organized baby-sitter unions in communities in the Northeast and Midwest.

During the 1950s, the politicization of baby-sitters gave way to their professionalization when “experts” established baby-sitter courses in schools and communities. The aim of these courses was to contain the subversive girls’ culture that inspired baby-sitters to contest the working conditions they disliked. While it would not be until the early 1950s that dictionaries would include the term *baby-sitter*, teenage girls of the period often referred to this occupation as “bratting,” a reference to the sometimes unruly children who were raised according to DR. SPOCK’S permissive methods of child rearing.

That there were too few reliable and responsible teenage girls in the population generally, and in the suburbs in particular, led experts to promote (and parents to employ) teenage boys as baby-sitters. While most boys in the 1950s delivered newspapers, mowed lawns, or did odd jobs, *Life* magazine reported in 1957 that nearly one-quarter of all boys worked as baby-sitters. Lionized in popular magazines, educational journals, and etiquette manuals by adults anxious about “momism,” boy baby-sitters were widely praised for their professionalism and masculinity. In the absence of breadwinning fathers during the day, boy sitters were believed to instill virile virtues critical to the healthy development of little boys’ gender identity.

The representation of the pleasure-seeking baby-sitter of the 1950s yielded to a highly sexualized one in the 1960s. The eroticized baby-sitter in high culture, folk culture, popular culture, and pornography was shaped by the sexual revolution, women’s liberation, and the counterculture. Although baby-sitting largely continued as a mundane exchange of patience for pennies (about 75 cents per hour), teenage temptresses easily aroused husband-employers disenchanted with postwar suburban life. In MOVIES, TELEVISION sitcoms, and urban legends, the often vulnerable (yet

implicitly voluptuous) teenage baby-sitter expressed the fears and fantasies of adults anxious about rapidly changing gender roles, girls’ culture, the breakdown of the family, and community instability.

By the mid-1980s, when there were fewer teenagers in the population once again (and in the midst of a backlash against feminism), demonized baby-sitters in popular and made-for-TV movies threatened children, destabilized marriages, and destroyed families. At the same time, increasing employment opportunities for teens enabled many girls and boys to seek out jobs where they could make more money and meet people. The expanding retail trade and service industries provided greater remuneration, status, and sociability than did the often solitary job of “sitting.” Beset by last-minute calls, cancellations, bounced checks, uncertain hours (generally later than expected), drunk drivers, and sexual harassment, teenage girls increasingly relinquished baby-sitting jobs to inexperienced preadolescent girls.

Though postwar parents had been warned by experts not to hire a baby-sitter who was younger than her mid-teens, preadolescent girls began to be hired in the mid-1980s by new parents whose increased rates of childbirth were reversing a fifteen-year demographic trend. Often educated in “safe sitting” training courses offered by local schools and hospitals, preadolescent girls have since been acculturated by *The Baby-sitters Club* book series (written by Ann M. Martin) and movie spin-offs that idealize the preadolescent “Super Sitter” and an emergent “girl power” ideology that: (1) reinforces the belief that determination, ambition, individual achievement, competence, and hard work enables girls to realize their dreams; (2) encourages girls’ economic role in the consumer market; and (3) fosters empowerment through pleasure, style, FASHION (e.g., makeup), and attitude.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Child Care: In-Home Child Care; Consumer Culture.**

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MIRIAM FORMAN-BRUNELL

Baden-Powell, Robert (1857–1941)

Robert Baden-Powell created the BOY SCOUTS which grew rapidly into an international educational youth movement before 1914. He wrote *Scouting for Boys* in 1908, and also co-authored the Girl Guides manual, *How Girls Can Help Build Up the Empire*, with his sister Agnes in 1910.

The Boy Scout scheme was a system of character development and citizenship training that, while based on a manual of military scouting, was firmly grounded in both contemporary psychological theory and educational methods. The aim was to create model adolescents and ultimately model adult citizens through Boy Scout training—complete with its own moral code (encapsulated in the Scout Promise and Scout Law)—and by its public service roles in ambulance, fire fighting, and lifesaving. Boy Scouts were to be replete with the skills and virtues of backwoodsmen and frontiersmen by taking a whole series of scout tests such as cooking without utensils, shelter building, and knots and lashings.

Scouting was designed as an “all-embracing game” by Baden-Powell to be pursued all year round both indoors and out, that contrived to mold boys’ character and moral values. For younger boys scouting could provide an adult-inspired “escape” from the suffocating domestic conventions of childhood combined nonetheless with custodial supervision. For fourteen year olds it was intended as a diversion from adult recreational forms (notably smoking and gambling) widely adopted by precocious school leavers in Edwardian Britain.

Major-General Baden-Powell, the Boer War’s “hero of Mafeking,” had an upbringing with a Progressive educationist mother. Following public school Baden-Powell did so well in the entrance exam that he bypassed officer training and went straight to his regiment. He was to prove an unconventional and unorthodox regular soldier who advocated the use of irregular volunteer forces and wrote the military manual *Aids to Scouting*—subsequently adapted as the core theme for citizenship training in the Boy Scouts. Later RUDYARD KIPLING’S *Jungle Book* was used as the basis for his Wolf Cub program for boys below scout age.

Prior to the publication of *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell developed scouting for the Boys Brigade at the invitation of its founder, W. A. Smith. Scouting then grew largely by being adopted by existing youth organizations like the Boys’ Clubs, SUNDAY SCHOOLS, and church choirs, who would establish a scout troop so as not to lose their members completely to the new fashionable movement.

Baden-Powell’s concept of scouting was shaped by an eclectic blend of influences and ideas. He borrowed the idea of self-governing clubs from American Charles Stelzle, who helped operate boys’ clubs starting in the 1880s; the scout’s secret handshake and notion of a scout brotherhood came from Freemasonry; the Scouts Farm schools and emigration policy imitated the Salvation Army plan. Baden-Powell also drew heavily from MARIA MONTESSORI’S ideas on PLAY and G. STANLEY HALL’S biogenetic psychology—including the idea that children recapitulated the cultural history of the race in their development and play as they grew up. Accordingly, the Wolf Cub program was designed for those in Hall’s “Savage or Barbaric stage” and the Boy Scouts, for

those over ten years in the “Tribal or Clan stage.” The six-boy Scout Patrol was meant as a “fraternity gang.” Maria Montessori greatly admired the Scout movement and saw it as an invaluable preparation for “going out.”

Despite being a product of Edwardian England’s intellectual and cultural climate and its socioeconomic preoccupations, scouting had widespread appeal and proved equally applicable in many diverse national contexts. By 1914 it had spread to fifty-two other countries, dominions, and colonies including France, Germany, Austria, Japan, Russia, the United States, Peru, Australia, and Canada. Baden-Powell actively encouraged this by making a six-month world tour to promote his brain child in 1912. In 1918 there were 750,000 Boy Scouts overseas and 155,000 in Britain.

Scouting has been modified and kept up to date since then (for example, the Beavers were started for the pre-Wolf Cub age group) and the uniform altered to accommodate changes in fashion (short trousers were abandoned). Nevertheless, the Scout movement’s aims, objectives, and most of its activities are fundamentally the same at the start of the twenty-first century as they were in 1908.

See also: **Boyhood; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Girl Scouts.**

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Baptism

For Christians, baptism is one of the three rites of initiation which incorporate an individual into the Body of Christ—that is, into membership in the Christian church (see 1 Cor. 13). The others are CONFIRMATION and Eucharist. Baptism takes place when an individual is immersed or sprinkled with water while the baptizer recites this formula: “I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit” (Matt. 28:19). As a sacrament, baptism removes the sins of the newly initiated, which is in itself an unmerited gift from God. Christian baptism may be traced back to the baptism of Jesus Christ by John the Baptist in the river Jordan. Most Christian denominations require infant baptism because of Jesus’ injunction, “Amen, amen, I say to you, no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and Spirit” (John 3:5), as well as the authority of St. Peter (Acts 2:38–39).

By the third century, the early church began to administer baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist to infants im-

mediately after birth. The church recognized the spiritual equality of all of its members, whether children or adults. Writing about 80 C.E., Irenaeus of Lyons underscored this point: “For he [the Lord] came to save all of them through himself; all of them, I say, who through him are born again in God, the infants, and the small children, and the boys, and the mature, and the older people” (*Adversus Omnes Haereses*, Book 5).

The *Traditio Apostolica* (c. 217), which is attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, provides a third-century description of the rite of baptism and implications for children. The document notes that children are to be baptized before adults and that parents or relatives are to answer the prescribed questions if the children are unable to do so. Origen, a third-century theologian in the East, mandated infant baptism in his *Commentarii in Romanos*. Moreover, the Nicene Creed, which was drafted in the fourth century, acknowledged “one baptism for the remission of sins” and continued to associate confirmation and the Eucharist with baptism. By the time of Augustine of Hippo in the fifth century, the baptism of infants was widespread in the West. He recommended that children were to be baptized as soon as possible because of the high rate of infant mortality. According to St. Augustine, baptism removed both the original sin of Adam and Eve as well as any other sins. But the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) rejected both the early tradition of administering Eucharist to infants after baptism and the fifth-century custom of delaying confirmation and Eucharist for several years after baptism, and forbade infants from receiving the Eucharist until they had reached the age of discretion (i.e., seven). They equated spiritual readiness with reason.

After 1525, Anabaptists shared the view that physically immature children were also spiritually innocent, but they became the only Christian sect to deny the efficacy of infant baptism. Anabaptists insisted that preadolescent children could not be admitted into the church because they lacked faith. At the same time the Anabaptists comforted distraught parents by maintaining the belief that unbaptized children who died before adolescence were assured salvation because they were incapable of deliberate sin.

In the 1960s, the second Vatican Council authorized a ritual for the baptism of children (*Ordo Baptismi Parvulorum*, 1969) that discourages private baptisms. It prescribes that baptism is to take place in the parish church either within the Sunday celebration of the Eucharist or at least preceded by the Liturgy of the Word. The members of the parish are enjoined to assist the parents and the godparents in the education of children in the truths of the faith. Finally, the new rite stresses the inherent link between the three sacraments of initiation, even though in practice they are administered over an extended period of time (age eight for Eucharist and sixteen for confirmation).

See also: **Catholicism; Christian Thought, Early; Communion, First; Protestant Reformation.**

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Barbie

The origins of Barbie—the most popular DOLL in the world in the last half of the twentieth century—can be traced to Lilli, originally a *Das Bild* comic strip character of a saucy blonde, later produced as a pornographic doll popular among bachelors in postwar Germany. While on a trip to Europe, Mattel co-founder Ruth Handler discovered Lilli, the prototypical doll she believed would enable girls like her daughter, Barbie, to imagine their future selves in roles other than that of mothers. (Baby dolls dominated the postwar American toy market.) Male designers at Mattel modified the German sex toy into a teenage doll they encoded with the prevailing feminine ideals of both purity and prurience and a CONSUMER CULTURE ethos. The eleven-and-a-half inch Barbie doll and her extensive miniaturized haute couture wardrobe were marketed to stimulate consumer desire among America’s youngest shoppers. In turn these shoppers proceeded to make Barbie the most successful product in the history of the toy industry.

Although one billion Barbie dolls had been sold by the early twenty-first century, the doll was not immediately popular with consumers and social critics. Controversy developed shortly after the doll’s marketing debut in 1959 at the New York Toy Fair. Mattel’s claims about the doll’s “educational value” did not convince many mothers at the time who detested the doll’s exalted femininity and scandalous sexuality. Barbie’s seductive figure, suggestive look, and provocative wardrobe designed to attract the attention of men like her boyfriend Ken led feminists to condemn the doll for its sexual objectification of women. Social critics denounced the doll’s materialism—as exemplified by her lavish lifestyle and shopping sprees—and the slavish consumerism it fostered in daughters of hard-working breadwinners. Although Barbie changed with the times from fashion model to career woman, many still pointed to the preoccupation with body image in girls whose beauty ideal was defined by Barbie’s unrealistic physique. (She would be ten feet tall if she were real.) On the other hand, scholars and others have shown that girls and boys, children as well as adults, play with Barbie dolls in ways that contest gendered norms.

As a quintessential icon of American femininity, the Barbie doll has served as the focus of countless satirical artistic works, many of which, like *The Distorted Barbie* website, Mattel has tried to censor. A Barbie doll starred in *Superstar* (1987), a movie by Todd Haynes that traced the anorexic life and death of singer Karen Carpenter. The iconic Barbie has been printed on faux prayer cards and has been crucified on the cross. In 1993, the Barbie Liberation Organization switched the voice boxes of three hundred Barbies with those of G.I. Joes, leading the Barbies to bellow, “Eat lead, Cobra! Vengeance is mine!” and the perky G.I. Joes to chirp: “Let’s go shopping!”

By the early twenty-first century the average American girl between the ages of three and eleven was said to own ten Barbie dolls (purchased at a rate of two Barbies every second). However, a high-priced market developed for the dolls among adult collectors. Among the numerous collectors and dealers who specialized in Barbie dolls, the Barbie Hall of Fame in Palo Alto, California, with its ten thousand Barbies, was the largest collection in the world.

See also: **Girlhood; Toys; Theories of Play.**

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MIRIAM FORMAN-BRUNELL

Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah

The bar/bat mitzvah ceremony is an important RITE OF PASSAGE for contemporary Jewish youth, marking the end of childhood and the beginning of ritual adulthood. The term *bar mitzvah* can be found in Talmudic literature, but the rite itself is a relatively recent development, probably dating from the late Middle Ages. The *bat mitzvah* was not mentioned until the nineteenth century.

The Talmud, a compendium of legal and narrative discourse completed about 500 C.E., based legal maturity on PUBERTY, which was declared to occur at thirteen and a day for a boy and twelve and a day for a girl. At that point, a male became a “bar mitzvah” (literally, “son of the commandment”), responsible for his own ritual and moral behavior. (The term refers also in common parlance to the rite itself.) Most importantly, the bar mitzvah was a full-fledged adult in matters of communal religious status, though not necessarily in all legal matters. He was counted in the *minyan*, the quorum of ten males necessary for public prayer, and could be called up for the public reading of the Torah in religious services. The change in a girl’s status was less noticeable. Al-

though the bat mitzvah too became responsible for her ritual and moral behavior, a female, whether a minor or an adult, was not counted in a *minyan* nor eligible for the honor of being called up for the reading of the Torah. She was under the authority of her father, and later her husband, and did not enjoy the moral or legal autonomy of the adult Jewish male.

The ceremony of bar mitzvah that developed in the Middle Ages—there was no ceremony at that time for the bat mitzvah—was a ritual in which the boy reaching maturity would be called up for the reading of the Torah on the Sabbath following his birthday, or, often in Eastern Europe, on the following Monday or Thursday morning. If his bar mitzvah took place on the Sabbath, he would chant the *haftarah*, a selection from the prophets. There were local variations. In some places the bar mitzvah boy would lead the congregation in prayer or, on the Sabbath, also read the weekly Torah portion in the traditional chant. In synagogues that followed both the Ashkenazi (northern European) and Sephardi (Iberian and Levantine) rites, boys were tutored to deliver a special Talmudic discourse to display their learning and reflect well on their families. After becoming a bar mitzvah, the boy was required to put on *tefillin* (phylacteries) in daily morning prayer. The bar mitzvah celebration itself, while accompanied by special blessings and often a festive meal, was generally a modest affair.

As Jews in Western Europe and the United States acculturated to the mores of the larger society in the nineteenth century, the bar mitzvah ceremony was diminished in significance. Group confirmation ceremonies generally accorded well with Christian customs and had two additional benefits: they allowed Jews who were sensitive to charges that JUDAISM disparaged the female sex to incorporate girls in the ceremony and they could be scheduled in mid-adolescence, permitting a longer period of study of Judaism than did the bar mitzvah rite. Reform, or Liberal, synagogues particularly in Germany and the United States, virtually eliminated the bar mitzvah ceremony in favor of CONFIRMATION.

The twentieth century witnessed the reemergence of the bar mitzvah, even in Reform synagogues, especially in the United States. One Jewish historian even pointed out in 1949 that “the bar mitzvah has become the most important milestone in a Jew’s life in America” (Levitats, p. 153). The children of the large number of East European Jews who immigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1924 were eager to retain the custom, even as many affiliated with the Reform movement. The bar mitzvah ritual also enabled economically successful American Jews, from the 1920s on, to combine consumerism with their child’s rite of passage. The festive meal that sometimes accompanied the bar mitzvah ritual in traditional Jewish societies became the occasion for a catered celebration, often complete with band and dancing, that marked not only the child’s, but also the parents’ new

status. Gift-giving accompanied the modern bar mitzvah and also added a commercial element to the day. From the 1930s on, rabbis and communal leaders criticized the excessive lavishness of the bar mitzvah “affair” and its subordination of spirituality to secular celebration.

The ritual celebration of a girl’s becoming a bat mitzvah is essentially a twentieth-century American phenomenon that reflects growing concern in America with gender egalitarianism. Although girls were included in group confirmations in the nineteenth century and there are references to bat mitzvah ceremonies in Italy and France, the first documented individual bat mitzvah took place in the United States in 1922. Conservative Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan, later the founder of Reconstructionist Judaism, decided to celebrate his daughter Judith’s religious majority with an innovative ceremony in his new synagogue in New York City. However, the bat mitzvah rite did not become common in America until after World War II. It flourished first in the Conservative movement and, once the Reform movement reestablished the importance of the rite of bar mitzvah, in Reform synagogues as well. Under pressure, Orthodox Jews in America began marking a girl’s religious majority, within the constraints of their understanding of Jewish law, in the 1970s. In Israel a girl’s bat mitzvah is generally celebrated only with a party, outside the synagogue and with no religious elements.

In the modern period, as adolescence became a newly recognized period of life, the bar/bat mitzvah ritual became a rite of passage, not from childhood to adulthood but from childhood to adolescence. The popularity of the rite in the United States reflects the child-centeredness of American and especially American Jewish society as well as the continued strength of religious tradition in America. The bar/bat mitzvah ceremony, which takes place in a communal setting, enables Jews to link an event centered in their family with the celebration of group survival, a central concern of post-Holocaust Jews.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth.**

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PAULA E. HYMAN

Barnardo, Thomas. *See* Placing Out.

Barrie, J. M. *See* Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie.

Baseball

Baseball, an American invention, is part of American culture and national identity and for many boys, playing baseball is a male RITE OF PASSAGE. Although the game of baseball as it is known today is uniquely American, it derives from the popular English children’s bat-and-ball game called rounders. In the American colonies various versions of bat and ball games—chiefly popular with boys—evolved such as round ball, goal ball, one old cat, town ball, and base.

As early as the 1700s there are also references to men playing forms of baseball. A diary entry of a soldier from the American Revolution, who served under General George Washington at Valley Forge in 1778, talks about exercising in the afternoon by playing at base. A 1787 notice forbids Princeton College students from playing stick and ball games on the common.

Credit for the game of baseball as it is known today, however, goes to Alexander Cartwright, a bank clerk, who established the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club of New York in 1845 and wrote down the first official set of rules. These rules also became known as “New York rules.” By 1857 there were almost fifty clubs within and around Manhattan. These baseball clubs were organized around occupational, ethnic, and neighborhood affiliations. That year, the Knickerbocker Club with fifteen other New York area clubs formed the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP). Many of these New York City area clubs also formed junior boys’ teams. By 1860 there were enough junior boys’ teams to form a national association. The era of informal boys’ games had evolved into the era of formally organized clubs. Boys continued to play informal pick-up games of baseball in rural areas in open fields, in urban areas in vacant lots, and in the street.

The Civil War, rather than curtailing the development of baseball, became instrumental in democratizing and spreading the game throughout the country. Veteran soldiers, having played the game during the war, brought the game back to their hometowns. At the end of the war in 1865 the National Association of Base Ball Players membership included ninety-one clubs from ten states. The upper-class amateur gentlemen’s club game of the Knickerbockers had evolved into the people’s game. However, this democratization had its limits. In 1867 the NABBP banned black players, setting a precedent for segregated teams that remained in place for eighty years.

As baseball became more popular, rivalries between city and town teams placed greater emphasis on winning than sportsmanship, leading to an influx of gamblers and to star

players being paid off the record. The first professional team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, was formed in 1869. In 1869 and 1870, the team barnstormed across the country playing against local amateur teams, winning 130 of the 132 games they played. Their popularity led to the formation of other professional teams. In 1871 the National Association of Professional Baseball Players was formed and in 1881 the American Association followed. The 1880s mark the golden age of baseball and by 1890 there were seventeen white and two black professional leagues. The era of professional baseball had arrived. Although professional baseball was confined primarily to urban areas, every town and city had amateur and semi-professional teams that drew large crowds. Watching baseball games became a major form of entertainment. Professional team owners even encouraged women to come to the games in the belief that the presence of ladies would attract more male fans and curtail their rowdy behavior.

Baseball was also flourishing in the public schools. Grammar school boys often played at recess and high schools were developing their own teams. At private boys' boarding schools baseball was a part of the athletic program. By the end of the century boys at Exeter, Andover, Groton, St. Marks, and other elite schools were playing interscholastic ball. Boys also played baseball at private military academies such as the Virginia Military Institute. Even though baseball was considered a boys' game, some girls at Miss Porter's, an elite private girls' school in Connecticut, as early as 1867 also played the game.

With the development of the PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT first in Boston in 1885 and then in other cities, baseball became a popular playground sport. Settlement houses, boys clubs, and the YMCA developed baseball programs to keep boys off the street and out of trouble. Through playing baseball it was hoped that boys would learn sportsmanship and would become good citizens. Baseball was also seen as a way to Americanize immigrant groups.

Although baseball-type games had been played at men's colleges as early as the late 1700s, it was in the 1850s and 1860s that baseball became an integral part of men's college life. The first intercollegiate game was played between Williams and Amherst Colleges in 1859. Although the general belief was that strenuous physical exercise was unhealthy for women, a few women's colleges such as Vassar, Smith, Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley allowed girls to play baseball as early as 1866. However, by the 1930s, softball had replaced baseball in girls' sports programs. By the 1980s, there were 1,600 college men's baseball programs associated with the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

In the 1900s, in the public's mind baseball represented all that was good about America. Baseball served as a model for children's moral development. Therefore the Black Sox Scandal of 1919, over the fixing of the World Series, was a national disgrace. The scandal so deeply affected the Ameri-

can public that when Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis became Commissioner of Baseball in 1921, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* wrote that if Landis could keep baseball on a high ethical plane, it would be more important than anything he could do on the federal bench.

The golden era of sport in the 1920s produced baseball's first superstars, Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, and Lou Gehrig. Games were broadcast over the RADIO to millions of people. It was during this time that organized youth baseball got its start. In 1925 the American Legion started their junior baseball program to give more boys an opportunity to play and as a means of teaching them good sportsmanship and citizenship. With the financial support of major league baseball, American Legion baseball competition began in 1926. In 1928 the issue of girls playing became an explosive one when it was discovered that Margaret Gisolo was a member of the Blanford, Indiana, team. Although Margaret was allowed to finish the season, the next year the rules were changed to allow boys only to play. Later leagues were careful to specify that only boys could join. In 1939 Carl Stotz founded Little League Baseball with the purpose of developing citizenship, sportsmanship, and manhood. PONY (Protect Our Nation's Youth) Baseball, Inc. was formed in 1951 and the Babe Ruth League in 1952. Not until 1974 after a lengthy court battle were girls allowed to play Little League baseball. After that the other leagues also permitted girls to play. Even with that change relatively few girls play baseball today.

American Legion and Little League Baseball continue to be popular programs. In 2000 American Legion Posts sponsored 5,300 baseball and other athletic teams throughout the United States. By 1999 Little League baseball was being played in 100 countries. Baseball became an Olympic sport in 1992.

See also: **Interscholastic Athletics; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Sports; Title IX and Girls Sports.**

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GAI INGHAM BERLAGE

Basedow, Johann Bernhard (1724–1790)

Johann Bernhard Basedow was the leading representative of the first generation of philanthropists, as German pedagogues of the late ENLIGHTENMENT referred to themselves. He was born on September 11, 1724, in Hamburg, Germany. After a childhood spent in poverty as the son of a Hamburg wig-maker, he studied theology and then successfully tutored the son of a nobleman. Basedow used the *confabulatio* for language learning, which consisted of a constant dialogue between pupil and teacher in the foreign languages, including Latin. He described his new teaching method in his 1752 dissertation and also introduced it to the public in a German-language publication. After teaching for some years he devoted most of his energies to writing on theological, philosophical, and pedagogical themes. Because of his critiques of revealed religion he was persecuted by the orthodox clergy. Under the protection of the enlightened Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, Basedow was able to open his first school, the Philanthropinum, in 1774 with three pupils, including two of his own children. Even if it never had more than fifty pupils at one time, this school, run along reformist principles, enjoyed extraordinary public attention, especially because of Basedow's playful and vivid teaching methods and the relaxed atmosphere among the pupils and teachers. The waning interest of the public and the prince, as well as conflicts with colleagues, caused Basedow to withdraw from the directorship. The Dessau Philanthropinum closed once and for all in 1793.

Other philanthropin, of which there were more than sixty in the German-speaking world by 1800, existed for considerably longer. Unlike Basedow, the next generation of philanthropists, including Joachim Heinrich Campe, Ernst Christian Trapp, CHRISTIAN GOTTHILF SALZMANN, and Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, no longer placed their hope on princely protection, but rather tried to push through educational reforms by creating a pedagogically interested public. To this end they published an *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesen* (General Revision of the Entire School and Educational System, 16 vols., 1785–1792, ed. J. H. Campe).

Basedow's programmatic *Vorstellung an Menschenfreunde und vermögende Männer über Schulen, Studien und ihren Einfluß in die öffentliche Wohlfahrt* (Presentation to friends of humanity and men of means regarding schools, studies, and their influence on public welfare, 1768) marks the birth of philanthropic pedagogy. In conventional schools, according to Basedow, the pupils spent far too much time learning far too little, and all the wrong things. In his *Vorstellung an Menschenfreunde* Basedow developed his pedagogical program of social reform through school reform, for he believed that only human beings trained to be useful could guarantee their own happiness and thus the happiness (i.e., the welfare) of

the state as a whole. For that reason it was in the interest of the authorities to set up a special government department to oversee the schools. Basedow argued here in favor of a separation between the church and the schools, and this process of a growing autonomy of educational institutions would continue through the nineteenth century. Basedow assumed that the authorities were virtuous and enlightened and thus in harmony with their subjects, and argued within the framework of the corporate order, which he also took as the basis for the educational system, with its division into small schools for the cultivated classes and large schools for the common horde.

Basedow is important for the history of childhood because he was one of the first educators to stress that children could enjoy school and learning, and that it was the duty of pedagogy to ensure that children learned with ease and pleasure. He placed great emphasis on vivid and playful teaching methods, but also on incentives to learning. One example was the so-called merit boards, on which teachers publicly recorded their pupils' moral and cognitive achievements in order to infuse them with competitive zeal.

See also: **Education, Europe.**

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PIA SCHMID

Basketball

In December 1891, James Naismith, a Canadian-born instructor at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) training school in Springfield, Massachusetts, introduced the game of basketball. The YMCA soon published rules for the game, which spread rapidly throughout settlement houses, colleges, and high schools. In March 1892 Senda Berenson adapted the game for her Smith College students by restricting the players to zones, thus limiting their running to allay concerns about female debility. By the end of the year girls in West Coast schools eagerly took to the game. The YMCA promoted state and regional competitions and offered a national championship in 1896.

Professional teams appeared by the late 1890s and high school students, both boys and girls, organized their own leagues for competition. High school play became particularly intense in certain regions of the country, such as Indi-

ana and Kentucky, where the game took precedence in the sporting culture as it fostered communal pride and identity. In Iowa the girls' game even superceded the boys' in popularity, despite its adherence to the divided court system until the 1993–1994 season. In the South historically black colleges developed particularly strong female contingents, and their white counterparts, company teams composed of young females, barnstormed the country, often playing and defeating men's teams.

The game retained a strong presence in urban areas, however, where social clubs, churches, schools, and companies sponsored teams. Leagues in northern cities featured integrated games and African-American teams proved among the best by the World War I era. Colleges began sponsoring competitions to attract the best players to campus, such as the national invitational tournament started by the University of Chicago in 1918. Racial, ethnic, and religious rivalries spurred the formation of teams and fostered greater assimilation in the process. Organizations originally founded to preserve ethnic cultures, such as the German Turners, Czech Sokols, and Polish Falcons, acquiesced to the interests of second-generation youths in American sports, such as basketball. Both the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization and the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) aimed to counteract the Protestant influences of the YMCA. The latter conducted its own National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament at Chicago's Loyola University after 1923. By the 1930s the CYO claimed the largest basketball league in the world, as its Chicago archdiocese accounted for more than 400 teams.

The best youths earned college scholarships or graduated to semipro or professional units that proliferated throughout American cities. Others joined barnstorming teams, like Chicago's Savoy 5 (later renamed the Harlem Globetrotters). Girls, too, found similar opportunities, particularly on employer-sponsored teams in the South.

The international scope of the game resulted in its inclusion in the 1936 Olympic Games. Nationally, basketball prospered throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, gradually assuming a primary role in inner-city playgrounds and urban community recreation programs. Like past sponsors, entrepreneurs initiated basketball camps, tournaments, and traveling teams that promised training, continuous competition, and offered hopes of recognition by high school, college, and professional coaches. By the late twentieth century the best high school boys eschewed college play, opting for direct employment in the National Basketball Association. Most, however, honed their skills on thousands of community teams that offered age group competition or played recreational basketball on city playgrounds or rural spaces.

See also: **Sports; Title IX and Girls Sports; YWCA and YMCA.**

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GERALD R. GEMS

Bastardy

Writing the first comparative history of bastardy in 1980, Peter Laslett introduced the phenomenon by stating that it had been called a social problem for the last two centuries and a moral problem from time immemorial. In 1980, however, bastardy had long ceased to be a common term—in France, for example, it had been abandoned in 1793 during the Revolution. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, not only bastardy but also illegitimacy are words in rare use, which should serve as a reminder that these are legal, social, and cultural constructions. The most common definition of illegitimacy is to be born out of wedlock, but throughout history, the legal and social status of children in that position has changed. Differences can be found also between canon and secular law and between and within states and continents. The following contains a brief survey on some legal aspects, the main issue, however, being the social and cultural significance of illegitimacy in the Western world.

Levels of Illegitimacy

Giving a general overview of levels of illegitimacy is not easily done. As several authors have discussed, the disparity in definitions poses a problem and the reliability of the registration varies according to time as well as place. Nevertheless a few main tendencies have been established.

The rate of extramarital births during the sixteenth century is generally perceived to be quite high, but it later sank during the age of absolutism. It is stipulated that only 2 to 3 percent of all births in the mid-1700s were extramarital, but a century later numbers hovered between 7 and 11 percent in the Nordic countries and around 7 percent in France and England. Certain countries and regions had higher figures; in Iceland more than 14 percent of all births occurred outside of marriage, and in the Basque Country the illegitimacy rate was exceptionally high. The following century or so, from the 1840s to 1960, witnessed a new decline of illegitimate births, particularly conspicuous around the turn of the century. Regional differences, however, were still to be found.

Comparing western and northern European countries to those in the South and East, the overall pattern at the begin-

ning of the twentieth century seems to be that the former had a lower level of illegitimacy than southern and eastern areas. In America it has been claimed that illegitimate births during colonial times were relatively rare, and that the ratio remained low at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, all slave children were considered illegitimate, and there were large disparities. In 1938, 11 percent of black children and only 3 percent of white were born by unwed mothers.

A high level of tolerance for extramarital births has been found to characterize some societies with high illegitimacy ratios. This tolerance can be connected with morals, religion, and culture but not least with economic conditions and household structures. Lola Valverde has explained the high portion of illegitimate births found in the Basque Country is explained by the lack of shame appending to such births and the fact that engagement was perceived as the same as marriage. Thus a legally illegitimate child could be socially legitimate. Further, irregular unions, as between priests and unmarried women, were widely accepted, and a father had economic responsibilities for his children even though he was not married to the mother.

On the other hand, abrupt economic changes and reduced means of livelihood have led to fewer marriages and an increase in the number of illegitimate births. The increase after 1750 has in some countries, though far from in all, been seen in this perspective.

Legal Status

Illegitimacy is connected with the parents' legal obligations toward their children not only with regard to maintenance but also to the right to family name and inheritance. Such rights have been limited, even quite absent in some places. Illegitimacy could also dictate the nature of the individual's relation to society. A career in the Roman Catholic Church for illegitimate children, for instance, was only feasible through papal dispensation, and a person of illegitimate birth had limited or no access to several guilds. However, there are no absolute rules, and stories of illegitimate heirs who managed to fight their way to European thrones are well known.

The criteria for being recognized as legitimate differed before and after Christianity, but according to canon law the status of illegitimate children changed if the parents married. This was the usual principle in the Nordic countries, but in England and Iceland, later in the United States, the principle was not immediately acknowledged. Furthermore, the Pope had the ability to change a child's status.

In many European countries, particularly Catholic ones, illegitimate births were first and foremost a matter for the church. The church and charitable institutions established several large ORPHANAGES in major cities, especially in southern Europe. However, the fact that many legitimately

born children were also brought to these orphanages illustrates that problems of familial connections were not restricted to children born of unwed parents. In the Nordic countries illegitimate births were handled by the state and could lead to criminal persecution. In early modern times the persecution of unwed mothers especially became more severe.

Population Policies

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the question of illegitimacy versus legitimacy was closely linked with population policies. International rivalries combined with a decline in birthrates led several states to become interested in INFANT MORTALITY. Demographic statistics showed that mortality rates were far higher among illegitimate children than among those born within wedlock. Political leaders with a stronger interest in the power of the state than the morals of its population combined forces with philanthropists in order to better the conditions for illegitimate children. In some countries, such as Great Britain and Germany, experiences from World War I were decisive in making the issue a subject for debate at high political levels.

According to Edward R. Dickinson, radical feminists in Germany had argued for state maintenance and paternal contributions in addition to a right for the child to the father's name and limited inheritance since the turn of the century. German fathers already had a certain legal obligation to contribute economically, but more than half of them sought reprieve from these obligations. Furthermore, fathers were only obliged to pay until the child reached sixteen years of age, and the amount was to be in compliance with the mother's standard of living. Accordingly the children were more often than not raised in poverty with no means of receiving further education. All over Europe unwed mothers and their children faced similar problems.

New legislation was in Germany strongly opposed by Christian politicians in defense of family values and female sexual morality, and legal equality was in many countries long in coming. The disparities between culturally similar areas could be significant. A law giving illegitimate children the right to inheritance and name after the father was passed in Norway as early as in 1915, while legislation in Denmark and Sweden was based on principles of differentiation until the 1960s.

In Norway the economic rights appending to the legal ones were for a long period of time limited. The German state took a certain economic responsibility, while France appeared among the most liberal and generous states by placing a great deal of importance on equal rights for all children to welfare and health benefits. On the other hand, the legal rights of illegitimate children were especially limited in France.

Social Inclusion and Exclusion

The law and practice have not always been in sync with each other, and many children born out of wedlock were socially included within families and local communities: their parents married, their mothers married someone else, or the children were taken in by extended family. That leaves those children who were not integrated by family or local community. The size of this group has varied, but it has been large enough to ensure that illegitimacy throughout history has been connected with poverty, shame, and cultural exclusion from local communities. These children more often than others risked being abandoned in orphanages and institutions or becoming foster children. They were also put up for ADOPTION more often than other children when this became an option in several countries in the early twentieth century.

As the twentieth century advanced, the idea that a child belonged with its mother, married or unmarried, became gradually more dominant. The conflict between the mother as caretaker and the mother as breadwinner has nevertheless seemed particularly strong with unwed mothers, since in most countries they were granted economic support for their children much later than widows. The differentiation was based on moral judgments. Widows were regarded as worthy, unwed mothers as unworthy.

The intertwining of the legal, cultural, and economic aspects can be clearly identified in the Western world after 1960. The number of children born of unwed parents increased dramatically as public and private economies improved, public welfare programs were expanded, and the state inflicted economic responsibilities upon the fathers. Another vital factor was the increase in couples living together without being married. Legal equality has since then in most countries been established between children born within or out of wedlock, and the profound cultural, economic, gender, and social changes of Western society has made differentiating between children on the basis of their parents' marital status irrelevant.

The most disquieting feature in the early twenty-first century seems to be that children with single parents, whether born within or outside of wedlock, generally have a lower standard of living than children in a two-parent family. This is the situation in Europe as well as the United States.

See also: Children's Rights; Fertility Rates; Inheritance and Property; Law, Children and the.

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ASTRI ANDRESEN

Baum, L. Frank. *See* Wizard of Oz and L. Frank Baum.

Baumrind, Diana (b. 1927)

Diana Blumberg Baumrind is best known in the PARENTING and socialization literature for identifying and describing four basic parenting styles that have defined the field for researchers and practitioners for more than four decades. In 1960 the psychologist Diana Baumrind joined the Institute of Human Development at the University of California, Berkeley, where she became the principal investigator for the Family Socialization and Developmental Competence Project. Baumrind has published numerous articles and book chapters on family socialization, parenting styles, developmental competence, moral development, adolescent health and risk-taking, and research ethics.

Baumrind identified and described four basic parenting styles that constitute variations in the values and practices of normal (i.e., nonabusive, non-neglectful) parents seeking to socialize and control their children. Parents, she wrote, hope their children and adolescents will have an identity grounded in both agency and communion, "validating *simultaneously* the interests of personal emancipation and individuation, and the claims of other individuals and mutually shared social norms" (1991, p. 747). The four parenting styles she identified involve different combinations of demandingness (confrontation, monitoring, consistent discipline, and corporal punishment) and responsiveness (warmth, friendly discourse, reciprocity, and attachment).

1. *Indulgent or permissive* parents, whether they are democratic or nondirective, are more responsive than demanding. They avoid confrontation and allow self-regulation. Their children are friendly, sociable, and creative, but may also be verbally impulsive, aggressive, and resistant to limit-setting.
2. *Authoritarian* parents are highly demanding, direc-

tive, and nonresponsive. They are obedience- and status-oriented, and they create well-ordered, structured environments with clearly stated rules. They are often highly intrusive, modeling aggressive modes of conflict resolution. Their children are typically moody, fearful of new situations, and low in self-esteem.

3. *Authoritative* parents are both demanding and responsive. They monitor behavior, impart clear standards, and are assertive without being intrusive or restrictive. Their disciplinary methods are supportive rather than punitive. This style is generally regarded as optimal for the development of social competence, which includes assertiveness, social responsibility, self-regulation, cooperation, and respect for parents.
4. *Uninvolved* parents are low in both responsiveness and demandingness. At the extremes, these parents may be rejecting-neglecting and neglectful. Their children often engage in deviant and high-risk behaviors and are vulnerable to substance abuse.

Parenting styles also differ in the extent to which they are characterized by psychological control, which involves guilt induction, withdrawal of love, or shaming that lead to both internalized and externalized problems in children and adolescents. Authoritative and authoritarian parents are equally high in behavioral control, but authoritative parents are generally low in psychological control, whereas authoritarian parents are generally high in such control.

Baumrind's best-known single work is her 1964 article, "Some Thoughts on the Ethics of Research: After Reading Milgram's 'Behavioral Study of Obedience.'" The publication of this article brought Baumrind numerous invitations to reflect on research ethics. Baumrind's work on research design, socialization, moral development, and professional ethics is unified by her belief that individual rights and responsibilities cannot be separated, her conviction that moral actions are determined "volitionally and consciously," and her assertion that "impartiality is not superior morally to *enlightened partiality*" (1992, p. 266).

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of.**

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HENDRIKA VANDE KEMP

Bellotti v. Baird

In *Bellotti v. Baird* (*Bellotti II*), the Supreme Court addressed the issue of whether a dependent, unmarried minor can be required to obtain parental consent before undergoing an abortion. In a decision that recognized that minors can possess the competency and maturity to make the important decision of whether to obtain an abortion, the Court ruled that a state law can require a pregnant, unmarried minor to obtain parental consent for an abortion if the law also provides a bypass procedure that allows her to obtain judicial permission for the abortion without parental notification.

The 1974 Massachusetts law in question required an unmarried, pregnant minor to provide proof of her consent and her parents' consent to obtain an abortion. If either or both of her parents withheld consent, the young woman could obtain a judicial order to permit her to have an abortion. Alleging that the law created an undue burden for minors seeking abortions, opponents of the law brought a "test-case" class-action suit in the Federal District Court of Massachusetts to enjoin the operation of the statute. This legal action reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976, but the Court declined to consider the merits of the case because of a procedural error. Instead, the Supreme Court vacated the judgment of the District Court and remanded the case for a final determination of the statute's meaning by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

The case again reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1979, at which time the Court fully addressed the issue of whether the law's parental consent requirement placed an undue burden on an unmarried, pregnant minor seeking an abortion. The Court stated that persons under age eighteen are not without constitutional protection; however, their constitutional rights and individual liberty must be balanced against considerations such as a minor's possible inability to make an informed decision and the important parental role of child rearing. Although the Court recognized that parental advice and consent could be important in helping a minor decide whether she should obtain an abortion, in an 8–1 decision, the Court invalidated the Massachusetts statute.

As Robert H. Mnookin and D. Kelly Weisberg have suggested, Justice Powell's plurality opinion sets forth guidelines to assist states in determining the extent to which a state can permissibly limit a minor's right to an abortion. According to the decision in *Bellotti v. Baird*, a state can require a minor to obtain consent to undergo an abortion, but it cannot solely require parental consent. Instead, the law must provide an alternative to parental consent—a "bypass" pro-

cedure. This procedure must satisfy four requirements: first, the minor must be permitted to demonstrate to the judge that she is mature and adequately well-informed to make the abortion decision with her physician and without parental consent; second, if she cannot demonstrate the requisite maturity, she must be permitted to convince the judge that the abortion would nonetheless be in her best interest; third, the bypass procedure must assure her anonymity, and; fourth, the bypass procedure must be sufficiently expedient to allow her to obtain the abortion.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Children's Rights; Law, Children and the; Teenage Mothers in the United States.**

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AMY L. ELSON

Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940)

Walter Benjamin was a German philosopher, literary critic, and writer who worked in exile in Paris after 1933. Besides being the author of *Berlin Childhood around 1900* (*Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert*) which was written throughout the 1930s, Benjamin published book-length studies on the Romantic concept of criticism, on Goethe, and on allegory and melancholy in the German mourning play, along with influential critical essays on authors such as Kafka, Proust and Baudelaire, as well as a seminal essay on art in the age of technical reproduction. As part of his research for the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research, Benjamin worked until his death on the *Passagen-Werk* (his so-called *Arcades Project*), studying the glass covered passages of nineteenth-century Paris as a microcosm of urban modernity.

Resulting from Benjamin's passion for children's books and Russian toys as well as his activity as a radio narrator for

children around 1930, his urban childhood memoir *Berlin Childhood* reflects upon the experiences of children in private and public spaces of the metropolis. Originally conceived by Benjamin as a way of writing on contemporary Berlin issues, his childhood recollections soon turned away from chronological narrative in order to explore a deliberately fragmented mode of literary presentation. Focusing on the spaces and images through which childhood becomes mentally accessible to the adult writer, aged forty, in the light of his present situation, *Berlin Childhood* is composed of more than thirty minor chapters that may be read separately or arranged in various configurations. Detailed descriptions of bourgeois interiors as (uncannily) experienced by a child join renderings of the child's encounters with public places such as the Tiergarten park or a market hall as well as with urban characters inhabiting the real and imaginary world of urban childhood. In this way, modern urban childhood is represented in a series of enigmatic and intimate miniatures.

Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood* provides insight into a variety of private, semi-private, and public spaces, all of which prove important to the amnesia of an intellectual adult living an insecure life after having fled the Nazi regime of Germany in early 1933. As a modern literary critic and intellectual, Benjamin was trying to understand what was fundamental about childhood as a contemporary urban experience. Although the narrator's childhood was indeed socially privileged, the young individual's entire experience is recalled under the sign of what Benjamin terms "*entstellte Ähnlichkeit*" (disfigured similitude). The child identifies fully with the things, images, and words surrounding him; on the other hand, this mimetic approach takes the elements of the world for granted to such an extent that reality appears as magic or at least as inhabited by many forces—contradicting the idea of an autonomous individual mastering his own life. In this way, a powerful constellation of mimesis and "misunderstandings" (from the adult point of view) is laid bare at various situations of everyday life that seem to anticipate and even outline the adult urban life of the narrator in exile. With a description of the particular approach to life provided by the backyard "Loggias" of his childhood apartment, Benjamin establishes a literary self-portrait of an extraterritorial child, neither fully inside the family apartment nor successfully integrated into the society of the metropolis. With all its contradictions, this Berlin childhood seems to point out the cultural and social sphere of the city as the adequate place for addressing the essential issues of modern life, private and public alike.

A preface by Benjamin, found in the only version of *Berlin Childhood* to provide a table of contents indicating the order of the individual chapters, also outlines some of the basic methodological assumptions informing the book. Writing his urban childhood memories first in order to limit nostalgia in exile, the narrator further suggests to leave out individual details, focusing, instead, on "the images . . . in which

the experience of the metropolis settles in a child of the bourgeois class,” as Benjamin terms it (1989, p. 385). In this way, the author hopes to contribute to a new literary and historiographic genre, capable of providing a language that may successfully articulate the experiences of childhood in the modern city.

See also: **Autobiographies.**

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HENRIK REEH

Beyond the Best Interests of the Child

The term *psychological parenthood* was first introduced in 1973 through an influential book entitled *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*. A psychological parent refers to a person who has a parental relationship with a child, whether or not the two are biologically related. The term is used mainly in legal discourse, in the context of custody disputes. A prime example of the concept would be a dispute between an adoptive parent who has raised a child since infancy and biological parent who later claims the child, although this is not the most common kind of situation in which claims of psychological parenthood might be made. Such claims might also be made in the following circumstances: divorce, disputes between a stepparent and a biological parent, between two biological parents not married to one another, or between same-sex partners who have raised a child together. At the start of the twenty-first century an increasing number of custody disputes have involved foster parents who want to adopt a child they have been raising and state agencies who want to shift the child to a biological parent or to relatives of the biological parent.

Traditionally, the law has had a presumption in favor of biological parents in disputes with other people. In many states today, unless a parent has abandoned a child or been declared to be “unfit” to raise the child, the rights of biological parents are all but inviolate.

In 1973 *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child* challenged this biological emphasis. The first volume of a trilogy, the book was a collaboration among a law professor (Joseph Goldstein), a child analyst (ANNA FREUD), and a child psychiatrist

(Albert Solnit). Goldstein, Freud, and Solnit argued that whether or not the psychological parent was biologically related to the child or not, courts should preserve this bond because normal development depends on its continuity. They also stressed that for a child, being caught up in a custody battle is a psychological emergency. Since harm has already been done and the child is still at risk, the best the courts can do is resolve matters quickly. Above all, judges and lawyers should base their decisions on the child's immature sense of time and steady need for a continuing relationship with the person who has provided ongoing, loving care.

Psychological parenting is a legal term, not a psychological one. Although psychoanalytic theory has traditionally stressed the importance of early parent-child relationships, the ideas put forth in *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child* differ from later research and theory in developmental psychology. Attachment theory, based on the work of JOHN BOWLBY, has become the major conceptual framework in the early twenty-first century for understanding parent-child relationships. The most controversial aspect of Goldstein, Freud, and Solnit's book was the recommendation that in a typical divorce, the court should determine whether the mother or the father is the psychological parent and give that person sole custody of the child. In addition, they recommended that the chosen parent should be able to regulate or even put an end to visits between the child and the other parent.

More recent research has shown, by contrast, that a young child is capable of becoming emotionally attached to more than one person. Although one parent may be the primary attachment figure, children typically become emotionally attached to both, as well as to others who provide loving, attentive care. Despite these and other criticisms, the concept of psychological parenthood has been influential in drawing attention to the child's needs and perspectives in determining custody.

See also: **Adoption in the United States; Children's Rights; Divorce and Custody; Law, Children and the; Same-Sex Parenting.**

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ARLENE SKOLNICK

Bible, The

The Bible has connoted different texts within different religious communities. For literate laypeople in the later Middle Ages it meant the edited Bible stories of Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, first published around 1170 and later translated into the vernacular all over Europe. After the Reformation the Bible could connote the canonical Bible in any

of its many translations, with or without the Apocrypha; Bible excerpts in prose or verse; single books such as Ecclesiasticus or Psalms; children's Bibles; the Hebrew Scriptures for Jewish readers; or from the nineteenth century onward, often the New Testament by itself. Bible reading in the Middle Ages and sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was carefully guided by richly interpretive marginal glosses, which aided the understanding of texts of early publications of Luther, Geneva, and King James translations. This entry uses the text of *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha*, first published in 1970 by Oxford University Press.

Before the advent of nineteenth-century textual criticism, Bible readers commonly understood the Bible as a single coherent text manifesting the word of God. The Bible as we know it today, however, is a compilation of texts of varying antiquity, some of which are themselves based on older oral or written traditions. The Bible's most ancient components reflect the values of nomadic herding cultures and their conflicts with settled agrarian communities (e.g., God's preferring Abel's animal offering to Cain's vegetable ones). As Israelites became urbanized, Biblical texts excoriated their continuing service to alien gods such as Ba'al and Molech, as well as their devotion to city fleshpots such as Sodom and Gomorrah. Late mystical texts used striking end-of-days imagery that lived on in the writings of early Christian writers who were well-versed in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Children's Bibles and the Invention of Bible Children

With an eye to fostering Biblicity among young readers, early modern editors of the Bible's histories revised children's ages downward. Noah's grown son Ham became a disrespectful child, and Isaac was gradually made younger, from a medieval thirty-seven (derived from Josephus's estimate) to a frightened but obedient child of seven or eight.

Petrus Comestor altered Bible narratives significantly in his Latin *Historia scholastica*. In his telling, Ham's report to his brothers of their father's drunken nakedness became punishable filial impiety by the addition of the adjective *ridens* ("laughing"). Later redactors of Bible histories for children attempted to account for Absalom's rebellion by transforming his Biblical handsomeness into an external ugliness that automatically connoted internal sinfulness, despite the fact that David's paternal neglect and personal failings accounted for many of Absalom's rebellious acts. In a reverse direction, the "fine" baby Moses, Israel's heroic leader, took on ever greater handsomeness in children's Bibles between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries.

Obedience gradually emerged as the primary virtue among children in children's Bibles, joined by hard work from 1750 onward in Bibles for children of the laboring classes; Bible stories were changed or invented to accommodate obedience and industry. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Catholic authors of devotional literature for children created biographies describing Mary's (Biblically

nonexistent) childhood and vastly expanded the few facts of Jesus' early years. School religious dramas also expanded popular acquaintance with Biblical figures' fictive childhoods. Such dramas existed in the Middle Ages, but the genre gained impetus as a form of educational exercise in France in the seventeenth century and in England in the eighteenth.

The descriptions of children and childhood that are widely believed to exist in the Bible are largely the product of Bible stories in prose or dramatic form, each of which reflects the values of the age that produced it: nineteenth-century awareness of a child such as Samuel, for example, resembles a nineteenth-century childhood as its author envisioned it.

Girls and Boys in the Canonical Bible

Childhood in the canonical Bible presents different images altogether. Biblical girls were married to close relatives to form advantageous alliances that consolidated family networks by marrying a daughter to a close relative. Outside the family, fathers used daughters' marriages to forge political bonds, as when Solomon betrothed his daughter to "Pharaoh King of Egypt" (1 Kings 3:1). Beauty, modesty, and virginity comprised a daughter's most valuable attributes. A Biblical girl appeared in the role of sister only rarely and then problematically: Lot's daughters cooperated actively to carry out their plan to perpetuate their father's lineage by intoxicating him, lying with him, and mothering the Moabites and Ammonites (Gen. 19). Dinah and Tamar, each of whom suffered a sexual assault, were both avenged by a full brother for the sake of family honor and personal outrage respectively (Gen. 34; 2 Sam. 13).

Biblical boys are far more numerous than Biblical girls, consistent with the Bible's predominant male-centeredness. Generational succession followed male lineage, hence a son's name lived on far more often than a daughter's. For example, Adam (and Eve) had Cain, Abel, Seth, and "other sons and daughters" (Gen. 5:3–4). That listing heralds the Bible's numerous genealogical listings through male lines, which continue into the New Testament Gospel of the Jewish evangelist Matthew.

A dark side of generational succession appeared in Old Testament scriptures of more ancient provenance, namely that Jehovah would punish "sons and grandsons to the third and fourth generation for the sins of their fathers" (Exod. 34:7); the illness and subsequent death of the son born of David's adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam. 12) provides a dramatic example. The secular world pragmatically adopted the same ethic, when seven grandsons of Saul (some of them no doubt adolescent or younger) were hurled to their deaths to appease the anger of the Gibeonites against Saul (2 Sam. 21), and "Zedekiah's sons were slain before his eyes" after Nebuchadnezzar defeated him (2 Kings 7; Jer. 52:10). The ethic of transferring a father's guilt to his issue shifted in later pro-

phetical literature: Ezekiel preached that “a son shall not share his father’s guilt” (Ezek. 18:20).

The stages of a Biblical boy’s early life—birth, CIRCUMCISION, and weaning—provided occasions for rejoicing, and in Isaac’s case, “for a great feast” (Gen. 20:8). A strict hierarchy among sons granted primacy to the first born, which—according to Deuteronomy 21:16–17—had to be respected even if that son had been born to an unloved wife. Occasionally, however, primogeniture was overridden by emotion, as when Sarah forced Abraham to drive out his first-born son Ishmael (Gen. 21:9–21), when Jacob exploited Esau’s hunger and Isaac’s blindness to secure his brother’s birthright for himself (Gen. 25:29–34; Gen. 27), or when Jacob knowingly conferred his blessing on the younger of Joseph’s two sons (Gen. 48:14–20). Predictably, the Bible enjoins a son to pay attention to his father’s instruction, as well as to his mother’s teaching (Prov. 1:8–9; Prov. 4:1–5). Earlier texts had harshly prescribed death for such physical disobedience as striking a father or mother (Exod. 21:15, 17).

The Old Testament is filled with dramatic instances of adult fraternal strife, but only two take place between certifiable boys: Ishmael taunted Isaac (Gen. 21:9), and seventeen-year-old Joseph’s brothers cast him into a pit from which he was sold into Egyptian servitude (Gen. 38:28–30). All other episodes detail strife between brothers who had attained the full or semi-independent status of economic production (herding, farming) or separate domicile: Cain versus Abel, further strife between Jacob and Esau, and Absalom versus his half-brother Amnon. Even the friendship of David and Jonathan was an adult one, as Jonathan already was a father at the time and David was long gone from the protection of his parental home.

The Bible’s few sustained narratives of children and childhood—particularly those of Moses, Samuel, and David—are told quickly. Moses’ infancy was recorded in emotive language: “When [his mother] saw what a fine child he was, she hid him for three months” (Exod. 2:1–2). Afterward his older sister Miriam guarded him until Pharaoh’s daughter found the crying child. “Filled with pity for it, she said, ‘Why, it is a little Hebrew boy.’” “Thereupon the sister,” devising a clever ruse to protect her brother, “said to Pharaoh’s daughter, ‘Shall I go and fetch one of the Hebrew women as a wet-nurse to suckle the child for you?’” (Exod. 2:4–8). Directly afterward, Moses was “grown up” (Exod. 2:11). A small detail from the life of the boy Samuel communicates maternal care: Samuel was “a mere boy with a linen ephod fastened round him. Every year his mother made him a little cloak and took it to him. . . .” (1 Sam. 2:18–19). We further learn that “the child Samuel was in the Lord’s service under his master Eli” and that God spoke to him (1 Sam. 3:1–4). The boy David lives on as “handsome, with ruddy cheeks and bright eyes” (1 Sam. 16:11–12; 1 Sam. 17:43), a “lad” (1 Sam. 17:56) who served Saul as armor-bearer and

harp-player (1 Sam. 16:21–23). When he hung around the battlefield, however, his older brother called him an “impudent rascal” (1 Sam. 17:28).

In a variety of texts, irresistible adolescent urges push aside the Bible’s general sobriety. “Will a girl forget her finery?” Jeremiah asked rhetorically (Jer. 2:32). Worse was Ezekiel’s inculpation of Oholah and Oholibah, two sisters who “played the whore in Egypt, played the whore while they were still girls; for they let their breasts be fondled and their virgin bosoms pressed” (Ezek. 23:3). In the New Testament Herodias’s daughter danced before Herod and gained John the Baptist’s head for her efforts (Mark 6:21–28), another testimony to the effective power of an adolescent girl’s SEXUALITY.

Boys’ sexuality, though castigated, seems to have been more part of the daily scene. A foolish lad was easy prey for a practiced prostitute, who seduced him at twilight (Prov. 7:6–29). Paul’s warning to Timothy to “turn from the wayward impulses of youth” (2 Tim. 2:22) seems part of an early warning system that included freewheeling sexuality among other dangers to adolescent virtue.

In the seventeenth century Ecclesiasticus, a now largely forgotten apocryphal book of the Bible, counted as a child-rearing manual. Often published separately for children’s use, it was equally often the only part of the Bible known by the young. Ecclesiasticus offered a wealth of practical advice for living a safe and sober life. It began by urging a son to respect his parents and continued by recognizing parents’ fears for their daughters’ virtue and well-being (Ecclus. 22:3–5 and passim).

Differences between Old and New Testament Imagery of Children and Childhood

In a New Testament reprise of Old Testament ferocity, Herod massacred “all children in Bethlehem” (Matt. 1:16) just as Pharaoh had instigated an indiscriminate murder of Jewish boys (Exod. 1:15–22). Similarly present in both testaments were child healings. The Old Testament prophets Elijah and Elisha each had restored a boy to life (1 Kings 17:17–23; 2 Kings 4:18–37). In the New Testament, however, Jesus cured and revived girls and boys alike: the twelve-year-old daughter of the synagogue president Jairus (Matt. 9:25; Mark 5:42; Luke 8:40–42, 49–56), a “young daughter” possessed by an unclean spirit (Mark 7:25–30), a “boy” possessed by a “deaf and dumb” spirit (Mark 9:17–27), and an officer’s son in Capernaum (John 4:43–53), while Paul and Silas together cured an Israelite slave girl possessed by an oracular spirit (Acts 16:16–18).

Jesus repeatedly used the word “children” to mean “adherents” (as in “children of the Kingdom,” Matt 13:38) and to indicate spiritual advancement (“the Kingdom of God belongs to children,” Mark 10:14–15). Jesus identified himself as a little child and proclaimed that whoever received “one

of these children in my name . . . receives me” (Mark 9:36–37; Luke 9:46–48). Jesus also treated children as representations of innocence, simplicity, and helplessness in some of his preaching (Matt 18:1–6; Matt 19:14).

New Testament writing assumed that parents would lovingly nurture their children (Luke 11:11–13). Paul, for instance, referred allegorically to providential parenting to represent the relationship between divinity and followers of Jesus: “Parents should make provision for their children, not children for their parents” (2 Cor. 12:14). The first letter of John actually addressed one verse to real rather than metaphorical “children” (1 John 2:13), a rarity in the New Testament and in John’s own letters, where “my children” generally refers to adults who are spiritual children.

In most respects New Testament depictions of and references to childhood differ fundamentally from those in the Old Testament. Portrayed overwhelmingly in their vulnerability, Old Testament children fall victim to war and oppression and communicate Jewish suffering as men and women also experienced it. The seventy children of Ahab who remained behind in Samaria with their tutors were beheaded, their heads transported in baskets to Israel and dumped on the ground at the city gate (2 Kings 10:1–11). Equally savage, “the Medes . . . have no pity on little children and spare no mother’s son” (Isaiah 13:17–18). Suffering the effects of siege, “children and infants faint in the streets of the town and cry to their mothers, . . . gasping out their lives in their mothers’ bosom” (Lam. 2:11–12); “the sucking infant’s tongue cleaves to its palate from thirst; young children beg for bread but no one offers them a crumb” (Lam. 4:4). Doing Saul’s bidding, Doeg “put to the sword every living being, men and women, children and babes in arms” (1 Sam. 22:19).

Even within their own families danger lurked. Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac to demonstrate his fidelity to Jehovah (Gen. 22), and later fathers returning from Exile dismissed the children they had fathered with foreign wives (Ezra 10). Even a grandmother might turn murderous, although six-year-old Joah escaped Athaliah’s wrath by hiding with his nurse in the house of the Lord for six years (2 Kings 11:1–3).

Old Testament children were parental possessions of the father who had sired them; they comprised his personal worth and added to his individual wealth. This understanding echoes in Jacob’s declaration that his two grandsons Ephraim and Manassah counted as his own (Gen. 48:5). Ownership implied the right of disposal: on occasion hungry parents pledged their children to pay their own debts (Neh. 5:1–6). In the worst case, children became food for their starving parents. The statement that “tender-hearted women with their own hands boiled their own children, their children became their food in the day of my people’s wounding” (Lam. 4:10) was followed by the anguished cry, “Must women eat the fruit of their wombs, the children they have

brought safely to birth?” (Lam. 2:20). Of all children, ORPHANS who lacked familial protection were the most vulnerable. Hence, already in the Pentateuch the people of Israel were adjured not to ill treat “a fatherless child” (Exod. 22:23).

Various prophetic authors of the Old Testament drew on metaphors of childhood to describe Israel’s eventual restoration: Israel would suck the milk of nations (Isa. 60:16) and be fed from the breasts that give comfort (Isa. 66:11). In Isaiah’s vision, “a little child shall lead [the calf and the lion] . . . the infant shall play over the hole of a cobra, and the young child shall dance over the viper’s nest” (Isa. 11:6, 8). Isaiah’s infantine image was meant to communicate safety within a mortally threatening environment, but it also communicates a sense of utter vulnerability among the young. Prophetic authors often used metaphors of childhood to convey devastating fear: death “sweeps off the children in the open air” (Jer. 9:21), while the people of Israel were characterized as the most vulnerable of the young, “fatherless children” (Jer. 49:11; Jer. 51:22) and “babes [who] will fall by the sword and be dashed to the ground” (Hos. 13:16).

Joseph and his brothers generated an enormous literature, both fictional (e.g., Thomas Mann) and scholarly, including linguistic analysis. The sacrifice of first-born sons in the context of Mediterranean Moloch rituals and requirements in later texts to dedicate a child to God, as well as investigations of BIRTH ORDER comprise the principle research subjects addressed to date.

See also: **Theories of Childhood.**

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RUTH B. BOTTIGHEIMER

Bicycles and Tricycles

Bicycles and tricycles are both children's riding toys. As distinct types of pedal-driven motion they both appeared for the first time in the 1880s. The tricycle was conceived and produced especially for children from the outset, however bicycles for children were derived by a simple reduction of the scale of the adult counterpart.

After the invention of the modern bicycle with rear wheel chain-driven transmission and a diamond-shaped frame in the 1880s, it quickly entered into widespread use for transportation, work, and leisure purposes. In America, due to the development of private automobiles as the principal form of adult transportation, the bicycle became primarily a child's toy or youth transportation option after the 1920s.

In Europe motorization was slower and the bicycle has been in use for transportation, work, leisure, sport, and play for longer and to a greater extent but with considerable national variation. The use of bicycles for transportation purposes is most pronounced in northern Europe, particularly in Holland and Scandinavia.

Bicycle frames constructed for children appeared immediately after its invention, but it did not become a mass-production item until well into the 1950s. Until this point, children in general were precluded from cycling until an adult frame of small size was manageable in youth. Today the availability of a range of smaller frame sizes enables children from age three or even younger to cycle with training wheels. With further private and public motorization and institutionalization, children's cycling is generally turning into an activity solely of leisure and play. A recent development of significance is the drive towards reduction of risk through safety campaigns and technological innovation, mainly resulting in a range of typically compulsory accessories, such as reflective devices, lighting, and helmets. On the urban scale it has led to the establishment of bicycle lanes in several cities in northern Europe.

Before the invention of the modern bicycle the velocipede enjoyed an enthusiastic following in the late 1860s. Its principle of gearing by upsizing the driving front wheel, has survived among children's riding toys in the tricycle, where this simpler principle of construction has allowed for a cheap product. The element which sets the tricycle apart from the velocipede is the rear transverse two-wheel shaft that provides stability. This eliminates the need for balancing, eases mounting, simplifies starting and stopping and allows children as young as one year old to ride. Tricycles are produced in an extensive number of different forms, materials and qualities; ranging from inexpensive and short-lived indoor plastic models to expensive and durable outdoor models in steel, some with pneumatic tires. Tricycles are typically one-size models for children aged one to three. Until the 1960s tricycles were available in several larger sizes; it was the prin-

cipal bike of the preschool period. However, in the late twentieth century, bicycles began to cut into this market, as younger children began to purchase two-wheeled bikes.

See also: **Cars as Toys; Play.**

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Bilingual Education

On June 2, 1998, California voters approved Proposition 227, a measure designed to eliminate bilingual education, the use of another language along with English, in their public schools. In the preceding two decades there had been many other efforts to do away with bilingual education. The subject is a lightning rod of controversy and one of the most recognizable issues in what commentators have termed the nation's "culture wars." Its history is as controversial as its practice. One central question is whether or not the United States had a true "bilingual tradition." Another is to what degree bilingual education represented movements toward either assimilation or ethnic maintenance.

Bilingual education goes back as far as the colonial period in the United States. Franciscan missionaries from California to Texas systematically used indigenous languages in translating and teaching the Catholic catechism to Native Americans. In the English-speaking colonies before the American Revolution and up through the early Republic, a myriad of ethnic groups, especially Germans, patronized bilingual schools, although influential thinkers and nationalists such as Noah Webster and Benjamin Franklin opposed them because they feared linguistic heterogeneity.

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of significant pro-bilingualism legislation, particularly for German speakers. In the 1830s, for example, the state of Ohio constitutionally guaranteed German-English bilingual education to local communities that wanted it. States such as Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin also protected German bilingual education through statutory or constitutional means. Cities such as Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, and St. Louis operated large, public bilingual programs for German Americans. Historian Heinz Kloss links the bilingual education of the past with that of today and sees it as evidence of a national bilingual tradition. Several historians defend this interpretation through focused, regional studies. Other scholars criticize this contention, holding instead that it was a disorganized phenomenon and not representative of a true bilingual tradition.

While German Americans were certainly the most influential nineteenth-century practitioners of bilingual educa-

tion, many other groups were also involved. Though often relegated to private bilingual schools due to their lack of political influence, Czechs, Italians, Poles, Mexicans, and others established bilingual programs when they deemed them necessary, usually because of a belief that the public schools were culturally intolerant. Most immigrants wanted their children to speak English, and preferred bilingual to completely non-English schools. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Mexican Americans utilized both public and private bilingual schools, particularly in New Mexico and Texas, which had recently been acquired from Mexico. At this time the state of Louisiana constitutionally protected bilingual instruction for its native French speakers. Chicago's Catholic schools implemented bilingual education for Poles at the turn of the century, with Americanization as the goal. Indeed, one of bilingual education's most important rationales among non-ethnic educators was the belief that it furthered Americanization by making public schools more desirable to ethnic parents and by ensuring some level of English instruction.

This varied, hard-to-define bilingual tradition in nineteenth-century America was the product of a Jeffersonian society committed to principles of local, limited government and undertaken at the behest of the ethnic communities themselves. These ethnic epicenters, sometimes called island communities, were targeted by both the Progressive and Americanization movements in the twentieth century. Progressives advocated centralized control of educational decision making and wanted to standardize the teaching of non-English-speaking children using an English-Only pedagogy. Traditional bilingual methods depended upon literacy in a foreign language for the ultimate acquisition of English. However, English-Only entailed all-English instruction for non-English speakers; not one foreign language word could be used in the lessons. Violation of these rules meant physical punishment and possibly expulsion for students. For teachers it entailed incarceration, fines, and loss of certification. The Americanization movement during the hysteria of World War I resulted in the criminalization of bilingual education. Though the Wilson administration discussed outlawing all German in the nation's public schools, it settled for federal directives to the states urging replacement of bilingual education with English-Only. States pursued this to extremes. But in *Meyer v. Nebraska* in 1923 the U.S. Supreme Court grudgingly overturned a Nebraska law banning all foreign languages in private institutions.

English-Only pedagogy and IQ testing became key legal and educational justifications for segregated schools. Despite a brief flirtation with foreign languages during World War II, English-Only remained the nation's official pedagogical approach for non-English speakers well into the 1960s. By then scholars had begun to question English-Only's pedagogical assumptions. Also, ethnic activists, especially Mexican Americans, brought increasing legal and political pres-

sure to bear against English-Only's segregating effect on their children. These unrelated forces culminated in the modern bilingual education movement.

The Bilingual Education Act—passed in late 1967 and signed early in 1968—represented bilingual education's rebirth in the United States. It was signed by Lyndon Johnson, the only American president with experience in teaching non-English-speaking children: during the 1928–1929 academic year, the young Johnson taught impoverished Mexican Americans in Cotulla, Texas (ironically he taught his children using English-Only). Bilingual education's growth during the 1970s was aided by its utility as an affirmative curricular tool in desegregation cases. In 1970 the Office of Civil Rights in the Nixon Justice Department ruled that grouping children in so-called “special” or “educationally retarded” classes on the basis of language was a violation of their civil rights. Spurred by Chinese-American parents, the Supreme Court ruled four years later in *Lau v. Nichols* that schools were obligated to offer non-English-speaking children equal educational opportunity, in this case bilingual education.

However, bilingual education was never uniformly accepted. By the late 1970s a significant backlash against it developed among serious intellectuals and nativist groups. The Reagan administration actively sought to discredit bilingual education by promoting English as a Second Language (ESL) as a better option. This politicization escalated in the 1990s, culminating in California's Proposition 227. In the early twenty-first century, bilingual education remains a hot-button political issue with an indisputably rich and meaningful history in the United States.

See also: **Education, United States; Literacy.**

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CARLOS KEVIN BLANTON

Binet, Alfred (1857–1911)

Alfred Binet is perhaps best remembered for his role in elaborating the first numerical scale of intelligence, but his contributions to individual psychology, experimental science, and applied pedagogy transcended the confines of intelligence testing. Binet was a pioneering scholar whose diverse and eclectic research interests fundamentally transformed the scientific study of the child in France as well as abroad.

Binet was born in Nice but moved to Paris at age twelve to study at the prestigious Lycée Louis le Grand; he spent the rest of his life in the capital region. Descended from at least two generations of medical doctors, Binet hesitated in choosing a career, passing his *licence* in law in 1878 but abandoning legal studies in favor of the emerging field of psychology; he earned a doctorate in natural sciences in 1894. Fascinated by the work of English associationists, particularly John Stuart Mill, Binet began an exceptionally prolific publishing career with an 1880 *Revue philosophique* article on the psychology of sensations; under the direction of the embryologist E. G. Balbiani (whose daughter, Laure, he would marry in 1884), he soon launched an equally prolific experimental career. In 1883 Binet joined the laboratory of the preeminent Parisian neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière hospital. During his seven-year tenure at the laboratory, Binet became embroiled in the controversies surrounding Charcot's studies of hypnosis, loyally defending Charcot against charges that his demonstrations had been tainted by experimenters' unintentional suggestions to the patients.

In 1891, chagrined by his experiences in Charcot's laboratory, Binet joined the Sorbonne's new Laboratory of Experimental Psychology; in 1894, he was named director of the laboratory and became cofounder of the *Année psychologique*, a journal he would edit until his death. In the mid-1890s Binet became increasingly fascinated with the higher mental faculties, breaking with the preoccupation of the first generation of scientific psychologists; he also devoted substantial attention to questions of experimental method. Perhaps most significant, his interest in children's mental faculties, first evident in a trio of 1890 articles about his two daughters, combined with his search for suitable experimental subjects to produce a research agenda that would dominate the rest of his career. The pupils of public primary schools in several working-class districts of Paris became important research subjects, and Binet quickly became the pre-

eminent member of the Société libre pour l'étude psychologique de l'enfant, established in 1899. Elected president in 1902, Binet became a tireless advocate for rigorous experimentation in numerous educational and developmental domains.

At a time when the French governing elites were preoccupied with problems of juvenile DELINQUENCY and educational inefficacy, Binet's work soon attracted legislative attention. When, in 1904, the French government established a commission to explore ways of diagnosing and educating children who were described as "abnormal" and "backward," Binet was invited to become a member; it was in this context that he and Théodore Simon developed the first version of their metric intelligence scale. Meanwhile Binet received permission in 1905 to open a laboratory of experimental pedagogy at the public primary school in Paris's rue de la Grange-aux-Belles. He soon transferred the bulk of his activities to this laboratory. Until his sudden death in 1911 he pursued an ambitious research agenda, equally eager to improve the condition of "abnormal" children and to trace the contours of "normal" child development. Although contemporaries were skeptical about his insistence that education be adapted to the individual needs of all children, such ideas attracted additional interest after World War I, and in the late twentieth century French scholars began to grant Binet overdue recognition as one of the founders not only of scientific pedagogy but also of French experimental psychology.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Intelligence Testing.**

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KATHARINE NORRIS

Birth. See Conception and Birth.

Birth Control

Human beings have sought to avoid child bearing since ancient times and have used many methods to prevent conception or to kill a developing fetus. Religious and secular authorities usually discouraged the separation of sexual intercourse from procreation because they believed that it violated natural law or deprived the state of human capital. Thus, while individuals pursued their self-interests through such practices as coitus interruptus or inducing abortion, they usually acted in flagrant violation of official standards of sexual conduct.

Falling Birth Rates and the Social Environment

The English economist and cleric Thomas Malthus brought reproductive behavior into public debates over the nature of poverty through his *Essay on Population* (1798). He argued that rapid population growth forced down the living standards of the working classes, whose only hope for amelioration lay in “moral restraint” or the prudent postponement of marriage. In the early nineteenth century, English labor organizer Francis Place and other champions of the poor advocated family limitation as a tool in the struggle for social justice and sometimes published descriptions of how to prevent conception. These neo-Malthusians found a growing audience during the nineteenth century as birth rates began to decline in many countries that were actively involved in the developing market economy of the Atlantic world. These secular declines in fertility resulted from the private efforts by the sexually active to avoid pregnancy and were routinely denounced by political leaders, who attempted to suppress information on fertility control techniques. The term *birth control* was coined in the June 1914 issue of *The Woman Rebel*, a militantly feminist journal published in New York by Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), who became the preeminent champion of reproductive autonomy for women through her campaigns to abolish the legal and social obstacles to contraceptive practice. Eventually the term *birth control* became a synonym for *family planning* and *population control*, but the term *family planning* was originally adopted by those who wished to disassociate the movement to control fertility from Sanger’s feminism, and the phrase *population control* was largely a post–World War II movement led by social scientists and policy-making elites, who feared that rapid population growth in the non-Western world would undermine capitalist development.

The precise timing and social determinants of the demographic transition in western Europe and North America from a vital economy of high birth rates and high death rates to one of low fertility and low mortality is still much in dispute among demographers, perhaps because of class and

geographical differences in motivation and behavior. While French peasants seem to have been pioneers in fertility restraint during the eighteenth century, a broad spectrum of native-born Protestants in the United States led the turn to family limitation during the nineteenth century. In the United States the average native-born white woman bore seven or eight children in the late eighteenth century, but by the middle of the nineteenth century she was the mother of five, by the early twentieth century the mother of three, and by the middle of the Great Depression of the 1930s the mother of two. One of the remarkable aspects of the American demographic transition is that there were no sustained declines in INFANT MORTALITY before 1900. Several generations of American women had fewer children than their mothers despite high infant mortality and vigorous attempts by social leaders to encourage higher fertility.

The fertility decline is best understood as a response to a changing social environment. As the home ceased to be a unit of production, and as the manufacture of clothing and other goods moved to factories, children no longer provided necessary labor in the family economies of the emerging middle and white-collar classes. Rather, they became expensive investments, requiring education, capital, and an abundance of “Christian nurture” from mothers who measured respectability by the ability to stay home and efficiently manage the income won by their husbands in a separate, public sphere of work. Marriage manuals, some containing instructions for contraception, were prominent among the self-help books that became a staple of American culture after 1830. Romantic love became the rationale for marriage and religious leaders gave new prominence to the erotic bonds between husbands and wives. Thus, socially ambitious married couples bore the burden of reconciling sexual passion with a manageable number of children, whose socialization required more expensive and permissive nurture.

Historians now attribute the fertility decline to restrictive practices—contraception, abortion, and abstention from coitus—rather than biological changes or shifts in the percentage of individuals who married or their age at marriage. The efforts by individuals to control their fertility for personal reasons inspired the first self-conscious attempts to suppress birth control. Between 1840 and 1870, leaders of the medical profession organized successful campaigns to criminalize abortion through new state laws. The culmination of the campaigns against abortion in state legislatures coincided with the passage of the Comstock Act (1873) a strengthened national obscenity law in which no distinctions were made between smut, abortifacients, or contraceptives—all were prohibited.

During this period of legislative repression of contraception, Catholic theologians debated the moral implications of claims by experimental physiologists that there might be a naturally occurring sterile period in the female menstrual

cycle. Church authorities quietly accepted the legitimacy of limiting coitus to periods of natural sterility, but the effectiveness of this “rhythm method” proved limited, and the Church’s ancient prohibition on “artificial” contraception was reaffirmed by Pius XI in the encyclical *Casti Connubi* (December 1930).

Margaret Sanger

By the second decade of the twentieth century women in both Great Britain and the United States had begun to challenge the taboos on fertility control. Margaret Sanger won her place as the charismatic leader of the birth-control movement in the United States through her ability to develop a compelling rationale for the acceptance of contraception as an alternative to illegal abortion, since an appalling number of women died from septic abortions. Although she was influenced by the anarchist Emma Goldman and by trips to Europe, during which she was impressed by the sexual know-how of ordinary French women and by the birth-control advice stations operated by feminist physicians in the Netherlands, Sanger claimed that the death of one of her nursing clients from a self-induced abortion led her to focus all her energy on the single cause of reproductive autonomy for women. Sanger opened the first birth-control clinic in the United States in October 1916, in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York. A police raid closed the clinic after ten days, but Sanger’s trial and brief imprisonment made her a national figure, and in appealing her case she won a 1919 clarification of the New York State obscenity law that established the right of doctors to provide women with contraceptive advice for “the cure and prevention of disease.”

Sanger interpreted this decision as a mandate for doctor-staffed birth-control clinics. Spurred by the emergence of an English rival, Marie Stopes, who opened a birth-control clinic in London in 1921, Sanger played down her radical past and found financial angels whose support allowed her to organize the American Birth Control League in 1921 and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City in 1923. The first doctor-staffed birth-control clinic in the United States, it provided case histories that demonstrated the safety and effectiveness of contraceptive practice and served as a model for a nationwide network of over 300 birth-control clinics by the late 1930s. In 1936 Sanger won an important revision in federal law with *U.S. v. One Package* (1936), which established the right of physicians to receive contraceptive materials. In 1937 the American Medical Association recognized contraception as an ethical medical service.

On the eve of World War II, the limits of the birth-control movement seemed to have been realized. A majority of Americans practiced some form of fertility control, but there was widespread concern about the low birth rate and little support for public subsidy of the services. Many social leaders were disturbed by the more permissive standards of

sexual behavior that emerged during the first decades of the twentieth century as young women became increasingly visible as wage earners and as participants in an eroticized consumer culture. Alfred Kinsey and other pioneers in the survey of sexual behavior documented increases in premarital sexual activity that convinced some social conservatives that sexual liberation had gone too far. After World War II, however, influential social scientists such as Frank Notestein of Princeton University’s Center for Population Research provided a new rationale for birth control by drawing attention to rapid population growth in the Third World and by arguing that the United States risked losing the Cold War because economic development compatible with capitalism might be impossible if the means were not found to curb birth rates.

Birth Control after World War II

John D. Rockefeller III became the leader of a revived movement to promote population control by founding the Population Council in 1952, after he failed to convince the directors of the Rockefeller Foundation that his interests warranted major new initiatives. The Population Council subsidized the development of academic demographic research in the United States and foreign universities and by the late 1950s was providing technical assistance to India and Pakistan for family planning programs. Concerned over the failure rates of the conventional barrier contraceptives such as condoms and diaphragms, the council invested in the clinical testing, improvement, and statistical evaluation of intrauterine devices (IUDs), that is, objects placed in the uterus to invoke an immune response that inhibits conception. A second major advance in contraceptive technology came with the marketing of an oral contraceptive by J. D. Searle and Company in 1960. “The pill” depended on recent advances in steroid chemistry, which provided orally active, and inexpensive, synthetic hormones. Margaret Sanger ensured that these new drugs would be exploited for birth control by recruiting Gregory Pincus of the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology for the work and introducing him to a feminist colleague, Katharine Dexter McCormick, who provided the funds Pincus needed to realize their dream of a female-controlled form of birth control that did not require specific preparation before sexual intercourse and thus made spontaneous sexual activity possible. The pill’s rapid acceptance by the medical community and its female clients was enhanced by the growing use of synthetic hormones to treat a wide range of gynecological disorders so that contraception now appeared to be divorced from the “messy gadgets” of the past and was placed in the context of modern therapeutics. In 1963 the Roman Catholic gynecologist John Rock, who had led the clinical trials of the first oral contraceptive, proclaimed, in *The Time Has Come*, that contraception was, thanks to the pill, now compatible with Catholic natural law theology. Rock’s optimism proved false when Pope Paul VI’s encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (July 1968) confirmed traditional teachings that prohibited artificial contra-

ception, but by then a majority of married Catholics in the United States were practicing birth control.

A series of federal court decisions and new welfare policies reflected the changed status of birth control in public opinion. In 1965 the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, struck down a statute that prohibited contraceptive practice. The court continued to expand the rights of individuals to defy outdated restrictions in *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, (1972), which established the right of the unmarried to contraceptives. As President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty emerged from Congress, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 specified that at least 6 percent of expanding maternal and child health care funds were to be spent on family planning services. The Foreign Assistance Act of the same year provided aid for international programs, and contraceptives were removed from the list of materials that could not be purchased with Agency for International Development funds.

By the late 1960s feminists and population control advocates were successfully challenging state laws that limited access to abortion. In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court attempted to forge a new consensus in *Roe v. Wade*, which recognized the right of abortion on demand during the first trimester of pregnancy. The Court's decision simply added fuel to an escalating firestorm of controversy as Roman Catholic leaders found common cause with Protestant fundamentalists and social conservative critics of the welfare state in a "right-to-life" and "family values" movement. From the left, groups such as the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (founded in 1974) charged that minority women were being coerced by government maternal health programs that they viewed as genocidal. Revelations that disproportionate numbers of Hispanic and African-American women were sterilized in government programs that lacked adequate ethical guidelines supported complaints by such organizations as the National Women's Health Movement and the International Women's Health Coalition that the American health-care establishment had gone radically wrong in its high-tech, top-down, paternalistic approach to reproductive health issues.

At the 1974 United Nations World Population Conference, held in Bucharest, Rumania, John D. Rockefeller III recognized the criticisms of conventional family planning programs that had been mounted by feminists and the Population Council was reorganized to emphasize holistic approaches to women's health issues. New ethical guidelines were developed for federally sponsored maternal health programs as well, but deep social divisions remained between "pro-choice" and "pro-life" advocates, with the Democratic Party embracing the former and the Republican Party embracing the latter. Despite numerous challenges in state and federal courts and legislatures, *Roe v. Wade* remained the law of the land. In the late 1990s federal and state expenditures for subsidized family planning, including contraception,

sterilization, and therapeutic abortion, exceeded \$700 million annually, while the birth rate among the native-born was below the level needed to maintain the population, which continued to grow because of liberal immigration laws and mass immigration to the United States.

The birth rate was even lower in Europe, where in countries such as Spain and Italy reproduction was not at a rate high enough to maintain their populations. In many other parts of the world, including China, India, and the Middle East, previously high birth rates were also in decline.

See also: Conception and Birth; Eugenics; Fertility Rates; Obstetrics and Midwifery; Sexuality.

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JAMES W. REED

Birthday

The celebration of the anniversary of one's birth is a phenomenon of modern industrial society. It is connected to the

rise of a scientific way of thinking and to new attitudes about children and childhood. Perfection of the calendar by the Egyptians and Mesopotamians enabled people to reckon exact birth dates, but ancient and classical cultures rarely celebrated birthdays, except for those of royalty. The early Catholic Church deemed birthday festivities to be pagan; more important was the name day, the commemoration of the patron saint whose name was attached to a child upon BAPTISM. After the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, Western cultures celebrated birthdays of royalty, presidents, and war heroes, but common folk seldom used the occasion of their own birth for special notice. Native societies in Africa and America rarely kept records of age, and therefore did not observe birthdays except for special RITES OF PASSAGE, usually from childhood to adulthood. In the East, Chinese families often recognized birthdays, though mainly for adults; the Japanese, on the other hand, often collapsed all birthdays to New Year's Day, which they made into a common celebratory event.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the official collection of demographic data, most notably birth certification, decennial censuses, and other public surveys that listed exact date of birth, as well as the recording of birth and baptismal dates in family bibles, prompted more ordinary people to identify and observe their birthday. Still, the occasion seldom involved special ritual. Diaries and reminiscences of American children either omitted recognition of birthdays or mentioned them only in passing without reference to gifts or parties. Certain customs, however, were taking hold. German families, for example, feasted on *Geburtstagtorten*, birthday cakes, usually eaten at a party.

New attitudes about the worth and special qualities of children helped to transform birthdays into elaborate rituals in the late nineteenth century. Influenced by the Romantics, who emphasized feeling over reason, along with a decline in infant and child mortality, writers and parents began to dote on and cherish children as well as treat them in ways separate from adults. Such treatment often meant indulgences that formerly had not existed. Birthdays presented occasions for such indulgence. By the 1870s, wealthy families were holding elaborate children's birthday parties, and birthday books, in which children listed the birthdays of friends and relatives, circulated widely. Parties and cakes became common among rural and working-class families as well. Customs such as birthday spankings for good luck and wishing on the candles of the birthday cake before blowing them out became customary. Perhaps more importantly, new attitudes about measurement and time induced people to begin using the birthday to measure their experiences and accomplishments relative to peers and to social expectations. A child who had not lost all baby teeth or contracted certain childhood diseases by a particular birthday was said to be "behind schedule"; one who was in an advanced school grade or had grown taller than peers by a certain age was "ahead of schedule."

As the twentieth century progressed, commercial interests increasingly responded to the new popularity of birthday celebrations, especially for children. Birthday cards, adapted from Christmas and greeting cards of the nineteenth century, contained ever more elaborate messages and later included representations of characters in children's popular culture such as Mickey Mouse and the Peanuts comic strip characters. Decorations, hats, party favors, and gift wrap became birthday staples, and "Happy Birthday to You" by the sisters Mildred J. Hill and Patty Smith Hill became the most commonly performed song in the English language. For children, a birthday remains one of the most anticipated celebrations of the year, a rite fraught with expectations of privilege and indulgence that reflect their special status in the family and society.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Theories of Childhood.**

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HOWARD P. CHUDACOFF

Birth Defects

About 3 percent of babies born alive have serious birth defects. Some defects are genetic; others may result from damage to a growing fetus caused by infection, chemicals (including fertilizers, alcohol, or drugs), diet, X rays, or a mixture of these. They can also be caused by direct damage, as in a failed abortion. Interest in damaged children, who were once known as "monsters," goes back at least to ancient Egypt. The study of birth defects is now known as *teratology* and the damaging agents as *teratogens*.

For many centuries birth defects were seen as warnings or divine omens and children with birth defects were often confused with mythological beings. It was an ancient Jewish custom to put a beautiful child at the door of public baths to help women to "have children as fine as he." In ancient Carthage it is said that alcohol was forbidden to a bridal couple in case a fetus was damaged by it. Later monsters became objects of interest, to be collected and described. Most museums of pathology still possess a collection of them, although recently this has come to be regarded as inappropriate.

Definition of defects depends also, of course, on time and place. In Western Europe around 1700, babies born "with the cow!" (a piece of placenta attached to the head) were

viewed as defective, marked by the devil. In some societies twins were seen as defective, again marked by evil. Generally, with the rise of modern science and global contacts, these particular definitions of defects have declined.

In the eighteenth century there was much interest in maternal impressions; a fright, for example, was believed to cause birth defects. In the mid-nineteenth century it was believed in the English-speaking world that heredity could be altered by external circumstances at any point between conception and weaning. Physicians warned against sexual intercourse under the influence of drugs or alcohol as they believed that these could affect the constitution of a child. In 1870 the medical profession was criticized for its prevalent belief in the ability of maternal impressions to cause any degree of malformation.

In the late nineteenth century this kind of belief was falling into disrepute because it was linked with magic and “unscientific” thinking. This connection may be a reason the subject was rejected and ignored for so long. As medicine became more scientific, magic was increasingly despised. The placenta was steeped in myth and mystery, so no one working with humans thought to analyze it scientifically. It remained in a kind of quasi-magical limbo, vulnerable to the social fantasies of the time. Moreover, in the late nineteenth century there was little medical interest in the well-being of pregnant women, newborn babies, or older children. So many babies and children died from infection that the smaller number who were afflicted with birth defects was not seen as important. It was widely acceptable to drop them into a bucket of water as soon as they were born.

Belief in the placenta as a perfect barrier against damaging influences in the environment was reinforced by the Victorian tendency to put woman on a pedestal. This led to the idealization of the womb as well as of the woman. Women’s reproductive organs were regarded as different and special and also as the source of all symptoms and ills that were not visibly due to something else.

By the 1930s there was more serious interest in teratology but, typically, as late as 1937 a popular textbook discussed the diagnosis of fetal abnormalities but not their causes. In 1941, when it was shown that rubella in pregnancy caused birth defects, the peculiarity of the infection was emphasized but it was not taken as a general warning about the vulnerability of fetuses. Today one can still find examples of residual idealization of the womb, perhaps describing it as a perfect environment or an ideal convalescent home.

Another possible reason little notice was taken of environmental dangers in pregnancy was that fetuses, stillbirths, and newborn babies had long been regarded as expendable, or at least as not very important. Few doctors were interested in them for their own sake. Unborn children created danger for their mothers at a time when maternal mortality was



Boy with a Clubfoot (c. 1642–1652), Jusepe de Ribera. In early modern Europe, children born with birth defects often had to rely on charity for their care. Ribera’s subject holds a paper in his hands that reads “Give me alms, for the love of God.” The Art Archive/Musée du Louvre Paris/Dagli Orti.

high. By the 1930s the maternal mortality rate was falling, BIRTH CONTROL was spreading, families were smaller, and there was greater interest in infants and their survival. Also, decline in mortality from infection and improved prenatal care meant that congenital defects became more prominent as a cause of death and debility, which at least provided a reason for studying them.

Still, the subject interested few doctors and scientists. Medical students were taught that the placenta was a perfect barrier protecting the fetus from the outside. All this was changed by the discovery, in 1962, that the drug thalidomide was causing horrifying defects in fetuses. Suddenly many people had to change their views.

Thalidomide changed the way in which the medical profession regarded drugs taken in pregnancy. It also played a part in breaking down the alternate idealization and denigration of women and the idealization of the placenta that has been so prominent in Western medical history. However, thalidomide was a useful and effective drug and recently it has been used again in some parts of the world in the treatment of leprosy, with the inevitable result that “thalidomide babies” are once again being born. Meanwhile pregnant women today are discouraged from taking drugs or exposing themselves to other teratogens and there are much more enlightened attitudes toward birth defects.

See also: **Conception and Birth.**

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ANN DALLY

Birth Order

Throughout recorded history, birth order has affected diverse aspects of social, political, and economic life, and this influence continues to manifest itself today in many traditional societies. Especially in previous centuries and in non-Western portions of the world, societies have generally sanctioned practices whereby parents favor some offspring over others. Such patterns of parental favoritism are often associated with birth order. For example, when a child is deformed or when an older child is still breast-feeding, most traditional societies permit infanticide; but no society condones the killing of the older of two SIBLINGS.

Through differences in parental investment, birth order sometimes affects the general health and well-being of offspring. Laterborns, for example, are less likely than firstborns to be vaccinated, and in developing countries laterborns tend to be shorter and to suffer higher rates of childhood mortality than do their older siblings. Birth order

also appears to influence intelligence and personality, doing so through differences in parental investment, as well as through sibling interactions. These intellectual and behavioral differences affect various aspects of life achievement.

Social and Political Influences

One study of the role of birth order in thirty-nine non-Western societies found that the birth of the first child generally has special significance, stabilizing the marriage and raising the status of the parents. In these same non-Western societies, firstborns were typically found to receive more elaborate birth ceremonies than laterborns, to have power over their younger siblings, to acquire and control more parental property in adulthood, and to carry greater authority with nonfamily members.

INHERITANCE practices have often been linked to birth order. The system of primogeniture has generally been followed in societies where wealth is largely dependent on land ownership and where land is a scarce resource. Under this system, firstborns or eldest males inherit the bulk of the parental land and property—a practice that limits the subdivision of estates and thereby helps to preserve the patrilineal family and its patronymic. James Boone's 1986 genealogical study of the leading families of medieval Portugal found that eldest sons were 1.6 times more likely than younger sons to leave descendants over a period of two centuries, whereas younger sons were 9 times more likely than firstborns to father offspring out of wedlock. Among daughters, laterborns were often destined for convents and, as a consequence, left fewer descendants than did earlierborn daughters.

Some countries, including Portugal, recognized landless younger sons as a potential threat to political stability. Expansionist military campaigns as well as the Crusades were in part undertaken as a means of exporting these younger sons to distant lands. There, while attempting to distinguish themselves, these younger sons often died in combat or from diseases.

Male primogeniture has long been the custom in the transfer of political power among royalty. Instituted in feudal times, this practice helped to curb the sometimes bloody conflicts among siblings that had previously punctuated royal succession. Although leaders of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION—in the spirit of egalitarian reform—successfully called for the abolition of primogeniture in parts of Germany, this practice remains the accepted succession policy in those European countries that still have monarchies.

Other discriminatory systems of inheritance are also known, including secondogeniture (whereby the secondborn child or son inherits the majority of the parental property), and ultimogeniture (the practice of leaving property to the youngest child or son). This last inheritance practice is most commonly found in societies that impose heavy death taxes, because ultimogeniture lengthens the period between taxa-



During the French Revolution, the 893 deputies to the National Convention turned on one another in a seemingly fratricidal manner, with firstborn and laterborn deputies allying themselves with different political parties and voting in disparate manners. Mary Evans Picture Library.

tions. Sometimes parents have opted for an equitable distribution of their assets to progeny. In medieval Venice, where wealth was based on commercial speculation and where prosperity was often a matter of unforeseeable circumstances, parents generally subdivided their estates in order to maximize the likelihood that at least one offspring would achieve commercial success. In short, although inheritance practices associated with birth order have exhibited considerable historical and geographic variability, the specific form chosen by each family and society has usually made local economic sense.

Birth Order, Intelligence, and Personality

One of the most remarkable discoveries in the field of psychology during the last several decades has been the finding that siblings who grow up together are almost as different as people plucked at random from the general population. Behavioral geneticists have shown that only about 5 percent of the variance in personality from one individual to another is associated with the shared family environment—that is, growing up in the same home. About 40 percent of the vari-

ance in personality appears to be genetic in origin, and another 20 percent is associated with errors in measurement. The remaining 35 percent of the variance is attributable to the nonshared environment (unique experiences that are not shared by siblings).

One important conclusion from this behavioral genetic research is that, for the most part, the family is not a shared environment. One possible source of such nonshared experiences is birth order, since children of different birth orders vary in age, size, and family roles. In addition, siblings compete with one another for parental investment (including love, attention, and scarce resources), and parents sometimes favor one child over another even when they try not to do so.

Darwinian theory predicts such competition among siblings, which has been widely documented among animals, fish, insects, and even plants. The principles of genetics help us in understanding this particular form of Darwinian competition. On average, siblings share only half of their genes,

so they are twice as related to themselves as they are to another sibling. Based on the theory of kin selection, siblings are expected to act selfishly toward one another unless the benefits of sharing scarce resources are greater than twice the costs. Siblings therefore tend to develop context-sensitive strategies for optimizing parental investment—sometimes at the expense of other siblings—and these strategies are influenced by differences in age, size, power, and status within the family. Birth order is an excellent proxy for these differences.

Prior to about 1800, fewer than half of all human offspring ever reached adulthood, so even slight differences in parental investment, or in the competitive advantages developed by siblings, were sufficient to tip the balance in determining who survived and who did not. By cultivating unique and useful family niches, siblings increase their value within the family system. Firstborns have customarily adopted the role of a surrogate parent, which causes them to be more parent-identified and conservative than younger siblings. Because laterborns cannot baby-sit themselves, they generally seek to develop alternative and unoccupied niches within the family system, a process that seems to involve a predilection for experimentation and openness to experience.

Birth-order research, which encompasses more than two thousand studies, has established a consistent pattern of birth-order differences in personality. These differences can be usefully summarized by the Five Factor Model of personality, which encompasses the dimensions of conscientiousness, openness to experience, agreeableness, extraversion, and neuroticism. As reflected by their frequent role as surrogate parents, firstborns tend to be more conscientious than laterborns. By comparison, laterborns tend to be more open to experience than firstborns, especially in those facets of this personality dimension that involve the questioning of family values or the authority of their elders. Laterborns are also somewhat more agreeable than firstborns, since they generally adopt low-power strategies, including cooperation and acquiescence, that accord with their lesser age, power, and physical size. In addition, laterborns are more extraverted than firstborns in the specific sense of being fun-loving, excitement seeking, and sociable. Finally, firstborns and laterborns both manifest aspects of neuroticism, but in different ways. Firstborns are more neurotic in the sense of being anxious about loss of power and status, whereas laterborns are more neurotic in the sense of being self-conscious—an attribute that probably stems from their tendency to compare themselves with older and more accomplished sibling models.

Compared with birth-order differences in personality that are measured within the family, those documented in extrafamilial contexts tend to be less pronounced. Still, there is considerable evidence that birth-order differences in personality and behavior manifest themselves in nonfamilial

contexts—especially when these behavioral contexts resemble those previously encountered within the family. To cite an example documented by Catherine Salmon, firstborns and laterborns respond differently to political speeches that use the terms *brother* and *sister* as opposed to *friend*.

Extensive research indicates that firstborns tend to have higher IQs than laterborns, although this difference is small (IQ is reduced about one point with each successive birth rank in the family). Explanations for these findings have generally focused on the consequences of increasing family size, since children from large families have lower IQs than children from small families. According to Robert Zajonc's confluence model, the addition of younger siblings impoverishes the family's intellectual environment because children are less intellectually proficient than adults. This theory predicts that firstborns will tend to have higher IQs than laterborns because firstborns spend more time alone with their parents, and more time in smaller sibling groups.

Birth Order and World History

Differences in personality and behavior related to birth order sometimes reflect themselves onto the stage of world history. The tendency for firstborns to receive greater parental investment than laterborns, and in turn to be more conscientious and have higher IQs, fosters greater achievement and has led to an overrepresentation of firstborns among people listed in *Who's Who* and other biographical encyclopedias. Similarly, firstborns have tended to be overrepresented among world leaders, successful writers, and famous scientists (including Nobel Prize winners). By contrast, laterborns have been historically prominent as explorers and as leaders of radical political and social upheavals, including the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolution, and other noteworthy episodes of radical social and political change. The expression of these birth-order differences is generally context sensitive—that is, dependent on local circumstances. For example, in Catholic countries during the Reformation, laterborns were more likely than firstborns to undergo martyrdom for supporting the Reformed faith; but in Protestant countries such as England, firstborns were more likely than laterborns to be martyred for their resistance to Protestant reforms.

In the history of science, birth order has often played a role during times of radical theory change. Laterborns such as Nicholas Copernicus (the youngest of four children) and Charles Darwin (the fifth of six children) pioneered revolutions in science that challenged both the scientific status quo and associated religious dogma. Other laterborns, such as Francis Bacon and René Descartes, led the seventeenth-century assault on scholastic learning and Aristotelian dogma, culminating in the Scientific Revolution. Even when firstborns have initiated major revolutions in science—such as those led by Isaac Newton, Antoine Lavoisier, and Albert Einstein—the earliest supporters of these revolutions have

tended to be laterborns. Laterborns nevertheless possess a decided Achilles heel when it comes to initiating and supporting revolutionary science. They have generally promoted radical but failed revolutions such as phrenology (the nineteenth-century notion that bumps on the head reveal character and personality) just as eagerly as they have endorsed successful revolutions such as Darwinism, quantum mechanics, and plate tectonics. For this reason, there is no evidence that laterborns are more creative than firstborns. Rather, firstborns and laterborns are each capable of creativity, but in different ways. In particular, firstborns tend to create within the system, whereas laterborns are more likely to create by questioning the status quo.

Conclusion

Owing to its influence on inheritance practices as well as social and political life, birth order appears to have exerted greater impact on people's lives in past centuries than it does today. Still, birth order continues to shape personality and behavior by influencing parental investment, as well as by affecting sibling strategies for increasing parental investment. In large part through behavioral genetic studies, psychologists have learned that the family is not primarily a shared environment. Most environmental influences on personality appear to owe themselves to nonshared experiences, including some that are attributable to birth order. In addition to shaping personality and behavior, birth order also exerts an influence on familial sentiments. Individual differences in family sentiments mediate loyalties to the family, degree of contact with parents and other close relatives, and attitudes toward parental authority. In past centuries, these birth-order differences have often played themselves out during radical revolutions, providing a link between the formative experiences of childhood and the course of world history. Even today birth order continues to shape differences in personality and behavior that, in meaningful ways, affect overall life experience.

See also: **Family Patterns.**

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FRANK J. SULLOWAY

Bobby Soxers

By the mid-1940s, ankle socks and saddle shoes symbolized teenage girls. Neither teenage girls as a fashion group nor the socks and shoes were new, though. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, media, manufacturers, and marketers made uneven attempts to understand teenage girls as a separate group with unique demands and interests. The story of bobby soxers provides a window into these attempts to follow girls' trends and to shape their emerging identity.

In the late 1920s, female tennis players first adopted a "stockingless mode," wearing only socks. This created an uproar culminating in efforts to ban women from wearing socks at Wimbledon in 1929. Despite opposition, the spread of socks was unstoppable. Teenage girls abandoned stockings for socks as the teenage FASHION market emerged, bare legs gained acceptance, and HIGH SCHOOL fashions shifted from dresses to more informal skirts and sweaters.

Most girls wore stockings to high school in the 1920s and early 1930s, prompting yearbook complaints of "runs" and other inconveniences. Socks first appeared in yearbooks with athletic uniforms, worn over tights. By 1935, ankle socks appeared throughout yearbooks, outside of the gym, with saddle shoes or loafers. National marketers, such as the Sears catalog, demonstrated some awareness of this trend, although with continued uncertainty. Sears advertised ankle socks for ages four to forty in 1934, but by 1936 were marketing them only to children. By 1938, Sears was targeting girls aged ten to sixteen.

Fashion historians often credit stocking shortages during World War II with the rise of ankle socks, but by the late 1930s the practice was already widely accepted. Adapted from a college trend, bobby socks and saddle shoes soon dis-

tinguished teenage girls from other age groups. While college interest waned, high school yearbooks and girls' writings confirmed that the trend spread quickly among high school students. Saddle shoes and anklets pleased parents because of their comfort, durability, and low heels. But they also provided a perfect palette for expressions of teenage culture. Girls wore socks in bold or plain colors; folded, pulled up, or pushed down; decorated with gadgets and charms; over stockings; or held up with boys' garters. They decorated saddle shoes with everything from flowers to friends' names to favorite songs, creatively using nail polish, shoe polish, or paint.

While high school yearbooks pictured girls in ankle socks with saddle shoes or loafers almost exclusively by the 1940s and the term *sox* appeared frequently, the media, not girls themselves, largely used the phrase *bobby soxer*. Many girls rejected the nickname and the associated stereotypes. Major national publications, such as *Time* and the *New York Times*, described bobby soxers as mindless worshipers of Frank Sinatra or crazed followers of adolescent fads. While many followers of Benny Goodman or Frank Sinatra did wear bobby socks, others did not. The term *bobby soxer* did not accurately represent high school girls or pop music fans, but the linkage among these was perhaps an effort to grapple with public displays of sexual energy from an emerging social group, especially one increasingly recognized as a viable, even powerful consumer market.

The rise of ankle socks and saddle shoes were linked more to the establishment of casual clothing as high school fashion than to musical taste. And ankle socks and saddle shoes proved a platform for creative expression and differentiation among girls at least as much as they served to unify or identify.

See also: Adolescence and Youth; Flappers; Media, Childhood and; Rock and Roll; Teenagers; Youth Culture.

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KELLY SCHRUM

Body Modification. *See* Tattoos and Piercing.

Bowlby, John (1907–1990)

John Bowlby was born on February 26, 1907, and studied medicine in Cambridge, England and psychology in Lon-

don. While still a student, he volunteered at a progressive school and began his training at the British Psychoanalytic Institute. After graduation, he began working at the London Child Guidance Clinic.

Bowlby's experiences outside academia were at least as formative as his academic training. His supervisors at the progressive school convinced him that the maladaptive behavior of some children was a result of their primary caregivers having abandoned them. His psychoanalytic training made him aware of the importance of affective relationships in the first years of life. Finally, his work at the Child Guidance Clinic brought him into contact with juvenile delinquents whose behavior Bowlby believed to be rooted in unsatisfactory emotional relationships.

Starting in about 1940 Bowlby elaborated his conviction that children's socioemotional problems originate in a lack of consistent parental love. This led him to formulate his attachment theory. In its ultimate form, attachment theory incorporated elements of psychoanalytic theory, cybernetics, Piagetian theory, and ethology. In line with ethology, for example, Bowlby believed that crying and smiling are proximity-seeking behaviors that trigger parental intervention and love and thus promote the infant's survival.

Empirical support for Bowlby's ideas originally came from maternal deprivation and hospitalization studies. The invention of two measurement instruments, and their accompanying classifications, gave the empirical study of attachment behavior new impetus. These instruments were the Strange Situation (SS) procedure invented by psychologist Mary Ainsworth and the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) invented by psychologist Mary Main.

The SS is a standardized laboratory procedure during which a one-year-old child and her caregiver are twice briefly separated. The child's behavior as she is reunited with the caregiver is believed to betray essential elements of their relationship. On the basis of these reunions, children's attachment patterns are characterized as secure (B), avoidant (A), ambivalent (C), or disorganized (D).

The SS and the classification into attachment patterns led to an avalanche of empirical studies, including investigations into the factors that contribute to specific attachment patterns (e.g., child characteristics, parental behavior, life events), ways to modify unsatisfactory attachment patterns, and long-term effects of attachment patterns as measured by the SS.

The AAI is a semistructured interview devised to assess adults' views of their own childhoods with respect to attachment. The ways the adults reflect on their childhood experiences are believed to be indicative of the ways they have coped with these experiences. Different styles of coping lead to an A, B, C, or D classification, similar to the one used in the SS.

The AAI has been used in numerous studies to investigate how attachment patterns are transmitted across generations, thus testing Bowlby's belief that, for example, parents' unresolved conflicts are played out in the interactions with their own children. Although attachment theory and its measurement instruments have been criticized, the number of investigations inspired by Bowlby's theory is still growing. The practical implications of attachment theory for the way we raise our children are potentially enormous.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Freud, Anna; Freud, Sigmund; Klein, Melanie.**

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RENÉ VAN DER VEER

Boxing

Boxing, traditionally a sport of the least advantaged, proved a requirement for working class youth, who often settled ethnic, religious, and racial rivalries with their fists. African-American slaves who fought for the pleasure of their masters were among the first professional prizefighters. Even after Emancipation black youths were often forced or coerced into battles royal or group fights, sometimes blindfolded, while a surrounding cordon of white onlookers offered money to the winner.

By the latter nineteenth century boxing gained a slight measure of respectability as the sport became more organized with weight class championships under the sponsorship of Richard Kyle Fox, publisher of the *National Police Gazette*. More importantly, boxing offered a cloak of masculinity for men during this period who perceived an increasing feminization of American culture.

Working class youths saw the sport as an opportunity for social mobility as middle-class athletic clubs, newspapers, and even religious groups supported amateur teams and tournaments in the twentieth century. Successful fighters often progressed to the professional ranks where a series of ethnic immigrant groups enjoyed success. Irish, Jewish, and Italian champions won fame and symbolized a greater degree of assimilation in American culture.

Boxing was a controversial sport, and for a time was banned in many states. New York only legalized the sport in

1920. Three years later the Chicago Tribune sponsored a major boxing tournament, eventually known as the Golden Gloves, to challenge the New York team. Both cities became centers for the sport. By 1930 the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) joined the ranks of national boxing enterprises. The CYO team proved especially popular during the Depression, as it supplied its members with a full suit of clothes as well as medical and dental care. CYO fighters who opted for the professional ranks received guidance from program affiliated management teams. Others got jobs through the Catholic social and commercial network.

While the CYO and individual municipalities invoked age restrictions, usually age sixteen, professional boxing had (and still has) no age limitations. Wilfredo Benitez won a world championship at age seventeen. Teenage boys became heroes on local, civic, national, and international teams, often finding the esteem and recognition denied them in other spheres of life. The amateur bouts produced members of the Olympic teams and the professional ranks for the remainder of the twentieth century.

By the 1930s African-American boxers began to displace the white ethnics atop the ranks, joined by Hispanic fighters at mid-century. Girls, too, joined the amateur boxing ranks by the 1980s in training programs offered by park districts, police athletic associations, and private gyms. While most engaged in the activity in pursuit of personal fitness, a very visible minority joined the annual Golden Gloves tournaments for competition, with a select few attaining professional status in televised bouts. Though few have found material success in the pastime, boxing has assumed both historic and symbolic value in the physicality and toughness required and admired by working-class youth.

See also: **Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Sports.**

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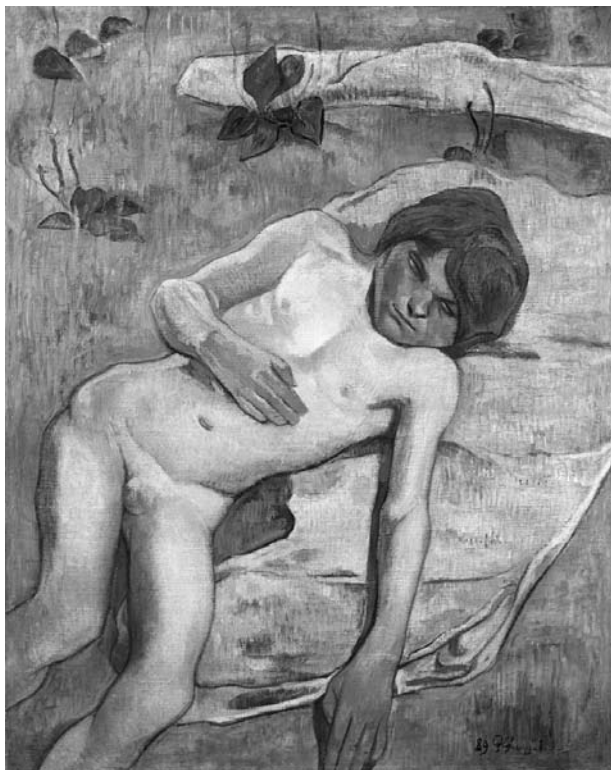
GERALD R. GEMS

Boyhood

Boyhood is a difficult word to define, in part because definitions of boyhood have changed over the centuries and in part because they continue to differ depending on culture and region. Boyhood is definitely associated with boys, and with a bounded time period between infancy and young adulthood.

Boyhood and Popular Advice Literature

In the United States during the late 1990s, an ongoing interest in defining boyhood was reflected in the publication of



Paul Gauguin's *Naked Breton Boy* (1889) is portrayed as a simple, primitive being, unfettered by the trappings of civilization. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln; photo courtesy of Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.

many texts about boys that were marketed to the general reader. Many of these texts explore what the authors saw as the problems boys would have in the twenty-first century. Titles include Michael Gurian's 1996 *The Wonder of Boys*, which uses history and other textual evidence to resist the idea that gender is a social construct and to insist on the validity of biological differences. William Pollack's 1998 *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boyhood* critiques the presence of women in the workplace and suggests that mothers and women teachers do not allow boys enough time and space to express their emotions or to be what he calls "real boys." Not all of these books about boys and the problems caused by cultural treatment and view of boys are by men. Angela Phillips's 1994 *The Trouble with Boys: A Wise and Sympathetic Guide to the Risky Business of Raising Sons* explains how mothers can help boys to experience less painful and more rewarding boyhoods, while Christine Hoff Sommers' 2000 *The War against Boys: How Misguided Feminism Is Harming Our Young Men* suggests problematically that feminists should allow boys to be boys. For Hoff Sommers, boys are boys when they are more aggressive, more competitive, and more physical in their play than girls.

In "Boyology in the Twentieth Century," Kenneth Kidd responds to these texts that treat the "problem" of boys and

finds that in the early twentieth century there was a similar proliferation of manuals that addressed the nature/nurture components of boyhood and the best methods of raising boys. These earlier manuals often point to literary and cultural myths that construct boys as wild, savage, and in a state of rebellion against social norms. Like the late-twentieth-century popular manuals about boyhood, the handbooks written in the early twentieth century focus on how the "proper" treatment of boys can build a civilization of middle-class white men who are productive and prosperous citizens. Kidd points out that the term *boyology* is used by Henry William Gibson in 1916 but that the idea of discussing both the biology and social culture of boys had been well established by the circulation of such books as William Byron Forbush's *The Boy Problem* (1901) and Kate Upson Clark's *Bringing Up Boys* (1899). The early-twentieth-century manuals suggest that adults who work with boys can, with additional knowledge about boys' physical, emotional, and educational needs, intervene in boyhood experience so that dangerous behaviors are curtailed and safer, more productive ones are promoted. Late-twentieth-century manuals return to this theme but focus on the current state of boyhood as one that causes trouble for boys and for other members of society. Nearly all of the late twentieth-century help-for-boys manuals claim to explain and then propose to fix what they see as the serious problems with boyhood. One way to challenge these narratives is to closely examine the cultural context of those boyhoods that are considered representative, and also those of boyhoods that have been ignored.

Creating Boyhood

How did these constructions of boyhood as inherently fraught with problems get put into place? Since the 1960s, much work has been done to understand childhood and the changing definitions of childhood. Perhaps the best-known work on this topic is PHILIPPE ARIÈS' *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, which focuses mostly on boyhood. Using Ariès's text as a starting point, it could be argued that the first children (as they are now understood through the lens of European history and imperialist expansion) were boys. That is, because more boys were taught to read and write, and because boys became men who helped maintain patriarchal systems of power in a wide variety of cultures, published records of boys' childhoods are easier to obtain, and therefore many of the examples of childhood that emerge from the thirteenth century on are actually examples of boyhood. Ariès suggests that what we now understand as boyhood was in fact difficult to distinguish from manhood, with boys either ignored or regarded as small men. In part, this lack of interest in boyhood as a separate state stemmed from high mortality rates among children.

The emergence of the idea of boyhood can be traced by examining art that shows the emergence of distinct costumes for childhood (a time when boys and girls were dressed in long gowns) and then for boyhood (a time when boys were

breeched, or given pants). This costume gave boys more physical freedom than girls and contributed to boyhood cultures that took place outdoors, away from the house, with other boys. This tradition of BREECHING continued through the nineteenth century, although it became less formal towards the end of the century.

In addition to being defined by dress, changes in education also helped to shape boyhood. One means of marking boyhood was with the beginning of primary school and the first departure from the house of the parents. Before educational systems became formalized, boyhood lasted a long, indefinite period of time, and its ages for beginning and ending were not clear until the nineteenth century. With the implementation of an educational system that was divided into classes, stages of boyhood were created. Boys were expected to reach physical and cultural milestones that coincided with the progression of their lessons. Ariès points out that in the seventeenth century, before the graded educational system was put into place, boys as old as twenty-four might be in classes with children as young as eleven. In France during the seventeenth century, boyhood was marked by a time set aside for education at the ACADEMIES; boyhood occurred between the first years at GRAMMAR SCHOOL and then APPRENTICESHIP, the finishing tour of Europe, or a few years spent in army life.

During the seventeenth century, girls were raised very differently from boys, since it was not customary for them to attend the same academies or to be apprenticed at a distance from their homes. Girls' costumes stayed closer to the childhood gowns that both young boys and girls wore. When coeducational primary schools became common and more girls began to learn basic reading and writing, they were able to establish relationships with peers in ways that had not been possible when they were isolated at home with mothers and relatives.

Boyhood in the United States

In the United States, boyhood has been shaped by costume, education, and attitudes toward work. Regional economics have also shaped boyhood. During the 1830s, laws for COMMON SCHOOLS were put into place in Massachusetts, and the schoolroom served to gather boys together and reshape boyhood. Children's texts published by Jacob Abbott in the late 1830s show boys working with their fathers to develop courses of study. By the 1850s, Oliver Optic's texts about boys, especially his texts about boys living in small towns, show boys organizing clubs with elaborate rule systems and uniforms that mark out those who belong and those who do not. In contrast to the cities and towns on the eastern seaboard, the Midwest and the southwest territories developed common school educational systems at different rates, and the boyhoods in these regions were shaped less by urban street culture than were those in the increasingly urban Northeast. In these territories, land separated boys from

their peers, and the work of farming and ranching demanded that the boys labor alongside adults. Before emancipation in 1863, boys who were slaves were kept near their mothers until they reached about age seven. At this age, they were often sold and forced to begin the work of men. Frederick Douglass's autobiographical narrative indicates that some boys kept in slavery used affiliations with educated free boys to gain access to literacy and to freedom.

Boyhood, then, is both a time period and a term used to define a variety of behaviors. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, some American boyhoods last until the boys are in their late twenties. In the 1890s, upper-middle-class and middle-class boys in England and the United States experienced a similar kind of extended boyhood, with marriage and property ownership not being achieved until the boys had reached their late thirties. Even though it can vary in length, boyhood is, in most constructions of the term, finite, and therefore somehow precious.

Nostalgia for Boyhood

This preciousness of boyhood provides part of the impetus to write texts about boyhood: as something lost, it is also something that can be recaptured nostalgically through texts and images. In *Being a Boy Again*, Marcia Jacobson points out that this move toward nostalgia about boyhood was particularly strong in the late nineteenth century. Jacobson discusses the nostalgic boyhoods found in Hamlin Garland's 1899 *Boy's Life on the Prairie* and Stephen Crane's 1900 *Whilomville Stories*. She notes that some of the authors used children's magazines as a forum for their pieces about boyhood. Howells, for example, published *A Boy's Town* in *Harper's Young People* in 1890. These publications, which were read by both children and adults, helped to shape ideas about boyhood in profound and lasting ways. MARK TWAIN's 1886 *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is still used to idealize boyhood.

When boyhood is defined in fiction and nonfiction, it is often seen as shaping behaviors to be wielded later in manhood. Boys, then, are the participants in boyhood, while authors of texts about boys are former boys, or observers of boys, but not usually ongoing (contemporary) participants in boyhood. The written commentaries on boyhood reflect memories and reshape boyhood in the retelling.

Varieties of Boyhood

When histories of boyhood are considered, it is also important to remember that the kinds of boyhood that have been recorded and put into histories often leave out or ignore the shape of other boyhoods. The popular 1990s treatises about the problems with boys focus, for the most part, on white, middle-class boyhoods; however, these boyhoods were not the only ones discussed during those years. J. M. Coetzee's 1997 *Boyhood Scenes from Provincial Life* stands out as a depiction of white boyhood in South Africa during the 1940s and 1950s, while Nega Mezlekia's 2001 *Notes from a Hyena's Belly: An Ethiopian Boyhood* provides details about boyhood in Ethiopia during the 1960s and 1970s.

Partly because boyhood continues to provide powerful material for social commentary and because the entrenched idea that “boys will be boys” continues to provide excuses for behavior that is disturbingly violent and misogynistic, expanding the boyhoods studied will provide ways to question those constructions that have gone unchallenged for too long.

See also: **Gendering; Girlhood.**

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LORINDA B. COHOON

Boy Scouts

In January 1908, a program for young boys was launched in Britain by the Boer War hero ROBERT BADEN-POWELL. It adapted army scout and applied it to the training of young people in citizenship. The scheme proved so popular that before World War I the program was to be found throughout the British Empire, in the United States, and in many other countries.

Formation and Influences

In this early period several controversies arose. One of these was over authorship of the scheme. In spite of worldwide ac-

claim for Baden-Powell, other individuals also claimed to be founders of Boy Scouting. The controversy arose because the elements that made up Baden-Powell's scheme were not unique. Even the name was not of Baden-Powell's devising. The phrase *Boy Scout* was used toward the end of 1899 by authors writing for the Aldine Press, first in the Buffalo Bill Library magazines to describe Harry White, Buffalo Bill's assistant, then in the True Blue War Library magazines of 1900 to 1906 to describe a young man serving in the colonies. Other elements of Scouting, including moral codes, self-government, mottoes, secret signs, patriotism, woodcraft, uniforms, and rituals, could also be found in kindred youth schemes of the period.

Schemes similar to the Scouts had gained modest success: in Britain, the Boys Brigade was founded in 1884 by William Smith and the Boys Life Brigade in 1899 by John Paton; in the United States, the Woodcraft Indians was founded in 1902 by Ernest Seton and the Sons of Daniel Boone/Boy Pioneers in 1905 by Daniel Beard; in South Africa, the Boys' Guide Brigade was founded in 1902 by Edward Carter; in Germany, the Wandervogel was founded in 1901 by Alexander Lion.

Baden-Powell felt that the application of Scouting to the program of the Boys Brigade of Britain would enhance its attraction. In 1906, Baden-Powell proposed using an adaptation of his army manual of 1900, *Aids to Scouting*, in the organization. While the Boys Brigade awarded badges for proficiency in various subjects, no badge was awarded for Scout training, and therefore boys had no incentive to undertake the training. The introduction of the Boys Brigade Scout Badge and Certificate only came in 1909, a year after the general publication of Baden-Powell's scheme in the wake of popularity of the Scout Movement.

The British-born Ernest Thompson Seton, who lived in the United States, proved a decisive influence on Scouting. In 1902, he had founded an organization called the Woodcraft Indians. In 1906, Seton sent Baden-Powell a copy of his latest woodcraft manual, *The Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*, which provided a model for a complete training scheme. With help from newspaper owner Arthur Pearson, Baden-Powell was able to launch both a handbook and a boys' paper, *The Scout*. Baden-Powell also gained assistance from the Young Men's Christian Association in launching a national tour. He held an experimental camp from July 25 to August 9, 1907, on Brownsea Island, Poole, which proved a success.

Baden-Powell's borrowings were not restricted to Seton and *Aids to Scouting*. He may also have been influenced by Andrew Burnham, an American Scout working in South Africa in the late 1800s. Other influences are also detectable in the pages of *Scouting for Boys*.

So well chosen were the ingredients that made up Baden-Powell's scheme, however, that it had a universal appeal and



Robert Baden-Powell addresses over 5,000 scouts at an early-twentieth-century rally in Perth, England. Scouting was extremely popular in the early years of the twentieth century and by 1914, the Boy Scouts organization had spread to dozens of countries. © Bettman/CORBIS.

struck a chord with so many people that the Boy Scout empire was able to attract and incorporate other organizations or their leaders. In 1910 the Woodcraft Indians, the Boy Pioneers, and various independent Scout troops and patrols formed the Boy Scouts of America. Also in that year, Dr. Lion of the Wandervogel formed the German Boy Scouts, and a number of Canadian Boys Brigade Companies became Boy Scout troops. In 1911 Carter's Boy Guides had joined the British Boy Scouts.

Robert Baden-Powell was the son of an Anglican priest, and the Scout promise, which was the basis of membership, required religious belief, thus disqualifying atheists. This enhanced Scouting's attraction to churches, which with their access to young people provided a ready market for the expansion of Scouting.

Some authors have concluded that the defense of the British Empire formed a very important motive for the foundation of the Boy Scouts. Baden-Powell was impressed by the Military Mafeking Cadet Corps, which gained fame, as

Baden-Powell did, through its work during the Boer War. In 1905, Elliot E. Mills published a pamphlet anonymously, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*. It encapsulated the xenophobic fears of England in that period. Baden-Powell treated the readers to excerpts of the pamphlet's themes in his book *Scouting for Boys*, reinforcing the belief that national defense was a prime motive.

A severe schism occurred in 1909, leading to the creation of the pacifist British Boy Scouts (BBS), led by Barrow Cadbury and Sir Francis Vane. Within two years the BBS had formed or allied to counterpart organizations in the British Empire as well as France, Italy, and the United States. In November 1911 they formed the Order of World Scouts, which was led by Sir Francis Vane.

By the early 1920s, there had been a detectable shift toward a more pacific and educational role in response to severe criticism and to the presence of a pacifist alternative.

Initially Baden-Powell had offered his scheme to other agencies as a means of youth work, almost as a public domain

youth activity. This offer was taken up enthusiastically, especially by churches, which sponsored up to 70 percent of the troops. In reaction to direct competition from Vane's Order of World Scouts, however, Baden-Powell's organization and its counterparts developed a proprietary rights view, vesting its authorship firmly in Baden-Powell, who could then pass on rights to use the scheme. Vane's Order of World Scouts collapsed in 1912, following his bankruptcy, but many member organizations persisted in their home countries. In a New York court case lasting two years and ending in 1919, the Boys Scouts of America, supported by Baden-Powell, established a firm monopoly against its competitor, the United States Boy Scout. The idea of a monopoly was institutionalized in the World Organization of Scout Movements (WOSM), which began modestly in 1920 and which offers recognition to national associations or federations. Despite the early controversies, the Scout movement has made an overwhelming contribution to the nurture of young people.

The minimum age of Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts was not defined at first, but it was eventually set at around eleven, with eighteen as an upper limit. Junior Scouts existed in the British Boy Scouts in 1909 for boys under eleven and were later mirrored in Baden-Powell's scheme, renamed Wolf Cubs, or Cubs in 1916. Boys over seventeen were retained by the movement by the creation of Rover Scouts by 1918. Various titles were developed for older sections in different countries, including Explorers and Venture Scouts.

The success of the scheme was not restricted to boys, and Girl Scouts began to appear unofficially as early as 1909. In 1910 the Girl Guides Association was created in the United Kingdom. Some counterparts abroad, such as the United States, maintained the word *Scouts*. The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts was formed in 1928, with a purpose similar to the WOSM's.

The Challenges from the Twentieth Century On

Despite losses in 1914 to 1918 due to World War I and further losses due to totalitarian regimes, Scouting grew worldwide until it had four million participants in 1950. Both Communist and Fascist governments in Europe banned Scouting. Russia substituted the Pioneers; Italy substituted the Black Shirts; and Germany substituted the HITLER YOUTH. During World War II, Japan also disbanded its Scout organization.

Postwar reconstruction saw a rapid rise in membership with the restoration of Scouting in Germany, Italy, and Japan, offsetting losses due to the suppression of Scouting when eastern Europe became part of the Communist bloc. By 1985 the tally stood at 16 million.

By the 1960s, the relevance of the Scouts' frontiersman image had diminished. From that period onward, various national associations sought to recast the image, updating the uniform and training scheme. Some of the changes were in

reaction to falling numbers, especially among eleven to eighteen year olds. This led to the formation of independent associations, which had small memberships but maintained the traditional image.

Society's increasing pluralism and liberalism from the 1960s on put pressure on the Scouts to create an entirely inclusive organization, which would admit homosexuals and atheists as members. In June 2000 the U.S. Supreme Court allowed the Boy Scouts of America to deny membership to homosexuals. The U.K. association set in place an Equal Opportunities Policy. However, the organization retains the right to exclude any individual on grounds of unsuitability, which is acceptable under the European Convention on Human Rights.

Public awareness and legislation covering safety and the protection of children from abuse have brought added pressures to the various Scout organizations. This has led to further training for volunteer leaders. Recruitment varies within each national association. For example, in the United States, the various sponsoring organizations are responsible. In England, the association itself undertakes national advertising.

Western societies have seen a decline in the volunteer culture, which has led to increasing difficulties in finding adult leaders and helpers and has affected membership. A more positive challenge has been brought about by the expansion of the Scout movement to countries in the former Communist bloc in the 1990s and early twenty-first century. In January 2003, the only countries without Scout organizations were Afghanistan, Andorra, the People's Republic of China, Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Myanmar. Caution must be applied to any comparison with figures from earlier periods, however, as some of the decline in England and the United States is masked by the inclusion of new categories (e.g., auxiliary members—adult helpers and young people whom Scouting has helped but who have not taken the Scout promise), who were not previously part of the census. It is a tribute to the success of the Scout movement that in 2003 the Boy Scouts had 28 million members worldwide and the Girl Guides/Scouts had 10 million.

See also: **Boyhood; Communist Youth; Fascist Youth; Girl Scouts; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Summer Camps; Youth Ministries.**

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MICHAEL J. FOSTER

Brace, Charles Loring (1826–1890)

Founder in 1853 of the NEW YORK CHILDREN’S AID SOCIETY (CAS)—an early child-welfare organization that provided a variety of programs for impoverished city children—Charles Loring Brace was an important proponent of the CAS’s “Emigration Scheme.” Widely known today as the ORPHAN TRAINS, Brace’s emigration program transported more than 100,000 persons, mostly children, from the burgeoning city of New York to rural homes and farms—in various, mostly Midwestern states, some as far away as Texas. During its seventy-five year history, the program was widely copied by other child-saving philanthropies and is still viewed as a significant precursor to the modern FOSTER CARE system.

Biography

Cousin to the Beecher clan, intimate friend of Frederick Law Olmsted (designer of Central Park), student of theologian Horace Bushnell, and admirer of Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth, Charles Loring Brace was born into a privileged social network in his New England hometown of Litchfield, Connecticut, though his family itself was not particularly wealthy. His father, John, was the head teacher at the well-regarded, progressive Litchfield Academy and later served at Catharine Beecher’s Hartford Female Seminary. His mother, Lucy Porter, aunt to the Beecher children, met John Brace while he was renting a room in the Beecher home during his first years as a teacher in the Academy. They married in 1820, and had two children, a daughter, Emma, and their son, Charles.

Brace attended Yale University from 1842 to 1846, graduated from Yale, and then, after a brief stint teaching in rural Connecticut, returned to Yale for a year in divinity school. He was ordained in 1849 as a Congregational minister. In

Hartford, Brace first met his mentor Horace Bushnell, who, in his popular work *Christian Nurture* (1847), asserted ideas about the malleability of the human soul under “Unconscious Influences,” particularly in childhood—ideas that were considered radical in evangelical Protestant circles of that time. These notions about the long-term effects of even tiny, everyday actions on those whose lives intersect with ours remained critical to Brace’s philosophy that independent spirits must be carefully nurtured in childhood to create healthy adults. This care, he came to believe, could only be found in “family” settings.

Brace set off on his own in 1848 by moving to New York City at a time when that city’s population was soaring, primarily due to waves of immigration and the increasing urbanization of the U.S. population. Although he was attending Union Theological Seminary in training for the ministry, during this time he also taught Latin to schoolboys and volunteered for various city-based missions, particularly Louis Pease’s Five-Points Mission, located in one of the worst early slums in the country. He began to dabble in journalism, creating a regular column for the *New York Times*, entitled, “Walks Among the New-York Poor,” which provided sensational portraits of “poverty and vice” for mostly middle-class readers. Both Brace and Pease were eventually disappointed in their attempts to work with impoverished adults, who struck their middle-class eyes as intractably “poisoned” by a life of poverty. As a result, both men turned their attention to poor children, who seemed to offer genuine hope for change.

Brace traveled to Europe in 1851 to visit experimental social-welfare programs being developed there. While in Hungary, he was imprisoned for several weeks for purportedly revolutionary activity. After returning to the United States, Brace published two books and various articles on his experiences and the new European social experiments. His writing, speaking engagements, and philanthropic activity drew the attention of a group of civic leaders and businessmen who were gathering to form the CAS; they immediately selected him to lead the new organization, which he did, almost until his death.

The organization solicited both public and private funding to create educational and religious Sunday meetings, industrial schools for boys and girls, reading-rooms, and, one of Brace’s favorite projects, the Newsboys Lodging Houses. Not only were these lodging houses one of the most successful of Brace’s programs, but they also inspired several of Horatio Alger’s stories of young, orphaned boys whose independence, pluck, hard work and perseverance are rewarded by great wealth.

From the first, the CAS also planned to send these “STREET ARABS” to rural, “Christian homes” as a way to “drain the city” of its unwanted child population and simultaneously provide much needed labor for the newly settled

Western regions. Although not the first of its kind, Brace's emigration scheme soon became the largest and most influential child outplacement program in the United States. Its lack of binding indentureship contracts and formal ADOPTION agreements represented a radical, if somewhat naïve attempt to maintain a fundamental respect for the independence of children, whom Brace believed needed to have the opportunity to leave any placement that did not suit them. Although he believed that the best outcome would be at least informal adoption, Brace wanted children and family to work out for themselves whether their relationship would be primarily economic or more familial.

Not surprisingly, the experiences of orphan train riders varied widely. Less than half of the children were truly ORPHANS; many were taken from at least one parent, if not two. Some encountered horrific conditions approaching child slavery, while others were treated like family. At least one was convicted of murder, while two others were elected as state governors. Meanwhile, some critics complained that New York was using the program to dump its juvenile delinquents onto other states, and some Catholic charities suspected that the program was designed to place Catholic children into Protestant homes for conversion. Brace vigorously contested all these claims, and conducted several internal investigations. Still, it gradually became clear that, as the frontier closed, rural life declined, and social welfare programs were increasingly formalized and governmentalized, the Brace's program was doomed. The last "orphan train" arrived in Texas in 1929.

Brace's Legacy

Brace worked for the CAS almost until his dying day in 1890, and the CAS remained an important city-based child-welfare institution throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Brace's firm belief in family-based settings, as well as a deep respect for the personhood of all children, had a lasting effect on child-welfare practices in the United States. Although ORPHANAGES survive to this day, most abandoned the factory-like dormitory settings that were typical of the early nineteenth century, and now incorporate cottage-style dwellings with only a few children per supervising adult. Most importantly, the modern foster care system is clearly a direct descendent of Brace's vision of a family home for every needy child.

See also: **Child Saving; Placing Out.**

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LORI ASKELAND

Brazil

HISTORY

Ana Cristina Dubeux Dourado

CONTEMPORARY

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HISTORY

In spite of advances in anthropological and ethnographic studies, historians' chances of discovering a range of sources on the history of indigenous children prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil are slim. Information on the treatment of children and adolescents by the Indians generally comes from observations made by people far removed from indigenous culture. For this reason, we begin our account of the history of children in Brazil in the year 1549, when Jesuit priests took on the mission of catechizing indigenous children along various parts of the Brazilian coast. Their broader objective was to bring about a change in customs and beliefs among indigenous societies, opening the path for the teaching of Christian principles through the children.

The first school for indigenous children was opened in Bahia in 1552. A number of studies show that the Indian children in Jesuit schools studied with white orphan children who were brought to Brazil to teach the local children Portuguese and Christian customs. The use of children in the catechism of Indians created a favorable environment for activities typical of the child's universe, such as games, theater, and music. But these schools were also characterized by a rigid sense of discipline, and indigenous children who tried to escape the daily activities suffered corporal punishment, at times being tied for hours to tree trunks or to chains prepared for this purpose.

The Jesuit schools were few and their influence on the indigenous children's education was limited. Contact between whites and Indians was usually the result of not-always-peaceful encounters that, in addition to dramatically reducing the indigenous population through extermination or disease, destroyed many of the original expressions of religiosity and indigenous culture. In spite of the controversies about the size of the indigenous population in the period immediately prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil, conservative estimates suggest that there were at least one million Indians in 1492, and that one hundred and fifty years later, this population had been reduced to around two hun-

dred thousand people. Other studies indicate the existence of over five million Brazilian Indians in 1500, of which 95 percent were decimated by sickness and armed conflicts with the European conquerors.

The few records made by European travelers on the daily lives of children in the villages show the diversity of customs among the various indigenous nations. But they also had customs in common, such as washing and painting newborn children. A practice of the Tupinambas, who inhabited the entire Brazilian coastline, was to wash and paint a newborn child. The boys received a small tomahawk, a bow, and parrot-feather arrows from their father, so they would become great warriors. The girls wove cotton from the age of seven; in addition to weaving they made manioc flour and prepared food. In the passage to adult life, both boys and girls experienced rituals that were aimed at testing their courage. The girls' bodies received cross-shaped cuts, and they were isolated for days following their first periods. The boys also had their bodies cut and their lips pierced, and lay on anthills to build up the courage they would need in intertribal wars. All these practices were common to various indigenous nations living on the Brazilian coastline.

Childhood under Slavery

Before the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese began to bring slaves on ships from Africa to work in the fields and in other occupations that formed part of the colonization system. The slaves were treated as merchandise and the conditions they lived under were terrible. Men, women, and children were thrown into dark and filthy holds with scarcely any food and water, and many died in the crossing, which could last for months in periods of calm. When they arrived on the continent, the children, often separated from their parents, were taken to slave markets to be sold cheaply, since merchants preferred strong men who could work on the plantations harvesting sugarcane. The high mortality rate for children during the crossing tended to discourage the importation of children directly from AFRICA. Nonetheless, around 4 percent of the slaves who disembarked in Valongo Market in Rio de Janeiro were children, even in the nineteenth century.

When children were born in the slave quarters, they were treated as merchandise from an early age. Their value increased from the age of twelve onward, when they were assumed to have developed the necessary strength for hard labor in the fields. However, younger children also worked at a number of lighter occupations, above all in the domestic sphere on the big sugar plantations. In the country, the smaller children moved easily between the slave quarters (*senzala*) and their master's mansion, known as the *casa grande*, and they only began to work with a more defined routine from the age of seven or eight. The girls would sew and some learned lace making as well. They also served as domestic servants for the ladies and looked after young children. The

boys worked as pages, looked after the horses, and washed their masters' feet and those of their visitors. They would also serve at the table and help with cleaning.

The unit formed by the sugar mill, the sugarcane fields, the property-owners' residence, and the slave quarters was known as the *engenbos* (plantation). This productive unit, of such significance for Brazil's colonial history, is perhaps the most expressive example of the confusion between the public and private spheres that characterize the country's social history. Authoritative studies on the history of daily life and thought analyze the various ways in which the social relations generated in the *engenbos* ended by influencing how politics have functioned in Brazil. In the *engenbos* the relative intimacy shared by whites and blacks eventually created a hybrid cultural universe, based on the interchange of myths, symbols, art, religious beliefs, and other forms of expression common to both European and African culture. This coexistence between blacks and whites did not occur without conflict. From an early age, the children of the elite saw their fathers reacting violently towards rebellious attitudes from the slaves. Thus, although they could experience moments of equality when fun and games were shared, white children soon learned to discriminate against the slaves, even repeating patterns of violent behavior learned from their parents. And in spite of black children's access to the domestic sphere, their future chances of social mobility were inevitably linked to personal favors that the representatives of the elite might be inclined to offer. In colonial Brazil, education was allotted to very few, and poor children had to work from a tender age.

A Rehearsal for Public Policies

Direct welfare provision for needy children used to be provided almost exclusively by the Catholic Church. In the eighteenth century, asylums for foundlings were created to receive the large number of children abandoned in public places or at the gates of the wealthy. Children were abandoned for a variety of reasons: slave mothers left their children in the asylums so that they could live in liberty; needy families sometimes made use of charitable institutions for short periods, collecting their offspring when they could afford to raise them; and there was a high level of ABANDONMENT triggered by the birth of illegitimate children. The lack of adequate hygiene and care for children was denounced by several doctors and jurists in the nineteenth century. These professionals hoped to mold Brazil to the civilized standards imported from modern European nations.

In 1888 and in 1889, Brazil experienced two significant events: the abolition of slavery and the proclamation of the republic. These new times encouraged a discussion of social and welfare policies that could contribute to the organization of the urban centers, which were undergoing rapid population growth. Frightened by the presence of a large number of children roaming the streets, Brazil's governors

adopted welfare measures that aimed to offer some form of occupation to children most in need. Even though these initiatives represented a first attempt at creating specific public policies for children in Brazil, their practical application did not always result in real benefits for underprivileged children. While the speeches of those who defended modernization in Brazil exalted the school as the efficient answer to backwardness and ignorance, in practice the Brazilian educational system was based on a discriminatory structure that separated rich from poor. The majority of the schools built in this period offered neither good equipment nor adequate methods to address children's needs. There was a distinct separation between schools catering to the poor that prioritized training for work and the schools for the elite that, in spite of the use of traditional teaching methods, included a greater range of educational opportunities, such as the teaching of music, art, and sports. Many children found on the streets, on the other hand, were taken to shelters and "corrective" schools, which were organized around a rigid disciplinary system that conceived of education as a training process rather than an opportunity for developing the pupils' cognitive potential.

In the process of constructing the Brazilian nation, many authorities believed that the simple transposition of European ideas and practices would make Brazil an essentially modern country, free of the slave legacy and monarchical past that, in the social imagery of the period, represented backwardness. However, in terms of children's education, the aspirations of a small number of politicians, jurists, and teachers who managed to see beyond their time eventually lost their strength in the face of an economic structure based on the concentration of wealth and social exclusion.

A Light at the End of the Tunnel

Over the course of the twentieth century, there have been a few attempts at creating good state schools and effective welfare policies to benefit children. However, the results were limited to brief periods or to well-defined geographical areas. Only after the 1990s, with the passage of the Statute on the Child and Adolescent, did Brazil seriously begin the process of building public policies to provide full attention to children. Distinct among the many legal measures and public policies that have been envisioned or implemented throughout Brazil's history, this new legislation makes children and adolescents national priorities, considering them citizens whose rights should be respected. In this new concept of citizenship, society is seen as a participatory element in the struggle for the effective guarantee of human rights. This participation also occurs through the individual actions of each citizen, but chiefly by means of specially designed institutions to act as a bridge between society and the state, in the task of transforming what exists by law into reality.

See also: **Latin America.**

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CONTEMPORARY

With a population of 170 million in a territory larger than western Europe, Brazil is home to some 61 million people under the age of eighteen. Not surprisingly, the lives of Brazilian children are anything but uniform.

Wealth and Poverty

One aspect of Brazilian social life that makes childhood so diverse is the staggering inequality in the distribution of national wealth. According to the World Bank's *1999/2000 Development Report*, the richest 10 percent of the population are responsible for 47 percent of consumption, while the poorest 10 percent account for only 0.8 percent. Children who grow up in tall, guarded apartment buildings and watch MTV, play video games, shop in air-conditioned malls, and vacation at Disney World can gaze out their windows at the shacks where other children suffer from malnutrition. In the poorest areas of Brazil, such as the northeast, even the physical size and appearance of poor children tends to be markedly different from those of their richer peers; children growing up in middle-class condominiums are likely to be considerably taller and heavier than age-mates residing in rural areas or in precarious shacks just down the street. Contemporary researchers are far less likely than previous generations of scholars to accept the notion that Brazil has something like a racial democracy; even the casual observer cannot help but notice the correlation between whiteness and wealth and blackness and poverty. While there are certainly destitute white children in Brazil, the bulk of poor Brazilian youngsters are descendants of African slaves and Amerindians; most rich children are light skinned.

Although the proportion of all Brazilian children attending primary school has risen dramatically in recent years to about 90 percent, poor children cannot attend the better private schools and are more likely to drop out along the way;

of the population as a whole, according to the World Bank, only 20 percent of high-school-age children were attending secondary institutions in 1996. Free university education serves mostly those whose families had the means to send them to expensive private schools.

Deemed to be of great sentimental value but something of an economic liability for their families, rich children in Brazil are unlikely to work inside, much less outside, the home. In this sense, their status is similar to that of children in advanced industrial countries. Poor Brazilian children, on the other hand, while usually cherished sentimentally, often contribute to household income, be it in agriculture in the rural areas or through the informal sector in the cities. According to Brazil's official Institute of Geography and Economy, 9 percent of children aged ten to fourteen are "economically active," and of these 32 percent work more than forty hours per week. Such figures say nothing about the prevalence of poor children working in the home, minding younger siblings so that their parents can be employed outside, for instance, or how many children are involved in illegal forms of work, such as the drugs trade. With 44 percent of Brazil's population living on 2 dollars or less per day (as indicated in World Bank figures from 1990), the survival of millions of households almost certainly depends on child labor in one form or another. Unfortunately, careful studies of this phenomenon in Brazil are remarkable for their absence.

Infant and Childhood Mortality

Rates of INFANT MORTALITY have fallen dramatically, from 70 per 1,000 live births in 1980 to 34 in 1997. Still, the prevalence of infant death among the poorest populations in Brazil remains high and is largely attributable to malnutrition in combination with easily treatable childhood diseases. In a controversial 1992 ethnography of infant death in a Brazilian shantytown, anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes argued that mothers living in conditions of extreme poverty and chronic hunger exhibited a sort of indifference to the deaths of their offspring, not unlike that reported by some historians studying preindustrial societies; this indifference, she contended, was both a reasonable coping strategy given the reality of pervasive child death and a contributing factor to it. Other scholars have refuted the contention about maternal detachment, yet the debate has drawn needed attention to the social consequences of malnutrition and infant mortality.

Brazil has one of the highest rates of violent death of any country not at war, with children figuring prominently as both victims and perpetrators. According to a study by Tom Gibb, 4,000 children and adolescents under the age of eighteen were killed by firearms in a single and by no means anomalous Brazilian city, Rio de Janeiro, between 1987 and 2001—eight times the number of all Palestinian children killed in the conflict with ISRAEL during the same period.

The massacre of a group of children sleeping in the street in Rio de Janeiro in 1993 led to international protest (in 1996 a member of the military police was convicted for his participation in the crime). Still, the preponderance of violent crimes carried out by young people and the ineptitude and corruption of the Brazilian police and judiciary have been accompanied by considerable tolerance of vigilante justice.

Street Children

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Brazilian street children became the focus of media attention the world over. For a time, international advocacy institutions were estimating the presence of some 7 million children living in the street. These claims—wildly exaggerated, as carefully gathered census data later demonstrated—were also partially responsible for the emergence of a vibrant social movement on behalf of children. With intensive lobbying by the National Movement of Street Children and other organizations, Brazil adopted in 1990 the Children and Adolescents Act, an ambitious piece of legislation guaranteeing children the right to attend school, access to leisure activities, special treatment at the hands of the police and judiciary, and many other entitlements and protections. Few would contend that the implementation of this law has been successful, however.

Whereas most research on contemporary Brazilian children has focused on a small minority living in extraordinary circumstances—for instance in the street or working as prostitutes—scant attention has been paid to rural children or to the conditions of the vast majority of urban children who live and stay at home.

See also: **Latin America; Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood; Violence Against Children.**

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TOBIAS HECHT

Breast-feeding. *See* Infant Feeding; La Leche League.

Breeching

In early America an important RITE OF PASSAGE in the lives of small boys was the moment they wore breeches or trousers for the first time. In infancy and early childhood, boys and girls were relegated to the feminine domestic circle and were dressed alike in petticoats, gowns, pinafores, and caps. Sometime between the ages of four and seven, however, boys were encouraged to acquire a masculine identity as they donned clothing that set them apart, gave them physical freedom, and indicated their dominant social position. Although the ritual of breeching died out in the nineteenth century, changes in clothing designed for boys continued to mark stages in their growth and development.

In the seventeenth century, little children wore linen shifts covered by petticoats and ankle-length robes, protected by a bib and apron or pinafore, and tight white caps. As boys grew, their long robes resembled those worn by adult men in the Middle Ages, for children were relegated to outfits resembling clothing that adults had abandoned. Ribbons, which hung down the back and symbolized childhood, recalled the adult robes of the sixteenth century with hanging sleeves. Such ornamental ribbons were different from leading strings, cords also attached to the shoulders which an adult held to help a child learn to walk. When boys reached the age of six or seven, they put on the breeches, frock coats, waistcoats, and hats worn by adult men. David Mason of Massachusetts, for example, was painted in 1670 at the age of eight, holding gloves and a silver-headed walking stick, and wearing a waistcoat with slashed sleeves, a shirt with a square collar, full breeches, long gray stockings, and black leather shoes.

As the eighteenth century progressed, children's dress was influenced by the child-rearing advice of JOHN LOCKE and other physicians, who recommended building the strong constitution with fresh air, physical exercise, and loose clothing. Locke approved the dress of sturdy children from farming and artisan families, who wore long frocks as toddlers and later changed to shirts with trousers or breeches for boys and petticoats and dresses for girls. But families of means continued to dress their children in ways that indicated gender and social dominance. The long robes worn by little boys resembled fashionable gowns with low-cut necks and full skirts over petticoats. When boys were breeched, they assumed the outfit of adult males: breeches, frock coat, waistcoat, soft ruffled shirt, long stockings, leather shoes, and even a tricorne hat. Yet their loose hair tied with a ribbon in a queue instead of a wig and a black ribbon around the neck in place of a cravat signaled their juvenility. Boys were delighted when they donned masculine outfits for the first time. Elizabeth Drinker remarked on the breeching of her grandson in 1799: "Sally has a Young woman at work . . . making a little man of Henry—he is very pleas'd . . . one of the happiest days of his life" (quoted in Reinier, p. 56).

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the androgynous clothing of little children—muslin frocks, soft shoes, and short hair with bangs—minimized gender differences and symbolized the increasing value placed on childhood. Yet boys between the ages of three and nine still were distinguished from girls when they donned hussar or skeleton suits—long trousers buttoned to a short jacket over a shirt with a square collar. Rather than copying the dress of their fathers, this costume expressed their subordination to men, for trousers were the dress of laborers and sailors when their social betters still wore breeches. Not until the age of about ten would boys acquire a relaxed version of adult dress. In the 1830s middle-class girls acquired the freedom of trousers when pantaloons were introduced from Europe. Soon little children of both sexes were dressed alike in knee-length frocks over white pantaloons. When men adopted trousers at about the same time, eight-year-old boys gave up their frocks and pantaloons for knee-length knickers or short pants. Throughout the nineteenth century, little boys continued to wear dresses or tunics, graduating as they grew to sailor suits, military uniforms, short jackets, or frock coats. Not until the 1920s were creepers and rompers designed to distinguish toddler boys from girls. Age distinctions in older children's clothing have declined in the twentieth century as parents have selected parkas, sweatshirts, sneakers, and baseball caps for both sexes. Since the 1970s, gender distinctions have declined as well, as notions of nonsexist child rearing have encouraged parents to dress children of all ages androgynously in T-shirts and jeans.

See also: **Boyhood; Fashion; Gendering.**

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JACQUELINE S. REINIER

British Colonialism in India

Colonialism is a distinct form of imperialism in which a colonizing nation exerts direct controls over a colonized state by military, economic, and political means. The forceful widespread intrusion of a colonizing nation naturally causes an ir-



The Children of Edward Holden Cruttenden with an Indian Ayah (1759–1762), by Joshua Reynolds. Ayahs were commonly employed to take care of British children in India and often developed close bonds with them. The Cruttenden family's ayah reportedly saved the children's lives in an uprising, yet here she is pictured in the background, as if to emphasize her relationship of servitude to her lighter-skinned charges. © Alinari/Art Resource, NY. Museu de Arte, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

reversible change in all dimensions of the colonized state, the lives of the people, and the social architecture. To achieve the primary objective of colonialism, creating wealth for the colonizing nation and its people, many different groups, including women and children acting synergistically,

must contribute. India forms an excellent case study, beginning with the children of imperial officials themselves.

During the period between 1830 and 1880 a large number of British children either went to India with their parents

or were born there. The exact number of British children in India at any given time during that period is unclear, as sources of information about British children in the Indian subcontinent are scanty. The accounts of children's lives are in parents' letters and diaries, and in contemporary domestic manuals. If all of these writings are read as a corpus, a picture emerges about British childhood in India. The available documents relate the experiences of children from British families ranging from lower-middle class to upper-middle-class.

Infant Mortality

A major anxiety for British families in colonized India was the high rate of INFANT MORTALITY. In the Bengal presidency between 1860 and 1869, the average death rate was about 148 per thousand British children under the age of five, while in England during the same period the mortality rate was about 67 per thousand. The grief of losing children was expressed time and again by British mothers. Maria Amelia Vansittart, wife of a Civil Session judge in northern India, noted in her diary on March 26, 1846, that between eight and nine in the evening a very little girl was born, and in the entry of April 13 she described her daughter's burial. Theon Wilkinson, who studied tombstones in India, documented the repeated misfortunes of some families. The rate of infant mortality decreased as the century progressed, but it was still high enough to create anxiety and perceived helplessness among British mothers.

Wet Nurses, Ayahs, and Bearers

In the subcontinent, British mothers generally depended on Indian wet nurses to nurse their children, as European wet nurses were not available and British physicians advised mothers not to breast-feed their own children since the climate was thought to be too debilitating. The wet nurses, commonly called *ammahs*, were low-caste Hindus or Muslims. Many memsahibs (British married women in India) hired an Indian wet nurse for the infants and Indian ayahs (nurses) for the other needs of their children, although many greatly disliked the idea. Besides having an ayah, many Anglo-Indian parents hired a male servant, or *bearer*, for their male children. Anglo-Indian children spent most of their waking hours with Indian servants. These domestics, serving frequently as playmates, taught the children Hindi words like *bhaia* (brother) and *baba* (infant), and often "papa" and "mama" as well. Children generally developed a close attachment to their ayahs and bearers and the close bond served to provide comfort to the children when the families were in transit. As the time came for the Anglo-Indian mothers to take their children to England, some took their children's ayahs or bearers with them.

Racial Barriers

The need to have help to raise infants forced memsahibs to hire Indian servants, but they were always apprehensive about the intimate bond between the ayah and the infant and attempted to maintain a distance between their children and

the servants. Authors of prescriptive literature discouraged any closeness between British children and the Indian servants, fearing that the children would imitate "native" habits, mannerisms, and language. This fear clearly surfaced in the mind of Julia Thomas Maitland, wife of a district judge at Rajahmundry in Madras, when she emphasized in a letter that she did not want her daughter to learn Indian languages and grow up "like a little Hindu" (Jan. 9, 1839).

Mothers were not often successful in shielding their children from learning the local language. When little Eric Bailey's mother Florence wrote to her husband that Eric could say a few words in Hindi and imitated making *chappatis* (Indian bread), her husband became quite upset. To check the infusion of Indian influence on their children, many memsahibs employed English women in addition to ayahs as nurses for their babies. Some tried to assuage the problem by hiring Indian ayahs who could speak English. The British nurse and the Indian ayah were sometimes at odds with each other about their authority over the child; not surprisingly, the white nurse was usually the winner. The underlying reason for Anglo-Indian parents' fear of close bonds between their offspring and their native servants was undoubtedly tied to the attitude of racial exclusiveness that accompanied imperialism. While Anglo-Indian parents were maintaining a social distance from the Indians, however, their children, through their close relationships with the servants, were dismantling the barrier between the colonizers and the colonized. This cross current from the children ultimately acted to erode the foundations of the empire.

Education

Emma Roberts reported in 1837 that schools were established in every regiment for the children of European soldiers. Boys were educated to become noncommissioned officers, regimental clerks, and so on. The girls were trained to be wives for men of higher ranks. Information on Anglo-Indian children's education is often quite sketchy. The letters of Sarah Terry described the education of her eight-year-old daughter and five-year-old son. During their first year in India, Sarah taught English and math to her children at home in the morning. In the second year, both of them went to school at the Bombay Fort at 7:30 in the morning and returned at 4:00 in the afternoon.

Transient Life of Anglo-Indian Children

During the summer it was quite common that British infants suffered from heat stroke, boils, and diarrhea. To protect children from heat-induced diseases they were taken to the hill stations by their mothers from March to October, while their fathers remained at their jobs in the plains. Most Anglo-Indian parents believed that if their children stayed in India for too long the Indian climate and environment would weaken their constitutions, perhaps for all their lives. Even an English nurse was not a sufficient protection from this danger, so British parents sent their children to England at

a very early age. Boys usually left India by the time they were five years old, and girls normally went back at the age of seven or eight.

Colonialism influenced the texture of British family life in India. Anglo-Indian children lived in the Indian subcontinent without a lasting home base. Soon after their birth, many children had to be separated from their fathers for six to seven months to avoid the summer heat. Their daily routines were disrupted by their fathers' recurrent job transfers. By the time these children reached the age of seven, many of them returned to Britain without their parents. Thus, unlike their contemporaries in Britain, the Anglo-Indian children seldom had a stable home life with both parents around. Although it was common for upper- and upper-middle-class children in Victorian Britain to go away to boarding school for months at a time, the Anglo-Indian children were often not able to see their parents for periods extending over many years.

Sometimes it became difficult for parents to send their children back to England. Often Anglo-Indian men did not get the leave to take their families home or lacked the money to send them back. They frequently had difficulty finding someone to take their children home. For example, following the death of his wife in 1871, a Mr. Wonnacott sought to send his three-year-old daughter to Britain. He was not able to find her a woman escort until 1874. (Female children under age seven were not considered old enough to travel with unrelated and often unknown adults; boys could go home at the age of five with unrelated and often unknown army personnel.) Because of the great distance and high cost of the journey between India and England, parents and children could see each other only at lengthy intervals, sometimes as long as nine to ten years. At times children never saw their parents again. The Metcalfe children's mother died in India while they were in Britain. The Wonnacott children's father died on his way back to Britain and their mother died in India.

Victorians placed the need for a strong family at the center of their lives. The family disruptions caused by long separations between parents and their children commonly seen in Anglo-Indian families were not in tune with the Victorian emphasis on creating a stable home and family that would provide what historian Anthony Wohl called moral, ethical, religious, and social standards of good citizenship. Still, colonialism sometimes created a repetition in the pattern of parent-child relationships within Anglo-Indian families as the young men returned to India as civil servants or members of the armed services and the young women returned to marry and again create a family life in a colonial atmosphere.

Effects of Colonialism on Indian Children

Colonial governments generally did little to change the lives of local children, particularly in rural areas. There were

some attempts to regulate what imperial authorities regarded as abuses. For example, colonial officials frowned on marriages that were contracted for young girls, though they did not usually press their concerns very vigorously. While colonial officials often criticized "natives" for working children too hard, the colonial economy usually depended on continued child labor, so there was little change here. Gradually, colonial administrations did introduce some new educational opportunities, supplemented often by missionary efforts. So some children were exposed to formal schooling, which in some cases pulled them away from family traditions and into new contact with Western values. Schools for girls might also influence socialization for women's roles, again pulling away from tradition. Educational opportunities were limited, however, so the impact of this aspect of colonialism was only gradually felt.

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NUPUR CHAUDHURI

Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

On May 19, 1954, the Supreme Court outlawed separate public schools for black and white schoolchildren in the celebrated *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (*Brown I*), one of the most important high court rulings in American history. A year later the same court ruled in its implementation decree (*Brown II*) that the process of creating integrated schools out of formerly all-white and all-black public schools had to go forward "with all deliberate speed." The *Brown* decision (parts I and II) was the culmination of a series of concerted legal battles against Jim Crow schools and other forms of American apartheid, such as separate public transportation and separate public accommodations. Spearheaded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's legal team and its head lawyer Thurgood Marshall these legal battles were crucial to the growing mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement.

Brown proved crucial to the assault on the entire edifice of separate black and white worlds in the Jim Crow South



Watson Grandchildren (also known as *Black Children with White Doll*, 1942), Gordon Parks. Reformers such as psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark argued that the “separate but equal” doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was anything but equal. The Clarks’ work showed that segregation reinforced notions of white supremacy to the point that black children preferred playing with white dolls over dolls of their own color. © CORBIS.

and beyond. At the end of the nineteenth century, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) had established the legal fiction of separate black and white worlds as equivalent and, thus, constitutional. Separate was rarely equal, as evidenced in the woeful and systemic underfunding of black schools and discriminatory pay for black teachers. By overturning the guiding legal precedent as established in *Plessy*, *Brown* promised a new day: a fully integrated society beginning with the nation’s schools.

A key line of argument in the case against Jim Crow generally, and Jim Crow schools specifically, was their negative impact on black self-esteem, especially that of black children. In other words, the invidious distinction imposed by legally mandated segregation promoted white supremacy and, in turn, enforced notions of black inferiority. A famous piece of evidence in particular in the original case relied upon the controversial doll test of Kenneth and Mamie Clark, pioneering black social psychologists. When the Clarks asked a series of black children whether they preferred a black or white doll, most preferred the latter. While social scientists have debated the viability and meaning of these kinds of tests their central argument carried wide favor with both contemporary and later audiences. The Clarks argued that the black child’s preference for the white doll reflected the dehumanizing impact of white supremacy on the young black psyche.

One step toward remedying this damage was to underscore notions of equality, sameness, and oneness by replacing Jim Crow with an integrated society.

Another argument against segregated schooling was that legally mandated racial separation braced white perceptions of white superiority and informal as well as institutionalized forms of white supremacy. In effect, Jim Crow also harmed white schoolchildren as well as white adults. Integrated schools where black and white children learned that they were fundamentally alike would not only erode racial fears and antipathies early on, but also lay the necessary groundwork for future generations of more racially enlightened citizens. As learned behavior, then, racial prejudice could be unlearned and a more racially egalitarian society created. The half-century after *Brown* witnessed both the dismantling of *de jure* segregation and a measure of racial progress. Unfortunately, it also witnessed the persistence of institutionalized patterns of racial inequality as reflected in the increasing resegregation of public schools in the early twenty-first century.

See also: **African-American Children and Youth; Education, United States; Law, Children and the.**

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WALDO E. MARTIN JR.

Bühler, Charlotte (1893–1974)

Twentieth-century developmental psychologist Charlotte (Malachowski) Bühler was born in Berlin, Germany, on December 20, 1893. Her comprehensive investigations of infants’ and young children’s motor control, mental performance, and social development broke new ground by documenting individual levels of mastery, providing data for establishing norms, and confirming that very young children are active, intentional beings. Bühler is best known for her developmental theory that emphasizes growth and purposeful activity throughout the lifespan. She investigated adolescents’ quest for self-determination, a quest that generally marks the transition from ADOLESCENCE to healthy adulthood. Bühler designed an autobiographical method that provides insight into an individual’s path towards fulfillment. She also collaborated with like-minded psychologists to establish humanistic psychology in North America.

Charlotte Malachowski’s interest in human development first became evident in high school as she investigated ado-

lescent thinking. Later she pursued a Ph.D. at the University of Munich under Oswald Kulpe, an expert in thought processes. After Kulpe's untimely death, she continued her university studies with his chief assistant, Karl Bühler, whom she married in 1916, before completing her Ph.D. in 1918.

In 1922 the Böhlers accepted positions at the University of Vienna, which became their research base until 1938. In Vienna, Charlotte Bühler founded a child-study laboratory devoted to comprehensive, innovative, and often naturalistic investigations of the development and familial relationships of infants and children. During that period, she also served as Rockefeller Fellow at Columbia University (1924 to 1925), as Guest Visiting Professor at Barnard College (1929), and as child-study consultant in several Western European countries, including England and Norway.

Like American developmentalist ARNOLD GESELL, whom Bühler respected, she stressed rigorous observation of infants' and children's unique, biologically rooted patterns of attaining sequentially attained competencies—such as sitting and walking—that all healthy children achieve. Bühler also admired psychoanalyst SIGMUND FREUD for clarifying the complexities of everyday human activity by providing a fresh way of thinking about them. She applauded Sigmund and ANNA FREUD's recognition of the importance of the early years, which Anna Freud studied firsthand while striving, like Bühler, to improve the lot of children.

In 1940, following the Nazi takeover of Vienna, Bühler moved to the United States. She found the first few years after her move extremely difficult. However, a happy, fruitful period dawned after Bühler settled in Los Angeles, California, and became a naturalized American citizen. From 1945 to 1953 she served as clinical psychologist at the Los Angeles County General Hospital. She taught during the same period at the medical school of the University of Southern California. From 1953 to 1972 she maintained a private practice in Los Angeles. Her close friendship with Abraham Maslow and their collaboration with other psychologists led in 1962 to founding the Association of Humanistic Psychology, which launched the humanistic movement in North America.

In later life, Bühler continued to improve and revise her theory of lifelong development. According to Bühler, healthy human beings actively strive toward fulfillment and growth from infancy onwards. Four basic tendencies (the need for satisfaction, self-limiting adaptation, creative expansion, and upholding the internal order) work together to foster the finest fulfillment outcome that a person is able to achieve.

Bühler returned to Germany in 1972 and died in Stuttgart on February 3, 1974. The Archives of the American Psychiatric Association in Washington, D.C., and the Archives of the History of American Psychology in Akron, Ohio, contain additional information about her.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Child Study; Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood; Theories of Childhood.**

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EILEEN A. GAVIN

Bundling

Historically, bundling was a courtship practice in which, as a part of an ongoing courtship process, a couple spent a night together, usually in bed, dressed or half dressed. During the night, the young couple got to know each other intimately and sexually through various kinds of stimulation and mutual gratification. However, these were supposed to fall short of penetrative sex that could lead to pregnancy. The custom was practiced with either parental permission or at least tacit knowledge, and took place mostly in the female partner's home. Most of the surviving evidence for the practice is from eighteenth-century New England. However, variations of premarital nonpenetrative sex customs similar to bundling are known from earlier times in many parts of Europe as well as other parts of the world. It is probable that bundling increased in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly reflecting a high average age at marriage (mid- to late twenties) and a growing emphasis on affection.

Variations of Bundling

Essentially, bundling was a social mechanism that helped to insure the stability of sacred matrimony. In traditional societies, where divorce seldom took place, minimizing the risk of broken marriages was one aim of the courtship period. It was therefore accepted that the courtship, as a kind of trial period, included some sexual acquaintance, though amid constraints. It has also been argued that the custom of bundling in premodern times had a circumstantial cause, namely that the harsh climate as well as poor housing was conducive to the growth of physical intimacy. Even the supposed widespread existence of bundling in New England is usually explained as due more to the harsh climate and the long distances between the dwellings of early settlers than to the alleged economic and moral independence of young couples.

The young courting mate, having traveled a long way to visit his woman, perforce stayed the night in her home, usually in the same one large room where the rest of her family slept. These sleeping arrangements surely helped to control the intimacy of the couple and minimized the risk of abusing the privilege. An eighteenth-century New England ballad emphasized this practical aspect of the custom: "Since in bed a man and maid/ may bundle and be chaste/ it does no good to burn out wood/ it is needless waste."

Like many other popular European practices concerning courtship and marriage, prenuptial nonpenetrative sex is also believed to be rooted in pre-Christian culture, especially in Germanic societies. Henry Reed Stiles, whose 1871 *Bundling: Its Origins, Progress, and Decline in America* remains one of the most cited books on the practice, traced its origin back to ancient rural Wales and parts of Scotland. Stiles also gave examples of what he viewed as bundling in medieval Holland, as well as in central Asia. Not all scholars are in agreement with Stiles about the exact time of the custom's appearance, but most recognize the validity of evidence on bundling variations at least from late medieval and early modern Europe. The evidence comes mostly from Wales, Scotland, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia, and less so from Germany, Switzerland, and parts of France. Evidence of nonpenetrative sexual courtship practices also exists for Eastern Europe.

The Swiss-German customs that shared the characteristics and purposes of bundling were *Kiltgang*, *Fenstreln*, or *Nachtfreien*. In early modern times in southern Germany these customs included young men climbing through the window of young women's rooms at night with the intention of gratifying mutual desires, but without incurring the risk of pregnancy. In the Netherlands *queesten* was probably comparable to bundling. It is described as a custom of wooing in which lovers sit in an open room, the man sitting on top of the bed covering, wooing the girl who is underneath. A New England equivalent was tarrying, in which a young man who wanted to marry a woman was allowed, with her parents' consent, to tarry with her for one night.

In most cases involving premarital nonpenetrative sex customs, the defining structures of class and geography were significant. Usually, but not exclusively, bundling was more common among people of the lower classes of society and in rural areas. It was also in these social classes and geographical settings that youngsters enjoyed greater freedom in choosing their spouses.

Youth Sexuality

By creating an accepted social space for practicing bundling, adult authorities gave young people in the medieval and early modern periods a socially legitimized framework for their sexual desires. As in other youth customs, such as the European CHARIVARI, young men and women used bundling to express their SEXUALITY in a specific time and place within

the boundaries of social consent. Although marriage rather than sociability was the premise of bundling, the youngsters received a space where their urgent sexual adolescent needs were tolerated. However, the unwritten behavioral code of bundling, which excluded penetrative sex, left the expression of the couple's sexuality controlled, supervised, and restrained by society. The restraints usually implied a gender bias. Young women were at much greater risk while negotiating their sexuality during courtship, not just of pregnancy, but also of damaging their matrimonial prospects.

In eighteenth-century New England bundling was often condemned as immoral. Washington Irving, in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, argued that a large number of pregnancies outside of marriage were a result of bundling. Other religious authorities, however, defended the practice. They even occasionally used examples of "religious" bundling or tarrying, such as that of the biblical Boaz and Ruth at the threshing floor ("Tarry the night . . ." Ruth 3:13). One material clue that points to the prevalent as well as conservative aspect of bundling is the Pennsylvanian center-board. This was a wide board running through the length of the bed in which a courting couple lay, preventing too close a physical intimacy. A contemporary ballad in favor of bundling, called "The Whore on the Snow Crust," encouraged youngsters to practice it rightly: "Since bundling is not a thing/ that judgment will procure/Go on young men and bundle then/ But keep your bodies pure."

Bundling was declining in America around the time of the Great Awakening in the early 1700s, due to a combination of material as well as moral factors. The improvement in living conditions, which meant less isolated dwellings and larger homes in which there was more than one heated room, reduced the necessity of providing a couple with a warm bed to court in. The decline of bundling was also due to the changing climate of ideas regarding female sexuality around 1800. The nineteenth-century ideal of the pure asexual woman further limited the theoretical as well as the practical scope in which men and women could express their sexuality within accepted social norms.

In America as in other parts of the world such as Russia or Scotland evidence of the persistent customs of premarital nonpenetrative sex exists well into the nineteenth century. The balance between sexual expression and sexual restraint continued to be the rule in these encounters. Secularization and modern BIRTH CONTROL rendered penetrative sex less threatening. In time the back seats of cars in drive-in theaters and dark city street corners replaced in many ways the traditional bundling bed.

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YOCHI FISCHER-YINON

Burt, Cyril (1883–1971)

Sir Cyril Lodowic Burt was perhaps the most controversial figure in the history of psychology. Trained in philosophy and the classics, Burt was a polymath who eventually turned to psychology, becoming a pioneer in the field. He was the first psychologist to function in the profession outside a university; the first educational psychologist; the author of a number of important books and articles on juvenile DELINQUENCY, child development, INTELLIGENCE TESTING, factor analysis, and the heritability of mental abilities; and the first psychologist to be honored with knighthood for his contributions. Appointed to the London County Council early in his career, Burt had the opportunity to study children with various backgrounds and abilities, resulting in such classic works as *The Young Delinquent* (four editions from 1925 to 1957) and *The Backward Child* (five editions from 1937 to 1961). He also pioneered in the development of group tests of ability, many of which remained in use for decades. Offered the position as chair of the psychology department at University College, London, in 1931, he turned his prodigious abilities to more technical issues, producing *Factors of the Mind* in 1940, a landmark work in the history of factor analysis, and a number of elegant, theoretical papers on models of heritability, published in the *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, which Burt edited.

It was his empirical studies of heritability, however, that damaged Burt's reputation after his death. A furious opponent of those who failed to recognize what he regarded as the obvious importance of genetic influence on intelligence, Burt sought to silence the "environmentalists" with studies of kinship correlations of IQ scores. In particular, his 1966

study reporting the similarity in IQ of separated monozygotic twins was recognized as the most important of its kind—the largest ever at the time and the only one that could confirm the model's key assumption of no relationship between the socioeconomic status of the homes in which the separated twins had been raised.

Yet only months after Burt's death, Princeton psychologist Leon Kamin noted a number of anomalies in the data that not only rendered the study worthless but raised accusations of fraud. At first the subject of vigorous debate, these charges were eventually accepted with the appearance of Burt's biography (containing a list of his publications and information about archival material) by the British historian of science L. S. Hearnshaw (1979), who had previously praised Burt's work and delivered the eulogy at his funeral. Provided access to Burt's diaries and personal papers, Hearnshaw concluded that, among many breaches of scientific ethics—including the pseudonymous authorship of a large number of articles and reviews supporting his position—Burt had indeed fabricated the test scores of the monozygotic twins some time after publishing the correlation between their IQs. Although publication of the biography seemed to settle the issue, a decade later two new, independent investigations by British social scientists Robert Joynson (1989) and Ronald Fletcher (1991) sought to reverse the earlier judgment and present Burt as unfairly maligned, the victim of "left-wing" influence on Hearnshaw.

A subsequent study by William Tucker (1997), comparing the characteristics of Burt's sample of twins with those from other well-documented studies, strongly suggests that his data were fictional. However, the debate over Burt has become a surrogate for the nature/nurture controversy, in which neither side is likely to provide evidence the other will find persuasive.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Education, Europe.**

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WILLIAM H. TUCKER

C

Campus Revolts in the 1960s

A complex set of issues originating in the 1950s formed the background of the most extensive and influential decade of campus revolts in recent history. Cold War militarism, authoritarianism, and colonialism in East and West collided with democratic ideas well in advance of the democratizing potential of even the most open societies. At the same time, social and cultural trends that once concerned a tiny vanguard now became part of mass YOUTH CULTURE. Intellectual liberation was accompanied by sexual trends in conflict with the traditional structure of the family. The scene was set for an assault on conformism and intolerance in its many guises. The coming of age of the BABY BOOM GENERATION, and university institutions ill-accustomed to mass enrollment by students from a variety of social (and in the United States also ethnic) backgrounds provided the context. The momentum necessary for mass mobilization came from a continuous series of confrontations occasionally sparked by minor issues and culminating in the worldwide events of 1967 and 1968.

The United States

Even when universities were not the sites for actual rebellions in this period, they were the sites for organizing mass actions carried out elsewhere. In the United States, student radicalism first focused on the problem of nuclear disarmament; and the Student Peace Union, formed in 1959, staged a march on Washington in 1962. Meanwhile, students participated in the Greensboro sit-ins in February 1960, which helped bring racial segregation in the South to national attention. In the spring the same year, students at the University of California at Berkeley demonstrated against local hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, clarifying the divide between conventional politics and student politics. While the Kennedy administration attempted to tap some of the energy of student activism, in 1960 the more radical students formed Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) led, for a time, by Tom Hayden.

Civil rights and the Vietnam War headed the agenda of the student movement in subsequent years. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee collaborated with the Congress of Racial Equality in the mass registration of African-American voters in Mississippi and other Southern states in summer of 1964. Some of these students, returning to the University of California at Berkeley that fall, rebelled against university administration attempts to curtail political activities on campus. The rebellion, which went on through the end of the term and involved mass meetings, tense negotiations with university and city officials, and clashes with police, set the pattern for similar rebellions elsewhere. While the Berkeley revolt was in progress, SDS began to organize an antiwar march on Washington, D.C., for the following year.

The escalation of the war effort in Vietnam was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the incisiveness of the protest. The 1967–1968 academic year opened with a sit-in at the University of Wisconsin to protest chemical weapons, soon followed by a siege of the Oakland military induction center near Berkeley and a massive march on the Pentagon. In February, demonstrations for civil rights and better facilities to accommodate black students ended in violent confrontations at the University of South Carolina at Orangeburg. Howard University students protesting police violence at Orangeburg demanded a “black university” and other changes at the University of South Carolina at Orangeburg. Similar actions on campus soon afterwards at Bowie State in Maryland were repressed by the police. A combination of civil rights and antiwar issues characterized the April 23, 1968, uprising at Columbia University, the second largest after Berkeley. In August, students demanding troop withdrawal and supporting the antiwar candidacy of Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic nomination staged demonstrations in Chicago, where the party’s national convention was being held. Confrontations with police there reached unprecedented levels of violence, helping to guarantee public support for Richard Nixon in the next presidential elections.

Even before the war ended, the tragic showdown between students and police at Kent State in May 1970, where four students were killed, served to discourage further violent confrontations for a time.

Europe

From a European perspective, the Vietnam War seemed to symbolize the worst effects of Western militarization and colonialism, while U.S. student actions off- and on-campus showed the potential for mass mobilization. The pattern of confrontation spread rapidly from place to place. European protests also involved concerns about crowded, impersonal universities and about shaky job prospects, along with ideology that attacked the shallowness of consumer societies and continuing class barriers to university access.

In France, the rift between the De Gaulle regime and student politics had begun to grow in 1960, when the National Students Union (UNEF) declared its support for Algerian independence. In 1963, rumblings of discontent culminated in the Sorbonne explosion, ostensibly sparked by the breakdown of university structures in the face of growing enrollments. After a day of struggle between 10,000 Sorbonne students and 4,500 police, some 300,000 students in the nation's twenty-three universities went on strike, along with half the professors. The following year, on the occasion of a university tour by the Italian president, who was accompanied by the intransigent French education minister Christian Fouchet, University of Paris students and the UNEF organized protests calling for democratic reforms within the universities.

In Britain, protests in 1965 at the London School of Economics were concentrated against white rule in Rhodesia. In Italy, the first protests, centered at the University of Turin in 1965, began with the question of official recognition for a degree in sociology and spread out to include student governance, curricular reform, and the relevance of instructional programs to contemporary affairs. Likewise at Turin, a seven-month occupation of the university buildings in 1967 began by focusing on university issues and broadened out to include social issues of national concern.

In German universities, student anger reached critical mass in June 1967, when students protesting a state visit by the Shah of Iran were subjected to a previously planned police attack involving brutal beatings and the execution of a bystander. About 20,000 students from throughout West Germany attended the bystander's funeral in Hannover on July 9. The Hannover meeting produced a manifesto connecting police brutality to the authoritarian and exclusionary structure of the German government as well as to the general crisis of the university. The meeting and its outcome propelled the student leader Rudi Dutschke and the Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund (SDS) into prominence. The same year, students formed the Kritische Universität in West Berlin as an alternative to the increasingly bureaucratized Free University, offering student-taught courses.

The 1968 season of student unrest opened in Czechoslovakia. In January, an unpopular neo-Stalinist secretary of the Czech Communist Party was replaced by Alexander Dubček, who introduced far-reaching reforms, including democratization within the party, freedom of movement, and freedom of expression. Students played an important role in the Prague Spring of discussion and protest that followed, with calls for a continuation of the reforming line and the dissolution of Communist Party rule. Encouraged by the Prague movement, students in Warsaw, Poland, took the occasion of the banning of a nationalist drama to demonstrate for more freedoms and democratization. The brutal repression of both movements would be a point of reference for student leaders in 1989.

In the West, the power of the student movement in Prague inspired actions chiefly motivated by such issues as NATO demands on Europe, the Vietnam War, and the effects of U.S. policies in the Middle East. In Rome, the via Giulia riots led to 250 student arrests. Next came Germany, where Rudi Dutschke was shot and severely wounded during the suppression of the Easter riots in April, crippling the movement. The same month, University of Copenhagen students demonstrated. In France, expulsion of the student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit from the University of Paris at Nanterre for his organizational activities moved the center of protest once more to the Sorbonne in early May. Police brutality and government intransigence brought the workers over to the side of the demonstrators, and by the end of the month some 10 million French workers were on strike, joining labor issues to the political ones. Only quick concessions by De Gaulle on labor issues, weakening the workers' support for the student movement, avoided political disaster. Inspired by the May events in Paris, outbreaks occurred from June 3 through 10 in Zagreb and Belgrade, Yugoslavia; in Zurich, Switzerland, and in London later that month; and still later in Warwick, United Kingdom, where students discovered documents showing university administrators' investigations into student political activity. Outside Europe, parallel events occurred at the universities in Dakar, Tokyo, Venezuela, Mexico City, and elsewhere.

Significance

The significance of the two-year period of protest is still a matter of debate among social historians. Most agree that the immediate results were less important than the long-term consequences. The movements produced few concrete gains besides more open enrollments (in Europe, vastly expanded enrollments), fewer entrance requirements, and greater accountability of universities toward students as consumers. Over the long term, some studies have blamed the movement for driving the radical leftist fringe toward a drastic change in tactics. Disappointed by the failure of the movement to bring about a general revolution, these studies say, some organizers resorted to forming a tiny vanguard of violent operatives dedicated to subverting the system. Exam-

ples include the Red Army Faction in Germany, Direct Action in France, the Red Brigades in Italy, and groups like the Symbionese Liberation Army and the Weather Underground in the United States. On the positive side, studies have suggested that the movement drew attention to the persistent class divisions that seemed to prevent realization of the democratic dream, while the postwar political parties began to abandon ideology in the general enthusiasm that accompanied the economic boom. It drew attention to the negative side of capitalist development and modern technology, emphasizing the limits to economic growth and highlighting environmental concerns.

See also: **Youth Activism.**

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BRENDAN DOOLEY

Canada

Canada occupies the northern half of the continent of North America. The forty-ninth degree of latitude between the Pacific Ocean and Lake of the Woods forms its southern boundary with the United States. This border follows a series of lakes and rivers through the Great Lakes to the St. Lawrence River. The eastern portion follows an irregular path across the state of Maine to the Bay of Fundy. On the coast of the Pacific Northwest, the state of Alaska separates the northern portion of its most western province, British Columbia, from the Pacific Ocean. In terms of area, Canada is the second-largest country in the world. In terms of population, however, it ranks only thirty-third. The vast majority of Canadians live along the southern edge of the country, in the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence region where Toronto and Montreal, the two largest cities, are located.

The French first colonized Canada, a name derived from the Huron-Iroquois *kanata*, meaning a village or settlement, in the early seventeenth century. Known as New France, it occupied a small territory around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. From the founding of the city of Quebec in 1608 until the ceding of Canada to Britain in 1763, France placed its stamp upon the history of the continent. Canada came into its own in 1791 when the Constitutional Act (or Canada Act) divided

Quebec, then considerably enlarged, into the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada. In 1841 they were joined to form the province of Canada and in 1867 the British North America Act united the province of Canada (divided into Ontario and Quebec) with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to form “one Dominion under the name of Canada.” The remaining provinces and territories followed suit between 1870 and 1999.

The history of Canada’s children follows the varied paths of the country itself. Although we do not have any physical evidence, the first child born in what would become Canada was likely a son or daughter of Canada’s first inhabitants, who are believed to have come from Asia some 18,000 years ago over a temporary land bridge that joined Siberia and Alaska. The children of the First Nations peoples, the eventual successors of these anonymous early settlers, had to learn the ways of complex societies. The nature of childhood, like adulthood, varied greatly among aboriginal peoples, depending on their location and means of survival. The rhythm of life for fishing people like the Kwakiutl on the western coast, hunters like the Blackfoot on the prairies, or farmers like the Huron in central Ontario differed from each other and, in turn, shaped the unique nature of childhood among First Nations peoples.

First Nations: Kwakiutl and Huron

On the central West Coast, for example, Kwakiutl lived in *numaym*, extended households of up to one hundred people. Midwives assisted at births. Four days after birth the infant was given its first name, and it spent its first year in a cradle carried by its mother. At about a year the child acquired a new name, and boys had their hair singed and holes pierced in their ears and nose. High-status children were later given other names owned by the family. Families marked each new name with a potlatch, or gift-giving ceremony.

Each *numaym* in Kwakiutl society moved several times a year to one of the five to seven resource sites owned by the chief. In a society highly conscious of property rights, children learned the precise locations of fishing and food-gathering sites and winter village locations. By observation and practice, children gradually mastered some of the skills employed at each site: making wood, stone, bone, and metal tools; constructing longhouses, canoes, and watertight wooden boxes; preserving and storing food; carving poles and masks; and weaving aprons, capes and blankets.

By contrast, the Huron in southern Ontario lived in longhouses consisting of an average of six nuclear families. Families had on average three children. Since the Huron were a matrilineal society, girls were particularly prized. Newborn children usually had their ears pierced, and later, beads and other trinkets were hung about the child’s neck. The Huron had a large supply of names available to give their children. It is possible that particular names were the property of different clans.

The training of Huron children followed a gendered script. Boys were encouraged to refuse domestic chores and instead were trained to use the bow and spend much of their time outside shooting arrows, hunting and trapping small game, and playing ball games. Girls received a much different training that focused almost exclusively on domestic tasks, such as pounding corn.

As the process of colonization took increasing hold, First Nations families would struggle to adapt to, and often resist, the encroachments of settler society. After an initial period of cooperation with Europeans, First Nations peoples found their way of life increasingly questioned and threatened by notions of European Christianity and racial superiority. This long period of contact and conflict forever altered the ways in which aboriginal peoples raised children and their expectations for the future.

The Colonial Period: New France

When Samuel de Champlain founded a tiny trading post at Quebec in 1608, the colony of New France began to take shape. In New France, *sage femme* (midwives) assisted women in childbirth. During the first few months of life, babies were bound tightly in SWADDLING clothes believed to help straighten their legs and backs. In the absence of either mother's milk or a wet nurse, some infants were given raw cow's milk diluted with river or well water.

As Jacques Henripin's studies show, as many as one in four children in New France died before they celebrated their first birthday. This high rate of INFANT MORTALITY was countered somewhat by an equally astounding birth rate. Peter Moogk has demonstrated that after the birth of her first child and until the age of about thirty-five, a married *Canadienne* bore one child every two years. Families in the colony averaged six children. As infants, children slept in wooden cradles and were often given rattles. At night, a mother would tie a rope to the cradle so she could rock her baby from the warmth of her bed. By around the age of seven, children entered the period known as *tendre jeunesse*, a time in which they were believed to begin to reason for themselves. Along with *tendre jeunesse* came added responsibilities, such as helping with family chores.

The inhabitants of New France, including its children, were constantly ravaged by EPIDEMICS of smallpox, by war, and by infections brought ashore from visiting ships. Nearly half of the adolescents in the colony lost a parent. Illegitimate children were seen as a particular problem in New France, reflecting, in the watchful eyes of church officials, the breakdown of communal social restraints. Between 1701 and 1760, some 1,112 illegitimate children were baptized in what would become the province of Quebec. Guardianship and foster parentage were often the only recourse for single mothers who could not bear the burden of looking after many fatherless children. Often, children as young as five or six were indentured as domestic servants to merchants or to

wealthier families. The colonial administration, far from regretting such private arrangements, enforced children's indentures.

In general, few children in the colony were strangers to work. Well before adolescence, children were expected to engage in productive labor. The youngest children helped their mothers amuse infants or took younger siblings for walks. Older children could be expected to help plant crops, cut firewood, or rake hay. In village settings, stables had to be cleaned, chamber pots emptied, firewood gathered and piled, dirty boots scraped, and water fetched. Children generally reached a certain level of competency in their domestic skills, reflected in the fact that, theoretically, those who reached PUBERTY were eligible for marriage (legally twelve for girls and fourteen for boys). Few, however, actually entered into marriage at such a young age.

Childhood among the English-speaking settlers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was similar to that described for New France. In particular, children were highly valued for the work they performed in settler families. European commentators remarked on the independent and self-reliant character of North American settler children—characteristics more highly developed, they argued, than in children back home.

The Importance of Schooling in the Nineteenth Century

By the nineteenth century, schooling began to slowly overshadow work as the dominant experience in the lives of many children. Most children attended publicly supported schools for a certain number of years, and by around 1900 many children between the ages of five and sixteen years attended consistently. The increasing importance of schooling in the lives of children reflected shifting attitudes emerging in Western Europe and North America regarding childhood as a separate and special stage of life. Children were increasingly seen as needing protection, special attention, and training. This attitude was reflected also in the care of dependent children, for this was the period in which Canadians began to build special institutions to care for ORPHANS and for children whose parents could not, or would not, care for them. Other economic and demographic changes, such as increasing urban populations, improved roads, and innovations in standardized and mechanized work, also had a considerable impact on the changing character of Canadian children's lives.

By the 1920s, professional interest in the quality of CHILD CARE and child rearing brought these private concerns more firmly into the public domain. In anglophone Canada (and somewhat later in francophone Canada), social workers, social activists, public health reformers, and education reformers, predominately white and middle class, worked to shape the nature of childhood. Sometimes for better, but occasionally for worse, they intervened in the home and nursery in order to advocate for more hygienic feeding methods, better

public health, safer milk supplies, better outdoor play space, and a more inclusive school curriculum. More often than fathers, mothers were the target of this advice and admonishment.

In order to promote ideal middle-class families, social reform advocates in the early years of the twentieth century outlawed child labor, made school attendance compulsory, and worked for the appointment of truancy officers. They tried to provide support for families that had suffered the loss or incapacitation of a male breadwinner by agitating for workers' compensation and mothers' pensions. The work of mothers in factories or sweatshops was more closely monitored, and hot lunch programs at schools were set up. In the larger cities, such as Toronto, "fresh air" funds were initiated to provide poorer children with a chance to escape the city environment during summer vacations.

The turn of the twentieth century also saw a significant change in the way reformers viewed the efficacy of institutional care—a feature of the nineteenth century—for dependent or troubled children. In an effort to ameliorate the worst evils of the BABY FARMING system, they began ADOPTION services to place illegitimate children into family homes rather than in FOUNDLING institutions and to legitimize children whose parents subsequently married. The Federal Juvenile Delinquents Act set up a system of JUVENILE COURTS, detention homes, and probation officers to focus detection and treatment efforts on the needs of troubled children.

Despite these successes, many other children continued to live under institutional care well into the 1940s and 1950s. Across the country, First Nations children in state-cosponsored residential schools, so-called delinquent children, and children with disabilities often languished in poorly run and supported institutions. As historians continue to discover, many of these children, whether due to racism, powerlessness, official incompetence, or a combination of these and other factors, suffered horrible abuses.

The hardships endured by many children, particularly those outside the dominant white middle class, temper the notion that the history of childhood in Canada has represented an uncomplicated march toward success and improvement. Clearly, however, over the course of the nineteenth century, Canadians by and large strove to improve the lives of the children in their midst.

See also: **Australia; Native American Children; New Zealand; Placing Out.**

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MONA GLEASON

Carroll, Lewis (1832–1898)

The English writer, mathematician, Oxford don, and photographer Charles Lutwidge Dodgson is best known by his pen name Lewis Carroll. The eldest son of the Anglican minister Charles Dodgson and Frances Lutwidge, Dodgson spent his early childhood in Cheshire and later in Yorkshire. Educated as a boy away from home at Richmond School and at Rugby, he matriculated in 1851 at Christ Church College, Oxford, which would prove to be his home for the remaining forty-seven years of his life. Dodgson excelled in mathematics and gained a studentship (equivalent to a fellowship at other colleges), which he kept for life, fulfilling the double requirements of remaining unmarried and taking orders in the Church of England, although he proceeded to ordination only as a deacon. He served as a mathematical lecturer at Christ Church from 1855 to 1881 and published mathematical works as C. L. Dodgson. He was also a distinguished photographer. Dodgson achieved fame as Lewis Carroll upon the publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in 1865 and its sequel, *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There*, six years later. After his two Alice books, Dodgson, as Lewis Carroll, wrote several more books for children, including *The Hunting of the Snark: An Agony in Eight Fits* (1876), *Sylvie and Bruno* (1889), and *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1893).

Although Dodgson has been described often as a retiring Oxford don who only liked the company of children, Dodgson's surviving diaries and letters attest to the strong adult, as well as child, friendships that he cultivated. His adult life followed a steady routine. Dodgson spent term times at Christ Church, where he kept busy with college and mathematical affairs. During holidays he visited the family home, and he spent summers at the seaside. Dodgson made several trips to London every year. While there, he led a busy social life, avidly attending the theatre and art exhibitions and visiting with friends. He also traveled widely around England, again visiting friends and acquaintances. In 1856 Dodgson took up photography, still a nascent technology, and for the next twenty-four years of his life, until he stopped taking pictures in 1880, it played a major role in his social activities. He specialized in portraiture, taking pictures of any adult and child acquaintances whom he could persuade to sit for his camera.

Dodgson was one of a number of Victorian men, such as John Ruskin and George MacDonald, who turned to GIRLHOOD for creative inspiration and for emotional solace. Some scholars have suggested that Dodgson's fascination with girlhood stemmed from feelings of nostalgia for his domestic childhood home after being sent away to the masculine environment of school. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, shifting ideas concerning the relationship between childhood and sexuality have led scholars to debate whether or not Dodgson was in fact sexually interested in young girls. This speculation is fueled, in part, by the uncertain number of photographs he took later in his life of children in the nude. As he grew older, however, Dodgson's "child-friends," as he often termed them, tended more and more to be young women in their teens and twenties.

The Alice Books

The Alice books are seminal to the history of CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, for they liberated the genre from the didactic and moral children's books fashionable at the time. Replete with wit, humor, nonsense verse, and parodies of the illogical conventions of everyday life, the books were immediately popular upon publication, amusing and delighting both children and adults. They have never gone out of print, have been translated into many languages, and have been dramatized and filmed countless times since their first appearance on the London stage in 1886.

The character of Alice originated in Dodgson's close friendship with Lorina, Alice, and Edith Liddell, the eldest daughters of Henry George Liddell, the dean of Christ Church. Dodgson first narrated the adventures of his heroine Alice during a boating trip with the Liddells. Following the trip, Dodgson wrote and illustrated the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, which he gave to Alice Liddell as a Christmas gift. The book chronicles seven-year-old Alice's dream of entering a world populated with bizarre characters, from the March Hare and the Mad Hatter, to the Queen of Hearts and the White Rabbit. Alice went against the grain of previous literary child heroes and heroines. In her, Dodgson created a modern child. She is "curiouser and curiouser" and, throughout her adventures, progresses through many moods, sometimes cheerful, sometimes peevish, as she attempts to make sense of the nonsensical world in which she finds herself.

Dodgson's portraits of children also hold a place in the history of childhood. Rooted in the sentimental bonds of friendship between Dodgson and particular children he knew and entertained, such as the Liddells, both his children's books and his photography depict childhood as playful, informal, intimate, and, above all, separate from adult experience. Dodgson's model has proved relevant throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

See also: **Photographs of Children.**

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DIANE WAGGONER

Cars as Toys

At sales and auctions of old TOYS, a prominent part is played by cars, vans, buses, and trucks in a variety of shapes and sizes. It is striking how soon after the invention of the motorcar it became the subject of—mostly boys'—fantasies and PLAY. The famous tin toy factories in Nuremberg in Germany produced toy cars in the early 1900s that, because of their delicate nature, did not last very long if used for their intended purpose. They did, however, represent the look of the motorcars of the day very well, producing high, carriagelike vehicles with narrow, spidery wheels and often with a driver and a passenger perched on top. Very soon more detailed products began to be made. Although these were even less suited for the hardships of boys' play in a sandpit, they were very satisfactory from the point of view of correct representation of specific cars, with details such as steering and brakes.

Cars have remained popular toys and over the last century have gone through a number of design phases, from primitive wooden blocks with four wheels to model cars with opening doors and interior details, cars not fit for playing with and out of bounds for younger sisters and brothers. The invention of plastics was a boon to toy producers, enabling

them from the 1950s to manufacture relatively strong, correct-looking toy cars in seconds at very low costs. In the early twenty-first century only very young children are willing to accept toy cars that do not look like a specific make and model. Any three-year-old boy will recognize his grandparents' car, and mothers are constantly amazed when their very young sons lecture them on the differences between the various cars they encounter when shopping.

It has long been observed that cars seem largely to belong to the realm of boys, while only a few girls show the same interest. Even if mothers drive as much as fathers, the "car bug" does not seem to infect girls to anything like the same degree as it does boys. While playing with toy cars, boys dream of driving real cars, not in order to move from A to B but just for the sake of driving.

A child's first vehicle—apart from a PRAM—usually is a tricycle, often followed by a pedal car. Before World War II such pedal cars rarely tried to represent any particular model, except for a few very expensive examples, the most prominent of which was the toy car built by the luxury automobile producer Bugatti in about 1930 as a scale model of one of its racing cars. Such cars were powered by a small combustion engine. Since the 1990s producers have tried to make their pedal cars at least recognizable as particular models. The use of plastics has made this easier, just as modern electronic developments have made it possible to build and sell small children's cars powered by electric motors and small, rechargeable batteries at very competitive prices.

For a number of years building model cars was popular with many boys. Some very ambitious characters embarked upon the creation of a model from a piece of raw wood or from sheets of cardboard, but by far the most popular way of doing it was to buy a plastic assembly set to be glued together and painted. Only the most enthusiastic ever finished the project or achieved the desired standard, and it appears that computers have won the battle for children's minds. When model cars are sold today they are mostly finished products. Some are produced to a very high standard and at a comparable price, while mass producers have shown themselves capable of producing and selling model cars of a fairly high quality at fairly low prices. These cars are, however, not really meant as toys for children. The same applies to the small electric-powered cars running along slots in sections of miniature roadway. Like model trains, this increasingly has become the realm of hobby clubs for adults.

Even if many children today spend many hours in front of a video screen, the car is still with them. It now takes the shape of various games. There are countless games on the market in which players can drive cars or motorcycles. Most popular are the ones in which players compete on one or several famous racing circuits or rally courses. To enhance the illusion, joysticks in the shape of a steering wheel are available along with the necessary pedals and gearchange. Only

the youngest children prefer the pedal car to a computer thus equipped.

While many children dream of driving their own cars, their practical experience with cars often bores them. Most parents are familiar with hearing the question from the backseat, "Are we there yet?" From the time they are very young, children are placed inside a car and strapped in, unable to do much and confined to looking out of windows that are often too high. Each spring magazines and newspapers swell with good advice to parents planning a driving vacation about how best to keep the children occupied during the many hours of forced inactivity in the backseat.

Since their invention, cars have posed risks for children. They are in a vulnerable position when walking or playing near traffic. Small children are not able to judge the speed of an oncoming car and are generally not in a position to survey what is going on in the street. In many countries much energy is spent on trying to teach children the necessary skills to navigate traffic. In a number of countries, school patrols of older children have been in operation since the 1950s. By creating these patrols authorities tried to solve the problem of not having the manpower to use policemen to guide young children when leaving school. Despite their vulnerability, until they become drivers themselves, most children are involved with cars as consumers of toys and fantasy.

See also: **Boyhood; Construction Toys; Toy Technology.**

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NIELS JONASSEN

Cassatt, Mary (1844–1926)

Mary Cassatt's paintings of mothers and children revolutionized the genre at the end of the nineteenth century. Cassatt employed formal devices such as pattern and color to explore the sensual nature of the mother-child relationship, and in doing so rejected the overly sentimental approach to the subject taken by many of her contemporaries.

Mary Cassatt was born on May 22, 1844, in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, the daughter of a wealthy banker. As a child, she spent five years traveling in Europe with her family, living in Paris, Heidelberg, and Darmstadt. At sixteen, she began her art studies at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. After this initial training, Cassatt traveled to Paris where she studied with Jean-Léon Gérôme, Charles Chaplin, Paul Soyer, and Thomas Couture. From 1870 to 1874 she also studied and painted in Italy and Spain. By 1877 Cas-

satt had settled definitively in Paris, where she remained for most of the rest of her life. Because of her innovative manipulations of space, deft painting technique, and modern subject matter, Cassatt was asked to exhibit with the Impressionists. At the beginning of her career, Cassatt created paintings of independent, modern women much like herself. She also painted several perceptive representations of children, such as *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair* (1878). However, by 1885 Cassatt was painting scenes of mothers and children almost exclusively. Art historians have speculated that Cassatt turned to this theme because of a changing social climate, which encouraged women to paint what were considered appropriate feminine subjects. However, her paintings of mothers and children made Cassatt famous. She was no doubt eager to capitalize on this success by recreating similar compositions. At the same time, Cassatt's most penetrating depictions of mothers and children were contemporaneous with new theories about CHILD PSYCHOLOGY and the relationship between mother and child.

Cassatt's best-known painting of maternal devotion is *The Bath* (1891), which depicts a mother washing her child's foot. Absorbed in this intimate moment, neither mother nor child are aware of the viewer's presence. Cassatt uses an elevated vantage point, dramatic cropping, and contrasting patterns to accentuate the physical closeness of mother and child, as well as to draw attention to the child's naked flesh. In other pictures, such as *Maternal Caress* (1896), bold strokes of paint knit together the child's tiny hand and the mother's cheek, suggesting the organic unity of the two figures. Cassatt also created a series of technically innovative color prints, showing women bathing, dressing, and playing with children. In paintings such as *Mother and Child (The Oval Mirror)* (c. 1899), Cassatt positioned her models in the conventional pose of the Madonna and Child, the mirror behind the figures standing in as a halo. Modern motherhood is therefore equated with divinity in Cassatt's late works.

After falling out of fashion, Cassatt's work was rediscovered by feminist art historians in the 1970s. This initial scholarly reappraisal of Cassatt has led to her increased visibility in museum displays and art history textbooks. Cassatt's images of mothers and children are particularly popular with the general public and are reproduced on a variety of items from posters and note cards to tea towels and tote bags. A 1998 retrospective of Cassatt's work was one of the most well-attended museum exhibitions of that year.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Madonna, Secular; Mothering and Motherhood.**

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A. CASSANDRA ALBINSON

Catholicism

The Catholic nature of childhood is often elusive, changes across time and place, and often reflects the broader culture of which it is part. In addition, historians of Catholicism have only recently turned their attention to childhood experiences. Given these important cautions, however, there are some important distinctive ways in which Catholicism has shaped childhood experiences.

The Early Church

Early church sources contain repeated favorable references to people who chose the church over their families, of parents who abandoned their children to lead devout lives themselves, or who gave their children to the church to help build monastic populations. But it is not clear whether this indifference to children reflected more the Christian or the Roman cultural influence. Some historians suggest that these attitudes reflected the dualistic thought of early Christians that contrasted the perfect sacred with the profane secular. Theologians and church officials often characterized things of the world, such as the body and material goods, as inherently evil. Attachment to biological families reflected the power of the world to sway individuals. Christian literature characterized those who chose marriage and parenthood as weaker and more prone to their passions and desires than those who chose childlessness. Christianity clearly praised the latter over the former. But for those Christians who bore and raised children, little evidence suggests a powerfully distinct experience from that of non-Christian families.

The emphasis on the duality of thought did appear to provide a theological or philosophical foundation for child-rearing practices, however. Many debated whether children, and especially "infant" children (those under seven years of age), were capable of sin. Did they suffer from the same earthly passions and enticements that plagued adults? The introduction and adoption of infant BAPTISM during the fourth century suggests that church officials believed that children could sin, and that they inherited original sin. Evidence of severe corporal punishment for childhood transgressions abounds, and suggests a special fervor aimed at ridding children of their proclivity to sin. But here again it is not so clear that these Christian child-rearing practices differed significantly from those of non-Christians. The Christian reasons for severe child-rearing practices might differ, but the practices themselves seem more widely shared. Moreover, some historians see the Church as a strong child advocate. Historian Richard Lyman Jr., for example, writes that the Church insisted that "children had souls, were important to God, could be taught, and should not be killed,

mained or abandoned, and that they were very useful to the self-image of the parents” (p. 90). In short, the Church championed children’s interests against cultural pressures to kill, abandon, or devalue them.

Infant baptism had other implications for church sacraments and children. The early Church initiated adults with a process that required great preparation and instruction, and culminated with a ceremony incorporating what Roman Catholics today know as baptism, FIRST COMMUNION, and CONFIRMATION. By the fourth and fifth centuries, however, Roman churches began to baptize infants (relative newborns), and delay the other ritual sacraments until later in childhood. This separation of the sacraments did not spread universally until the eleventh century, however, and did not receive official sanction until the Council of Trent in 1562 asserted that small children need not receive the Eucharist. Throughout the medieval period, the Church stressed Christ’s divinity more and more, and therefore discouraged children from receiving communion for fear that they might not fully comprehend the distinction between the Eucharist and normal bread and wine. Catholic theology teaches that the bread and wine actually transform into Christ’s body and blood during Mass, and so communion reception is a powerful sacred act. Delaying communion reception until children become older was a recognition that young boys and girls would likely not appreciate the gravity of the ritual. Some places forbade children from receiving communion until age fourteen.

Pope Pius X sought to increase communion reception among all Catholics, and so decreed in 1910 that children should receive first communion at age seven. Only in the twentieth century has this become the common age at which Catholic children receive their first communion. Confirmation too has changed a great deal over the years. Eastern churches continued to link baptism and confirmation, so that Eastern-rite Catholic children were confirmed in their infancy. Western churches saw a variety of practices over time and from place to place, with a more uniform practice emerging only in the twentieth century. Pope Pius X’s 1910 decree *Quam singulari* had the effect of making confirmation a sacrament that children received in their ADOLESCENCE, as a mark of spiritual maturity.

Despite the universal practice of infant baptism during the Middle Ages, the Church came to see children younger than seven years old as largely incapable of sin. Manuals for confessors began to focus on the sins of older children. These manuals suggested a great concern for two kinds of sin: theft and sexual activity. One presumes that the church stressed these to parents as well, and urged them to discourage their children from stealing (especially food) and having sex. Italian Catholic child-rearing manuals in the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth century recognized the important role that parents played in shaping their children,



First Communion (1896), Pablo Picasso. For Roman Catholics, first communion is not only a sacrament of initiation but a rite of passage signifying attainment of the age of reason. © Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. The Art Archive/Museo Picasso Barcelona/Dagli Orti.

and for this reason struggled with two somewhat opposed positions. The first supported and encouraged parents as the surest teachers of their children to help in resisting the allure of sin. The second worried about the parents’ roles in discouraging children of mature age from choosing a religious vocation. These guides, commissioned largely for powerful bishops who sought to guide their flocks in their roles as parents, concentrated on urging parents to take on nurturing rather than repressive roles in moving children toward a virtuous life. They saw within children the seeds of virtue, and not primarily the weeds of sin, and they instructed parents to support virtue’s growth within their children. Catholic parents following these manuals would have created a nurturing and affectionate environment for their children.

Catholic childhood experiences varied so widely throughout Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the state of research is so young, that it is difficult to make broad and accurate generalizations. But it is reasonable to suppose that as the international Church became more tightly controlled by Rome, and as the local Bishops

sought to establish their own power more firmly, the emphasis on obedience to authority heightened. Catholic child-rearing practices may have reflected the greater stress on hierarchy within the family. Some social scientists have suggested as much, though the empirical data are not so strong here. It is clear that many Catholic children felt the difficult transition to industrialization through first-hand experience with mechanized work. Even Catholic ORPHANAGES embraced child labor as a means of covering institutional costs. It is also quite clear that many Catholic children embarked on overseas voyages as their families sought economic improvement in the developing United States.

American Catholicism and Childhood

American Catholic children in the revolutionary and early national period grew up in what historian Jay Dolan has termed the “republican” church. American Catholics in this period sought to align themselves culturally, politically, and socially with the democratic ideals of the emerging nation. Catholics sought less to separate themselves from prevailing norms than to embrace the new ideals that guided social and cultural behavior. Because so few priests and nuns labored in America during this time, the laity provided most of the institutional, community, and liturgical structures for themselves. Children would have grown up experiencing their religious lives in their homes primarily, rather than in a separate sacred space. Their parents provided religious instruction and the opportunities for prayer, reflection, and ritual practices, and they would have emphasized very similar social and cultural ideals to their Protestant neighbors. Though still clearly patriarchal, Catholic families moved with Protestant Americans toward a more democratic family structure that emphasized affection over duty.

Once European Catholics began immigrating to America in large numbers during the early nineteenth century, the nature of American Catholic childhood experiences changed dramatically. Catholics in this immigrant church constructed and lived within a church suffused with a hierarchical and formal institutional presence that sought to shape children’s lives profoundly. The family remained the most powerful influence on Catholic children, of course, but the institutional church sought to shape Catholic children much more powerfully than in the republican church. The rise of the separate Catholic school system and the devotional culture that immigrants brought with them and then adapted to the new nation shaped Catholic childhood indirectly through its influence on parents and directly by its pervasive contact with children themselves. With the masses of lay Catholic immigrants to America came thousands of Catholic priests and nuns as well, so that a church that had developed largely independent of clerical presence saw the dramatic growth of the formal institutional structure.

The Catholic school system grew tremendously throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an alter-

native to the emerging public school system. For many Catholics, their experiences in PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS constituted their most extensive immersion in the Catholic world. Catholic bishops stressed to their priests from the middle of the nineteenth century onward the importance of developing parish schools, with the result that parishes built their schools before even their churches. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, Catholic children often sat in classes of fifty to seventy students taught largely by women religious whose own education often ended with the eighth grade. Students learned discipline, deference, obedience, and respect for hierarchy.

Despite extraordinary efforts to educate all Catholic children in parochial schools, at no point in American history did more than half of Catholic children actually attend such schools. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most Catholic children attended public schools with their Protestant, Jewish, and other neighbors. For these Catholics, the most significant institutional encounters came when they joined the Catholic school children in the extensive devotional culture that immersed Catholic children in an extensive array of formal rituals. This powerful devotional experience most distinguished Catholic childhood from others.

Historian Jay Dolan has characterized devotional Catholicism for the century between 1850 and 1950 as exhibiting four key features: a strong sense of sin, a heavy emphasis on ritual, a firm belief in the miraculous, and a keen sense of hierarchy and deference within that hierarchy. Catholic children experienced this culture in the churches when they attended weekly—and sometimes daily—Mass, confession, any of the regularly sponsored novenas (special rituals typically dedicated to particular saints offered each of nine consecutive weeks), benedictions, and adorations. Parishes also sponsored “missions” offered by orders of priests who specialized in generating enthusiasm among the faithful or fallen away. Children here learned of the dangers that the temporal world posed for them, that God would intervene to help deserving believers in their crises, and that they should respect church—and by extension all—authority. Wedded to each other through a vast array of distinctive behaviors, Catholic children developed powerful identities as a unique and religiously privileged group. Though historians disagree on whether these experiences aided or hindered adult Catholic social and cultural success in America, they generally agree that Catholics developed a very powerful Catholic identity with strong boundaries that limited social interaction with others. They lived within an extensive Catholic social and cultural (though not geographical) ghetto that prized otherworldly salvation above all else, and saw as the only means to that aim a life lived apart from the evil influences of the broader materialist society.

In the schools and churches, Catholic institutional representatives had direct and powerful contact with Catholic

children. Priests and nuns sought to shape childhood experiences according to religious norms defined largely by church officials. But the children came from families with varying commitments to these ideals, and embraced or resisted the institutional influences accordingly. The Catholic family more than any official church institution most profoundly shaped Catholic childhood, and the Catholic family did not always embrace official church ideals. Because Irish Catholics dominated the clergy, for example, families from other ethnic backgrounds often resisted the institutional influence resolutely.

Immigrant Catholics came to America from a number of different nations and cultures even within their nations of origin. Catholic families often differed from each other in the values that they prized and passed on to their children. It is difficult therefore to make precise conclusions that apply to all Catholics in this period, so readers should be mindful of the great variety of American "Catholic" experiences throughout the period. Some generalizations are warranted, however. In general, Catholic immigrant families in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries tended to have more children than their native counterparts, and they tended to be quite poor. Catholic children often grew up in large families that suffered great economic hardship. They understood want and deprivation, and they went to work at young ages to help support their families. At a time when middle-class American culture prized domesticity and a pronounced and prolonged childhood experience apart from the emerging market economy, American Catholic children experienced the market intrusion into their lives at very young ages. Catholic parents worked long hours in the mills and mines, and their children filled the tenements and alleys of America's emerging slums. Catholicism both challenged and ameliorated these experiences.

American church officials and the parochial schools by and large emphasized deference to authority, and this included civic and economic authority. In this way the Church pushed children to work within established social structures rather than challenge them. Yet the late nineteenth century saw increasing sanction for social justice efforts that condemned exploitation of the poor and their families. Pope Leo XXIII's 1893 encyclical *Rarem novarum* officially endorsed social justice work and supported demands for family wages, unions, and a just economic order. For the most part, Catholic families remained largely working class through the early decades of the twentieth century. The real changes in Catholic family size and child-rearing strategies came in the latter decades of the twentieth century, and coincided with Catholics' movement to the middle classes.

Social scientists in the twentieth century tell us that American Catholic families in the early decades of the century had more children than Protestants. Catholic FERTILITY RATES then converged briefly with Protestant in the 1930s

before diverging during the baby boom decades of the 1950s and 1960s. The Catholic rate declined faster than the Protestant during the 1970s, however, so that they were largely indistinguishable by the 1980s. Not surprisingly, Catholic attitudes toward BIRTH CONTROL followed similar patterns, so that by the 1970s they differed insignificantly from Protestant attitudes even as church officials persisted in forbidding their use.

A similar pattern seems to have existed for Catholic child-rearing strategies. Social scientists suggest that Catholic parents more than Protestants valued obedience highly and devalued intellectual autonomy in their children throughout much of the twentieth century. The evidence for these claims is less firm than for the birth rate patterns, however. The conclusions depend upon the logical extension of a hierarchical church model into the family, and interpretations of responses on social surveys. Catholic parents presumably discouraged their children from creative explorations of intellectual challenges and from pursuing challenges to authority. By the early 1980s, however, Catholic PARENTING values converged with mainline Protestant perspectives, and conservative Protestant parents appear to have adopted the positions once held by Catholics. At the end of the twentieth century, American Catholic parents differed very little in their child-rearing attitudes and practices from their Protestant neighbors. But the Church continued to support a separate school system, mark childhood milestones with sacraments, and prize child rearing as a laudable vocation. The latter two actions characterized Catholic practices throughout the rest of the world as well. The Catholic influence on childhood experience throughout the western world matters less than socioeconomic class, race, and geography, but it continues to mediate responses to these forces. It does not do so uniformly, though, nor with the same power.

See also: **Islam; Judaism; Protestant Reformation.**

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TIMOTHY KELLY

Century of the Child

Ellen Key's (1849–1926) two-volume work *Barnets århundrade* (Century of the child) was published on New Year's Eve 1900. Publication on this date was a conscious choice, for Key believed that the status of children in Western society would undergo a dramatic change in the century to come. Education and upbringing, she believed, would become the focal point of both family life and society.

The book attracted practically no attention in the Swedish press when it was published, though two review articles of some length were written, one of them quite critical. Ellen Key had many enemies—due to her opinions on free love, she was seen as a “seducer of young people.” But she also had important friends active in the adult education movement, which was very strong at that time in Sweden. *Barnets århundrade* was incorporated into study circles and lecture series throughout Sweden and its neighboring countries. Key's ideas on upbringing and education soon garnered a growing number of supporters, particularly in Germany. The book was translated into some thirteen European languages, and in Germany it was published in seventeen editions between 1902 and 1926, the year of Key's death.

Barnets århundrade is not only about upbringing and education; it also deals with family structure, gender roles, child labor, and class. It betrays utopian leanings, like most of Key's other writings and lectures. In her analysis, every child has a right to its childhood, which she defines as a period in an individual's early life when he or she bears no economic responsibility. Like many contemporary liberals, Key was very critical of the existence of child labor on a large scale, and her book presents statistical materials about child labor in various European countries. Key saw a close relationship between child raising and gender, and she believed the child's natural place is at home with its mother. She

preached that women of all classes must be allowed to stay at home while their children are small, advocating for a kind of home school consisting of children from several families and taught by a female teacher. Older children, she wrote, should attend a common school open to children from all social classes.

A common school and ideas about the “right to childhood” for all children regardless of class were in conflict with the Swedish legal provisions, as well as the economic necessities, of the day. However, Key's ideas anticipated the reforms introduced by the Swedish welfare state established in the mid-twentieth century. In this and many other respects, the twentieth century did indeed prove to be the century of the child, at least in the Western world.

The ideological arguments that motivated Key are significant. Collectivism does not, according to Key, contradict individualism. A school system common to all classes is open to all variety of influences, which in turn stimulates individuality. The ultimate aim of bringing up children is to create “personalities.” As its motto, *Barnets århundrade* features a quotation from the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, the prophet of the “superman,” a term that Key often employed.

Aside from Nietzsche, Key's ideological individualism can also be traced to her early studies of JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, whose ideas about the worth of self-made experience, put forward in his book *Émile*, had a significant effect on Key. She was also well acquainted with reformist pedagogy, especially the German educator FRIEDRICH FROEBEL's ideas on “free play” (even though she herself did not care for KINDERGARTEN). She believed that teachers should be mentors, not supervisors. For Key, school was not primarily an exponent of society's rules and morality, but a way of creating individuals who can build a better society.

See also: **Children's Rights; Key, Ellen; Social Welfare.**

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RONNY AMBJÖRNSSON

Charivari

Charivari was a ritual used by medieval and early modern Europeans to chastise community members who failed to

conform to social expectations, especially sexual ones. Examples included a widow who remarried, a wife who beat her husband, or a couple who failed to have children. In France, where this term originated, teenage boys and young unmarried men usually led such rituals. The youths would parade through the streets, making rough music by banging pots and pans, shouting mocking insults, and sometimes threatening violence. If the victim of the charivari handled the situation effectively by paying off the youths with wine or money, the ritual usually ended peacefully and the matter was laid to rest.

Until the nineteenth century, most Europeans thought charivari was a legitimate and effective means to curb social deviance. It allowed the community to vent complaints against the victims publicly, but it also provided the opportunity for a peaceful resolution of a potentially explosive situation. In premodern communities, the pressures on individuals to conform to social conventions was high, and failure to conform could lead to long-standing feuds between families or among neighbors. Charivari could diffuse such tensions before they became disruptive. The loud and discordant music, the costumes, and the use of effigies to mock the victim signaled that charivari, like the traditional celebration of Carnival each year just before Lent, was a special “time-outside-of-time” in which everyday taboos about speaking out against one’s neighbor were temporarily lifted. There was an element of teasing playfulness in charivari, which made it more difficult for the object of the joke to take offense and helped to diffuse the hostility of the shouted insults. For some, the ritual may have also had magical power to eliminate evil spirits from the community. Although the victims of charivari were shamed by the ritual, it also served to re-integrate them into the community. Only in the mid-seventeenth century did some victims begin to see charivari as inherently abusive, and to lodge formal complaints against it with church or city officials.

Charivari offered youths the opportunity to assert some authority over the community expectations about courtship and marriage. By chastising those who deviated from the norm, young men reminded everyone who was allowed to marry whom and under what circumstances. In Sardinia, informal groups of teenage boys often harassed adulterers and remarried widows. They were encouraged to do so by married women, who often provided the boys with the pots and pans needed for the noisy procession. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English youths participated in rough music rituals against women who beat their husbands and led attacks on local brothels during Lent. Male rivals were also victims of charivari: in 1590, all the male youths living in the German community of Burglen confronted a young man who had just moved into the village with loud music and insults because the outsider threatened their marriage prospects. On occasion, the victims refused to accept the sanction of the charivari, and the situation could

get violent. Such was the case in 1668 when Florie Gallo, a Lyon widow who had just remarried, publicly insulted the employer of the young journeymen who had made her the victim of a charivari. Gallo refused to be shamed by her remarriage, and her audacity sparked a second charivari against her, during which her young husband was shot and killed. Overall, charivari encouraged youths to feel that they had a role in enforcing social norms, specifically those that maintained a favorable male marriage market, even as they transgressed everyday norms of violence and propriety while undertaking the ritual.

As early as the sixteenth century, both church and secular authorities formally outlawed charivari. In practice, however, local authorities were often reluctant to prosecute male youth groups that performed the ritual. Unlike gangs in modern cities, early modern youth groups were often sanctioned by city officials to organize Carnival festivities and to participate in Christian religious processions. That these same groups also initiated charivari after a night of drinking at the local tavern did not lead city officials to outlaw them. Even when youths did cross the line and transformed charivari into gang rape or violent assault, judicial officials were often quite lenient when sentencing them. The youths might be kept in prison for a few days or sent to a house of correction to reform their morals, but they were rarely condemned to the usual sentences for assault. Instead, the authorities preferred to turn a blind eye to youthful infractions whenever possible. By not punishing these youths severely, the authorities avoided creating a sub-class of delinquent young men fundamentally alienated from the values of the community.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the practice of charivari gradually declined in Europe, first in the cities and then in the countryside. Whereas in the sixteenth century, charivari was both a shaming and a healing ritual, three centuries later state officials and middle-class city dwellers saw the practice as fundamentally disruptive and uncivilized. Literate Europeans began to draw sharper lines between church activities and popular culture and no longer sanctioned youth groups that participated in both. There was also less need for the community to regulate sexual norms because marriage was now unequivocally administered by the state, whose officials reached into every town and village. By the late nineteenth century, newly established police forces patrolled the city streets of Europe, preventing youths from ritually harassing victims but also replacing them as the upholders of social norms.

See also: **Early Modern Europe; Medieval and Renaissance Europe; Rites of Passage; Youth Culture.**

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SARA BEAM

Charter Schools

One of the most popular school restructuring strategies in the early 1990s was the emergence of charter schools. In 1991, Minnesota became the first state to pass legislation enabling the establishment of charter schools. In the ensuing decade, many states crafted charter school laws by taking advantage of unusual bipartisan support in the governor's offices and state legislatures. The schools quickly became popular and the number of charter schools grew from two schools in 1992 to more than 2300 public charter schools in thirty-four states and the District of Columbia serving over 500,000 students by the fall of 2001.

A charter school is a public school that is established by writing a charter, or contract, between a public authorizing entity and an interested party. Depending on the state charter school legislation, authorizing entities could include local education agencies, institutions of higher education, or special chartering agencies formed for the purpose of awarding charters. Charter schools receive public funding based on the number of children enrolled and operate as an independent, legal entity for a specified period. Charter operators must attain predetermined results or the charter may be revoked. In exchange for this level of accountability, charter schools request waivers from many state regulations that may inhibit the attainment of the educational goals set out in the charter.

Charter schools were founded to realize an alternative vision for schooling, to serve a special target population of students, or to gain flexibility and autonomy from local school

districts. Charter developers maintained that charter schools could accomplish educational goals more effectively than conventional schools, if they were given the opportunity to operate free from restrictive regulations and had stable financing that could be tied directly to the attainment of educational goals. Waivers were requested for state and local testing mechanisms, personnel regulations, or state or local curriculum mandates; however, regulations for discrimination, health, or safety of children could not be waived.

The initial success of charter schools depended primarily on the accountability that charter authorizing entities placed upon the school. Most charter schools reported that they had measurable goals as part of the charter, and the primary means for accountability included standardized tests and attendance. Charter schools that were closed or lost their charter often did so as a result of financial mismanagement or governance issues rather than deficient academic results. Charter school operators had primary control over most areas critical to school operations, including purchasing, hiring, scheduling, and curriculum in order to achieve measurable results. Charter schools also had a positive impact on school districts where they were implemented. Many districts implemented new educational programs, and/or created new schools with programs that were similar to those in the local charter schools. They also improved public relations and customer service orientation.

The charter schools created during the 1990s tended to be smaller than conventional schools, had grade configurations that were unique, frequently serving students K–8, and generally served a similar demographic of students; however, in some states charter schools served significantly higher percentages of minority or economically disadvantaged students. Charter school developers experienced many start up problems including resource limitations for facilities and operating expenses, and negotiating the extent of legal autonomy from the chartering agency. The federal government assisted the growth of charter schools with the Public Charter Schools Program established in 1994, which provided funding to offset some of the start up limitations including planning and early implementation costs. The federal authorization for charter schools increased from the initial \$6 million in 1995 to over \$200 million in fiscal year 2002. With continued federal dollars alleviating start up burdens, charter school development increased as proponents replicated successful models and encouraged greater autonomy and accountability of charter schools.

See also: **Education, United States; Magnet Schools; School Choice.**

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JUBAL C. YENNIE

Child Abuse

Child abuse, as a historical subject, is deeply problematic, since the concept of abuse is inevitably relative and can be only very tentatively applied across cultures and across centuries. Parental conduct that would be considered battering abuse in contemporary America might be practiced as routine parental DISCIPLINE in other parts of the world, and would certainly have been regarded thus in past centuries in America itself. Furthermore, by today's Scandinavian standards even limited corporal punishment, as practiced in some American families, might seem abusive, and there is debate about the acceptability of such punishment within the American medical establishment. Without doubt, judging across cultures, Americans would consider as abusive the female circumcision practiced in parts of the contemporary Islamic world or the foot binding that was once practiced in CHINA. The history and sociology of child abuse thus inevitably involve a recognition of relativism in identifying and describing the practice of abuse, inasmuch as abuse can be best understood within a particular social and cultural context.

Defining Abuse in Historical Context

The watershed in the history of child abuse must be dated as recently as 1962, when child abuse received its modern formulation by the American medical establishment as the battered-child syndrome. The mistreatment of children was certainly common in earlier centuries, indeed timelessly imprinted upon European folklore as recorded, for instance, in the tales of the brothers Grimm. Yet that very prevalence ruled out any consensus about what constituted an abusive divergence from the social norm. The article "The Battered-Child Syndrome," by C. Henry Kempe, Frederic N. Silverman, and colleagues thus marked the end of the ancien régime in the history of child abuse, separating the epochs before and after 1962. Thereafter it was the medical establishment, with its scientific credentials, that defined child abuse according to the evidence of medical examination, including the evidence of radiology, revealing the battered bones of young children. At the same time, the scientific conclusions of "The Battered-Child Syndrome" further implied a set of sociological revelations: first, the general prevalence of abuse in a supposedly enlightened society, and second, the hitherto unacknowledgable circumstance that abuse was not usually the work of evil strangers, or even evil step-parents, but was largely practiced by natural parents upon their own children.

Crucial for the theoretical understanding of the history of child abuse was the history of childhood itself. In 1960 the

French historian PHILIPPE ARIÈS proposed the controversial theses that the concept of childhood varied and developed in different historical contexts and that modern childhood was, in some sense, "discovered" in the Renaissance; only then, according to Ariès, did European culture and society become fully attuned to the distinctive character of childhood, to its fundamental difference from adulthood. The notion of fundamental difference between childhood and adulthood is essential for understanding child abuse, since the concept of child abuse assumes that there is a distinctive standard for the treatment of children and the violation of that standard defines abuse.

The relevance of the battered-child syndrome for the centuries before 1962 concerns not only the prevalence and intensity of corporal punishment but also the changing norms of punishment that might have made beating seem excessive to contemporaries. Historians such as Lawrence Stone and Philip Greven have described a culture of corporal punishment in early modern England and colonial America that is extreme by modern standards but seemingly normal in the contemporary contexts. Beatings at school constituted routine pedagogical discipline in EARLY MODERN EUROPE, England, and the United States, and this continued into modern times, while the punishment of children during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation was prescribed according to differing religious perspectives on the fundamental innocence or sinfulness of children. The well-known principle of not sparing the rod for fear of spoiling the child was not evidence of widespread abuse, but indicated rather that beating was considered an appropriate measure in the rearing of children. In fact, the Protestant culture of corporal punishment still flourished in America in the late twentieth century, prescribed in such fundamentalist publications as *God, the Rod, and Your Child's Bod: The Art of Loving Correction for Christian Parents* (1981).

While social practice in early modern families generally involved some degree of corporal punishment and some variation in judging the appropriate degree of intensity, landmark ideological developments in the writings of such philosophers as JOHN LOCKE and JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU began to transform the earlier religious controversy concerning children's sinfulness and the application of the rod. Locke, in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), advocated less beating and preferred a penal strategy of inducing shame, while Rousseau, who celebrated the innocence of humanity in the state of nature, was correspondingly convinced of the innocence of children. "Love childhood," he enjoined his readers, in *Émile* in 1762, outlining a new pedagogy so sensitive to the child's supposed nature that conventional education appeared almost in itself to be something abusive. Rousseau believed that childhood could be violated by inappropriate treatment, and that the child could be accordingly robbed of childhood; such ideas were essential to the formulation of a modern concept of abuse. Stone argues that a

whole new culture of child rearing emerged in eighteenth-century England, a culture of coddling, based on indulgence of children and childhood. The controversy surrounding SWADDLING was characteristic of the century, for Rousseau declared this conventional practice to be cruel and oppressive, in some sense abusive of the child's freedom of the limbs; therefore he called for liberation from swaddling and enlightened parents heeded his appeal.

Locke's preference for shame over corporal punishment eventually pointed the way toward a modern conception of punishment for children in which excessive beating would appear as abusive. Yet considering the twentieth-century French philosopher Michel Foucault's argument on the historical transition from the exemplary punishment of criminals to a social system of discipline and surveillance, one might conclude that children too were subject to the pressures of more comprehensive discipline even when they were ultimately spared the rod. In this sense the crystallization of the concept of child abuse would have occurred at the historical crossroads when beating was no longer regarded as the most efficacious method of pedagogy or discipline.

Innocence and Abuse

The secular standard of children's innocence, dating from the late eighteenth century, suggested whole new arenas for reconsidering what was appropriate treatment of children. The attribution of innocence implied the possibility of violation, and the necessity of protection. The British Parliament passed legislation to protect chimney sweeps in 1788, and in 1789 the poet William Blake conjured their condition in his *Songs of Innocence*. During the nineteenth century child labor laws were enacted in England, America, France, and Germany, with rhetorical emphasis on the need to protect children from exploitation. That concept of exploitation implicitly suggested the notion of child abuse.

Innocence also implied the need for sexual protection, and beginning in the late eighteenth century, according to the research of historian Georges Vigarello, the prosecution of rape in France began to reflect a new and particular disapproval of the rape of children. Though in the eighteenth century Casanova had sex with girls as young as eleven and cheerfully boasted about it in his memoirs, by the late eighteenth century in Casanova's Venice, sexual relations between adult men and prepubescent girls could also be formulated with emphatic disapproval as the violation of innocence. Nevertheless there was neither a legal nor a sociological framework for identifying such conduct as sexual abuse.

A public breakthrough occurred in the late nineteenth century when the London journalist W. T. Stead exposed the prevalence of CHILD PROSTITUTION in the Maiden Tribute scandal of 1885, publishing his revelations, for instance, under the headline, "A Child of Thirteen Bought for Five Pounds." In response to this scandal, the age of sexual con-

sent in England was raised from thirteen to sixteen. Public horror at child prostitution pointed toward the eventual public recognition of sexual abuse, and, in the late nineteenth century, psychiatry further focused on the issue by diagnosing the perpetrators. The nineteenth-century German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing, in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* described the "psycho-sexual perversion, which may at present be named erotic paedophilia (love of children)," which he defined, according to German and Austrian law, as the "violation of individuals under the age of fourteen" (p. 371).

The recognition of sexual abuse in its domestic context was almost achieved by SIGMUND FREUD when he arrived at the "seduction theory" in 1895, ascribing hysteria to the sexual victimization of children by adults, especially their fathers. In 1897 Freud reconsidered this theory, and decided that his patients suffered only from fantasies of sexual violation as children. This conclusion suggests how difficult it was for even the most intellectually adventurous Victorians to confront the concept of child abuse as a common sociological syndrome. In 1919, when Freud wrote the article "A Child is Being Beaten," he discussed this scenario entirely as a matter of fantasy.

Yet in the late nineteenth century, there were established philanthropic societies for intervention on behalf of children neglected or mistreated by their parents. The model, ironically, was the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, founded in America in 1866 and followed afterwards by SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN in America and England in the 1870s and 1880s. A "Children's Charter" in England, in 1889, attempted to formulate the rights of children. Inevitably, the philanthropic societies became the agents of Victorian middle-class intervention in the family life of the poorer classes, for the mistreatment of children was more readily attributed to the poor.

Throughout the Victorian age, dating from the first serial installments of Charles Dickens's OLIVER TWIST in 1837, at the very beginning of Victoria's reign, the figure of the menaced and mistreated child became a sentimental totem, and the brutalization of childhood's innocence exercised an almost prurient fascination upon the Victorian public. The preservation of innocence became such an obsession in nineteenth-century society that the consequences were often oppressive to the children themselves, and indeed abusive by the modern standard. The most striking instance was the medical preoccupation, all over Europe, with the prevention of MASTURBATION, as parents were encouraged to employ with their children painful precautions, contraptions, and punishments. In 1855 a French governess, Celestine Doudet, was discovered to be torturing five English sisters, with the approval of their father, in order to prevent them from masturbating. She was tried and imprisoned when one of the

children died. Similarly, in Vienna in 1899, sensational cases of battering abuse came before the public only when mistreatment actually brought about the children's deaths.

The crucial technological development that brought about the twentieth-century revolution in the recognition of battering abuse was the X ray. Radiology played a pioneering role in exploring the hidden presence of abuse in American families, beginning in 1946 with an article by John Caffey entitled "Multiple Fractures in the Long Bones of Infants Suffering from Chronic Subdural Hematoma." With such crucial discoveries being made in the medical profession, it was, eventually, in the field of PEDIATRICS that the evidence of radiology was synthesized and assimilated, culminating in the publication of "The Battered-Child Syndrome" in 1962. Recognition of the prevalence of a child abuse was a challenge both for the medical profession and for society at large. The authors of "The Battered-Child Syndrome" remarked, "There is reluctance on the part of many physicians to accept the radiologic signs as indications of repetitive trauma and possible abuse. This reluctance stems from the emotional unwillingness of the physician to consider abuse as the cause of the child's difficulty" (pp. 18–19). Yet, by the end of the decade, child abuse laws were adopted in all fifty states, and departments of social services all over America were receiving reports and making interventions in domestic scenarios for the protection of children. In the 1970s the national incidence of child abuse was estimated at 500 cases annually for every million Americans. In 1977 an International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect was established, with backing from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization, for promoting and coordinating awareness of these issues all over the world.

Preventing and Prosecuting Child Abuse

Recognizing the problem has not led to automatic or simple solutions. The most emphatic interventions—that is, the removal of children from the parents' home and sometimes even the complete termination of parental rights—may have disastrous consequences for the child. Depriving the child of parents, even violent and abusive parents, can only be vindicated by the provision of compassionate FOSTER CARE, which is always, inevitably, in short supply. Indeed, institutional foster care sometimes exposes abused children to new forms of abuse. In December 2002 the *New York Times* interviewed an adult who had been victimized as a child: "He spent six months with his mother, months when he was abused and beaten again, he said, before being sent to another foster home. . . . He said he was sexually and physically abused in several foster homes."

Even the mandated reporting of suspected abuse has turned out to be an unreliable instrument. Especially the category of neglect, which, according to one pediatric account, encompasses "lack of supervision" and "chaotic life styles,"

encourages social workers to make rather subjective judgments, especially concerning poor families (Cantwell, p. 183). Child abuse in the middle classes, however, remains more easily concealed and less readily suspected. In 1987, New York City, and most of America, was rocked by the sensational coverage of the savage abuse, resulting in death, of Lisa Steinberg, age seven, the daughter of Joel Steinberg, a lawyer, and Hedda Nussbaum, an editor.

Because some of the categories of abuse are inevitably vague, and because American consciousness of abuse changed so rapidly in the course of a generation, it became more and more common in the 1980s for adults to define themselves as victims of abuse in their own childhoods. The category of emotional abuse was considered alongside physical abuse, and some spankings, in memory, seemed like batterings. Furthermore some therapists encouraged their patients to "recover" memories of abuse that had been forgotten or repressed. This was often sexual abuse, sometimes satanic sexual abuse, and in some therapy practices it turned out, implausibly, that 100 percent of patients had been victims of childhood abuse. Issues of sexual abuse also led to devastating legal tangles in the great day care scandals of the 1980s, at the McMartin Preschool in California and the Fells Acre Day Care Center in Massachusetts. At first these cases seemed to suggest hitherto unsuspected depths of child abuse hidden away in the world of institutional day care, but the questionable legal procedure surrounding the children's testimonies led to doubts about their reliability, resulting in mistrials and overturned convictions.

Following the rape and murder of seven-year-old Megan Kanka in New Jersey in 1994, and the subsequent revelation that the crime had been committed by a man who had previously been convicted, a national movement emerged to establish a registry of sex offenders. The determination to identify convicted sexual criminals in local communities, culminating in the passage of "Megan's Law" in New Jersey in 1996, reflected the anxiety in American society about child abuse. Though the abused child can sometimes be identified through bruises or burns by a doctor or a teacher, the abusive adult can rarely be distinguished from others in the community.

A full generation after "The Battered-Child Syndrome" was first published, there is general public recognition that various forms of child abuse are pervasive—but also an awareness that abuse may remain largely concealed within the domestic walls that protect family privacy. Furthermore, just as treatment of children in the historical past may appear abusive by current standards, so there is also a divergence of perspectives within contemporary society about what exactly constitutes abuse. For all these reasons, child abuse is a social problem that has been recognized but by no means resolved. This was emphatically demonstrated at the very beginning of the twenty-first century with the scandalous revelations of

pedophile predation by Catholic priests in American parishes during the previous several decades. It was discovered that the church hierarchy had been willfully looking the other way, suppressing the scandal of abuse and reassigning pedophile priests who simply continued their abusive conduct in new communities. Public outrage, which eventually resulted in the resignation in December 2002 of Cardinal Bernard Law, the archbishop of Boston, marked a new level of American commitment to the prosecution of child abuse as an unmitigated social evil.

See also: **Age of Consent; Child Labor in the West; Children's Rights; Incest; Megan's Law(s); Pedophilia; Recovered Memory; Violence Against Children.**

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LARRY WOLFF

Child Care

IN-HOME CHILD CARE

Amy Harris-Solomon

INSTITUTIONAL FORMS

Kerstin Holmlund

UNITED STATES

Geraldine Youcha

IN-HOME CHILD CARE

The phrase *child care* is a broad term used to describe any number of arrangements or settings in which the primary responsibility is caring for a young child. There are as many different settings as there are definitions of quality in child care. The number of young children under the age of five who were cared for a portion of their day by adults other than the custodial parents increased dramatically from the early 1980s to the early 2000s largely because of the increase in the number of mothers who had joined the workforce. According to the 2002 Quality Counts survey conducted by *Education Week* newspaper, approximately six out of every ten children, or 11.9 million children, ages five and younger were being jointly cared for by parents and early childhood educators, other child-care providers, relatives, or others.

While many parents may prefer to stay home with their infants or young children, this is not a financial option for most. Whether by choice or necessity, the majority of mothers are now working. Approximately one out of four young children are in a single parent home. Parents are forced to make choices for their children, and all too often choices are driven by the financial resources of the family, the availability or location of child care, hours of operation, or other factors not necessarily associated with either quality of care or parent's preference for care. In addition to paid care both in and out of the home, many families rely on the assistance of family members, older siblings, neighbors, or friends to help care for their young children.

There are several types of child care available to families of young children. In-home care is one type of care families choose that allows the child or children to remain in their home environment. In this model of care the provider either comes to the home or lives part- or full-time in the child's home with the family. Frequently a relative is the person providing the care, and in this situation it is not required that a child-care license be obtained. In-home day care is one of the only unregulated forms of child care in existence today. Other forms of child care, such as family day homes, center care, and corporate child-care centers, have become highly regulated systems with states determining how programs are evaluated and monitored and by whom.

Historical View of In-Home Child Care

Mothers have not always had the primary role of caring for their children in their home. Over the years children have

been cared for at home by a variety of caregivers including, but not limited to, servants, slaves, wet nurses, and mammys. Even in recent history the more modern views of mothers staying at home to care for the children while the fathers work was largely a myth. Many homes of middle income or above continued to have black domestic servants as late as the 1950s.

Society's views on childhood have changed over the years as well, making it difficult to compare and contrast care provided in the home. In today's society children are cared for at least until they reach the legal adult age of twenty-one, sometimes even beyond that while they attend college or graduate school and get settled into a career. Dating back to the colonial times some children worked in the fields as early as age seven. Their childhood ended at this time, and they began to take on adult-like responsibilities of APPRENTICESHIPS, working in the home or in the fields. Wealthier families could pay for their children to study according to their inclinations, whereas children who came from poor environments had little say in where they went. Regardless of whether a parent paid for their child to go study with someone or a child was sold into an apprenticeship, the overall responsibility for their care at that time was with the caregiver or master. There was little formal schooling for young children outside of the home, therefore the work they learned through their apprenticeships was critical for their future livelihood.

Servants and Slaves

According to Geraldine Youcha, author of the 1995 book *Minding the Children*, it is hard to detail accurately what the day-to-day child-care arrangements were like in the United States during the days of SLAVERY and the colonial period. The slave mother was not expected to take care of her children, as she was required to work in the fields or on the plantation. Children were the property of the plantation owners, and many of the children of slaves were thought to have been fathered by the masters. Children of slaves were sometimes cared for by the wife of the plantation owner, older slave children, or older slaves, or were left to fend for themselves during the long day when the mother was working. Those children who were born to slaves became slaves themselves.

Some black mothers became what were termed *mammies*. These women cared for the white children on the plantation and were in charge of many household domestic matters. These women upheld the high standards of the family and enforced the values and beliefs of the family with the children. The mammy's duty of caring for the children and the home is similar to the current role of the day nanny, with a major difference being that the mammies sometimes served as wet nurses to the white infants as well.

Domestic service was a common occupation for young girls during the nineteenth century. The number of servants a household had was generally related to the family's income.

Those who had more income had more servants and a wider variety of servants. The servants who took care of young children were considered lower servants, and these included the nursemaids and children's maids.

The Impact of Industrialization

For many urban families, the Industrial Revolution raised new issues regarding child care in the home. Most obviously, some families depended on work by mothers as well as fathers outside the home, which greatly complicated child care. Most mothers, even in the working class, ceased outside work upon marriage or the birth of the first child, but this was not always possible. Children were often cared for by other relatives. The number of grandmothers living with younger kin increased, in part because of the need for child care.

The spread of educational requirements also changed child-care patterns. Schools provided care for children, reducing the focus on the home after infancy. But schools also removed SIBLINGS who might help with child care in the home—though some groups tried to keep girls out of school in part because of their child-care potential. Falling birthrates, by the later nineteenth century, also reduced siblings as a source of in-home care.

In the twentieth century, some of these arrangements continued, although the emphasis on a single wage-earner household by labor unions and other social policies allowed a period in which women most frequently took care of their own children, at least at times when their husbands were fully employed. During World War II (1939–1945), when women with young children took many jobs associated with war industries, employers and even the federal government sometimes provided child-care facilities.

Twentieth- and Twenty-First-Century Options for In-Home Child Care

After the 1970s, as women moved strongly into the labor force, families with low to moderate income levels often chose in-home care with grandparents caring for multiple children of varying ages at one time. Higher income families had the added option of hiring an au pair or a nanny to provide in-home care. While there are no licensing requirements for being an au pair or a nanny, there are interview processes and agencies that can assist with the hiring of these types of child-care workers.

An au pair is a foreign national living in a country specifically to experience life in that country. According to the American Institute of Foreign Policy, a legal au pair is a person who has contracted to come to the United States from a foreign country for a set amount of time, often one year. The term *au pair* means “equal” or “on par.” An au pair lives with a family, receives room and board in exchange for child-care or baby-sitting services. The au pair may or may not be a person with any background in child development.

Nannies also provide child care in the family home, generally as live-ins. Typically these people provide more than routine child care, as they often assist in the daily routines of running a household—running errands, shopping, doing laundry, fixing meals, cleaning house, and performing other duties. The term *nanny* comes from the term used to describe a woman who lived with a wealthy British family and cared for the children. Nannies in British families were strictly to provide child care, as other servants took care of routine household chores. Nannies in the United States are generally young women, are often illegal immigrants, and typically have simple household responsibilities in addition to the primary role of caring for the children. The majority of larger cities in the United States have agencies that assist families in locating nanny care that meets their particular needs. Nanny care, like other types of in-home care, has recently been challenged by the growth in center care and other forms of out-of-home child care that are now available.

A growing number of GRANDPARENTS are taking care of their young grandchildren. Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census from 2002 indicated that grandparents were taking care of approximately 21 percent of all preschoolers who were in some type of child-care arrangement. This type of care may provide more economic advantage for the family because there may be minimal or no cost associated with it. The grandparent provides an emotional connection for the child and is in the position to support the values of the family, provide enriching family history, share stories, and pass traditions down from one generation to the next.

Families are also becoming more creative in their work schedules, with fathers and mothers often splitting their days so they work alternate shifts in order to continue caring for their children in the home. This dependence on family members continues a long tradition of assistance from among kin and children. If the mother works during the day, the father becomes the primary caregiver in the home, and the roles are reversed once the mother returns home from work, with the father working an alternate shift.

BABY-SITTERS differ somewhat in their role as in-home caregivers. Often a baby-sitter provides short-term care for a specified number of hours and is not the primary caregiver outside of those specified hours or days. Many are still students who work part-time. They may be one of many baby-sitters a family calls on, and often their care depends on their own activities, school schedules, and time. Their influence on children can nevertheless be significant. Baby-sitters can range in age from a young TEENAGER to an elderly acquaintance, and their skills and experiences are as varied as their ages. There are baby-sitting courses available through local agencies such as the Red Cross, the YMCA, local colleges, and other youth or civic organizations.

The care of the child or children is dependent on the provider in much the same way as that of a parent. There are

no overall standards related to fee structure, roles, and responsibilities especially in the case of relative caregivers. Payment for services is dependent on such factors as whether the person providing care is also receiving room and board, whether the person is a family member doing child care as a favor or as a family obligation, and what other benefits the caregiver is receiving. Commercial in-home care requires licensing if more than one family of children is being cared for. But some families create cooperative care arrangements with an exchange of services in a given rotation.

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INSTITUTIONAL FORMS

Preschools are an inherent aspect of welfare policies in many countries, but from time immemorial the upbringing of children of preschool age has been deemed a duty for the family. The formation of child-care strategies has been influenced by the social position of men and women, as well as societal

value judgements, norms, and regulations. Any history of child care services should, therefore, consider the varying social situations of which it has been a part. The history of child care varies as well according to the social structures in different countries. Nevertheless, two distinct paths of development can be traced. The first has a social focus (care) and is linked to charity, while the second emphasizes pedagogical activities (education). The differences between these two types of institutions are still evident in the early twenty-first century.

Child Care Becomes an Issue for Poor Relief

Society faced a radical change as it underwent the transition from an agricultural to an industrialized capitalist society during the 1800s, and this affected people's living conditions. Wage earning became common and production was moved from the homestead to factories and workshops. This, in turn, created a need for child care on the part of working parents. Many children were left to look after themselves or each other because of a lack of organized child care. According to accounts beginning in the early 1800s, social unrest was an established factor in the social fabric of countries such as Germany, France, England, Sweden, and the United States. Women were actively involved in finding solutions for the problems society faced, and this also affected the social scene.

In the public debate on social problems, the working class and their families were the prime target. The wealthier classes agreed that the prevalence of street children was a central problem. Private initiatives, associations, and authorities did their best to solve these SOCIAL WELFARE problems. In England, for example, the Infant School Society was started in 1821; in Germany the KINDERGARTEN movement developed; in the United States the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY was established in 1850; and in Sweden members of the bourgeoisie organized themselves to establish infant schools, asylums, and crèches.

Child Care for the Workers' Children

During the 1800s, in many parts of Europe and the United States, there emerged institutions whose goal was providing care for workers' children. These went under different names, including child crib, crèche, cradle-school, infant school, and workhouse, but had similar ambitions, including training and reform for young offenders and activities to keep children out of trouble in their free time.

The infant school. Robert Owen was known as the creator of infant schools, which started in 1816 in Scotland. The infant school was designed as a disciplinary measure for street children, and looked after children until the age when the compulsory education system could take over. They spread rapidly throughout Europe and the United States, where people committed to social change tried to incorporate them into their respective social systems. These schools were supposed to help solve urban problems. In England, infant

schools were viewed as an ideal means of dealing with the vicious effects of industrialization. Infant schooling took a different turn in the United States. During the 1830s and 1840s an internal division arose within the movement, resulting in its decline. In France, Johann Friedrich Oberlin had already established schools for infants at the end of the 1700s, based on a social welfare perspective. The first French infant school was opened in 1828, and was eventually incorporated into the French *école maternelle*.

The workhouse. For the poor and their children throughout Europe and the United States, there was always the alternative of the workhouse. These institutions were established at various times in different countries, depending largely on when industrialization emerged there. In England, this occurred at the end of the 1700s and beginning of the 1800s. In the United States it took place during the first half of the nineteenth century, and in Sweden it did not occur until the second half of the same century. It was assumed that children in workhouses could be isolated from the unsuitable influence of their impoverished parents. The children were to be provided with moral upbringing, a simple form of education, and above all, they were to be put to work. By working, they would learn to take responsibility for their own upkeep. Critics of these institutions have seen their activities as a means of class control.

The crèche. In France, Firmin Marbeau established a crèche in 1844 as an alternative to the inadequate care provided by unaware babysitters. In 1846 he published a work entitled *Cradle schools, or the means of lessening the misery of the people by increasing the population* and was rewarded with the Monthyon prize by the French Academy. The French crèche became a model and spread rapidly to Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Spain, Austria, China, and the United States. Its advocates claimed they produced better results than providing financial assistance to individual parents. But critics stated that those who were in favor of letting society take responsibility for impoverished children were, in fact, also benignly accepting the licentious behavior that was thought to be the underlying cause of poverty.

The role of the crèche, also called nursery or cradle school, was to look after the children of working mothers. The crèche was a full-day institution for the supervision of children of poor parents where the mother had to go out to work, either because she was a single parent or because she had to contribute to the livelihood of the family. The children were to be provided with nutritious food, good care, and sound moral training. From the beginning they were run under private management, through an association, or supported by local authorities, church boards, and poor relief bodies. The emphasis in the crèche was on the day-to-day supervision and care of children. Very simple materials were used for this and often the groups were large and the buildings unsanitary. The staff of the crèches consisted of poorly

paid untrained working-class women. But upper-class men and women, sitting on their committees, carried out an extensive and sometimes painstaking supervision of the staff and activities provided.

A Kindergarten with an Educational Aim

The kindergartens were started by private initiative and with other motives than those of the infant schools, workhouses, and crèches. The first kindergarten was founded in Germany 1837 and emanated from the pedagogy and philosophy of FRIEDRICH FROEBEL. Froebel was inspired by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU and JOHANN PESTALOZZI. He did not believe in punishment as a force for upbringing and described the child as a plant in need of nourishment, light, and care. The term *kindergarten* (German for “children” and “garden”) can be seen as a symbol of his main ideas. Its activities spread to many countries due to Froebel’s writings and, above all, though the efforts of middle-class women. The growth of the kindergarten went hand-in-hand with the needs of bourgeois women to find an opportunity to establish a profession and career. For example, Margarethe Meyer and Elisabeth Peabody pioneered the kindergarten movement in the United States in the 1850s; and Bertha Meyer, Margarethe’s sister, went to England and continued the kindergarten movement there. From the middle of the 1800s onward, kindergartens were adopted all over Europe. A number of Swedish kindergarten pioneers qualified as teachers at the Pestalozzi-Froebel Haus in Berlin and on finishing their training returned to Sweden where, on a private basis, they established kindergartens, institutions for staff training (at the end of the 1800s), and a few years later, their own journal. The female pioneers within the kindergarten movement were good examples of how successfully the ideal of maternity could be combined with an interest in preschool pedagogics.

In the kindergarten the focus was on education. The staff were trained teachers or monitors, whose methods and materials constituted a part of their educational view. The activities of the kindergarten were restricted to a few hours every day. Many different interests had a stake in the kindergartens. They were financed by private individuals, companies, churches, immigrant societies, foundations, and municipalities. The kindergarten movement itself had internal contradictions. One issue was the question of which children would have access to the kindergartens. Some thought they should only be available to upper-class children, but most upper-class mothers were housewives and did not require child care. Representatives of the public kindergartens expressed the view that these institutions should be open to children from all walks of society, in order to reconcile class differences. In the United States so-called charity kindergartens were established. The first charity kindergarten was opened in St. Louis by Susan E. Blow during the winter of 1872–1873. Other women followed her example and it was not long before charity kindergartens were found in many of the towns and cities of the country.

Conclusion

Organized child care has focused its activities either on care or education. This dichotomy has reflected the institutional needs of different groups within society, either based on child care for working parents or the child’s educational process. Children have been treated differently within these dichotomous infant institutions, and the division has been an obstacle to providing an integrated program of care and education for young children. Still, in the majority of European countries and in the United States, the preschool is integrated into the school system and provides an important role in the education, upbringing, and care of children.

In the twentieth century, most traditional forms of child care have continued to serve working mothers, but the ideas underlying the workhouse or crèche have largely disappeared. In the first half of the century, they were replaced by mothers’ pensions, which allowed poor women to remain at home with their children, or by family subsidies. Since the 1970s, as more middle-class women have gone into the workplace, out-of-home child care has largely been left up to private business initiatives in the United States, while it is both provided by the state and closely supervised in most European countries.

See also: **Nursery Schools.**

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UNITED STATES

A look at child care in the United States today is a look back at the past. It has all been tried before, and the systems society has tended to support are the ones that have met its needs. These systems have been rejected and replaced by others that fit the ethos of a particular time, then resurrected in slightly different form. Group care away from home, day care, FOSTER CARE, the schools as BABY-SITTERS, and nanny care have all had previous incarnations, and twenty-first century debates about them are echoes of the heated discussions of earlier times. There is a long legacy of shared motherhood, with more than one mother in the center of the picture; there is also a little-known tradition of men as nurturers.

The Apprenticeship System

Colonial APPRENTICESHIP, imported from England, was to a large extent male child care. Designed to train adolescent boys in trades such as carpentry and printing and girls in housewifery, it was, for the poor, an early form of foster care. More than half the eleven hundred poor apprentices in Boston between 1734 and 1805 were five to nine years old. The master was responsible for children barely out of toddlerhood as well as those in their teens, and he served as "father" until the children were old enough to be on their own—usually twenty-one for boys and sixteen to eighteen for girls, or until they were married. Apprenticeship in the early teens was more common in Europe where up to a third of all adolescents were apprenticed in rural or craft households—in a combination of child care with service and training. In the United States the system began a slow decline with the American Revolution and with growing industrialization, and by the Civil War (1861–1865) it persisted only in pockets here and there.

Slavery

While apprenticeship flourished and faded, SLAVERY, that "peculiar institution," evolved its own innovative child-care practices. To free able-bodied women to work in the fields, most slave children were cared for, usually in groups, by other slaves (typically those too old to work). Sometimes the group care was day care that foreshadows more contemporary patterns; sometimes it was a system anticipating the communal child rearing of the Israeli kibbutz, with children living in a separate house. Infants were usually nursed by their mothers or by another slave. But there were instances in which the mistress acted as wet nurse to free the mother to return to more productive labor.

As for the white children on the plantation, the fabled Mammy of *Gone with the Wind* fame often served both as wet nurse and then dry nurse of the white master's child. But she existed for the most part only on large plantations. Many white children were cared for by black children hardly older than they were.

Nineteenth-Century Developments

A contagion of reform swept through the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, challenging the sanctity of the cult of motherhood. This generated a few, relatively small experiments in child care. Utopian communities, dedicated to the idea that the road to a perfect world would be paved with perfect children, included the celibate Shakers who provided what were essentially ORPHANAGES for neglected and dependent children and the controversial Oneida Community in upstate New York in which everything—human beings as well as property—was shared. Both groups cared round the clock for children who came to or, in the case of Oneida, were born into the community. The Shaker communities lasted longer than any others—from 1776 to remnants of one in the early 2000s. The Oneida Community, started by the visionary John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886) in 1848, lasted forty years and included as many as three hundred men, women, and children. Children were reared together from the time they were weaned (at one point this was as early as seven months) and were the responsibility of the community, not their parents. This horrified outside society but freed women for work, education, and love of both men and God.

In the midst of the immigrant slums of the late nineteenth century, science, philanthropy, social conscience, and practicality coalesced in the settlement house—a "settlement" of do-gooders. JANE ADDAMS (1860–1935) was a key figure in the movement. She cofounded Hull-House, which opened in Chicago in 1889 and soon became the most famous and the most influential example.

The day nurseries at the settlement houses provided for young children from the time a mother went to work until she came back at night. There was drop-off care for a few hours, care for sick children, and twenty-four-hour care, if

necessary. Children were fed hot, nutritious meals. Babies as young as two weeks old were accepted if there was real need, parents were involved as teaching assistants and in parent education classes, and caretakers made home visits to provide continuity in the child's life. These day nurseries, supported by private contributions, were criticized as the condescending meddling of well-meaning women. But they now seem to have been an effective, humane way to deal with the children of working mothers.

The KINDERGARTEN arose initially in Germany as a way of providing early education and also, particularly for the lower classes, as improved child care. Spreading to the United States, the idea of the kindergarten, where very young children could be cared for by trained professionals, fit neatly with the theoretical concepts of the influential pioneering American psychologist G. STANLEY HALL (1844–1924). Child rearing, Hall believed, was a science and too difficult to be left to stumbling mothers.

The kindergarten (run by private, charitable organizations at first, and then picked up by the public schools) was seized on as a way of assimilating the children of immigrants now crowding the American shores. By 1862 the word had come into the language, and the number of kindergartens grew along with the number of immigrants. Society had once again approved what it needed to care for its children. And as had happened with day nurseries, strategies to improve the lives of the poor trickled up to the rich and middle class. By 1920, about 10 percent of U.S. children, poor or not, attended kindergartens. For many mothers, child care for at least half the day could be assured.

Various ethnic groups brought with them the conviction that the extended family must care for its own children. Children who were ORPHANS or half orphans, or those in families in which there were simply too many children for their parents to handle, were parceled out to relatives. The ravages of death and desertion made shared mothering necessary. Many nineteenth-century families had an older relative, most commonly a grandmother, living in, mainly for assistance in child care. This residential pattern began to diminish starting in the 1920s.

In black families, too, the extended family played a large role in caring for children of unmarried mothers and women who had to work, but this safety net extended beyond blood relatives to “fictive kin,” neighbors or close female friends of the mother, or people who had come into the family constellation so long ago that no one remembered when or why. Such care lasted for a few hours, a week, or the rest of the child's life.

Even in the early twenty-first century, 50 percent of the children whose working mothers had less than a high school education were cared for by relatives. Relatives cared for 30 percent of the children of mothers with a high school diplo-

ma and 16 percent of those whose mothers had graduated from college. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the number of fathers staying home and caring for children increased dramatically since the 1990s.

By the mid-nineteenth century, ORPHANAGES, caring for large groups of children, were widely hailed as ideal institutions. They were established for the best of reasons to nurture children in the worst of times. Industrialization and immigration had cut families off from earlier supports. Epidemic disease and later the carnage of the Civil War (1861–1865) made it urgent to find a new way to care for children set adrift.

Historians have recently emphasized the extent to which working-class families often used orphanages as places to put children temporarily, when the family was financially destitute or disrupted by illness, with the parents maintaining contact with the children and later taking them back. For other children, orphanages sometimes doubled as child-placement schemes, with the goal of placing children in the homes of other families. Many authorities supported this system as the best way to provide a home environment and work training for children of the poor. It was often exploited, however, by foster parents themselves, who sought cheap labor.

A noninstitutional method to deal with orphans—the ORPHAN TRAINS—focused on individuals. In the seventy-five years between 1854 and 1929 a mass displacement rivaled only by the Children's Crusade of the thirteenth century transported more than two hundred thousand orphaned, neglected, and abandoned children from the crowded, filthy streets of New York and other eastern cities to the salubrious air of the midwestern countryside. Most of them were in the care of the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, whose founder, CHARLES LORING BRACE (1826–1890), was determined to rescue “uncared for waifs before the evil environment has done its deadly work.” Although the older children were essentially indentured servants, the farm families sometimes legally adopted the younger ones they took in. The system was criticized for tearing children from their homes or from familiar streets and for turning Catholics into Protestants in the Midwest. Yet many children prospered in homes far from home.

Trends in the Twentieth Century

The very rich, particularly before and after World War I (1914–1918), imported nannies to care for their children within the home. Preferably English or French or German and bringing with her an overlay of aristocracy on top of her own working-class origins, Nanny (or Mademoiselle or Fraulein) sometimes completely replaced parents, who made only brief state appearances. Some nannies were horrors—others lifesavers. Middle-class families, meanwhile, often gained some child care from day servants, though their quality was widely distrusted.

During the mid- and late twentieth century, with mothers with young children entering the labor force in increasing numbers, the nanny became a fixture in middle- and upper-middle-class families. The word has now come to be a generic term for a full-time or part-time home-based child-care worker. In 2001, 11 percent of young children of college-educated working mothers were cared for by nannies or baby-sitters; the percentage drops to 5 for mothers with a high school education.

Between the two world wars, rich and not-so-rich parents who could not or chose not to care for their children themselves found another solution. Elite boarding schools took the boys (and sometimes the girls) and helped their parents avoid many of the upheavals of ADOLESCENCE. The schools themselves, and the concept of adolescence as a separate period of life, were both born in the nineteenth century. Throughout this period, convents and other religious institutions continued to care for young children as they had done for centuries.

In the wider culture, after 1909 when the first WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN concluded, "The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home," foster family care came to be seen as ideal in place of the orphanage. SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (based on the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and sometimes combined with it) pioneered in investigating CHILD ABUSE and removing children from unsuitable homes starting in 1874. Slowly the focus began to shift to foster care or preserving the family rather than removing the child.

With the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s, the focus shifted again. Faced with massive unemployment, the Works Progress Administration began a system of day nurseries meant to give jobs to out-of-work teachers, nutritionists, nurses, and custodians, among others. The program, available only to the poor, was the first comprehensive support for and funding of child care by the federal government. When those make-work day-care centers were discontinued on March 1, 1943, most of them became Lanham Act centers for the children of mothers working in vitally important war-related industries. For the first time day care lost the stigma of "for the poor or unwanted only."

Under the Lanham Act, approximately 1.6 million American children were in federally funded NURSERY SCHOOLS and day care centers by July 1945, the peak of the war effort. The centers often operated in schools or on the grounds of factories, providing day care, before- and after-school care, and vacation coverage. A total of about six hundred thousand different children received care through Lanham Act funds during the two and a half years of the program's existence. More young children were cared for away from their mothers than ever before. The centers closed six months after the

war ended when women were told firmly to go back home and make room for returning servicemen.

The success of the Lanham Act centers was largely forgotten in the 1950s as women were viewed as the only effective nurturing figures. After the 1960s, however, increasing numbers of American women with young children were ignoring the conventional wisdom as they chose to work or were forced by circumstances to do so. In 2002, 72 percent of women with children under eighteen years of age were in the labor force. Day-care centers spread haltingly in the United States in response to these patterns, with some state-run institutions for the urban poor and often-expensive private centers for others.

In other cultures day care is built permanently into the national SOCIAL WELFARE system. In France, nearly 90 percent of children aged three to five are served in a program that blends education, health care, and child care in all-day centers and licensed private care homes, largely funded with tax dollars. The Israeli government provides kindergarten for all five-year-olds, and 50 percent of all three- to four-year-olds are in public child care. In China almost all children, starting at the age of fifty-six days, have government child care available, and five-day-a-week boarding care is offered in the large cities.

The widespread conviction that only a mother (preferably perfect) or her exemplary substitute can provide what a child needs to thrive is not supported by a body of respected research. Children have been helped and hurt by any system, whether orphanages, foster care, communal care, nanny care, or mother care. What matters is the quality of care and the quality of caring. And in each case much depended on the age and resilience of the child. Every era has had to find its own way of caring for the children it has produced, supported by psychological understanding that is, itself, a product of that time.

See also: **Placing Out.**

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GERALDINE YOUCHA

Child Development, History of the Concept of

The notion that children “develop” seems an intuitive, obvious, and even self-evident idea. Children are born small, knowing the world in limited ways, with little or no understanding of other people as separate from themselves in body or mind, and no understanding of social relations or morality. They grow larger, learn about the physical and social worlds, join different cooperative social groups, and cultivate a more and more complex sense of right and wrong. Psychologists, teachers, and others who deal with children constantly invoke the term *development* as a way to understand the child’s status and to rationalize practice. The language of development permeates CHILD PSYCHOLOGY and the child-centered professions. Practitioners in these areas speak of such things as “developmentally appropriate practices” for early childhood education, developmental “readiness” for reading, and “stages” of cognitive, moral, and social development. Policymakers often turn to developmental psychologists to help justify social programs on behalf of children. If “high-quality” CHILD CARE enhances a child’s development, then providing such care is good public policy.

The idea of development is used extensively to give order and meaning to changes over time in children’s physical, cognitive, psychosocial, and moral development. Development provides the rationale for myriad practices and policies related to children. There are, however, several concepts embedded in the idea of development that, upon closer inspection, may not be quite so obvious. What is not as obvious as the idea of development itself are the mechanism(s), direction(s), and end(s) of development. When one thinks about development in these terms and considers more deeply the origins and meaning of the idea of development, the obvious does not appear quite so obvious any longer.

Development is a teleological concept—it must have a direction and an end. The presumption is that later stages build on earlier stages and are more developed and “better” than earlier stages. The Swiss psychologist JEAN PIAGET (1896–1980) proposed formal operations as the universal end of cognitive development. For Piaget, formal operations provided the most comprehensive and logically powerful organization of thought. Extending Piaget’s work, Lawrence Kohlberg elaborated a stage-based theory of moral development. He too invoked a universal end based upon increasing-

ly abstract conceptions of justice. Both Piaget and Kohlberg have been criticized for their initial presumptions about universality: more differences across cultures and between genders exist than either expected. These variations have rattled the bones of those seeking a universal, timeless developmental psychology but, at the same time, opened the doors to a more pluralistic notion of development. Still, typical notions of development (universal or not) presume that development proceeds in a specific direction and that later stages are “better” and more comprehensive than early stages. Direction and end are axiomatic to development.

At the very core of the idea of development are values and ideas about the “good” for individuals and societies. Later stages are not only more comprehensive, they also represent better ways of being because the end is highly valued as a good for human existence. If development is going somewhere, if later states are “better” or “higher” than previous states, then the “end” must represent some pinnacle of human excellence; the end must be Good. On what bases are these ends grounded? These questions are critical for any inquiry into the meaning of development. The idea of development is as much grounded in values as in empirical facts. Can science provide values? (It should be noted that this entry does not address development in domains that are highly “canalized”—domains that are highly driven by genetics and physiology, for example, aspects of perceptual or motor development.)

This entry explores the meaning of development by first introducing the historical context out of which the idea of development in children arose in American thought. Second, the entry briefly explicates the work of two prominent American thinkers whose ideas about development were founded upon dramatically different assumptions about the source, mechanisms, and ends of development. James Mark Baldwin elaborated an enormously complex notion of natural development under a thinly disguised divinity. For Baldwin, the direction and end of development inhered in nature itself, conceived as good, true, and beautiful. In stark contrast, JOHN DEWEY resisted the temper of the times and rested his ideas about development on a set of explicitly chosen values. The contrast illustrates the fundamental difference between conceiving development as a natural or as a socially guided process—the child as a natural or as a cultural being.

The Historical Origins of the Idea of Development in Children

The idea of development did not begin or end with children. The idea of development in children arose from a set of older ideas about natural and human history. By the mid-nineteenth century, ideas about evolution, development, and progress formed a virtual trinity. Evolutionary history (phylogeny), individual development (ontogeny), and social change (history) all illustrated and revealed development. When systematic child study began in the United States, it

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entered through an ideological prism of evolution, progress, and development.

Although arguments for development in both natural and human history were not new, the nineteenth is most famously known as the century of “history,” “development,” and “progress.” Prior to the publication of the theories of the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882), the Scottish publisher and author Robert Chambers (1802–1871), in his influential 1844 anonymously published book, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, maintained that alongside gravitation there was one great law of life—the law of development. Just as inorganic matter was governed by the principle of gravitation, so all of life was governed by the principle of development. The English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) captured the optimistic spirit of the times when he wrote that the ultimate development of the ideal man (in his words) was logically certain; progress was not an accident for Spencer, it was a necessity. Civilization, Spencer wrote, was not artificial, but part of nature and all of a piece of a developing embryo or the unfolding of a flower. This was no mere analogy for either Spencer or the American culture that so warmly welcomed him.

Amidst the din of development, Darwin remained (arguably) neutral. Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection, as set forth in his seminal work, *On the Origin of Species* (1859), served not only as a radical secular theory of the origin of humans; it also provided a new scientific sanction for a set of older beliefs. Though Darwin himself was not committed to the notion that the evolutionary record implied development or progress—that human beings are necessarily more “developed” than other species, or that species perfect themselves through evolutionary change—many of his predecessors and proponents were just so committed. Darwin’s theory of gradual, nonprogressive evolutionary change was assimilated into a culture that was ideologically prepared to receive and transform Darwin into a spokesman for development in general. Armed with the authority of science, developmental zealots seized upon the new and secular science to confirm and extend a set of older ideas. Biologists, philosophers, historians, and many of the blossoming new social and political scientists seized Darwin’s theory of evolution as a platform for demonstrating development in fields far and wide. So-called evolutionary theists worked hard at reconciling the Biblical account of human origin with the new science. Many solved the dilemma by assimilating natural law as a visible demonstration of God’s work. Riots of analogies were drawn between the development of different animal species, human races, civilizations, and children. The idea of development, broadly construed and expressed in fields as divergent as evolutionary theory, philosophy, anthropology, and history formed, the dominant intellectual context for the systematic study of development in children. The child’s development served to demonstrate the connection between development in evolution and the development of civiliza-

tion. The child became a linchpin—a link between natural and human history.

Development: The Natural, the Social, and the Good

Both James Mark Baldwin (1861–1934) and John Dewey (1859–1952) were distinguished philosophical psychologists. Baldwin was a brilliant theorist whose theory is now recognized as an anticipation of Piaget’s work. More recently, Baldwin’s work has inspired a number of both historical and empirical inquiries. His psychology was complex, comprehensive, and brilliant in many ways. Baldwin rested much of his work on a platform of evolutionary theory to explain development in general, across natural and human history. John Dewey was a first-rate philosopher who focused his many lines of inquiry around education.

Both men wrote about evolution, child development, and history but in profoundly different ways. Baldwin found natural lines of development in evolution, child development, and historical change. Nature governed and directed these developmental processes toward truth, beauty, and goodness. Dewey saw no inevitable, automatic, or general development in any of these passages of change over time. He believed that the direction and ends of individual and social development were based on culturally negotiated values. The contrast between Baldwin and Dewey is powerful. It illustrates the vastly different implications of understanding child development as a naturally occurring process in which the end resides in nature or in culture and history. Both theories are anchored in values, but the source of those values differs.

James Mark Baldwin. Baldwin entered Princeton University (then the College of New Jersey) in 1881 and soon fell under the influence of minister, professor, and college president James McCosh. McCosh was one of many liberal clergy who struggled to reconcile science and scripture. He taught the young Baldwin that human beings were fundamentally good and that just as science revealed divine handiwork in nature so moral philosophy demonstrated moral purpose and design in human affairs. Moral law was as real and inexorable as gravity, and both indicated the presence of a divine governor of the world. When Baldwin elaborated a thinly empirical but richly theoretical account of child development, he maintained his professor’s conviction that to describe normal social practice was also to prescribe ethical behavior. Through his many written volumes Baldwin specified ends of development founded upon presumably natural causes. In so doing, Baldwin proposed a basic concurrence between the natural and the good. People are good because God directs nature toward the good.

Baldwin acknowledged evolutionary biology as the “handmaiden” to individual development. Darwin identified natural selection as the mechanism of evolutionary change. Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1802) proposed that animals may, through effort, modify their form to better adapt to the

environment and transmit these adaptations to progeny. Without resorting to simple Lamarckian theory, Baldwin, by a series of rather ingenious moves, invented a second mechanism of evolutionary transmission, *organic selection*, in order to explain apparently inherited acquired characteristics. (The notion of organic selection, also known as the *Baldwin effect*, is still recognized by evolutionary biologists as a mechanism that can account for various kinds of local adaptations in species.) Baldwin elaborated and transposed principles of evolutionary development onto wider and wider platforms to include both the child and society. He depicted children's social development as a dialectical process in which notions of self and other developed concurrently toward an increasingly comprehensive understanding of both. Moral development was part and parcel of social development. As one of the late-nineteenth-century idealist thinkers, Baldwin maintained that a sense of self that is good and law-abiding must be a public self in which private ends and social ideals were one and the same. The naturally developing social self is good, and it demonstrates the unfolding of more highly developed forms of self-realization, or Mind. The source, direction, and end of development are thus transcendent, beyond the reach of ordinary human experience.

In 1884 Baldwin declared that the embryology of society is open to study in the nursery, and that any theory of social organization and social progress must be consistent with individual psychology. The individual and society are two sides of a naturally growing whole; the dialectic of individual development must hold true on the level of social organization. Thus, social progress occurs through a dialectic process strictly analogous to the dialectic of personal growth in the child. Human history cannot move in a direction that violates those states of mind—the ideal, social, and ethical states—that have enabled the individual to come into social relationships. Baldwin was convinced that social progress proceeded toward the pursuit of moral and social ends because “this is the direction that nature itself pursues in social evolution” (Baldwin, p. 163). The child and society both develop by means of natural law expressed in traditional Christian values. Naturally occurring “facts” or descriptions of development reveal values because values are inherent in nature. Mind, when fully revealed, is true, good, and beautiful. Development leads naturally to God made manifest in nature.

John Dewey. There were skeptics, however, who did not believe in the trinity among development in evolution, child development, and social progress. They were minority voices barely heard above the din of development. Dewey was one of those skeptics, and he too wrote about the meaning of changes over time in evolution, child development, and history. Highly critical of those around him who found the source and end of development in nature, Dewey once remarked that the idea that everything develops out of itself

was an expression of *consummate juvenilism*—a relic of an older mode of thinking made obsolete by Darwin.

Dewey's ideas about development are most visible in his writings on education, his philosophical center. In a direct assault on Spencer, Dewey found false the common analogy between a child's development and the unfolding of a flower. Dewey remarked that the seed's destiny is prescribed by nature, whereas the growth and destiny of the more plastic child is open and variable. More flexible outcomes are possible for richly endowed human beings than for a seed. The child may possess “germinal powers,” according to Dewey but, playing on the analogy of the child as seed, he asserted that the child may develop into a sturdy oak, a willow that bends with every wind, a thorny cactus, or even a poisonous weed. Dewey rejected any idea of development that suggested or invoked the unfolding of latent powers from within toward a remote goal. Development does not mean just getting something out of the child's mind; development is manifested through lived experience. Dewey recognized the need to specify direction and ends to growth. He understood that one cannot know what development is desirable without antecedent knowledge of what is good. It is just this presumed antecedent knowledge on which those purporting “natural” development depend.

Dewey's philosophical psychology is, first and foremost, a social psychology. He acknowledged a rapidly changing American landscape and lived through a period of extraordinary social change. He contended that ideas and institutions must change with social change. He urged philosophers to stop worrying about the problems of philosophers and worry more about the problems of people. In response to the complex nature of the American industrial social order, Dewey leaned most heavily on schools to provide an institutional setting for children's development. He proposed that education serve as a lever of social change and charged schools with a mandate to become places that set development in the right direction. Dewey maintained that teachers should strive to provide a designed environment in which particular ideals of development are fostered through lived experience. Specifically, Dewey found those ideals in democratic governance and scientific inquiry, the latter broadly construed and akin to the term *critical thinking*.

If the classroom could become a miniature model of a community based upon democratic governance and critical inquiry rather than arbitrary authority or sentiment, then that would provide, Dewey maintained, the best guarantee of a good society. Children arrive at school with certain native interests or curiosities. These dispositions are beginning points for teachers to guide children toward particular socially desired ends. It is the business of school to set up environments that make possible the creation of small cooperative groups; the task of the teacher is to direct natural tendencies toward systematic inquiry and democratic gover-

nance. Systematic inquiry into the biology of plants may thus emerge from the children's collectively designed and cultivated garden. From a class trip to the zoo might emerge shared inquiry into the history or ecology of zoos or to the natural habitats of different zoo animals. Growth occurs through lived experience. Dewey hoped that transforming social experiences in classrooms would guide children to grow "in the right direction." The classroom becomes a place in which the conditions of democratic governance and inquiry free from arbitrary authority or sentiment can and must exist to ensure that democracy and science thrive in the wider society. Education, growth, and experience thus become synonymous with one another. Knowledge and politics become one, as science in the classroom becomes democracy in action. Schools thus become agents of both individual development and social progress.

Dewey thought of schools as laboratories in which scientists can learn about the possibilities of human development. In 1896 he began one such "laboratory" school at the University of Chicago. In schools, Dewey maintained, citizens may project the type of society they want. Dewey wanted schools to become places in which children would grow and carry intelligence into a social democracy. Science and democracy demand one another, because science is the most democratic means of knowing and democracy is the most objective means of governance.

Dewey promoted science and democracy as ideal ends for both the child's individual development and society's progress as well. In this sense, he resembles Baldwin and others in yoking individual development to social progress. While not inscribed in nature, science and democracy approach the status of absolute goods because they are, in Dewey's judgment, the best ways of solving an enormous range of problems. Science and democracy are not inevitable ends of history; they demand constant nurture and reformulation. The solution to the problem of values, endemic to the idea of development, lies not in natural law for Dewey but in socially agreed-upon values. Natural law conceptions of development avoid the problem of specifying values because the ends of development, the good, are presumed to be inherent in nature itself.

Having rejected development as a natural process, Dewey posed and answered just the sorts of questions demanded by the idea of development. Rather than postulating development as a natural unfolding of latent powers, Dewey maintained that development is a function of socially acknowledged goods for self and society. In his judgment, democratic governance and objective thinking were the best guarantees of a good, just, and experimenting society. Like the nineteenth-century English philosopher John Stuart Mill, the German physiologist and psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), the American psychologist Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), and others, Dewey sought a so-

cial and developmental psychology based upon understanding people in relation to their cultural circumstances. In this view, culture itself becomes a mechanism of development. He thought that this social psychology could stand beside the older and more entrenched experimental psychology and become a "second psychology." By the early 2000s, "ecological," "sociocultural," or sociohistorical developmental psychologists perhaps best represented Dewey's perspective. Following on the heels of the great Russian psychologist LEV VYGOTSKY (1896–1934), contemporary psychologists such as Urie Bronfenbrenner, Michael Cole, Barbara Rogoff, and Jerome Bruner have all proposed models of and mechanisms for a cultural-historical approach to development. These are developmental psychologists who situate development in a social context and understand development as incumbent upon culturally valued goals and social practices.

Theories of the Late Twentieth Century and Beyond

From the mid-1970s to the early 2000s, a persistent string of philosophers, historians, and psychologists have argued again that psychology traffics in values in spite of its persistent hopes to be a value-free, objective science. Development is a value-laden idea, sometimes derived not as closely from empirical data as some might like to believe. Dewey illustrates how once one renounces natural ends to development, one must become politically and morally engaged in a process to determine that which shall constitute good development and how it might be achieved. Science cannot identify what those goods are, but it can suggest different ways to achieve different ends. Once one renounces fixed and naturally determined ends, development becomes historically contingent. The philosopher Marx Wartofsky wrote that there are no values in nature; people create them. In this view, development does not lurk directly in the people studied but resides in the perspective used. Jerome Bruner has argued that theories of development require a metatheory of values about the good person and the good society. If developmental psychologists fail to examine those values and hide behind the veil of nature, developmental theory risks becoming a mere handmaiden of society's implicit values rather than a consciously implemented goal. Sheldon White has suggested that while the idea of development may be proposed in the context of analysis, it becomes the idea of the Good in practical affair; and that while the idea of development is a systematic idea, it is likely to be treated as an ethical ideal. Bernard Kaplan (1983) and William Kessen (1990) have also drawn our attention to the value-laden nature of the idea of development. The "end" of development reflects that which people value and toward which people steer their children's development. These developmental values have varied tremendously across history and cultures. If development points the way to the good, then it is good to help development. In the midst of his youthful struggles to reconcile religion with science, the young Piaget wrote that "to hasten evolution is to do good" (p. 29). Develop-

mental psychology began as a search for values and continues to do so today.

See also: **Bowlby, John; Bühler, Charlotte; Burt, Cyril; Freud, Anna; Freud, Sigmund; Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm August; Gesell, Arnold; Hall, Granville Stanley; Isaacs, Susan; Klein, Melanie; Watson, John B.**

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EMILY D. CAHAN

Child Guidance

Child guidance in the United States began with an idealistic mission characteristic of Progressive reform: prevention, first of juvenile DELINQUENCY and then of MENTAL ILLNESS by identifying the first signs of problems in children. Over the years, the goal of prevention faded, and child guidance came to treat mild behavior and emotional problems in children. The child guidance movement began in 1922 as part of a program sponsored by a private foundation, the Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. The movement established community facilities, called child guidance clinics, for treating so-called maladjusted children, school-aged children of normal intelligence exhibiting slight behavior or psychological problems.

The Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency introduced eight demonstration clinics in cities across the

country, which sparked the creation of some forty-two clinics by 1933. Child guidance clinics employed clinical teams made up of newly established professionals: a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a psychiatric social worker. Members of these clinical teams pooled their different perspectives to provide treatment sensitive to all aspects of the child's situation. Established as facilities to treat all maladjusted children in a community, the new clinics cooperated with existing social welfare, educational, and medical services to reach the widest range of children.

The child guidance movement of the early 1920s embodied the optimism and vigorous outreach of the MENTAL HYGIENE movement—psychiatry's early-twentieth-century push into the community, to educate the public about mental illness, identify its early signs, and it was hoped, to prevent it. The very term *guidance* suggests something between education and nurture on the one hand, and medical models of treatment and cure, on the other. By the 1930s, however, child guidance was a clearly delineated medical endeavor, aimed at treating a population of children with mild behavioral and emotional problems within the confines of clinic offices. Gone was the practice of early intervention in children, the broad local outreach linking clinics to networks of child-helping services, and identifying problems in children appearing in a variety of locations throughout the community, especially immigrant and poor children.

Nevertheless, child guidance continued to direct itself toward the same at-risk population: treatment of the so-called problem child. Child guidance defined the problem child as a child of normal intelligence, exhibiting a range of behavior and psychological problems, which were lumped together in a category called *maladjustment*. Indications of such maladjustments ranged from thumb sucking, nail biting, enuresis, and night terrors, in younger children, to personality traits such as sensitiveness, seclusiveness, apathy, excessive imagination, and fanciful lying. Also included was a category of undesirable behavior in older children such as disobedience, teasing, bullying, temper tantrums, seeking bad companions, keeping late hours, and engaging in sexual activities.

The problem child in the early movement was a social problem; its definition signified nonconformity to socially defined norms of behavior. The clinics were invested with social importance, responsible for enforcing norms of behavior and preventing social deviance. By 1930, child guidance began to help individual children whose problems were seen as important only to themselves and their families. The focus of problems had changed from an aggressive, extroverted, misbehaving child, to the internal psychological and emotional states of children. Child psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers, saw their work as medical; diagnosing psychological disorders in children. This shift brought about a marked change in the *social characteristics* of the problem child. The social agenda of child guidance in the

1920s reached poorer, immigrant children, on whom it imposed middle-class standards of conformity. By the 1930s, child guidance treated an increasingly middle-class, native born population: the children of anxious, educated parents. With this profound change in focus, child guidance clinics became centers of research and treatment for the continually shifting population of problem children in the community.

See also: **Child Psychology; Child Saving; Juvenile Court.**

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MARGO HORN

Child Labor in Developing Countries

Exploitation of working children in developing countries has been reported since the 1800s. However, political awareness of the effects of working on children's physical and psychological well-being has gained substantial momentum in the international community only since the start of the 1990s.

Child Labor in International Law

The UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (1989) was a landmark in international law. It became an unprecedented success as it reached almost universal acceptance with 190 state ratifications in less than ten years. Although the question of child labor was dealt with in only a few of the convention's provisions, the massive political support for CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, as such, also enhanced the commitment to working children. In international law, labor issues have been reserved for the International Labour Organization (ILO). In the traditional perspective of the ILO, child labor must be eradicated from the labor market. Hence, from its establishment, the ILO strategy to combat child labor was to secure international agreements on a minimum working age for children. During the 1920s and 1930s a series of international treaties covering different sectors urged states to set a minimum working age. In 1973 these instruments combined into the Convention concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. The overall aim, as stated in Article 1, was to "ensure the effective abolition of child labour."

Parallel to the endeavors to regulate the (adult) labor market, the League of Nations and later the United Nations (UN) strived to abolish slavery and forced labor. Children were not dealt with specifically until the UN's Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery (1956), which included children "delivered . . . to another person . . . with

a view to the exploitation of the child" in a list of slavery-like practices (Article 1). Ten years later children were mentioned in one of the fundamental UN human rights treaties, the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), which obliges state parties to criminalize employment of children under conditions "harmful to their morals or health" (Article 10). The perspective of the human rights treaties of the UN differed from that of the ILO: the former addressed the well-being and development of the child, and thus adopted the protective approach that had long prevailed in philanthropy and welfare legislation throughout the industrialized world.

With the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 a child-centered approach became popular. In line with the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, it demands protection of the child against economic and social exploitation (Article 32). Furthermore, the 1989 convention included new aspects of protection against sexual and other forms of exploitation (Articles 34 and 36) and against recruiting children to any form of war activities (Article 38).

The tremendous support for the children's rights convention influenced the approach to child labor. In the ILO the traditional trade union perspective was gradually revised to correspond more closely with the protective orientation. In 1999 the ILO adopted for the first time a purely child-oriented treaty: the Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The new strategy and instrument proved to be the greatest success in the history of the organization, with more than 130 states ratifying the treaty in three and a half years.

Child Labor in Practice

The overall figures of children at work show a decreasing trend; the ILO provides a very cautious benchmark of 1995 with approximately one out of four children, ages five to fourteen, working, against one out of five in 2000. In its more detailed analysis the ILO refers to three categories of child labor: nonhazardous work, hazardous work, and unconditional worst forms of child labor. Their estimates, from 2000, are that 186 million children under fifteen years of age undertake nonhazardous work. The definition of this category allows up to fourteen hours of work per week for children over five and below twelve years of age, and up to forty-three hours of work per week for children age twelve years and above. Hazardous work includes working hours that exceed these figures, or work that has or leads to adverse effects on the child's health or moral development. The estimate is that 111 million children fall under this category, almost 60 percent of economically active children (estimated to include 211 million children ages five to fourteen). More boys fall within these two categories than girls. The unconditional worst forms of child labor include forced and bonded labor, armed conflict involvements, prostitution, pornography, and

illicit activities. A conservative calculation by the ILO estimates that eight million children below eighteen years of age are involved in these types of activities.

The largest single group of working children are those active in their parent's business, farm, workshop, or other endeavor. They are not represented in any of the statistics above and are rarely included in macro studies.

Even with a narrower focus on children employed in paid labor, research is still difficult and relatively scarce for the developing world. The growth of children's rights movements from the 1990s, however, has facilitated new research institutions and programs, such as the Innocenti Research Centre, which operates under the auspices of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Distribution and conditions of child labor vary from region to region. Comparative studies based on rather large samples from the World Bank household or living standard surveys around 1990 indicate that children, and in particular boys, in some countries contribute substantially to their families' income: one-third of household earnings in Ghana, one-fourth in Pakistan, and only one-tenth in Peru, in families in which children were working and not attending school. Such families are highly dependent on their working children and thus vulnerable to reduction in their children's access to jobs.

In families in which children are going to school in addition to working, the families are generally better off and less dependent on the child's income. There seems to be no clear relation, however, between child labor and school attendance. In some regions the prevailing tradition is that children combine work and school, whereas in other regions girls in particular do neither—generally because they are busy with domestic duties. Latin American countries most markedly have children in the former category, Asian countries the latter, with African countries placed in between.

Socioeconomic factors that influence the rate of child labor include economic growth (though not always with a decreasing effect on child labor); the adult labor market (for women in particular); parents' level of education; access to school as well as other community facilities; and household composition. Culturally, it is widely accepted in the developing world that children engage in work. Taking a share in the family income generation or in household duties is not only vital for survival or comfort but also an integral aspect of the child's moral and physical education.

Children's health is influenced by their work in many ways. Statistics in this field are most often poor or lacking, and in macro studies it is not possible to point to clear and unambiguous relationships. Work may have positive effects on children's health in some situations, for the poorest children by contributing to the mere means of subsistence. On

the other hand, children are more sensitive to influences of noise, heat, certain chemicals, and toxics, and they are more prone to ACCIDENTS than adults. Furthermore, children tend to work in the most unsafe sectors. By far the largest group, over two-thirds, of economically active children is found within primary production, particularly in agriculture. Manufacture, trade, and domestic services are less hazardous but also count a smaller proportion of laboring children, with a total share of one-fourth. Children employed in construction, transportation, and mining are exposed to very high health and safety risks, but the proportion of children in these business sectors is relatively small, below 10 percent. The unpaid work that most children undertake within the family does not generally appear to be safer or more favorable to their health than paid work. Finally, although long-term effects of child labor cannot be clearly identified, there seems to be a correlation between inferior health standards in adulthood and child labor, particularly for women.

Combating Child Labor

Among the major international agents in the field, in particular the ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank, a consensus has been reached to focus efforts to curb the worst forms of child labor. All three organizations assist governments in developing policies and strategies, and they also support implementation programs.

Though only a very small share of working children is involved in export businesses, trade mechanisms including sanctions are prominent in the public debates on the issue. In the World Trade Organization (WTO), however, binding statutes against trade involving child labor are being strongly opposed, particularly by developing countries that see protectionism as the underlying motive.

There is a broad consensus that trade sanctions are a double-edged instrument that may have adverse effects on children. Collaborative initiatives between the human rights and business sectors are on the other hand a fast-expanding field. In 2000 the UN launched a program, Global Compact, to work directly with companies, with "effective abolition of child labour" as one of the nine goals.

Regionally, under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) there is a mechanism to monitor labor rights within member countries. The United States has a long tradition of unilaterally applying certain labor standards, encompassing prohibition of child labor, to trade agreements. In the early 2000s, both the United States and the European Union (EU) have a so-called General System of Preferences granting trade benefits to countries that live up to certain labor standards. While the U.S. system focuses solely on import goods, the EU system, installed in 1998, also focuses on applicant state policy to abolish child labor more broadly.

Other measures to combat child labor have been developed by individual companies as well as business sectors,

often in cooperation with nongovernmental organizations. These initiatives include the promotion of investment and trade principles, demands on suppliers in developing countries, and the labeling of products.

Despite these efforts, given the many and complex interests embedded in child labor issues, strategies to combat the adverse effects of child labor must operate at many different levels and include all stakeholders, including children themselves.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Globalization; International Organizations; Work and Poverty.**

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ANETTE FAYE JACOBSEN

Child Labor in the West

Children have always worked. In preindustrial times peasant children aided both parents in their work as soon as they

could make themselves useful, and they contributed to supplement the income of the household. Children's access to work was regulated by their strength and work ability. Industrialization promoted changes concerning children's wage-work. Children at work became a political and social issue.

Child labor is employment of children who are less than a specific legal age. The specific minimum age for when children were allowed to work in certain trades varied from nation to nation. A limit was, however, often set at twelve or thirteen years around the turn of the twentieth century. Legislation had actual and cultural consequences. Age—more than body and physical strength—shaped the conceptions of children's identity.

Child Labor in Western Societies: Development and Change

The history of child labor in Western societies is a history of how children were partners in the family economy. In a household economy the condition of children was strongly shaped by the family's status and labor requirements. Whether the nature of the family enterprise was agricultural production, industrial employment in an artisan or putting-out system, or some combination, children were expected to begin contributing to the work at a young age. As participants in a family enterprise, children were incorporated into adult roles early on. Socialization centered on the gradual introduction of children into the household economy.

As early as the eighteenth century, industrialization led to the employment of very small children in British textile mills, and in the nineteenth century children played an important role in key industries such as textiles and coal mining. In the British coal industry in the mid-nineteenth century, 13 percent of the labor force was under the age of fifteen. In Belgium, the percentage was even higher: in the coal and coke industry, children under sixteen constituted 22.4 percent of the total workforce of forty-six thousand in 1846.

Child labor was gender divided. Whereas boys worked in industries such as sawmills and coal mines, girls worked in the textile and garment industries. According to the censuses of 1871 from Lancashire, England, one girl in four aged between ten and fifteen worked in cotton manufacture. In the 1870s nearly one in three of Bedfordshire's girls between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in straw plait trades, whereas one in nine of the Buckinghamshire girls in the same age group worked as pillow lace-makers.

In the United States rapid industrialization after the Civil War (1861–1865) increased the child labor force and introduced new occupations for children. According to the nationwide census of 1870 about one out of every eight children in the United States was employed. By 1900 approximately 1,750,000 children, or one out of six, had wagework. Sixty percent were agricultural workers, and of the 40 percent in industry over half were children of immigrant families.



Child labor in the West was often divided along gender lines. Boys worked in saw mills and coal mines but most textile mill workers, such as this girl photographed by American photographer Lewis Hine at the start of the twentieth century, were female. The Library of Congress.

Life imposed heavy burdens of work on all members of immigrant farm families in North America. Life was even harder for a huge contingent of single immigrant children who migrated from the United Kingdom to Canada between 1869 and 1919. Seventy-three thousand neglected children from urban areas, “unaccompanied by parents and guardians,” were transferred to Canadian families, often on remote farms. Ten times as many families as could be provided with a British child volunteered to take one into their homes. The reason for this was that in preindustrial and rural Canada families needed children for the work they could do. The immigrant children worked as farm laborers and domestic servants.

How were the conditions for child laborers in industry compared with agriculture? In France, research shows that industrialization intensified work for some children, as workdays in factories were long and more structured. On the other hand, rural life in late-nineteenth-century France was rigorous and primitive, and young men from certain rural

areas were more often rejected for military service than young men from cities, challenging the “misery history” of industrial child labor.

Another historical myth is that industrialization broke down traditional family ties and dissolved working-class families. A case study of what was the world’s largest textile plant at the turn of the twentieth century—the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in New Hampshire—dispels the myth and illustrates how families adapted to changing work patterns and survived. In a sharecropping village outside Bologna, Italy, a local textile mill strengthened family unity by promoting coresidency of children and parents. Rather than passing their childhood as apprentices and servants in the houses of relatives or strangers, children of peasant families now had the opportunity to live at home with their parents while working in manufacturing.

Children’s contributions to family income varied in amount and as a percentage of the total across the family’s life cycle, becoming greatest after adult male earnings had

peaked. Figures from the United States indicate that children were likely to contribute about one-third of family income by the time the adult male was in his fifties. In Europe, children's contributions were even greater; about 41 percent when the head was in his fifties, and in some cases even higher. In a textile town in Catalonia, Spain, when the head of household was in his late fifties children were contributing just under half the family income, and when he was over sixty, more than two-thirds. In France, a study of family incomes noted that the contribution of children's wages to family income actually rose from 10 percent in 1907 to 18.5 percent as late as in 1914. The male breadwinner norm was hardly an actuality in these areas. Children, primarily boys, were considerable wage earners. Girls were needed as domestic workers in the households.

By the late nineteenth century British children for the most part no longer participated in key industries such as mining and textiles. In 1911 over one-quarter of employed males under age fifteen worked in service industries in Britain. This was work that was marginal to the economy. In Norway statistics show a similar change in the child labor market. In 1875 children worked in such major industries as agriculture, tobacco, and glass manufacture. Of a total of forty-five thousand industrial workers, about three thousand were children. By 1912, however, their role had been sharply restricted, and, typically, boys were distributors of newspapers and girls worked in domestic service. Thus by the early twentieth century, the essential role of children's labor was on the decline.

Child Labor Revisited: New Perspectives

Why did child labor decrease around the turn of the twentieth century in Western societies? An increase in children's school attendance is part of the explanation. Research from Sweden, Denmark, and Chicago indicates that one of the key motives for the introduction of compulsory schooling laws was to control and abolish child labor. In Norway the number of days at school increased by 50 percent from 1880 to 1914. At that time children were schoolchildren and part-time workers.

A crusade against child labor developed in most Western countries in the late nineteenth century. The modern order of childhood demanded actions against the "social evil" and for child labor laws. The child labor laws were hardly effective, as they did not provide for sufficient enforcement. Compulsory schooling laws were more effective, and the debates on child labor had an educative impact as well. States, educationalists, politicians, and philanthropists joined in the efforts to get children out of the factories and into school. In the United States, the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE (NCLC) was organized in 1904. The committee helped organize local committees in every state where child labor existed, held traveling exhibits, and was the first organized reform movement to make wide use of photographic propa-

ganda. In 1915 the NCLC published 416 newspapers and distributed more than four million pages of propaganda materials. The propaganda promoted—here and elsewhere—changing attitudes and practices regarding childhood. The well-known photographer LEWIS HINE was one of the NCLC's crusaders. In 1908 Hine resigned from his job as a teacher and devoted his full career to photography and to his work as a reporter for the NCLC.

Whereas child labor was considered both economically valuable and ethical in preindustrialized societies, it was increasingly understood as uncivilized as industrialization progressed. Traditionally, the history of child labor is inscribed within this framework of progress and morality. E. P. Thompson, writing in 1963 about the Industrial Revolu-

tion in Britain, concluded that child labor was interpreted as “one of the most shameful events in our history,” a reminiscence of a barbarian and dark past. In later years, however, a broader cultural perspective on child labor has opened up various nuances. One crucial question challenged the traditional perspective on child labor: because work is an important component of the human identity, why should children at work not experience the value of their efforts?

Within a cultural perspective, working children and their families moved from the periphery to the center of study. Child labor was interpreted as a meaningful activity in which children made themselves self-reliant and responsible for the support of the family. Working children were sometimes, but not always, victims. According to a new regime that condemned child labor, children were supposed to PLAY and go to school. The schoolchild as norm was gradually perceived as “natural” and “universal.” As history is a way of seeing the past through the filters of the present, the complexity of child labor in the past turned out to be difficult to depict.

On the societal level, changing family strategy from “all hands at work” to a male breadwinner strategy, state action for compulsory schooling, and change of employment from paternalism to capitalism profoundly changed the conditions of child labor. Nevertheless, children continued to work as part-timers and as full-time laborers in many parts of the non-Western world. In the late twentieth century, child labor expanded enormously in the world as industry globalized, and child labor also reemerged in Western societies. The history of child labor is hence a history of continuity, and child labor remains an issue in the early twenty-first century.

See also: Economics and Children in Western Societies: From Agriculture to Industry; European Industrialization; Placing Out; Work and Poverty.

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ELLEN SCHRUMPF

Child Pornography

Child pornography refers to visual representations of children that are considered obscene. It is both a cultural issue and a legal definition. Child pornography is a problem about which North Americans, and to some extent Europeans, have been acutely concerned since about 1980, but overtly sexual images and texts involving children have always been made. Cupid, for instance, a mythological figure who incites lust, has always been represented as a child or adolescent. Prior to about the eighteenth century, childhood SEXUALITY was considered normal—one among many natural traits education was supposed to discipline in order for a child to attain adult social status—and therefore pictures of sex involving children were considered to be only one among many types of pornography. With the advent of a modern ideal of absolute childhood sexual innocence in the eighteenth century, however, explicitly sexual representations of children became socially unacceptable.

Many respectable Victorian images of and stories about children contain sexual overtones or betray unconscious sexual desires. These implications, however, were not apparent to anyone who was utterly convinced of childhood innocence at any time between the early nineteenth century and the late twentieth century. Charles Dodgson (better known by his pen name of LEWIS CARROLL), for instance, made photographs of semi-dressed or nude children, and would have been sincerely shocked by the innumerable late-twentieth-century allegations of child pornography that now plague his reputation. By the 1960s and 1970s, however, novels such as *LOLITA*, as well as other aspects of popular culture, had begun to stir a public sense of apprehension about the literary or visual abuse of children for sexual purposes. Shortly thereafter, the growing focus on CHILD ABUSE, child ABDUCTION, and other concerns about child safety turned public attention to the potential problems of pornography.

Legally, child pornography was first distinguished from adult pornography in the United States in 1982, with the case of *New York v. Ferber*. Over the course of the next fourteen years, a succession of legal decisions or government reports broadened the definition of child pornography until it meant any photographic image, of real children or not, that in any one person’s opinion might seem “lewd.” Key cases, government reports, and legislation include the 1986 Attorney General’s Commission on Pornography (the Meese Report), *Massachusetts v. Oakes* (1989), *Knox v. the United States* (1991–1994), and the 1996 Child Pornography Prevention



Brooke Shields was only fifteen years old at the time she posed for a notoriously provocative jeans ad for Calvin Klein in 1980. Although the ad campaign focused public attention on the issue of child sexuality, there was no significant backlash against Calvin Klein as a result. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

Act. The production, distribution, or consumption of child pornography became punishable under federal law by prison terms of up to twenty years. In addition, most states passed laws requiring all photographic film processors to report any pictures they found suspicious to the police.

Only photographic images, analog or digital, were implicated, for only photographic images seemed sufficiently real and documentary to warrant prosecution. The link that child pornography was thought to forge between artificial images and the realities of sexual child abuse informed the logic behind child pornography law. Lawmakers and the American public feared not only the abuse of children during the making of child pornography, but also its effects on later viewers. Child pornography was believed to lower the sexual inhibitions of both child victims and adult perpetrators, as well as haunting children throughout their lives. In 2002, the legal trend of child pornography law was altered by *Ashcroft v. the Free Speech Coalition*. Rejecting the claim that child pornography should include all images of children, regardless of whether any real children had been involved in its making, the Supreme Court ruled that digitally artificial images were

exempt, because they did not document any actual child abuse.

Child pornography law developed in a climate of high anxiety about the sexualization of children throughout Western culture. This anxiety, and reactions to it, can be charted by three successive scandals about advertising campaigns by the Calvin Klein company, a successful clothing manufacturer. In 1980, Calvin Klein launched a series of magazine and television advertisements for jeans showing child star Brooke Shields, in the guise of a sexually attractive woman, uttering the slogan, "What comes between me and my Calvins? Nothing." The campaign made the phenomenon of the child-woman a public issue, but incurred no reprisals. Sales of the jeans soared. In 1995, Calvin Klein again produced an ad campaign for jeans that shocked many consumers and generated widespread comment. The ads featured several models in suggestive poses, some with their underwear exposed, who appeared to be close to the legal AGE OF CONSENT (eighteen). This time, a legal investigation was initiated. Although the models proved to be adults, the ad campaign did not last long. By 1999, tolerance for any hint

of child pornography had vanished. That year, yet another troubling Calvin Klein ad campaign, featuring children gambling in underwear, elicited outrage so vociferous it forced the withdrawal of the campaign within a day.

The growing accessibility of the Internet has raised new concerns about child pornography. Pictures of children involved in sex acts can now be circulated much more rapidly and widely than ever before. Because children use the Internet, the risk of their exposure to child pornography is correspondingly increased. The crime of child molestation can be strongly correlated to the consumption of child pornography, although no cause and effect relationship had ever been conclusively proved. It is much more likely that consumption of child pornography and violence against children are both effects of far more complex causes.

Anxiety over criminal child pornography both expresses and conceals a much deeper and more pervasive anxiety over ordinary images of ordinary children. As fears escalate about children becoming too sexual too young, attention focuses on pictures. Children posed or attired according to the codes of adult sexuality appear constantly in every mass medium, in advertisements for products completely unconnected to childhood, among young entertainers, in beauty pageants, and in many sports. The sexualization of childhood is a mainstream phenomenon, not a marginal one. It affects the image of girls much more than the image of boys, possibly because the image of adult femininity tends to be more sexualized than the image of adult masculinity.

Images of children made within families receive as much new scrutiny as images of children in the public domain. Legislation requiring photo processors to report suspected child pornography to the police was intended to catch parents or parental figures as much as, or even more than, it was designed to stifle a commercial child pornography market. Many cases of parents apprehended by police when they came to pick up processed film, and of artist parents whose work about their children was seized by police during exhibitions, have received wide press attention. These cases serve as a warning about the perils of engaging in one of the most common representational practices of modern culture: taking photographs of one's children. Whether the warning is perceived to be against indiscriminate photographing that observes no limits, or against the excesses of judicial vigilance, the result is the same. Intimate photographs of children are dangerous to make, no matter how close to the child the photographer might be. Any legal allegation of child pornography can be extremely psychologically and financially damaging, even if an investigation leads nowhere, because child pornography is now considered a heinous moral offense.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, a growing and increasingly successful number of professional artists have nonetheless tackled the subject of the child body,

and especially the awakening, troubled, and sometimes violent physicality of ADOLESCENCE. In the wake of the pioneering work of SALLY MANN in the 1980s and early 1990s, artists such as Anna Gaskell, Marcel Dzama, Dana Hoey, Malerie Marder, Amy Cutler, Anthony Goicolea, Justine Kurland, and Katy Grannan made images of children that challenged ideas of absolute childhood innocence not only by asserting children's sexuality, but by associating sexuality with a range of other attributes both positive and negative, such as confidence, strength, imagination, and beauty as well as anger, escapism, doubt, and malice. The intention of these artists is hardly to objectify children, but rather to endow them with a rich and varied subjectivity. It remains to be seen whether or not this work can be understood according to its intentions, for the essential problem of child pornography is perceptual. Sexuality, and especially the representation of sexuality, is in the eye of the beholder.

See also: **Law, Children and the; Photographs of Children; Theories of Childhood.**

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ANNE HIGONNET

Child Prodigies

Child prodigies are characterized by extraordinary ability in a given sphere of human endeavor often creative, quantitative, spatial, or lingual in composition. Their mastery, usually evident well before the age of ten, can appear without assistance, or in spite of it, and their achievements can provoke wonder and at times disbelief and are generally viewed as

amazing for a person of any age. Through the nineteenth century, the traditional Western view of prodigies held that they were exclusively phenomena of nature, a view largely revised over the twentieth century through findings in the behavioral and biological sciences, which argue for a synthesis of both natural and environmental factors in shaping prodigies. In JAPAN and CHINA, where Confucian ideology is widely influential, exceptional accomplishments in children are linked more directly to motivation and hard work, with less emphasis placed on innate ability.

Child prodigies tend to emerge in fields that are ordered and integrated, where components can be manipulated in unambiguous ways, and where outstanding achievement is readily recognized and measured, such as in music or mathematics. The internationally competitive game of chess is another forum where prodigies have made their mark, and they frequently find themselves called upon to demonstrate in some public way the range and depth of their gift. In 1958 American television audiences were introduced to a supremely talented thirteen-year-old, Israeli-born violinist, Itzhak Perlman, on *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

The intermittent historical record of child prodigies includes THE BIBLE, with its portrayals of David in the Old Testament and the young Jesus Christ in the New Testament, to medieval tales of human calculators displayed as public oddities, to the life of visionary Joan of Arc in the early fifteenth century. The medium most famously pursued by prodigies in recent centuries is music, and the most celebrated exemplar is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who in the eighteenth century performed in European capitals and composed symphonies before the age of nine. Noted twentieth-century child prodigies include violinist Yehudi Menuhin, visual artist Pablo Picasso, and chess player Bobby Fischer.

Institutional support for child prodigies begins with the family and often a master teacher. Prodigies have also been known to enroll in colleges, universities, and at music conservatories before adolescence, though sociocultural impediments coupled with the rare nature of their ability make for unpredictable outcomes. As child prodigies mature, their attention often becomes more dispersed, which may account in part for why their developmental trajectory can plateau in later adolescence and adulthood. Gender bias and related factors appear to have slanted the identification of and limited research on child prodigies in favor of males. Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that this trend is changing, as evidenced by the emergence in the 1980s of Japanese violinist Midori, in the 1990s by Korean-American violinist Sarah Chang, and the success of Welsh soprano CHARLOTTE CHURCH in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The accomplishments of Hungarian chess player Judit Polgar were revealingly chronicled in *The New York Times* in a 1992 front-page headline, "Youngest Grandmaster Ever Is 15, Ferocious (and Female)."

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JOHN MANGAN

Child Prostitution

Social problems that are difficult to deal with are in fact often not dealt with effectively and remain submerged beneath a reluctance to recognize the distasteful underside to society. Moral issues are perhaps the most subject to this. The involvement of children and young people in commercial sex exposes many sensitive areas of the culture, in particular its ideals regarding childhood, the family, and SEXUALITY. The unequal power relations that tend to make children and young people vulnerable to adult influence and control have enabled their prostitution from both inside and outside of the family. ECPAT, which became prominent in the late twentieth century for its work toward the elimination of child prostitution, CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, and trafficking of children for sexual purposes, defines child prostitution as "the use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other consideration."

The Mythology of the "White Slave Trade"

Unfortunately, obtaining historical or indeed contemporary evidence about the phenomenon of child prostitution is difficult. Historically, what is available must usually be filtered through the ideologies and perceptions of both the many who had heard of it only in its most dramatized form as the "white slave trade" and the few who both encountered it and recorded its existence. Thus even where evidence is available, it is fragmented, sporadic, and often encased in the language of morality. The voices of the children and young people themselves are very rarely discernible above the clamor of adult judgment and rhetoric. Historically, little has been published on the subject and information is particularly scarce before the late nineteenth century. In the late twentieth century, research in this area expanded considerably.

Until the end of the twentieth century, discussion about the prostitution of those under the AGE OF CONSENT was largely restricted to medical or political circles or to volunteer organizations. However, the involvement of young people in commercial sex also emerged in a dramatized version, distanced from connections with recognizable daily existence. The story dramatized as the white slave trade in Brit-

ain, Europe, and the United States was of the forced ABDUCTION of innocent young white girls and women, usually by foreigners, to work in brothels overseas. While this story says a great deal about racism and social fears regarding the increased freedoms enjoyed by women, changing sexual mores, migration, and new locations of leisure activity, it tells us little about the prostitution of children and young people. Indeed, in the early twenty-first century, when Western governments are becoming increasingly concerned about human trafficking and the supply of girls and women by this means, the mythology of the white slave trade often serves to obscure the real experiences behind the sex trade.

The terminology of trafficking and of slavery remains a part of the debates on child prostitution, but the imperialist and racist emphasis upon the victims being white has largely been dropped. After the mid-twentieth century, trafficking became defined in terms of movement and exploitation rather than color. The movement of children for the purposes of prostitution has historically tended to reflect the economic disparities between rural and urban areas and between richer and poorer regions and countries. However, other factors, including gender, age, and market factors are clearly important in that they exacerbate the vulnerability of the young especially. Thus, in the late twentieth century, social and economic instability and war in EASTERN EUROPE increased the flow of both women and children into the commercial sex industries of the European Union. However, child prostitution can also be influenced by a perception, supported by global mass marketing and commercialization, that more can be obtained elsewhere.

One of the first and possibly the most notorious of national media exposés of child prostitution was in July 1885 in the London newspaper the *Pall Mall Gazette*. This series of articles claimed to have uncovered a trade in young girls for brothels in London. The sensational and salacious “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” stories, which contained subheadings like “Buying Girls at the East-End” and “Strapping Girls Down,” excited one of the first national moral panics on the subject of child prostitution. This kind of account entrenched for the next century or more the depiction of children and young people involved in commercial sex as abducted and betrayed innocents. These “Maiden Tribute” articles and the events surrounding them provided the crucial force in Britain to ensure the final passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885, which increased the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen and augmented police powers to deal with vice. The balance between control and protection was to become an enduring feature of the debates on child prostitution and on the subject of youthful DELINQUENCY in general. The “Maiden Tribute” furor did at least help to highlight that the commercial sex market was no respecter of age.

The late nineteenth century panics in both Britain and America concerning the abuse of children resulted in the es-

tablishment of numerous charitable organizations, which thereafter continued to highlight the plight of poor and exploited children. Indeed, one of the best sources of evidence on child prostitution is the archives of children’s charities. The work of such charities operated to define and separate “delinquent” from “normal” children and associated concepts of dirt, independence, and in particular sexual knowledge and experience with the former. Children who were believed to have sexual experience, even as a result of abuse, were in some cases taken from their families and placed in institutions for children with “knowledge of evil.” Paradoxically, once a girl had crossed the line into being sexually experienced, many contemporaries perceived her to be tainted and blameworthy. In Britain, it was not until the period between World Wars I and II that many feminist and child welfare organizations consistently sought to explain sexual precociousness in young girls as an outcome of sexual abuse, in opposition to the narrow portrayal of immoral girls inviting and seducing older men.

Trafficking in Children and Young People

Historically, the international traffic in children and young people has attracted the most official action. Following several conferences in the early twentieth century and an international agreement of 1904 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, the League of Nations in 1919 set up a committee to gather information regarding the trafficking in prostitutes. In 1921 a League of Nations conference was held at Geneva on the Traffic in Women and Children. The work of this committee was taken over by the United Nations in 1946. In 1953 the United Nations amended the League of Nations Slavery Convention of 1926, which highlighted the human rights issues of slavery and “slavery-like practices,” including the slave trade, sale of children, child prostitution, and the exploitation of CHILD LABOR.

Trafficking can occur within a country, often from rural to urban areas, or across national borders. During the twentieth century, agencies working to combat the exploitation of women and children in its many forms multiplied and the problem of child prostitution became part of the work of INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS such as the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the International Labour Organization, as well as various nongovernmental organizations. Article 34 of the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD calls for appropriate action to prevent the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in unlawful sexual activity. In the late twentieth century, extraterritorial legislation sought to enable countries to prosecute their citizens for sexually abusing children while overseas. This was enacted in the wake of increased CHILD ABUSE carried on through a commercial sex trade catering to tourists. This was a major theme of the 1996 First Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, which was organized by ECPAT, UNICEF, and the nongovernmental Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

One consequence of the continued sensitivity of the subject of children and young people involved in commercial sexual activity has been that the meaning of child prostitution has historically been created from a series of negative beliefs. Child prostitutes have been perceived as not being asexual, dependent, and moral, and therefore as not being real children, but also as not being adults. This tendency for negative abstraction has led to assumptions about what child prostitutes are, so that they have been seen as sexually assertive, independent, and immoral—as representing a distorted or perverse form of childhood, of something “other.” Hence over the twentieth century, as discourses about child sexual abuse were being constructed, those relating to child prostitution took a distinct journey, one likely to lead to condemnation of the child and even to criminalization. These negatives were not seriously challenged until the late twentieth century, when child prostitution increasingly was placed within the realm of child abuse and the clients came to be considered child abusers and pedophiles who should be subject to child protection legislation.

See also: **Incest; Pedophilia.**

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ALYSON BROWN

Child Psychology

Although parents and students of human development have been observing children for millennia, researchers in America and Europe began to conduct systematic studies of childhood behavior around the turn of the twentieth century. Prior attempts to codify normal development had been published as diaries that described the behavior of a single child, usually the son or daughter of the author. In 1787, for example, German psychologist Dietrich Tiedemann documented the growth of a child’s intellectual abilities; a century later,

German psychologist William Preyer authored elaborate essays that described the development of both the embryo and the young child. In 1887, even British naturalist Charles Darwin published the observations he had gathered during his son’s first two years.

During the late nineteenth century, American psychologists conducted the first objective evaluations of large groups of children. These researchers were committed to egalitarianism; that is, they held the idealistic hope that most children could become responsible adults if their early family experiences had been optimal. Yet the psychologists’ studies revealed dramatic variation among children in their intellectual ability, school achievement, and character. The troubling results motivated the researchers not only to document the magnitude of the variation, but also to attempt to explain why so many children had not attained a minimum proficiency level.

Most psychologists working during this first phase of systematic inquiry held five implicit premises that were consistent with scientific thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, they believed that any changes in the psychological properties of children occurred gradually rather than abruptly. This belief was consonant both with the views of eighteenth-century mathematicians and philosophers as well as with Darwin’s conviction that evolution was a gradual process.

The second premise was that a child’s psychological traits were due in large part to the profile of rewards and punishments administered by adults, especially parents. This assumption rested on the belief that children acted in order to maximize pleasure or to minimize pain, a view asserted two hundred years earlier by philosopher JOHN LOCKE and promoted in the 1920s by the American behaviorist JOHN WATSON. According to this premise, actions that brought the child pleasure would be strengthened and repeated while actions that brought pain would be weakened and discontinued. American parents were told, and many believed, that their treatment of their child would determine his or her personality, talents, and character.

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, the American psychologist James Mark Baldwin represented the views of a growing minority of researchers who recognized the importance of reasoning, language, and symbolism in a child’s development. He suggested that the influences of pleasure and pain were only ascendant during infancy. As children matured after age two, Baldwin asserted, they began to distinguish between right and wrong and implicitly asked, “What should I do?”

During the early decades of the twentieth century, however, Watson’s behavioristic principles continued to be favored over Baldwin’s theories. Scientists and journalists published accounts that described the inferior academic

achievements of European immigrants to the United States. These authors attributed the immigrant children's poor school performance and deviant behavior to their inherited propensities. Not only did this fatalistic explanation trouble the egalitarians, it also motivated other researchers to deny the importance of biological factors and enthusiastically emphasize the role of social experience.

Besides political tensions related to immigration, a second reason for the continuing popularity of behaviorism was psychology's status as a new scientific discipline. Psychologists wanted to present their field to biologists and physicists as an experimental and rigorous science, distinct from philosophy and pruned of all metaphysics. Theories that emphasized the conditioning of habits demonstrated elegant empirical science and appealed to young faculty who were beginning careers in developmental psychology. Thus, by the late 1920s, the learning of new habits through conditioning and the proper application of reward and punishment had become the primary way to explain both the appearance of universal characteristics as well as the variation in these and other features. This behavioristic view persisted until the middle of the twentieth century.

The third premise favored a strong connection between childhood habits and moods and those of adulthood, asserting that behavior and emotions acquired during the first years of a child's life could be preserved indefinitely. Intellectual retardation that hampered the acquisition of reading and arithmetic, as well as asocial habits that led to a delinquent career, were two symptoms that caused societal concern. Some commentators claimed that the intellectual profile of every adult had its origins in infancy. Others warned parents not to take their young children to the movies because the film's scenes might be overly stimulating and thus produce an undesirable trait years later. A faith in connectedness was consistent with egalitarian principles, however, for it implied that if one could arrange similar growth-enhancing experiences for all infants and young children, every citizen could attain an ideal profile of abilities, beliefs, and emotions. Both the premises of gradual change and connectedness were consonant with eighteenth-century scientists' attraction to historicism, the belief that in order to understand any phenomenon, one had to know its complete history.

The fourth premise was that the mother represented the most important influence on the child's growth. Although ancient Roman, medieval, and Renaissance scholars all believed that the father played the more important role, John Locke and subsequent thinkers insisted that it was the mother's relation to the child, and her socialization practices, that had greater potency. This assertion appealed to Americans because of the enhanced significance of American women in the families that had left the East Coast to settle in the Appalachians and the Midwest. Middle-class women in European

cities were less necessary than those among the pioneers who were settling throughout Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These isolated families required a woman's labor, loyalty, and affection in order to survive.

The final premise, an affirmation of John Locke's declaration that children love liberty, assumed that a child's freedom was the most important quality to nurture. This imperative was hidden in psychological essays on the importance of PLAY and the encouragement of personal autonomy. One commentator suggested that an infant who protested the mother's removal of a nursing bottle was showing the first sign of a defiance of authoritarian control that should be encouraged. The most popular developmental textbooks of the 1930s stated that children should be emancipated from parental control and allowed to free themselves from a close emotional attachment to their family. The eroticization of individual freedom was one reason why children's play was a popular topic of research. It seemed obvious to many that when a child was playing he was maximally free, and according to one expert, child's play was the foundation of American democracy.

Phases in Developmental Study

It is possible to discern five historical eras in the study of children over the last century. The first, from approximately 1900 to 1925, is distinguished by the study of differences among children in intellectual ability and character, motivated largely by concern for the many immigrant children who were failing in school and committing crimes. Chicago established the first JUVENILE COURT for delinquents in 1899, and in the following decade, the Judge Baker Children's Center in Boston was the first institution to attempt a scientific study of the causes of DELINQUENCY.

The second phase, which occupied the next twenty-five years and was theoretically consonant with the first, was marked by the influence of Freudian theory. Psychoanalytic ideas seemed to be intuitively correct to large numbers of psychiatrists, psychologists, and educated parents. The latter brooded over whether they should breast- or bottle-feed, when to wean their nursing infant, how to TOILET TRAIN, whether to SLEEP with the child, and how to handle the child's sexual curiosity. SIGMUND FREUD's notions were popular with the public because he left intact most of the nineteenth-century views of human nature, altering only the less essential features.

For example, nineteenth-century scientists believed that humans varied in the amount of energy available for psychic activity. Each person's brain was supposed to possess a fixed amount of energy, and psychological symptoms could appear if the individual depleted this resource. Charles Beard, a neurologist, coined the term *neurasthenia* in 1869 to describe individuals who experienced tension, depression, and insomnia because their brains ran out of energy. Freud accepted the popular understanding that each person inherited a fixed

amount of energy, but he attributed the depletion of energy to the repression of libidinal instincts rather than to excessive mental work. A person who used energy to repress sexual impulses would therefore have less energy available for adaptive work.

Another popular belief Freud exploited was that early experiences influenced personality development and, therefore, the possibility of acquiring symptoms. Freud accepted the significance of early childhood, but he made the improper socialization of sexual impulses, rather than obedience, the major cause of symptoms. Freud took advantage of the popular belief that excessive bouts of sexual pleasure were dangerous and frequent MASTURBATION or an obsession with sex could cause insanity or mental retardation.

The final feature of nineteenth-century thought was that physical therapeutic interventions—such as cold baths, herbs, and electrical stimulation—could alleviate psychological problems. Freud substituted psychological therapies instead, insisting that patients could gain insight into the causes of their repression by telling their therapist their deepest thoughts.

The third phase is characterized by the cognitive revolution, which was initiated by American linguist Noam Chomsky's radical critique of the behaviorist's interpretation of language acquisition and continued by Swiss psychologist JEAN PIAGET's extensive research. The growing dissatisfaction with the demonstrated limitations of conditioning theory rendered child psychologists receptive to Piaget's rejection of the conditioning assumptions and his emphasis on the child's autonomous behavior. Piaget replaced Watson's passive child with one who is cognitively active in acquiring knowledge, initially through manipulations of objects and, later, through the manipulations of ideas. Echoing Baldwin, Piaget insisted that the child was continually trying to construct the most coherent understanding of an event. Surprisingly, even though he adopted a stage theory, Piaget was loyal to the doctrines of gradualism and connectedness, and he minimized the importance of brain maturation. Although Piaget acknowledged that each infant was born with some sensory motor functions, he wished to award biology as little power as possible. Some scholars have speculated that Piaget made encounters with the environment, rather than biology, the primary sculptor of growth because he wanted to base human morality on a history of experiences.

The fourth phase is defined by the research of British psychiatrist JOHN BOWLBY, who introduced the concept of infant attachment. The sense meaning of attachment is an emotional connection to a person who cares for the infant, created by the infant's pleasant experiences in the presence of the caretaker and a reduction in distress when she returns. The broad interest in Bowlby's speculations on infant attachment was partially due to the large numbers of American mothers who had begun placing their infants and young chil-

dren in surrogate care in order to join the work force after World War II. This new social arrangement violated the normative nineteenth-century conception of a mother who remained at home to care for her brood of children. The public was receptive to a wise scholar who believed that the young infant should develop an emotional attachment to a single caretaker. Bowlby's presumption that these early attachments represented the hub around which a person's life revolved promised to reduce the tensions caused by greater geographic mobility, a higher percentage of working mothers, and the increasingly strained relationships among people and between citizens and their community.

Although many nineteenth-century observers would have understood his theories, and probably agreed with Bowlby, few would have written three books on attachment because this idea seemed to be as obviously true as the fact that the sky is blue. Bowlby's conclusions became newsworthy in the last half of the twentieth century, however, because historical events had led many to question the inevitability of maternal devotion to the child and children's love for their parents. Newspaper headlines that described parental abuse and adolescent children killing their parents undermined the nineteenth-century faith in the naturalism of parental love. Citizens were saddened by these new conditions and were eager to hear a psychiatrist declare that the love between child and parent was a requisite for psychological health.

Every society needs some transcendental theme to which its citizens can be loyal. In the past, the existence of God, the beauty and utility of knowledge, and the sanctity of faithful romantic love were among the most sacred ideas in the American ethic. The facts of modern life had made it difficult for many Americans to remain loyal to those ideals. The sacredness of the bond between mother and infant persisted as one of the last beliefs that remained unscathed. The large number of books and magazine articles on the attachment of infant to mother, and the necessity of skin bonding to the mother in the first postnatal hours, generated strong emotion, suggesting that something more than scientific fact was prompting the discussion. If an infant could be cared for by any concerned adult, the biological mother was expendable, and one of the few remaining ethical imperatives would be at risk.

Contemporary Developmental Psychology

Biology has returned to the study of children during the last two decades as a result of elegant discoveries in genetics, molecular biology, and neuroscience. The enthusiasm for biological influences assumes two forms. It is represented first by descriptions of the biologically prepared competencies of infants and young children in the opening years of life. These include infants' attentional preferences for certain kinds of stimuli (e.g., an attraction to contour, motion, and curvature); the enhancement of memory and the appearance of imitation later in the first year; and the emergence of lan-

guage, a moral sense, and self-consciousness in the second year. Each of these developments is inevitable as long as children live in a world of objects and people. None requires the regimen of rewards and punishments that behaviorists had described as essential a century earlier.

A second form of biological influence involves the study of human temperaments, which the American psychiatrists Alexander Thomas and Stella Chess reintroduced to researchers during the late 1950s. Neuroscientists speculated on the reasons for variation among infants in traits such as irritability, activity, or fearfulness. These speculations center on inherited variation in the neurochemistry of the brain. The social environment was assumed to influence each infant's temperament to produce the personality of the older child.

With these advances, developmental psychology has come full circle; the early researchers' diaries also emphasized the common psychological properties that emerge in all children who grow up exposed to people and objects. We have learned, however, that the time of emergence of each of these competencies corresponds closely to maturational events in the brain. Both biological and experiential influences contribute to growth; consequently, an attempt to synthesize both forces, necessary for complete understanding, will dominate research and theory in the decades to come. This synthesis will require one vocabulary to describe the biological events and another to describe the psychological phenomena. A behavior, thought, or feeling is the final product of a series of cascades that begins with an external event, thought, or spontaneous biological change. The forms that comprise each succeeding cascade have to be described with a distinct vocabulary. Genes, neurons, and children require distinct predicates because each has unique functions: genes mutate, neurons inhibit, and children act. Developing an understanding of these issues will dominate the future of child psychology.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Parenting; Theories of Childhood.**

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JEROME KAGAN

Child-Rearing Advice Literature

The very appearance of printed advice literature meant to help parents rear a child signals a profound historical change in the social distribution of knowledge. In most cultures, across space and time, child-rearing advice is an oral genre found in face-to-face groups. GRANDPARENTS and other members of the extended family living with or near young parents are available to dispense advice and, often, to participate actively in the rearing of children. The oral culture of child-rearing advice still thrives, even in modern industrialized societies, where mothers might seek and offer advice in a conversation with other women, or where fathers might have conversations with male friends about how to rear a boy in today's world.

A number of historical forces, however, gave rise to published advice literature in Europe and the British American colonies in the seventeenth century. Initially written by physicians and eventually by ministers and others who extended the advice to matters of morality and character, the appearance of this printed genre suggests the increased physical mobility of families (who might move away from the extended family), the rise of certain professions with legitimated "expertise," and certain social conditions (e.g., social class aspirations) that would lead parents to distrust their own instincts and to seek professional advice on matters as seemingly commonsensical as child rearing. The ENLIGHTENMENT, with its emphasis on reconstructing humanity and creating a reasonable citizen, also encouraged advice-giving and -seeking in child-rearing matters.

The emergence of this advice literature also required a conceptualization of childhood as a distinct and separate stage in life. The material culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the American colonies, for example, supports the account from written evidence of the historical transition from viewing the child as a little adult to the Enlightenment portrait of the child as an innocent creature with unique needs for nurturance and guidance. Children began to have their own rooms in houses, their own dishes and chamber pots, and more durable TOYS. The invention of childhood in this period in many ways required the parallel invention of motherhood and fatherhood.

Child-rearing advice literature may have been a prime mover in these inventions, and historians read it for evidence of changing conceptions of the child, of the mother, and of the father. As historical evidence, printed child-rearing advice has some limitations. It is not at all clear, for example, whether the advice given during a historical period was actually followed by the parents who received it. Not every social class has access to printed advice, even in the present, as differences in both disposable income and literacy limit the expert knowledge available to a segment of the society.

Still, historians are drawn to the child-rearing advice literature not merely because the advice signals a social class's conception of the child and of parental duties. One way or another, most historians share the belief that "the child is father of the man," or (to switch aphorisms) that "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." In short, historians are eager to reconstruct the child-rearing practices of a society or of a segment of a society in order to understand what sorts of adult men and women that rearing would be likely to create—or at least the kinds a society would like to create. From the mid-eighteenth century, scientific psychology provided a number of theories of child development aimed at linking childhood experiences with adult thought and behavior, and the history of child-rearing literature charts the history of these ideas. But some historians also attempt to use developmental psychologies (most often psychoanalytic theory) to explain a society's patterns with reference to child rearing. For some historians, then, the psychologies linking child rearing and adult personality are both subject matter and analytical tool.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Physicians were among the first to put into print their advice on how to rear children. The first advice manuals in the American colonies and in the early national period came from England and include William Cadogan's 1749 *Essay on Nursing* and William Buchan's 1804 *Advice to Mothers*, which went through many American editions. Books like these mark the beginning of the "medicalization of motherhood," as the historian Julia Grant put it in 1998, but these physicians did not limit their advice to the purely medical. For physicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the socialization of children's feeding, TOILET TRAINING, crying, sleeping, ANGER, and independence implied issues of character. While these physicians wrote primarily from the Enlightenment view (inherited from JOHN LOCKE, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, and others), which saw the child as an innocent creature of nature, they were quite aware of the popular Calvinist view that rearing a child was a battle of wills between the inherently sinful infant or child and the parent. The physical punishment of children in order to shape their behavior and character, for example, had deep religious roots and meanings for Americans. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that mainstream Protestant ministers, such as Horace Bushnell, provided their congregants with sermons that urged them to see young children as capable of being gently molded toward the good and not innately sinful. By then, middle-class parents had already begun to mellow their regimens and disciplinary devices under the tutelage of physicians.

Advice to parents softened in the eighteenth century, and the general trend across time has been toward recommending increasingly permissive, child-centered approaches to socializing the child. Scientific thinking and advice was slowly replacing purely moral advice about rearing children,

though the moral and the scientific have always been tangled in American approaches to rearing children. Historians working on the history of emotions note, for example, the eighteenth-century campaign against anger as an emotion to be eradicated in children. Physical punishment declined, and the authors of advice manuals recommended guilt rather than shame as a way to motivate good behavior. Experts writing in the eighteenth century tended to see the family as a microcosm of society, so what children learned of human relationships in the family was important to their future interactions as adults in a society increasingly moving from a rural social organization and agrarian values to more mobile, urban, commercial patterns.

Nineteenth Century

With the industrialization and urbanization of life in western Europe and the United States came the increasing separation of life into two spheres, the public and the private, which also came to be associated with gender roles. The public, masculine sphere demanded certain qualities in young men, which were suited to the competitive individualism of a commercial culture. The literature on child rearing in the early national period made it clear that this public figure was created in the private, domestic sphere belonging to women. A cult of motherhood developed, recognizing the crucial role of mothers in creating independent (male) citizens for the new nation.

Advice manual writers in the antebellum period put new emphasis on self-control and self-discipline. Emotions like anger and JEALOUSY were unproductive in this social world, and parents were advised to help their children learn ways to control their tempers. Writers advised against parents' expressions of anger, since Victorians saw the home as, in Christopher Lasch's phrase, a "haven in a heartless world." Among the public activities of white, middle-class antebellum women was the creation of maternal organizations, usually associated with churches, and the 1830s through 1840s saw the publication of new monthly magazines and books aimed at sharing information on mothering.

The Enlightenment-based psychology of the child so common early in the eighteenth century gave way after 1859 (the publication date of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*) to a Darwinian, evolutionary psychology that acknowledged instincts and unconscious drives as features to be reckoned with in rearing children. Psychologist G. STANLEY HALL, a powerful figure in the creation of scientific psychology in the United States and a key inventor of the idea of ADOLESCENCE as a period of life distinct from both childhood and adulthood, was instrumental in founding the CHILD-STUDY movement, which provided scientific foundations for advice to parents and teachers about how to rear children. The child was no longer the "blank slate" of Enlightenment thought but was the inheritor of instincts and traits forged by evolution. Advice literature based on Darwinian psychol-

ogy urged parents, teachers, and youth workers (a growing professional group) to channel these powerful instincts into positive activities rather than attempt to eradicate or suppress them.

Early Twentieth Century

By 1909 enough experts on the scientific rearing of children existed that the first WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN could be convened, and in 1912 the federal government created the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, which would soon become a primary source of scientific information about children, from diet and health to socialization. The authorship of advice manuals shifted, accelerating the decline of the morally based advice manual in favor of those making some claim to science. By the early twentieth century, PEDIATRICS and CHILD PSYCHOLOGY were established specialties with expertise about the child. Through the Children's Bureau and other venues, the government published books and pamphlets and established infant-welfare stations meant to provide the most current scientific information about children's health, safety, and well-being. Research universities, especially land grant public universities honoring their mission to serve the citizenry, established home economics extension services to help disseminate the most current scientific knowledge about rearing children. By 1920 an extensive institutional network existed, offering expert advice, which was supposed to be scientifically grounded, on understanding children.

The women's movement was also having effects on child study and parent education. The National Congress of Mothers, the Child Study Association, and the American Association of University Women, for example, generally supported a scientific (as opposed to religious) approach to understanding modern motherhood.

The behaviorism of JOHN B. WATSON and others provided the scientific psychology behind most ideas about child rearing in the 1920s and 1930s, though Freudian and other psychoanalytic ideas also enjoyed some popularity in these circles. Both approaches considered the first two or three years of life to be critical to child rearing. The behaviorist approach assumed that behavior could be fashioned entirely through patterns of reinforcement, and Watson's ideas permeated the Children's Bureau's *Infant Care* bulletins and PARENTS MAGAZINE, which was founded in 1926. As historians and others have observed, this approach to programming and managing children's behavior suited a world of rationalized factory production and employee management theories rationalizing industrial relations. Watson explicitly criticized "too much mother love," advising parents to become detached and objective in their child-rearing techniques so as to develop self-control in the child.

Many experts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries expressed concern about the large number of immigrant mothers raising children in the United States.

These mothers became the target audience for efforts by parent education associations to Americanize the huge immigrant population. Similar political motives impelled efforts to teach African-American mothers what were considered modern, scientific approaches to child-rearing. It has also been suggested that changes in generational relations and the decline of advice within the family made even middle-class parents more dependent on advice. Certainly child-advice book sales and the number of titles in print soared by the 1920s.

While the behaviorist approach continued to have great strength through the 1930s, there were also signs of a growing realization that children have individual natures which must be taken into account. The growth of a child-centered approach redirected the problem of child rearing from the training of children to the training of parents to be more sensitive to the needs of the child. At the same time, the economic circumstances of the GREAT DEPRESSION tended to disrupt gender roles, placing more women (and children) into the workforce and leading experts to elevate the importance of the father in child rearing. The language of the advice to parents in the 1930s became more therapeutic, stressing the need for a family culture that was more egalitarian and more sensitive to the individual needs of children, mothers, and fathers. The gentle management of emotions, especially anger, became a central topic in this advice.

ARNOLD GESELL and Francis L. Ilg's enormously popular 1943 book, *Infant and Child Care in the Culture of Today*, put an end to the behavioral approach and popularized a developmental approach that recognized the power of biology in the child's physical and psychosocial growth. In the midst of World War II, this book made explicit the ideology of their developmental approach. Whereas regimented behaviorism resembled fascism, a developmental approach aimed at maximizing the growth of the unique individual child was suited to a democratic family and a democratic society. The child-centered approach recommended relaxed approaches to feeding, toilet training, and independence training.

Mid- to Late Twentieth Century

Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK's 1946 book, *The Commonsense Book of Baby and Child Care*, guided the child rearing of the BABYBOOM GENERATION's parents (1946–1964). Spock's aim, he said, was to get mothers to trust themselves again, to take a more relaxed approach that recognized the qualities of individual children. The book, however, and Dr. Spock himself, became a central topic in the culture wars of the 1980s and 1990s, as some conservatives blamed society's woes on the effects of his permissive, child-centered approach. Dr. Spock's own high visibility as a critic of the Vietnam War helped cement the impression that he had helped create a generation of rebellious children and adolescents who mocked authority.

By the 1970s other physicians were vying with Spock to be the most visible and most trusted dispenser of advice on

rearing babies and children. Dr. Lendon H. Smith was among the most successful of these. Beginning with his 1969 book *The Children's Doctor* and continuing in his radio and television shows in the 1970s, Smith pointed to the diet and resulting body chemistry of children to explain their behavior. His message that children's health and behavior could be managed through diet suited the 1970s and 1980s trend, which looked toward biology, rather than learned behavior, for the cause of behavioral problems. In contrast, Dr. Thomas Gordon, a clinical psychologist, took a management training approach in his 1970 book, *Parental Effectiveness Training: The No-Lose Program for Raising Responsible Children*, which became the foundation for Parental Effectiveness Training Seminars and programs around the country.

A new baby boom (sometimes called a "boomlet" or an "echo boom") of births began around 1982, creating a demand for books on baby and child care, parenting, and related matters. The bookstores began stocking large numbers of titles as physicians, psychologists, and others raced to claim the increasing readership.

Physician William Sears and his wife, Martha Sears, a nurse, came the closest in the mass market of the 1990s and early 2000s to duplicating Dr. Spock's wide influence. Beginning with their 1993 *The Baby Book: Everything You Need to Know about Your Baby from Birth to Age Two*, the Sears couple, sometimes with a coauthor, have written a series of books offering advice on topics ranging from basic health care to moral education for older children, as in their 1995 *The Discipline Book* and their 2000 *The Successful Child: The Proven Program for Raising Responsible Children*. Like their predecessors, these books emphasize the earliest period of a child's life as the most fundamental. Recent studies of early brain development have reinforced this trend. At the center of the Sears couple's advice is "attachment parenting," whose origins in JOHN BOWLBY's theories of attachment make it a somewhat controversial approach. It counsels nursing for as long as both mother and child enjoy the relationship; responding promptly to the infant's cries; being responsive to the baby's preferences in sleeping arrangements (including sleeping with the baby in a king-size bed); and carrying the baby in a sling that keeps him or her in touch with the mother's or father's body. Attachment parenting, insist the authors, makes it more likely that parents will be sensitive to their particular child's needs and will trust their own responses to those needs; consequently it increases the child's skill at giving the parents cues. The trust developed in this relationship, argue the authors, sets the foundation for a child's self-esteem, for the child's bonding with other people throughout his or her life, and for a disciplinary relationship based on trust and the growth of a "healthy conscience."

The rapid development of the Internet in the 1990s and the early 2000s multiplied the range of resources parents

could turn to in search of child-rearing advice, though the class issues of the digital divide still affect access to this information. Parents who have access to the Internet can find all books in print through Internet bookstores and finding services. Perhaps more important, hundreds of websites dispense information and advice on children's health and personality training. Dr. William Sears has his own website, for example, as do many other well-known authors of baby-care and child-rearing books. Often these websites feature questions from online readers, with answers provided by the experts. Parents of children with special needs—which includes physical disabilities, emotional problems, attention deficit problems, and developmental problems—can find websites full of advice and resources for parents dealing with these challenges.

Conclusion

Child-rearing advice provides useful historical evidence of changing conceptions of the child and of the proper roles of mothers, fathers, family members, and other care givers. As the advice has moved from oral to written to electronic means of communication, the source of expertise has moved from family to religious leaders to physicians and psychologists. The general trend in the written advice proffered by authors over the past four hundred years has been toward more permissive child-rearing practices (feeding on demand, relaxed toilet training, reduction of frustrating experiences, and so on), with an occasional swing back in the direction of rigid scheduling and control (e.g., the behaviorism of the 1920s and 1930s).

In the last decade of the twentieth century, stricter demands about toilet training and feeding have returned, together with a reduction in strictures against physical correction. This has resulted from both a new view of parental nurture as less significant than the natural internal development of the child's emotional and cognitive life and in response to growing concerns about children's misbehavior. The heightened visibility of the evangelical religious right in public disputes about the family has clearly affected this development as well.

Child-rearing advice has always carried ideological weight. Advice reflects the religious, scientific, and broadly political ideas of a period, even if what they reflect is a profound conflict over and discomfort with the tension between the current ideas. Political and economic ideologies work their way into child-rearing advice in the United States as experts and parents debate which child-rearing approaches are compatible and incompatible with current thinking about the nature of American democracy and its institutions, including the family. This was as true in the early national period as it was in the twentieth-century debates, but a heightened public discourse about culture wars in the 1980s and 1990s has again put debates about the proper rearing of children at the center of deeply felt debates about the nature and

future of American democratic institutions. Sociolinguist George Lakoff shows how many differences about the political and moral meanings of the United States are rooted in two different conceptualizations of the family, one hierarchical and authoritarian, the other egalitarian. Similarly, in concluding her historical account of the education of parents for child rearing, Julia Grant notes how a number of current, highly visible experts on child rearing (among them T. Berry Brazelton, Penelope Leach, and David Elkind) are promoting the view that there is a biological foundation for gender differences in parenting. Public arguments over the role of fathers and other care givers in raising children has been particularly fierce. Child-rearing advice, it seems, speaks to some of the largest issues and tensions experienced by a society, and that is unlikely to change soon.

See also: Fathering and Fatherhood; Mothering and Motherhood; Parenting; Scientific Child Rearing.

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JAY MECHLING

Children's Defense Fund

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) was founded in 1973 as an outgrowth of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The CDF quickly became a powerful advocacy agency for impoverished and at risk children, more effective

than the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU ever was. Marion Wright Edelman, its founder and vigorous leader, was born June 6, 1939, in Bennettsville, South Carolina, the daughter of an African-American Baptist minister, Arthur Bennett, who taught that Christianity necessitated service to the world. The elder Bennett idolized A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a hero of the civil rights movement. Edelman studied at Spelman College, in Atlanta, and abroad, including in the Soviet Union. When she returned to Spelman in 1959, she abandoned her Foreign Service plans for the law, and threw herself into the civil rights movement. She took her law degree at Yale in 1963. She then worked for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in New York, then Mississippi, where she worked on civil rights issues and established a Head Start program. When U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy was touring Mississippi, she met Peter Edelman, a Kennedy assistant, and moved to Washington, D.C. a year later to marry him. In 1968 she helped found the Washington Research Project, Inc., a private, not for profit institution that helped poor people investigate and monitor the federal programs that Congress had designed for them. Marian Wright Edelman developed a double-barreled style: vigorous, no-nonsense public advocacy and investigatory research.

In 1973, Edelman and her allies in the Washington, D.C. area organized the Children's Defense Fund using the personnel and knowledge that had accrued in the Washington Research Project. Edelman eschewed direct dependence on government agencies, budgets, and officials. Instead she and her associates organized the CDF as a private, not for profit organization of lawyers, monitors of federal policy, researchers, and community liaison persons, all of whom were dedicated to long-term systematic advocacy and reform on behalf of the nation's children. An early CDF project probed why children of varying ages and backgrounds were not in school. Between July 1973 and March 1974, forty-two part time and summer staffers, plus Edelman and three full time associates knocked on 8,500 doors in thirty areas of nine states, and talked to over 6,500 families. From this interviewing came the first of many hard-hitting, often shocking, reports of how many poor children fall between society's cracks. Often CDF surveys were more thorough than the United States Census in investigating these problems and issues.

When Bill Clinton became President in 1993, CDF staffers hoped for child-friendly policies. Instead Clinton terminated Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC), and other similar programs. Edelman vigorously attacked these actions. By 2003 the CDF employed a staff of 130, raised and spent about \$25 million a year from private corporations as it continued its advocacy work for the most needy and underserved children.

See also: Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC); Law, Children and the; Social Welfare; Welfare Reform Act (1996).

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

Children's Hospitals

Pediatric hospitals began in the United States with the establishment of Nursery and Child's Hospital in New York City in 1854. Children's Hospital of Philadelphia opened its doors the following year. During the 1860s three other hospitals for children opened: Chicago Hospital for Women and Children (1865), Boston Children's Hospital (1869), and the New York Foundling Asylum (1869). Over the next thirty years most of the major cities in America created a children's hospital.

The establishment of children's hospitals paralleled the explosion of hospitals in the rest of the country. As historian Charles Rosenberg has pointed out, the rapid growth of American hospitals between the 1860s and the 1930s reflected changes in American cities as well as in the medical profession. The development of children's hospitals reveals as much about society's evolving perception of children as about the changing role of medicine in America. Many major cities still rely on children's hospitals as centers for care, not merely for inpatient services but also for outpatient care.

Children's Hospitals and Nineteenth-Century Reforms

Early children's hospitals began as coalitions between elite physicians, who sought the experience and prestige of hospital appointments, and influential laypersons, who sought to improve the lives of poor children. Antebellum reformers believed that poverty, disease, and morality were closely linked and therefore that hospitals should instill moral values as well as offer medical care. Because of their youth and innocence, children seemed particularly amenable to this form of social meliorism. Thus it was no accident that early children's hospitals espoused overtly religious missions.

CHILD SAVING was a prominent feature of many late-nineteenth-century reforms, including the movement to abolish CHILD LABOR and the KINDERGARTEN movement, and optimizing child health played an integral role in these reform efforts. Hospitals were part of a larger societal move that turned to institutions and professions to solve social problems. PEDIATRICS and children's hospitals were typical of Progressive-era reforms.

In addition to appealing to charitable and religious motives, the movement to establish children's hospitals was a

reaction to fundamental changes occurring in American cities. Historian Morris Vogel demonstrated how urbanization, industrialization, and immigration strained American cities and created a growing need for hospital services for poorer citizens. Families crowded into cramped tenements lacked both extended family members and space to care for seriously ill family members. As poor mothers entered the workforce, they too were unavailable to care for sick children. For many desperate families, the hospital was the only place for health care. Like other hospitals of the era, pediatric hospitals were designed specifically to care for the children of the "worthy poor." In reality, however, children were only turned away if they were deemed contagious or incurable. Wealthy families could afford private physician care in their homes; only the most destitute families brought their children to the hospital.

The hospital was not simply a response to societal changes. During the late nineteenth century, medicine was becoming increasingly cognizant of the unique medical needs of children. Doctors with a particular interest in children's diseases argued that sick children merited medical care separate from adults. Children were not little adults, these doctors argued. Not only did children react differently to common diseases, but they suffered from distinct diseases and presented unique diagnostic and therapeutic challenges. The appalling INFANT MORTALITY rates witnessed in late-nineteenth-century American cities lent a sense of urgency to the issue of child health care. Blaming this atrocity on a combination of moral laxity among the poor, inadequate city resources, and the relative inability of babies to resist disease, doctors and reformers alike felt called to attack this serious problem.

The young field of pediatrics took the pressing health care needs of children seriously. Pediatrics formally began in the 1880s with the creation of the American Medical Association's Section on the Diseases of Children (1880) and the American Pediatric Society (1888). These early pediatricians witnessed first hand the benefits of separate hospital care for children. Their efforts at professionalization legitimized the young field of pediatrics, created a community of like-minded doctors, helped elaborate a scientific rationale for the field, and publicized the advantages of specialized care for children. The concentration of sick children in pediatric hospitals also provided a fertile training ground for young doctors interested in pediatrics. By working on pediatric hospital wards, these ambitious doctors refined surgical techniques, tested new therapies, and conducted research on childhood diseases.

Early Models of Children's Hospitals

Most nineteenth-century general hospitals occasionally admitted children. Typically, these youngsters were placed on adult wards, where they were cared for by nurses and doctors who lacked special training in children's health. Shortly after

the turn of the twentieth century, general hospitals began to acknowledge the benefits of separate care for children and created pediatric wards. Typically, however, general practitioners—and not pediatricians—treated these children.

Although early hospitals for children promised distinct advantages over general hospitals, these institutions varied considerably in philosophy and services. Some evolved from older institutions for children, especially ORPHANAGES and FOUNDLING homes for abandoned infants. Others began as babies' hospitals, concentrating on the health problems of infancy. Their medical mission focused on providing nutritious infant formula and treating diarrhea, the predominant disease responsible for the inordinate infant death rate. Because medicine could do so little to counteract infant mortality, most early children's hospitals limited their clientele to children over two. As urban sanitary conditions improved after 1900, however, infant mortality declined and babies' and children's hospitals merged into the modern institution that treats children of all ages.

The humble beginnings of children's hospitals reflected not only their meager financial resources but also their philosophy. The founders typically procured a small house, assigning separate wards for female and male patients. If space allowed, patients were further divided onto surgical and medical wards. Because contagion could close a hospital and threaten the lives of already weak children, an isolation room was commonly included. The hospital matron lived in the hospital and oversaw daily patient care. In this homelike environment the trustees believed that sick, poor children would receive the warmth, nurture, and comfort of a Christian home. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as physicians began to play influential roles in hospital management, a more medical model of pediatric care emerged, and many children's hospitals expanded to freestanding buildings with up-to-date hygienic designs.

Hospitalizations frequently lasted weeks, even months. Despite an attempt to bar chronic and CONTAGIOUS DISEASES, many early hospital wards were filled with children with these complaints. A large number of children suffered from tuberculosis, a major and indolent killer of nineteenth-century Americans. Many children who entered the hospital were severely malnourished or near death's door; their recovery, if it occurred, was protracted. Because so much hospital care was supportive, nursing was critical. Members of religious sisterhoods often acted as nurses in early hospitals; by 1900 professionally trained nurses had replaced these volunteers.

Hospitals severely limited visiting hours, making it difficult for working parents to visit their sick children. These visiting hours reflected practical concerns that families would worsen homesickness, create behavior problems on the wards, introduce new infections and unsanctioned food, and adversely affect recovery. In addition, poor families were

often held responsible for their children's illnesses and therefore frequent contact with parents was considered detrimental. Attention was paid, however, to entertaining sick children; photographs show rocking horses and dolls in the wards.

After discharge, children were either sent to a convalescent home or followed in the hospital's outpatient department. Because recovery from disease and surgery was often protracted, many pediatric hospitals established convalescent homes in the country, where recuperating children spent several weeks receiving fresh air and nutritious food. Beginning in the 1890s hospitals assigned social workers and nurses to visit convalescing children at home in order to teach families the principles of adequate home care.

One of the most unusual early pediatric hospitals was the floating hospital. Modeled in part after military hospital ships, the floating hospital took sick children and their families into the harbor, where they could breathe the supposedly salubrious sea air. While on board, children would be given carefully prepared formula and parents would be taught the benefits of proper nutrition and HYGIENE. Initially, the trips were day excursions; by the 1920s the sicker children stayed overnight as well.

A Unified Pediatric Model

Throughout the nineteenth century, pediatric hospital care largely consisted of nursing, nutrition, dressing changes, and general supportive care. As pediatrics became more professional and scientific in its approach, children's hospitals shed their image as supportive care providers and began to stress the acute medical and surgical services they could perform, as well as the medical research they conducted. As a result, these hospitals evolved into institutions with obvious benefits for rich as well as poor children. During the 1920s and 1930s these hospitals began to woo paying patients, especially for surgical procedures.

By the 1930s the diversity of pediatric hospitals had evolved into a fairly unified model of pediatric hospital care in which children from all walks of life received up-to-date medical and surgical care. Within the children's hospital, young medical graduates pursued advanced training in pediatrics and learned the latest medical and surgical techniques for children.

See also: **Children's Spaces.**

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HUGHES EVANS

Children's Libraries

Inspired by Progressive social reform movements in the late nineteenth century, public librarians in the United States and Britain established children's services that emphasized outreach and programming as well as the creation of special collections of books for young readers. These collections and services are meant to complement those in school libraries whose goal is to support the curriculum. Although children's collections in public libraries do attempt to meet educational needs, public librarians have always focused on promoting the joy of reading as well as fostering the emerging LITERACY skills of children. Scholars note that over the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries American children's librarians have developed a number of "articles of faith." These include: a belief in the uniqueness of each child; a belief in the crucial importance of each child's personal selection of reading materials; a belief in the children's room as "an egalitarian republic of readers;" and a belief in literature as a positive force for understanding, not only between individuals, but also between groups and nations. Similar ideals have been articulated in the United Kingdom where the Library Association's guidelines for service to children identify four areas of child development in which libraries are vitally important: intellectual development, language development, social development, and educational development.

In many countries the national library association has a special section for children's librarians, and it is often this group that advocates for both the improvement and extension of services; among children's librarians in Japan there is a popular slogan: "Like lampposts in town, we need children's libraries on every corner." Although children's libraries are found throughout the world, their development is quite varied and is influenced by educational priorities, funding, and legislation. The general development of public libraries and the availability of children's books in the local languages are also important.

By the 1890s many public libraries in the United States began to set up special sections with books for children, but it was not until 1895 when the first library was constructed with a specially designed room for children—a practice that became the norm during the period of widespread library construction in the early 1900s. American librarians also took the lead in establishing the first round table for children's librarians in the American Library Association (ALA) in 1900 and in 1901 a special two-year training program for children's librarians was opened in Pittsburgh. The American tradition of children's librarianship that emphasized

school visits, book talks, story telling, and other programs had a great influence on the development of children's work in other parts of the world. Prior to World War I a number of European librarians came to the United States for special training, but interest in American practices dramatically increased when children's libraries were given to the cities of Brussels (1920) and Paris (1923) by a group of wealthy American women who wished to promote postwar "educational reconstruction"; they chose a model children's library as their philanthropic focus because they viewed it as "a truly American creation . . . contributing to the program of self-education." Following World War II the *Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek* in Berlin was likewise credited with having great influence on the development of youth services in Germany.

While most countries integrate children's services into their public library systems, other models also exist. In India a number of university libraries have children's sections, and some developing nations, such as the Ivory Coast, offer children's services as one of the functions of the national public library. In contrast, Iran provides children's services through an extensive system of free-standing children's libraries. France, Germany, Japan, Jordan, and Russia serve children through their public libraries, but also have a number of free-standing children's libraries. Among the most notable children's libraries are the International Youth Library in Munich, *L'Heure Joyeuse* in Paris, and the Library of the Children's Book Trust in New Delhi. Development of children's services has been promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through the construction of model public libraries in developing countries and through its publications and conferences. UNESCO also works closely with the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA), which has an active subsection on Library Work with Children, organized in 1955.

During the last half of the twentieth century, public library services to children spread throughout the world, along with the expansion of primary and secondary education and the growth in children's book publishing. Nonetheless, children's librarians faced challenges obtaining adequate funding for audio-visual materials and access to Internet resources as well as books. Librarians also faced challenges in maintaining the child's right to access information and in adapting their services to changing social conditions. Virginia Walter, past president of the Association for Library Service to Children, emphasizes the importance of person-to-person outreach and calls on children's librarians to design services for "the child in the community" as well as providing appropriate Internet access and communicating "the importance, the relevance, and the excitement of reading" (p. 93).

See also: **Children's Literature; Children's Spaces.**

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MARY NILES MAACK

Children's Literature

Like the concept of childhood, children's literature is very much a cultural construct that continues to evolve over time. Children's literature comprises those texts that have been written specifically for children and those texts that children have selected to read on their own, and the boundaries between children's literature and adult literature are surprisingly fluid. John Rowe Townsend once argued that the only practical definition of a children's book is one that appears on the children's list by a publisher. Contemporary publishers are not making that distinction any easier; for example, MAURICE SENDAK's *Outside Over There* (1981) was published as a picture book for both children and adults, and J. K. Rowling's HARRY POTTER series is available in adult and children's versions with the only difference being the book's cover art. While folk and FAIRY TALES were not originally intended for children, they have become a staple of children's literature since the early nineteenth century. On the other hand, many books written for and widely read by children during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are considered historical children's literature today and are read almost exclusively by adult scholars of children's literature. Children's literature has been written, illustrated, published, marketed, and purchased consistently by adults to be given to children for their edification and entertainment. Generally speaking, it is the intended audience rather than the producers of the texts who define the field. Children's texts written by child or adolescent authors, such as Daisy Ashford's *The Young Visitors* (1919) or ANNE FRANK's *Het Achterhuis* (1947; *The Diary of a Young Girl*, 1952), are exceptions to the rule. Many famous children's authors, such as Louisa May Alcott and LEWIS CARROLL, produced family magazines as children, and bits of their juvenilia were reworked into published children's books. More often, children's books result from the collaboration or direct inspiration of a specific child or group of children with an adult author. James Barrie's friendship with the Lewelyn Davies boys resulted in the play *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would Not Grow Up* (1904) and the novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911). The bedtime stories that A.

A. Milne told his son Christopher Robin were revised into *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926).

Although children's literature is intended primarily for children, it is more accurate to view such texts as having dual audiences of children and adults. Adults, particularly parents, teachers, and librarians, often function as gatekeepers who identify appropriate texts for children. Since children's literature has been marketed and purchased by adults who, in turn, present it to children, authors and publishers have attempted to produce children's texts that appeal to the desires of the actual adult purchaser, if not the child reader of the text. In the picture book and chapter book genres especially, an adult reads to a child or children in a group. It is only with the advent of the paperback book that adolescents, and in some cases younger children, have been able to select their books independent of adult supervision or funds. Prior to the development of public education and free libraries in the late nineteenth century, children's literature tended to be limited to the middle and upper classes. A children's book reflects the ideologies of the culture in which it was written and embodies that period's assumptions about children and appropriate behavior. Consequently, children's literature more often embodies adult concerns and concepts of childhood rather than topics children might choose for themselves. This gap between children's and adult's attitudes toward children's literature is often revealed in the difference between the top-selling children's books, which are frequently series books, and the books chosen annually by the American Library Association as the outstanding picture book (winner of the Caldecott Medal) and the outstanding book of prose (winner of the Newbery Medal).

Early History

In order for a society to produce a substantial body of children's literature it must recognize the existence of children as an important and distinctive category of readers with separate needs and interests. Despite PHILIPPE ARIÈS's much debated assertion that childhood was discovered in the seventeenth century, children's texts with limited circulation have been located from earlier periods of history. Manuscripts for religious education and courtesy books intended to teach rules of conduct were circulated among the wealthy in the Middle Ages. Harvey Darton has suggested that there were no children's books in England prior to the seventeenth century; however, he limits children's books to those printed texts that appeared after Johannes Gutenberg's fifteenth-century invention and includes handmade as well as printed texts that were concerned primarily with instruction, thus excluding educational textbooks or religious primers.

The twin purposes of instruction and delight have long been accepted as the primary goals of children's literature. John Newbery, a London bookseller, published at least thirty children's books and is recognized as the first British publisher to make children's books a permanent and profitable

branch of the book trade. Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744) is the first significant commercial children's book published in English. Greatly influenced by JOHN LOCKE's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), the frontispiece of *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* features the motto "*Delectando Momenus: Instruction with Delight*," which Newbery borrowed directly from Locke. Locke modified the concept from Horace's *Ars poetica* (c. 19 B.C.E.; *On the Art of Poetry*), which recommended, "He who combines the useful and the pleasing wins out by both instructing and delighting the reader." What Locke theorized, Newbery put into practice. Locke recommended that to encourage reading, a child should be given an "easy pleasant book suited to his capacity." While Locke rejected fairy tales, he felt fables, because they often were coupled with a moral, were appropriate texts for children. He specifically recommended both *Reynard the Fox* (1481) and *Aesop's Fables* (1484), noting "If his *Aesop* has pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better." *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* is a compendium, including an illustrated alphabet, a selection of proverbs, and an illustrated group of Aesop's fables.

Darton was too limiting when he excluded didactic books from his definition of children's literature. Townsend considered the material published prior to Newbery as the prehistory of children's literature. These books were not intended for children, but eventually reached them, particularly chapbooks that featured folk tales or the legends of Robin Hood. Educational texts such as *The Babees Book* (1475), a conduct book for young gentlemen, also contribute to the prehistory of children's literature. William Caxton, the first English printer, published several texts that were not intended specifically for children, but his printings did appeal to them, notably *Aesop's Fables*, *Reynard the Fox*, and Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* (1485).

An early form of didactic children's literature was the hornbook in which a single sheet of printed text, generally consisting of an alphabet and a prayer, was shared by a group of young scholars. The printed text was attached to a wooden frame and protected by a bit of flatted horn attached to a wooden handle. A later innovation was the battledore, which used parchment or heavy paper instead of wood and therefore allowed for printing on both sides. The Czech theologian and educator JOHANN COMENIUS recognized that children learn both visually and verbally. He published *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1658) in Hungary, and the textbook was translated into English by Robert Hoole as *Visible World* (1659). The first illustrated textbook, *Orbis sensualium pictus* includes simple captions in Latin and in the common language as well as woodcuts that provide a visual encyclopedia of the world. This integration of visual and verbal elements has remained a significant design feature of children's literature, particularly in information and picture books. Another influential children's textbook was the *New England Primer* (c. 1689), compiled by Benjamin Harris. (While no copy of



John Tenniel's illustration of Alice holding a bottle labelled "Drink Me" from the first edition of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). Every generation has remade the image of Alice, thereby constantly renewing her relevance. © Bettman/CORBIS.

the first edition has been located, a second edition was advertised in 1690 and the earliest surviving American copy is dated 1727.) It also combined significant visual and verbal elements; its most famous section is the illustrated alphabet, which begins "A, In Adam's Fall We Sinned All," linking the teaching of literacy with religious education. The *New England Primer* became the most frequently used schoolbook in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Puritan children's literature was intended to provide children with religious and moral education. The most extreme example is James Janeway's *A Token for Children: Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children* (1672) in which multiple deathbed scenes present children who are physically weak but spiritually strong. While the Puritans were one of the first groups to create a large body of children's books, their doctrine of original sin assumed that all children were damned until they were converted to Christianity. A less harsh version of Puritan theology for children is found in John Bunyan's *A Book for Boys and Girls* (1686), a collection



Stories about animals, such as Beatrix Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1902), were popular during the Victorian era, when children's literature reached a cultural peak. Potter's books were especially renowned for their charming illustrations.

of poems or divine emblems drawn from nature. Bunyan's religious allegory *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) was not written specifically for children but was quickly produced in abridged versions for younger readers along with Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). The enduring popularity of *Pilgrim's Progress* with children can be observed in the March sisters "Playing Pilgrims" in the first half of Alcott's *LITTLE WOMEN* (1868).

Newbery's children's books were less overtly religious than those produced by the Puritans. Instead his children's texts appealed to parents drawn to economic and social advancement. Directly aimed at the emerging urban middle classes, these books showed how literacy led to financial success. The most overt example is *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765), which is thought to have been written by Oliver Goldsmith, who wrote other children's texts for Newbery. The story features the poor but hard working orphan, Margery Meanwell, who becomes a tutoress and eventually impresses and marries a wealthy squire. Newbery's children's books support a middle-class ideology.

Newbery's genius was not as an author or illustrator but as a promoter and marketer of children's books who was

skilled at convincing middle-class parents of the value of this new product category. His frequent advertisements in the press and his habit of inserting other titles and specific products into the texts of his children's books is a practice that continues in children's publishing. He also developed the custom of coupling children's books with non-book accessories. *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* was available at a slightly higher price when accompanied by either a "Ball and Pin-cushion, the Use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy and Polly a Good girl."

The development of children's literature in England occurred simultaneously with the rise of the English novel. It is worth noting that the first children's novel, *The Governess, or Little Female Academy* (1749) by Sarah Fielding, was published in the same year as *Tom Jones*, which was written by her brother Henry Fielding. *The Governess* introduced the popular genre of the school story, the most celebrated example being Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857). This enduring fascination with the genre is echoed in J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter series.

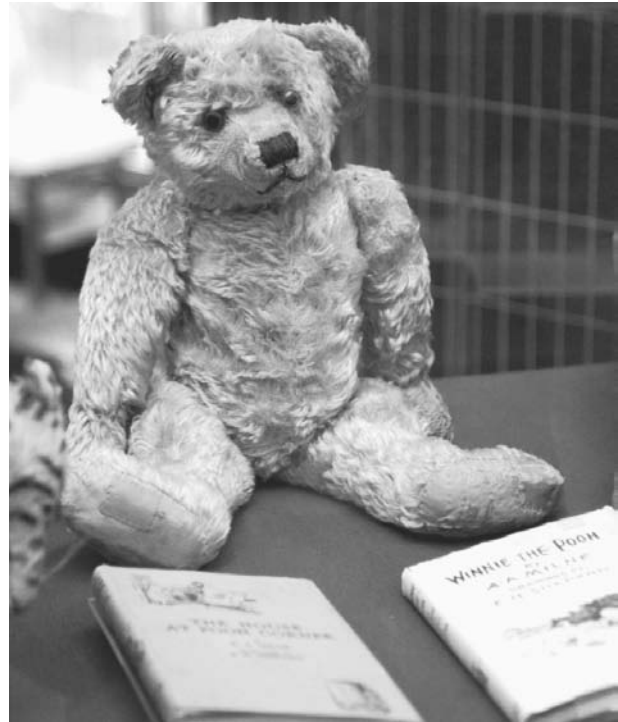
Another major educational theorist to have a profound influence on children's literature was JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, whose *Émile* (1762) was published in France and quickly translated into English. In *Émile* Rousseau rejected the Puritan concept of original sin and maintained that children were born innocent but were later corrupted by society. Ironically for a text that was to inspire the publication of many children's books, Rousseau thought children should learn by doing rather than by reading. He argued that children should only be taught to read at age twelve and then be limited to the book *Robinson Crusoe*. The best-known English follower of Rousseau, Thomas Day, wrote *History of Sandford and Merton* (1783–1789), a three-volume comparison between the virtues of Harry Sandford, the poor but virtuous son of a farmer, and Tommy Merton, the spoiled son of a wealthy merchant, who are educated under the constant moralizing of their tutor, Mr. Barlow. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), illustrated by William Blake, is a similar story for girls, with the rational Mrs. Mason finding object lessons from nature to inform her two charges, Caroline and Mary. Rousseau's belief in the ability to reason with children rather than using physical punishment is exemplified in Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* books (1778) as well as in Richard Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798), written in collaboration with his daughter, and in Maria Edgeworth's *The Parent's Assistant* (1796). Maria Edgeworth, daughter of Richard, was one of the finest writers of moral tales, which were those short domestic stories that encouraged children to focus on self-improvement. Such moral tales were one of the dominant forms of children's literature during the eighteenth century.

Fairy and Folk Tales

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, fairy and folk tales were considered inappropriate reading material for children, especially among the middle class. Puritans viewed them as a form of witchcraft, and both Locke and Rousseau warned against their frightening aspects, preferring stories of daily life. Mary Sherwood was the most strict writer of the moral tale and the author of the popular *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818–1847), which was intended to provide the reader with religious education. At one point in the book, after the Fairchild children quarrel, to teach them a lesson their father takes them to a gibbet on which hangs the decaying body of a man who was executed for killing his brother. Sarah Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* (1786) is a tale in which a family of robins teaches moral values. Trimmer also edited *The Guardian of Education* (1802–1806), a journal for parents and tutors, which was one of the first to evaluate children's books and to attempt a history of children's literature.

Attitudes toward fairy tales as children's literature changed during the nineteenth century when Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm published their two-volume collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812–1815) in Germany. The Grimms were part of the German romantic movement and, with other writers for adults—including Ludwig Bechstein, Clemens Brentano, and E. T. A. Hoffmann—championed the folk tale and the literary fairy tale. The Grimms were attempting to collect and preserve German folklore for other scholars, but when Edgar Taylor translated the tales into English as *German Popular Stories* (1823–1826), he revised and redirected the tales for children. George Cruikshank illustrated the volumes, and his humorous designs were praised by John Ruskin. The popularity of the Grimm's fairy tales as children's literature was buttressed by the 1697 publication of Charles Perrault's *Histoires, ou contes du temps passé, avec des Moralitez* (1697). Perrault's artful and moral collection of eight fairy tales was translated as *Histoires, or Tales of Past Times* in 1729 by Robert Samber. The literary fairy tales written by Perrault are often referred to as *The Tales of Mother Goose* or simply *Mother Goose's Tales*. The phrase *Contes de ma mere Voye* appeared in the engraving of an older woman telling stories to a group of children that served as the frontispiece of Perrault's collection; the phrase was translated by Samber as "Mother Goose's Tales."

Fairy tales became fashionable among adults in the French court at the end of the seventeenth century as a result of Perrault's publication and of Marie-Catherine Aulnoy's publication in the same year of *Contes de fées* (Stories of the fairies). Aulnoy's collection of literary fairy tales was translated into English in 1699 as *The History of Tales of the Fairies*. Another influential French writer of literary fairy tales was Marie Beaumont, who immigrated to England in 1745, where she published *Magasin des enfans* (1756), which was translated into English as *The Young Misses Magazine* (1757). The work features the conversations of a governess with her

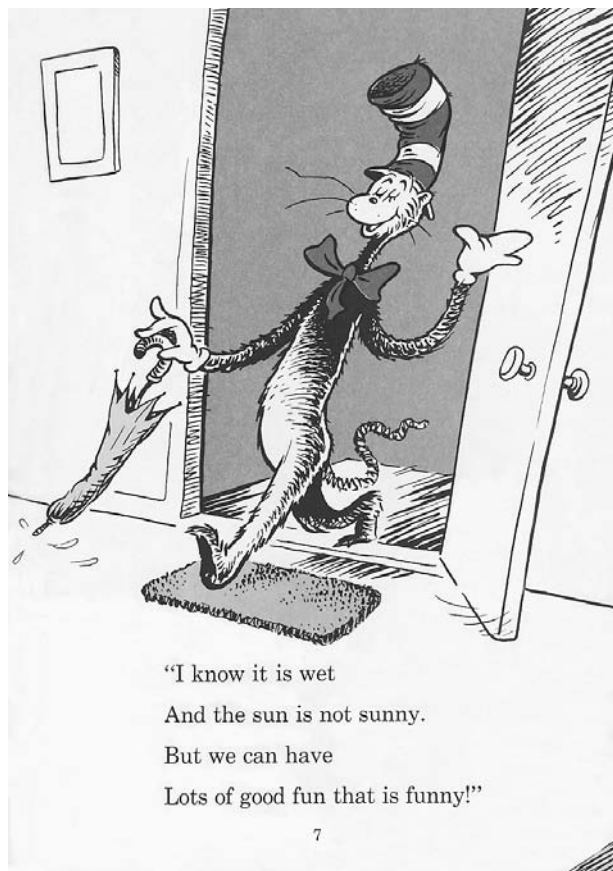


The original teddy bear that inspired A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926). The bear was given as a present to Christopher Robin Milne by his father and was immortalized in Milne's text, as well as Ernest Shepard's illustrations and later Disney's. AP/World Wide Photos.

pupils and includes a number of fairy tales, the best known being her version of "Beauty and the Beast."

Perrault's fairy tales gradually were adopted as children's texts known collectively as tales of Mother Goose. Aulnoy's fairy tales were identified as the tales of Mother Bunch and became the basis for many pantomines, a Victorian family theatrical entertainment.

Henry Cole, under the pseudonym Felix Summerly, edited the influential series of children's books, *The Home Treasury* (1843–1847), which helped rehabilitate the reputation of fairy tales as appropriate children's fare. Cole wanted the series to develop imagination in children and also to counteract the attacks on fairy tales by writers such as Trimmer and Sherwood. Moreover, the series was intended as an alternative to the enormously popular information books written by Peter Parley. Parley was the pen name of Samuel Goodrich, a prolific American writer of information books who considered fairy tales and nursery rhymes coarse and vulgar. *The Home Treasury*, with its numerous fairy tales and works of imaginative literature, was conceived by Cole as anti-Peter Parleyism. The constant battle over fairy tales, an impulse that pits the value of stories of ordinary life against imaginative and fantastical texts, is a debate that regularly appears in the history of children's literature.



Dr. Seuss's classic *The Cat in the Hat* (1957) was written as a reading primer for younger children, using a vocabulary of just over 200 words. The most popular of Dr. Seuss's books, *The Cat in the Hat* sold over 7 million copies by the year 2000. Geisel, Theodor, illustrator. TM and copyright © 1957 and renewed 1985 by Dr. Seuss Enterprises, L.P. Reproduced by permission of Random House, Inc.

With the publication of HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN's *Eventyr, fortalte for børn* (Tales, told for children; 1835, 1843, 1858, 1861) into English in 1848, the triumph of the fairy tale as legitimate children's literature was complete. Shortly thereafter, collections of folk tales and literary fairy tales, which were written in the manner of folk tales by a specific author, tended to dominate children's literature until the end of the Victorian period. The most popular literary fairy tale of the Victorian period was Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), which was followed by its sequel *Through the Looking Glass* (1872); both were illustrated by John Tenniel. Carroll's imaginative novels are often credited with changing the emphasis of children's literature from instruction to delight. When compared with the majority of the children's books that preceded the Alice books, Carroll's works are remarkably free of religious or social lessons. Carroll even gently parodied Isaac Watts's poem "Against Idleness and Mischief" from *Divine Songs* (1715), yet the allusion also confirms the continued popularity of Watts's religious

work. Religious lessons, such as those found in George MacDonald's *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871), or social lessons, as those emphasized in Christina Rossetti's *Speaking Likenesses* (1874), remained significant features of children's literature during the Victorian period.

Carroll's Alice books did not single-handedly cause a shift in children's literature. Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House* (1839), which describes the frolicsome adventures of Laura and Harry Graham, reintroduced noisy, mischievous children into the world of children's books. Heinrich Hoffmann's *Lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder* (Merry stories and funny pictures) was published in Germany in 1845 but since the third edition, which appeared in 1847, was known as *Struwwelpeter*. It featured illustrations and poems that mocked the excesses of Puritan cautionary tales for children. Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* (1846) is another celebrated collection of nonsense verse with comic illustrations that rejects the impulse to be morally improving or didactic. Lear specialized in the limerick although he also was skilled at writing longer poems, such as "The Owl and the Pussy-cat" and "The Dong with a Luminous Nose," which are tinged with melancholy. Carroll and Lear are often paired as the two great writers of nonsense literature. Both authors were influenced by those anonymous comic verses known in England as nursery rhymes and in the United States as Mother Goose rhymes. There have been countless publications of collections of Mother Goose rhymes. One of the most notable is *Mother Goose's Melodies* (1833), published by Munroe and Francis of Boston, in which Mother Goose proudly announces herself to be one of the great poets of all ages and on a first name basis with Billy Shakespeare. James Orchard Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes and Tales of England* (1845) provided the respectability for nursery rhymes that fairy tales had already achieved.

Victorian Children's Literature

Victorian children's literature reflected the culture's separate spheres for men and women with different types of books written for girls and boys. Stories for girls were often domestic and celebrated the family life, such as Alcott's *Little Women* or Kate Douglas Wiggin's *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903). Stories for boys, such as MARK TWAIN's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and its sequel *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), encouraged boys to have adventures. While Victorian children's literature developed the character of the good and bad boy, female characters were allowed less flexibility. Adventure stories—such as R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), and RUDYARD KIPLING's *Kim* (1901)—became a popular genre for boys. Girls were encouraged to read moralistic and domestic fiction such as Charlotte Yonge's *The Daisy Chain* (1856) and the extremely popular girls' school stories by L. T. Meade, begun with *The World of Girls* (1886). Animal tales, such as Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) and Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894) and



An illustration by Clement Hurd for Margaret Wise Brown's *Goodnight Moon* (1947). Intended for children under the age of six, Brown's book has become a bedtime classic for generations of children. Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975. Illustrations copyright renewed 1975 by Edith T. Hurd, Clement Hurd, John Thacher Hurd, and George Hellyer.

Second Jungle Book (1895), were thought to appeal to both sexes. This tradition continued into the twentieth century with BEATRIX POTTER's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1902), Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), and E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (1952) as some of the most memorable animal stories. Stuffed animals became the characters in A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926) and *The House at Pooh Corner* (1828), which are illustrated admirably by Ernest Shepard.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an explosion of children's literature, both in terms of quantity and quality. Children's literature historically has been more open

to women as authors and illustrators because it has been considered less significant than adult literature and because publishers have regarded women as more capable of teaching and raising children. Children's literature also began to segment itself in terms of social class as penny dreadfuls, or dime novels, were produced for the working class and more high-minded literature was produced for the middle and upper classes.

The Victorian era is considered a golden age for book illustration and picture books. In the first half of the nineteenth century most children's books were illustrated with woodcuts or printed on wood blocks and then hand-colored,

but later innovations in printing allowed for the widespread use of color. By the 1850s the master color printer Edmund Evans worked with some of the most capable picture book illustrators of the age—including Randolph Caldecott, Walter Crane, KATE GREENAWAY, Beatrix Potter, and Richard Doyle—to produce brilliant picture books and illustrated texts.

Contemporary Children's Literature

Twentieth-century children's literature was marked by increased diversity in both characters and authors. Earlier popular children's books—such as Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* (1880); Helen Bannerman's *The Story of Little Black Sambo* (1899); Hugh Lofting's *The Story of Dr. Dolittle* (1920); Jean de Brunhoff's *Histoire de Babar, le petit éléphant* (1931), translated by Merle Haas from the French as *The Story of Babar, The Little Elephant* (1933); and Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (1964)—have since been judged racist. Most children's literature prior to the twentieth century embodied a white ideology that was reflected in both the text and illustrations. From the 1920s on, there have been attempts to provide a more multicultural approach to children's literature. W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Brownies Book* (1920–1921) was the first African-American children's magazine. It featured stories, poems, and informational essays by authors such as Langston Hughes and Jessie Fauset. Over time publishers became more concerned with multiculturalism and issues of diversi-

ty. Notable African-American writers—such as Arna Bon-temps, Lucille Clifton, Mildred Taylor, Virginia Hamilton, and John Steptoe—and Asian-American writers—including Laurence Yep, Allen Say, and Ken Mochizuki—have forever changed the once all-white world of children's literature.

On the other hand, children's literature has become more segmented in terms of age appropriateness. In the 1940s Margaret Wise Brown, inspired by the education theories of Lucy Sprague Mitchell, the founder of the Bank Street College of Education, began to produce picture books intended for children under age six. Brown's best-known picture books for the very young are *The Runaway Bunny* (1941) and *Goodnight Moon* (1947), both illustrated by Clement Hurd. Mitchell also promoted stories that reflected the real world in collections such as her *Here and Now Storybook* (1921). This newfound interest in age-specific material led to the creation of the widely used Dick and Jane readers (1930–1965) developed by William S. Gray and Zerna Sharp and distributed by Scott Foreman and Company. DR. SEUSS's *The Cat in the Hat* (1957) was written as a creative alternative to such basal readers, although it was also designed as a controlled vocabulary book.

While Lothar Meggendorfer developed the movable picture book at the end of the nineteenth century with tabs and pullouts, pop-up books, shaped books, and tactile books did not achieve widespread popularity until the twentieth century. The best known of these books is Dorothy Kunhardt's interactive *Pat the Bunny* (1940). More contemporary texts, such as Jan Pienkowski's pop-up books *Haunted House* (1979) and *Robot* (1981), blur the distinctions between book and toy. Board books are available for infants and toddlers; some of the most imaginative are the series of Rosemary Wells's Max books, beginning with *Max's Ride* (1979), which provide compelling stories for preschoolers.

While many twentieth-century children's texts appealed to and explored the lives of older children, most critics point to Maureen Daly's *Seventeenth Summer* (1942) and J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) as the beginning of adolescent literature as a genre separate from children's literature. More recently, middle school literature has emerged as a distinctive category. Texts such as Beverly Cleary's Ramona series, which began with *Beezus and Ramona* (1955), Louise Fitzhugh's *Harriet the Spy* (1964), and Judy Blume's problem novels, such as *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* (1970), have attracted readers too old for picture books but not ready for the adolescent novel.

SERIES BOOKS remain a larger, but contested, segment of children's literature. Books that follow the same set of characters or repeat an established formula have been an important part of children's literature since the nineteenth century with the publication of Horatio Alger's novels, which feature plucky boys who go from rags to riches, or Martha Finley's series on the pious but popular Elsie Dinsmore. Early in the

twentieth century Edward Stratemeyer's syndicate of anonymous writers wrote books for multiple series under various pseudonyms, including the Nancy Drew series as CAROLYN KEENE, the Hardy Boys series as Franklin W. Dixon, and the Tom Swift series as Victor Appleton. While librarians and critics have tended to dismiss the repetitive nature of series books, some series books—such as Laura Ingalls Wilder's Little House series, begun with *Little House in the Big Woods* (1932), and C. S. Lewis's collection *Chronicles of Narnia* (1950–1956), which started with *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (1950)—have been recognized as outstanding works of literature. Nonetheless, most series fiction—such as L. Frank Baum's Oz series, begun with *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900); R. L. Stine's Goosebumps series, begun with *Welcome to the Dead House* (1992); and Anne Martin's Baby-Sitters Club series, begun with *Kristy's Great Idea* (1986)—have been embraced by older children but generally dismissed by adults and critics as insubstantial.

Media adaptation of children's books as films or as TELEVISION series has become an increasingly important aspect of children's literature. Popular television series have been based on books such as Wilder's Little House series and Marc Brown's Arthur Adventure series, begun with *Arthur's Nose* (1976). Walt DISNEY has dominated the field of film adaptation of children's texts into cinema, beginning with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), the first feature-length animated film. Best known for animated films based on fairy tales, Disney has produced a number of live-action films, such as *Mary Poppins* (1964), based on P. L. Travers's *Mary Poppins* (1934), as well as animated features based on Carlo Collodi's *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1882) and T. H. White's *The Sword in the Stone* (1939). As is the case with Victor Fleming's film *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), based on L. Frank Baum's 1900 novel, or Alfonso Cuarón's film *A Little Princess* (1995), based on Frances Hodgson Burnett's 1905 novel, film adaptations often change, if not revise, the original text. This complicates the meaning of a children's text when children are more familiar with a text through viewing a media adaptation than through reading the book.

Since the 1960s, an increasing number of well-designed picture books have been produced. Such book illustrators as Maurice Sendak with *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963), Chris Van Allsburg with *Jumanji* (1981), and Anthony Browne with *Gorilla* (1983) have created highly imaginative picture books. Talented graphic designers—such as Eric Carle with *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* (1969), Leo Lionni with *Swimmy* (1963), and Lois Ehlert with *Color Zoo* (1989)—have provided bold new approaches to creating picture books.

Despite the recent trend of categorizing children's literature by age, an increasing number of adults have begun reading children's books, blurring the boundaries between children's and adult texts. J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter series,

begun with *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (1997), has wide appeal with both child and adult readers. Francesca Lia Block's postmodern fairy tales, such as *Weetzie Bat* (1989), and the darkly ironic A Series of Unfortunate Events series by Lemony Snicket, which began with *The Bad Beginning* (1999), both have strong adult readership. Picture books have always been a showcase for designers and illustrators to display their talents. Increasingly sophisticated picture books—such as David Maccaulay's *Black and White* (1990) or the postmodern revisions of fairy tales written by Jon Scieszka and illustrated by Lane Smith in *The Stinky Cheese Man and Other Fairly Stupid Fairy Tales* (1992)—appeal as much to adults as to children. Contemporary children's literature continues to be a highly innovative and challenging field. As children's literature has become an increasingly financially profitable business, more successful writers who have first established themselves as writers for adults, such as Carl Hiassen (*Hoot* [2002]) and Michael Chabon (*Summerland* [2002]), are choosing to write for children.

See also: **ABC Books; Comic Books; Juvenile Publishing; Movies.**

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JAN SUSINA

Children's Rights

Over the course of American history, obligations and rights between children, their parents, and the state have evolved in response to the dynamic changes of the growing nation. Most prominently, the nearly absolute rights of parents have contracted as the state has taken an increasingly powerful role in protecting and educating children. Children's rights, however, have not emerged as a full-blown independent concept. Only pockets of law, primarily in the areas of criminal justice and reproductive rights, have evolved to consider children's rights discretely from those of their parents.

In early American history, the law viewed the child as an economic asset or liability, whose value was perceived in terms of labor capacity rendered to parents and other adults. During the colonial period and the early years of the republic, the father as the head of the household exercised unquestionable rights to the custody and control of his children both during the marriage and in the then-rare event of divorce. A father could hire out a child for wages or apprentice a child to another family without the mother's consent. Education, vocational training, and moral development were also the father's responsibility.

Only in certain circumstances did the state assume responsibility for children: in the event of illegitimate birth and thus the absence of an acknowledged father's duties, in the event of the death of a father or both parents, and in the event of the incompetence or financial inability of parents to care for or train their offspring. In such instances, the fate of the child was determined by the primary considerations of the ability of the adults to exercise proper maintenance and supervision, and the child's labor value. A child born out of wedlock was known as *filius nullius* or "child of no family" and the town's poor law official was authorized to place out the child with an unrelated family. Widows often lost their children when they became unable to support them. Before ORPHANAGES or ADOPTION became common, such children were usually apprenticed or placed out to a family that would provide subsistence in exchange for labor.

During the 1800s as the nation grew more urban and industrial, emphasis on the child's value as a laborer diminished and more interest developed in child nurture and education. The new industrial age required fathers to leave their farms or home-based shops and work elsewhere. Mothers, who remained at home, replaced fathers as the main figures in the child's world. In addition, the new industrial order required a managerial middle class with skills that could be taught and learned not in the fields but in the classroom. Public school teachers began to replace parents as the primary educators of children. With this shift, children for the first time were looked upon as having some rights of their own.

The first recognition that children had rights independent of their parents' became embodied in the legal concept

expressed as the "best interest of the child." Mothers gained favor as the parent better able to nurture the emotional needs of children of tender years. Following the increasingly more common event of divorce, mothers became more likely to prevail over fathers in custody disputes. Orphanages arose as a more child-centered alternative to PLACING OUT children whose parents were dead or unable to care for them. At the same time, public education rapidly took the place of HOMESCHOOLING. The state replaced the parents in shaping the intellectual and vocational life of the child.

A variety of reforms designed to protect children from exploitation and mischief was advanced at the beginning of the twentieth century by a coalition of civic-minded adults, popularly known as child-savers. Groundbreaking measures included restrictive CHILD LABOR laws, COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, and JUVENILE COURTS that adjudicated children who were neglected by their parents or delinquent in their own behavior. These initiatives placed the state in a decisively more active role, irreversibly reducing parental authority and laying the foundation for the modern American child welfare and educational structures.

Legal recognition of children's civil rights apart from their parents, however, began to develop only much later, in the context of the 1960s civil rights movements. In 1965 in Des Moines, Iowa, three Quaker children were suspended from school for symbolically protesting the Vietnam War in their classroom. In an important freedom of speech decision, the U.S. Supreme Court proclaimed that children "did not leave their constitutional rights at the school house door" (TINKER V. DES MOINES, 1969).

In the more conservative 1970s, the Supreme Court allowed censorship of school newspapers and gave school authorities wide discretion to search student lockers. Later judicial rulings continued limiting the prerogatives of minor students. In the early twenty-first century the Court gave public school officials much wider latitude to test students for drugs. In *Board of Education v. Lindsay Earls* (2002), the Supreme Court permitted districts to require random tests of any student who takes part in extracurricular activities such as band, chorus, or academic competition. It had already upheld mandatory testing of student athletes.

Courts have accorded most serious consideration to rights for children in the procedural arena of JUVENILE JUSTICE. In 1965, the same year as the incident underlying *Tinker v. Des Moines*, a fifteen-year-old Gila County, Arizona, boy allegedly made an anonymous obscene phone call to an elderly neighbor. Without benefit of an attorney or a trial, Gerald Gault was sentenced to incarceration in a juvenile correctional institution until age twenty-one. The ensuing landmark Supreme Court decision, *IN RE GAULT* (1967)—later expanded by several subsequent decisions—gave minor defendants in juvenile court criminal actions nearly all the due process protections that adult defendants receive in the

regular criminal courts, including lawyers and the right against self-incrimination. However, by the end of the century rights to a speedy trial, bail, or a jury had not been established.

In the 1990s, in response to highly touted reports of increases in juvenile crime, most state legislatures adopted measures to bring ever younger juvenile offenders to trial in adult courts, and to subject them to adult sentencing rules. By the beginning of the twenty-first century a fourteen-year-old could be tried for murder as an adult, and a sixteen-year-old could be sentenced to execution in most states.

Although a partial array of rights for children vis-à-vis schools, courts, and other governmental institutions were recognized by the Supreme Court, it was reluctant to grant children rights that were traditionally exercised by parents. Some of the most contested of these rights concerned areas of reproductive decision-making. Soon after *Roe v. Wade*, the Court ruled that an adult woman's right to choose to end a pregnancy via abortion extended to adolescent girls as well. However, in holding that individual states could enact parental consent laws, the Court reserved substantial authority to parents. With the ambivalence typical of its earlier decisions on children's rights issues, the Court also held that a girl could bypass her parents' withholding of consent by petitioning a judge. If the judge found that she was a mature minor, she would be permitted her own choice (*BELLOTTI V. BAIRD II*, 1979). Parents, public opinion, and states continue to be seriously divided on the issue of minors' access to abortion, and challenges to varying legal precedents are likely to continue.

More latitude has been allowed on the less controversial issue of adolescent consent to other sensitive medical procedures, such as the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases and drug and alcohol abuse. In many states a doctor who cannot give an adolescent an aspirin without parental consent can treat the minor for a VENEREAL DISEASE. Contrarily—and in sharp contrast to the due process protections provided children who face possible criminal incarceration—the Supreme Court has ruled that parents may commit their minor child to a mental health facility upon the recommendation of a physician, with no judicial review (*Parham v. J. R.*, 1979). A child thus volunteered by his parents need not be a “danger to self or others”—the adult standard for commitment—but only deemed in need of medical treatment.

In courts of family law, the child's best interest remains the standard in determining custody between divorced or separated biological parents. In practice, however, the child is rarely granted a representative in judicial custody proceedings and, in most states, the preference of a child who has attained adolescent age is only one consideration among many factors to be considered by the court. Thus, the best interest standard is seldom informed by direct or even indirect input from the child herself.

In key respects, the United Nations has surpassed the progressive reforms of the American legal system in clarifying and expanding the rights of children. The framework of principles articulated in the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD provides that children have a right to a nurturing environment in accordance with their developmental needs; the right to have their voices heard in accordance with their ages; the right to independent representation in legal proceedings, and the right to economic and emotional support from their parents and from the state. By 2003, only Somalia and the United States had not signed this convention.

See also: Beyond the Best Interests of the Child; Child Saving; Divorce and Custody; Law, Children and the.

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MARY ANN MASON

Children's Spaces

There have always been children's spaces, in the sense that every culture has understood some spaces to be more appropriate than others for children and their activities. However, the practice of providing purpose-built spaces exclusively for the use of children became widespread only in the nineteenth century, coincident with the conceptualization of childhood as a special phase of human existence. While much of the historical literature has interpreted the creation of child-centered spaces as a boon to the young, scholars of contemporary childhood have started to bemoan what the two German sociologists Helga and Hartmut Zeiher have called the “islanding” of childhood—the tendency to insulate children's spaces from one another, as well as from spaces used by adults.

Domestic Space

Throughout history, the home has been the institution most closely associated with children and childhood. In general, most housing types developed in the West assigned women and children to the most private and protected areas of the home. These layers of protection generally increased with the wealth of the family. In the large Roman *domus*, for example, the peristyle area furthest from the street was reserved for family life, while the atrium near the front of the house was for more public functions. Many Roman families, however, lived together in one-room homes, illustrated by the remarkable walk-up, multi-family dwellings, called *insulae*, at Ostia, the port of Rome.



The Important Visitors (17th century), Jan Brueghel the Elder. Special places were not set aside for children in western European houses before the modern period. Children and adults lived and worked together in communal areas within the home. © Francis G. Mayer/CORBIS.

This is in sharp contrast to the relatively fixed patterns developed in Chinese courtyard houses. In the Chinese *sibeyuan*, a walled enclosure of four buildings around a quadrangle with a north-south axis, the hierarchy of the family is clearly reflected in the rigid plan regardless of social class: the south building was for servants, the two side buildings were for unmarried children and married sons with families, while the main building facing south was occupied by the parents.

The Islamic urban house, on the other hand, was divided into two sections strictly according to gender: the *salamlık* and the *baramlık*. The *salamlık* was the public part of the house where male visitors and friends were received. The *baramlık*, on the other hand, was a secluded precinct for women and children. In larger homes each part of the house included a courtyard, while in smaller houses, the division was vertical, with women and children sequestered upstairs. Even the windows of the *baramlık* were carefully designed to prevent neighbors from seeing inside.

The urban medieval house in western Europe could boast no such clear divisions. Special spaces for women and children did not exist; children, including young apprentices, occupied every room in these remarkably sophisticated multipurpose dwellings that accommodated both work and domestic life. Youngsters occupied particular spaces according to the time of day (e.g., children might play during the day in a room reserved for sleeping adults at night), rather than through a predetermined division of space by age.

Since the Industrial Revolution, the development of special rooms for children has followed the larger pattern of increasingly specific spaces with regard to function. Special rooms for children appeared in the middle-class house about 1830, designed to protect children from the world, as well as to protect the rest of the Victorian house from children. Advice books generally forbade children to enter the main rooms of the house, especially the parlor, except when accompanied by their parents. Accounts in fiction and prescriptive literature suggest that Victorian-era children often



The nursery, often filled with toys and special child-sized furniture, was a fixture in the middle-class Victorian home. Children played, ate their meals, and sometimes slept in these rooms under the supervision of servants or a nanny, far from the adult areas of the house. © CORBIS.

ate separately from parents, perhaps in the kitchen or in servants' quarters. The high chair, which was purpose-built dining furniture, restricted a child's movements and protected the other furnishings from his or her touch.

The nursery was certainly a significant feature of grand eighteenth-century houses and an essential characteristic of the Victorian house. As the setting for PLAY, education, and sometimes sleeping, the nursery was frequently on the uppermost floor of a house, with direct connections to the family bedrooms or kitchen through a special corridor. This spatial separation of children in the middle-class home paralleled the rise of a specialist servant, the nanny, to care for them. The removal of children from the best rooms in the house may have served to alleviate maternal anxiety, but it was also evidence that children were seen as unique beings, rather than simply as tiny versions of adults. Specialty FURNITURE, china, and of course TOYS also support this notion, as do small purpose-built play houses by famous architects,

such as the one designed for the Breakers in Newport, Rhode Island, by Peabody and Stearns.

Most twentieth-century houses, especially those built after World War I, were smaller and servantless. With the disappearance of servant quarters and the "back stair" and with the identification of the kitchen with mother (rather than a servant) came an increasing integration of children's spaces into the heart of the house. Bedrooms for children were next to parents' bedrooms; bathrooms were shared. In general, the early twentieth century saw a relaxation of social regulations. The "living room" in the bungalow, for example, was much more likely to have accommodated children than was the Victorian parlor.

The most revolutionary change to the middle-class house came in the period immediately following World War II, both in terms of setting and room arrangement. The BABY BOOM inspired a mass exodus of middle-class families to sub-

urbia, mostly picturesque neighborhoods with detached houses framed by front and back yards. Children occupied (and controlled) several key rooms in these ranch-style and split-level houses, especially the so-called multipurpose or family room. This room was typically at the rear of the house, visible from the kitchen, and featured the family television (after 1960 or so). Other important children's spaces in the post-World War II house were the basement and the back yard. Postwar basements were significant spaces of escape from parents, especially for TEENAGERS, and were the ideal setting for listening to rock music and playing games such as ping pong or pool which required too much space to fit the rooms on the main floor of the house. Backyards provided space and domestic equipment for play.

In the period since 1975, children typically occupy nearly every room in the middle-class home, with the exception of the living room. The family room remains the heart of family life, with the television at its center. Kitchens have become even larger, a sort of "super center" intended to facilitate cooking (by more than just mom), homework, and sometimes computer facilities. Bedrooms remain gender- and age-specific and continue to function as important places of solitude and self-expression for children of all ages.

Also significant in this era is the rise of the purpose-built daycare facility. Daycare is sometimes accommodated in non-purpose-built, "inherited" spaces, such as churches, schools, and community centers, or sometimes it is integrated into large workplaces, such as office buildings and hospitals. But the daycare has also become an important custom building type. In most cases, purpose-built daycare facilities draw directly on the language of domestic architecture, employing regional building materials, pitched roofs, bright colors, and easily legible room shapes. Daycare facilities typically comprise a series of small classrooms arranged along both sides of a corridor, as well as administrative offices and kitchens. Exterior play spaces, like the postwar private backyard, commonly feature equipment to encourage safe group play. Increasingly, security has become a concern in daycare centers (due to perceived increases in urban violence and child ABDUCTIONS) and as a result, daycare centers are frequently surrounded by fences and entered only by workers, parents, and guardians.

Spaces for Education

Schools were undoubtedly the first spaces outside the private home built specifically for the use of children. Indeed, a schoolroom was incorporated into Winchester College in England as early as 1394, while a number of purpose-built GRAMMAR SCHOOL buildings date from the fifteenth century. Typically financed by private benefactors, such schools were often part of extensive charitable foundations that could also include a church, almshouses, and a schoolmaster's house, as was the case for the two-story brick school building constructed in 1437 in Ewelme (Oxon.), England. In this Gothic

building, a large schoolroom was located on the ground floor, while the room above it presumably served as a dormitory for the boys. By the sixteenth century, many English grammar schools used a similar schoolroom/dormitory core flanked on either side by living quarters for the master and usher. This arrangement was still in use in the late seventeenth century; Sir Christopher Wren used it in the initial designs for the grammar school at Appleby Magna (in Leicestershire) between 1693 and 1697. In these early schoolrooms, students sat on benches that lined the long walls at right angles to the master's seat at the end of the room. Lessons stressed oral performance; writing was not emphasized in early schools, and well into the seventeenth century, students were expected to use their knees for a table.

In the late eighteenth century, the specter of large numbers of poor children roaming the streets of London prompted educational reformer Joseph Lancaster to advocate a radical reorganization of the schoolroom in order to educate the largest number of children at the least expense. Lancastrian schools accommodated hundreds of students in each room, with students seated in long rows in the center of the classroom, facing the teacher's desk. Wide aisles on either side of the room provided space for students to stand in semicircles for small group lessons supervised by student monitors. Lancastrian schools were built in England, as well as in Philadelphia and New York, where they were constructed of brick and largely unornamented, in keeping with the movement's concern for economy. An emphasis on extending education to the children of the poor remained a primary concern throughout the nineteenth century, especially in England and other parts of the British Empire, where so-called Ragged Schools (tuition-free schools for poor children) were established at midcentury. The Ragged Schools Union was formed in Britain in 1844, while the first Ragged School was opened in Sydney, AUSTRALIA, in 1860. Initially housed in rented quarters in a grim, two-story, stone former warehouse with barred windows, in 1872 the school moved into a purpose-built school room paid for by funds raised by public appeal.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a growing conviction that purpose-built schools were essential to good education, and school boards in many countries began devoting a great deal of attention to the design and construction of school buildings, often producing model building plans and specifications. In the United States, the spokesman for school reform was Rhode Island Commissioner of Public Schools Henry Barnard, who first published *School Architecture, or Contributions to the Improvement of School-Houses in the United States* in 1842. In England, London School Board architect E. R. Robson published his *School Architecture* in 1874, while in France La Commission d'hygiène des écoles was established in 1882. Although the architectural style of these buildings varied greatly—Barnard favored the Greek Revival, while Robson's schools were

Queen Anne—they all retained rectangular schoolrooms, with chairs bolted into place facing the teacher's (often elevated) desk and emphasized fenced in school grounds, separate entrances for boys and girls, and enhanced provision of natural light, heating, ventilation, and toilet facilities.

The nineteenth century also saw the establishment of KINDERGARTENS. These child-centered institutions sought to counteract the impact of the industrialized city by reconnecting young children to a coherent socializing system and by reestablishing their bond with the natural world. Although the founding kindergarten theorists—JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI and FRIEDRICH FROEBEL—worked in the early nineteenth century, purpose-built kindergarten buildings were few until the twentieth century. A notable exception is the New Institution for the Formation of Character, built in 1816 for Robert Owen as part of the model factory settlement at New Lanark, Scotland. Inspired by Pestalozzi's child-centered institution in Yverdon, Owen established an infant school in a room that he had furnished with maps and representations of zoological and mineralogical specimens. Even in the second half of the nineteenth century, kindergartens in England, the United States, and Germany were defined more by their pedagogical approach—particularly the use of Froebel's "gifts" (educational toys)—than by any architectural form. Many of these privately funded kindergartens were housed in buildings designed for other purposes.

In the early twentieth century, purpose-built kindergartens became more common. In the United States and England they tended to take the form of a specially shaped classroom attached to a primary school, while in Europe the kindergarten tended to be a distinct building type. Those associated with the Waldorf School Movement (which began in 1919 when RUDOLF STEINER started Die Freie Waldorfschule, for the children of the workers at the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory in Stuttgart) tended to favor organic forms that seemed to support Steiner's emphasis on cultivating higher mental faculties through the total harmony of the senses. More common in the 1920s and 1930s were kindergartens designed in a modern idiom, like the 1934 nursery school on the outskirts of Zurich where architect Hans Leuzinger provided direct access to the out-of-doors, ample daylighting, and light moveable furniture scaled to young children.

In the early twentieth century, Progressive pedagogical theorists (notably Karl Popper in Germany and JOHN DEWEY in the United States) began to apply the basic philosophy of the kindergarten movement—attention to the development of the whole child—to primary and secondary school students. In its modern manifestation, however, this educational reform movement was understood to depend absolutely on the transformation of the school's architectural form. Not only were school rooms fitted out with light, por-

table furniture that could be rearranged to facilitate different classroom activities, but Progressive schools also included a wide range of other facilities: fully equipped playgrounds, baths, gymnasias, art studios, scientific laboratories, shops for woodworking and handicrafts, and home economics classrooms. Auditoria and libraries were often included as well, to serve both students and the wider community. In order to make these amenities more affordable, the Gary, Indiana, school system introduced the platoon system (also called the Gary plan) in 1909. Aimed at using all school facilities at once, this system divided the student body into two platoons, each of which used conventional classrooms for academic subjects while the other was involved in special activities. Schools planned for this system typically included a large auditorium at the center of the building, with special classrooms grouped together on lower floors.

In Europe, Progressive educational reform often went hand in hand with attempts to bring students into closer communion with the natural landscape. Early in the twentieth century, open air schools—with neither heating nor glazing—were built primarily for tubercular children; the first of these was the Waldschule (Forest School) established in Charlottenburg, Germany in 1904. By the 1920s, however, OPEN AIR SCHOOLS were recommended for nontubercular children as well. In Frankfurt, Germany, architects working under the leadership of Ernst May in the 1920s designed decentralized schools called *Pavilionschule* (pavilion schools) or *Freiflachsenschule* (open air schools) with one-story wings disposed over large open sites to increase light and air circulation; the Niederursel School designed by Franz Schuster in 1928 may be the first of this type. Although there were some French pavilion schools (notably the open air school in Sur-esnes designed by Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods), France retained a tradition of density, building multistory blocks with outdoor space provided on rooftop terraces.

In the post-World War II period, architects embraced prefabrication and modular planning as the best way to lower school construction costs in order to meet the acute demand for schools fueled by the baby boom. Educators, however, were equally drawn to the potential for providing spaces that could be quickly reconfigured for individualized or group instruction. The trend towards open planning developed rapidly in the 1960s and early 1970s. Half of all the schools built between 1967 and 1969 in the United States were open design, as were ten percent of all elementary schools in use in the United Kingdom in 1985. The Mt. Hope (New Jersey) Elementary School designed by Perkins and Will in 1971 displayed several characteristics of the type: a large floor plate, heavy reliance on fluorescent lighting, open classrooms on an upper level, moveable furnishing used as classroom partitions, and spatial continuity between classrooms and circulation space. Although such schools avoided the rigidity of conventional classrooms, they also sacrificed day-

light and direct access to the out-of-doors, while creating new noise and discipline problems.

The last two decades of the twentieth century were a reaction against the open plan school. The self-contained classroom returned, albeit with greater attention to providing a variety of seating arrangements. Irregular planning also reemerged in order to enhance natural lighting, improve access to the out-of-doors, and decrease noise levels. Finally, the child's reaction to the qualities of place reappeared as an issue of concern to architects.

Libraries

The provision of children's space in public libraries was an American innovation that became widespread in the first two decades of the twentieth century, thanks in large part to the library-building campaign financed by industrialist Andrew Carnegie. Especially in the case of urban branches and small-town libraries, Carnegie-financed buildings devoted half their space to the use of children. The earliest children's rooms mimicked the arrangements of reading rooms for adults, with rectangular tables aligned in neat rows, a form intended to encourage orderly behavior in all parts of the library. By the 1910s, however, children's librarians (many of them women who had recently entered the profession) embraced progressive educational theories that emphasized fundamental differences between children and adults and between children of different ages. Thus, later children's rooms did not seek to create order, but used informal arrangements of circular tables, often sized specifically for children. A story-hour alcove, sometimes graced with a fireplace, was designed to allow the children's librarian to adopt a maternal role toward the children who sat at her feet.

This American innovation gradually spread to various parts of Europe. In Norway, children's reading rooms were opened at Oslo's Deichman Library in 1911 and at the public library in Bergen in 1918. CHILDREN'S LIBRARIES were established in Paris and Brussels just after World War I by an American organization called the Book Committee on Children's Libraries. Both libraries were called L'Heure Joyeuse, and the Paris library was housed in a sunny room on the first floor of an existing stone building, where it remained until the 1970s. Although the practice of including separate reading rooms for children continued throughout the twentieth century, children's reading rooms lost much of their distinctive character in libraries designed after World War II, when open, flexible plans predominated. Postmodernism, however, reinstated the practice, as is evident in the San Juan Capistrano (California) Public Library designed by Michael Graves in the 1980s to include a separate story-hour room, which is round in plan, with built-in benches, walls painted with clouds, and bean-bag chairs in the shapes of animals.

Spaces for Health and Welfare

Facilities for parentless children—either orphaned or abandoned—are a product of the early modern period in Europe.

The Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, a FOUNDLING hospital designed by Filippo Brunelleschi begun in 1419, is perhaps the best known of these early ORPHANAGES; on the building's facade, a series of rondels of infants in SWADDLING clothes announce the building's function to passersby. While some of these early orphanages were established by religious orders (like the refuge for young girls set up in sixteenth-century Rome by the Confraternity of St. Catherine of the Ropemakers), others were state-financed institutions that housed a wider range of inmates and adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the children in their care. In Leipzig, between 1700 and 1704, the city council built a combination poorhouse, orphanage, insane asylum, and penitentiary dedicated to St. George. Although the council recognized a difference between the undeserving and the deserving poor (the latter being orphans, widows, and others who were unable to fend for themselves), this eighteenth-century building housed both. Thus, it had a steeple ("to honor God, and the best of this house") and a strongly fortified appearance (to convey the harsh treatment meted out to the undeserving).

A unique architectural feature of foundling hospitals is the *tour* (or wheel), an ingenious revolving door that allowed the anonymous delivery of babies to the warmth and protection of those who ran the institutions. Many babies and children were actually only temporary residents of orphanages. In large industrial centers like Montreal, Quebec, children were stationed there during hard times or sickness, and later retrieved by their parents and guardians when things improved. The orphanage thus had a fluid relationship with the working-class urban home.

In the nineteenth century, the orphanage was joined by the asylum or House of Refuge, a new institutional type that aimed at removing orphaned or neglected slum children from the chaos and immorality of urban life. Initially constructed with private funds, the earliest American examples were built in the early 1820s in New York and Philadelphia. The type continued to be popular through the 1850s. The buildings themselves sought to reinforce DISCIPLINE and routine that were the hallmarks of these institutions. Although ostensibly built to protect children from the city, they often took in children whom reformers deemed as likely to become social problems.

Specialty hospitals for sick children were also first built in the nineteenth century. Before this time young patients were accommodated in general hospitals, or sometimes in hospitals designed for particular diseases, such as tuberculosis. The first hospital for children was the Hôpital des Enfants Malades in Paris in 1802. London's celebrated Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street opened in 1852. The first CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL in the United States opened in New York two years later. These Victorian hospitals relied heavily on domestic ideology to express their dual mission of medical science and moral amelioration, marked by

pitched roofs, picturesque massing (or forms), the use of brick, and domestically scaled windows and doors. The idea behind the design of the buildings was to protect young patients from the harsh realities of the hospital environment by association with the comforts of the middle-class home.

After World War I, children's hospitals resembled other modern institutions, featuring up-to-date surgical facilities, outpatients' facilities, isolation wards, and facilities for the pasteurization of milk. In North America wealthy, paying patients were accommodated in luxurious private patients' pavilions that resembled hotels. Although the planning of most interwar health-care institutions showcased efficiency and modern business methods, the exteriors often drew on historical references. Pediatric health-care facilities after World War II, on the other hand, looked more like office buildings than traditional hospitals.

Finally, postmodern children's hospitals since about 1975 draw on imagery outside of medicine. Bright colors, ornamentation, human scale, and overt references to other building types—particularly the home, hotel, and shopping mall—are again deployed to comfort young patients.

Recreational Spaces

For centuries, the street was the primary play space for European and American children. Children spent a great deal of unsupervised time away from both home and school, often establishing their own social structure. Boys' gangs had their own territory and often engaged in fierce battles with trespassers. This tendency for children to create their own rules for the use of public space continued among working-class children into the twentieth century; in New York's working-class neighborhoods, for instance, in the early years of the century, stoops and sidewalks were reserved for girls, who looked after babies and toddlers, while the center of the street "belonged" to older boys, who patrolled their turf and guarded against incursions by boys from other neighborhoods.

By about 1800, however, the upper middle class began to devote greater attention to child rearing, and so began to supervise the activities of their children more closely. Kept inside the house to play with toys (rather than with cohorts from a different class), upper middle-class children only ventured out onto the street on "walks" in the company of adults. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century, middle-class observers became increasingly alarmed by the idea of children roaming the streets and ever more critical of working-class play, which was dominated by games of chance that might reinforce "the taste for unearned pleasures." While such concerns prompted the establishment of ragged schools and other institutions aimed at removing poor children from the street, they also gave impetus for the establishment of parks and playgrounds. Although largely ornamental in nature, the great urban parks of the nineteenth century often included play spaces for children. Queen's Park in Manches-

ter, England (designed in 1849), included circular swings, a ball and shuttle-cock ground, skipping rope and swing grounds, another shuttle-cock ground, a quoit alley, a skittle alley, an archery ground, and a cricket ground (some of these activities may have been intended for adults as well).

Playgrounds designed specifically for the use of children were introduced gradually in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the first English example—the Burbery Street Recreation Ground in Birmingham—established in 1877. Most nineteenth-century English playgrounds were sponsored by private organizations, such as the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association (which opened four playgrounds in London between 1882 and 1886) or the Children's Happy Evenings Association (which opened six play centers in London by 1888 and a total of ninety-six centers by World War I). By the turn of the century, however, there was an international movement to establish playgrounds in small parks in working-class neighborhoods, often with municipal support. The London County Council, for instance, opened over one hundred acres of London School Board playgrounds for Saturday use in 1890. In the United States, settlement house workers played an important role in establishing neighborhood parks (like Pulaski Park in Chicago), and also inspired the activities of playground associations abroad (including the Playground Association of Queensland, which opened three supervised playgrounds in Brisbane, Australia, between 1913 and 1927). Established at least in part to guide working-class recreational practices, these parks emphasized formal designs, containing well-defined spaces that allowed the sorting of park users by gender and age, as well as their supervision by professional, middle-class play leaders. In the 1940s, as playground supervision dropped off, municipalities depended more heavily on manufactured play equipment that was both low maintenance and safe. Stripped of dangerous equipment (such as the teeter-totter), the standard playground was comprised of a paved surface, fence, sandpit, swings and jungle gym, although by the 1960s, free-form play sculptures in bright colors began to supplement standardized equipment.

Perhaps the most significant "public" spaces designed for young visitors in the twentieth century are the Disney parks: Disneyland (Anaheim, California, 1955), Walt Disney World (Orlando, Florida, 1971), Tokyo Disneyland (1983), and EuroDisney (now Disneyland Paris, 1992). Inspired by cartoon characters first developed by the Walt Disney Company, the parks are comprised of a series of fantasy landscapes with rides. A sophisticated system of pedestrian-only circulation, based on subtly miniaturized buildings, grants children a greater feeling of control than they might experience in real urban environments.

By the late nineteenth century, the idea that the city was inherently detrimental to a child's well-being led to the establishment of SUMMER CAMPS where children could escape

the city altogether. While many early camps—*colonies de vacances* in France, health camps of New Zealand, Fresh Air camps in the United States—were philanthropic endeavors aimed at safeguarding the physical health of poor children, others catered to the sons (and later daughters) of middle-class or well-to-do families, focusing on religious instruction or more generic character-building. In the United States, many of these early camps were instituted in response to turn-of-the-century anxieties about the impact of the feminized home on the social and physical development of boys, and often imitated the physical trappings of the military encampment—tents, mess hall, parade ground—in order to reconnect boys with the world of men. Although permanent buildings became more popular at American camps by the late 1930s, they retained a rustic flavor, while picturesque planning principles were introduced to disguise the extent of human intervention in the shaping of the camp landscape. In the post–World War II period, camps for children with special needs became increasingly common, as did skill-based camps teaching foreign languages, music, and computer programming. At the end of the twentieth century, however, the traditional, rustic, character-building summer camp enjoyed renewed popularity.

In studying the spaces and material culture of children from any culture or time period it is important to balance prescriptive and descriptive sources, because much of what we know about children of the past is solely from an adult point of view. Like toys and books, the spaces associated with childhood rarely record children's voices or perspectives. Diaries, letters, photographs, drawings, and other documents may provide important supplemental information on children's real spatial experiences.

See also: **Education, Europe; Education, United States; Montessori, Maria; Playground Movement; Progressive Education; Sandbox; School Buildings and Architecture; Street Games; Theme Parks; Zoos.**

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ANNMARIE ADAMS
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Child Saving

The child-saving movement had its roots in privately funded mid-nineteenth-century charitable organizations for the protection and benefit of children, such as the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY. At the movement's height, between 1890 and 1920, child savers worked in such diverse reform efforts as fighting CHILD ABUSE, regulating CHILD LABOR, founding KINDERGARTENS, building playgrounds, establishing the JUVENILE COURT, campaigning for mothers' pensions, and reducing INFANT MORTALITY rates. The child-saving movement began in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a large, active coalition of women's club members, philanthropists, and urban professionals. In England in the 1860s and in the United States in the 1870s, the "charity organization" movement sought to make the doling out of charity more scientific and efficient, trying to keep the "undeserving" from receiving aid. Beginning around 1890, the Progressives increasingly professionalized and secularized child-welfare work. By 1920, the field of social work was filled largely with college-educated professional women rather than with volunteers.

In the United States, the child-saving movement grew in the Progressive period as reformers responded to the problems associated with rapid industrialization and massive immigration. Child savers believed that by alleviating the perils of poverty for the young and working to Americanize the children of immigrants, they could secure a better future for their nation. A large percentage of the new immigrants were Catholic and early child savers had a strong Protestant bias. The extent to which these reformers were influenced by a benevolent urge to help poor children, versus their desire to control the new masses of immigrants flooding the cities, is the subject of much historical debate.

Child Abuse and Neglect

The progression of child saving is in many ways exemplified by efforts to combat child abuse and neglect. Starting in 1853, the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY (CAS), headed by CHARLES LORING BRACE, sought to save children of the urban poor by sending those who were orphaned, neglected, abused, or delinquent to live on farms with surrogate families in the West. Brace and his followers believed that the country was inherently more wholesome and healthful than the city. Child savers believed in the environmental causes of children's misbehavior and felt that life with a farming family could redeem troubled youth. The CAS attracted the support of many philanthropists and reformers but was criticized by some westerners who complained that the ORPHAN TRAINS were overloading their small towns with unruly boys. Some reformers accused the program of providing free labor to farmers without sufficiently overseeing the treatment of the children.

In 1874, when a child named Mary Ellen was beaten by her guardian, the president of the Society for the Prevention

of Cruelty to Animals, Eldbridge Gerry, found that the only way to prosecute the abuser was under laws protecting the rights of animals. The sensational case led to the foundation of the NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN. Early child-saving organizations such as the CAS and SPCCs were privately funded. According to historian Linda Gordon, child-saving organizations that focused on child abuse before 1910 were part of a feminist-influenced moral reform movement and emphasized illegitimate male power and the role of alcohol use in family violence. The period between 1910 and 1930 was marked by increased professionalization of social work, state regulation of child welfare, and a greater emphasis on child neglect, both physical and "moral," rather than abuse. The Cruelty, as the Massachusetts SPCC was known, worked as both a charity and a private law-enforcement agency, arbitrating custody and support arrangements and intervening in poor families. American SPCCs operated under a conservative feminist vision, trying to impose an middle-class ideal of domesticity on the immigrant poor at the same time that they offered some assistance to abandoned, battered, and overworked children.

Organizations to combat child abuse and neglect had an ambiguous attitude toward the family—they were at times child-centered, ready to intervene in private families in order to protect children, or to impose their notions of proper child rearing on immigrant and working-class families, and at times family-centered, anxious to keep families together even when the family patriarch was abusive. In general, the Progressives were less willing to remove children from their families than their predecessors (such as Charles Loring Brace). For instance, at the first WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN in 1909, attendees easily agreed that poverty alone did not provide sufficient reason to remove a child from his family, but debated strenuously whether private aid alone or state aid was necessary to help bolster worthy impoverished families. Although most conference attendees argued against the benefits of state aid, by 1919, funds for dependents living at home were provided by thirty-nine states through mothers' pensions.

Child savers in Britain followed the American example, founding the Liverpool SPCC in 1883. Soon after, branches opened in London and other cities. Reluctant to prosecute parents, British SPCCs mainly relied on formal warnings and official visits to correct wayward parents. In 1889, the SPCC-supported Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children gave British authorities increased power to oversee the treatment of children. The National SPCC brought child abuse to the fore of British consciousness and remained a powerful organization under the leadership of Benjamin Waugh until its unsuccessful and unpopular campaign against child life insurance in the 1890s.

Child Labor

Child savers in the early twentieth century America argued that children under sixteen were not ready to face adult work responsibilities. From 1908 to 1916, at the behest of the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE, LEWIS HINE photographed children working in textile mills, coal mines, and canneries throughout the South, providing powerful visual support for child savers who sought to end child labor in these industries. Although there were no federal statutes governing child labor before 1910, there were numerous state laws banning or regulating child labor passed between 1880 and 1910. Child labor laws were passed in twenty-eight states before 1900, but they were aimed at mining and manufacturing, rather than domestic service, street trade, or farm labor. Compulsory school attendance laws were also used to curb child labor. Although reformers took the credit for the decrease in child labor after 1900, changes in industry that made child laborers less useful, such as increased automation and the presence of more immigrant laborers to fill the positions previously held by children had much to do with decreasing use of child labor.

In Britain, child labor was regulated earlier. In 1833, the first effective Factory Act limited work-force participation of children aged nine to twelve in textile mills to forty-eight hours per week and required children to attend school for two hours a day. Silk factories, a major employer of children, were exempted from these restrictions. In 1844, the minimum age was lowered to eight, but child mill-workers were only permitted to work half-time and were required to attend school half-time as well. It was not until the 1860s and 1870s that laws limited child labor in other British industries, with the exception of the Mines Act of 1842, which was only minimally restrictive. Clark Nardinelli argues that these legal restrictions merely enforced the existing trend of decreasing child labor. Thus, in Britain, unlike in the United States, anti-child labor movements preceded other child-saving activities.

Education

Laws for COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE did exist in the United States before 1890, but they were poorly written and not widely enforced. In Great Britain, it was not until the late nineteenth century that truly effective compulsory-education laws were enacted. Child savers on both sides of the Atlantic worked to promote both privately and publicly funded kindergartens. In the United States at the turn of the century, followers of the CHILD-STUDY movement called for education reforms, criticizing overcrowded schools and stale teaching methods. Some child savers called for new VOCATIONAL EDUCATION programs that would give working-class children practical skills to help turn them into good industrial workers.

Youth Organizations and Child Leisure

Many child savers worked to organize the leisure time of children. In 1906, Henry S. Curtis and LUTHER GULICK

founded the Playground Association of America, which gained municipal support and focused on providing outdoor play spaces and play leaders for children. The success of the PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT was based in the acceptance of the idea that PLAY was fundamentally important to the development of children and that the middle class should be involved in organizing the leisure time of the working class. Under the leadership of Gulick, between 1886 and 1896, the YMCA transformed itself into an athletic organization. It remained an explicitly evangelical Christian organization, but sought to gain young converts through organized sports.

In 1908, ROBERT BADEN-POWELL, who had gained acclaim in the Boer War, established the BOY SCOUTS in Britain, basing scouting on a system he used to train young soldiers. In 1910, the Boy Scouts of America was founded. Baden-Powell hoped that scouting would help boys to be physically fit and mentally prepared to protect their nation and that scouting would help boys safely negotiate the dangerous years of ADOLESCENCE. Scouting in both countries was mainly directed toward middle-class youth.

Juvenile Delinquency

Innovation in the treatment of juvenile delinquents eventually led child savers to establish a separate judicial system for juveniles in both the United States and Great Britain. In 1899, the first juvenile court was established in Chicago. One of the most famous spokesmen of the juvenile court was Denver judge Ben Lindsey. Lindsey argued that the court needed to be flexible in its approach to juvenile offenders and should focus on the best interest of the child. Juvenile courts tended to favor probation, either at home or with a foster family, over institutionalization. By 1915, nearly all states had established a juvenile court system. In the 1920s, a greater focus on psychiatry entered the juvenile courts and CHILD GUIDANCE clinics changed the way the courts looked at young offenders. In 1908, Britain established its own juvenile court system, which relied on probation and industrial schools in its efforts to rehabilitate troublesome youth.

Age of Consent

In 1885, the issue of the sexual abuse of girls exploded into British consciousness with W. T. Stead's "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," an investigation of the world of vice published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. One of the stories in this series described the "purchase" of a thirteen-year-old virgin by a brothel. The sensational coverage resulted in the AGE OF CONSENT for girls being raised from thirteen to sixteen. Police were also granted increased power to prosecute those involved in prostitution. In the United States as well, reformers fought successfully to raise the age of consent at the turn of the century in an effort to protect girls from sexual abuse.

Public Health

British and American child savers worried about public-health concerns that threatened children's well-being. Poor sanitation, tuberculosis outbreaks, and tainted food and milk

supplies were all targeted by reformers. In 1874, British law required the registration of infant births and deaths and targeted foster parents for inspections, part of an effort to curb the abuses of BABY FARMING. A 1906 law made these policies stricter. Between 1906 and 1908, British schools began programs to provide meals to elementary students and provided for the medical inspection of school children.

In 1909, the White House held its first Conference on the Care of Dependent Children which drew attention to the child savers' concerns and helped lead to the establishment of the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU in 1912. With Julia Lathrop at its head, the Children's Bureau first turned to the alarming infant mortality rate among impoverished city dwellers. The Bureau wrote popular instructional pamphlets on prenatal and infant care and encouraged "baby saving" campaigns. The Bureau also fought to expand birth registration campaigns and studies of infant mortality, though its focus was almost exclusively the high death rate among immigrants' infants—the equally high infant mortality rate among African Americans went largely unresearched. Between 1914 and 1920, the Bureau expanded, allowing it to explore the issue of child labor, to research maternal and child health, to fight for mothers' pensions, and to deal with the problems of illegitimacy and of children with disabilities.

Child saving did not end in 1920; however, the focus of child-saving efforts and the philosophy behind it changed. According to Hamilton Cravens, beginning in the 1910s, the emphasis of child savers shifted from reform to social-science research on "normal" children. The study of the child became paramount, numerous child-research institutes were founded, and legislative reform efforts took a secondary role. Furthermore, rather than focusing on environmental causes for children's developmental problems, the new professional child savers focused on internal emotional conflicts to explain problems with adjustment. The Progressives were most concerned with helping the so-called subnormal child, whereas the child savers of the later period focused their attention on understanding the so-called normal child.

See also: **Law, Children and the; Social Welfare; Street Arabs and Street Urchins.**

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CAROLINE HINKLE MCCAMANT

Child Stars

Ever since the popularization of the motion picture around 1900, child actors have achieved extraordinary success on the screen. From "America's Sweetheart," Mary Pickford, the nation's most popular actress in the 1910s to the *Our Gang* series of the 1920s to SHIRLEY TEMPLE and Judy Garland in the 1930s and 1940s, young actors have risen to levels of wealth and popularity rivaling those of their adult counterparts. As many a child star has discovered, however, success is often short-lived. Many young actors have fallen out of public favor upon reaching adolescence. Their fleeting fame is a testament to not only the fragility of stardom but America's ongoing obsession with youth.



Shirley Temple was the most popular child star in the world in the 1930s. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt credited her films with raising the nation's morale during the Great Depression, pointing to the tremendous influence of film on American culture. © Bettman/CORBIS.

Although the motion picture was the medium most responsible for the child star phenomenon, the first child stars appeared on the stage. In the mid-nineteenth-century United States, a girl named Lotta Crabtree, who had been pushed by her mother to become an actress as a means of supporting the family, became a national sensation and sparked a craze for young theatrical performers. The vogue launched the careers of two sisters, Elsie and Jenny Janis, who became the highest paid vaudeville headliners in the world, and also a child named Mary Pickford, who earned public acclaim when she appeared in the play *The Warrens of Virginia* in New York in 1906. In 1908, due to a slack season on Broadway, Pickford sought work in the fledgling film industry and became the first of many child stage performers to appear on the screen. After starring in several short films produced by director D.W. Griffith, by 1915 she had become not only the world's most popular actress but the highest-paid female in America. By 1927, Pickford, known for her trademark ringlet curls, had starred in over two hundred films in which she portrayed children or teens.

Pickford's phenomenal success sent a message to the film industry: young characters on the screen, whether portrayed by juveniles or adult actors, had genuine box office appeal. During the 1920s American filmmakers began producing a series of films with all-child casts; the most popular was the *Our Gang* comedy series, created by director Hal Roach. Between 1922 and 1929, Roach produced eighty-eight *Our Gang* films, which featured a troupe of rambunctious boys who became known throughout the country by their screen nicknames: "Wheezer," "Stymie," "Farina," and "Alfalfa," a character who sported a famous middle-part haircut with a long strand of hair sticking up at the back. Child performers also began starring alongside well-established actors, and in 1921 a six year old named Jackie Coogan earned worldwide fame when he appeared with Charlie Chaplin in Chaplin's silent melodrama *The Kid*. Coogan dolls, statuettes, and memorabilia were immediately produced by enterprising manufacturers, and they flew from store shelves. As Hollywood learned, children on the screen not only lured audiences but helped the film industry gain legitimacy. The aura of innocence conveyed by young stars helped the industry combat criticism from religious and social reform groups, which accused Hollywood of glorifying sex and violence and pressured the government to enact federal film censorship.

During the 1930s, the Great Depression years, America's obsession with young actors reached unprecedented heights. The craze began in 1934 with the appearance of a six-year-old singer, dancer, and actress named Shirley Temple in the musical *Stand Up and Cheer*. Charmed by Temple's angelic demeanor, perky on-screen antics, and remarkable talents, audiences catapulted her to stardom. Throughout the decade, Temple was celebrated by a legion of fans that included President Franklin Roosevelt, who credited "Little Miss Miracle" with raising the nation's spirits during the economic crisis. Between 1935 and 1938, Temple, who appeared in over a dozen films for the Fox studio, including *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1935), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938), and *The Little Princess* (1939), was voted America's most popular star.

Not surprisingly, Temple's success spawned a host of imitators, who descended on Hollywood "like a flock of hungry locusts," in the words of movie gossip columnist Hedda Hopper. Across America, "Beautiful Baby" contests, with a screen test as the prize, were run in major cities by photographers and theater owners, and during the 1930s approximately one hundred child actors arrived in Hollywood each day. Hal Roach recalled that he tested over 140,000 children when casting for the *Our Gang* series. Though most dreams ended in failure—according to one estimate, less than one in fifteen thousand earned enough from one year of movie work to pay for a week's expenses—from the army of hopefuls a few genuine stars were born. Elizabeth Taylor, Freddie Bartholomew, Deanna Durbin, Mickey Rooney, and Judy Garland, who starred in the *Wizard of Oz* (1939), became *bona fide* celebrities during the 1930s and 1940s; in 1939,

Rooney and Durbin were given special Academy Awards for their “significant contribution in bringing to the screen the spirit and personification of youth.”

The popularization of TELEVISION in the immediate post-war period created a further demand for child actors, who became a staple of the domestic drama/sitcom genre. During the 1950s several young television actors, including Jerry Mathers, star of *Leave it To Beaver*, and Ricky Nelson, on *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, rose to prominence. In the late 1950s, when Nelson began recording rock music, he initiated the phenomenon of the “crossover” youth celebrity, who starred simultaneously in two entertainment media. Like Elvis Presley, another young pop icon, Nelson sold thousands of records to his teenaged fans, capitalizing on the increased purchasing power of American youth in the affluent 1950s.

Like adult entertainment celebrities, child actors spurred an entire fan culture. Admirers of all ages organized fan clubs in honor of their favorite child actors, sent gifts and fan letters by the thousands, and purchased products bearing their idols’ names and images. During the 1920s, actors in the *Our Gang* series initiated the phenomenon of child celebrity endorsement when they appeared in ads for Kellogg’s Cereal; Temple, Garland, Rooney and Durbin similarly sold clothing, toys, and cosmetics for major corporations. Fans also read the many magazines and tabloids that reported the details of child stars’ private lives and by the early 1930s could choose from over a dozen different fan magazine titles. Indeed, by World War II, the story of young stars’ off-screen exploits had become as captivating to many Americans as their on-screen accomplishments. In a society obsessed with “rags to riches” stories, the phenomenal rise of stars like Rooney and Garland from impoverished backgrounds to celebrity status became an object of national fascination.

Almost as intriguing as the rise of child stars were the stories of their seemingly inevitable declines. During the 1940s the public was riveted by the story of Shirley Temple’s fall from public favor—her career ended when she reached adolescence—and read about the troubles of Jackie Coogan, who as an adult became embroiled in a bitter lawsuit against his parents over control of his childhood earnings. Coogan’s trials eventually led to the passage of the Coogan Act, a bill which required the parents of child actors to put aside at least half of their earnings. Jackie Cooper, star of *The Champ* (1931), battled alcoholism in his adulthood; Garland died from a drug overdose, and Rooney declared bankruptcy after seven failed marriages. It seemed that stardom, for many young actors, was more a curse than a blessing.

By the 1970s, child stars had become almost as famous for their misdeeds as their accomplishments. A series of well-publicized scandals and tragedies involving juvenile actors proved to an increasingly cynical public that young stardom was not as glamorous as it seemed. The three young stars of



A child star of the 1930s and 1940s, Judy Garland’s most celebrated role was as Dorothy in the enormously popular 1939 screen adaptation of L. Frank Baum’s *Wizard of Oz*. UPI/Bettman-CORBIS.

the popular 1980s sitcom *Diff’rent Strokes* made national news when, following the termination of the show, they fell into crime and drug addiction. The alcoholism of Drew Barrymore, star of the 1982 film *E.T.*, and the custody battles of Macaulay Culkin, star of the film *Home Alone* (1990) whose popularity sparked comparisons with Shirley Temple, also made headlines. Young celebrities had become an object lesson in the dangers of growing up on the screen—too famous, too rich, too soon.

The 1996 murder of six-year-old JonBenét Ramsey brought the potential perils of child stardom most poignantly to light. When images of Ramsey were shown in the national media—the winner of several child beauty contests, she was frequently photographed wearing lipstick and rouge—Americans were stunned. The issue of the sexualization of child performers was also raised around the adolescent singer BRITNEY SPEARS, who rose to fame in the late 1990s with her sexy costumes and dance routines. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Spears and young actresses Jennifer Love Hewitt and Sarah Michelle Gellar, who played sexually charged roles in films, were frequently imitated by teenage girls, sparking concern from parents. As the media and advertising industries became more aggressive in their marketing of child performers, as more and more children found role models in young entertainers, and as Ameri-

can youth continued to pursue their own dreams of stardom, the child star phenomenon seemed destined to become an enduring part of American popular culture.

See also: Images of Childhood; Media, Childhood and the; Movies.

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SAMANTHA BARBAS

Child Study

Child study, also called *paidology* or *experimental pedagogy*, was the attempt to apply the methods of modern science to the investigation of children in order to discover the laws of normal child development. The child-study movement arose in the last decade of the nineteenth century in several Western countries and was inspired by a number of social reform movements that aimed to improve the health and welfare of children. The connection between child study, schools, teachers, and movements for educational reform was particularly strong, because many reformers viewed the educational system as the most promising avenue to improve the conditions of children and to create the conditions for a better and more just society. They became convinced that scientific insights into the nature of children would aid their efforts. Initially, the child-study movement was inclusive: teachers, parents, ministers, psychologists, educational administrators, physicians, psychiatrists, and others concerned with the welfare of children participated in its research. After the turn of the twentieth century, psychologists and physicians aimed to make child study scientifically respectable by excluding lay researchers. In their hands, child study became the science of child development and developmental psychology. Consequently, research into child development became a field of academic inquiry and lost its ties to social and educational reform.

Educational reformers viewed the school as providing the means for improving social conditions and fostering the moral progress of society. They were inspired by a variety

of ideologies, such as the social Darwinism of the English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), which emphasized free competition as the prime condition for social betterment. In this view, a proper education equipped children with the tools for self-improvement and success in modern society, and would thereby help them lift themselves out of poverty. Other educational reformers were guided by the ideas of the French philosopher JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778) and the educationalists JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI (1746–1827), a Swiss, and FRIEDRICH WILHELM AUGUST FROEBEL (1782–1852), a German. These thinkers embraced romantic idealizations of childhood as an innocent and untainted period of life and wanted to re-create the educational system to provide a stimulating environment for free PLAY and exploration.

Despite the variety in their philosophies and political orientations, educational reformers agreed in their attempts to reform old educational practices that relied on rote learning, character education, the training of mental discipline, and an academically oriented curriculum. Educational reformers argued that this curriculum was irrelevant for most children. According to them, education should become more practical and help children take their place in society. They proposed the introduction of project learning and practical and vocational training, and advocated the establishment of KINDERGARTENS.

The Beginnings of Child Study

The psychologist G. STANLEY HALL (1844–1924) initiated the child-study movement in the United States in the 1880s. Hall was influenced by the evolutionary theory of the nineteenth-century English naturalist Charles Darwin and adhered to the recapitulation theory, which states that children repeat in their development the physiological and cultural development of the species. Hall was also inspired by developments in psychology and education in Germany, where he had spent several years studying philosophy and psychology. His organizational efforts in the child-study movement stimulated and consolidated existing interests and activities in several countries. In 1882 Hall introduced a course in child study at Clark University, advocating child study as the core of the new profession of pedagogy. He became a prominent member of the National Education Association, where he found an enthusiastic response for his plans. Hall invited parents and teachers to participate in child-study research and sent out hundreds of questionnaires to collect observations of children. Hall used the results of this research to provide arguments for educational reform. In 1904 he published *Adolescence*, which he described as a period of life bestowed with special challenges and in need of special consideration. This book became very influential with parents, teachers, and individuals involved with child welfare agencies.

In 1891 Hall founded the *Pedagogical Seminary*, which became the most prominent outlet for research in child study

worldwide. (The journal was renamed in 1931 the *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* and in 1954, the *Journal of Genetic Psychology*.)

Participants in the child-study movement investigated a wide range of topics, including the physical, cognitive, and moral development of children, health and HYGIENE, fatigue, educational practices and their effect on learning, the interests and imagination of children and the nature of their religious experiences, and children's attitudes toward various matters. A wide variety of methods were used: undirected observations of children at home and at school; personal letters or journals by children; quantitative and qualitative answers to a variety of questionnaires; observations of concrete behavior; measurements of weight, physical growth, and mental growth; results of a variety of special tests; diaries by mothers and teachers recording children's behavior; and autobiographical statements by adults reflecting upon their childhood.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, a number of psychologists and physicians argued that research in child study had resulted in vast amounts of incoherent data based on free observation under unspecified conditions, unguided by theories and hypotheses, and collected by untrained observers. They urgently advocated lifting the scientific standards of child study through more rigorous, laboratory-based research by qualified scientists. There were two approaches to doing so. The first one was advocated by education psychologists, who stated that pedagogy was the application of psychological knowledge that was based upon laboratory research or extensive psychometric testing. According to them, teachers and educational administrators needed to inform themselves about psychological research and apply its results. A number of educators and pedagogists advocated a second approach: they proposed the establishment of experimental schools and pedagogical laboratories to conduct educational research. They were convinced that pedagogy or the science of education could not be reduced to psychological research.

Psychologists made two contributions to educational research: they developed mental testing and investigated the fundamental laws of learning. The first INTELLIGENCE TEST was developed in 1905 by ALFRED BINET (1857–1911), who had been associated with the French Society for the Psychological Study of the Child (*Société libre pour l'étude psychologique de l'enfant*) and the educational system in Paris. For Binet, the intelligence test was an individualized diagnostic tool to diagnose pupils with mental RETARDATION or learning disabilities in order to place them in appropriate classes. The test was graded in terms of the age at which normal children would be able to solve a number of tasks. Psychologists in the United States and the United Kingdom found new uses for mental tests and developed the psychology of individual differences. In addition to developing men-

tal tests, behaviorist psychologists investigated the laws basic to all learning and claimed that educational practices needed to conform to these laws in order to optimize learning in schools.

Germany

Research in child development in Germany started with the publication of *Die Seele des Kindes* (The mind of a child; 1882) by the physiologist William T. Preyer (1841–1897), which was based on extensive physiological and psychological observations collected during the first three years of the life of his son. Preyer was influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution and proposed a developmental scheme in which instinct and reflex were gradually replaced by language and purposeful action. According to Preyer, scientific insights could be gained only through the continuous observation of a great number of healthy, normally developing children. He therefore encouraged mothers to observe their newborn babies by keeping diaries, starting at birth, making observations for several hours a day. Preyer's work suggested ways in which child development could be investigated scientifically, and it stimulated wide interest in the possibilities for such research.

The General German Society for Child Study (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Verein für Kinderforschung*) and the Society for Child Psychology (*Verein für Kinderpsychologie*) were founded in 1889. The latter society published the *Zeitschrift für Pädagogische Psychologie* (Journal for pedagogical psychology) in 1905, and the journal *Die Experimentelle Pädagogik* (Experimental pedagogy) commenced publication that year as well. Initially, German child study was dominated by the activities of teachers, who were active in a variety of associations and institutes. The methods of research were as eclectic and varied as those adopted by the American child-study movement, although German teachers were more interested in research conducted according to hermeneutic methods, which aimed at acquiring an intuitive understanding of how children think and learn, instead of quantitative research, which provided indications of the abilities and achievements of groups of children.

The different approaches of Wilhelm August Lay (1862–1926) and Ernst Neumann (1862–1937), two pioneers in pedagogical research in Germany, illustrate the development of experimental pedagogy or paidology in Germany. Both Lay and Neumann attempted to make child study more rigorous and scientifically respectable. Lay started out his career as an educator and conducted his research from the perspective of teachers. He advocated the establishment of experimental schools and viewed them as the ideal places for pedagogical research. Neumann was a psychologist who viewed education as a field in which psychological insights could be applied. The difference between these perspectives indicated the increasing tension between teachers and psychologists in their attempts to control the development of experimental pedagogy. Eventually, psychologists

came to dominate the field. In Germany, however, pedagogy as a field remained influential within the educational system.

After World War I (1914–1918), German research on child development succeeded in acquiring a permanent place in the universities. The psychologist William Stern (1871–1938) had kept, with his wife Clara, detailed diaries of the psychological development of their three children. Stern later published his work on language acquisition and development of memory in young children based on this material. Other influential psychologists were the Austrian couple Karl (1879–1963) and CHARLOTTE BÜHLER (1893–1974), whose maturational and life-course psychology became very influential. Charlotte Bühler's research was based on guided observations of children, intelligence tests, the interpretation of diaries, and experiments with free play. She aimed to develop a unified scheme of psychological development from birth to early adulthood and focused on cognitive and personality characteristics of developmental stages.

United Kingdom

Child study in the United Kingdom followed developments in the United States and Germany, although it never reached the same level of activity. Interest in children and education grew when, during the 1890s, several medical surveys of schoolchildren, particularly those from poor working-class districts, revealed that many pupils were in poor health and suffered from malnutrition and a range of medical problems, including what was then called mental deficiency. In 1913 the Mental Deficiency Act was passed, mandating the proper treatment and care of individuals with this condition. Furthermore, philosophical psychologists in England had written several books on educational reform, educational philosophy, and the importance of modernizing the curriculum. And there were widespread calls for educational reform in order to increase national productivity through a better-educated labor force and calls to make education child-centered.

In 1898 the British Child Study Association was established by a number of individuals who had become acquainted with Hall's work in the United States and who wished to organize child study in England. The association started publishing the journal *The Paidologist* one year later (in 1908 the name was changed to *Child Study*; it ceased publication in 1921). In 1911 the rival *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* commenced publication as well (it was renamed the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* in 1931).

Initially, educational psychology in England focused on the construction and administration of mental tests. Research into the nature of intelligence had been the lifework of Charles Spearman (1863–1945), who had analyzed a wide range of test results with a statistical technique called factor analysis and concluded that all intelligence tests measured a stable and inherited quality of general intelligence. In 1912

the psychologist CYRIL BURT (1883–1971) was appointed as psychologist at the London County Council, which was the central educational authority in London. In this position, Burt tested children recommended for special or remedial schools and classes. He also developed mental and diagnostic tests. In *The Backward Child* (1937), Burt argued that pupils who could not do the work of the grade they were supposed to be in on the basis of their age often suffered from environmental handicaps such as poverty, poor health, and inadequate housing. Despite that, he also believed that the majority of these cases were irremediably backward as a result of the general inferiority of their intellectual capacity, which, according to him, was inborn, hereditary, and therefore unalterable. According to Burt, the existing class structure was justified because it was based on innate differences in intelligence. Because he was convinced that intelligence did not improve because of education, he advocated the establishment of special educational tracks for children to match their innate general cognitive ability.

United States of America

At the turn of the twentieth century, psychologists criticized the child-study movement for the lack of scientific rigor and inconclusive nature of its research and the lack of clarity in its basic objectives. Consequently, the movement lost its momentum. In particular, educational psychologists attempted to make research into child development scientifically respectable. They aimed to provide teachers and educational administrators with the scientific tools to rationalize and improve educational practice. The *Journal of Educational Psychology*, which published their research, commenced publication in 1910.

According to the psychologist Edward Lee Thorndike (1874–1947), educational psychology could provide normative standards for the rational organization of educational practice. Thorndike promoted the widespread application of intelligence and achievement tests to make the work of schools visible in a numerical way: the statistics generated by these tests made classes, grades, and schools comparable, which made it possible to evaluate performance. In particular, educational administrators found this type of numerical information useful. Apart from developing psychometric tests, Thorndike presented the laws of learning as a rational foundation for educational practice, as behaviorist psychologists had formulated them. His most influential and controversial contribution was his opinion that there was little or no transfer of training between learning in different areas. This statement was used as an argument against the classical curriculum, in particular the teaching of Latin in HIGH SCHOOLS. After all, if the mental discipline acquired through learning Latin had no ramifications for learning in other areas, it became very difficult to defend teaching the subject.

The use of mental tests in education was promoted by Lewis M. Terman (1877–1956), a member of the faculty at

Stanford University who had translated Binet's intelligence test into English and published it as the Stanford-Binet test in 1916. Terman's version of the intelligence test could be administered to groups. According to Terman, intelligence, often expressed in the form of the intelligence quotient, or IQ, was a relatively stable and inherited quality. To accommodate students with a wide variety of intellectual ability, he proposed that schools organize different educational tracks suitable for different levels of mental ability. Similarly, Terman was convinced that modern society was essentially meritocratic in nature: intelligent individuals would naturally enter into the more desirable occupations. In his view, differences in income and socioeconomic status are based on intelligence rather than on differences in educational opportunity or the effects of discrimination, exclusion, and deprivation. Terman's views were very influential among psychologists and educators throughout the twentieth century.

Child Development Research in the 1920s

In the early 1920s, research into child development was a modest endeavor. It occurred on a small scale at a number of universities and received small amounts of funding. Researchers were engaged in research on different aspects of child health, child welfare, and educational research. The decisive impulse to make child study an area of scientific research came from the LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL (LSRM), which, starting in 1924, funded interdisciplinary research at a number of research centers devoted to child development in the United States and Canada. As a result, CHILD PSYCHOLOGY or developmental psychology was transformed into a respectable profession with professional societies, journals, and university-based research and training centers. In 1925 the Committee on Child Development was founded by the National Research Council to coordinate research activities.

According to Lawrence K. Frank (1890–1974), who initiated this program within the LSRM, most research involving children had focused on DELINQUENCY, abnormality, and pathology. Relatively little was known about normal children and normal child development, knowledge of which he considered essential for guiding educational and child-rearing practices. Because the first years of life were essential for the formation of personality, Frank thought it essential that these would become the object of scientific research. The centers for research on child development funded by the LSRM generally opened a laboratory NURSERY SCHOOL where children from the age of about twelve months could be observed for longer periods. Researchers often had associations with elementary schools and high schools to investigate child development in its later stages. At several research centers, longitudinal research projects, in which individual children were followed for several decades to study their development, were undertaken. Other studies involved observational studies of children and the measurement of individual differences in intelligence and ability. According to

Frank, research in child development needed to be closely associated with the popularization of its results. He insisted that every center for child research institutionalize programs for public education. He also initiated the establishment of PARENTS MAGAZINE in 1926, a popular magazine with child-rearing advice for parents.

One of the first institutions to receive funding was the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, which had opened in 1917. Researchers there developed measurements of physical development and investigated the importance of nutrition. Several observational studies were undertaken in a laboratory nursery school and at an adoption agency. Researchers at Iowa concluded that the IQ of young children could be highly variable: the IQ of children attending nursery school and adopted children generally rose several points. These conclusions were repeated by Helen Thompson Woolley (1874–1947) of the Merrill-Palmer school in Detroit but were contested by other researchers, in particular Lewis Terman and Florence Goodenough (1886–1959), who worked at the Institute for Child Welfare at the University of Minnesota. At his Yale University laboratory, ARNOLD GESELL (1880–1961) investigated the physical growth of children. According to Gesell, maturation and growth entailed the unfolding of inborn traits, which could be delayed by environmental deprivation. Gesell designed a number of normative scales measuring levels of mental and motor development in children. At the University of Toronto, several longitudinal research projects investigating the social behavior of children were undertaken. At the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley, a similar research project was initiated. Researchers there also doubted the invariable nature of IQ scores in individuals. At the Child Development Institute at Teachers College, Columbia University, family relations and the personality development of children in nursery schools were studied. The research centers on child development provided career opportunities for women, who were excluded from most other fields of scientific research.

As a consequence of the funding provided by the LSRM, research in child development became scientifically respectable. Over time, researchers became less interested in public education activities, which were often discontinued. The association of research in child development with educational reform became increasingly tenuous over time as well. The research had developed a momentum of its own and lost its association with movements for social change.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Scientific Child-Rearing.**

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HANS POLS

Child Witch

Throughout history children have been involved in witchcraft accusations. They have appeared as witnesses in court, and they have had to defend themselves against accusations of using harmful magic. Although both boys and girls have been involved in witchcraft accusations, girls between five and eleven years old seem to have dominated the witness

stand in most of the afflicted areas. However, there were regional varieties. In some areas, such as North America, young adolescents (from twelve to eighteen years old), rather than children, were the most active in spreading rumors of witchcraft, and in the northern parts of Europe boys were as likely (if not more so) to fantasize about the witches' sabbath as girls.

In northern Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during the Inquisition, hundreds of children claimed to have been abducted by night to the witches' sabbath, where they had participated in large festivities mocking the Christian rites. They told horrifying stories about learning witchcraft and entering into pacts with the devil. Similar stories played a crucial role during the large Swedish witch trials in the late seventeenth century, and as late as the 1850s more than a hundred children created sensational headlines because of their fantasies about magical nocturnal flights to the witches' sabbath. In Germany in the 1720s a group of child witches were first imprisoned and then taken to a medical clinic for treatment, and the Salem, Massachusetts, witch trials in 1692 were initiated by a group of adolescent girls trying to divine their future by magical means.

Although the importance of child witnesses in witch trials differed both in time and location, it is evident that concern about children and child safety have been crucial. Children were supposed to be more vulnerable to magical attacks, and witchcraft beliefs have been connected to ideas about mothering, with the witch thus portrayed as the bad mother. Most accused child witches started out as witnesses claiming to be victims of magical attacks. However, it was not unusual that their testimonies were turned against them. If they showed too much knowledge about the magical flights, they could end up being charged with witchcraft.

It has been argued that children were more prone to becoming suspects in witch trials after the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, which brought about a growing concern about children's original sin and their ability to commit sins. According to Lutheran moralists, children had a natural tendency towards evil. Instead of seeing children as innocent victims, authorities showed a growing tendency to place blame on those who fantasized about the witches' sabbath regardless of age. This changed after the eighteenth century introduced a new concept of childhood. Children were seen as pure and innocent and in need of adult protection from corruption and evil. Their horrifying stories about the witches' sabbath proved to be incompatible with the new notion of childhood innocence.

Some historians have argued that children's stories about witchcraft forced parents to acknowledge their children's dark emotions and fantasies. Unable to relate to their needs or explain their behavior from contemporary ideals, some parents ended up accusing their children of witchcraft. But the children who were involved in witchcraft accusations not

only challenged the concept of childhood innocence, they also broke the norms regulating the relationship between children and adults. Their accusations called adult authority into question, threatening fundamental hierarchical structures.

In the 1800s children's accounts of witchcraft continued to evoke controversy. By then, the ideals of childhood innocence were so cemented that children rarely were held responsible for their fantasies. Rather, the ungodly stories about the witches' sabbath were seen as symptoms of disease or parental neglect, thus freeing the children from responsibility and ultimately defending the idea of childhood innocence.

See also: Early Modern Europe; Enlightenment, The; Theories of Childhood.

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KRISTINA TEGLER JERSELIUS

China

In 1991, for a handbook on the history of childhood and children, historian John Dardess made a brief and masterful excursion into the history of childhood in premodern China, a subject he said had been "wholly untouched until recently" (p. 71). Some of the themes he struck are still with us ten years later, and provide a framework to assess changes in the field: the vast richness of potentially useful source material, both native and foreign; the intrinsic interest of childhood in China precisely because it is so different from Western traditions and practice; the problematic linkage between childhood in today's China, studied by social scientists and practitioners, and the deeper traditions and patterns studied by China scholars; the need continually to specify time, place, actors, and circumstances within a civilization so vast and complex that it continually surprises those who would claim to generalize about it.

Sources and Lenses

Some of that richness of source material has been mined in new books, particularly in *Chinese Views of Childhood* (1995)

and *Children in Chinese Art* (2002). *Chinese Views of Childhood*, edited by Anne Behnke Kinney, brings together eleven scholars and the lenses of six academic disciplines: literature (fiction, necrology, biography, autobiography), institutional history (education, welfare, legal systems), the history of art, medicine, sociology, and cultural history. The authors scrutinize different types of written texts and visual representations for clues about children and childhood; the lines of inference are often long and tenuous, requiring qualifications and disclaimers and conditional language.

In this field, direct evidence about children's lives, especially nonelite children, is sparse before the twentieth century, and almost nonexistent before the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). To put this in perspective, however, we must remember that overall the surviving body of visual and written materials in China is immense; the Chinese material focused on the lives of children available from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, for example, is "substantially larger . . . than can be found anywhere else in the world." (Barnhart, p. 56). Surviving texts on elite family rituals and family instructions, explored by Patricia Ebrey, have yielded rich insights into the institutional context of children's lives.

Children in Chinese Art, edited by Ann Barrott Wicks, is the first book-length effort to draw out meanings about children and childhood from the vast treasury of Chinese visual imagery. Pre-Song dynasty (960–1279) visual depictions of children have been found on jade plaques, Han dynasty tomb decorations and furnishings, illustrations in pictorial biographies of cultural heroes, lacquer ware, woodblock scriptures, marble steles, and Buddhist murals and scrolls. In the Song period children became a recognized category within Chinese figure painting, and some court painters were individually known for their skills in this genre. The painter Su Hanchen (twelfth century) set a standard that later painters imitated.

Most of the essays in this book concern visual depictions of children from the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, around the themes of children at play, mothers and sons, fertility symbolism, family portraits, and child protectors from the folk religion. The focus of these depictions of children, says editor Wicks, was almost never on the child itself but on "the future role of the child as provider for aged parents and preserver of the patriline [line of male descent]." The representations were past-oriented and meant to encourage obedience to tradition (Wicks, p. 27).

The China Difference

China continues to offer some different angles on the study of childhood. Starting twenty years after their European counterparts, China scholars have not fixated upon the European debate over the quality of child rearing (nurturance versus abuse) and its improvement or deterioration over time. Instead the work has concentrated on more modest

questions, such as those posed by Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, editors of the 1991 handbook *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective*: What have been the attitudes of adults towards children and childhood, what conditions have shaped the development of children, and what have been the social, cultural, and psychological functions of children? Ongoing research keeps circling back to the prominence of filial piety, the influence of ancestral cults, and the domination of the patrilineage with its philosophically-grounded social hierarchies. Gender differentiation was also strongly marked. The depictions of children in art from the Song dynasty to the Qing dynasty revealed a persistent concern for the production of multiple sons, conveying the “accepted propaganda for a hundred generations” (Wicks, p. 30). A final element in Chinese traditions concerning childhood was the early introduction of state-sponsored Confucian education for a small elite, with occasional openings for a talented peasant child.

If China as an ancient historical civilization demonstrates the tenacity and power of traditions as well as the intricate interweaving of culture, society, and state, its twentieth-century story offers related insights. How does such a state, society, and culture remake itself? How do some young people break the hold of the group and of tradition? In his 1982 and 1990 studies, Jon L. Saari postulates that the supposedly monolithic family system had enough vulnerabilities and the cultural tradition sufficient variation to permit mischievous children to survive the intense pressures for filial behavior. New supports outside the family in coastal cities and in new-style schools after 1905 allowed some to become cultural innovators and political reformers.

The most controversial insights along these lines have come from the subfield of “political culture.” Political scientist Richard H. Solomon argued that the twentieth-century Communist revolution has been in large part an unsuccessful Maoist effort to break out of the pattern of authoritarian leaders and deferential followers. A substantial part of his 1971 study, based on interviews and surveys, was a portrayal of traditional socialization within the family.

A sharp break between the two halves of childhood—indulgent care up to age six and strict and uncompromising DISCIPLINE and training thereafter—created ambivalence about authority and undermined the sense of individual autonomy. This view of the negative effects of traditional socialization, also promoted by a group of psychologists in Taiwan, led to counterarguments, particularly by Thomas A. Metzger in a 1977 study. Linking traditional socialization within the family to twentieth-century political movements has stirred up the most controversy in the field of the history of childhood; a related study by Mark Lupher focuses on activist youth in the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), which pitted “revolutionary little red devils” against the Communist establishment (Lupher, p. 321).

Continuities, Changes, Breaks

The issue of continuity and change addresses not only contemporary China (1949–present) and its Republican (1912–1949) antecedents, but also the long centuries of what is simply classified as “premodern” China. Kinney points out that the history of childhood gives us a chance to see how a society perceives errors of the past, and might seek to shape a different future through its children. Republican China presents a strong example. Cultural critics and reformers like Lu Xun (1881–1936) raised the cry of “Save the children” (from the last line of his famous short story “The Diary of a Madman”), for they felt that only young people could forge new pathways for a society and polity mired in conservatism and reaction. The twentieth century has indeed seen the greatest structural and attitudinal changes affecting children: the breakup of the political monarchy and the attack on its counterpart the patriarchal family system, the coming of near universal schooling and literacy, the creation of ADOLESCENCE as a separate stage of the life cycle (at times in sharp tension with adult authority), and the spreading of ideals of considerate parenthood and of the legal rights of children.

Yet sensitivity to children also marked other periods as times of significant change: Richard and Catherine Barnhart (2002) and Pei-yi Wu (1989) depict Song China as a humane and enlightened era when reformers emphasized elementary learning and children were sometimes represented apart from adult preoccupations in art and poetry, the late Ming dynasty when the ideas of philosopher Wang Yang-ming (1472–1529) had spread sufficiently to help create a “cult of the child” (Pei-yu Wu 1995, p. 146), or the Six Dynasties (386–589) when, as Richard B. Mather argues, unconventional Taoist ideas facilitated positive portraits of “immoral” child behavior (such as impertinent but witty remarks to elders). How children are addressed, characterized, and understood can be a barometer, as Kinney puts it, of “the governing expectations and goals of particular eras in China’s history” (Kinney, p. 1).

Signs of a Maturing Field of Study

The study of the history of childhood in China in 2002 resembles the development of the field elsewhere as described by Hawes and Hiner in 1991: a confusing and fruitful proliferation of multidisciplinary scholars, carefully extracting nuggets of insight out of more-or-less illuminating texts and visual images. The field may develop in diverse directions: the search for common ground (within China or worldwide) and/or the elaboration of complex syntheses within cultural regions and histories that are fundamentally incomparable. Both efforts are proceeding. Kinney and Wicks as editors both search for generalizations that can incorporate the separate insights of their contributors, just as Hawes and Hiner attempted the same for the entire field of the history of childhood in 1991. By themselves, the larger generalizations are abstract and incomplete, like shorthand compared to full

text. What makes for understanding is not just the conclusions, but the full context of time and place and the shared process of minds working on evidence.

C. John Sommerville, who wrote a foreword to *Chinese Views of Childhood*, characterized the book, and by implication, the field, as relying heavily on literature and art for source material, and hence as documenting adult perceptions of children more than the actual lives of children. Documenting adult perceptions he regarded as the first stage, which would eventually lead to the next stage: a wider social history of children. These stages reflect the useful and common distinction between the history of childhood as a social and ideological construction and the history of children as a larger and more inclusive category. The latter is what scholars eventually want to achieve. Given the great reaches of time and geography in Chinese history, however, and the sparseness and indirectness of source material, it appears an almost Sisyphean task, with much scholarly effort supporting very tentative conclusions.

The twentieth century is more promising for complex syntheses, as the source materials are more abundant (both native and foreign) and theoretical models of humanization have given scholars ways to connect the pieces. A 1990 work by Jon L. Saari, *Legacies of Childhood: Growing Up Chinese in a Time of Crisis, 1890–1920*, seized these advantages by interviewing adult Chinese about their childhoods and youth, and by using the stage theories of ERIK H. ERIKSON as an orientation for understanding the early years of their lives. It is a collective biography of a generation of educated youth, who as children were heirs to the neo-Confucian tradition as well as to a specific historical juncture that permitted, even demanded, new behaviors from parents and children. Some children thrived on the opportunities and as youth and young adults created new pathways for their ancient culture. Mainstreaming the history of children by adding it to larger stories that address the transmission of culture is a promising long-range goal.

Signs indicate that the history of childhood in China is still an immature field. Warnings against simplifications are obligatory. No facile East versus West comparisons will do it justice. “China” as a self-evident reference point has dissolved into specific times, places, ethnic groups, classes, genders, families. At the same time scholars attempt China-centered understandings, seeking to minimize outsider perspectives, projections, and assumed Western impacts or standards. For the history of childhood these China-centered exhortations have been positive, for they have encouraged scholars to dig out Chinese understandings first and foremost. For example, Charlotte Furth has written nuanced accounts of the various cosmological, ritual, biological, and cultural perspectives that intersect with the Chinese medical understanding of human conception, infancy, and sexual maturation in the late Imperial period (1368–1911).

Similarly, much valuable research, particularly that of William de Bary and John Chaffee, has broadened and deepened our understanding of neo-Confucianism and education. The China-centered principle has also led some to criticize the work of modern social scientists like Solomon as insufficiently informed about Chinese traditions, as “decorative Sinology” (Mote, p. 116). No doubt a reverse charge could be leveled against theory-shy traditionalists. Such controversies indicate the high demands placed upon scholars in Chinese studies generally, for both language and disciplinary skills, not to mention the diplomatic and cross-cultural skills helpful in navigating Chinese bureaucracies. The subfield of the history of childhood in China is embedded in Chinese history generally, and not likely to mature any faster than the field of Chinese studies as a whole.

See also: **Images of Childhood; India and South Asia; Japan.**

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JON L. SAARI

Cholera. See Contagious Diseases.

Christian Thought, Early

Christianity offers a mixed legacy to the history of childhood. On one hand, the teachings of Jesus present childhood as the model for discipleship. Accordingly, newly baptized Christians regardless of their age were called *infants* (*infantes*), and stories of conversion often depict a physical return to childhood. Letters from the earliest Christian communities follow the Hebrew scriptures in urging children to honor their parents (Exod. 20:12), but in addition advise parents to love their children and not to provoke them to anger (Titus 2:4; Eph. 6:4). Early Christian writers protested customary practices of abortion, ABANDONMENT, and exposure of children, and their sale into slavery or prostitution. Evidence from texts and practices point to a positive evaluation of childhood and children from the early Christian communities.

On the other hand, Jesus commends those who leave behind parents and children to become his disciples (Matt. 19:29; Luke 14:26). Christianity offered an alternative community of brothers and sisters in Christ, and membership in this new family often disrupted ties of biology and blood. A young North African noblewoman, Vibia Perpetua, took Jesus' teachings literally, abandoning motherhood to choose martyrdom instead. During a period of intense persecution (c. 202), PERPETUA refused to offer sacrifice to the Roman gods, a move that landed her in prison and separated her from an infant son still nursing. Perpetua was martyred for her resistance; the fate of her son is not known. The story of Perpetua, recounted in Herbert Musurillo's *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, remains one of the most vivid among early

Christian martyrologies, but the impact on her child is not recorded. Two centuries later, however, North African theologian Augustine of Hippo (354–430) tried to persuade another woman not to abandon her husband and children to live in an ascetic community of women.

From the first centuries of Christianity, material on childhood and children falls into three categories: descriptions of spiritual childhood, material on the care and education of children, and theological discussion of problems that childhood and children presented, specifically the issues of sin and suffering.

Spiritual Childhood

"Whoever does not receive the kingdom of God as a little child will never enter it" (Mark 10:15). The teachings of Jesus himself presented childhood as a model for the spiritual life. Initiation into the faith returned one to childhood, and the rites of Christian initiation were replete with the symbolism of birth and infancy, motherhood and childbearing. In the first four centuries after the death of Jesus, most converts to Christianity were adults, who were literally "born again" into the faith. From the fourth century onward, infant BAPTISM became more prominent. Newly baptized Christians were "infants" in name and in fact.

Christian faith reconfigured the family. Christ served as the true guardian of Christians, as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–215) argued in a treatise entitled "The Teacher." Christ teaches Christians, but the child models the spiritual life. Clement urged believers to emulate the simplicity, freshness, and purity of the child in their spiritual lives. A later theologian, Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), underscored the child's spiritual superiority to adults. On thin etymological grounds that *puer* ("boy" in Latin) derived from *puritas* ("purity" in Latin), he argued that a boy possessed virtues utterly lacking in adult males: he bore neither rancor nor grudges; he was immune to the charms of a beautiful woman; he did not think one thing and say another. Spiritual childhood existed as an ideal for the life of discipleship.

Not surprisingly, accounts of conversion borrowed imagery from birth. Recounting the story of his own conversion at the age of thirty-two, Augustine described himself weeping and flailing like a newborn. In a state of physical and spiritual vulnerability, Augustine saw a vision of Continnence as "a fruitful mother of children" (p. 151). She urged him to take a few steps towards her, a scene that deliberately echoed the process of learning to walk. Childhood framed the narrative of conversion.

Care and Education of Children

Childhood functioned as a model for Christian spirituality, but the actual life of children was more problematic. In the Roman world children were routinely abandoned in rural places, in designated sections of the marketplace (*lactaria*), or later, on the steps of churches. Early Christian writers like

Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tertullian in the second century and Lactantius in the third denounced the practice as infanticide, even as they acknowledged that not all exposed children fell prey to hunger or wild animals. More likely, children escaped death only to be raised as slaves or prostitutes. Tertullian and Lactantius admitted that extreme poverty might force parents into such a lamentable situation. Nonetheless, poverty in no way legitimated abandonment, as Lactantius made plain: parents who could not support their children should practice abstinence. Clement of Alexandria excoriated wealthy parents who abandoned children they could have afforded to raise. Christian writers urged restricting sexual intercourse to procreation, a move that has been popularly interpreted as fear of SEXUALITY and the body. It is more likely that these early Christian theologians were troubled by the fate of children in a world that regarded them as disposable.

The Edict of Milan in 313 made Christianity a legitimate religious option within the Roman Empire, no longer threatened by persecution. Christians were granted the right to assemble, build churches, and retain property. Children placed on the doorsteps of churches found care in church-supported ORPHANAGES. Monasteries regularly received young children, and Christian families kept them supplied. The reasons for this practice of oblation were various. Given the dangers of childbirth and limited life expectancies, some children had no parents. In other cases, poor parents felt oblation would enhance their children's chances of survival, while parents of more modest means could not always afford a dowry or patrimony for all of their sons and daughters. Still other reasons count as religious: some parents sought some spiritual benefits in this world or the next; others offered their children out of a sense of gratitude, following the example of Hannah in the Hebrew scriptures (1 Sam. 1:27–28).

Monastic rules attest to the practice of oblation and acknowledge its attendant problems. The monastic rules of Basil the Great (c. 330–379) required witnesses be present when parents offered a child to a community. Basil also insisted that at the age of sixteen or seventeen oblates make their own decision whether or not they wished to remain in religious life. The sixth-century Rule of St. Benedict, which gradually came to regulate monastic life in the West, assumed there would be children in monasteries. While imposing stiff punishments for childish pranks, the Rule nonetheless counseled mutual regard: children were to honor the older members of the community; the elders in turn were to love them.

Theological Issues of Children and Childhood

Children of poverty faced a spectrum of dangers ranging from hunger to abandonment, but disease and death cut across class lines. Indeed, the perils of childhood deeply impressed the early Christian writers, and with the end of persecution they turned their theological attention to children.

The plight of the Holy Innocents (i.e., Herod's slaughter of "all the male children in Bethlehem and in all the region who were two years old or under" [Matt. 2:16]) loomed large in the imagination of Christian men and women in late antiquity. Sermons considering Herod's cruel slaughter of the newly born (Matt. 2) proliferated in the late fourth and fifth centuries in the West. These infants had died without the rite of Christian baptism, and theologians speculated that they were baptized by the tears of their mothers and their own blood. They were the first Christian martyrs.

Nor were biblical children the only ones under scrutiny. Augustine, himself the father of one son, Adeodatus, observed children closely and put their world without language into words. In his autobiography he lamented the many beatings he received as a child at the hands of schoolmasters who were "behaving no better than I" (*Confessions*, 1:9, p. 12). With similar compassion Bishop of Antioch John Chrysostom (347–407) noted the simple trust of a child: no matter how badly its mother treated it, the child always longed for her. As bishops Chrysostom and Augustine spent a great deal of time caring for the physical and spiritual needs of children. Behind their observations one glimpses the hard life of children in the ancient world.

Eastern and Western views. As theologians from Eastern and Western Christianity reflected on the plight of children, however, a striking difference emerges. Western church fathers focused on a legacy of inherited sin; too often children died without the redeeming effect of baptism. Eastern church fathers worried about untimely infant death; too often children died before they could be educated or inducted into the life of faith that baptism inaugurated.

In the West Augustine focused debate on the legacy of Adam's sin, passed on by parents to their children. Original sin infected even the infant, and Augustine cited as evidence a newborn's jealous rage when, even after it had been fed, it saw another infant at the nurse's breast. Yet Augustine acknowledged stages in the life cycle, and these marked an increasing moral responsibility. An infant could neither speak nor reason; in addition, it was too weak to harm anyone. Infants were not innocent, but they were also not wholly sinful. Without speech and the capacity to reason, they were literally non-innocent, *non-nocens*. With the acquisition of speech, the child gained the capacity to understand commands and to obey or disobey them, and thus had a degree of moral accountability. With ADOLESCENCE the ability to reason and comprehend basic laws of human equity conferred greater accountability. Augustine illustrated this stage of the life cycle with an adolescent prank. As a youth he joined a group of young boys in stealing pears from a neighbor's tree. The boys were not hungry; they knew without being told that what they did was wrong. Their culpability as adolescents was therefore greater than if they had been infants or children. Augustine's theology featured a graduated account-

ability for sinning, beginning with infancy. For this reason Augustine urged infant baptism, as salvific redress of their inherited sin.

Eastern church fathers focused on the untimely death of infants, which cut short a life of ongoing formation in the Christian faith. In a treatise entitled “On Infants’ Early Deaths,” the great Cappadocian theologian Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394) tried to reconcile divine justice with the suffering and death of infants. Infants had had the opportunity neither to err nor to do good: what could they expect from eternal life? Without wishing to grant these tiny souls the rewards of the good, who had struggled successfully against temptation, Gregory settled for an afterlife of increasing participation in God and knowledge of divine goodness. He found in infancy an innocence born of ignorance, not Augustine’s “non-innocence” begotten in sin.

Eastern church fathers remedied this ignorance with education, and from their pens emerged a whole literature on child rearing. Chrysostom charged parents with the Christian nurture of their children. In the treatise “On Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children,” he offered a taxonomy of biblical stories appropriate to the child’s place in the life cycle. Parents ought to teach infants and young children biblical stories, being certain to abstract the appropriate teaching from each. Older children eight to ten years of age were ready for more fearsome stories of divine punishment: the flood, the destruction of Sodom, and so on. Chrysostom advised waiting until a child was fifteen before relating stories of hell and grace.

Contrasting Chrysostom’s graduated program of religious education with Augustine’s graduated accountability for sin, one glimpses the difference between the Eastern and Western church fathers’ approach to childhood. A comprehensive assessment of the impact of Christianity on childhood remains incomplete because the voices of the children themselves remain silent. The evidence available comes solely from the hands of adults, who view childhood through the distortions of time and theological interest.

See also: **Catholicism; Islam; Judaism; Protestant Reformation.**

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MARTHA ELLEN STORTZ

Church, Charlotte (b. 1986)

Having released a solo album every year between the ages of twelve and sixteen, Charlotte Church has become the young face of classical music in the early twenty-first century. A self-initiated appearance on a popular local television show featuring talented children thrust Church into the international spotlight from her tiny hometown of Cardiff, Wales, where she was born in 1986. She attended school when home, but had a tutor when on tour performing for such dis-

tinguished audiences as Pope John Paul II, President and Mrs. Clinton, and Prince Charles. While she listened to popular singers such as P. Diddy and Gloria Estefan, her own albums included renditions of the Celtic folksongs “Men of Harlech” and “Carrickfergus,” Andrew Lloyd Weber’s “Pie Jesu,” and “Ave Maria.” Her personal and professional tastes evolved on each successive album as classical pieces made way for Broadway hits and popular classics.

Charlotte Church’s image was defined by the title of her first recording, 1998’s *Voice of an Angel*. Inspired in part by the success of the Three Tenors, or their marketing, record industry executives sought to broaden the audience for classical music. By packaging it in the form of a young performer, they hoped to further refute the genre’s image as an inaccessible respite of the elite. While her cherubic image promised salvation through music, it also rescued classical music from poor record sales.

Church’s music was nonthreatening to audiences, but critics argued that it was harmful to her still-developing voice. A soprano voice, such as Church’s, only achieves full maturity in early adulthood. Some critics claimed that her voice was not technically suitable for the material she performed; others questioned how faithfully and passionately a young girl could sing such works as Stephen Adams’s “Holy City.”

While the description of Charlotte Church as a CHILD PRODIGY referred to her talent, her status as a CHILD STAR was a reflection of the image spun from it. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was commissioned to compose his first serious opera, *Mitridates, King of Pontus*, at the age of fourteen. However, Mozart’s father was promoting only his son, while Church’s record company began marketing an entire genre of music via one performer, one child. To many, Charlotte Church became the personification of opera.

Many hoped that Church’s angelic image would herald a new age for classical music by bringing other musicians to the mainstream in her wake. This long-term goal was complemented by the immediate one of attracting an audience from among the largest CD-buying demographic groups—adults over forty-five and children between ten and nineteen. The fact that at the age of fourteen Charlotte Church was one of the sixty wealthiest people under the age of thirty in the United Kingdom was at least proof of her image’s, if not her own, success.

INTERNET RESOURCE

Official Charlotte Church Website. 2003. Available from <www.charlottechurch.com>.

NIKA ELDER

Cinema. See *Movies*.

Circumcision

Male circumcision is evidently both the oldest and the most widespread surgical operation. It was practiced among several ancient Near Eastern cultures, but scholars have differed as to which of these first introduced the practice and how it spread. According to the Bible (Genesis 27:24–25), the first individuals to be circumcised at God’s command were Abraham, who performed the procedure upon himself at the age of ninety-nine, and his son Ishmael, who was thirteen when he entered the “covenant.” Voltaire, however, in his 1764 *Philosophical Dictionary* famously asserted that the Israelites had adopted circumcision from the Egyptians (“who revered the instrument of generation”) rather than vice versa. “Would a master,” he asked, “adopt the principle badge of his thieving and fugitive slave?” Whatever the direction of influence (if any), Israelite circumcision was performed on infants at the age of eight days, whereas among the Egyptians the rite seems to have been reserved for initiation into manhood, or possibly for prenuptial ceremonies.

Religious Circumcision

Since Biblical times, Jews have continued to circumcise male infants on the eighth day, but Muslims, among whom the rite (though not mentioned in the Qur’an) also became standard, have no set date for its performance, often waiting until several years after birth but rarely beyond the onset of PUBERTY. Whereas Jewish circumcision involves not only the excision of the outer part of the foreskin, but also a slitting of its inner lining (to facilitate the total uncovering of the glans), the Islamic rite calls only for the first procedure.

Female circumcision, which is also widely practiced in the Muslim world (especially in Egypt and other parts of Africa), always involves some cutting of, but not necessarily removal of, the clitoris, and sometimes cutting of labial tissue as well. Most proponents of female circumcision have seen it as a way of minimizing female sexual desire, thus ensuring the protection of a girl’s virginity and her family’s honor. Similar arguments have been made in favor of male circumcision, notably by the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides.

In Hellenistic times, many Jews who were influenced by Greek physical culture and wished to participate in nude athletic events underwent the operation of epispasm in order to conceal the shameful signs of their circumcision. It was under the Seleucid monarch Antiochus Euphianes (175–164 B.C.E.), a champion of intense Hellenization, that Jews were first prohibited from practicing circumcision. During the period of Roman rule in Palestine, circumcision was again prohibited by the emperor Hadrian, although scholars differ as to whether this was a cause or result of the Bar-Kokhba rebellion in the early second century. Although, following the teachings of Paul, most Christian sects abolished the practice of circumcision, it continued to be observed by Christian Ethiopians and by Egyptian Copts.

Circumcision is described in the Bible as a mark of the covenant between God and the Israelites, but later Jewish interpreters provided additional explanations for the practice. Philo of Alexandria, in the first century, saw the excision of the foreskin as a symbol for the excision of sensual desires, and Maimonides, in his *Guide of the Perplexed*, saw in circumcision a moral purpose, for “it weakens the faculty of sexual excitement and sometimes diminishes the pleasure.” Some medieval Jewish exegetes stressed that Isaac was conceived only after Abraham purified his phallus through the act of circumcision. In Jewish mystical thought, circumcision was seen as having removed the barrier between Abraham and God, allowing him (and his descendants) a vision of the divine.

The seventeenth-century philosopher Baruch Spinoza argued that the sign of circumcision was so integral to Jewish identity that “it alone” could preserve the Jews as a nation forever. A number of early modern travellers, such as Michel de Montaigne and Thomas Coryate, witnessed Jewish circumcisions during their sojourns abroad, sometimes describing the ceremonies and their accompanying festivities in considerable ethnographic detail. Among artistic renditions of the rite, perhaps the best known is Romeyn de Hooghe’s *Circumcision in a Sephardic Family*, executed in 1668.

Medical Circumcision

Some German-Jewish advocates of religious reform sought to nullify the rite of circumcision—a proposal first advanced in 1843 but ultimately rejected by the Reform movement. During the second half of the nineteenth century, some medical researchers in England and the United States advanced claims concerning the curative or prophylactic merits of circumcision, beginning with Nathaniel Heckford’s 1865 *Circumcision as a Remedial Measure in Certain Cases of Epilepsy, Chorea, etc.* The most ardent advocate of circumcision on medical grounds was the prominent New York physician Lewis Sayre, who came to be known as the “Columbus of the prepuce” and who for three decades, beginning with his 1870 article in *Transactions of the American Medical Association* (of which he became president in 1880), argued persistently that serious orthopedic diseases could be prevented by early surgery on the foreskin.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, some physicians who crusaded against MASTURBATION, such as the American pediatrician M. J. Moses, saw it as “one of the effects of a long prepuce.” Similarly, in his 1891 *History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present* (more a polemic than a history) the California physician Peter Charles Remondino wrote that “the practice [of masturbation] can be asserted as being very rare among the children of circumcised races.” It was his view that a wide variety of ailments, including asthma, penile cancer, and syphilis, could be avoided through early circumcision, and that consequently “life-insurance companies should class the wearer of the pre-

puce under the head of hazardous risks.” By the end of the nineteenth century, male circumcision at birth became standard procedure in the United States.

During the 1970s, however, first the American Academy of Pediatrics and then the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists issued reports concluding that routine circumcision was not warranted. Moreover, by 1976 the influential pediatrician BENJAMIN SPOCK, who had originally endorsed circumcision, changed his mind, asserting that it was “unnecessary and at least mildly dangerous.” In 1988, appearing on ABC’s *Nightline*, he went even further: “I’m against circumcision. . . . If I had a baby now . . . I certainly would not want him circumcised. And if parents ask me, I would lean in the direction of saying, ‘Leave his poor little penis alone.’”

See also: **Female Genital Mutilation; Islam; Judaism; Sexuality.**

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ELLIOTT HOROWITZ

Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling

The question of how to educate men and women together has had a long and rather turbulent history. It has been linked to questions of morality in the socialization of children, equality between the sexes, and higher academic achievement for both boys and girls. By and large, conservatives have advocated separate schooling for males and females, while liberal educational reformers typically have been champions of coeducation. In recent years this pattern has shifted somewhat in the United States, as feminists have endorsed separate schools as a means of supporting women’s success, and reformers have explored the effect of all-male schools on African-American students’ achievement. While coeducation has grown in popularity elsewhere, gender-segregated schooling continues to predominate in many other areas of the world. As a consequence, the question of gender and education continues to cause controversy.

Throughout much of history, separate education of boys and girls was the norm. This reflected the different roles society assigned to each gender and the unequal status of men and women in most premodern societies. By and large, male LITERACY rates were much higher than female literacy rates. Boys were trained for the worlds of work, politics, and war; while girls were prepared for the domestic spheres of home, hearth, and nursery. The very idea of coeducation posed a threat to this traditional division of labor, and it therefore held the potential to undermine the existing hierarchy.

Early Coeducation Efforts

During the eighteenth century, coeducation began to appear on a widespread basis in English-speaking regions of North America. Ideologically, the movement can be linked to Reformation-inspired religious dissent and to conditions of life in a frontier society. Coeducation was first practiced in New England, the region with the best-developed schools; most of these were intended to provide literacy instruction for religious education. The practice of enrolling both boys and girls in school together probably stemmed from the growing incidence of female church membership, as well as from the practical requirements of finding enough children to support the schools in a thinly inhabited countryside.

The years immediately following the American Revolution witnessed a surge of interest in female education and a growing perception that women had a critical role to play in the socialization of children of the new republic. This view—combined with a widely dispersed, largely agrarian population—helped to make coeducation a highly popular practice by the early nineteenth century, at least in the northern and western regions. Although coeducation was somewhat less commonplace in the larger U.S. cities, where traditional European norms prevailed, reformers vigorously urged its adoption, arguing that combining the sexes in school was a reflection of their “natural” mingling in two other important institutions: church and family. Pioneering experiments in coeducational higher education at Antioch and Oberlin Colleges in the antebellum period helped pave the way for more widespread acceptance of the practice. By the 1890s, the vast majority of American school children were enrolled in coeducational schools, a far higher percentage than in any other nation. Most children were enrolled in common or primary schools, but coeducation also had become widespread in secondary schools and colleges. By 1900 about 70 percent of American institutions of higher education admitted both men and women. Coeducation had become a standard American practice—one that clearly distinguished schools in the United States from educational institutions elsewhere.

The Case Against Coeducation

This did not mean that coeducation was adopted without controversy. It became a source of contention with regard to high schools and colleges, especially during the late nineteenth century. Certain male doctors argued that extended education was dangerous for women, who could be harmed by overexertion caused by competition with male students. Other opponents of coeducation protested on religious and moral grounds, maintaining that the hazards of impropriety were higher when young men and women were placed in such close proximity for long periods. But these arguments were countered by a host of voices defending coeducation as a practical success and a virtue of the American system of education. School authorities refuted claims that schooling made girls sickly, and parents willingly sent their daughters to coeducational high schools and colleges. School leaders

also argued that coeducation was necessary for the success of secondary institutions, because restricting them to males would make the support of such schools impractical in all but the largest communities. Some educators even suggested that the girls represented a calming or “civilizing” influence on the boys, and that the presence of young men in the classroom may have helped to spur their female classmates to greater success. Taken together, these arguments represented a powerful affirmation of coeducation in the United States. Single-sex institutions persisted in larger cities, however, as well as in the American South, where conservative European traditions persisted.

Other Countries Consider Coeducation

The adoption of coeducation in other countries proceeded more gradually. Scandinavia was one of the earliest regions to adopt mixed-gender schools; coeducational institutions date from the eighteenth century in Denmark and the nineteenth century in Norway. Despite some isolated experiments in Great Britain, Italy, and Germany, however, the weight of tradition posed a powerful obstacle to its advancement elsewhere. Coeducation was closely associated with women’s rights in the public mind, and the limited appeal of the early feminists constrained its acceptance. Europe’s relatively high population density made sex-segregated primary schooling logistically practical, and secondary education was largely limited to elites and was dominated by male students. Women were admitted to institutions of higher education in the late nineteenth century, but except for a small number of intrepid pioneers, their absence from secondary schools made matriculation of women impractical at most universities. The first major challenge to this pattern occurred in Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution; there, women were afforded greater access to education, often on terms that were equivalent to those of men. Coeducation was consistent with radical conceptions of equality, and it was an efficient means of rapidly boosting student enrollments, helping the newly formed Soviet Union to meet its growing requirements for trained workers in a variety of fields. By and large, however, the Soviet model of coeducation was not followed by the rest of Europe.

A Backlash Develops in America

Coeducation became a matter of debate again in the United States in the opening decades of the twentieth century, as the number of high school students rose dramatically. New curricula were devised for female students, including courses in home economics, commercial (secretarial), and trades (especially garment-making). Boys, on the other hand, enrolled in such classes as industrial arts, bookkeeping, and commercial geography. These different courses reflected a growing recognition of the importance of schooling to the labor market, and of the sharp division of labor that continued to distinguish the work of men and women. Even if young men and women attended the same schools, the dictates of the larger society’s conception of sex roles and gender-appropriate

forms of work exerted considerable influence on educational institutions

At about the same time, certain groups resisted coeducation. Catholics objected to the practice on moral and religious grounds, arguing that it raised the specter of promiscuity and invited an unhealthy competition between the sexes. Echoing the arguments of curriculum experts who advocated separate vocational courses for young men and women, these critics claimed that the principle of differentiation was rooted in religion, and that males and females had profoundly different purposes to fulfill. For this reason, the vast preponderance of Catholic secondary schools remained single-sex institutions, even though many parochial grade schools observed the American practice of coeducational classes. Other private schools also resisted coeducation, largely in deference to traditions upheld within the upper echelons of society, which often followed European norms. Thus, while coeducation remained widely popular in the United States, its reach was hardly universal. The sexual division of labor and traditional concerns about propriety and the protection of young women continued to exert an influence on school policies. It would not be until after World War II that these limitations would change dramatically.

Coeducation Continues To Spread

Several developments accounted for the worldwide advancement of coeducation during the twentieth century, accelerating after 1945. One was the global spread of American influence after World War II. The conflict had devastated Europe and thus softened resistance to new modes of education for both sexes. Perhaps even more important was a gradual shift in gender roles, providing women with greater opportunity for involvement in life outside of the domestic sphere. This was especially manifested in rising rates of female participation in the labor force, perhaps most evident in America and Europe but also apparent in other countries. These developments bolstered arguments that educational opportunities open to women ought to be equivalent to those available to men, and coeducation came to be seen as the most direct and practical road to achieving such equity. Finally, a revolution in sexual mores came to characterize the decades during the second half of the century, becoming widely influential in the 1960s; this cultural change reduced popular resistance to coeducation on moral and religious grounds. Together, all of these influences helped to usher in a new period of swift progression in coeducational practices in the United States and elsewhere.

Coeducation spread slowly throughout America. Single-sex schools began to consider becoming coeducational in the 1950s and 1960s. These developments were abetted by the civil rights movement, which not only raised public awareness of racial inequities in education, but also helped to foster feminism. Calls for gender equity in education put pressure on institutions to respond to perceptions that single-sex

education was inherently unequal. Perhaps the greatest changes occurred at Catholic schools and colleges. Many of these institutions adjusted their admissions policies as a result of public pressure, partly due to the desires expressed by potential students. As demand increased for a coeducational experience in high school and colleges, many other private schools and colleges also altered their policies. Survey data suggested that fewer and fewer students were interested in the single-sex experience. While coeducation had long been popular in the United States, it reached unprecedented levels of public acceptance. At the same time, gender-segregated education remained most common in those curricula closest to the labor force. While the number of women increased sharply in such formerly male-dominated domains as law and medical schools, fields such as nursing, clerical work, carpentry, and auto repair remained segregated by sex.

Similar changes occurred throughout Europe. The spread of coeducation was even more pronounced, however, largely because the practice had been so rare. In many European cities, primary education became largely coeducational, although elite secondary schools in Germany and elsewhere continued to resist the practice. In France and Great Britain, coeducation became the norm more quickly; furthermore, the development of American-style “comprehensive” institutions eventually ushered in greater gender equity. Perhaps the biggest change, however, occurred at the universities; the preparation of larger numbers of women at the secondary level led to rising postsecondary enrollments.

Elsewhere in the world, the adoption of coeducation was less certain. In JAPAN women’s matriculation consistently lagged behind other developed societies, and gender segregation persisted in higher education. Other countries witnessed dramatic improvements in women’s education, however, and they widely practiced coeducation as educational opportunities expanded. This was true, for instance, in Cuba and CHINA. In some other developing countries, on the other hand, traditional and religious influences inhibited the growth of female education, especially at the secondary level and in universities. In much of AFRICA and in the Arab nations, coeducation continues to be frowned upon or strictly forbidden.

Same-Sex Schooling Regains Momentum

The drive for gender equity in American education continued during the 1970s and 1980s, pushing coeducation forward. Title IX legislation, passed by Congress in 1972, heightened public awareness of equity issues related to gender and contributed to institutional change in the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time, however, competing forces existed. An influential conservative political movement, represented by the presidency of Ronald Reagan; public concerns about sexual freedom; a rise in unmarried—particularly teenage—pregnancy; and the growth of sexually transmitted diseases led to a reexamination of coeducational policies. Simulta-

neously, feminists who were concerned about the slow advance of women into fields such as mathematics began to question the logic of coeducation as the principal means to educational equity. In the late 1970s, researchers began to note higher levels of female academic achievement at single-sex colleges compared to coeducational institutions. In a 1992 published report, the American Association of University Women questioned whether coeducation was the best way to achieve higher levels of accomplishment for young women. They postulated that females were likely to be ignored in class discussions and subjected to threats of sexual harassment. These findings contributed to a resurgence of interest in women's colleges. Educational reformers were similarly concerned about the low academic performance of young urban African-American males. They began to explore the feasibility of all-male academies, to provide an environment free of distractions in which these students could focus on achievement. These ideas and experiments posed a serious challenge to the principle of coeducation, and they marked the first major setback in its ascendancy during the postwar period.

Historically, coeducation has been associated with the idea of equality between the sexes in education and greater opportunities for women. Its advancement has marked the growth of women's rights and the expansion of the modern educational system to serve all segments of the population. The rise of coeducation has followed the movement of women into education, especially at the secondary and postsecondary levels. First widely observed in the United States, the practice of coeducation has spread significantly, although its advance has been uneven in many parts of the developed world, and slow to nonexistent in the developing world. As a rule, resistance has been greatest in societies where women's rights have been most rigidly constrained. Even in morally liberal societies such as the United States, recent developments suggest that there is a natural limit to the extent of coeducation's appeal. Renewed interest in single-sex schools indicates that the controversy over coeducation is not likely to subside soon.

See also: Education, Europe; Education, United States; Girls' Schools; High School; Junior High School; Women's Colleges in the United States.

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Collections and Hobbies

In almost all cultures and societies, children have collected a broad spectrum of items. Although the activity seems to be universal, very little has been written on this subject. And even though collecting has played an important part in many individuals' lives, it is seldom described in memoirs or AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. This may be because many collections are suddenly abandoned when the collector grows up. Many of these collections are split up and disappear unless parents understand the fascinating world of the small collector and pay special attention to saving them. Some collections, however, continue into adult life, becoming lifelong passionate occupations; this is especially likely with collections that have some kind of economic value or present the adult with challenges or opportunities for further study.

The pleasure of founding and creating collections may lead children, as they grow, to collect a new category of items that are more acceptable to their age. The spirit of the collector once established never leaves the individual but is turned in new directions. Grand collections may end up in professional institutions, such as museums, which seems to be the dream of collectors, who do not want their passionate investments to disappear with them. But most collections are scattered by the years and do not survive their owners.

The Functions of Collections

Collecting serves a wide range of purposes and functions. Collecting trains the eye, creates a sense of order, and develops aesthetic appreciation. But collectors can primarily be characterized by their joyful dedication to their project. The world of collectors may be lonely, but can also be social when collectors share their pleasure with each other. The collector often participates in a community, whose connections may range from informal gatherings to organized networks. These give collectors the pride of showing and the pleasure of seeing others' collections, as well as an opportunity to exchange experience, advice, and actual items. Many collectors know that individuals outside the collectors' world consider them members of a special subculture that pays too much attention to an eccentric and limited sphere of interest.

Children's collections tend to be looked at with more tolerance, however strange or fantastical they may seem to the adult world. They form a space where childhood fantasy and imagination can be indulged. Contemporary tendencies reveal a change in the differences between the collections of

children and adults. Many children start collections of valuable items that are marketed directly to them by the mass media and commercial powers. At the same time, adults show an increasing interest in collecting items that once belonged only to childhood or that possess a significance that may be regarded as infantile. Male and female toy collectors all over the Western world collect valuable antique match-box CARS, TIN SOLDIERS, DOLLS, and dollhouses, as well as more recent miscellaneous objects that were once strictly children's TOYS. They seem to represent a dream of never-ending childhood, which never requires giving up the fascination with toys but supplies it with the new, playful ambition of the economically independent adult collector.

Sheer entertainment may be the purpose of one of the contemporary world's greatest collectors, Michael Jackson. His collections consist of amusement park attractions, a ZOO, and numerous kinds of toys, although he has a special devotion to toy animals. To some people he may represent the disappearance of well-defined borders between the ages in postmodern life: the boy who never grew up and the grown-up who never adapted to his new role and responsibility. Jackson may exemplify the collector's true identity, which confuses work with play, leisure with learning, childhood with adulthood, and creating new openings for possible and impossible identities.

Subsistence Economies

In subsistence economies, nature is a never-ending source of objects for infant collectors. Stones, shells, bones, twigs, leaves, flowers, feathers, teeth, and hair have been collected and appreciated by adults and children in most tribal cultures, although anthropologists have seldom described this activity within the specific context of childhood studies. They tend to study it in the context of the magical, religious, or festive. The basic instinct to behave like the parental group or other care givers may have been the origin of these childhood collections, whose durability and existence depended on the mobility and social stratification of the population.

Gender and division of labor may have been decisive factors shaping and structuring children's collections. Depending on the integration of children's work in subsistence economies, time for play and leisure varied. Hunter, nomad, and pre-agricultural societies generally offered less domestic space and thus less place for objects and collections that were not mobile.

Peasant Societies

Children in peasant societies worked, but they lived a much more settled, domestic life than did children in subsistence economies. This allowed for the possibility of more consistent collecting. Even though toys were seldom bought, they could be made, and depending on how much time was available for play, collections could be started. Sticks could be made into bows or used as throwing instruments. They

could be carved in patterns or exchanged for other objects. In American immigrant milieus, it was easy to turn corn husks into dolls, and many girls had lots of them. No clear line exists between the possession of homemade toys and collecting.

In peasant cultures, children often reused objects from the adult world. It was common to collect pieces of glass or colored pieces of broken pottery. Yarn from worn-out knitwear could be sewn into balls in many patterns. The loose winter hair from cattle could be shaped and rolled with spit to make balls that bounced well. Braiding straw and flowers was often popular among girls. Paper could be folded or cut into more or less spontaneous patterns. Paper pierced with needles could provide children a great deal of joy. Children often collected beach stones with holes so they could put a string through the holes and pull them like cows. Exchanging such objects or using them for a lottery was common. Turnips, beets, and pumpkins could be hollowed and turned into lanterns, as is still done for HALLOWEEN. Clay could be shaped into small figurines or made into beads and then into bracelets or necklaces. Leaves, straw, shells, and many other objects could be fixed on the surface of any kind of box to create a home for one's treasures. Collecting in peasant cultures was generally a moneyless, outdoor activity, which appealed to both fantasy and social play. In the 1800s and 1900s, these collections were far more ephemeral than collections in the bourgeois culture and industrial society that developed alongside peasant culture.

Industrial Society

The bourgeois culture that began to develop at the end of the 1700s stressed consumption and domestic life. Even family life changed radically. Bourgeois children were given more physical space; training and education became more focused; and new intellectual borders between ages were established. More and more, the ideal domestic life excluded production and favored intimacy, reproductive activities, and leisure. Children began to have their own rooms in the home and were looked after by a differentiated staff, made up mostly of female servants. Education and schools played a still more important part in the child's life. Care and control developed side by side. Children's collections changed and were directed toward new aims.

The economic subordination of women and children in the reproductive and consumer spheres created new conditions for the small collector. Items became far more prearranged, dependent on money and the booming practice of giving gifts. During the 1800s, Christmas changed, becoming less of a social, religious feast and embracing the private, emotional, cocooning elements typical of the modern celebration. Parental love was increasingly connected with giving children gifts at Christmas and BIRTHDAYS and in other specific situations. The new collections often started and developed via such gifts. Children began making lists of items

they wanted, which could be bought in shops and markets. However, homemade gifts were still usual and were often regarded as more personal. In the 1800s, Germany took a leading position in the production of toys. But the German paper industry developed innovations for children, including printed games, paper dolls, cards, sheets, and colored paper scraps.

Fascinating collections, however, could still be started without special expense. The birth of a consumer society meant large-scale production of luxury paper for packaging. Products were marketed in attractive paper wrappings, which children often saved. Food, sweets, cosmetics, tobacco, and many other goods were presented in new ways to the customers and their children. Mail-service companies started the printing of stamps, which initiated many young philatelists. Railway tickets and other items from the expanding world of transport and communication represented new collectors' items, enlarging the world of childhood.

Twentieth-Century Collections

The growth and democratization of consumption may be the outstanding feature of the recent period, and it changed children's collections decisively. After World War I, it became common to celebrate children's birthdays. Invitation cards became a new collector's item in the 1920s, functioning as social souvenirs. Girls started collections of exquisitely printed paper napkins, often brought home from birthday parties. Marketers introduced a new strategy, adding collector's items for children to products for adults. Cigarettes, soap, coffee substitute, chewing gum, and many other products contained collectibles for children. The expanding film industry, sports, and mass media sent children hunting for autographs, photos, or other memorabilia from the stars. Beautiful packaging was still popular, including matchboxes, tin boxes, fancy bottles, and shopping bags from fashion shops. Before World War II the Walt DISNEY Company launched a strategy of integrated consumption of trademarked goods, which appealed to young consumers and collectors. Film, magazines, cards, posters, soap figurines, bubble gum, printed napkins, and toys built up a total universe of desirable objects and experiences. This strategy was so successful that it turned into the contemporary business of merchandising, which puts trademarked characters on wallpaper, videos, computer games, towels, schoolbags, pencils, erasers, and clothes, and in fast food. Even though such collecting may worry some adults because of its prearranged character and the way it commercializes childhood, it mirrors the conditions of modern culture that also affect the adult world.

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Colonialism. *See* British Colonialism in India; Latin America: Colonialism.

Comenius, Johann Amos (1592–1670)

Johann Comenius was born Jan Amos Komenský on March 28, 1592, in Nivnice in Moravian Slovakia (now part of the Czech Republic). After completing GRAMMAR SCHOOL in Prerov, he studied at the universities of Herborn and Heidelberg from 1611 until 1614. He returned to the grammar school in Prerov and taught there from 1614 until 1618. From 1618 until 1621 he had a position as a minister at the Bohemian Protestant Church in Fulnek.

During the Counter-Reformation the Bohemian Protestant Church was crushed and those who refused to convert to Catholicism were forced to leave the country. This forced Comenius to live in various, sometimes secret, locations from 1621 until 1628. In 1628, Comenius, together with a number of other families, went into exile in Lissa, Poland, where he taught at the local grammar school until 1641. From 1641 to 1642 he lived in England. From 1642 until 1648 he lived in Elbing, Sweden, where he worked on the improvement of the Swedish school system and wrote school books in line with his pedagogical changes. The years 1648 through 1650 saw him in Lissa again. From 1650 to 1654 he devoted himself to the task of reforming the school system in Hungary, returning to Lissa in 1654. When Lissa burned down in 1656, Comenius moved to Amsterdam, where he died on November 15, 1670.

Comenius's Thinking

Comenius's thinking can be described as belonging to the pansophic-theological school of thought, according to which all things are connected with each other within the framework of a fixed order, which ultimately is the result of God's Creation. The presence of God manifests itself in nature, in the rationality of the law of nature, and in the beauty and harmony of the world. The order of nature itself is based on a principle of reason that ensures that all things are interrelated and nothing gets mixed up. Part of this sense of order is given to humans by God in the form of what Comenius called *ration*, so that humans could actively contribute their share in the divine creation of order. *Ration* is the link between God and human. It is the divine in each person; it justifies human supremacy in preference to all other creatures and also calls people to account for their actions. Anyone seeking cognition of God's wisdom must, however, be familiar with all three of the "books" in which God has laid down His wisdom: nature, spirit, and the Bible.

Comenius repeatedly endeavoured to establish a fundamental connection between pansophic-theological thinking and his own theoretical and practical pedagogy. Since humans could comprehend the harmony between nature and



A page from the 1780 edition of Comenius's illustrated textbook *Orbis sensualium pictus*. Comenius's work, first published in 1658, was translated into a number of languages and served as a model for textbooks throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Catholic University of America.

God only through reason, he argued, the proper use of reason must be taught to man; therefore a "universal education" (*Pampaedia*) is necessary and will eventually result in a "universal reform of things human" (1991, p. 67). Education would ensure that people could fulfil their duties on earth, and this must be true for all children since all human beings can be educated and are basically capable of being taught and of learning. The process of teaching should itself be guided by the principle of contemplation. In keeping with the ideas of universal harmony, Comenius believed that all knowledge can be acquired only through use of sensual perception. He further recommended that only those things should be taught at school that may be of use in later life. For Comenius, all of these considerations meant that new teaching disciplines had to be developed, in which students would be treated and taught individually, according to methods that make studying less burdensome and more pleasant.

In his *Didactica magna* (The great didactics), which was printed in 1657, Comenius laid down and substantiated the objectives and methods for pedagogical undertakings committed to pansophic-theological thinking. "Didactics," he wrote, meant the "art of teaching," and he ventured to provide a "Great Didactic," that is to say "the whole art of teaching all things to all men, and indeed of teaching them with certainty, so that the result cannot fail to follow; further, of teaching them pleasantly, that is to say, without annoyance or aversion on the part of the teacher or the pupil, but rather with the greatest enjoyment for both; further of teaching them thoroughly, not superficially and showily, but in such a manner as to lead to true knowledge, purity in morals and innermost devotion" (1985, p. 11).

Comenius believed in the possibility of lifelong learning. Humans, he believed, from the moment of their birth, are equipped with the ability to acquire knowledge of things. In the teaching process he did not recommend trying to infuse things from the outside into the human mind; instead he believed one should "single out, unfold and reveal what lies hidden within. . . . Consequently there is nothing in this world that a human being, endowed with senses and reason, does not wish to comprehend. Man is filled with the thirst for knowledge" (1985, p. 38).

Lifelong Learning

The idea that education is necessary is underlined by Comenius in the following words: "So do not think that anybody who has not learnt to act in the manner of man can really be a man" (1985, p. 86) and again, "Everything that man wants to know he must learn first" (p. 47). All creatures born human are born solely for the purpose of "being individuals, namely creatures endowed with reason, master over other creatures, and the identical image of the Creator. Therefore each individual should be promoted in a manner that they can pass their current life usefully and prepare suitably for the life to come" (p. 34). He emphasized the idea of rational creatures guided by reason again by writing that "all those born as human beings require education . . . exactly for the reason that they are intended to be human beings rather than wild animals, simple beasts or unhewn blocks" (p. 49). Those teachings must begin early in life, however, "because life should not be spent learning, but acting" (p. 50).

All human beings should be taught alike, he believed, "Boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school" (p. 55). Each child, irrespective of origin and sex, should be educated, the only decisive factor being ability.

Comenius was also convinced of the importance of giving an education even to those "who may seem stupid or dull by nature. Especially those who are stupid are in particular need of cultivation of the mind. The more children are weak-minded and stupid, the more they actually need help to free themselves of their stupidity. It is not possible to find a mind

so inept that its cultivation cannot progressively improve it. . . . The dull and weak-minded may never boast of great achievements in science, nevertheless learning will at least improve the morality of their behaviour” (p. 56). The objective of universal education would be achieved by founding “schools as joint educational institutions for children in all the parishes, towns, and villages where people live together” (p. 55). Existing schools should be reorganized into “places of thorough and comprehensive education of the mind” (p. 59), which would ensure that “the entire youth is educated there and everybody is taught everything.” “All human beings should be led equally to the goals of wisdom, morality and saintliness,” he wrote, because “all human beings . . . have the same nature after all” (pp. 60, 73). Additionally, schools should be organized so “that the slow would be mixed with the fast, the ponderous with the agile, the stubborn with the compliant” (p. 74).

Johann Amos Comenius lived in a time marked by disruption and crises as well as wars. At a time at which the public education system was open only to a small group of children, his major concern was that “all men are taught all things.” Unfortunately his ideas on education were not generally accepted by society, and his suggestions on school systems have not yet been implemented, even in part. However, the author of the *Didactica magna* lives on in our memory as a forerunner of modern pedagogy, a great reformer and crusader.

See also: **Basedow, Johann Bernard; Education, Europe; Locke, John.**

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Comic Books

While the comic book genre has traditionally been considered a form of children’s entertainment, that distinction has almost never been entirely true. In fact, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the bulk of comic books produced in North America were aimed at an adolescent or adult audience.

Related forms include the comic strip, panel narratives (which date from the late nineteenth century in American newspapers), and the graphic novel, a long-form pictorial narrative, generally published as a book instead of the more ephemeral pamphlet form; the best-known graphic novels are Art Spiegelman’s Pulitzer Prize-winning *Maus* (1986) and *Maus II* (1991). The term *comics* mistakenly connotes

humor, which is not an integral part of the form. This difficulty is mitigated in other linguistic traditions, such as French, which uses the term *bande dessinée* (“drawn strip”); Italian, which uses *fumetti* (“puffs of smoke,” referring to speech balloons); and Spanish, which uses *historieta* (“little stories”). The Japanese term, *manga*, originally meant “humorous sketches,” although that connotation no longer holds, and today the term is seen as a neutral way to indicate *comics*.

Background and History

There is much debate over the definition of the term *comic book*. Some critics such as Scott McCloud would argue that any narrative told with words and pictures could be considered a comic book. Others might place into this category any book that contains comic strip-like stories, such as those of the nineteenth-century Swiss humorist Rodolphe Töpffer or the adventures found in *Max und Moritz* (1865) by the nineteenth-century German illustrator and poet Wilhelm Busch.

The most common use of the term, however, denotes periodical publications in which the narrative is told through a combination of words and pictures, generally arranged in the form of comic strip panels on the page. Early periodicals like *Comic Monthly* (1922) and, later, the tabloid-sized *Famous Funnies* (1934–1955) contained reprints of newspaper comic strips. The intended audience for such publications was both children and adults, as both groups would be drawn to characters familiar from newspaper reading. Historian Ron Goulart notes in his *Comic Book Culture: An Illustrated History* (2000) that the first periodical to feature all-new content was Dell Publishing’s short-lived weekly publication *The Funnies* (1929–1930). In 1935 Dell again published a tabloid with all-new material, *New Fun*, which quickly dropped in size from tabloid to magazine, making it the first genuine comic book of new material produced in America.

Burgeoning Popularity

While initially popular, the new form took a few years to become a cultural force. Originally created by teenagers Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster for possible newspaper strip publication, the adventures of Superman first appeared in *Action Comics* (June 1938). Public reception of the character was immediate and overwhelming; *Superman*, a separate comic book established a year after the character’s first appearance, sold in excess of one million copies an issue by 1940. Other costumed heroes followed, including Batman (in 1939), created by cartoonist Bob Kane and writer Bill Finger; the patriotic Captain America (in 1941), created by Joe Simon and Jack Kirby; and Wonder Woman (in 1942), created by psychologist William Moulton Marston. Superheroes engaged in the war effort in their pages during World War II; covers to the Captain America series, for example, urged readers to buy war bonds.

Superheroes were not the only popular comics at this time, however. Animal comic books, epitomized by the Dis-

ney line published by Dell Comics, were also successful. The Donald Duck and Uncle Scrooge stories by Carl Barks (whose work remained uncredited for years, as did the works of all Disney cartoonists) continue to be highly regarded for their adventure, humor, and visual accomplishment. Westerns were especially popular in the 1940s and 1950s, with television and film stars like Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, as well as characters like The Lone Ranger, starring in titles of their own, usually with photo covers.

So-called teen comics, particularly the Archie series, found popularity with pre-teen audiences, especially girls. Romance comics (a genre created in the 1950s by Joe Simon and Jack Kirby, who had created the Captain America series in the 1940s) also attracted predominantly female readers, although the stories in such comic books generally were created by men and upheld traditional gender roles.

The 1940s and 1950s: Crusade against Comic Books

Crime and horror comics, two genres that became popular after World War II, ignited a great deal of controversy. Featuring the sensational exploits of larger-than-life criminals (who enjoyed popularity in film and other media, as well) or gruesome revenge tales with monstrous protagonists, these comic books, with titles like *Vault of Horror*—published by E.C. (Entertaining Comics)—were admired by both children and adults. While the stories usually featured morality tales in which crime or evil is duly punished in the end, along the way there was plenty of opportunity for graphic gore.

These comics soon fell under the eye of educators and librarians. Like the comics that preceded them in the 1920s and 1930s, these comic books were seen to have a detrimental effect on children's reading habits. Some educators felt that the use of words and pictures together threatened the LITERACY of young readers. A more cogent argument was that most of these comics were not always well-written.

The most persuasive arguments of all had to do with story content. The campaign against "crime comics," as they were called, was led by the radical psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, whose *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954) was excerpted before publication in *Ladies Home Journal*. Based on Wertham's clinical research, it argued that violent and sexual imagery in comic books contributed to juvenile DELINQUENCY. Wertham was among the many witnesses who testified at the 1954 U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. As a result of these inquiries, and to protect themselves from further intervention and possible governmental control, many of the largest comic book publishers of the day banded together to create the Comics Code Authority (CCA), a self-governing censorship board. The goal of the CCA was to ensure that all published comic books would be perceived as wholesome family entertainment. The CCA required that depictions of parents, police, and other authority figures could not be portrayed as corrupt; crime could never succeed; the female body had to be drawn realistically, not las-

civiously; drug use could not be shown or described; and that monsters such as vampires or zombies could not be portrayed at all. Amy Kiste Nyberg discusses the history of the CCA in great detail in her *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code* (1998).

These standards effectively limited the scope of comic book stories to those which could best be described as entertaining but blandly inoffensive. Comic book publishing thus became, for a decade, a practice aimed solely at entertaining children. While horror and crime and romance comics were still published, they were done so in far tamer, more conservative forms. E.C.'s popular satire *MAD* could not survive under the CCA; therefore, its format was changed to a black-and-white magazine, thus exempting it from the code governing traditional comic books. Of the major comics publishers, only Dell and Classics Illustrated did not join the CCA; their wholesome content assured that their books would be distributed widely even without the CCA seal.

Rebirth for Readers of All Ages

In the 1960s two different forces acted to broaden comics readership outside of young children. Beginning in 1961, Stan Lee, the publisher of Marvel Comics, in concert with artists such as Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, re-invigorated the superhero genre with characters like the Fantastic Four, Spider-Man, and Doctor Strange, whose exploits combined cosmic adventure with soap opera-style narratives. Marvel Comics became popular with both children and older readers, with comic book clubs forming on college campuses across the country.

Near the end of the 1960s, underground comics (or *comix*) gained countercultural relevance. Cartoonists like R. Crumb, Trina Robbins, and Art Spiegelman, among many others, began publishing and distributing their own comic books through drug paraphernalia shops (or "head shops," bypassing traditional newsstand distribution (and thereby the CCA, as well). Influenced by youth movements of the day, these comic books tackled a wide variety of topics, breaking taboos with gusto and offering social and political commentary to their adult readers. Many of these comics outwardly resembled funny animal and other comics from the 1950s, which the cartoonists had grown up reading. The books also often featured parodies of the CCA symbol, a sarcastic reminder that two decades before, comic books did not have to rely on underground distribution if they wanted to address an adult audience.

While mainstream comics did not change drastically after the emergence of the underground comics, they did challenge CCA restrictions. When the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare asked Marvel Comics to promote drug awareness in its *Amazing Spider-Man* comic book, the CCA refused to approve the resultant three issues (numbers 96–98). Marvel published the books anyway in early 1971, and the publicity helped lead to a revision in the

code, in part due to changed attitudes regarding the suitability of certain types of material for younger readers.

The Code was revised again in 1989, and while it is still in existence, it does not hold sway as it once did. The rise of comic book shops in the 1980s—along with the direct market distribution system, bypassing newsstand distribution altogether—resulted in fewer comic books being sold by newsstands. At the same time, this system enabled many new and smaller companies to print fewer copies of titles than their competitors and still make a profit. These so-called alternative comics made it possible for titles to be directed at smaller markets and produced comics on subjects that had not been profitable in decades, including nonfiction, fantasy, and humor.

While most of the alternative comics are intended for adult readers, others are designed with children in mind. Comics like Jeff Smith's *Bone* series, a nine-volume fantasy epic that began in 1991, is for young and old alike; portions were re-serialized in *Disney Adventures* magazine. Linda Medley's *Castle Waiting* series, which began in 1996, investigates what happens to peripheral fairy tale characters once the fairy tale ends. Her female-centered fantasies are as thought provoking for adults as they are enchanting for younger readers. Medley includes in her comic books and in their collected version guides for teachers, activities for children, and guides to further reading in comic books as well as traditional literary forms. Editors Art Spiegelman and Françoise Mouly, responsible for the avant-garde comics anthology *RAW* in the 1980s and 1990s, began in 2000 to produce *Little Lit*, a hardcover, annual anthology specifically designed for child readers. The first volume, subtitled *Folklore and Fairy Tale Funnies* (2000), and the second, *Strange Stories for Strange Kids* (2001), combine reprints of classic children's comics with newly produced stories by cartoonists and children's book illustrators.

Works influenced by Japanese *manga*, in addition to translations of *manga*, are another group of contemporary comic books deserving special attention. Both the visual style and the storytelling techniques of *manga*—such as open page designs and stories that continue over multiple volumes—are appearing with greater frequency in the works of newer American superhero and fantasy artists, who look increasingly to Japan for artistic inspiration.

Comics and Other Media

Early newspaper cartoonists, eager to expand their audience (and their profits), often licensed their characters to the burgeoning film industry. Winsor McCay, creator of the *Little Nemo in Slumberland* (1905–1911; 1911–1913; 1924–1926) and *Dream of the Rarebit Fiend* (1904–1913) comic strips, early on created his own animated cartoons by hand. Often based upon his comic-strip characters, his films, such as *Gertie, the Dinosaur* (1914), are regarded as hallmarks of early animation.

Comic book characters were soon licensed as well, with the most popular example being Superman. Within only a few years of the character's debut in 1938, Superman could be seen in the daily newspapers, heard on RADIO, and seen in motion-picture serials on Saturday afternoons. In the 1950s the Superman television series attracted new readers; shortly thereafter, it became one of the early color series. A decade later, the Batman television series brought a more faithful adaptation of a comic book character to the small screen; whereas the Superman series kept the comics' science fiction and super-villain elements to a minimum, Batman reveled in the exploits of classic villains like Catwoman and the Joker. Its high-camp, pop-art approach, however, reinforced for the general public that comic books were inherently trivial, childish material.

Hollywood has looked increasingly to comic books and strips for source material, producing films like *Superman* (1978), *Batman* (1989), *Dick Tracy* (1990), *The X-Men* (2000), *Spider-Man* (2002), and *The Hulk* (2003). Adaptations of lesser-known comic books, such as *Men in Black* (1997) and *The Road to Perdition* (2002) have proved successful as well, even though they were directed at an older (adolescent or adult) audience.

Most publishers of comics feature company- and character-related web sites, and newer cartoonists have found the Internet to be an effective way to get their work seen by a larger audience, often leading to eventual print publication. While there were some attempts in the 1990s at creating CD-rom comic books, the format never caught on with the public. Electronic comics remain more promotional tools and experiments, rather than an obvious new frontier in publishing.

See also: **Children's Literature; Series Books; Tintin and Hergé.**

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Commercial Curriculum

The teaching of commercial (business) subjects has a long history in American secondary education. Early in the nineteenth century, when such training prepared bookkeepers and merchants, most students were male, and these subjects were often taught in proprietary schools that prepared students for business careers. Prior to the Civil War, however, such instruction was not commonplace in HIGH SCHOOLS and ACADEMIES, and private business schools were concentrated in eastern cities, where there was a demand for clerks, bookkeepers, and other office workers.

As high schools grew in number following the Civil War, interest in commercial education increased. This was partly a response to demands to make the curriculum more practical, but it also reflected the changing urban economy. The growth of large-scale business enterprises, from railroads to manufacturing concerns to mail-order houses, created a need for clerical workers to manage records, handle correspondence, and keep accounts. This did not occur overnight, but had become quite evident by the 1890s.

At the same time, technological developments changed the nature of office work. The invention of the typewriter in the 1870s, along with adding machines and stenographic devices in later years, made clerical employment more routine and hierarchical. It was possible to hire large numbers of moderately skilled workers with little prospect for advancement. Under these conditions, employers began to hire more women, and by 1910 clerical work had become largely a female domain—at the time of the Great Depression this was one of the largest categories of women's work.

The growth of clerical work helped to make commercial education a major component of secondary education in the

twentieth century. In the 1880s and 1890s, proprietary business schools trained about 80 percent of all commercial students. By 1920, however, public high schools dominated the field, enrolling almost half of these students, eventually eclipsing private schools in size and influence. Students enrolled in public-school commercial courses increased from fifteen thousand to more than three hundred thousand in this thirty-year span.

The commercial course was defined by the technical requirements of the largest employers; typing and stenography were the most popular classes (and the most highly feminized). Bookkeeping, accounting, commercial geography, and other courses enrolled larger numbers of boys. In this regard the rise of the commercial course reflected the emerging division of labor within the business world. The secretarial curriculum, which focused on the rote skills of typing, stenography, and record filing, was considered appropriate for women, while the higher-order tasks of keeping accounts, managing personnel, and planning change went to the men. Students mainly represented the lower middle classes (the children of skilled workers and white-collar employees), but gender was especially salient. As surveys from the period noted, boys in commercial positions were often promoted to the administrative ranks, while the girls remained clerks until they left to be married.

See also: Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling; Urban School Systems, The Rise of; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.

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Common Schools

The term *common school* refers to the predecessors of the public schools and systems of the United States. Common schools were quasi-public, originally mandated by colonial, and subsequently state, governments, though they were run locally. They offered an elementary level of schooling, were increasingly coeducational, and frequently were haphazard in instruction, curriculum, and duration.

The importance of schooling in a republic was a persistent theme among writers in the early national period. Citi-

zens needed to be literate, moral, and industrious, reflecting the dominant Protestant ideology of the elite, and it was, ideally, the responsibility of the state, under the control of that same elite, to provide the means. Free schools, as Pennsylvania reformer Walter Johnson put it, were essential in order “to give every member of American society a portion of knowledge adequate to the discharge of his duties as a man and a citizen of the republic” (p. 2). But with few exceptions (New York and Connecticut especially), support and control of schools were mainly left to the localities, and, as communities grew in size, the number of school societies also grew adding to the fragmentation.

Considerable variation was the norm, with rural schools generally doing a better job than urban schools. Duration of the school year was uncertain, frequently not lasting more than a few months, and attendance was even more episodic. Common schools provided elementary instruction, the methodology was characterized by rote learning, harsh DISCIPLINE was common, and patriotic and Protestant messages were delivered insistently. All schools were crowded and ill-equipped, teachers served for brief periods and were ill-prepared, and the duration of the school term depended on the level of support from the community. Teachers were mostly men, who served brief terms, although women often taught in the summer terms. By the 1830s, however, women began to dominate the classroom. Some support was provided by the states, more by rates paid by local communities, but parents were expected to share in the cost of educating their young.

The so-called Common School Revival began during the third decade of the nineteenth century and flourished during the post-Civil War period. This movement emphasized the social and political role of publicly supported schools. During a period of incipient capitalism, increasing urbanization, and rapidly rising rates of immigration, political leaders turned to the schools to buttress the social order. The movement was strongest in the northern and midwestern states and was led by men such as James Carter and HORACE MANN in Massachusetts, Henry Barnard in Connecticut, John Pierce in Michigan, and Calvin Stowe in Ohio. The reformers had some allies in the southern states, but the movement never succeeded in that region prior to the Civil War.

The overriding goal of the reformers (who were mostly of the Whig persuasion) was the provision of schooling for all, or as Henry Barnard, the first U.S. commissioner of education, was wont to put it, schools which were good enough for the rich and cheap enough for the poor. Tax support for public schooling was crucial, and well-built and suitably furnished school houses, graded classes, common textbooks, and clearly defined procedures for attendance and reporting were constantly recommended. Most important was the emphasis on teacher training, either in short-term institutes or in state-provided normal schools. Supervision was to be a

state responsibility. Hence, the movement provided the basis for the systemization of schooling. Underlying the entire reform platform was the dominant Protestant, middle-class, capitalistic ethos, which the reformers saw as truly American.

Opposition to these reforms came not from those opposed to schooling, for there was consensus on that matter, but from advocates of local government and opponents of increased taxation. Members of ethnic, national, and religious minorities also objected to the exclusionary aspect of the movement. Thus, the seeds of controversy still prevalent today were sown in this period. Nonetheless, the Common School movement laid the foundation for the system of public education and for the myth of commonality that remains an American belief.

See also: **Compulsory School Attendance; Grammar School; Literacy; Parochial Schools.**

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Communion, First

For many Christians, the Eucharist (or Communion) is one of the three rites of initiation which incorporate an individual into the body of Christ—that is, membership in the Christian church (Matthew 26:26–28). The others are BAPTISM and CONFIRMATION. The Eucharist, which means “thanksgiving,” is the recalling of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus (paschal mysteries) that guarantees eternal life for faithful disciples. Eucharist was considered to be the culmination of the initiation rite—the most important sacrament after baptism. For Roman Catholics, it is the source and summit of the faith. A few Christian denominations maintain a belief in the “real presence” of Christ in the Eucharist, including Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, and Lutherans. Most Protestants, however, reject the doctrine of real presence and maintain a belief in a spiritual or symbolic presence or simply a memorial. Roman Catholics regard the First Holy Communion of children as a RITE OF PASSAGE that marks the attainment of reason or discretion.

The Council of Trent's 1563 conception of the Eucharist evolved from the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, by which both boys and girls who had reached the age of discretion (seven) were required to confess their sins and to receive the Eucharist annually. It is assumed that before Trent both baptism and confirmation preceded the reception of the Eucharist. Children who had not attained the age of discretion could not receive the sacrament of the Eucharist validly because they did not understand its purpose and could not give assent to it. Thus the Western church in the High Middle Ages viewed young children under the age of discretion as catechumens, individuals who were intermediate between infants and adults. They were free from original sin but stained by concupiscence. Though infants were soldiers of Christ, they were not permitted to receive the Eucharist. The Council of Trent reinforced the Lateran decree and rejected the efficacy of infant communion. Since baptism protected the child from accountability, there was no reason to administer communion to infants.

Due to the ambiguity of language in the decrees of Trent, the Catholic Church has offered latitude in the age at which children should receive the sacrament of the Eucharist. In theory children could receive communion as early as the age of seven, but in the nineteenth century it was delayed frequently until a child was ten or twelve. The point to be made here, however, is that the Catholic Church, unlike most Protestant churches, has promoted the reception of the Eucharist before a child reaches PUBERTY. The Eucharist introduced the child to public life within the Church and the assumption of adult responsibilities, but it had nothing to do with the child's physical maturity.

Martin Luther developed a concept of the sacrament which was peculiar to himself and distinct from the mainstream of later Protestant theology. In addition to retaining the sacramental nature of the Eucharist, he taught that the purpose of the sacrament was to nourish the faith of the recipient and that its validity did not depend on the character of either the recipient or the minister. Moreover, Luther restricted the reception of the sacrament of the Eucharist to adolescents who had been instructed in the truths of Christianity. He required that all children should study the meaning and obligations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and that they assume a catechumen status until they understood exactly what was expected of them. Admission into the Christian community depended on physical maturity as well as intellectual readiness.

For most Protestant churches, spiritual maturity is equated with physical maturity. Their rites of confirmation and the Eucharist are in effect twin rites of puberty—a public acknowledgement that the physically mature Christian is also spiritually mature and morally responsible.

See also: **Catholicism; Protestant Reformation.**

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Communist Youth

Communism was one of the most important political movements of the twentieth century and communist leaders across the globe made young people central to their plans to create communist parties, states, and societies.

Communism as a Political Movement

The history of twentieth-century communism began in Russia. In November 1917, the Bolshevik Party overthrew the Provisional Government, which had been established after the collapse of the Russian autocracy in March 1917. The Bolsheviks, who emerged out of the Russian social democratic movement and based their revolutionary strategy on the writings of Karl Marx and their leader Vladimir I. Lenin, soon renamed themselves the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and set out to create a new communist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR.

As it developed, the Bolshevik approach to communism was based on state ownership of property and authoritarian political rule exercised by the party in the name of the proletariat, or working class. The Bolsheviks also worked to create an international communist movement. After the revolution, they sought to split socialist parties elsewhere in Europe to form communist parties in these countries, as well as in North America and Asia. Through membership in the Communist, or Third, International (Comintern), these parties were brought under Soviet leadership and were often compelled to follow Soviet instructions in the planning of their own revolutionary activities. After World War II, communist influence increased considerably. Communist regimes were installed in the Soviet sphere of influence in EASTERN EUROPE between 1945 and 1948, while communists took power in CHINA in 1949. Communist parties also played key roles in liberation and revolutionary struggles in many parts of AFRICA, Asia, and LATIN AMERICA during the postwar period. The importance of communism as an international political movement declined markedly after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Communism and Youth

Youth support was crucial to both the preparation of revolution and the establishment of lasting communist regimes and societies. In Russia, young urban male workers provided key support for the Bolsheviks and their armed forces during the summer and fall of 1917. When civil war broke out in 1918, members of the newly established Communist Youth League (or Komsomol) defended the revolution in various capacities within the Red Army, and they were lauded by Bolshevik leaders for their courage, bravery, and self-sacrifice. Elsewhere in Europe, young people—especially young working men—promoted revolution within both Communist Youth organizations (which belonged to a Soviet-controlled Communist Youth International) and the new communist parties. These young men's enthusiastic embrace of the Bolshevik model of revolution was sometimes used by Russian Bolsheviks as they attempted to marginalize older and less pliant prewar revolutionary activists and shape European communist parties in the image of the Russian Bolshevik Party. For example, in 1920s France, Comintern leaders promoted Young Communist militants to leading positions within the party, especially at moments of adult resistance to the implementation of Soviet strategies. Young people later played important roles in communist resistance movements during World War II.

Once in power, communist leaders made the transformation of the younger generation central to the attempt to create new communist societies. Because young people lacked prior political experience and were considered more malleable than adults, communist leaders believed they could be transformed into ardent supporters of communism and builders of new socialist societies. As Lenin declared in 1920, it was the youth of the world that were faced with the actual task of creating communist societies. To prepare the younger generation, communist regimes dismantled or undermined existing youth organizations and established party-controlled Communist Youth Leagues for young men and women and Young Pioneer sections for children. These organizations worked to educate young people in communist values and to aid the party as it worked to build communism. Thus, they provided political education for young people, sponsored communist cultural events and LITERACY campaigns, oversaw a range of activities in the schools, and served as a training ground for future membership in adult parties. Members of these youth groups, who often received privileged access to educational, professional, or political opportunities, were expected to devote themselves to the communist cause and participate actively in special campaigns.

During the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union (1928–1932), young people were at the forefront; they were sent into the countryside to confiscate grain and force peasants onto collective farms, and they were deployed in factories and on construction sites as members of shock brigades who led the struggle to transform the Soviet Union into an

industrial power. Many young people embraced these revolutionary tasks with great enthusiasm and spoke of the excitement they felt being on the front lines of the struggle to build socialism. In China, Mao used the revolutionary enthusiasm of Chinese youth to reinvigorate communism during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s. Communists also restructured education as they sought to mold successive generations of young supporters. Schools at all levels included political education in communist theory and values, and their curricula combined manual labor on behalf of socialism with more strictly intellectual labor.

Recent Trends in Scholarship

Scholars have recently begun to approach the relationship between youth and communism in new ways. For a long time, scholars focused largely on communist efforts vis-à-vis youth. They emphasized the ways communists abolished independent youth organizations, created party-controlled youth organizations that were firmly subordinate to adult parties, and used these organizations to shape and control young people. Recently, however, scholars have altered this picture, arguing that communist youth organizations were less monolithic than earlier scholarship described and, more importantly, that youth responses to communism were more complicated than they first appeared. Scholars now argue that even at moments of great revolutionary enthusiasm, young people responded in a variety of ways to communist messages: some were ardent believers, some learned what they needed to know to survive or advance within the system, while some believed very little (or not at all).

In fact, if young people were often builders of socialism, they were also among those willing to dissent from communist ideology. Critiques could come either through the adoption of new cultural styles and practices—indeed Eastern European and Soviet communists became concerned about the impact that Western cultural imports like jazz and ROCK AND ROLL had on youth during the 1950s and 1960s—or through outright political protest, as was the case in Czechoslovakia in 1967–1968 and 1989, and in China in 1989. Finally, scholarship has begun to explore how young men and women often had quite different experiences within communist youth organizations that professed gender equality, as well as the ways masculine ideals often predominated within these organizations.

See also: **Fascist Youth; Hitler Youth; Youth Activism.**

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SUSAN B. WHITNEY

Comparative History of Childhood

Comparative work on the history of childhood can be extremely revealing. It highlights areas in which otherwise different societies have shared experiences, partly of course because of the standard biological and psychological aspects of being or having a child. But it also shows the considerable possibilities for variation, based on different cultures, family structures, or economic contexts. The comparative study of childhood has taken on new importance in the contemporary world because of huge debates over the applicability of Western (or industrial) standards of childhood to societies with very different kinds of traditions and very different economic settings.

At the same time, comparative work on childhood's history is not abundant. The relative newness of the field adds to the challenge of comparison across cultural lines. There is great opportunity for further work. It is revealing that some of the most significant comparative insights have come from anthropologists or other social scientists looking at historical materials, rather than from historians themselves.

Quite apart from the challenge of novelty, there are some key complexities in dealing with the comparative history of childhood. Generalizations are always complicated by gender. Most societies make significant distinctions between boys and girls, and these distinctions can be compared. But the distinctions also inevitably limit statements that try to talk about childhood in general. Social position is another issue. In contemporary Turkey, for example, lower-class mothers, when asked about good children, emphasize obedience and courtesy; very few place any premium on independence or autonomy. But upper-class Turks list these traits first, spending much less time on obedience or even niceness to parents. Their approach is closer to Western styles than to those of the Turkish lower class.

Distinctions of this sort are common in contemporary society, where individual communities are changing at different paces; but they crop up earlier in history as well, as different social groups shaped different cultures and influenced their treatment of children. Rural–urban differences are an-

other important variable, even in such prosaic matters as the nature and extent of CHILD LABOR. In modern history, for example, the rural–urban gap between children's experiences in Russia is noticeably wider than in the United States. Poverty is another factor. Children who are malnourished, or whose parents are so poor that they have no energy to devote to children or even resent them as competitors for resources, will obviously differ from children whose families face fewer problems in normal subsistence. Studies in twentieth-century LATIN AMERICA have documented the results of differential economic conditions within the same society.

Finally, there is the question of regional scale, a key issue in comparative work in general. Because of the importance of cultural factors in shaping childhood, many comparative studies use broad frameworks, talking about Chinese or Confucian versus Indian or Hindu versus Western. In Western history, however, there is also a tradition of making national comparisons, for example in commenting on distinctive aspects of childhood in the United States as commonly noted by European travelers. More rarely, still smaller regional units are used. In ancient Greece, for example, there was a vivid contrast between boyhood in Sparta, where upper-class boys were fiercely disciplined in preparation for lives of military service, and the more relaxed childhood and varied education available to upper-class boys in Athens.

Comparative distinctions in childhood often highlight significant aspects of the societies in which they are embedded. Sometimes they reflect differences in larger social purpose, as in the contrast between Athens and Sparta. Sometimes the distinctions themselves are the cause of wider structural differences. Some comparativists today, for example, grapple with the implications of the individualistic childhood in the Western world contrasted with the stronger family authority emphasized in many traditional societies: is the Western model essential as a basis for successful economic and political development?

Premodern History

Comparisons in the study of childhood until the eighteenth century usually emphasize the impact of cultural variables, that is, deeply held beliefs and values about children and their functions, using legal frameworks and family forms as secondary factors. Again, there are important commonalities. All the great agricultural civilizations extensively utilized child labor, for example, usually to supplement adult work in farming or craft manufacture. All enforced patriarchal distinctions between boys and girls, with girls carefully taught to be subservient to fathers and brothers as a prelude to their later role in marriage.

Cultural distinctions, however, loom large. Polynesian traditions encouraged widespread ADOPTIONS and shared parenting, for identifying a single-family derivation did not greatly matter. ISLAM, in contrast, with tremendous emphasis on family identity, prohibited formal adoption, favoring

charitable care for children without family. Several cultural traditions, including the classical Greek and Chinese, tolerated widespread infanticide, particularly of female infants, as a means of reducing the burden of unwanted children on the family. But Islam expressly forbade infanticide and offered an unusual number of legal protections, including *INHERITANCE* rights, to female children.

Comparisons between the Confucian and Hindu cultural traditions as they emerged in *CHINA* and *INDIA* after about 100 B.C.E. have important implications for the study of childhood. Confucius (551–478 B.C.E.) viewed family relationships as a microcosm of broader political arrangements, and in both he sought order and hierarchy. Child rearing emphasized obedience and emotional control, and in the upper classes children were taught elaborate rules of courtesy. As was common in cultures that practiced primogeniture, first sons gained a special sense of privilege. Girls were instructed in humility and subordination, along with training in domestic tasks. Ban Zhao, the female author of a first-century manual on women (reprinted often into the nineteenth century), explained how girls should be placed in cots at the foot of their brothers' beds, to instill a proper sense of inferiority.

Later, beginning in the sixth century C.E., the practice of foot binding began to spread in China, first among the upper classes, then more widely. Young girls had their feet so tightly wrapped that small bones would break, creating a shuffling walk that was regarded as a mark of beauty—and an obvious incapacity that was seen as appropriate for women. Confucian culture did not cause this practice, but it proved consistent with it. Foot binding would begin to recede only as a result of reform movements beginning in the 1890s.

Hindu culture, though not wanting in insistence on obedience and female subordination, placed a much greater premium on children's imagination. Indian culture emphasized dramatic, adventure-filled stories. Some of them, like "Jack the Giant Killer" or "The Seven League Boots," would later make their way into world literature; they were formally written up during the Gupta period, in the fifth century C.E.. Some adventure stories, taken from the great Hindu epics, featured heroic actions by women (albeit on behalf of fathers or husbands) as well as by men. The Hindu moral code urged duties appropriate to particular castes rather than a single set of obligations. Again, popular stories illustrated different behaviors expected from warriors or merchants. Some analysts have suggested that this also encouraged a subjective approach to reality and an active life in the imagination, both in childhood and later adulthood. Indian culture placed more vigorous emphasis on love than Confucian culture did, and stories highlighted the loving and playful interaction between parents and children. Girls received greater encouragement for their beauty and lively personalities than they did in Confucian culture.

Hindu tradition, however, placed less emphasis on education than Confucianism did. In China, education was the key to success in the competitive examinations that opened the door to the government bureaucracy, the most prestigious source of employment in China for many centuries. Upper-class boys were widely educated first by tutors, then by state-sponsored schools, from the first century B.C.E. onward. Some lower-class youth might be identified as talented enough to be educated, under the patronage of an upper-class mentor; there was a limited opportunity for mobility here. And some girls were educated as well, like Ban Zhao herself, trained in domestic skills but also, under an indulgent father, granted *LITERACY* and other accomplishments.

Judging the impact of overarching cultural traditions on individual children and families is frankly difficult. Upper-class families followed better-defined or at least better disseminated traditions than did those in the lower class, particularly in systems like Confucianism: lower-class Chinese families might seek obedience and courtesy but they also needed work from their children. Personalities also played a role: individual parents might form intensely loving bonds with their children simply because of mutual personalities, even in seemingly restrained systems like Confucianism. On the other hand, some culturally induced differences were real and widely applied. The spread of foot binding demonstrates a distinctive system with measurable impact on the lives of many girls.

When Confucianism spread outside China, particularly to Korea, *JAPAN*, and Vietnam, it underwent some modifications. No society outside China copied foot binding for girls, for example. In Japan, from the sixteenth century onward, Confucianism encouraged a wider interest in education than ever developed in traditional China. By the eighteenth century a large minority of Japanese boys were sent to school for at least a few years and were gaining literacy.

Two other large cultural systems, Islam and Christianity, had a significant impact on the experience of childhood. Like Islam (but unlike Confucianism), Christianity discouraged the practice of infanticide that had been current in the Greco-Roman world. Christianity provided the first spur for schools in medieval Europe, though they were not widely accessible. Islam, spreading in a more prosperous part of the world and with stronger emphasis on the desirability of reading its holy text, the Qur'an, had wider educational impact, particularly in the cities, for several centuries.

Two later developments in Christian Europe invite comparative assessment. A strict disciplinary style developed there that involved the frequent use of physical punishments and also the instilling of *FEAR*. Children were often threatened with bogeymen or other monsters as an inducement to stay in line. Exactly when this approach arose is not clear. Some of it relates to Christian beliefs in original sin: children were born in sin because of Adam and Eve's fall, thus it was

vital that they redeem themselves by behaving properly lest, in death, they be condemned to hell. Images and invocations of death were common in Christian culture into the nineteenth century, both in Europe and later the United States. Protestantism, on the whole, encouraged a strict disciplinary culture, in part because it emphasized original sin more starkly than CATHOLICISM did.

Martin Luther, the first leader of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, was himself strictly raised by a coal-miner father in Germany, and he translated some of his own upbringing into his recommendations to parents. Protestant householders, particularly fathers, were responsible for the moral guidance and religious education of their children. This involved family Bible reading and also strict physical DISCIPLINE. Indians in North America were amazed at the frequency of spankings European immigrants administered to their children. Native American practice involved warmer interactions between children and parents.

The second development was not directly related to Christianity, though it also had disciplinary implications. By the fifteenth century, Western European families (except in the upper classes) began to emphasize a relatively late age in marriage (26 or so for women, a bit older for men). This was apparently intended to control the birth rate and reduce the burden of inheritance caused by undue numbers of children. But with later marriage, the importance of extended family relationships diminished greatly. Western Europeans married and had children when their own parents were either quite elderly or already dead. Nuclear families were on their own. American FAMILY PATTERNS, particularly in New England, departed from European precedents to some degree: marriage age was a bit earlier and longevity greater, which meant more GRANDPARENTS and grandparental influence on children. Even so, the Western European family style affected the colonial American experience.

The pattern had two results. In the first place, it helps explain the use of physical discipline. Mothers as well as fathers had to work hard; there was no wider group of relatives to help keep the family afloat. Young children were often isolated—swaddled and hung on a peg—so that mothers could work freely. Strict discipline helped keep older children in line. The second result was what many comparative analysts have seen as a slowly growing emphasis on children's individuality. Because they interacted with parents directly, with few intermediaries other than their SIBLINGS, children in Western Europe were encouraged to develop greater individual identity and self-reliance than was common in many other agricultural societies.

Other practices both reflected and encouraged this individuation. European families often sent teenage children to live in other households for several years. The motivation was economic: families with too many children could reduce their burden while providing another family with additional

labor. Many parents argued that this helped with discipline, since other families could more easily insist that TEENAGERS toe the line than soft-hearted parents could. The practice stood in sharp contrast to other societies where extended families more commonly worked in groups, and was another factor that encouraged a child to develop an individual identity.

Modern Comparisons

Comparative histories of childhood emphasize two combinations when they approach the history of the past two to three centuries. First, they explore differences, usually national differences, within Western society. And second, they deal with differences between the West and other societies, here focusing particularly on twentieth-century comparisons. The two approaches involve interesting mutual tensions, since the latter assumes a roughly common and novel Western experience that can be juxtaposed with other areas, in contrast to the former's emphasis on distinctions within the West.

One of the most sustained comparisons, launched in the late eighteenth century by contemporary observers—European travelers to the United States—rather than historians, involves the juxtaposition of the United States and Western Europe. The two societies have displayed similar dynamics in many respects. The modern pattern of birth-rate reduction began in roughly comparable ways in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, followed by a sweeping attack on INFANT MORTALITY after 1880. U.S. birth rates have tended to be higher than those of Europe, probably because of more abundant land and resources (for example, the mid-twentieth-century baby boom was more pronounced in the United States). But basic features are widely shared. In both societies nineteenth century industrialization generated new uses for child and youth labor (though few societies on either side of the Atlantic matched the British extreme, with its widespread conscription of ORPHANS). These were followed by child labor reforms—in the United States, initially mainly at the state level—that gradually curtailed the practice. The United States (except the South, which lagged behind) developed mass compulsory education a bit earlier than Europe—in the 1830s as opposed to the 1860s to 1870s—but again the process responded to similar forces and had similar results.

The big differences, however, involved children's position in the family and the looser patterns of authority on the American side. European visitors consistently commented, sometimes in praise, sometimes blame, on how openly children in American families were allowed to express themselves, even to dispute parental views and actions. The observation may seem surprising, given the emphasis on obedience and good manners in nineteenth-century child rearing. The comparison suggests how American childhood may informally have softened, despite the prescriptive litera-

ture. Even in the literature, the American enthusiasm for childish innocence and maternal affection surpassed most of Europe. The distinction has carried into the twenty-first century. New American efforts to protect children from emotional stress have continued to surpass those in Western Europe, despite some European (particularly British) imitations of American practice. Thus American attempts to promote SELF-ESTEEM and inhibit teachers from using ANGER or shaming in the classroom have not been matched in Western Europe. The measures constitute changes in American practice, compared to nineteenth-century standards, but they build on an earlier national sensitivity to and indulgence of children.

It is possible that labor conditions help explain the transatlantic difference. With labor in shorter supply in the United States, and with the frontier available as a recourse for older children seeking to leave family unpleasantness behind, American parents were more cautious in dealing with their children than were their European counterparts. Some analysis has suggested an undercurrent of parental fear in the United States—because of the importance of hanging on to children who might have other options—that was not present in Europe.

Whatever the causes, differences persisted, both outside of and within the schoolroom. The new generation of child-rearing literature that began to emerge in the United States in the 1920s, which recommended greater informality and, ultimately, greater permissiveness where children were concerned, was not matched in Western Europe until the late 1950s. Instead, in Europe, a more authoritarian parental approach persisted. American children may also have been introduced earlier and more widely to modern consumerism than their European counterparts: the practice of giving children ALLOWANCES and the possibility of obtaining driver's licenses both occurred earlier in the United States.

Some analysts have suggested that, by the late 1950s, the two societies began to converge, with more informal, less parentally controlled, more peer- and consumer-oriented childhoods in both groups. Even here, however, some comparative studies note a few ongoing distinctions. American fathers were more open to a best-friends approach to their children, emphasizing shared entertainment, than were otherwise permissive fathers in Sweden. American parents were much more reluctant than French parents to regulate and discipline children's eating, which was one reason child obesity increased more rapidly in the United States.

Other comparisons are also revealing. American patterns of schooling in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries differed from those in Europe in their widespread use of co-education and in their emphasis on SPORTS and extracurricular activities, with less emphasis on achievement examinations and formal tracking. Where European (including Russian) and also Japanese systems featured decisive exami-

nations, often around age twelve, to determine what kind of secondary school a child would attend, the United States continued to emphasize a more comprehensive HIGH SCHOOL (an American invention), though with periodic bows to tracking distinctions, mainly on the basis of aptitude tests. American secondary education, as a result, was in some senses more democratic but also, by most comparative accounts, considerably less intensive, particularly for the college-bound. A higher percentage of American youth went to college, though the gap here narrowed by the early twenty-first century, with about 40 percent of Europeans, compared to almost 60 percent of Americans, going on to postsecondary study.

American moralism and religious commitment also differed from European attitudes. After the changes in adolescent sexual habits in the 1960s (similar in both societies) Europeans moved to greater advocacy of BIRTH-CONTROL devices, while Americans hesitated, preferring abstinence campaigns. By the 1990s this resulted in noticeably higher rates of TEEN PREGNANCY in the United States. By the 1980s, the greater American commitment to free market forces and the scaling back of welfare generated a higher percentage of children in poverty, particularly among racial minorities.

Several key comparisons suggest a somewhat more conservative approach to children in the United States than in Western Europe by the late twentieth century. Though the percentages of women working were similar, Americans were less confident about using CHILD-CARE facilities than were Europeans. American leisure, including VACATIONS, was somewhat more child-centered. Greater attachment to more traditional family values in the United States also helps explain the higher American birth rate. American parents were also still more likely to spank, particularly in contrast to Scandinavia, where laws banned the practice. American children were more likely to fight than French village children, who were schooled to restrain themselves physically while becoming adept at verbal insults. American YOUTH CULTURE made less reference to adult standards than in Western Europe, where the sense of range and spontaneity was smaller. The comparative differences remain intriguing, and they do not fit tidily together. Early childhood in the United States may, for example, have changed less rapidly than in Europe in recent decades, while youth culture, in contrast, seems more innovative on the American side of the Atlantic, despite many shared consumer and media interests.

Some comparative efforts have focused on national differences within Europe. By the 1930s a number of analysts sought to explain the rise of Nazism in Germany by focusing on particularly authoritarian patterns of child rearing and father-son relations, but results were inconclusive. Some specific comparative efforts stress common historical patterns despite big differences in other aspects of society. A study of ADOLESCENCE in late-nineteenth-century Britain and Ger-

many—two countries very different politically at that point—stressed how both societies moved toward a very similar, and novel, identification of adolescence, including the creation of separate JUVENILE COURTS.

Studies that compare Western Europe and the United States with Russia deserve special attention. Though much work remains to be done, it is clear that the history of childhood mirrors the complex comparisons possible in other aspects of Russian history, with its mixture of distinctiveness and eagerness to import Western models. In the nineteenth century, Western-minded aristocrats absorbed the writings of Western thinkers like JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, who emphasized childhood as a period of innocence and learning. Writers like TOLSTOY described idyllic childhoods based on these concepts. Ordinary Russians were far removed from these flights. The SWADDLING of children lasted longer in Russia than in the West, and this set a strong disciplinary tone in combination with widespread use of CHILD LABOR in Russian agriculture.

With the Russian revolution of 1917, interest in children and youth crested. The state hoped to mold children to create the new Soviet citizen, though officials also reflected the older aristocratic interest in childhood as a time of learning. Education spread widely. As the birth rate dropped, many parents devoted great attention to their individual children, providing tutoring or private lessons in dance or acrobatics. Some of this mirrored what was happening in the West. Highly competitive schools and opportunities for advancement within the Communist Party beckoned successful children, and many parents tried hard to protect their offspring and encourage them to excel.

There were two clear differences between the Soviet Union and the West. First, the wars and dislocations of the Soviet era created an unusually large number of “lost” children, including refugees and ORPHANS. The Soviet system tried to provide for these children, but their numbers outstripped the available resources. Second, the collective emphasis for children—in terms of emphasis on group identity over individual achievement—was unusually strong. At least in the cities, schools worked children harder than in the West, with six days of classes. Soviet programs provided camps for many children in the summer, where they would do agricultural work and also learn to develop common bonds with one another amid extensive Communist propaganda. The state singled many children out for special service, as in the case of promising athletes. At an extreme, Soviet authorities hoped that children would learn loyalties to the socialist system that would supersede those due to their parents. (In a famous case in the 1930s, young Pavel Morozov turned his father in to the authorities for suspected dissident behavior. Morozov was held up by the state as a role model for other children.) Other Communist countries followed the Soviet model, as in the hothouse athletic-development program in East Germany.

Even after the Soviet system fell, distinctive Eastern European attributes remained, despite growing interest in Western-style media and consumerism. In Russia, many children reported a level of group loyalty unusual by Western standards, including a willingness to share work, even during examinations, on grounds that being a good comrade took precedence over official rules on cheating and over individual success. Several observers rate the intensity of FRIENDSHIP among Russian children, particularly boys, as higher than in the West. They also noted a longer childhood in Russia, especially in contrast to the United States. While Russian children were expected to perform more home chores, they were allowed to delay full emotional responsibility longer.

More general comparisons between Western (European and U.S.) patterns of childhood and those in other parts of the world highlight the several changes that began to take shape in the West from the nineteenth century onward. The growing Western hostility to child labor, the insistence on mandatory schooling, and the emphasis on warm emotional responses to childhood innocence added up to a demanding package by the early to mid-twentieth century. It was not always, of course, implemented in Western societies themselves. But Western observers, and international agencies that largely adopted Western ideas about the purpose of childhood and the rights of children, used the standards vigorously in judging other societies and urging reform. Ongoing differences reflected agonizing income inequalities, but also different conceptions of childhood itself.

Japan posed a fascinating case of a non-Western society that followed the Western lead very successfully in cutting child labor (after a period of intensive exploitation around 1900) and imposing schooling. The Japanese educational system, after the primary grades, was actually closer to that of Western Europe than the American system was. Japanese childhood continued to differ from Western patterns, however, in the greater emphasis placed on conformity. Early childhood education in Japan stressed good group relations and obedience to teacher authority, in contrast to Western efforts to stress individualism. Japan also routinely used shame in child rearing, while Western adults tried to minimize exposure to peer sanctions for the sake of individual self-esteem.

Contrasts between industrial societies and those that were slower to industrialize were of course more vivid. Many analysts compared villages in Kenya, for example, where the traditional emphasis on teaching children household and child-care tasks left little room to identify higher cognitive goals, to their modern Western equivalents. In one Kenyan village, six-year old girls were adept at housecleaning and sibling care, but could not repeat a story to an adult. Continued expectations that children should take care of older parents also marked great differences from Western patterns,

again promoting a lower degree of individuation and more subordination to family and group goals.

Child labor persisted in many societies outside the West, and indeed often intensified with the pressure to increase production in the demanding global economy. Industrial observers, ignoring the fact that many of the responsible corporations originated in their own societies, expressed dismay at the work pressures, poverty, and lack of schooling that a majority of children still faced in countries like India. In contrast, even Western-oriented elites in India continued to find child labor—in the poorer classes—both natural and acceptable, a key reason that the practice persisted more strongly there than in some poorer countries. Even where school opportunities were better developed, as in Turkey, the lack of preschool preparation (only 7 percent of Turkish children were in preschools by the 1990s) explained significant differences in the childhood experience and in school performance, compared to the industrial societies.

Western ambivalence about children's SEXUALITY was another useful comparative marker. Few societies conformed to the Western idea that sexual innocence should extend through adolescence, particularly when Western films, widely marketed internationally, presented a highly sexual teenaged persona. Early marriage continued in many societies (early by Western standards of course), because teenagers were not seen as children, while sexual exploitation of teenage girls drawn from rural societies increased in the global economy.

Important comparative work has dealt with youth groups in contemporary history. Since the 1970s, student associations in places like India have been more strongly political than their counterparts in Western universities, and more critical of existing regimes. One explanation offered is that university education outside the West creates greater generational gaps with parents (often not university educated), which in turn promotes radicalization. With colleges and universities now drawing 40 to 60 percent of the relevant age groups in the West, political interests are inevitably more diffuse, particularly since the decline of student activism in the 1960s to early 1970s.

On the other hand, GLOBALIZATION did begin to reduce some differences, even between advanced industrial and less-developed societies. China's twentieth-century experience cut into Confucian traditions and patriarchy. A new concept of adolescence emerged, and at least in urban areas an interest in romance as part of the youth experience developed as well. Shared YOUTH CULTURE had a wide impact in many otherwise different societies after 1950, thanks to the spread of rock music and common sports and media idols. By the 1990s, village children in eastern Russia, ignorant of computers and knowing little about the United States, could nevertheless identify stars like BRITNEY SPEARS as epitomes of beauty. Common interests in the Internet, with which chil-

dren were more adept than most adults, aligned the interests of young people in places like Iran, in principle dominated by conservative Muslim clerics, with those in the industrial regions.

Other global trends from the 1970s onward included the continuing spread of education, despite persistent differences that depended on available resources, as well as some lingering hesitations about pulling children away from work and family. Birth rates declined, though again this general trend was combined with significant variations depending on when the decline began, and from what base. All societies were at least beginning to deal with the implications of smaller families for the experience of childhood and treatment of children.

Questions often asked in comparative contemporary history about the tension between traditional identities and homogenizing forces obviously apply to the study of childhood as well. Some societies used children as active agents in preserving distinctive ways of life, sometimes drawing children into violence as part of the process. People in key regions like the MIDDLE EAST have often divided between considerable attraction to Western-style education and a consumer-oriented childhood on the one hand and a commitment to religious schooling on the other that, in some cases, inflamed hatreds. Here, comparisons within societies might be more revealing than drawing contrasts between traditional civilizations and those more open to the changes of modernity.

The comparative history of Western society, or of Japan and the West, also reminds us that not all childhoods are alike even in places committed to advanced industrialization. Distinctions are less pronounced than those between a childhood of work and one of schooling, but they are significant nonetheless. Definitions of emotional goals, degrees of individualism, and other key issues can vary significantly in societies that seem equally adept in industrial economics and modern statecraft. Correspondingly, comparison remains an essential tool in identifying contrasts and commonalities.

See also: Africa; Australia; Canada; Early Modern Europe; Eastern Europe; Education, Europe; Education, United States; Israel; Medieval and Renaissance Europe; New Zealand.

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PETER N. STEARNS

Compulsory School Attendance

Between 1852 and 1918 all states and territories in the United States enacted compulsory school attendance laws. That children should be educated was a compulsory mandate in all state and territorial constitutions, but such proclamations said nothing about attendance at schools. Compulsory school attendance laws passed during the latter half of the nineteenth century represented more than the cessation of voluntary schooling; they formalized a significant broadening of state authority and its assumption of responsibility for the education of children.

The passage of compulsory school attendance legislation in the United States must be viewed as both a philosophical issue and a historical event. As a philosophical issue, the enactment of these laws reflected the demographic, economic, and cultural forces that were transforming nineteenth-century America. Opposition to compulsory attendance was defended by claims that such legislation would begin a decline in those values that distinguished the United States from the historical legacy of Europe. Such legislation would invite political intrusion into local communities and undermine traditional parental authority. Yet opposition could be quickly reversed on similar philosophical grounds. Passing compulsory school attendance would signify the benign role of the state, aligning it against sectarian and class divisions. In this view, compulsory school attendance was a means to a moral goal, for universal schooling best fit the emerging image of the nation as an organic unity that superseded particular groups or localities.

When viewed as a historical event, the timing of the enactment of compulsory schooling helps to explain much of the philosophical debate itself. A comparison of Western societies demonstrates that state enactment of compulsory schooling is not explained by economic factors, such as level

of industrialization or urbanization. Some countries implemented compulsory schooling well before industrializing. The earliest state to do so, Prussia, illustrates the noneconomic motive behind enacting compulsory schooling. Enacting compulsory schooling was a means to reinvigorate national solidarity in a context where traditional, external modes of authority were weakening. Compulsory schooling was a form of nation-building, foreshadowing the larger historical movement to broaden the rights of individuals as citizens and linking this to an expanded moral jurisdiction of state authority. In contrast, England, a comparative latecomer to compulsory schooling, enacted its Elementary Education Act of 1870, well after taking the lead in inaugurating industrialization. Yet, like Prussia, a weak showing at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 signaled a threat to its international stature, in turn challenging traditional means of authority and technical training. The prompt to reinvigorate national solidarity fueled a sense of urgency and thereby gave legitimacy to an extension of state authority over universal primary education.

The comparison of Prussia and England is instructive for the American states. State variation in the timing of enactment was likewise weakly connected to economic factors. Rather, the timing of enactment must be viewed within the broader context of national formation. Most northern and western states and territories enacted compulsory schooling as part of a sequence of institutional formation, passing the law only after they had established the state reform school, the state lunatic asylum, and the state hospital for the deaf and blind. For these states, compulsory school attendance legislation was concrete evidence of their institutional strength; for young territories it was a symbol of their wish to obtain statehood. For both, the enactment of compulsory schooling laws had little to do with compelling attendance. Southern states, by contrast, enacted compulsory school attendance laws after 1900, and did so reluctantly. A planter class fearful of elevating the educational aspirations of ex-slaves and poor whites, whose labor was critical to an agrarian, plantation economy, effectively resisted the extension of universal public education. For these states, compulsory schooling symbolized the reverse of what it meant to their northern and western counterparts: it signaled a threat to the traditional means of social control, which the planter class sought to maintain in a racially divided form.

The passage of compulsory attendance laws in the American states had little to do with compelling school attendance, for school attendance was already high. To seek the reasons for their enactment in the requirements of an industrial economy is as misplaced as to seek their effects in expanding enrollment. Under such scrutiny, the laws may be seen as failures. Yet by legally positing universal schooling as a common goal, the laws helped to structure the social and legal categories of childhood and ADOLESCENCE that have become

integral to American culture generally and to the organization of American education in particular.

See also: **Common Schools; Education, Europe; Education, United States; European Industrialization; Mann, Horace.**

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Computers. *See* Media, Childhood and the.

Conception and Birth

Human reproduction, from conception to birth, would seem to be one of the few historical constants across cultures and the centuries. While the basic biological features of reproduction have changed little over the last two millennia, the cultural understanding and social management of this fundamental human experience have varied enormously.

From the earliest records in the ancient world onward, birth attendants and parents sought to control fertility and to improve the experience and outcome of childbirth itself. While male philosophers and physicians starting with the Greek philosopher ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.) theorized about the nature of conception and embryological development, it was women as mothers and midwives who were ultimately believed to have authority over the practical aspects of conception and birth. But beginning in the seventeenth century, European male "natural philosophers" and doctors began taking a more active interest in the world of reproduction by exploring the microscopic world of conception and by beginning to practice routine midwifery in the British Isles, France, and North America.

By the late eighteenth century, men's incursions into these arenas led to the professional marginalizing of female midwives and the denigration of popular beliefs about reproduction. Physicians, biologists, and other researchers laid claim to knowledge of reproductive anatomy, fertilization,

and embryological development in the nineteenth century and to heredity and hormones in the twentieth. As male scientists and doctors asserted their authority over conception and birth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they influenced public and political opinion, which ultimately led to the state regulation of abortion, BIRTH CONTROL, out-of-wedlock births, midwifery, obstetrics, and prenatal and infant welfare.

The twentieth century witnessed phenomenal technological and social developments, from the invention of hormonal contraception in the 1950s and the legal right of Western women to terminate their pregnancies in the 1970s to the practice of surrogate motherhood and the surgical ability to repair fetal defects in utero in the 1980s. The spiritual and moral dimensions of conception and birth, such as when a fetus acquires a soul and whether the life of a mother or a fetus holds greater value, have been the subjects of debate for centuries. Yet twentieth-century scientific knowledge about reproduction, deep as it was, hardly resolved any of these issues. The extraordinary technological advances of the twentieth century only complicated the ethical, medical, and political questions regarding individual rights; the roles of the medical profession, the state, and the marketplace; and the question of when human life begins.

The Biology of Reproduction

Although it has been known in the West for centuries that both males and females contribute formative biological materials to a future child in the act of sexual intercourse, much beyond that remained mysterious. Exactly when and how peak fertility occurred in females, for instance, was not known until 1827 when the Estonian embryologist Karl Ernst von Baer discovered an ovum in a female dog and charted female ovulation. His work, combined with the late-eighteenth-century experiments of the Italian physiologist Lazzaro Spallanzani proving that sperm was necessary for fertilization, led to the insight that conception occurs when sperm from a male successfully fertilizes an ovum or ova released by the ovary of a female when she is ovulating.

The determination of the sex of the future child remained one of the great mysteries of human conception until the early twentieth century. While some classical authorities maintained that the male's left testicle held female seed and the right held male seed, the second-century Greek physician Galen argued that a not-yet-gendered fetus resting on the right side of the uterus would become male and one on the left would become female. For centuries, both popular and learned authors claimed that astrological forces, certain foods, and a woman's feelings during sexual intercourse could influence the future child's sex. According to the medical researchers Patrick Geddes and J. A. Thomson in 1889, there were at least five hundred distinct theories explaining sex determination by the nineteenth century. Though many of these theories argued that women somehow determined

sex, it is in fact the father's sperm cells that carry the X and Y chromosomes that control sex, a discovery made in 1916 by the American biologist Calvin Bridges.

Sex ratios, however, are not perfectly even and can have significant geographic and historical differences. In late-twentieth-century Europe and North America about 105 boys were born for every 100 girls, but in Korea and Gambia that ratio was 116 to 100. At the turn of the twenty-first century it remains disputed why more boys are naturally born after wars, and why more firstborns are male.

In the vast majority of pregnancies, women have singletons. Twins and other multiples occur naturally either when more than one ovum is released and separately fertilized or when the fertilized ovum splits into genetically identical zygotes. Rates of multiples vary across ethnic and age groups, although on average in the 1990s in Europe and North America about one of every eighty-five pregnancies resulted in twins, with about a third of those identical. Multiples became more common in the West from the 1980s onward as more women delayed childbearing until their later thirties and forties (when their ovaries function less efficiently and more frequently release more than one egg per cycle) and as more women underwent assisted reproduction, a process that usually involves the implantation of more than one embryo.

The reproductive cycle in human beings, from the first day of the last menstrual cycle to the delivery, lasts approximately forty weeks. Conception occurs shortly after ovulation, usually about two weeks after the beginning of that month's menstrual cycle. The developing, multiplying cells are medically termed first as a *zygote* from conception to two weeks, then as an *embryo* from two to eight weeks, and from then until birth as a *fetus*. As soon as the *zygote* is implanted about ten days after fertilization—and the woman is now considered pregnant—whatever nutrients and other substances she intakes can affect the viability and health of the fetus. In 1959 the first medical reports appeared demonstrating that the sedative thalidomide caused severe fetal deformities, and by 1972 several researchers reported a high correlation between smoking in pregnancy and low birthweight. Especially during the first trimester, the pregnant woman can experience nausea, exhaustion, and tenderness throughout her body. At the same time, the fetal organ systems begin developing and maturing from two weeks to birth, with the basic structure of all the organ systems forming in the first six weeks.

In the late 1960s, animal researchers discovered that labor is launched by hormonal changes, first in the fetus and then the mother. When a normal fetus is nearly ready for birth, its pituitary gland is stimulated by the hypothalamus to begin secreting elevated levels of adrenocorticotropin (ACTH) and cortisol. These hormones help both to prepare the fetal lung tissue for breathing outside the uterus and to

create enzymes that convert the mother's uterine progesterone into estrogen. This in turn triggers a cascade of maternal hormones that lead to labor: estrogen helps to increase oxytocin, secreted by the mother's pituitary glands and by the mother's mammary glands. Estrogen, oxytocin, and prostaglandins in the uterus ultimately trigger uterine contractions. The first stage of labor is this active phase when the uterine muscles powerfully contract to force open the cervix to ten centimeters. This can take several hours or even days. The second stage occurs as the baby exits the birth canal, a much shorter process of a few hours or less.

In about 97 percent of singleton pregnancies, the fetus presents itself upside down, often with its head facing toward the back of the mother, a position from which it is easiest to deliver. As the cervix thins and dilates and the uterine muscles contract, the head of the child drops into the birth canal; in the second stage of labor, the head turns through the pelvis—a mechanical process discovered independently by an Irish and a Scottish obstetrician in the 1740s. In about 3 percent of pregnancies, the fetus is positioned in difficult-to-deliver positions including a *breech*, in which the fetus's bottom is tucked into the pelvic basin. Before the twentieth century, attendants intervened in complicated births by performing internal or external *version*—the manual turning of the full-term fetus in utero; by introducing the attendant's hands or obstetrical forceps into the mother's birth canal to apply mechanical leverage during the delivery; or by changing the mother's position in labor to aid in delivery. In the late twentieth century, especially in the United States, obstetricians tended to resolve breeches and other obstructed deliveries with cesarean sections.

After the child is born, the umbilical cord is cut and the placenta, which has provided nourishment during the entire pregnancy, is delivered during a third stage of labor. In the twenty-first century, as in the past, attendants immediately examine and clean the newborn. In 1953 the American obstetrician Virginia Apgar developed a scoring system based on the infant's physiological signs to assess its condition; if the child appears to be in distress, neonatal specialists intervene. After delivery, the mother is cared for and allowed to rest. Before the twentieth century, the postpartum ideal in western Europe and North America was for a mother to rest and recuperate during at least an entire month of "lying-in" while her relatives and friends managed the household and cared for the newborn and the rest of the family.

Delivery Practices

Before the twentieth century, most mothers in the Western world were attended by female midwives in their own homes. The professional transition among birth attendants from female midwives to male obstetricians occurred first and most dramatically in the British Isles, the United States, and France during the eighteenth century, mostly among elite and middle-class families. Male doctors were far less

successful in taking over pregnancy and childbirth in Catholic countries such as Italy and Spain. But despite their early success among an elite female clientele, male obstetricians have never delivered the majority of newborns in Europe, and in the United States they began to deliver the majority only after 1900. While obstetricians have firmly established themselves in modern America—managing from 95 to 99 percent of pregnancies in the 1990s—and while they handle complicated and high-risk pregnancies in all Western nations, it is only in the United States that midwives are no longer considered routine practitioners.

Before the late seventeenth century, medical men were usually called to births only in cases of severe complications requiring surgical intervention. But from the seventeenth century onward, male doctors developed techniques that improved the likelihood of survival among mothers and babies in some protracted labors. The most important and lifesaving included the obstetrical forceps, developed by the seventeenth-century Chamberlen family of physicians in England, and cesarean sections. Though cesarean sections had been attempted for centuries, until the 1880s few medical men had performed ones that resulted in the survival of both mother and child.

Obstetric medicine became increasingly associated with pain relief during labor. Beginning in the 1840s, British and American obstetricians began administering ether and chloroform as anesthesia during childbirth, and by the early 1900s, a full panoply of pain-reducing interventions had been deployed. By 1950, many techniques, such as spinal and epidural nerve blocks, were greatly improved, and some American obstetricians were commonly using continuous caudal anesthesia for use during vaginal labor and delivery. It became common practice by midcentury for women to be completely unconscious during labor and the birth of their children.

By the late 1950s, a handful of doctors in the Soviet Union and Europe and many women began arguing against this extreme “medicalization” of childbirth, including especially the administration of amniotics and anesthesia. Grantley Dick-Read’s *Childbirth without Fear* (1944) and Ferdinand Lamaze’s *Painless Childbirth* (1956) were instrumental in educating mothers about their bodies and the possibility of reducing pain during delivery without the use of drugs. By the 1990s, U.S. hospitals began incorporating “natural childbirth” education in prenatal courses, allowing women more control over the birth experience, and permitting partners to attend the birth. Yet a majority of American mothers in the late twentieth century continued to ask for pain relief; as of 2003, 60 percent of U.S. mothers requested epidural anesthesia during labor. This is not surprising given that research in the physiology of pain in the 1970s and 1980s showed that though Lamaze’s methods can reduce discomfort by 30 percent on average, most mothers will still experience significant pain.

Obstetricians most successfully established nearly complete control over reproduction in the United States, especially as professional American medical groups helped to limit and even outlaw the work of midwives in the twentieth century. In Europe, however, midwives remain professionally powerful, fully trained and incorporated in hospital and clinical medicine. At the turn of the twenty-first century, about 75 percent of European births are attended by midwives, who are allowed to intervene medically in ways that only obstetricians are permitted in the United States. For instance, midwives are permitted to perform episiotomies and administer anesthesia in such countries as Great Britain and the Netherlands.

In the eighteenth century, medical men helped transform the experience of birth by establishing specialized “lying-in” hospitals in the British Isles and North America. These hospitals were initially reasonably safe places to give birth because female midwives handled most of the births, and, unlike doctors, they did not perform autopsies or attend other patients with contagious diseases. In the nineteenth century, however, as doctors increasingly attended hospital births, hospital mortality rates rose precipitously. La Maternité, a Paris hospital, for instance, saw the death of more than 180 mothers out of every 1,000 in the early 1860s. The American gynecologist Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894) in 1842 and the Hungarian obstetrician Ignaz Semmelweis in 1847 observed how the disinfecting of birth attendants’ hands reduced the spread of puerperal or childbed fever, but unfortunately their recommendations were little heeded until after the 1870s with the advent of modern germ theory.

Until the 1920s and 1930s, the American and European women who gave birth in hospitals were usually poor or objects of charity. Middle-class and elite mothers turned to hospital births beginning in the 1920s, first because of the growing reputation of medicine as an effective scientific discipline, and, second, because rapid urbanization and migration eroded traditional female networks that enabled mothers adequate social support to give birth at home. Paradoxically, however, maternal mortality rates were higher in hospitals than in home births throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Hospital mortality rates dropped only after 1935 with the introduction of sulfonamides and other antibiotics.

From the 1950s onward in the United States, the development of private, for-profit insurance and hospitals, plus the rise in plaintiff lawsuits, all influenced medical and hospital practices with controversial results. For instance, rates of cesarean sections increased dramatically starting in the 1970s, in part because surgical childbirths are more efficient, convenient, and even profitable for practitioners and hospitals than natural childbirths. The raised expectations of parents, combined with large jury settlements in some malpractice cases, have also led obstetricians to intervene in slow or

difficult labors earlier and more aggressively. Less than 5 percent of U.S. births were cesareans before the 1970s, but by the 1990s, about 25 percent were. This contrasts with a rate of 15 percent in England and Wales and 40 percent of hospital births in Brazil and Chile in the same period.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, medical debate continues over whether an elective cesarean or vaginal delivery is safer for mother and child. In either case, maternal mortality rates are historically very low, running from 1 to 4 American mothers out of 10,000 dying in the 1990s depending on whether the delivery was vaginal, cesarean, routine, or emergency. Compared with mortality rates of nearly 70 mothers out of 10,000 dying as late as 1920 in the United States, the modern expectation that almost no women will die in childbirth is one of the most profound alterations in all of human history.

Popular Reproductive Beliefs

All cultures have sought to explain the mysteries of reproduction and to control the outcome of pregnancy. There have been thousands of various and contradictory cultural beliefs regarding sex determination, the explanation for fetal abnormalities, and every other imaginable aspect of conception and birth. Many Western beliefs rely on cosmological theories connecting macrocosmic forces such as astrological patterns with the microcosmic and invisible development of the fetus inside the mother's uterus. Other customs were based on the logic of resemblances; for instance in early modern Europe midwives and doctors recommended mothers wear an "eagle's stone"—a little rock that contained loose bits of mineral in the interior that were audible when shaken. This was said to prevent accidents that would lead to miscarriage, to prevent pain, and to help draw the child out during labor.

Most midwifery texts before the nineteenth century argued that a woman had to experience sexual pleasure during intercourse because if ejaculation after an orgasm was required for a man to impregnate a woman, so must a woman reach climax in order to release an egg or other material vital to conception. While such a theory endorsed female sexual pleasure, the idea also made it impossible for a woman to persuade most jurists that she had been raped if she became pregnant, because it was believed conception resulted from her enjoying the sexual encounter.

Both laypeople and the learned tried to explain negative outcomes. One of the most prevalent explanations for birth defects was *maternal imagination*, the belief that a mother's desires or fears could imprint themselves on her unborn fetus. Being startled by a rabbit could result in a baby having a harelip, for example, or strongly craving strawberries could mark the baby with red birthmarks. The most phenomenal case demonstrating the widespread belief in maternal imagination occurred in 1726 when a poor peasant woman persuaded much of the English nation that she had given birth

to seventeen rabbits after being startled by a hare during pregnancy.

Reproductive Research

Aristotle, the Hippocratic Corpus, Galen, and other classical authorities offered a rich but contradictory range of theories about gender difference, conception, fetal development, and birth. Many of their ideas, such as the importance of bodily humors, survived among the learned well into the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT. But beginning with the sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance, artists and anatomists, such as the Belgian anatomist Andreas Vesalius, producer of *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), focused on revealing the secrets of the human body. Several physiological aspects of conception and birth were discovered, including the discoveries of the fallopian tubes by Gabriele Falloppio in 1561 and of the foramen ovale, a hole between the chambers in the fetal heart that almost always fuses shut by birth, by Giulio Cesara Aranzi in 1557. Yet despite their focus on laying bare human physiology, anatomists were still heavily influenced by ancient theories and popular assumptions, such as the complementarity of the sexes. In Vesalius's 1555 dissections of the female body, he identified what are now called the ovaries as the "female testicles," basing his terminology on the assumption that the sexes were physiologically inside-out versions of each other.

The seventeenth century witnessed a flourishing of research into the beginnings of life and the nature of embryological development. Thanks to technical advances in microscopy, the Dutch naturalist Antoni von Leeuwenhoek and others discovered that male semen was filled with countless tiny, swimming sperm. Leeuwenhoek and his acolytes argued that each sperm cell carried if not a fully formed human, then all of the necessary rudiments of a future human. Although human ova were not actually seen until the nineteenth century, *ovists* contrarily maintained that female eggs housed miniature, fully formed humans. Others argued that both mothers and fathers contributed fundamental reproductive materials that allowed a future child to emerge *epigenetically*. These theorists proposed that living creatures were not preformed in either ova or sperm, but that once an egg was fertilized, unknown processes allowed unformed material to develop incrementally and gradually into different organ systems.

One important area of nineteenth-century research focused on embryological development. Von Baer, who had discovered the ovum in 1827, also observed how different layers developed sequentially in the zygote and embryo, showing how these different "germ layers" gave rise to different organ systems. The most significant developments in reproductive knowledge occurred from the 1890s onward in the burgeoning field of endocrinology, which charted the function of hormones as chemical messengers. Mid-nineteenth-century experiments showed that testes con-

tained a material capable of preventing atrophy of the comb in castrated roosters, and in the 1890s Viennese researchers established the existence of female hormones when they triggered ovulation in spayed rabbits that had been implanted with ovarian tissue. By the 1910s, several researchers uncovered the hormonal changes involved in the female menstrual cycle and reproduction. Between 1923 and 1936 scientists isolated, synthesized, and determined the structure of the various female and male hormones. The discovery of the hormone human chorionic gonadotropin (HCG), which is present in the urine of pregnant females, led to the development of the first reliable pregnancy test (the Asheim-Zondek test) in 1928.

At the same time that endocrinologists made these foundational discoveries, biologists began penetrating the nucleus of the cell, showing the genetic material and cellular processes of reproduction. Belgian Edouard van Beneden, for instance, demonstrated in 1883 that the fused gametes reduced their chromosome count by half so that the zygote contained the proper amount of genetic material. The most important contribution in this area was that of the Austrian monk Gregor Johann Mendel, whose 1866 work establishing the laws of heredity was rediscovered in 1900.

The Reign of Technology

Midwives and doctors offered advice for centuries to mothers telling them what signs to look for that showed the fetus was developing normally, such as feeling active movement of the fetus from about twenty weeks forward, when it was said to “quicken.” Midwives and doctors could also usually determine by feeling a mother’s belly the position of a full-term fetus. But the first advance that allowed an attendant to learn more about the fetus in utero was with the application of the French physician René Laënnec’s invention of the stethoscope in the 1810s, which the French midwife Marie Anne Victoire Boiven Gillian and the Swiss surgeon François Mayor both independently used to detect the fetal heartbeat at about five months.

Other diagnostic developments included the application of X rays, discovered by the German physicist Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen in 1895, to diagnose the fetal position and detect such abnormalities as spina bifida and anencephaly. In the 1930s, American researchers used X rays to classify a woman’s pelvic type and used such information to recommend whether she have a vaginal delivery or a cesarean section. Only in the 1950s did the medical profession recognize the dangers of excessive radiation, especially to the developing fetus, and obstetricians turned toward other diagnostic tools.

In 1958 Ian Donald of Glasgow University introduced ultrasound, a noninvasive and harmless technique used to visualize the fetus. Ultrasound has been routinely used since the 1960s to estimate the size of the fetus, gauge its position, determine whether it has certain abnormalities, and monitor its

heart rate, oxygen intake, and sleep and gasp patterns. In the 1950s, European researchers developed amniocentesis, in which a needle is inserted through the abdominal wall to withdraw amniotic fluid, which can then be examined for its cellular and biochemical content. Among other uses, this technique was used to determine the sex of the fetus beginning in 1953 and to diagnose Down syndrome by 1968. Because of the sharply elevated rates of Down syndrome and other chromosomal defects in pregnancies of mothers thirty-five and older, amniocentesis became routine for this group of women starting in the 1970s. Other prenatal diagnostics include fetoscopy, which involves inserting fiber optical technology in utero to examine the fetus, and chorionic villus sampling, in which tissue from the chorion, which develops into the placenta, is removed and examined for chromosomal abnormalities and sex.

During the second half of the twentieth century, many once-fatal complications began to be routinely treated. For example, mothers whose blood is negative for the rhesus (Rh) factor, but who carry a Rh-positive fetus, produce antigens that threaten the life of any subsequent Rh-positive fetuses; since the 1970s, such women have been treated with anti-D globulin to halt the production of antibodies. Since 1963, surgeons have also been able to perform intrauterine blood transfusions on the fetus, and in the 1980s, several specialists pioneered in utero surgery to repair spina bifida, hydrocephalus, diaphragmatic hernias, urinary tract obstructions, and other complications.

Hospitals have likewise dramatically helped to reduce newborn mortality rates through neonatal intensive care units, the first of which was established in 1960 at Yale-New Haven Hospital in Connecticut. These units have helped save the lives not only of many critically ill full-term newborns but also of extremely premature infants. In 1984 the Baby Doe amendment to the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act was passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, making it illegal for doctors to do less than the maximum to save all neonates, no matter how premature. In 1990, only 40 percent of babies born at twenty-six weeks survived, but by 2000, 80 to 90 percent did, with the majority developing into normal children. Many of these babies have life-threatening respiratory problems, including respiratory distress syndrome (RDS), in which the lungs are too immature to function on their own. Synthetic hormones given to the baby after birth can treat RDS, but researchers also discovered in 1972 that glucocorticoid treatments given to mothers in preterm labor or having elective cesareans could prevent RDS. Thanks to ongoing new medical discoveries, “the edge of viability” has dropped substantially. At the turn of the twenty-first century, even “super-preemies” born before twenty-four weeks are in some cases able to survive, but most can expect enormous and expensive developmental and permanent complications.

Assisted Reproduction

In the 1990s, one-sixth of American couples were estimated to be infertile, that is, unable to conceive successfully without medical or technological intervention. Viable solutions to assist reproduction reach back at least to 1790 when the Scottish anatomist John Hunter performed the first successful case of ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION. The first use of donated sperm occurred in the nineteenth century, and the concept of a sperm bank was developed in 1866, although the technology to preserve human semen was introduced only in 1953. By 1995, approximately five hundred thousand children had been born through artificial insemination in the United States, and the majority of these were conceived via donor insemination.

Women's fertility problems, such as blocked fallopian tubes, are far more difficult to remedy than male impotence or low sperm count, both of which can often be resolved through artificial insemination. The key breakthrough for women's infertility occurred in 1978 when Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards of Britain announced the birth of the first "test-tube baby," Louise Brown, conceived through IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (IVF). IVF involves retrieving mature ova from a woman who has often been given hormones to induce the production of several ova. In IVF the retrieved eggs are fertilized and kept in a laboratory for two to five days and then implanted in the uterus. By 1991 the pregnancy rate per retrieval was less than 20 percent in IVF, compared to an 80 percent success rate with artificial insemination. In the United States, for each attempt at IVF, medical, laboratory, and travel expenses typically ranged in the 1990s from \$4,000 to tens of thousands of dollars, and in a significant proportion of cases in which implantation succeeds, the procedure results in multiples. Sometimes, especially in cases of triplets and more, parents choose "selective reduction"—that is, the termination of some of the pregnancies, an obviously highly controversial aspect of assisted reproduction.

As semen can be donated, so can ova, at least since 1983. The uterus also can be donated through surrogate motherhood. In biological SURROGACY, a woman agrees to use her ova, which are fertilized through IVF, to carry the resulting fetus to term, and to surrender the child to another individual or couple. In gestational surrogacy, a woman carries a fetus that is conceived from another woman's ovum through IVF. By 1993, approximately four thousand babies had been born through surrogacy in the United States since the late 1970s.

Birth Control and Abortion

While many couples have sought medical and technological means to reproduce successfully, so too have women and men sought for millennia to limit their fertility. For example, the ancient Egyptians used various herbal concoctions placed on vaginal pessaries during intercourse to block

sperm from reaching the uterus. But the most dramatic leaps in manufacturing widely available, effective birth control did not occur until the nineteenth century with the vulcanization of rubber, used to make condoms and vaginal barriers including cervical diaphragms. Research in endocrinology in the twentieth century led to the contraceptive pill, made commercially available in 1960. Other contraceptive methods include injected and implanted hormones, introduced in the 1980s, and intrauterine devices (IUDs), in use since the 1960s. Permanent forms of contraception, including vasectomies in males and tubal ligations in females, were developed in the nineteenth century but did not become widely and electively chosen until the 1960s.

In scholarship published in the late twentieth century, Janet Farrell Brodie and Angus McLaren both argued that birth control existed on a continuum with early term abortion until the nineteenth century in the United States and Europe. Evidence suggests that herbal abortifacients, violent exercise, and even mechanical means were used for many centuries, in many societies, and among all classes and religions to terminate pregnancies, especially in the first trimester of pregnancy. Abortifacients were widely discussed (often in condemning detail that would enable their use) and also advertised as medications to release "obstructions" from the seventeenth century onward.

Demographic data of the dramatically declining size of nineteenth-century middle-class families in the United States, the British Isles, and France strongly suggests that married couples were turning to abortion when contraception failed. Popular belief until the nineteenth century maintained that though a woman might apprehend that she was pregnant in the first month or so, the fetus was not really "alive" until the moment of "quickening," which occurred at approximately four months into the pregnancy. Medical, legal, and even some religious texts well into the eighteenth century also endorsed this position that fetal life really began only once the mother herself experienced quickening, implying that the termination of an early pregnancy was not morally equivalent to a later term abortion.

Though abortion was never officially condoned, legislatures began criminalizing abortion for the first time in the nineteenth century, beginning with the British government's making abortion a statutory felony in 1803. In the United States, laws against abortion were passed piecemeal through state legislatures, and by 1900 all states had come to prohibit the practice. Historians of the subject have widely argued that the male medical profession drove antiabortion legislation as they sought to gain control over family's reproductive health and marginalize "irregular" practitioners—"quacks" and midwives. In so doing, they saw themselves as moral arbiters for society. The most stringent laws against abortion were enforced in Nazi Germany and Vichy France in the early 1940s, when providing abortions became a capital offense.

In the twentieth century, some advocates pushed for women's expanded access to abortion, first for reasons of physical and mental health. For instance, in 1927 German women could have abortions for therapeutic reasons (although this law was repealed under the Nazis), and some other European nations also passed similar legislation from the 1930s onward. In the 1960s several feminist groups, Protestant churches, and medical practitioners lobbied to repeal antiabortion laws in the United States, and by 1973, four states and the District of Columbia permitted elective abortions.

In 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court decided the landmark case of *Roe v. Wade*, with the majority stating that the right of privacy included a woman's right to abortion in the first trimester. From 1973 forward, states passed a wide range of laws that generally further expanded most adult women's access to abortion, for instance in later trimesters. Yet both Congress and certain states passed laws that limited many women's practical access to abortion, including mandatory waiting periods and parental consent for women younger than eighteen. The Hyde Amendment, first passed by Congress in 1976, annually prohibited federal funding of abortion, except in cases of rape or INCEST. In Europe, access to abortion was liberalized in most countries from the 1970s forward, but by the turn of the twenty-first century, most of these countries limited abortion by request to the first trimester or sixteen weeks of pregnancy.

In the United States, *Roe v. Wade* was deeply controversial, immediately leading to, on the one hand, advocates of abortion pushing states and the federal government to expand abortion rights, and, on the other, opponents lobbying for a repeal of abortion rights. In western Europe, a "pro-life" movement has had little cultural or legal impact. But in the United States, both sides of the abortion debate have affected access to abortion, as in the case of RU-486, or mifepristone, a hormonal antiprogesterin that halts gestation and is designed to be taken within nine weeks of the first day of the last menstrual period. Invented in France in 1980, RU-486 became available in France, Britain, and Sweden in 1989. RU-486 was not approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration until September 2000 after twelve years of strong lobbying by both sides.

A historical analysis of reproductive topics does not necessarily resolve these modern debates, but the varieties of accepted practices across time ultimately undermine any claim that there is a transcendent truth about the reproductive body or the ethics of reproduction. For instance, the high frequency of abortion for centuries challenges claims among late-twentieth-century opponents that the practice results from the rise of modern feminism and the secularized state. On the other hand, that abortion was widely condemned not only by the church and the state, but also by early modern midwives and nineteenth-century feminists, challenges some

assumptions among present-day pro-choice advocates that pro-life attitudes have been bred exclusively by the modern, male-dominated medical professions or by twentieth- and twenty-first-century conservative, special-interest groups.

See also: **Fertility Drugs; Obstetrics and Midwifery; Sonography.**

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LISA FORMAN CODY

Confirmation

For many Christians, confirmation is one of the three rites of initiation which incorporate an individual into the Body of Christ—that is, membership in the Christian Church (Acts 8:15–16). The other two are BAPTISM and Eucharist. The purpose of confirmation is to confer the presence of the Holy Spirit into the life of the child or adult. The practice of administering confirmation immediately after infant baptism was of ancient origin. Throughout the early church, and still today in the Eastern churches, infants received the three sacrament of baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist within a few minutes of each other, and in that order. This tradition emphasized the innocence and equality of children with adults, in the eyes of the Church, by granting them full participation in the liturgy. Children did not have to prove their worthiness to receive the sacraments by mastering the catechism or by testifying to their belief in Christian dogma when they attained the age of discretion (i.e., seven). The early Church identified full participation with the spiritual maturity conferred by baptismal regeneration. Membership in the Church was spiritual. It had nothing to do with age or intellectual and physical maturity. Confirmation as an episcopal rite was characterized by the laying on of hands and chrismation, which involved the application of chrism, a consecrated oil. The bishop anointed the forehead with chrism and recited these words: "Be sealed with the gift of the Holy Spirit."

Throughout its early history, the Catholic Church did not assign any definite age for the reception of confirmation. Beginning in 1563, however, the Council of Trent determined that twelve was the ideal age for conferring confirmation, and that no child under the age of seven should be ad-

mitted to that sacrament. The year 1563 was thus a watershed in the history of sacramental theology. With a simple decree, confirmation became one part of a trilogy of sacraments (confirmation, penance, and Eucharist) that was henceforth identified with the age of discretion. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that many practicing Catholics starting in the late sixteenth century received penance and the Eucharist before they received confirmation at the age of twelve. In effect, the Council of Trent admitted that the order of the sacraments could be altered and that the change reflected its changing attitude toward children. Instead of associating confirmation with infancy, Trent saw it as the sacrament of discretion. Candidates for confirmation were now expected to display a measure of spiritual maturity. They were asked to profess publicly their own commitment to Christ and to his Church, fortified by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: wisdom, understanding, knowledge, counsel, fortitude, purity, and fear of the Lord. Trent's decision to postpone confirmation until prepuberty may have been influenced partly by the views of sixteenth-century reformers. For most Protestant reformers, spiritual readiness was equated with physical maturity. Their rites of confirmation and the Eucharist became in effect twin rites of PUBERTY—a public acknowledgment that the physically mature Christian was also spiritually mature and morally responsible.

Martin Luther rejected the idea that confirmation was a true sacrament and referred to it as a "sacramental ceremony." He saw it as a preparation for the reception of the Eucharist and as a sign of the remission of sins. For Protestants and the Orthodox, confirmation always precedes the conferral of the Eucharist, but for most Roman Catholics, it does not. The age at which confirmation is conferred on children varies among Christian denominations today, but it is most often conferred during ADOLESCENCE.

See also: **Catholicism; Christian Thought, Early; Communion, First; Protestant Reformation.**

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RICHARD L. DEMOLEN

Construction Toys

Construction toys have been popular with generations of children. The underlying principle is that construction is ba-

sically a matter of assembly: a series of basic components are provided, designed to allow children to create objects of their own design that can later be taken apart again and rebuilt as something different. Construction thus becomes creative, and the child is in control.

Toys have become an essential asset in the pedagogical repertoire. Among the first were FRIEDRICH FROEBEL's "gifts," which were widely distributed in Europe and North America in the second half of the nineteenth century. Froebel was inspired by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU and the Romantic notion that children have an innate learning instinct which drives them to play and explore. Froebel's gifts were simple, unpainted geometric shapes, and the play sessions were conducted under adult instruction. In the early 1900s another pioneer, MARIA MONTESSORI, developed play material—blocks of various kinds and sheets or plates of wood, stone, iron, wool, or silk—that cultivated children's senses. The materials were as different as possible, in order to train all five of the human senses.

Construction toys gradually became commercialized, and enjoyed widespread popularity during the twentieth century, assisted by a market-oriented toy industry. Various types of material have been used for creating construction toys and models. Anchor Building Blocks were stone blocks popular in the early twentieth century. Structures were built of real stone according to the drawings of architects. The child became an apprentice and—as the toy became more difficult—journeyman, master, and grand master. The stone building blocks reflected long-standing craft traditions.

Great buildings also inspired toys. A construction such as the Eiffel Tower could be beautifully copied with Frank Hornby's iron construction kits. Initially, his invention was called *Mechanics Made Easy*, but in 1907 the name was changed to *Meccano*. The manuals were written in correct technical language. The basic system was made up of flat metal strips of different lengths, perforated with holes. Nuts and bolts were used to join them. Meccano developed children's imagination, dexterity, and sense of beauty, offering both functionality and pure, cool engineering beauty, a reviewer wrote in 1934.

Meccano attracted competitors. In the United States, Erector, a master builder set, was launched in 1913 by Dr. A. C. Gilbert, who wanted to teach boys the principles of construction and engineering. Numerous other metal construction sets reached the market. To a greater or lesser degree they were copies of Meccano (whose phenomenal success can be compared only with that of the LEGO Company and its little plastic brick, introduced in 1958). These construction kits were designed for older boys, and there was a clear segregation of the sexes: girls were not expected to play with them. It took precision, systematic thinking, and manual dexterity to put the many small parts together, and tiny,

The Saturday Evening Post

LEGO...the most creative adventure you can give to a child

Colorful, durable, snap-together tiles that can build almost anything. Snap...and build. Snap apart...and build again. New fun every day! Lego is Imagination. Expression. Experiment. Creating. It's the most doing-making-building-thinking way to play that's ever been devised. Put magical Lego into the hands of a five-year-old and she will make you a servant. A little boy will turn his Lego into an airplane on Monday...snap apart and it's a train on Tuesday...a skyscraper on Wednesday. A seven-year-old might even build a whole city! There's great adventure in each box of these smooth, shiny, plastic tiles. For Christmas stockings \$1.95, \$2.95, \$4.95 sets. Lots more pieces in the \$7.95, \$10.95, \$16.95 sets. Enough Lego to build a town or the big \$29.00 set. Supplemental sets with choice of all Lego parts including extra trees, gas pumps, etc., available at 30¢.

LEGO SYSTEM BY Samselite

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LEGO's simple, colorful plastic modular building system, first introduced in 1955 and originally sold with no set rules or instructions, inspired children's imagination and gave them the freedom to build whatever they wanted. The Advertising Archive Ltd.

controlled movements. The toys disciplined and marshalled boisterous boys.

Lincoln Logs—a robust log cabin set—was marketed in the United States in 1920 by John Lloyd Wright, son of the famous architect. Sets could be used for building log cabins and forts. In the 1920s and 1930s the toy market was flooded with wooden building kits. Carpenters and joiners began making toys, and the market was filled with simple, well-made wooden playthings. Neutral components came in a wide variety of timbers, and advanced sets were available with special parts for recreating well-known buildings, houses, or skyscrapers. They were complete architectural models that allowed children to create a scaled-down version of the modern world. Contemporary architectural ideas and principles set the pace.

After World War II there was a decisive shift of perspective from the adult's viewpoint to the child's. The child was no longer expected to adapt to the adult world: Reforming educators took the child as their point of reference. Their aim was to liberate children's creative and natural abilities. In Denmark in the 1950s, highlighting children's own creative expression was emphasized, and developmental psy-

chologists focused on play. The toy manufacturer Godtfred Kirk Christiansen evolved a system of play materials aimed at developing the imagination and creativity of boys and girls. The Danish wooden-toy manufacturer LEGO, influenced by the desire for attractive, colorful, simple, and hygienic playthings, had begun experimenting with plastics. The LEGO System of Play, based on the forerunner of the LEGO brick, was launched in 1955. The construction bricks quickly became recognized as an excellent toy to spark creativity and imagination. The simple, colorful modular building system with its open-ended potential brought to generations of children all over the world the freedom to build what they wanted with the bricks with the knowledge that whatever they made was right.

It can be said that children are getting older faster in the twenty-first century, and traditional toys are slipping from their hands earlier. The construction toy has its roots in a tangible world, the world of the craftsman and factory worker, the world of manual values. But ideas are the material of the visual world in a computer age. Still, the idea that children are designing their own virtual world in 3-D that they can build and then tear down does not exclude the theory that when children construct things out in the world, they construct knowledge inside their heads.

See also: **Theories of Play; Toys.**

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INGE AAEN

Consumer Culture

In the West, childhood and child rearing are closely linked to the rise of consumer culture. Increased household wealth often freed children from work and harsh discipline, leaving time for PLAY and increasing adult toleration. Beginning in the eighteenth century, consumer goods redefined relationships between adults and children, especially when parents used playthings and books to indirectly guide children's behavior and expectations. Gifts to children were a key to the privatization and growth of symbolic and fantasy goods that displaced public, often religious, celebrations and rituals. By the sixteenth century in Europe, festival goods (like Christmas crèches) were miniaturized, introduced to domestic displays, and eventually transformed into play sets for children. By the eighteenth century in western Europe, children were treasured for how they expressed wonder and evoked emotional renewal when adults gave them TOYS and other pleasures. New children's goods (special clothing, FURNITURE, books, and playthings) in nurseries enveloped middle-class

childhood in a cocoon of protected learning and imagination.

Modern Consumer Culture

In the nineteenth century, children's consumer culture shifted from training goods (like blocks and moralizing books) to playful and fantasy toys and stories. By the mid-nineteenth century, candy, toys, and books had become part of a new regimen of positive reinforcement for parent-pleasing behavior. A new indulgence reflected parents' attempts to relieve their offspring from their own austere upbringings and to display their new wealth. Fantasy entered into children's consumer culture with the emergence of stories like LEWIS CARROLL's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and J. M. BARRIE's *Peter Pan* (1904) with no or little didactic purpose, which celebrated children's special imagination. Although parents continued to supply most of children's consumer goods, working-class boys especially were able to purchase sweets and cheap magazines and books as well as attend plays with earnings from running errands, selling newspapers, and other petty jobs. In the 1870s middle-class children found the opportunity to own toys and gadgets offered as premiums for young readers who sold magazine subscriptions.

By the 1920s, adults bought playrooms, SANDBOXES, and swing sets to give their offspring autonomy and protected play. Pianos were purchased to raise children's cultural skills and Kodak snapshot and movie cameras were sold with the promise of capturing memory of the "delightful" early stage of childhood. Children, as representatives of change and the future, were often given commercial fads. The TEDDY BEAR craze of 1906 was perhaps the best early example of a pattern that would be repeated over and over again in the twentieth century—the celebration of the new through a consumer craze.

The emerging children's commercial culture was restricted to the comfortable classes. Working-class or African-American children even in 1900 were frequently finished with childhood by age ten. And many American children, especially in rural areas, had few manufactured toys, books, or other goods. These children used cans for "footballs" and played games like hopscotch, preserving traditional games and songs for generations. Still, the long-term trend was clear: when children were removed from the labor market, they became an essential part of a new market—the market of consumers—as parents spent their money to express the "pricelessness" of their children. By the 1910s, child experts began to advocate the weekly allowance to teach money management, but also to grant the child the right to "little pleasures" of personally selected trinkets, toys, or candy. Ads in children's magazines that invoked boys' longings for air rifles, bicycles, and TOY TRAINS insisted that children knew best in choosing the right purchases. While girls' access to ad-driven consumer culture lagged behind boys', they too connected to the emerging consumer culture when they

made “paper dolls” from their mothers’ fashion magazine ads. Parents also gave daughters DOLLS that featured store-bought and fashionable clothing sets. This was in contrast to nineteenth-century “sewing dolls” that required the girl to learn how to make her doll’s own clothes. In any case, dolls, like many other aspects of children’s play culture, were increasingly marketed directly to children rather than sold to parents via adult-oriented magazine ads and catalogs, as in the past.

While the GREAT DEPRESSION and war years slowed this process, the post-1945 BABY BOOM created instant markets for toys and layettes. Newfound affluence allowed parents to make their children the focal point for their spending. Despite moralists’ complaints, parents gave to children as much to isolate and teach as to indulge them. This seeming contradiction is explained by the fact that many children’s products were designed for indoor home use (such as games, books, records) and thus provided adults with the means to monitor their young and to give them enjoyable alternatives to wandering the streets.

Commercialization of Holidays

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, children’s consumer culture remained closely linked to traditional seasonal rituals, even as they were commercialized. Holidays, once associated with community identity and the reversal of authority roles, gradually became times of celebrating childhood and “gifting” children. In the United States, Christmas, long either ignored for reasons of religious purity or enjoyed in boisterous communal exchanges of food and drink, was identified with childhood and consumer goods by the mid-nineteenth century. The young symbolized the intimacy and innocence of family against the increasingly impersonal society that surrounded it. The child became a visible reminder of the adult’s own youth and the hope of the future. In effect, money earned in the market was transformed through the child’s presents into a sentiment of family life. Gradually, Santa Claus became the symbol of unrestricted giving to children. The story of his home at the North Pole, where elves, not sweatshop workers, made the toys, disguised the market origins of these gifts.

Other holidays, especially HALLOWEEN, long associated with rough communal practices like vandalism and intimidating demands for food and drink, were tamed when they were “given” to children in trick-or-treating in the late 1930s, a late tradition that stimulated the candy industry in the United States. VACATIONS too became an occasion for spending around and for children. Seasonal gifts of ice cream cones in the 1900s broadened to family vacations by the 1950s. Disneyland (opened in 1955) transformed the plebeian amusement park, which had been mostly patronized by young singles, into a middle-class family RITE OF PASSAGE, a setting for parent-child bonding through spending on rides and souvenirs.

Children’s Control of Spending

Spending for children gradually became spending by children. In the nineteenth century, candy and small playthings and cheap novelties were available on the street to older children, and the introduction of manufactured candy bars and soda in the 1890s further increased the range of children’s expressive spending. Children’s demands, fueled by exposure to ads and store displays, helped shape consumer decisions, and merchandisers had learned by the 1910s that it was relatively easy to sell to the child who was not constrained by experience. Few children were able to purchase toys with their own money. But toy and candy companies recognized that children could influence parents’ spending, and from the 1910s ads in children’s magazines often brazenly encouraged this. Moreover, merchandisers relied upon children to teach their old-fashioned parents about new household products.

Media played a major role in shaping children’s consumer culture, beginning with illustrated stories and comic strips which introduced characters whose images appeared in dolls, games, and toys from the 1890s. This process accelerated with sound MOVIES. In the 1930s, DISNEY characters from the cartoons were pictured or embodied in thousands of dolls, toys, lamps, watches, and toothbrushes. By 1937, Disney had mastered the art of tie-in marketing by selling Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs merchandise even before the movie appeared. By the early 1930s, RADIO advertisers in children’s programs used premiums of toys and other novelties to increase sales of food and household products. Still, merchandisers were very careful not to offend parents by advertising for toys or sweets directly to children. Repeatedly moralists tried to ban children from the new commercial media. Beginning in 1909, city and state governments prohibited movies deemed dangerous to children and even banned children from exhibition halls. In reaction to violence and sexuality in COMIC BOOKS, moralists attempted to censor or even ban certain types of these books in the early 1950s.

Children increasingly were targeted after World War II when children’s marketing specialists like Eugene Gilbert realized their potential spending power. Cereal makers found profit in sugared cereals designed for the childish sweet tooth and package designers learned to make shampoo and other containers in the shape of cartoon characters to attract the child’s eye. Most important, television became a pipeline into the child’s imagination when advertisers found that children responded to ads by the age of three, thus separating the parent’s consumer culture from the child’s. With the debut of the *Mickey Mouse Club* in 1955, cereal and toy ads began to be designed especially for children, leading to a continuous marketing barrage. By the second half of the 1960s, it is estimated that as a group children were annually spending two billion dollars on their own and influencing billions more in parental spending.

Childhood became linked with a vast interconnected industry built on licensed characters that encompassed movies, TV shows, video games, toys, and clothing. Moviemakers often joined forces with toy and fast food companies to offer novelty toys in fast food meals, making the commercial fad a nearly continuous part of childhood. Video games, in the mid-1970s directed toward teens and young adults, were marketed to children in the late 1970s with Atari, and by Nintendo and others by the late 1980s. Media-generated marketing to children created “additive” consumption, where the young were encouraged to accumulate whole “sets” of dolls, toys, books, and videos. This marketing became ever more sophisticated with the *Star Wars* trilogy (1977–1983). TV cartoon series based on toy and doll lines proliferated in the 1980s.

Children’s goods became part of a new era of fast capitalism—the increasingly rapid shift from one product line to another on a virtually global scale. Toys and other children’s products functioned less as vehicles connecting generations or linking past and future in the way that parental gifts to children once had done. Parents and other adults complained about an ephemeral consumer culture that took time from developmental activities, isolated children from reality in a fantasy world of fun, and seemed to expose the young prematurely to sex and violence. But increasingly, children’s consumer culture was part of a separate fantasy world, which children and the merchandisers alone understood and which was designed to stimulate unending desire for more goods—even as it provided children with a measure of autonomy.

See also: **Advertising; Child Stars; Economics and Children in Western Societies; The Consumer Economy; Indoor Games; Media, Childhood and the; Television; Theories of Childhood.**

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GARY CROSS

Contagious Diseases

Death in early childhood was a heartbreaking fact of life everywhere until the early twentieth century. Gravestones from the nineteenth century and earlier commemorate the death before the end of their first decade of life of between a quarter and half of all the children born into most families. Nearly all died of contagious diseases.

Definition of Contagious Disease

Contagious means infectious by direct contact, but in common usage the word usually applies to diseases that are highly infectious and dangerous, implying something more serious than a common cold (although colds are among the most contagious of all diseases). In his 1548 *De Contagione* the Italian monk Girolamo Fracastorius identified three modes of contagion: by direct intimate contact (as with sexually transmitted diseases); by “droplets” (as in coughing, sneezing, and talking); and by contaminated articles (such as clothing and kitchen utensils). Other modes of contagion that Fracastorius did not recognize include transmission by polluted water or contaminated milk or food and transmission by insect vectors such as mosquitoes.

The Nature, Origin, Ecology, and Evolution of Contagious Diseases

The agents, called pathogens, that cause contagious diseases vary in size and complexity from ultramicroscopic viruses, microscopic bacteria, and single-celled protozoa like the malaria parasite, to parasitic worms up to several meters long. The survival of pathogens depends on their ability to invade humans or other hosts, in which they are nourished and reproduce, and from which they can spread to new hosts. This capability is determined by biological, ecological, and behavioral factors, all of which render children especially vulnerable, as discussed below. Pathogens flourish at the expense of the health, and perhaps the life, of the human host. The most successful pathogens do not kill their hosts but merely make them ill while producing symptoms conducive to the pathogens’ spread to fresh hosts. The viruses that cause the common cold are particularly successful in this respect.

When the world warmed up after the last Ice Age (i.e., about 10,000 years ago), human ancestors discovered how to domesticate animals for food, milk, and clothing, and how to plant and harvest crops. These discoveries made possible the transition from nomadic hunter-gatherers to settled agriculturalists, and transformed human communities forever. Brief generation times and prodigious reproductive rates enabled some microorganisms that had previously affected only animals to evolve into human pathogens, aided by the increasingly close and frequent contacts between humans and their domesticated animals. In this way some bacteria and viruses became human pathogens for the first time. This probably was how measles, smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis originated as contagious human diseases. Some important pathogens developed survival mechanisms involving hu-

mans and other creatures—dogs, sheep, cattle, pigs, mosquitoes, ticks, freshwater snails, etc. The relationship of humans and mosquitoes to water set the stage for the evolutionary origin of malaria, which has caused enormous misery and innumerable deaths, mostly of children, since before the dawn of history. Similar ecological connections between humans, water, and various other living creatures led to the evolution of schistosomiasis and parasitic infestations with several kinds of worms. Archeological discoveries have revealed evidence that some of the great scourges of humankind—including smallpox, tuberculosis, malaria, and schistosomiasis—date from neolithic times, 10,000 to 15,000 years ago. Other diseases, including measles, influenza, typhus, and yellow fever, arose more recently, and the process continues. In the final quarter of the twentieth century, more than thirty new contagious diseases emerged and the pathogens that cause them were identified. Many of the newly emergent diseases are deadly—including HIV/AIDS, Lassa fever, Ebola, and Marburg disease and several other viral hemorrhagic fevers—and a few are not usually deadly but are unpleasant, like legionnaires disease and Lyme disease. Children are the main victims of many of these new diseases.

The development of agriculture ensured reliable food supplies, and this led to a population surge. Little clusters of families and clans grew into towns and cities that were the essential prerequisite for the rise of civilization—religions, laws, arts and culture, science, and literature. But increasing population density and a closer relationship of humans to domesticated animals such as pigs, sheep, cattle, and goats, transformed ecosystems, shaped the evolution of microorganisms, and increased the risk of transmission of pathogens.

In medieval times, cities and towns consisted mainly of ramshackle dwellings resembling the shanty towns surrounding modern cities in low-income countries. Domestic refuse, kitchen waste, and human and animal excreta were often scattered indiscriminately in places where children played. These conditions provided a favorable habitat for innumerable pests—flies, cockroaches, rats—which contribute to the transmission of several contagious diseases. Most people seldom bathed and changed their clothes infrequently, so they and their clothes were usually filthy and infested with vermin, a haven for lice and fleas—the vectors for two deadly diseases, typhus and plague. Pollution of water with human and animal excreta led to incessant outbreaks of contagious gastrointestinal diseases. Infectious diarrhea, spread by fecal contamination of drinking water or food, became even more prevalent as human settlements grew ever larger in the absence of adequate sanitary measures, reaching a peak at the time of the great cholera EPIDEMICS in the rapidly expanding industrial cities of nineteenth-century Europe and America. Pools of stagnant water as well as the rivers and lakes that attract human settlements provide breeding sites for mosquitoes, which are an intermediate host for malaria parasites. Malaria was endemic, with occasional epidemic flare-ups

throughout much of Europe and America, especially in the Mississippi River valley, until early in the twentieth century. Different species of mosquitoes transmitted other deadly contagious diseases—yellow fever, dengue, viral hemorrhagic fevers, viral encephalitis. Children were the principal victims of all these diseases.

As human settlements expanded and spread throughout the world, people came together in ever greater numbers. Increasing population density, trade, commerce, wars, and conquest led to frequent contacts among strangers. Many who survived the initial attack of contagious diseases acquired immunity, which protected them on subsequent exposure. But rising population density did not necessarily help to enhance immunity. On the contrary, it facilitated epidemic and pandemic spread of diseases, notably of those associated with lice and fleas, typhus and plague. Commerce and European exploration from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries led to increasingly frequent contact among people whose habitats were far apart and whose resistance to contagious diseases, because of prior exposures that conferred some inherited immunity, were very different. The consequences for those with no prior exposure were often disastrous. European conquests and colonization of the Americas were assisted by lethal epidemics of measles, smallpox,

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Dating

Dating is a ritualized courting process that developed in the twentieth century as a means for adolescents to engage in approved heterosexual activities. It emerged first in the United States in response to significant social and gender changes in schooling and work, family life, and recreational activities. During the twentieth century, dating spread to other Westernized societies, although it has become increasingly attenuated in the context of the revolution in premarital sexual behavior after the 1960s.

In the early modern world most courtship was supervised by family or other adult community institutions. Formally arranged marriage was never the dominant practice among most Americans, as it was among the European aristocracy and upper middle class, but informal arrangements existed which directed young people's desires toward suitable partners who remained within racial, class, and other boundaries. Most young people did not have either the time or the privacy to engage widely in experimental activities, and the importance of chastity for women among respectable people meant that girls and young women did not venture very far on their own without adult chaperones. These informal controls were able to adapt initially to the emergence in the nineteenth century of the ideal of romantic LOVE and to companionship as a replacement for patriarchy in marital values. More challenging were the dramatic dislocations that accompanied the urban and industrial transformations of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Among the wealthy elite, well-orchestrated rituals surrounding elaborate debutante balls and coming-out ceremonies largely assured that family choices would continue to define the horizons of adolescents and young adults as they moved toward a season of courtship. Thus eighteen- and nineteen-year-old girls were introduced to the proper society from among whom they could choose and be chosen. But among others, especially the large and growing middle class

and the respectable working class, the fact that young men and women spent more time away from the watchful guidance of parents became a source of considerable cultural concern and anxiety in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a concern most effectively articulated by social reformer JANE ADDAMS in *The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets*. Especially problematic was the new freedom of young women. Both boys and girls were now more often found mixing promiscuously in unsupervised work and play environments as adolescent girls went out to work in factories, shops, and offices. These young people often spent their money and free time in unsupervised commercial recreations such as MOVIES, dance halls, and amusement parks. Both male and female adolescents were also staying in school longer as new school attendance laws began to include more older children. The schools, pressed to engage their charges, provided more opportunities for socializing as they searched for ways to keep older and recalcitrant student populations at school. As schools became the arenas for extracurricular clubs, SPORTS, PROMS, and other events, they also became the site for spontaneous heterosexual socializing. Young people developed dating in these new work and educational contexts as a means to order mate selection and to contain the erotic possibilities that the new freedom from adult supervision made possible.

The apparent freedom of dating and its association with out-of-home and paired activities made the new practice seem risqué and daring in the early twentieth century. By the 1920s, however, it had become generally regarded as a legitimate means of interaction between young men and women during later adolescence and young adulthood. Some immigrant and religious groups still resisted and were appalled by the freedom that dating permitted between strangers, but most native white young people understood that while dating was not supervised by adults it nevertheless had clearly established boundaries enforced by peers that regulated respectability, eligibility, and the routines of sexual access. Moreover, the young not only defined what was attractive,

permissible, and popular, but continued to maintain clear class, racial, and ethnic boundaries.

The vast extension of schooling between the world wars to the majority of adolescents (including immigrants) in public HIGH SCHOOLS, and to a substantial minority in colleges and universities, made these new peer definitions possible. The long hours at school and the shift of authority from home and work to youth-based institutions, along with the coeducational nature of the great majority of these institutions, made peer standards in dating dominant. At schools, a complex social system that included extracurricular activities, sports competitions, fraternities and sororities, literary activities, beauty contests, and other means to define identity and popularity regulated dating behavior. But the system was not closed since the young drew on nonschool institutions for inspiration in setting new nonfamily-based fads and fashions. These relied on both the heterogeneity of populations at school and the enormous expansion of popular culture, especially via movies, popular music, and sports, that provided sources and models for approved behavior, appearance, style, language, dress, and beliefs around which standards of popularity and datability revolved. In expanding the vocabulary of acceptable and proper behavior, popular culture idols helped the young redefine eligibility and expand the limits on sexual propriety in their dating behavior toward more liberated forms.

Starting in the 1920s, a date usually involved one or two couples going out together to a movie, a dance, a soda shop, or a roadside restaurant. In places outside of large cities, this increasingly relied on access to an automobile and became dependent on the outlay of significant amounts of cash to ensure that the treat for the afternoon or evening was acceptable to the dating partner. Commercial considerations were thus embedded into the very structure of the dating relationship, which required that the male treat the female to a good time. Women too were required to expend money on their appearance, wearing fashionable clothes and stylish hairdos, and relying on beauty treatments and up-to-date cosmetics. These consumer-based standards became crucial to the evaluations that each side made of the prospective date and the subsequent decisions about whether dating would continue. They were the basis for at least initial conclusions before other, more subtle, considerations could intervene.

In the 1920s and 1930s, exclusivity was not considered either essential to dating or its only necessary result. Instead, a dating-and-rating syndrome sometimes overwhelmed the long-term courtship objectives of dating, as young men and women of the middle class engaged in a whirl of heterosexual social activities which defined their status in a complex hierarchy of popularity and desirability. Class differences also surfaced, particularly in high school, with working-class youth more likely to see dating as part of marriage-partner selection, while middle-class youth engaged in dating more

in terms of entertainment. At the same time, both dating which led to exclusive attachments and dating which was part of a busy social life included a variety of erotic practices that became a standard part of the expected sexual initiation of twentieth-century youth before the premarital sexual revolution of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Some historians have argued that in return for the expenses incurred by the male dating partner some sexual compensation was expected from the female. Whether the exchange was quite so direct and calculated or evolved from a set of expanded possibilities for intimacy and graduated expectations, dating certainly resulted in mutual sexual experimentation. In most cases, these activities fell short of intercourse, involving instead an elaborate pattern of sexual play that included hand-holding, kissing, petting, and fondling. It was well understood that within this evolving pattern women would define the limits of acceptable behavior, while men would try to push those boundaries as far as possible. Most studies of the 1920s and 1930s show that among those whose dating had become exclusive, especially those who were engaged to marry, intercourse would become an occasional or regular part of the dating relationship for about half of these couples. This was usually rationalized as a legitimate expression of the commitment to a long-lasting loving relationship oriented to marriage.

These newly established dating rituals were disrupted by America's entry into World War II, when dating was largely suspended for older couples in the context of a national emergency which emptied schools, colleges, factories, and offices of eligible young men. The war also encouraged more rapid sexual involvement and a rush to marriage. In a related way, war often led to short-term casual sex that some young women saw as their contribution to the war effort, but that seemed to liberate others from the artificial standards that had previously been in place. Among these were thousands of VICTORY GIRLS, urban camp followers who catered to men on short-term leave, and whom the army targeted as potential carriers of VENEREAL DISEASE.

Adolescents, though not so clearly affected by the war, were not entirely shielded from its effects, especially since older adolescents might be inducted as the war accelerated draft call-ups. More significantly, the war changed the pattern of delayed marriage that had become common for all classes and groups during the Depression of the 1930s and the postponement of first conception that had a longer twentieth-century history. After the war, the trend toward early marriage continued and in the 1950s a dramatic baby boom altered American family life in significant ways. While peacetime conditions allowed a return to earlier dating behavior, that behavior had now become more than in the past a matter of adult concern and intervention. It was also shorter since women now married younger than at any time in American history and began to contemplate the road to

marriage throughout adolescence. Dating as a route to marriage became both more serious and more hurried. Younger adolescents and even preteens began to appropriate some of their older brothers' and sisters' behaviors, while serious relations became more common earlier in the dating process. Pinning (wearing the fraternity or club pin of a boyfriend), wearing a love anklet, and going steady became regular rituals of 1950s and 1960s dating behavior.

At the same time, adults became more clearly involved in these behaviors. The most obvious form this took was in the elaboration of advice in newspapers, TEEN MAGAZINES, and manuals for adolescents. Adult family and relationship experts, who drew on the increasing American infatuation with the science of psychology as a guide to daily life, intervened in this as in many other arenas of child rearing and self-development. But popular culture too began to reflect new concerns about dating, and a whole genre of movies, including films such as the teen classics *Where the Boys Are*, and *Splendor in the Grass*, were based on the erotic charge that resulted from breaking dating taboos.

This whole structure was fundamentally weakened in the late 1960s and 1970s when the rapid legitimization of premarital sexuality removed some of the need for dating etiquette, at least among young adults. For adolescents, too, the more open sexuality that developed during this period made dating rules far less stringent and enforceable. While dating certainly continued and continues to define many heterosexual relationships, the rules became much more flexible (and included the possibility of same-sex dating). The effective use of BIRTH CONTROL and the availability of abortion, even for adolescents, after the 1970s meant that rules which had been in place for most of the century and whose objective was always to maintain social standing during a life-cycle phase marked by sexual desire, were hardly as necessary anymore.

While dating has by no means disappeared even in the twenty-first century as adolescents and young adults seek to define just what is permissible and what is not in their mating behavior as they move toward adult life, it now coexists with a range of other activities. Some of these are less dependent on isolated pairing and include group activities associated with alcohol, DRUGS, and music. Matchmaking and dating services—many newly dependent on computers and the Internet—have also become much more common and acceptable. Dating has in the meantime shifted to older people, many of whom seek companionship and remarriage after divorce. Dating has become less obviously part of adolescence as age of marriage has once again shifted upward and taboos against premarital sexuality have become less harsh and judgmental.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood; Sexuality; Youth Culture.**

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Death. *See* Grief, Death, Funerals; Infant Mortality.

Delinquency

Delinquency occurs in every country in the world. In many countries, delinquency first arose as a distinct problem in the late nineteenth century. In Germany, juvenile crime was first distinguished from adult crime in 1871 and in Britain in 1908. The United States' first JUVENILE COURT was established in 1899.

Delinquency and Society

As a social problem, delinquency came into being with ADOLESCENCE itself. As Western societies prolonged childhood dependency and postponed the age of expected independence through the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, problems specific to the period of prolonged childhood emerged. In a rural, peasant society, for example, a fifteen-year-old boy missing school was not greeted with official opprobrium; a sixteen-year-old girl who was becoming sexually active might be rushed into marriage, not into court.

No matter the time period, delinquency is often closely tied to poverty and to the degree of difference between the rich and the poor in a society. In addition, delinquency is a



A still from the movie *Boys Town* (1938). Methods of dealing with delinquent children have become more punitive in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, making a change from the paternalistic approach represented by Spencer Tracy's (admittedly idealized) Father Flanagan. THE KOBAL COLLECTION/MGM.

symptom of larger disruptions to tradition. Public concern for, and even panic over, delinquency peaks when major social patterns are changing. The first real attention to delinquency in the United States occurred in the 1880s and 1890s, for example, a time of rapid urbanization, massive immigration, and major shifts in labor patterns and the workplace. More recently, scholars focused on ethnic and racial difference as indicated by youth crime during the turbulent 1960s and 1970s.

Scholars in eastern Europe have understood youth crime as an indicator of the breakdown of traditional authority resulting from the disruptions associated with the fall of the Soviet Union and the instability of succeeding political and economic regimes. In western Europe, two trends have emerged. Some countries, including Great Britain, Germany, and Finland, have witnessed a constantly increasing amount of juvenile crime from 1950 to 2000. Others, including Austria, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, saw a sharp rise in juvenile crime from 1950 to about 1970, with a leveling-off occurring after 1970. On the other hand,

all European countries have seen an increase in juvenile violent crime since 1950, with marked upward trends during the 1980s and 1990s. While adult crime rates stayed steady, rising juvenile violent crime rates mirrored rising unemployment and poverty rates. The most recent statistics, for 1995 through 2000, show a slight increase in juvenile violent crime in Germany, a slight decrease in Great Britain, and a significant increase in France, especially in sexual assaults by juveniles.

In South Africa, juvenile crime in the period from 1948 to 1994 was associated with apartheid, resistance to apartheid, and with the divide between blacks and whites in income, housing, and education. Since the new government came to power there in 1994, it has tried to address youth crime by instituting socioeconomic change and by revising the criminal justice system. Unfortunately, reliable information on the results of these efforts is difficult to find.

Definitions of Delinquency

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines delinquency as the condition or quality of being a delinquent; delinquent means

“failing in duty or obligation; one guilty of an offence against the law.” Juvenile delinquency is the term used to denote any offense against the law performed by a youth under a certain age. In many countries, that age is eighteen, but it varies across the globe.

In the United States, police may charge a youth with delinquency when he or she is alleged to have committed a crime. In addition, juveniles may be charged when they have committed a “status offense,” a violation of a specific restriction that applies to people under a certain age, such as breaking a curfew.

Delinquency and its definitions have changed over time. Scholars have found that girls and boys are apprehended for different offenses. In addition, what constitutes delinquency has changed over time.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States, boys and girls were most often charged with crimes far different from those they are charged with early in the twenty-first century. Delinquent boys were primarily charged with property offenses, such as stealing copper pipes to sell to junkmen. In the same period, girls were mainly charged with status offenses, such as incorrigibility or running away—terms that often masked sexual activity. Boys were rarely charged with such crimes. In the early twenty-first century, both girls and boys have been charged more often with violent crime than they were in 1900, although property theft is still the largest category for boys charged with delinquency. What was once considered an offense—frequenting dance halls, for example—is often not considered a crime at all today. On the other hand, crimes related to the drug trade and the easy availability of weapons are much more prevalent than at the turn of the last century.

A surge of violent youth crime in the United States took place in the 1980s and was closely tied to a new wave of DRUGS on the streets. During the 1980s and 1990s, more children under age twelve were committing violent acts than before. Between 1980 and 1995, arrests for violent crime doubled for youths aged twelve or younger. From 1980 to 1995, the number of arrests for forcible rape were up 190 percent for juveniles under twelve and arrests for carrying or possessing weapons were up 206 percent. African-American juveniles were arrested disproportionately compared to their numbers in the population. In 1995, African-American children represented about 15 percent of the U.S. youth population but accounted for nearly 50 percent of all arrests for violent crime. The government responded to the dramatic increase in juvenile crime with a host of punitive measures: reducing the age at which an adolescent can be considered an adult and tried in adult court; creating new military-style “boot camp” programs; sentencing juveniles to longer periods of incarceration and stricter oversight. The number of adolescents incarcerated skyrocketed. After 1994, violent youth crime decreased, but property crime did not decrease

proportionately. Female violent crime, moreover, did not decrease at the same rate as that for males. It is unclear whether the decrease in violent juvenile crime was a result of new policies, a decline in crack cocaine use, federal efforts to control the distribution of guns, community and school prevention programs, or some combination of these factors.

Responses to Delinquency

At bottom, the governmental response to delinquency is inherently repressive, relying on the coercive power of the state and the threat of incarceration. During the 1960s and 1970s, both the United States and Great Britain saw a more anti-institutional approach hold sway, with a greater focus on welfare, probation, and supervision, but now both countries have returned to a more punitive method of dealing with delinquent youth.

Researchers have spent decades examining juvenile delinquents and their offenses. Time and again, they come up against the difficult question posed by any study of crime: why did this particular person and not another commit a crime? Was the cause of his or her delinquency physical, medical, psychological, social, or something else entirely? Cross-cultural comparisons of delinquents have pointed to useful facts: that where family power breaks down and when traditions lose their grip, one is most likely to find delinquent behavior. In-depth studies of certain delinquent groups have also pointed to the growth of an alternative family structure in gangs and to a growing tradition of rootlessness and violence. For many youth, there is no tradition but violence and aimlessness. Some investigators have found that delinquency increases during wartime because of this rootlessness; others find that wartime employment means lower rates of delinquency.

Conclusion

It is impossible to discuss delinquency as though it is the same the world over, but important patterns can be distinguished. Delinquency is often seen as a social problem, a symptom of a deeper social malaise. When societies undergo long periods of upheaval, official attention is focused on delinquency and youth behavior. Even though delinquency goes through periods of increase and decrease, it never disappears altogether. Governments and social agencies also go through periods of increased or decreased effort in dealing with delinquency, swinging back and forth between repressive and less restrictive measures.

See also: **Children’s Rights; Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States; Juvenile Justice; Youth Gangs.**

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Dentistry

Dentistry began to emerge as a recognized specialty within medical surgery in seventeenth-century Europe, although scattered examples of basic dental practice (especially extractions) and attention to oral hygiene can be traced to earlier centuries. The French surgeon Pierre Fauchard, author of *Le Chirurgien Dentiste* (1728), is generally recognized as the "father" of modern dentistry. Among his select clientele was an occasional child, usually a daughter of one of his (mainly female) patients, who would present with a badly carious, visible tooth that she was reluctant to extract because an empty space or replacement tooth might threaten her physical appearance and social position. Fauchard's creative solution, which apparently met with some success, was to withdraw the diseased tooth and then replace it immediately in its socket. Beyond providing pain relief, Fauchard and his contemporaries also experimented with new procedures to straighten misaligned teeth; children ages twelve to fourteen were the principal clientele.

These early examples notwithstanding, it was rare for a child of any social class to visit a dentist in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even among leading professional spokesmen, the traditional view still held that children's primary (deciduous) teeth were expendable, unworthy of finan-

cial investment, and unrelated to future oral health. The reparative treatment of carious teeth improved in quality and gained in popularity during the late nineteenth century, but its primary reliance on expensive gold fillings militated against its general extension to children. Extraction remained the primary response to children's dental diseases. Trained dentists—few in number, located mainly in cities, and expensive—were largely peripheral to the extraction trade, which was dominated by barbers, nostrum salesmen, and itinerant "tooth-pullers" who promised instant, pain-free relief. Not surprisingly, business boomed for replacement teeth and prosthetic devices in the nineteenth century, not just for the elderly but also for young adults who emerged from childhood with few usable teeth and constant mouth pain. Dentists and craftsmen worked singly and collaboratively to meet public demand and to improve the quality and fit of prosthetic devices (famous portraits of George Washington's clenched mouth exemplified why technical improvements were considered necessary). Dentists in the United States established clear superiority in "mechanical dentistry" and in the production, quality, variety, and economy of prosthetic devices.

Education, Child Welfare, and the Rise of Children's Dentistry

Children's dentistry emerged as a distinct subspecialty in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. Oddly, the field took shape mainly outside rather than inside dentists' offices, and under public rather than private sponsorship. Most dentists remained ambivalent, if not hostile, to integrating children into their private practices. The challenges and rewards of technically sophisticated, adult-oriented mechanical dentistry, not child-oriented, poorly compensated, preventive dentistry, drove the bulk of the profession. Nonetheless, a major shift in scientific direction, professional orientation, and public discourse about dental disease was evident by the early 1900s. For the first time, dentists seriously questioned the panacea of extraction and the presumed inevitability of toothlessness. A new gospel of "prevention" became a clarion call for dentistry to transform its customary assumptions about children's dental needs, and to make "mouth hygiene" a vital concern in medicine, public health, and education.

Several scientific advances in the 1880s and 1890s underlay the new viewpoint. Most important were Dr. William Miller's "chemico-parasitic" theory, which described the bacteriological process by which caries emerged under gelatinous plaques, and his "focal infection" theory, in which an unclean oral cavity was seen as the prime avenue of penetration for infectious disease in children. Also important in building professional confidence were Dr. Edward Angle's creative inventions for straightening teeth, which raised hopes for addressing the entire range of difficult problems surrounding malocclusion. New techniques and equipment for saving carious teeth with better, longer lasting, and

cheaper filling materials also promised a bright future for reparative dentistry.

Children's dentistry was integral to the Progressive Era's (1890–1920) wide-ranging child welfare and Americanization campaigns, and, in particular, to the school health movement. Educational programs made prevention the central theme of children's dentistry. While educators emphasized the importance of nutrition and regular prophylaxis, they urged above all that children maintain lengthy, stringent, technically perfect standards of brushing their teeth: three, four, and ideally five times per day. Mothers as much as children were the audience for the new conventional wisdom. As with other elements of the Progressive child welfare agenda, mothers were assigned major responsibility for sparing their children needless pain and suffering, and thereby ensuring their success in school and assimilation into American life.

The provision of operative treatment via schools and clinics was the boldest innovation of early-twentieth-century children's dentistry. In the 1910s, several dozen dental clinics were established exclusively or primarily to serve children in public schools and in local health departments; a few clinics with private support, most notably in Boston and Rochester, were also founded. These clinics brought prevention-and-treatment oriented dentistry to the masses for the first time. In many clinics, dentists not only inspected children's teeth but also performed reparative treatments and extractions. Equally innovative was the introduction of regular prophylaxis, usually performed by members of the new, entirely female, school-centered specialty of dental hygienists. Despite its acknowledged importance in caries prevention, prophylaxis was time-consuming, laborious, and generated low fees. Dentists rarely performed prophylaxes in their private offices until hygienists or comparably trained assistants became more widely available. Although male dentists provided most school- and clinic-based operative service, it was lower-level women professionals—teachers, nurses, and hygienists—who mainly carried the banner of children's dentistry, much as in other areas of Progressive child-welfare reform.

A small corps of women dentists also emerged in the early twentieth century that began to focus primarily on children. M. Evangeline Jordon was arguably the first specialist in children's dentistry, beginning in 1909. Jordon authored the field's first expert textbook, *Operative Dentistry for Children*, in 1925. In his preface to Jordon's text, the prominent dental scholar Rodrigues Ottolengui observed that prior to 1915 he "had never heard of a dentist specializing exclusively in dentistry for children," and that "Dr. Jordon, so far as we have been able to learn, was the first dentist to practice exclusively for children, and thus she is the pioneer pedodontist of the United States, and perhaps of the world" (p. vii). In 1927, around the time of her retirement as a practitioner, a small

group of dentists formed the American Society for the Promotion of Dentistry for Children, based on a common understanding that "if children are to be served, general dentists would have to provide most of the treatment." In 1933, the *Journal of Dentistry for Children* was founded.

General dentists did begin to serve children in larger numbers during the Great Depression, but mainly as paid employees in schools and clinics that expanded under government auspices. The Depression brought considerable hardship for dentists, and publicly funded programs in school and clinic settings were essential for their professional survival. Now numbering in the hundreds, these clinics provided around half of the total amount of dental treatment that children received from *any* source during the 1930s. (As the draft examinations in World War II would reveal, however, the oral health of American children and youth was still abominable, especially in rural communities and in the South, where publicly financed school and dental clinics never took hold.) Thus, out of necessity more than design or desire, children and dentists were no longer strangers to one another. A base of professional experience and client expectation for integrating children into general dentistry had been laid. Signifying the subspecialty's gradual arrival at professional legitimacy, the American Society for the Promotion of Dentistry for Children was renamed the American Society of Dentistry for Children in 1940.

Toward the Cavity Free Child: New Advances and New Horizons in Children's Dentistry

The provision of free reparative and restorative dentistry to several million servicemen during World War II also did much to create a new consumer base for children's dentistry in the postwar era. With the return of prosperity, this potential was soon realized—but now in the private rather than in the public sector. In the decade following the war, the private practice of American dentistry boomed as never before, and the share of children receiving private dental care expanded dramatically. By the late 1950s, nearly half of the school-age population was visiting a dentist about once per year. Organized dentistry—which, unlike organized medicine, had largely supported free school and clinic dental programs for children during the previous half-century—adopted a condescending stance toward such programs in the 1950s, claiming that they provided inferior treatment, used outdated equipment, misled parents about their children's true dental needs, and were no longer necessary. School clinics and other public agencies that had grown accustomed to calling upon unemployed or underemployed dentists on an hourly per capita or fee basis to treat children now found that dentists no longer had the time or financial inclination to participate in such arrangements. The long-sought ideal of the "family dentist" was finally becoming a reality.

An equally major change emerged in the postwar years that would profoundly transform children's oral health by

the 1980s. This was the discovery of the preventive possibilities of fluorides for dental caries. Schools returned briefly in the 1970s to a central role in children's dentistry as the National Institute of Dental Research launched a major publicity campaign to convince educators and dentists alike that school-based fluoride rinse programs represented the most cost-effective, school-based means available to prevent tooth decay. By 1980, nearly one-quarter of the nation's school districts were participating in fluoride rinse programs, which may have reached as many as 8 million children. Although bitter fights over water fluoridation occurred in numerous communities, with some opponents casting fluoridation as a Communist plot, the fluoridation of water supplies grew rapidly in the postwar era. By the end of the 1950s, nearly two thousand communities serving over 33 million people had fluoridated their water supplies. By 1980, over eight thousand communities and more than half of the U.S. population was drinking from artificially or naturally fluoridated water supplies.

In addition, the advent of fluoride-based toothpastes beginning in the 1960s and the growing availability of fluoride mouth rinses in the 1970s further increased the likelihood that children, whether their community had fluoridated its water supply or not, had ready access to fluorides' preventive possibilities. The impact of pervasive exposure to fluorides on children's dental health was spectacular. By the late 1970s, a precipitous nationwide decline in the incidence of dental caries was evident, in non-fluoridated as well as in fluoridated communities. Dentists began to report substantial growth in the numbers of cavity free children, who were virtually unknown just two decades earlier. While the precise causes were uncertain, the omnipresence of fluorides in the food chain, as well as their widespread ingestion via community water supplies, tablets, mouth rinses, and toothpastes, contributed substantially to the decline.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the perceived crisis in "mouth hygiene" that had given rise to the specialty of children's dentistry was clearly over. To be sure, dental caries still compromise children's health, and some subgroups of children, particularly among the disadvantaged, continue to suffer disproportionately from caries. But leaders in the field have understandably turned their attention to a variety of new issues and unmet needs. These include paying more attention to periodontal diseases in children; intervening earlier to treat malocclusions; grounding dentist-child relations more consistently on scientific principles of child development; extending dental care to disabled children; expanding the dentist's responsibility in recognizing CHILD ABUSE and neglect; managing medically compromised patients, such as those with AIDS; and inventing a caries vaccine. Concerns about aesthetic issues as well as health issues led to growing rates of treatment with braces and other straightening devices from the mid-twentieth century onward.

Perhaps bolder still, some leaders in "preschool dentistry" insist that the relatively recently established ideal age for children to see a dentist for the first time—age three—is in fact far too late to preserve optimal dental health. Instead, they recommend that parents schedule their child's first dental appointment between six months and one year of age. The entire field of preschool dentistry was inconceivable a century ago. But its basic premise remains consistent with that of Jordon and other pioneers in early-twentieth-century children's dentistry: "The prevention of disease can never be started too early" (Pinkham, p. 4).

See also: **Hygiene; Pediatrics.**

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STEVEN SCHLOSSMAN

Dependent Children

The contemporary idea of childhood in the United States is distinctly domestic: it regards the home and its appendages,

such as schools and churches, as the child's proper places. Although U.S. attitudes toward childhood and children have European roots, approaches to child welfare in parts of Europe and non-Western societies often differ from American attitudes, since they have included the separation of children from their homes for purposes of maturation, APPRENTICESHIP, and early employment. From the American view, such practices are aberrant, harmful, and tantamount to ABANDONMENT in so far as they fall short of providing children with nurturing, parental home environments. Contemporary Western notions of abandonment sprang from this particular representation of domestic childhood and from normative judgments about a child's actual and ideal life course.

The Years Prior to the Civil War

Dependent children are those who, through various circumstances, become dependent on private charity or public assistance. In the United States, ideas about children's welfare were inherited from the English Poor Laws under the principle of *parens patriae*, whereby the state is the ultimate parent of all children. In the colonial era, this resulted in two forms of relief for dependent children: indoor relief (assistance to parents in the home) and outdoor relief (alternate homes, such as ORPHANAGES and poor houses). For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public administration was local and the household was the immediate source of authority, with the result that dependents had little direct contact with the state. Many thousands of children were brought to the colonies as indentures and the death rate in the Chesapeake was high for children as well as adults. Consequently, the indenture system tried to maintain household governance and the family system by placing children in homes while training them for future employment. It made little difference whether the child was poor, illegitimate, or orphaned and, regardless of cause, children who were left on their own were regularly indentured or apprenticed. Indenture afforded a reasonable solution to uncared-for children while reducing public responsibility for colonial dependents, including those who were orphaned, whose parents were unfit, or who misbehaved. In 1648 Virginia, for example, following the British model, the state could remove a child from a home with parents who were overly fond or if the child was "perversely obstinate."

The first private orphan asylum in North America appeared in 1738 in Georgia, and the first public orphanage did not open until a half century later, in 1790, in South Carolina, with 115 orphans. Others followed in New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The founding of orphanages demonstrates that by the late eighteenth century, congregate alternatives for dependent children were being tried. Whereas binding out and indenture favored the family setting and foreshadowed the subsequent shift to FOSTER CARE and ADOPTION, almshouses and orphanages foreshadowed a preference for congregate institutions.

The years prior to the Civil War witnessed a movement away from indenture and apprenticeship toward the rise of congregate institutions, based in rising objections to indenture for children, and an increase in the real numbers of dependent children. Moreover, as industrialization changed the size and nature of the family, the value of children shifted from their productive contribution to the family to parental bonds of affection for the child. The nineteenth-century cult of motherhood eroded the traditional patriarchal control over child custody, forging instead a romanticized ideology in which children were innocent and vulnerable and mothers had a special responsibility for protecting them. In 1838, a new judicial policy marked the shift from father's rights to mother's love in the adjudication of child custody. EX PARTE CROUSE declared that children have needs, not rights; that they need custody, not liberty; and the place for a child was school, not prison. While the case is noted for shifting the parental responsibility of child custody from the father to the mother, it was also pivotal for legitimizing and elevating the practice of institutional custody.

Between 1820 and 1860, 150 private orphanages were founded across the United States, some in response to EPIDEMICS that orphaned many children. Orphanages were largely religious and largely for white children under ten years of age. Most orphanages indentured the older children, and few received public funds. It was not long before congregate institutions became overcrowded, underfunded, and less and less rehabilitative. By mid-century, congregate institutions that only a few years earlier had been models of care were losing their luster. An 1855 report to the New York State Legislature chastised almshouses for the outrageous conditions in which they sheltered some 3,000 children under sixteen. The problems were intensified with the children orphaned in the Civil War and as numbers of immigrants multiplied. Nevertheless, despite criticism, congregate institutions grew through the end of the nineteenth century.

Placing Out

The idea of PLACING OUT marked a departure from apprenticeship, indenture, and congregate homes. Whereas removing children from the home under those circumstances did not necessarily sever ties with the children's families, placing out included permanent transfer to foster or adoptive homes, illustrated by the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY (NYCAS) and CHARLES LORING BRACE's famous ORPHAN TRAINS in the mid-nineteenth century. Brace was a critic of congregate institutions, and the NYCAS placed thousands of dependent youth in private homes. (NYCAS, however, overwhelmingly favored white western European children, who represented 95 percent of its placements; it could not or would not place black or eastern European children.) Brace romanticized the image of children being "rescued" from urban streets and placed in families in the midwestern countryside and the plains states. He spoke passionately about the

practice that eventually affected some 200,000 youngsters over seventy-five years. As rapid urbanization, immigration, and industrialization widened social class divisions, reformers like Brace looked to protect society by removing children from those “dangerous” classes.

Brace’s objective was to place children in caring, moral, and stable family environments, and this program signaled the triumph of the ideology of domesticity, with its emphasis on affection, romantic marriage, and innocent children. He preferred foster care to adoption, as most of his children’s parents were destitute but not absent or dead, and ties of affection and Christian charity to legal bonds. Brace found a middle ground between involuntary apprenticeship or indenture on the one hand and adoption on the other. With the support of New York’s upper-class reformers, he shared their concern for the waif as well as disdain for the poor and immigrant parents.

In the colonial era children outside the bloodline could not share legal status with natural-born children. However, by the mid-nineteenth century the courts, under the best interests of the child doctrine, were more willing to consider the place of affection, choice, and nurture in the family structure. In 1851, two path-breaking court cases terminated the natural rights of birth parents. More and more, judges moved the parent-child relationship from patriarchal kinship lines to a contractual relationship that reflected sentimental ties and emphasized child nurture. That year, Massachusetts passed an act to provide for the adoption of children, substituting artificial ties for those of birth. By the end of the century, the Massachusetts model existed in almost every state, and adoption became routine.

While Brace’s system of fostering challenged institutional care for dependent children, asylums continued to grow in size and number but increasingly were on the defensive. In 1864 the Boston Children’s Aid Society (BCAS), for example, rejected long-term care in favor of keeping the families intact to the greatest extent possible. Where Brace wanted homes for children who were homeless or in jeopardy, the BCAS developed strategies for placing dependent children, paying other families to board them, and finding places where single mothers could both work and keep their children, carefully selecting and monitoring the foster homes. Taken together, these projects encouraged the formation of foster care and the passage of adoption laws intended to place children in family environments where the relocated children would be treated like natural sons and daughters. Brace wanted to place children permanently, separated from their birth families, which, especially regarding poor or immigrant families, he considered to be incapable of raising good “American” children. The BCAS, on the other hand, wanted to place children in ways that their parents could see them, and perhaps reclaim them when their situations improved. Moreover, Brace and his peers succeeded in articu-

lating new language that included the rights of the child, not for independence or personal liberty, but for safety from risk and corruption. Welfare policies were profoundly influenced by the idea of the child as a special category of citizen, and state-sponsored children’s institutions supported this view. By the end of the nineteenth century, the best interest of the child doctrine facilitated the creation of age-segregated state laws restricting child labor and prohibiting children from buying tobacco or alcohol. It also shaped adoption and custody laws. The new laws rested on an assessment of the child’s needs and the public good rather than the parents’ interests. Poor and black families after the Civil War were particularly vulnerable to having their children bound out for apprenticeships without parental approval, and the best interest of the child idea sometimes resulted in injustices as the authority to control the child shifted from the parent to the state.

Mothers’ Pensions

The first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, which assembled 200 leading child welfare advocates to discuss the problem of the dependent child, was convened by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909. The White House Conference marked a turning point in state responsibility for the care of dependent children where advocates sanctioned the idea that poverty alone should not justify disrupting the home became official policy. It introduced ideas upon which the modern welfare state would be based and signaled a new relationship between women, the family, and the state, while retaining familiar patronizing judgments about women in poverty, the working class, and race. Consensus among reformers reified the ideal of the nuclear family as the best environment in which to raise children. They encouraged placing out and making congregate institutions more homelike with family-style cottages and self-governing formats. In principle, however, the conferees agreed to keep children with their natural families whenever possible, an objective that set the groundwork for the most important innovation regarding child dependency: widows’ pensions, intended to enable needy and morally “fit” widows to care for their children in their home.

In 1910, the report of the New York State Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers claimed that, “No woman, save in exceptional circumstances can be both homemaker and the breadwinner of her family.” By and large, interest in working mothers reflected the reformers’ preoccupation with children as a national resource rather than with the needs of mothers themselves. According to this view, a mother’s employment negatively influenced her child’s development. The commission found that the work available to poor women outside the home inevitably broke down the physical, mental, and moral strength of the family. It disrupted the home life through an inadequate standard of living and parental neglect due to the enforced absence of the mother at the time the children most needed her care.

Through this reasoning, working mothers were blamed for juvenile DELINQUENCY and other problems children faced.

Such was the first modern public welfare program in the United States focused on keeping children with their families of origin. In 1911 Illinois enacted the first statewide law, and within eight years thirty-nine states had their own versions. States, one by one, adopted laws that concurred with the White House Conference report that said, in part, “Children of . . . deserving mothers who are without the support of a normal breadwinner, should as a rule be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of children” (Abramovitz, p. 194). The nineteenth-century desire to save the child was transformed into a twentieth-century desire to save the family. Mothers’ pensions continued the nineteenth-century pattern in which the state interposed itself between parents and children; however instead of breaking up poor families by removing children from homes viewed as unfit, the twentieth-century strategy was to help families stay together on the grounds that no child should be removed from home for reasons of poverty alone.

From the beginning, however, pension rules emphasized that subsidies should go to only the “fit and worthy poor,” elevating the image of the blameless widow while at the same time creating a category of those who were deemed unworthy. Inefficiency or immorality were justifications for withholding support. The pensions no longer stigmatized pauperism or blamed its victims for idleness, but they did establish a new moral litmus test. “Suitable home” provisions allowed for surveillance and investigation, and “unfitness” devolved into a set of moral judgments, especially regarding immigrants and minorities. For example, in Los Angeles, prior to the Social Security Act of 1935, no Mexicans were eligible and nationally few African Americans received pensions. While mothers’ pensions worked for some, for others the program excluded whole categories of poor women with children.

The shift from institutional care and placing out to mothers’ pensions as a means for the care, support, and socialization of poor children reflected not only the desire to keep families united, but also the existing SOCIAL WELFARE system’s declining ability to protect children. Private charities could not provide adequately for destitute children, and family management ideas generated by social workers were gaining confidence. Indeed, mothers’ pensions reflected both a critique of institutional care and the placing out system and also the belief that money going to institutions could be redirected to mothers in their homes at less cost. The acceptance of mothers’ pensions constituted public recognition by the states that the contribution of the unskilled or semiskilled mothers in their own homes exceeded their earnings outside the home and that it was in the public interest to support the child-rearing function of mothers. Nevertheless, inadequate

pensions, prohibitions against supplemental work, and traditional moral surveillance over women limited the effectiveness of the program from the beginning.

The Century of the Child

The Progressive Era ushered in the CENTURY OF THE CHILD. States took on enlarged public responsibility for needy children, and JUVENILE COURTS collected information about dependent and neglected children, which was used in deciding matters of placement. Emerging groups of social science professionals focused their expertise on the special needs of children. Among educators, a crusade against corporal punishment in the public schools was added to concerns about child labor and parental neglect. Over the next decade, however, despite the best intentions of reformers, the limitations on who could receive support meant that too few children would be beneficiaries of the new thinking. By the end of the 1920s, less than one percent of all children under the age of fourteen benefited from aid to mothers.

In 1934, in the depths of the GREAT DEPRESSION, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt created the Committee on Economic Security to draft a social security plan that went beyond emergency relief programs and established permanent federal governmental strategies to deal with recurrent problems such as unemployment. The U.S. CHILDREN’S BUREAU, author of the mothers’ pensions, was called upon to draft the provision for aid to children, and in 1935 AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN (ADC) was established by Title IV of the Social Security Act.

Harry Hopkins, director of the Federal Emergency Relief Act programs and a trained social worker, favored a comprehensive welfare system that included an income maintenance program. In his view, direct assistance to the poor was more important than rehabilitating families. Hopkins defined a dependent child as anyone under sixteen for whom no adult person, other than one needed to care for the child, could work and provide a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health. This definition broadened the concept of dependent children to include those who lived in two-parent families in which unemployment or underemployment prevailed, or in foster homes, or with relatives. Congress, however, rejected this expansive plan.

Aid to Dependent Children, was a more comprehensive version of the mothers’ pension program. From the beginning, it was “designed to release women to their natural role as mothers, and to save children from social misfortune, but more affirmatively to make them citizens capable of contributing to society” (“The Report on the Committee on Economic Security,” pp. 35–36). The program provided funds to the states rather than cities or counties to establish financial assistance programs for needy children. The Social Security Administration (SSA) required ADC programs to be implemented statewide, unlike mothers’ pensions which were not always distributed by the local units authorized to

do so. This system increased women's access to relief funds. Moreover, the program expanded the reasons children could receive support and the range of possible caretakers. However, most states delayed putting the program into place. By 1939 ten states still had not implemented a program for dependent children.

From the beginning, a pattern of lower payment rates was set for ADC participants than for the blind and the aged. The lower wage, it was reasoned, would guarantee that public aid would not become more attractive than the lowest paying job, or more attractive than conventional marriage and family life. ADC remained limited to single parents, despite efforts to extend it to two-parent households if both were unemployed. Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security rejected the Social Security Advisory Council's 1935 efforts to include two-parent families, fearing that if it asked too much for ADC it might undercut the whole Social Security Act. The effort failed again in 1949 on the grounds that it undercut the work ethic.

The Social Security Act established a two track welfare system. One track was oriented toward social insurance whereby government would make up for wages lost by injury, unemployment, or retirement; the other focused on public assistance. Social insurance flowed automatically from one's age or condition. However, public assistance in the form of ADC was discretionary and had the taint of public charity. Congress rejected the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's broad definition of dependence and funded ADC at \$18 per month for the first child and \$12 for any others, a sum that was "utterly inadequate and completely out of line with pensions of \$30 per month to individual old people" (quoted in Gordon, p. 278). Congress further weakened ADC by enlarging state control; many states refused to pay anything, or paid well below any standard of subsistence. States demanded "suitable" homes as an eligibility requirement and, although the Social Security Act did not require it, they were allowed to do so. From the beginning, the dilemma was whether to meet the economic needs of children or judge the morals and behavior of adults. The suitable home requirement immediately became discriminatory.

In the years following World War II, the number of ADC recipients more than doubled, growing from 372,000 families in 1940 to 803,000 in 1960. ADC costs rose from \$133 million to \$994 million, and the profile of the ADC recipient changed. By 1961, widowed families were no longer the face of ADC, comprising only 7.7 percent of the ADC caseload, down from 43 percent in 1937; the majority of ADC mothers were separated, divorced, or unwed. Absolute numbers of white women were higher, but the percent of black women receiving ADC benefits was higher than in the general population. Nonwhite Hispanics and blacks produced a nonwhite majority, and whites were 42 percent nationwide. Discrimination against black men in the workplace led to low-wage

and vulnerable employment situations. In 1940, black unemployment exceeded white by 20 percent, and in 1955 was twice that of whites. Black women were equally vulnerable to workplace discrimination; in 1950, sixty percent of employed black women worked in domestic service, compared with sixteen percent of white women. Between World War II and the 1960s, ADC's policies also became more punitive and moralistic, focusing on the personal characteristics of the ADC mother.

Changing ADC From Needs to Rights

The civil rights and social protest movements of the 1950s and 1960s, however, created a context for new ideas about the rights of mothers, the rights of children, and the very definition of the family. Social attitudes shifted from the idea that mothers should stay home to the idea that mothers should work, and shifted from the idea that the best interest of the child meant the child should be protected to the idea that children have rights. In the early 1960s, moreover, the nation rediscovered poverty. Although the percentage of poor persons dropped from 22.4 percent in 1959 to 21 percent in 1961, the real numbers remained very high. Inside the White House, it was thought that providing services rather than giving direct assistance would both rehabilitate families and move them off welfare rolls. In 1962 President John F. Kennedy added amendments to the Social Security Amendments to strengthen family and self-support for ADC families. One amendment authorized ADC funds for foster care when children were removed from an "unsuitable" home; another provided funds to assist two-parent homes in which the wage earner was unemployed and no longer entitled to unemployment insurance. For the first time, unemployed men could remain present in an ADC household. With this change, the government symbolically changed Aid to Dependent Children to Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) had two fundamental and warring goals: to provide a decent standard of living for children and to encourage the self-sufficiency of parents. It was held that cash transfers to families with children could eliminate child poverty, but not without discouraging parents from working. The inherent conflict led to insufficient funding and provisions that made work an unattractive option. Mothers who worked lost benefits for every earned dollar and faced the loss of Medicaid, food stamps and other AFDC benefits. Moreover, AFDC was administered at the state level, allowing states to choose the standards that determine eligibility, set income and asset limits, and chose benefit levels. As a result programs varied considerably from state to state. Despite its flaws, however, the program grew. By the end of 1964, AFDC rolls numbered 975,000, and during the next four years AFDC expanded by 58 percent, to more than 1.5 million families. This and other factors provoked a backlash against AFDC mothers. Detractors thought recipients were lazy and unde-

servicing. In the face of a developing National Welfare Rights Organization, some states began to channel AFDC mothers into the labor market. A punishing 1967 amendment (the Work Incentive Program), imposed a freeze on all federal aid to states for AFDC cases arising from desertion or births outside of marriage and continued unlimited matching funds for cases where the father had died or was unemployed. Outrage over this policy caused two presidents not to enforce it, and it was finally repealed in 1969. A dramatic reversal in congressional attitudes toward working mothers was almost complete: in 1935, the best interest of the mother, the child, and the nation was to keep the mother at home. In 1969, to receive AFDC, mothers had to register to work.

Meanwhile, between 1950 and 1970, the system of foster care became an integral part of the child protection network. In 1958, the number of children in foster care was 38 per 10,000—lower than it had been in 1933, when 59 per 10,000 were in the system. In 1969, however, 75 per 10,000 of all dependent children were in foster care. A heightened awareness of CHILD ABUSE accounted for some increase; the 1962 increase in payments to AFDC foster families and the decline of children's institutions may account for more of it, as may other factors. While orphanages were in decline (an unexpected consequence of ADC) in favor of foster care, even foster care came under criticism for its intrusions into the homes of the poor and minorities. In the climate of returning to "family values," foster care was criticized for being class biased in its removal policies, and too emotionally destabilizing for children. The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act passed by Congress in 1980 privileged adoption over long-term foster placements and redefined fostering as a temporary situation until the child could be returned home or adopted. No child was to enter the foster care system without a long-term plan in place. In contrast to the 1974 Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, the 1980 law was to be noninterventionist and sought to protect children from extended foster care itself.

Adoption proved to be an alternative to foster care and unsafe familial homes, but adoption, too, was subject to the race and class divisions existing in the larger society. In 1972 the National Association of Black Social Workers declared that black children should only be adopted by families of their own race, and over the next twenty years 77 percent of state and almost half of private agencies had unwritten understandings which enforced that policy. Similar questions arose regarding NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN. In 1978, some 90 percent of adopted Native American children were in the custody of non-Indian families. Between 1969 and 1974, states had placed 35 percent of Native children in adoptive or foster care, often in forced separations from parents. The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 discouraged the removal of children from Indian settings, preferring, where possible, that the child should remain in the Indian commu-

nity. Consequently, by 1986 some 62 percent of Indian children were placed with Indian families.

Changing AFDC

Under the Reagan administration (1981–1989) criticism of welfare programs intensified. The failed 1979 Family Protection Bill attempted to end federal spending for child abuse prevention; however, conservatives continued to criticize AFDC, which for them symbolized the welfare state, collapse of the family, and a decline of morality. Cutbacks under Reagan reduced AFDC income to 47 percent of what was necessary for basic needs. With food stamps, AFDC income was at 70 percent of the poverty threshold. By 1989, one in four children lived in poverty. As the federal government shifted responsibility to the states between 1980 and 1992, real state spending on AFDC per poor family declined by 31 percent. The 1990s saw a developing consensus in favor of reduced federal budgets, family restoration, and a reinvigorated national debate about adoption. Issues arising from open records and new reproductive technologies emerged, exposing tensions between birth and adoptive parents, and between surrogate and adoptive parents. States tested the acceptance of homosexual adoption, and how open the adoption process should be. With the foster care system overwhelmed with a new class of drug-addicted parents and babies, the courts, legislatures, and welfare professionals believed that the goal of family reunification was not always in the best interest of the child.

In the 1990s, various new ideas were proposed for dependent children, while some old ones, such as a return to congregate institutions (orphanages) were also discussed, although it was clear that this proposal was unlikely to prosper. Dissatisfaction with welfare did, however, bear fruit. On August 22, 1996, President Bill Clinton signed a bill to abolish the sixty-year-old AFDC program. The WELFARE REFORM ACT set a five-year lifetime cap on welfare benefits and required most recipients to enter the workforce within two years. It provided federal block grants to states to establish their own programs. The law was opposed by the Children's Defense Fund, the Urban Institute, and other groups, which estimated that it would increase the number of children living in poverty by a million. Others argued that AFDC, by supporting children in their own homes, was less expensive than the alternatives, which would have to include expenses for day care. Nonetheless, by 1993, according to the Children's Defense Fund, 15.7 million children, including 27 percent of all American children under the age of three, already lived in poverty. Poverty remains unevenly distributed. According to statistics issued in the spring of 2003, almost a million African-American children live in extreme poverty and the number of all African-American children who are poor has increased by almost 50 percent since 1999. Clearly, the problem of poverty and social dependency has not disappeared, but the solution has become much less clear.

Historically, society's obligation to assist dependent children has been undisputed and has produced a range of alternatives, from reproducing the home through indenture, apprenticeship, fostering, and adoption, to replacing the home with orphanages and group homes. Each solution involved children's separation from their families of origin. In the twentieth century, both reformers and mothers preferred to keep children at home wherever possible, agreeing that poverty alone should not separate children from their parents. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the question of assistance to dependent children was inextricably linked to the country's deep ambivalence about what children need, which mothers deserved help, the size of the welfare state, and the degree to which government should intervene in private family matters. Welfare rights supporters asserted that the programs were insufficient and created family disruption, while opponents countered that the family was being undermined by interference from the state. Laws geared to protecting children from abuse and neglect both protected children and undermined parental authority. At the heart of the matter was conflict over the rights and needs of the child, set against equally powerful beliefs about the proper responsibility of the poor single mother: whether she should work or to be home with her children. Attitudes toward mothers reflected larger national attitudes toward race, class, sex roles, ethnicity, and values surrounding work and welfare. Public assistance to children was thus linked not only to the social construction of CHILDREN'S RIGHTS and needs, but also to the social construction of mothers in poverty.

See also: **White House Conferences on Children; Work and Poverty.**

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ROBERTA WOLLONS

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1469–1536)

Erasmus is often described as one of the first "modern" persons, closer to our time than to the medieval world. In looking at his writings on childhood, however, it is apparent that his teaching was based on classical and medieval debates about upbringing and schooling. Here the basic question had been: how do children learn best, by the stick or the carrot? Erasmus's answer was: spare the rod and stimulate the child.

Early Life

Erasmus never knew his father, and his illegitimate status haunted him through his life, with the result that his own autobiographical account cannot be trusted for what it tells about his parents. At an early age he was handed over to a school in Deventer run by the Brethren of the Common Life. Here there were some good teachers who taught Erasmus the classical Latin that would become one of his lifelong passions. But here he also experienced the beatings and humiliations that he later condemned as a disciplinary method for children.

In 1487 Erasmus was convinced by his guardians to enter a monastery, thus ending their obligations toward him. The Canons Regular of Saint Augustine gave him good opportunities for study and also for writing, but Erasmus disliked most of the brethren, many of whom were probably country boys with shallow vocations and limited interest in learning. In 1493 he received permission to leave the monastery, but not the order, in order to be secretary for the bishop of Cambrai. In the bishop's company Erasmus began to make contacts with other aspiring young intellectuals and their powerful patrons.

Thanks to a leave of absence from this position, Erasmus later attended the University of Paris. If he had been critical of his monastery, he soon became equally dissatisfied with the dry theological discussions of late scholasticism. After four years and many new friendships, especially with English students, Erasmus made his first journey to England. He met central intellectual and political figures such as John Colet and Thomas More. Because of them, he revised his opinion about sterile theology and decided to concentrate his life not on the classics but on the Bible and the church fathers.

Erasmus became a leading light of what has been called Christian humanism and had passionate intellectual contacts and heated controversies with many of his humanist colleagues. He learned Greek and fathered an important edition of the New Testament; he journeyed to Italy and received new inspiration for his studies; he returned several times to England. In 1517 the Pope dispensed him from his religious vows. Soon after he was forced to realize that another Augustinian canon, Martin Luther, was threatening the unity of the Western Christian Church. Erasmus recognized the importance of Luther's criticisms of abuses but eventually distanced himself out of a desire to preserve the unity of the Church.

Early Liberal Education for Children

During these years the political and religious situation forced Erasmus to move from Louvain to Basel and finally to Freiburg im Breisgau, where he arrived in 1529. Here he published a "Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children" (*De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio*), which he had first composed in Italy in around 1509. This is Erasmus's central work on education and had immediate success. It is addressed not only to professional educators but also to parents, and the central argument is that they are to invest time, effort, and money in seeing to it that their children, especially their sons, get access to humane and humanistic schooling from the earliest possible age.

Erasmus accepted the teaching of Saint Augustine (d. 430) that children are not born into innocence but are marked by original sin and so have a proclivity toward evil. But as a Christian humanist, he was convinced that generous love and careful instruction by both parents and teachers would bring out the best in children. Education's first task was to teach children to speak clearly and accurately, and so parents were obliged to spend time with children and make sure that they heard good speech. Erasmus claimed, on the basis of his vast knowledge of classical culture, that civilization went into decline when parents began to hand over the upbringing and education of their children to slaves.

Classical writers such as Plutarch, as well as medieval monastic teachers such as Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), had already discussed how educators should treat children. Erasmus, like Anselm, insisted on gentleness. The teacher must be liked, for through his own personality he makes learning attractive. Schools, he complained, had become "torture chambers," recalling his own experience and warning against sadistic and cruel practices, including those among students in initiation rituals.

Erasmus related his recommendations to statements by Saint Paul and also to the teachings of Jesus. The teacher was to become a father to his students, and Erasmus was confident that love would be able to overcome almost any challenge. Such a regime did not allow laziness or indifference:

children were to begin to learn languages as early as possible. He remarked on the openness of small children to rote learning and how they excelled in memory and imitation.

The best teacher, he wrote, is the one who makes learning letters into a game, who uses pictures and illustrative stories, who knows how to make school into something attractive. Children should not be kept at home until PUBERTY and then sent off to school. Erasmus implied that sending children away to boarding school was not good for them, but his main point was that formal and informal schooling should take advantage of the early years.

On Good Manners for Boys

Also in 1530 Erasmus wrote his "On Good Manners for Boys" (*De civilitate morum puerorum*), which has been noticed for its lively descriptions of vulgarity and uncouth manners. Cultural historians such as Norbert Elias have seen the treatise as an indication of a new emphasis on civility after medieval barbarism, but again it must be emphasized that Erasmus drew on a discussion beginning in the classical world and continuing in medieval monasteries and court life. Erasmus here again pleaded for a gentle approach to the young, but now he addressed the young themselves and described how they were responsible for their outward behavior as an indication of inner life. Physical gestures should show respect for other people. Bodily functions should be kept under control. Erasmus emphasized modesty and propriety. The treatise, like its companion, reflects Erasmus's search for loving, caring authority figures and humanistic educational models.

See also: **Education, Europe; Medieval and Renaissance Europe.**

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BRIAN PATRICK MCGUIRE

Dewey, John (1859–1952)

America's foremost philosopher of education, John Dewey grew up in rural Vermont, earned his doctorate at The Johns Hopkins University, and taught at Michigan, Chicago, and Columbia universities. Dewey was one of the founders and the leading philosopher of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, an

important late-nineteenth-century and twentieth-century movement for school reform that emphasized meeting the needs of the whole child—physical, social, emotional, and intellectual. In addition to his work in developing a new philosophy of education, Dewey, along with Charles Sanders Peirce and William James, created a uniquely American approach to philosophy—Pragmatism.

Dewey developed his educational philosophy when he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1894 and added a department of pedagogy to his responsibilities. Aided by his wife, Alice, he founded the university's Laboratory School to test scientifically his ideas for improving schooling.

As a philosopher who was profoundly affected by the English naturalist Charles Darwin's thinking, Dewey believed that in a post-Darwinian world it was no longer possible to envision life as a progress toward fixed ends. His reading of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) convinced him that the only constant in life was change or *growth* (the term Dewey preferred). Therefore, Dewey held that the purpose of formal education was not to prepare children for any fixed goal, but rather that schools should be devoted to encouraging children to grow and to prepare them to continue to grow and develop as adults in the uncertain future that they would face. Childhood was not merely a prelude to adulthood; it was a stage of development that was important and valuable in its own right. Accordingly, schooling should be based on meeting the needs of children, as children, rather than only striving to prepare them for adulthood.

Dewey faulted contemporary schools for regarding children as empty vessels to be filled with intellectual content. Schools treated pupils as passive learners. Dewey argued that children were naturally curious and that outside of school they learned through activities. They came to school with many interests, which he classified in his 1899 publication *The School and Society* as "the interest in conversation, or communication; in inquiry, or finding out things; in making things, or construction; and in artistic expression." These, he maintained were "the natural resources, the uninvested capital, upon which depends the active growth of the child" (1956, pp. 47–48). The role of the teacher, Dewey argued, was not merely to give pupils the freedom to express these impulses, but rather to guide them toward the learning they needed. As he noted in his 1902 work *The Child and the Curriculum*, this would not ignore traditional learning. "It must be restored to the experience from which it has been abstracted. It needs to be *psychologized*; . . . translated into the immediate and individual experiencing within which it has its origin and significance" (1956, p. 22). Progressive teachers, therefore, should construct a curriculum based on both the interests of the pupils and knowledge of the subject matter that children should master.

Influence

Dewey was the most significant educational thinker of his time and he influenced educational discussion for a century. His followers took his ideas in many directions. Dewey's disciples, most notably William Heard Kilpatrick, emphasized one part of Dewey's philosophy—the need to appeal to the natural interests of the child—at the expense of consideration of the importance of the traditional fields of study. For Kilpatrick, subject matter was not important. Moreover, some of Dewey's followers extended the idea of relying on the natural curiosity and interests of children to define the curriculum in the upper grades and in secondary schools. This conflicted with Dewey's philosophy: "The new education is in danger of taking the idea of development in altogether too formal and empty a way. . . . Development does not mean just getting something out of the mind. It is a development of experience . . . into experience that is really wanted. . . . What new experiences are needed, it is impossible to tell unless there is some comprehension of the development which is aimed at . . . adult knowledge" (1956a, p. 19). Dewey maintained that the study of traditional subjects was important because "they represent the keys which will unlock . . . the social capital which lies beyond the possible role of . . . limited personal experience" (1956b, p. 111).

Dewey did agree with Kilpatrick that one of the ultimate goals of education must be social reform. For Dewey the ideal society was thoroughly democratic and the school should be organized as an "embryonic community. . . . When the school introduces" children "into membership within such a little community, saturating . . . [them] with the spirit of service, and providing . . . [them] with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious" (1956b, p. 29).

During the GREAT DEPRESSION Progressivism's social reform impulse turned increasingly into a critique of the capitalist system that was blamed for the economic disaster. This, in turn, helped fuel a strong reaction against Progressive education during the anticommunism of the post-World War II period. In addition, in the 1950s Progressive education was increasingly blamed for the academic shortcomings of American students. In this setting, Dewey's reputation waned. The movement toward establishing rigid standards that began with the Reagan administration's 1983 report, *A Nation At Risk*, regarded Dewey's ideas as not only wrong but harmful. The states joined in a movement to establish knowledge standards and a schedule of rigid testing to see if the children met those standards. Teachers increasingly taught to the test—an educational program that neglected Dewey's ideas of relying on children's natural curiosity and interests.

While a distorted version of Dewey's educational philosophy had weakened the curriculum, especially in secondary

schools, a proper understanding of the kinds of schools that Dewey wanted to establish is still regarded as relevant by a dissenting minority who believe that schools need to meet the broader needs and interests of children.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, United States.**

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ARTHUR ZILVERSMIT

Diapers and Toileting

For as long as there have been babies, there has been mess; but how parents have contended with that mess has changed over time and varied from culture to culture. Some Native American tribes packed grass under rabbit skins to contain their infants' waste. Inuits placed moss under sealskin. In Japan during the Edo era (1603–1868), farmers used an *ejiko*, a wooden bassinet layered with absorbent materials topped by a mattress with a hole cut out for the baby's buttocks. Urine was collected by the lower layers of ash, rags, and straw, and the baby stayed dry while the parents worked. In many warm places, even today, toddlers simply go naked below the waist or, as in China, have pants with a hole cut out of the bottom.

In Europe in the Middle Ages, babies were swaddled in long, narrow bands of linen, hemp, or wool. The groin was

sometimes left unwrapped so that absorbent "buttock clothes" of flannel or linen could be tucked underneath. Often in warm weather SWADDLING bands were removed and children were left unclothed or swaddled only on top. After about a year, babies wore small dresses or blouses that fell to the ground with nothing underneath. A handful of ashes was thrown over the infant's excrement which allowed it to be easily swept away.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe, babies were infrequently bathed or changed. When swaddling clothes were removed to attend to babies' waste, the infants' bottoms were usually just wiped without soap or water and then powdered with absorbent worm-eaten wood dust. Urine-soaked swaddling clothes were dried in front of the fire without being washed and then used again. Urine was believed to have disinfecting properties and filth was often considered protective for infants. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that doctors began to recommend that cloths used as diapers be changed promptly.

In the mid-eighteenth century, philosophers such as JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU criticized swaddling as unhealthy. These criticisms altered the behavior of European urbanites and the wealthy but had little effect on the practices of the rural poor. English children were not commonly swaddled but dressed in diapers, underpants, and long woolen dresses with swaddling bands only around their abdomens. Swaddling cloth of oiled silk was developed in the eighteenth century in an attempt to prevent leaks.

A great advance in diapering was the invention of the safety pin, patented by Walter Hunt in 1849, but not widely used in place of the straight pin for securing diapers until the 1880s. By the late 1800s, infants in Europe and North America were wearing garments similar to the modern cloth diaper. A square of linen or cotton flannel was folded into a triangular or rectangular shape and held in place by safety pins. The diaper was covered with an absorbent pant called a "soaker" or "pilch," made of tightly knitted wool. In the late 1890s, rubberized pants were sometimes used to cover diapers. Diaper rash in the nineteenth century was commonly remedied with burnt flour or powdered vegetable sulfur.

One of the most common responses to the difficulties of diapering has been to toilet train early. At the end of the seventeenth century JOHN LOCKE recommended putting babies on a "pierced chair"—a chair with a hole in the bottom under which a chamber pot could be placed. Some of these chairs had a space for a hot brick to help keep infants warm for the time, sometimes considerable, in which they were strapped to the chair while their mothers waited for them to "produce." Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, parenting manuals commonly recommended that TOILET TRAINING begin almost immediately after birth. Some manuals promised mothers that diapers could be dispensed with altogether within three or four months. After

the 1940s, the idea of insistent early toilet training began to give way to the notion that the child should be the guide in toilet training. The child-guided process recommended putting off toilet training until the child was considerably older, meaning at least an additional five thousand diaper changes per child, according to one scholar's estimate.

Changing and cleaning diapers could be very laborious. Beginning in the twentieth century, mothers were encouraged by doctors and other child-rearing experts to wash diapers with soap and water and, by the 1930s, diapers were washed and then sterilized with a hot iron or boiled. Commercial diaper laundering services appeared in the United States in the 1930s. Cloth diapers were overlaid with a highly absorbent muslin, oilcloth, or gauze, or, in Great Britain, underpants made of sterilized latex. The Maternity Center Association, a nonprofit organization devoted to improving maternity care, advised parents that they could use "stork pants" with tightly gathered legs when they went visiting,

but they were discouraged from using these regularly since they could irritate the baby's skin. In 1946 Marion Donovan invented a waterproof diaper cover made of a nylon parachute cloth that was reusable, leak-proof, and closed with snaps. She called it the "Boater" and when it debuted at Saks Fifth Avenue in 1949 it was an immediate success.

Some form of one-use diapers appeared as early as the 1890s, but they were not widely available (and affordable) until the 1960s. The modern disposable diaper was developed by Victor Mills and launched in 1961 under the brand name Pampers. Pampers were an immediate success, even though they initially came in only two sizes, had no tapes, and were quite bulky. Competition for the disposable diaper market soon took off and remedied these flaws. Some doctors worried that disposable diapers would adversely affect infants' development because of the bulk between the legs, but this fear was assuaged by hourglass-shaped diapers and then by the development of super-absorbent polymers, first

patented in 1966, which allowed for the introduction of super-absorbent diapers in 1984. In 2001, disposable diapers were, on average, three times less bulky than they were in the early 1980s, significantly decreasing transportation, workforce, and storage costs. Since the early 1980s, disposable diapers have faced a great deal of criticism for their environmental impact, a subject which continues to ignite research and debate. Because of their efficiency, some have also accused disposable diapers of delaying toilet-training for young children.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Hygiene; Pediatrics.**

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Diaries. *See* Autobiographies.

Dickens, Charles. *See* Oliver Twist.

Disability. *See* Birth Defects; Retardation; Special Education.

Discipline

Throughout American history adults have sought to produce orderly behavior in children. Although many parents and educators expressed their own frustration with a boisterous, willful, or recalcitrant child, most sought to instill values and behaviors that would govern the individual as an adult. Their degree of reliance on corporal punishment, habit formation, control of the environment, or moral suasion has fluctuated

through the centuries, reflecting change in concepts of desirable behavior and expectations of children in the family, workplace, and society.

Native American and Colonial Children

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN prior to European contact seem to have enjoyed an indulged childhood followed by initiation rites, which occurred at the onset of PUBERTY. Born on an average at four-year intervals, they received protracted breast-feeding and the attention of their mothers, who carried them on their backs in cradleboards. Allowed to crawl when they were ready and to run about freely by the age of three, children were not disciplined with corporal punishment. Instead, instructed by their parents and members of the community in tasks designated by gender, they were chastised by shaming. At the onset of menstruation, girls were separated from the group and told to fast. Boys of the same age were isolated, confined, and given substances that induced visions as guides to life. Such practices marked a clear line between childhood and adulthood, as young men and women assumed the tasks designated by their cultures.

In seventeenth-century England, infants were shaped by midwives and then swaddled in the belief that the human body could not support itself. Children were breast-fed for about a year by their mothers or a wet nurse whose care could sometimes be negligent. Because crawling was thought to indicate animal behavior, children were encouraged to remain upright by the use of tight corsets under their long robes, leading strings attached to their shoulders, and standing or walking stools in which they could be left for long periods of time. Both boys and girls were corrected with corporal punishment as they grew. When the English settled the Chesapeake colonies, these practices were altered by the circumstances of the new environment. Some 70 to 85 percent of the immigrants arrived as indentured servants, one-third to two-thirds of whom were under the age of twenty. These youngsters and youths were disciplined by the routines of tobacco production and chastised with corporal punishment or shaming. They and the children born in Virginia and Maryland suffered the effects of the region's high mortality rate. Half of the children born would not live to the age of twenty, and over half of those who survived lost one or both parents. Although ORPHANS were placed under the care of guardians and sent to live with another family, they came under the direction of adults who may themselves have lacked the loving care of parents. These conditions, however, also mitigated discipline by limiting the power of a patriarchal father and throwing youngsters on their own at an early age.

Religious beliefs also mitigated practices of discipline. English Puritans, who settled New England, believed in the depravity of the newborn child, who inherited original sin. Infants may not have been swaddled and were breast-fed by their mothers, but when they showed signs of autonomy, their parents restrained them in order to create habitual trac-

tability. As children grew, fathers as well as mothers participated in their governance, instructing them by example and exhortation, and correcting with corporal punishment when they considered it necessary. Yet Puritans were restrained by their belief in the reciprocity of relationships: children owed parents honor and obedience, but parents owed children protection and care. Quakers—the more radical Puritans who settled Pennsylvania—rejected belief in the depravity of the newborn child and encouraged spiritual development in a loving family atmosphere. In order to protect children, they sought to shelter them from sinful influences. The Quaker family became a controlled environment in which the child's will was subject to that of the parents. But Quaker authority was nurturing and sought to buttress autonomy; parents appealed to reason in their children and taught them subordination less to individuals than to a community of values.

Influence of John Locke

In his 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* JOHN LOCKE suggested that child-rearing practices be designed to develop the rational, autonomous adult. He had argued in his 1690 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* that the child resembled a blank tablet (*tabula rasa*) at birth and received knowledge through sense impressions, which were ordered by the innate power of reason. The task of the parent was to build in the child the strong body and habits of mind that would allow the capacity of reason to develop. To build the strong constitution, Locke advocated loose clothing, fresh air, and exercise. To teach denial of appetite, he urged little behavioral lessons in the first year of life, in which the parent denied the child something he clearly wanted. Once habits of self-denial and obedience were established, parents could reward good behavior with their esteem and punish bad behavior with disgrace—the withdrawal of parental approval and affection. As the child developed the capacity to reason, he could be granted increasing independence while the parent assumed a new role of friend.

Locke's advice was directed to the education of a gentleman's son but was applied to the education of girls in the periodical the *Spectator* (1711–1714), copies of which inundated the colonies in the eighteenth century. Stories addressed to women and girls spurned fashion while advocating reason, virtue, and gentle wit, and popularized new conceptions of the affectionate, anti-patriarchal family. By the 1740s, British physicians elaborated on Locke's advice, and John Newbery began to print books designed to amuse as well as to instruct children. Avant-garde colonial parents purchased alphabet blocks to make learning pleasant and had children's portraits painted in slightly relaxed attitudes, celebrating the playful aspects of childhood. Popularizations of Locke's advice arrived in America with imports of an expanding consumer economy and widespread aspiration to genteel behavioral ideals. Parents attempted to mold their children to gentility, and some youngsters drew on these materials to

discipline themselves. For example, the printer's apprentice Benjamin Franklin taught himself to write in the 1720s by copying articles in the *Spectator*. In 1746 the fourteen-year-old George Washington consciously acquired self-restraint by copying "Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior" into his commonplace book.

Slavery and Revolution

In the eighteenth century, however, increased transport of African slaves brought large numbers of teenagers and many children to the colonies. These youngsters and youths, cut off from their families and original cultures, were put to work in agricultural labor and disciplined harshly with corporal punishment. Slave children were subject to the discipline of both their masters and their parents or kin. Children born in the colonies shared their mothers with the tasks required of slaves and often lived separately from their fathers. Although they were allowed to play when young, their parents may have curbed signs of autonomy in order to prepare them for survival in slavery. Growing up in a slave society also affected parental discipline of white children, who found themselves masters at an early age. Thomas Jefferson, who agreed with Locke that personality was formed by environmental influences, feared that children observing the harsh discipline of slaves would learn to imitate it and not attain mastery of their own behavior.

The American Revolution imparted political significance to the discipline of children, as cultural leaders sought to create a genuinely republican society. Personal independence and individual autonomy became desirable goals, but self-restraint was deemed essential in future citizens. The task of forming personality in early childhood was allocated to mothers and the creation of common social bonds was allocated to schools. Although Americans did not wholeheartedly approve JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU'S 1762 *Émile*, they did adopt his concept of the natural child, whose personality could be formed through manipulation of the environment. In his 1825 *Treatise on the Physical and Medical Treatment of Children*, Dr. William Potts Dewees recommended maternal breast-feeding and the loose clothing, fresh air, and exercise that had been advocated by eighteenth-century physicians. But he also urged parents to instill obedience through strict control of issues such as the child's diet. And he allocated to children special nursery space in the middle-class household, where they could play with a proliferation of new TOYS under the constant surveillance of the mother.

The Nineteenth Century

By the mid-nineteenth century a widespread movement of evangelical Protestantism reinforced the emphasis on affectionate maternal persuasion to help the child develop internalized restraint through guilt. As the middle class became more child-centered, a romantic concept of childhood emerged, in which the young seemed to possess a special spiritual sensibility. But the lives of children also became

more regimented with the development of systems of age-graded public schools. With maturation of a capitalist economy, class differences in discipline became pronounced. Working-class parents expected children to contribute to family support inside and outside the home. Those who were immigrants demanded deference from their children and lacked the time and energy for moral suasion. Many resorted to corporal punishment and were frustrated when the freedom of urban streets lured children from their control. Some urban children found themselves committed by city magistrates or their parents to institutions such as the Houses of Refuge, where they were placed under strict regimens designed to instill orderly habits and reform character. Children who grew up on farms also were expected to work, continuing earlier patterns through which parents instructed the young in daily tasks designated by gender.

As the nineteenth century progressed, social critics became alarmed that mothers and female teachers had assumed the rearing of middle-class boys, while working-class and immigrant youth lacked adequate outlets for dangerous male instincts. The result was an emphasis on masculine aspects of Christianity and the founding of organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), which championed the manly, character-building force of competitive SPORTS. By the turn of the century, after-school GYMNAS-TICS, BASKETBALL, and volleyball became a means to acquire physical discipline and practice teamwork. The scientific study of children produced works such as the 1904 ADOLESCENCE, by G. STANLEY HALL, which defined the teenage years as a period of emotional stress and which also prolonged the protected middle-class childhood. Progressive educators who followed the ideas of JOHN DEWEY advocated liberty in classrooms to achieve self-direction and creative expression for children, but the general trend was toward increasing adult direction of young people's leisure time.

The Twentieth Century

In the early twentieth century, child-rearing experts abandoned a romantic view of childhood and advocated formation of proper habits to discipline children. A 1914 U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU pamphlet, *Infant Care*, urged a strict schedule and admonished parents not to play with their babies. JOHN B. WATSON's 1924 *Behaviorism* argued that parents could train malleable children by rewarding good behavior and punishing bad, and by following precise schedules for food, sleep, and other bodily functions. Although such principles began to be rejected as early as the 1930s, they were firmly renounced in the 1946 *Baby and Child Care*, by pediatrician BENJAMIN SPOCK, which told parents to trust their own instincts and to view the child as a reasonable, friendly human being. Dr. Spock revised his first edition to urge more parent-centered discipline in 1957, but critics blamed his popular book for its permissive attitude during the youth rebellions of the 1960s and 1970s.

The affluent consumer society that followed World War II provided parents with the tactic of disciplining children by denying toys or the right to watch a favorite TELEVISION program. Contemporary experts favor reasonable discussion and nonpunitive techniques that will allow the child to maintain a positive attitude toward the parent. Adults demonstrate the consequences of actions, set firm boundaries and rules, and punish with time-outs and isolation. Yet national surveys show that many parents still resort to corporal punishment. And as mothers as well as fathers participate in the work force to survive or to achieve or maintain middle-class status, many children still are thrown on their own without parental guidance much of the time.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature.**

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JACQUELINE S. REINIER

Disney

Walt Disney's name has not always been synonymous with childhood. In the 1930s his work was seen as populist and avant-garde. It was considered populist because, three decades earlier, he had been born into poverty, and his cartoons had the simple outlines of folk art. (They were seen as "his" cartoons even though, as the story goes, one of his animators had to teach him to draw his signature Mickey Mouse.) Disney's cartoons were considered avant-garde because the cinema was a new art form, and at this time when photography still had only dubious claims to artistry and live-action motion pictures could be seen merely as moving photographs, animated cartoons could make a greater claim to artistry. The preeminent name in the art of animation—thanks to Mickey Mouse, the Silly Symphonies, and "The Three Little Pigs"—was Walt Disney.

Early in his career Disney was both a popular success and the darling of intellectuals. Between 1932 and 1941 his work won thirteen Academy Awards, and he was granted honorary degrees by Yale and Harvard. The philosopher Mortimer



Original sketches of Mickey Mouse, by Walt Disney. Mickey Mouse, perhaps Walt Disney's most popular creation, was not considered solely a children's character in the early years of animation. Prior to the 1940s Disney's work was considered avant-garde and received wide critical acclaim. AP/Wide World Photos.

Adler rhapsodized about Disney's greatness, as did the Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein; the French filmmaker René Clair called his artistry sublime; the artist David Low called him the most significant graphic artist since Leonardo. The film historian Lewis Jacobs referred to Disney as the most acclaimed of current directors: Disney's willingness to plow profits into new technology and to take financial risks to achieve desired effects was, for Jacobs, a sign of artistic integrity—not, as it would later be construed, entrepreneurial savvy.

Disney's audience included both young and old. Critics often praised his films for addressing the young, the old, indeed "artists, intellectuals, children, workers, and everyday people the world over," to quote the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1940. Consider the Disney merchandise of the 1930s, which included not just Mickey Mouse dolls but also ashtrays, beer trays, negligees, and Donald Duck Coffee. (Disney pioneered tie-ins and cross-merchandising, and the corporation is now the industry leader in cross-promotion.)

Changing Attitudes

In the 1940s Disney's productions continued to be popular with the general public, but his reputation among critics and

intellectuals waned. In the 1950s it plummeted. This shift may have resulted from Disney's decision to include human figures in his feature-length cartoons, starting with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1938, and that these figures imitated real life only imperfectly. Perhaps disenchantment derived from the bitter strike at Disney Brothers Studios in 1941, or from the experimentalism of *The Three Caballeros* in 1945. Perhaps, too, critics resented the fact that Disney simply did not focus as much on his cartoons as he had in the past, producing live-action films, nature documentaries, TELEVISION programs, and THEME PARKS, launching what has been called the first multimedia empire.

Disney's reputation continued to suffer in the 1950s. The reason may have had something to do with the advent of television. Previously cartoon shorts had been an expected part of an evening's entertainment at the MOVIES, no matter how sophisticated the feature film. But in the decades following World War II, cartoons appeared less often in the theater and more often on Saturday morning television. Eventually, they were regarded as strictly for children.

In other words, once Disney's cartoons came to be seen as suitable only for children, and once he himself became Uncle Walt to millions of viewers, Disney's cartoons were no longer suitable for intellectuals. In a twentieth-century intellectual climate where anything considered juvenile was suspect (a very different climate from that of the nineteenth century) Disney's productions were devalued.

Some critics disapproved of Disney's works even in the 1930s. As a Mickey Mouse book was placed on the recommended reading list for New York City schools in 1938, Louise Seaman Bechtel, in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, regretted "the pressing semi-reality of all the hurrying scenes in color on the screen, the over-elaborated story and crowded canvas" of the film *Snow White*. In later decades one of the louder salvos was fired by the librarian Frances Clarke Sayers, who in a 1965 letter to the *Los Angeles Times* (later expanded into an article for the *Horn Book Magazine*) made an often-quoted statement bemoaning the obviousness of Disney's work, particularly its violence, mediocrity, vulgarity, and its "pretending that everything is so sweet, so saccharine, so without any conflict except the obvious conflict of violence." Other critics include Richard Schickel, who in his *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art and Commerce of Walt Disney* (1968) lamented, "In this most childlike of our mass communicators I see what is most childish and therefore most dangerous in all of us who were his fellow Americans."

I'm Going to Disney World!

In recent years Disney's popularity with the general public has soared. Disney products are seen as cute, safe, and cheerful. The company's CEO Michael Eisner claimed, in the 2001 annual report, that Disney's various studios had been number one at the U.S. box office for six of the previous seven years and number one internationally for five of them.



A still from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938), Walt Disney's first full-length animated film, a breakthrough in animation history. Cultural critics have questioned the patriarchal and ethnocentric biases sometimes apparent in Disney's retelling of classic tales (only in Disney's version does Snow White become a mother figure for seven dwarfs). AP/Wide World Photos.

He added that Disney was the largest publisher of children's books in the world and that more than a billion people worldwide had used a Disney product during the previous year. Giants slugger Barry Bonds exclaimed, upon hitting his record-breaking homerun in 2001, "I'm going to Disney World!" and in the wake of terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush advised the American public, "Go down to Disney World in Florida. Take your families and enjoy life the way we want it to be enjoyed."

Yet cultural critics and film historians continue to accuse the entertainment company of reinforcing corporate, patriarchal, ethnocentric, and imperialistic values by modifying, for instance, traditional tales such as "Snow White," "Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Beauty and the Beast." Only in Disney's version is Snow White such a happy housewife for the dwarfs. While traditional tales with oral sources have been altered throughout their history to reflect the concerns and biases of individual tellers and transcribers, once Walt Disney Productions (as the company is now known) creates a version of a story—whether it is a traditional tale or a classic text such as *Pinocchio* or *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* or *Winnie-the-Pooh*—Disney's version becomes the

standard one for millions of children. *The Little Mermaid's* underwater witch is now visualized around the world as a drag queen named Ursula, and the American Indian Pocahontas is a brunette Barbie.

Other cultural critics and historians find points of contestation in Disney's films. In *From Mouse to Mermaid: The Politics of Film, Gender, and Culture* Elizabeth Bell found visual images of strength and discipline in the fairy-tale heroines, whose bodies were modeled on those of classical dancers. Lori Kenschaft, in her essay "Just a Spoonful of Sugar? Anxieties of Gender and Class in *Mary Poppins*," reminded us that not everyone experiences a film such as Disney's *Mary Poppins* in the same way, especially in this age of multimedia and fast-forwarding: whereas one individual might register the energy of the chimney sweeps in the film, another viewer might pick up on the film's intermittent critiques of class and gender.

The company struggled financially in the 1930s and 1940s, achieving stability only in the late 1950s, and since Walt Disney's death in 1966 the corporation has experienced a number of ups and downs. In 1999 and again in 2002

Fortune magazine called it the “world’s most troubled entertainment giant.” Nevertheless, it is one of the largest media corporations in the world, firmly ensconced in the Fortune 100, with annual revenues of more than twenty-five billion dollars. Its holdings include Touchstone Pictures, Miramax, the Disney Channel, Radio Disney, Hyperion Books, Hollywood Records, the various theme parks, and the television networks ABC and ESPN. It is arguably the most influential corporation in the world. For Disney gets us young and helps to shape our understanding of who we are, getting us to whistle while we work, to be unafraid of the big bad wolf, to wish upon a star that some day our prince will come, indeed to accept Disney products as the spoonful of sugar that helps any medicine go down, in this small world after all.

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BEVERLY LYON CLARK

Disneyland, Disney World. *See* Theme Parks.

Divorce and Custody

The history of child custody following divorce reflects the changing view of children and the evolving relationship between husbands and wives. During the colonial period and the early Republic, children were viewed as economic assets whose labor was valuable to their parents and other adults. In this early era, the father as the head of the household had the complete right to the custody and control of his children both during the marriage and in the rare event of divorce. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the child’s value as a laborer decreased and more emphasis was placed on child nurture and education. The legal concept of *the best interest of the child* was initiated. Under this rule, mothers gained favor as the parent better able to handle the emotional and

nurturing needs of children of tender years and mothers were likely to prevail over fathers in the custody battles following the increasingly common event of divorce. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, fathers regained ground in the now-common event of divorce as women and men struggled for equal standing before the law. There are no longer clear rules on what is in the best interest of the child and psychological experts have increasingly usurped much of the power from judges in custody determinations.

The Colonial Era and Early Republic: 1630–1830

In the modern era child custody is automatically thought of in the context of divorce, and, indeed, beginning in the last half of the twentieth century, divorce has been the setting for the vast majority of custodial disputes. Earlier in American history, however, custodial issues surfaced far more frequently on other occasions: the death of a father or both parents, the incompetence or financial inability of parents to care for their children, and the birth of illegitimate children. With these events the two major considerations in determining who should have custody and control of the child were the labor value of the child and the ability of the adults to properly maintain and supervise the child. Widows often lost custody of their children because they were no longer able to support them. In the era before ORPHANAGES and formal ADOPTIONS, such children were usually apprenticed or “placed out” to another family who would support them in exchange for their services. A child born out of wedlock was known as *filius nullius* (“child of no family”) and the town’s poor law official was authorized to place out the child with a family.

Within marriage, fathers had complete right to custody and control of their children. Married women were considered, under common law, *femmes couvertes* (literally “covered women”) who were covered by their husband’s identity and authority. A father could hire out a child for wages or apprentice a child to another family without the mother’s consent. In the very rare event of divorce, the father normally maintained his legal right to custody and control. The right to divorce was not uniformly established in colonial America and therefore there are few examples of custody decisions following divorce. South Carolina, for example, did not grant its first divorce until 1868. Colonies like New York and Virginia followed the English tradition where full divorce was an ecclesiastical affair and only rarely granted. English law, until 1753, retained the principle of canon law that no marriage can be destroyed. In those states following English tradition, divorce could be obtained only by a private bill in the legislature. In New England, divorce laws were more liberal, as marriage fell under the jurisdiction of the civil courts and legislatures. Following what they believed to be the laws of God, states granted divorce (with the right to remarry) when either party to a marriage could prove that the other had neglected a fundamental duty. The usual grounds for divorce were adultery, desertion, and absence for a length of time determined by the government.

The two most divorce-prone states, Massachusetts and Connecticut, have been fairly well studied. The most important aspect of records of these divorces is that children were not considered at all. In no cases do the courts speak about the best interests of the children, or indeed, show any concern for the children's welfare.

The absence of dispute over the custody of children before the nineteenth century has at least two possible, not mutually exclusive explanations. The first is that mothers believed they had no chance to gain the custody of their children and therefore did not even advance this cause. Fathers alone were entitled to custody and control of their children, as they were to all forms of property. There is, in fact, anecdotal evidence that some women avoided divorce because they feared their husbands would take the children away from them. Nancy Shippen Livingston, a woman from a prominent Philadelphia family, endured a loveless marriage in which her husband forced her to turn the baby over to his family to be brought up. As she was living in New York, she could obtain a divorce only by a private bill in the legislature, which was a notoriously difficult feat. She considered hiring the dashing lawyer Aaron Burr to plead her case to the legislature, but lost courage when she realized that if she won the divorce her husband would gain complete custody and she could be prevented from ever seeing her child again.

Women's belief that they had no legal right to their children was reinforced by English precedent. In *Rex v. DeManneville* (1804), a mother ran away from an allegedly brutal husband, but Lord Ellenborough of the King's Bench, emphasizing a father's paramount right to custody of his children, returned the child to her father, even though "she was an infant at the breast of the mother."

A second explanation for the absence of custody disputes during the colonial period is that mothers often got custody of the children without a fight. Women were most often granted divorces in cases of adultery or desertion, and it is unlikely that the father deserted with children in tow. In fluid, expanding colonial America, the father most often "went west" in search of new opportunities and failed to send for his family. More than likely, many deserted wives never took the matter to court at all.

The Nineteenth Century

The legal and social status of the child was transformed during the first century of the new republic. The colonial view of children as helping hands in a labor-scarce economy gave way to a romantic, emotional view of children who were no longer legally akin to servants under the complete control of their fathers or masters but instead were deemed to have interests of their own. Increasingly, these interests became identified with the nurturing mother.

The reasons for this shift are complex, reflecting the rising middle-class culture where educational and emotional

investment on the part of parents replaced the economic value to the parents which children earlier represented. The newly emerging women's movement at mid-century also took up the right to child custody as an important plank in their campaign for women's rights. This priority is illustrated in a passage from the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention Declaration of Rights and Sentiments, the founding document of the women's rights movement:

He [the legislative and judicial patriarchy] has so framed the laws of divorce as to what shall be the proper causes, and in the case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law in all cases going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

The growing number of custody disputes in the nineteenth century most likely reflected two trends: the rise in divorce and the uncertainty of the laws governing custody. Divorce became easier to obtain in most states, and by the second half of the nineteenth century many people were taking advantage of this new opportunity. A U.S. Census Bureau study reveals a rapidly escalating pattern of divorce. While there were 53,574 divorces granted in the years 1867 to 1871, the figure nearly tripled to 157,324 between 1887 and 1891. In about 40 percent of the divorces, children were involved; another 20 to 40 percent did not report either the presence or absence of children. These figures do not account for couples who separated but never divorced. In a culture where a strong stigma was attached to divorce, separated couples were probably far more numerous than those who sought legal termination.

Judges continued to be torn between applying common law rights of the father and the more modern rule of *the best interest of the child*. Eventually, however, the trend favored children. The best interests of the child, particularly for very young or female children, became increasingly associated with the child's mother. This tendency of courts to award infants and young children to their mothers later became known as the *tender years doctrine*. In awarding a four-year-old boy to his mother, the court in *People ex rel. Sinclair v. Sinclair* stated:

Nature has devolved upon the mother the nurture and care of infants during their tender years, and in that period such care, for all practical purposes, in the absence of exceptional circumstances, is almost exclusively committed to her. At such periods of life courts do not hesitate to award the care and custody of young infants to the wife as against the paramount right of the husband where the wife has shown herself to be a proper person and is able to fully discharge her duty toward the child.

The almost universal exception to the growing rule of awarding children of tender years to their mother occurred

when the mother was considered unfit. The very high moral standards attributed to mothers in the nineteenth century allowed judges to view them more positively in custody disputes, but it also meant that judges turned harshly against them when they strayed from conventional moral standards. The two transgressions that most frequently caused women to lose custody of their children were adultery and leaving their husbands without, in the opinion of the judge, just cause.

The Early Twentieth Century

In 1890, the date often used to mark the beginning of the reform-minded Progressive Era, there were 33,461 divorces in the United States. In the year 1920, at the end of the reform era, there were 167,105 divorces. While these numbers may not be precise, as local records are often incomplete or missing, they suggest that a remarkable increase occurred in the numbers of couples who experienced divorce. Not all of these couples had children; in fact, less than 50 percent of these divorces involved children. Still, for the first time, the number of children who lost a parent from divorce began to approach the number who lost a parent through death. Moreover, countless parents simply deserted, with no divorce sought, and many couples lived apart without divorce.

For the courts and the legislatures, the formerly unusual event of divorce was now commonplace; child custody was no longer an arcane and rarely exercised area of the law and the lives of thousands of children and their parents were affected by custody decisions. These realities accelerated trends that had begun in the nineteenth century, such as the father's obligation to support his children without the benefit of custody, for which there previously had been little precedent. The judiciary still took the lead in developing rules to resolve the private disputes between divorcing couples, but state legislatures increasingly codified these rules, often narrowing the margin of judicial discretion.

The case of Mr. and Mrs. Harmon (*Harmon v. Harmon* [1922]) provides a glimpse of the changing attitudes of the "Roaring Twenties" and reveals that a woman's sexual conduct was no longer a complete bar to custody. Two married couples in Kansas, Mr. and Mrs. Harmon and an unnamed husband and wife, associated in the same social circles and became good friends, going on late-night rides together and spending much of their free time together. One day Mr. Harmon found Mrs. Harmon engaged in an act of adultery with the other husband. He insisted that she must go to live with her parents and renounce the custody of their five-year-old daughter. Both men made her sign a written agreement admitting her guilt and agreeing to the custody arrangement.

Mr. Harmon then sued for divorce on the ground of adultery and sought custody of their daughter. The court agreed that adultery had been encouraged by the husband. "He must have known the absurd lengths to which extraordinary

intimacy, informality, and unconventionality [with the other couple] had grown, it was bound to culminate as it did." The court affirmed the denial of a divorce to the Harmons but granted temporary custody of the daughter to the mother, reasoning that "except for defendant's temporary infatuation for her paramour, she was a good mother."

Other courts concurred with this assessment, gradually turning away from the double standard of moral fitness which viewed a mother's sexual misconduct as damning and a father's as forgivable. The leading family law treatise of the 1920s, *Keezer on the Law of Marriage and Divorce*, states the "new" rule: "Where the children are of tender years, other things being equal, the mother is preferred as their custodian, and this more especially in the case of female children, and this though she may have been guilty of delinquencies in the past but there is no evidence that she was delinquent at the time of determining the matter by the court." In *Crabtree v. Crabtree* (1922) the court even overlooked the fact that Mrs. Crabtree had almost murdered Mr. Crabtree, cutting his throat with a razor blade, slicing through his fingers and stabbing him in the back. The court explained: "It does not follow that because the wife tried to kill him in a fit of anger, she did not have any parental affection for the children. On the contrary the record discloses that she loved them and was properly caring for them."

The Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries

By the last third of the twentieth century, law relating to child custody had permeated the casual conversation of everyday life; indeed, few households were untouched by a custody matter. A child born in 1990 had about a 50 percent chance of falling under the jurisdiction of a court in a case involving where and with whom the child would live. The great majority of these child custody determinations were the products of an exploding divorce rate.

While the divorce rate soared, the rules governing child custody grew increasingly confused. "The simple fact of being a mother does not, by itself, indicate a capacity or willingness to render a quality of care different from that which the father can provide" a New York court stated in 1973, challenging nearly a century of a judicial presumption in favor of mothers. The court rejected the notion that mothers and their children shared a special bond, invoking the authority of social scientist MARGARET MEAD, who once wrote, "This is a mere and subtle form of anti-feminism which men—under the guise of exalting the importance of maternity—are tying women more tightly to their children than has been thought necessary since the invention of bottle feeding and baby carriages."

Not all courts were as outspoken in reducing the importance of mothers or in suggesting that maternal presumption is a male conspiracy. Nevertheless, the presumption that the interest of a child of tender years is best served in the custody of the mother was legally abolished or demoted to a "factor to be considered" in nearly all states between 1960 and 2000.

With the old rules gone, state legislators and judges have turned to social science to develop new guidelines to aid judges in making this most difficult decision. Two popular psychological theories are enlisted to support two opposing models of custody. The first model assumes that one parent should take primary responsibility of the child's care, but that parent need not be the mother. This model embraces sole custody (with visitation) and a primary caretaker preference. The second model stresses the importance of both parents in the child's development and promotes some form of joint or shared custody. Neither model gives any preference to mothers and neither model considers the age or developmental stage of the child, as was the case in the tender years doctrine.

Evidence to support this subjective criterion can be obtained only outside the courtroom by lay eyewitness testimony, or by the evaluation of the parties by mental health professionals. Thus, experts are increasingly utilized in child custody cases and are engaged in every step of the proceeding; parents can jointly seek the services of a mental health consultant to aid them with private mediation, or one party, often on the advice of his or her attorney, can employ the consultant with a view to settlement or potentially, trial testimony. Increasingly, the court itself, or the *guardian ad litem* (an attorney, or sometimes a layman or a psychiatrist, appointed by the court to represent the child), requests a psychological evaluation. These evaluations, usually performed by court social workers or by psychologists, provide a wide range of information about the parents and children, including social and economic data, but especially focus on psychodynamic factors.

While mental health experts are prominent in pretrial procedures, where most disputes are settled, their presence has also increased dramatically in those cases that find their way to trial. Between 1960 and 2000, the pattern of expert utilization at trial changed dramatically; the number of experts soared and these experts were more likely to be appointed by the court rather than by the parents. In addition, the nature of expert testimony shifted from an evaluation of the sanity of the parent (usually mother) to observations regarding the relationship between parent and child, and in a substantial number of cases these experts testified regarding alleged sexual or physical abuse.

Outside the courtroom, a battle rages among the social and behavioral scientists on what effect divorce has on children. This question has serious implications for a nation considering whether or not to actively promote marriage and discourage divorce. The scientists, however, have reached no consensus. Some studies indicate that divorce has lifelong negative consequences for most children. Others insist that most children fare well and that those negatively affected most often recover completely.

At the start of the twenty-first century, a few observations can be made with some certainty: the proper role of the social and behavioral sciences in custody matters is still a subject of controversy but their continuing influence is an established fact. Finally, it can also be said that what constitutes the "best interests of the child" is a matter of continuing dispute.

See also: Beyond the Best Interests of the Child; Law, Children and the.

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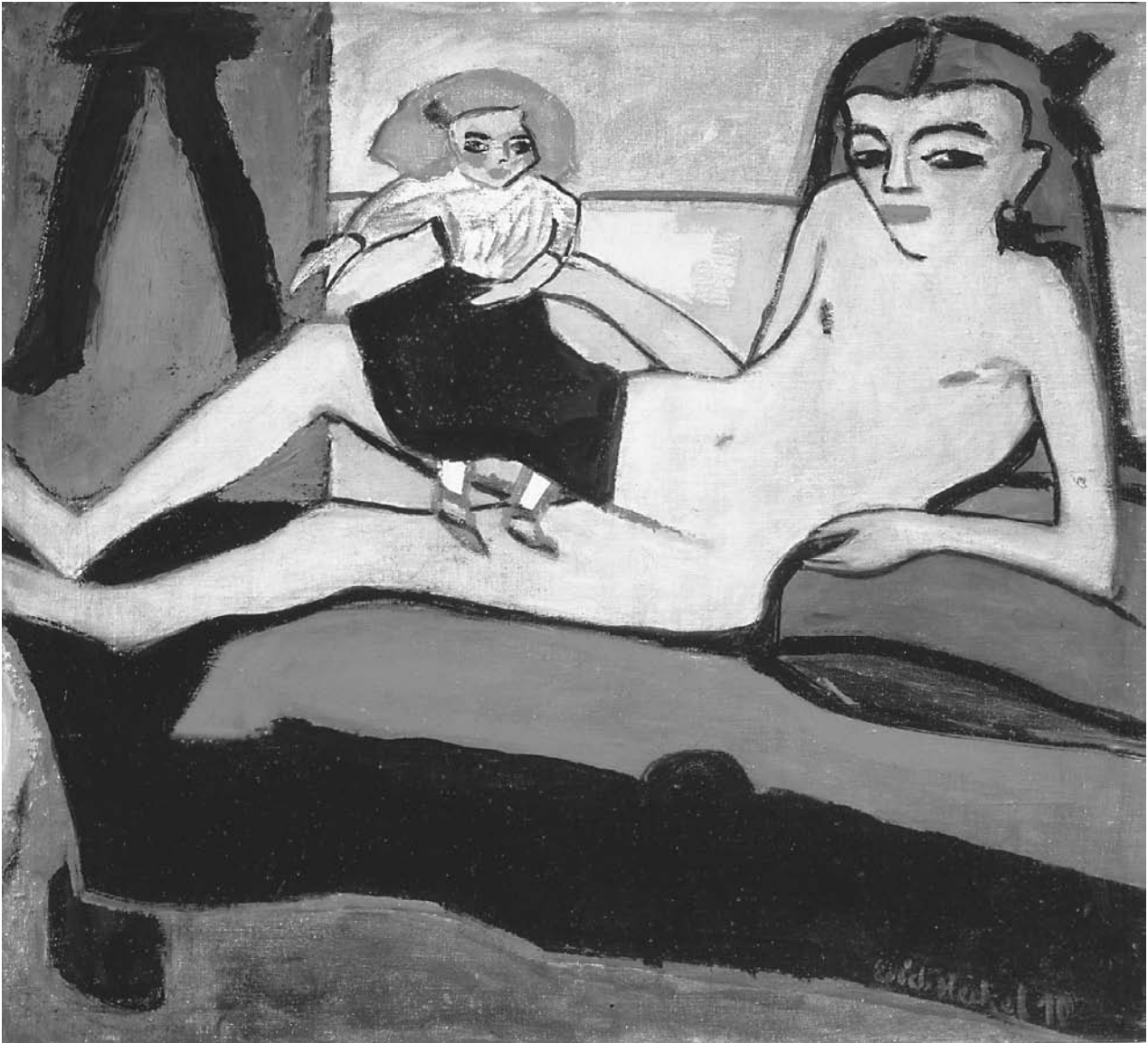
MARY ANN MASON

Dolls

Dolls are known in all cultures and are one of the oldest and most widespread forms of TOYS. A doll in its most basic form is a cone-shaped figure which can be made of clay, wood, stone, bone, cloth or different natural materials. It is believed that in prehistoric societies, dolls made in a human likeness had a magic or religious significance. At what point these figures became toys for children is not clear, but discarded doll-like figures were doubtless picked up and used for PLAY.

History

Small human figures made of wood and clay have been found in Egyptian graves from 2000 B.C.E.; dolls of clay, marble and alabaster have been found in children's graves of ancient



Girl with a Doll (Franzi) (1910), Erich Heckel. Like many works of art, Heckel's painting explores the boundary between childhood and adulthood. Courtesy of Serge Sabarsky Collection.

Greece and Rome; dolls are also referred to in some written sources from the early European Middle Ages. Doll-makers can be traced to Nuremberg in Germany from as early as 1413. Several depictions of German doll-makers exist from the fifteenth century. The earliest doll-makers carved dolls out of wood and some even attempted to provide the toys with moveable limbs. Germany and France were early centers of European doll manufacture. Since the fifteenth century, both toy dolls and fashion dolls—dolls attired in the latest costumes and coiffures and commissioned so that European courts could follow fashionable trends—were produced in Paris. Several oil paintings of the early seventeenth century depict noble children playing with wooden dolls dressed in finery. A colored drawing in the British Museum in London

of 1585 shows an Indian girl with a European doll, presumably taken to America by the early English settlers.

Materials

Wood is the oldest material used for making dolls for sale. Turned dolls were mass-produced in Sonneberg in Thüringen from the seventeenth century. Wooden dolls were very popular throughout the eighteenth century. The head and body were carved by professional doll-makers and the face and hair were painted directly onto the wood.

A mixture of paper, sawdust, plaster and glue, called composition, was developed around 1800 as a cheap alternative to wood. It could be formed under pressure, allowing for the mass production of dolls. At the toy center in Sonneberg

heads were pressed in papier mâché after 1810, while bodies were made of a soft material and then stuffed. Papier mâché heads could also be overlaid with wax to give them a more lifelike appearance. For a time dolls with heads made entirely of wax were much in demand, but these were costly and were superseded by porcelain dolls. After about 1830 porcelain manufacturers, especially in Germany, France and later Denmark, started serious production of dolls, and dolls with cast heads became very popular.

The glazed china used in the 1860s was succeeded by unglazed biscuitware, which, especially in its pink coloring, acquired a very lifelike appearance and became enormously popular. Coiffures were ingeniously modeled and precisely followed contemporary fashions. After 1870 wigs and glass eyes became common. Beginning in 1880, some manufacturers began to sell dolls that could close their eyes. At the same time jointed dolls were introduced with bodies and limbs of papier mâché, the head and limbs being attached by strong inbuilt elastic. Commercially produced rag dolls were also introduced by English and American producers in the nineteenth century.

The synthetic material celluloid was discovered around 1870 and was used for doll manufacture after the end of the nineteenth century. This material became brittle with age and was extremely flammable. However, it was cheap and was used for the mass production of dolls until the mid-1950s at German, French, American, and Japanese factories. More durable materials such as vinyl and plastic overtook celluloid as the preferred materials for dolls in the second half of the twentieth century.

Doll Types

The oldest dolls were all adult “lady” dolls representing well-dressed women. The Great Exhibition in London in 1851 saw the first appearance of infant dolls with round heads and soft bowed limbs created by the London doll-maker Mme. Montanari. The “baby” doll was born. The golden age of doll manufacturers was 1860 to 1890, when demand for dolls rose and new and elegant types were constantly being produced. Many patents were taken out at this time as mechanical dolls which could walk, sing and dance were invented. The most desirable and expensive types were and are the French fashion *Parisienne* dolls, which are equipped with exclusive wardrobes.

Paper dolls were produced in Europe—especially in England, Germany and France—from the early nineteenth century. Paper dolls are cut-out dolls with matching clothes printed on card and models were often inspired by famous people of the time. Perhaps as a reaction to perfect, expressionless faces which did not appeal to the child’s imagination, dolls’ faces with individual characteristics reflecting natural child types were modeled around 1900. The first character doll was the so-called Kaiser baby, created by the German doll manufacturer Kämmer and Reinhardt. Another

very popular doll was the Dream Baby, produced in 1913 by the German firm Armand Marseille. Dolls with an ethnic appearance—especially Asian and African—were also popular; as were celebrity dolls representing royals and actors.

At the end of the nineteenth century the majority of dolls represented children, both boys and girls, of about ten years old. By the beginning of the twentieth century, baby dolls had taken the upper hand and remained popular until the 1950s, when adult dolls returned with a new form of fashion doll: BARBIE. Later came Action Man, a series of military dolls for boys, which broke what had for generations been a female monopoly on doll use. Famous dolls of the twentieth century included the Kewpie Doll (1912), Bye-lo-baby, the Million Dollar Baby (1922), Barbie (1959), and the Cabbage Patch Kids (c. 1980).

Role Models

Products of their times, different dolls cannot be judged without reference to wider economic and social conditions. Dolls are created for play and recreation, but their purpose is also to prepare girls for their later roles as mothers and housewives.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, children were regarded as small, unfinished, adults who had to be trained for adult life. Miniature tools from the adult world were designed to familiarize them with that world and prepare them for the tasks that would later await them. In the nineteenth century a young woman’s task was to marry and look after the home as mother and housewife. Marriage was the only conceivable career and dress was of the utmost importance. Luxurious dress was the only effective way for a woman to show her social standing. Lady dolls of the nineteenth century were pure extravaganzas, especially the Paris dolls with their sumptuous wardrobes, with clothes in the latest French fashion and a range of personal articles including a fan, dressing table set, parasol—and even a dance card for a doll’s ball. Everything needed to make the home function was part of the doll’s life—doll’s furniture, dinner service, kitchen articles and similar items.

Children’s play mirrors to some degree what they see in the home. Some evidence suggests that baby dolls have faded into the background as women enter the workplace and fewer look after children at home. In 2003 young girls are primarily interested in mannequin dolls. Barbie dolls reflect the new female role as the active, independent, career woman, but also the “dream girl next door” that every girl wishes to be. The Barbie doll is an expression of late-twentieth-century CONSUMER CULTURE, and apart from glamorous clothes its accessories include things like a mobile phone, laptop computer, and sports car.

Conclusion

A doll is not simply an impersonal play object. It becomes the child’s natural and trustworthy guide in daily life. Chil-

dren become attached to their dolls and share with them their deepest wishes, sorrows, and joys. A doll is given a name and an identity of its own. Dolls often cannot, therefore, simply be thrown out when the age of play has passed.

In the twentieth century, a market for dolls began to emerge among adult collectors. As a result, the price of antique and finely made dolls began to grow. The price of a doll depends on its type, make, age, and condition. It also matters whether the doll's clothing is original, whether it has other accessories and whether it has its original box. Collectors and museums are often interested in the doll's provenance. It is also important to ensure that the doll has not been restored, that wig and eyes have not been replaced and that arms, legs and fingers are original and intact. Historical dolls can be seen at the following museums of cultural history, special museums and private collections: Legoland, Billund, Denmark; Musée de la Poupée, Paris, France; Coburger Puppenmuseum, Coburg, Germany; Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, London and Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh in the United Kingdom; Yokohama Doll Museum, Yokohama, Japan; and Rosalie Whyel Museum of Doll Art, Bellevue, Washington, DC and Wenham Historical Association and Museum, Wenham, Massachusetts, in the United States.

See also: **Construction Toys; Infant Toys; Teddy Bear; Toy Soldiers.**

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KIRSTEN F. SCHMIDT

Dr. Seuss (1904–1991)

The children's-book author Dr. Seuss was born Theodor Seuss Geisel on March 2, 1904, in Springfield, Massachusetts. He drew constantly as a child and always had an ear for meter, as well as a penchant for the absurd. Geisel had little interest in academics or athletics. He contributed cartoons, often signed with creative pseudonyms, to his high school newspaper. At Dartmouth College he spent most of his time working on the *Jack-o-Lantern*, a campus humor magazine. He became editor during his senior year, signing his contributions "Seuss" after school authorities penalized him for drinking bootleg gin. He studied English briefly at Oxford University, where he met Helen Palmer, who admired the

cartoon sketches in his lecture notes. In 1927 the couple married and moved to New York, where they immersed themselves in the nighttime pleasures of Jazz Age New York, drinking, smoking, and going to parties. Geisel loved to play practical jokes and to put people on (especially anyone pompous). He had a childlike imagination but also harbored insecurities and vulnerabilities that made him intensely private. Geisel and his wife were unable to have children, a loss they felt strongly, but that also freed Geisel to behave childishly himself. Helen mothered Geisel; she drove the car, balanced the checkbook, paid the bills, and ministered to his domestic needs. They traveled frequently to such far-off locales as Peru. Geisel and Helen remained married until her death in 1967; in 1968 he married Audrey Stone, who survived him.

Geisel began his career as a cartoonist in 1927, primarily contributing drawings and writings to the humor magazine *Judge*, in addition to *College Humor*, *Liberty*, and *Vanity Fair*, and signing his work "Dr. Seuss." During the 1930s Geisel also created cartoon ads for Standard Oil Company. His bug-spray catchphrase, "Quick, Henry, the Flit!" became a popular saying. In 1937 he sold his first children's book, *And to Think That I Saw It on Mulberry Street*, to Vanguard Books after twenty-seven publishers rejected the manuscript because it lacked a moral message. *Mulberry Street* established the Dr. Seuss template; it was written in verse and illustrated with comically exaggerated drawings—a marked contrast from the pretty pictures then typical to children's books. In the next few years Geisel published several more books, including the classic *Horton Hatches the Egg* (1940), before he joined Frank Capra's Signal Corps and devoted his artistry to the war effort.

After a brief postwar spell in Hollywood, Geisel and his wife moved to La Jolla, California, and he resumed writing children's books. A string of successes followed, including *The Sneetches and Other Stories* (1953), *Horton Hears a Who!* (1954), *On Beyond Zebra!* (1955), *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (1957), and *Yertle the Turtle and Other Stories* (1958). None could compete however with the enormous popularity of Geisel's breakthrough book, *The Cat in the Hat* (1957). Inspired by a challenge from his wartime friend William Spaulding, an editor at Houghton Mifflin, Geisel wrote his classic as a reading primer, using just over 200 words.

Propelled by the baby boom, *The Cat in the Hat* sold nearly one million copies by 1960 and seven times that figure by 2000. Its success instigated the Random House division Beginner Books, which published *The Cat in the Hat Comes Back!* (1958) and *One Fish Two Fish Red Fish Blue Fish* (1960). *Green Eggs and Ham* (1960), which uses only fifty words—all of them one syllable except for the word "anywhere"—became his most popular work, selling over six million copies by 1996.

Over the following three decades, Geisel continued writing books for little children, big children, and adults. His bizarre humor, made-up words, and mellifluous rhymes attracted generations of readers, making him a celebrity. Some of his later books carried strong moral messages. *The Lorax* (1971) advocated conservation; *The Butter Battle Book* (1984) attacked the nuclear arms race. Even so, Geisel never departed from the basic formula for his success: amuse first, educate later. Geisel died in 1991 after a long battle with cancer.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Drugs

Drug use by children and adolescents periodically comes under state and social scrutiny, fueled both by actual incidence of increased drug use and popular and parental fears about it. Prior to the twentieth century “soothing syrups” consisting of paregoric and laudanum (both dilute opiates) were among the few effective medications available to treat cholera and childhood diseases by physicians, lay healers, and family members responsible for health care. Criticisms of their use in infants and children were present from the earliest days of the United States. Early campaigns against infant “doping” by mothers and nursemaids were led by nineteenth-century “regular” physicians who employed such warnings as part of their bid to consolidate professional control over pharmaceutical opiates.

Clinicians observed congenital addiction to opiates as early as the 1830s. Restlessness, moral and mental weakness, and “blue baby” (cyanosis) were attributed to maternal opiate use. An 1832 dissertation by William G. Smith criticized the “youthful, inconsiderate mother and the idle nurse” who quieted infants with opiate-laced proprietary medicines “rather than forego the pleasures of a crowded assembly, or the gaudy charms of a dramatic scene, a single evening.” Nineteenth-century physicians practiced gradual withdrawal techniques. However, the *American Textbook of Applied Therapeutics* (1896) applauded the poor prognosis of “infants born of mothers who are morphinists” because “the moral and mental strength of these children is so far below par as to make them liable to much subsequent suffering.” Under the influence of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), all states required physiology and HYGIENE instruction in public schools that emphasized the dangerous effects of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs by the turn of the

twentieth century. Mothers who “drugged” their children came under public scrutiny during the Progressive campaigns to regulate patent medicines. These campaigns took place in the context of broader concerns about widespread popular use of proprietary medicines, adulteration of them, and exaggerated advertising of them, which ultimately led to their regulation under the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906).

“Morphinist mothers” were depicted as direct threats to their babies when in 1913 a physician found that babies’ blood was “as much saturated with the drug as the blood of the mother,” thus confirming that narcotics crossed the placenta. “Morphinist fathers” were also thought to impair their offspring: “How could it be otherwise, since every influence within the body tells in the upbuilding of protoplasm, and since the composite protoplasm of the germ borrows its qualities from every form of protoplasm in the parental organism?” (Terry and Pellens, p. 416). The first congressional attention to narcotics use among schoolchildren occurred in 1910 in Philadelphia. States such as New York, which had the highest number of addicts, regulated opiates prior to the federal Harrison Act of 1914, which effectively ended the administration of narcotics by physicians once its constitutionality was ascertained through *United States v. Jin Fuey Moy* (1916) and *Webb v. United States* (1918). With Prohibition enacted, reformers turned to organizations such as the World Narcotic Defense Association (WNDA), headed by Spanish-American war hero and temperance reformer Richmond Pearson Hobson. The WNDA held a conference on narcotics education in 1925 at which a speaker maintained that addiction was spread through “intergenerational transmission”: “Babies are born in drug addiction and, horrible as it may seem, they actually begin life under the influence of narcotics. . . . what can society expect of children whose father and mother, or both, are criminal addicts? What will be the children’s attitude toward society?” Claims concerning high numbers of child addicts were also made by public officials who ran the New York City Clinic, operated by the City of New York Department of Health and administered by the state, which served over 7,000 addicted persons from 1919 to 1920.

Addiction among children was rarely mentioned until the mid-twentieth century and there were long periods when most physicians knew little about how to treat it. When Charles Terry and Mildred Pellens surveyed physicians in the 1920s for *The Opium Problem* they concluded that most lacked accurate and rational knowledge about congenital addiction. A 1924 questionnaire with a response rate over 50 percent that was administered to 687 schools in New York State failed to turn up any cases of drug addiction despite popular press reports. The same survey sent to JUVENILE COURT judges and chiefs of police only yielded a handful of cases throughout the state. During World War II few opiates were available as the U.S. government stockpiled them

as strategic materials, thus keeping the numbers of addicted persons low until the postwar period.

Warnings that a “frightening wave” of narcotics addiction was about to engulf New York City youth fueled a state-wide popular panic that spurred officials to action after the war’s end. The first televised congressional hearings before the Senate Crime Investigating Committee and the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, stimulated intense fervor among an estimated 20 to 30 million viewers. Chaired by Senator Estes Kefauver, the hearings lasted from May 1950 to August 1951. Mention of teenage drug addiction aided November 2, 1951 passage of the Boggs Act, which mandated the first minimum sentences for drug offenders. New York hearings on teenage narcotic addiction held by State Attorney Gen Nathaniel L. Goldstein in the summer of 1951 in Buffalo and Albany helped establish the first state institution dedicated to the treatment and rehabilitation of female drug addicts at Westfield State Farm in Bedford Hills, New York.

New York City and state became a locus for public discussion of teenage addiction. The prestigious New York Academy of Medicine held conferences titled “Drug Addiction among Adolescents” in 1951 and 1952. The Research Center for Human Relations at New York University conducted the classic addiction research of the 1950s. Their social-psychiatric study of heroin use among adolescents in three boroughs of New York City between 1949 and 1954 was published as *The Road to H* (1964). Considered the definitive study on the topic for decades, it criticized federal drug policy for confusing a minor symptom with a major epidemic—a view shared by many treatment professionals who worked directly with drug users.

The heightened attention to adolescent narcotics use in the 1950s focused on the increased availability of drugs to teenagers and the role of PARENTING, especially mothering, in producing it. Postwar addicts were depicted as racial and ethnic “others,” and sometimes as sexual “deviants” in the steady trickle of films depicting narcotic use that began to appear in the late 1940s. The press played up the lurid and novel aspects of the 1950s epidemic, but professionals who remembered the aftermath of the Harrison Act referred to it as the “second peak of an old problem.” Until this point, opiates, especially heroin, were the real concern and the basis for policy.

Drug control officials were taken aback by the explosion of widespread popular youthful experimentation with illicit drugs that took place in the 1960s. The emergence of ADOLESCENT MEDICINE and neonatology as clinical specialties; the expansion of the federal and state treatment and research apparatus; and the movement of community mental health into the substance abuse area paralleled the explosion of youth participation in the counterculture that developed in the second half of the twentieth century. As youthful users’ “drug

of choice” changed from LSD to marijuana to heroin to crack-cocaine to methamphetamines to Ecstasy specific drug-using subcultures emerged among younger users. The social context in which drugs are used continues to determine which subpopulations gravitate towards specific substances. Peer influence plays a role, as do high levels of undiagnosed depression among teenagers, suggesting that youthful drug use may represent a form of “self-medication.” Due to the United States’ commitment to incarceration for drug offenses, juveniles began to experience higher levels of involvement with the criminal justice system in the later twentieth century. Some states and municipalities began experimenting with alternative justice systems called “drug courts” to respond more appropriately to youth drug use by diverting some young offenders to treatment and rehabilitation programs.

The National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA), a component of the National Institutes of Health, has funded a nationwide survey of the extent of drug use among high school seniors called “Monitoring the Future” since 1975. In 1991 the survey was expanded to include eighth and tenth graders. A decade later, the 2002 survey showed not only an overall decline in illicit drug use but a significant decline in the proportion of children who had used any illicit drug for the sixth year in a row. Following cyclic trends similar to those seen in adults, drug use among children tends to follow the cycles of social learning demonstrated by historians Courtwright and Musto rather than the notions of “intergenerational transmission.” For instance, children who observed adult crack-cocaine use tended not to become crack-cocaine users themselves. As the crack-cocaine epidemic subsided, the nation’s concern about “intergenerational transmission” seemed to have been largely unwarranted. Longitudinal studies show that cognitive abilities and other “outcomes” measures differ little between children who were exposed to cocaine in utero, and those whose basic needs go unmet for reasons of economic deprivation.

See also: **Smoking; Teen Drinking; Youth Culture.**

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Dumas, Alexandre (1802–1870)

The French novelist and dramatist commonly known as Dumas père, to distinguish him from his writer son (also named Alexandre Dumas), was born in Villers-Cotterêts, a small town in northern France, in 1802. Dumas's own colorful life reads like a novel. His father, a general in Napoleon's army, was born in Santo Domingo to the Marquis de la Paillette and a black slave, whose family name he assumed when he enlisted. The death of the father he idolized before Dumas's fourth birthday left the family in dire financial straits. At fourteen, Dumas, who had little formal schooling, began working as a clerk for a local notary. Eventually, the theater lured him to Paris, where he obtained a position with the Duc d'Orléans in 1823. An ardent republican, he took part in France's revolutions of 1830 and 1848, and joined Italian republican Giuseppe Garibaldi in 1860. His renown as a dramatist and then as a historical novelist earned him immense wealth, but an extravagant lifestyle left him almost penniless at his death.

Dumas is one of the most prolific, popular, and perhaps underrated authors of all time, but interest in popular culture is attracting new critical attention to his work. His stories written intentionally for children generally first appeared in his own newspapers, *Le Mousquetaire* and *Le Monte-Cristo*; they include *La Bouillie de la Comtesse Berthe* (1845), *La Jeunesse de Pierrot* (1854), *Le lièvre de mon grand-père* (1857), and adaptations of well-known fairy tales. E. T. A. Hoffman's dark, morbid story *The Nutcracker and the Mouse King* was transformed into a children's tale, titled *Histoire d'un Casse-Noisette* (1845), which inspired Tchaikovsky's famous ballet.

The works that children know best, however, are the popular historical novels he wrote for adults. Like those of Walter Scott, Dumas's novels were immediately adopted by young readers who were enthralled by this master storyteller. His exciting plots, fast-moving action, lively dialogue, and memorable characters had universal appeal. Generations of readers worldwide owe their first, indelible impressions of French history to Dumas's novels, the most popular of which are *Les Trois Mousquetaires* (*The Three Musketeers*) (1844) and *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (*The Count of Monte Cristo*) (1844–45). *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, a swashbuckling adventure tale that has become a children's classic, is the first novel in a trilogy about Athos, Porthos, Aramis, and D'Artagnan, who are legendary characters the world over, as is Edmond Dantès, wrongfully imprisoned for years in the Château d'If before enacting his delayed revenge as the Count of Monte Cristo. Few young people today read the integral text of Dumas's prodigiously long novels, especially in the English-speaking world where they have often been heavily abridged. A prime example is *The Man in the Iron Mask*, excerpted from the third novel in the *Mousquetaire* trilogy, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*, and published separately in English.

Born in the popular press, where they were serialized, Dumas's novels live on in the mass media of cinema and television. *The Three Musketeers* is one of the most remade stories in motion picture history. Contemporary teen audiences were deliberately targeted in films like *The Musketeer* (2001), with its martial arts choreography, and *The Man in the Iron Mask* (1998), with its casting of Leonardo DiCaprio in the dual role of Louis XIV and his twin brother.

See also: **Children's Literature; Images of Childhood.**

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SANDRA L. BECKETT

E

Early Modern Europe

Historians have reached no consensus over definitions of early modern Europe. Published work on the period roughly spans the years between 1400 and 1800 but chronological boundaries vary by region and discipline. The term itself is largely Anglo-American. Historians in continental Europe refer to the period between the Middle Ages and the contemporary world simply as “modern history,” but again there is little consensus over its meaning. In contrast, the French *Annaliste* tradition, advanced by Fernand Braudel and his followers, largely refutes dating altogether in favor of the tripartite *longue durée* (long-term structures), *conjoncture* (short-term trends), and *histoire événementielle* (individual events). In the United States and the United Kingdom early modern European studies gained ground in the 1970s. Historians began with the breakup of feudalism and the emergence of the western European state in the fifteenth century and ended with the eighteenth-century revolutions in politics and economic life. The literature spotlighted advances in science and secularism, the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the rise of the modern state, developments that were linked to the concept of modernization.

The period did witness significant strides in state building in England, France, and Spain, where growing bureaucracies levied taxes to finance large-scale warfare and territorial expansion. But at the same time encroachment on the long-standing powers of the nobility invited feudal reaction, while the breach with tradition, particularly by creating new taxes in an era plagued by war, famine, and disease, triggered widespread peasant revolts. The road to modernization theme quickly led to a literature of adjustments that demonstrated failures to modernize as well as the demographic and technological limits hindering economic growth. Still, a number of historiographical trends emerged to give the period firm contours: the fragmentation of Christendom and growing secularism; pronounced demographic and economic fluctuation; the development of the European state sys-

tem; and the emergence of a global, Europe-centered system of production and trade.

These grand narratives, however, did little to include women’s roles in reproduction and production, or the travails of ordinary people; nor did they work well for comparativists in world history circles. Thus historical output in the last decade of the twentieth and the early years of the twenty-first centuries has attempted to redress these omissions as well as to reconceptualize how historians arrive at periodization. Like definitions of early modern Europe, discussions of childhood experience have also continued to evolve. Was there an awareness of childhood as a distinct stage in the life cycle? In the predominantly agrarian economy of early modern Europe, childhood and adolescence quickly progressed into adulthood for peasants and workers whose lives revolved primarily around reproduction and production. In contrast, improved material conditions among the middle class fostered more awareness of childhood as separate from adulthood. Commercialization and urbanization required more formal education for the young. As a result, civic groups, church, state, and parents made larger investments in child rearing and education with efforts that divided along gendered lines.

The Religious Reformations

In the second decade of the sixteenth century, the Christian church experienced the first in a series of religious divisions along geographic lines. The sequence of splits, beginning in the Holy Roman Empire and spreading to the whole of Europe by the end of the century, transformed the relationship of the reformed churches with state, society, and the individual. It also transported Christianity to the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Asia. There was a fervent desire for religious homogeneity, marked by compulsory conversions of Moors and Jews to Catholicism in Spain and missionary zeal both in Europe and abroad. At the same time in nearly every area of Europe religious conflict and calls for a redistribution of power became virtually indistinguishable, evoking crises in authority at state and local levels.

The Protestant and Catholic Reformations affected family life, and by extension children's upbringing, in important ways. Protestants advanced new family models that overrode Catholic doctrine and canon law, models which presumably would affect the character formation of children. They refuted the celibate ideal, closing convents and monasteries and celebrating the status of husband and wife over that of monk and nun. Reformers like Martin Luther found marriage to be the appropriate place for sexuality and a prophylactic for fornication. Pastors and former nuns took marriage vows. Both lay and clerical Protestants were encouraged to form companionate marriages, where husbands still held authority over wives but where spouses were encouraged to divide family responsibilities. In contrast, the Catholic clergy continued to make strenuous efforts to restrict sexuality, particularly that of women. In order to defend family purity as well as maintain social order, women were either to marry or undergo religious enclosure.

While Protestant theologians created the legal possibility of divorce and remarriage, Catholic reformers made strenuous efforts to tighten the rules on marriage and family formation with the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The church sought to regularize and stabilize marriage and to protect women and children. Unlike Protestant theology, divorce was proscribed by canon law but legal separations of bed and table were permitted under extreme circumstances. After the Council of Trent Catholic theologians lay greater claim to the regulation of the marriage contract. The Tametsi decree ruled that banns be published and that a couple pronounce their vows in the presence of a parish priest and several witnesses. Although parental consent was not required or enforced, secret marriages were discouraged. Some children used the reform to have their arranged marriages annulled, arguing that their parents had forced them to take vows. Others married against the wishes of their parents.

Religion, Science, and Popular Beliefs

Religious evangelism advocated greater spiritual education of the young. At the same time the rise of scientific inquiry provided new, conflicting methods of learning, grounded in empirical observation and the material world. Thus children of the educated classes were brought up in a world of competing models of knowledge advanced by churchmen and scientists, while the offspring of ordinary people were exposed to some combination of evangelical claims, folk wisdom, and the repressive powers of the Reformation churches.

Among the goals of religious reformers was that of molding parent–child relationships. Beginning with DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (c. 1466–1536), Christian humanists and other intellectuals stressed the importance of childhood for character formation among the middle and upper classes. Religious thinkers debated whether children were born innocent or depraved, but in either case emphasized a parental duty to invest in the upbringing of the young, not only at home but also at school. Schooling was provided both by the churches and through a growing number of secular tutorials. Throughout Europe the number of new schools increased significantly with the advent of the religious reformations. As during the Renaissance, both girls and boys of the upper classes received primary education, but following the Reformation many reformers encouraged girls as well as boys to become more literate so as to be able to read the Scriptures and to instruct their children. Boys from wealthy families were prepared for prestigious professions. Girls, whose training revolved around home life, at best attended finishing schools. In some respects the school replaced the family as parent, particularly for wealthy boys who boarded out. Whether child rearing and schooling included excessive discipline has been the subject of intense debate. Catholic or Protestant, the middle and upper classes increasingly attempted to separate children from the spheres of adult living, removing them from the workplace, prolonging schooling, and repressing their SEXUALITY.

Both Protestant and Catholic teachers also strove to delineate the boundaries of official doctrine more rigorously. Their encounters with common folk produced serious tensions. Popular beliefs were quickly judged pagan and labeled heretical, and their exponents were repressed. Evangelists and inquisitors sought to impose religious uniformity and eliminate groups or individuals who could not be assimilated into mainstream orthodox Christianity. In particular, the office of the Holy Inquisition denied the laity's claims to spiritual powers in an effort to make them the exclusive purview of the clergy. It was an attempt to divest the laity, and also medicine and science, of a spiritual dimension. The religious campaign to denounce magic, feigned sainthood, and witchcraft thus helped prepare the ground for the late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century scientific claims that the cosmos was mechanized. In the modern age

science would marginalize and undermine magical beliefs and reduce the spiritual influence of the clergy.

The religious Reformation, together with the critical and antiauthoritarian nature of Renaissance humanism, shattered the unity of intellectual thought, developments that were vital to the advancement of science. The discovery of new worlds and peoples and that the earth was round; the invention of movable type; the development of firearms and of a lens that improved the visibility of the stars and planets; improved mechanical clocks; and the development of shipbuilding and navigation opened up new intellectual perspectives and methods of discovery that relied increasingly on rationalism rather than religion. Scientists made new claims to authority and objectivity, tending toward explaining the world in mechanical terms. Scientific inquiry complemented secularism and the focus on how to improve material life. Separating the observable world from the spiritual sphere represented a fundamental shift in thought. To see the world operating on basic principles discoverable by reason fostered hope that humans could control their environment, a change in attitude that helped pave the way for nineteenth-century industrialization.

Scientific emphasis on reason also encouraged new views about children themselves. JOHN LOCKE, writing in the late seventeenth century, argued against the importance of innate concepts and implicitly, original sin, urging that children were blank slates (*tabulae rasae*) open to education as a source of rapid self-improvement. These views promoted increasing attention to education, at least in theory, during the eighteenth century, as a crucial part of the ENLIGHTENMENT. It may also have encouraged other developments in child care, such as a decline of SWADDLING, in the interest of permitting children more opportunities for development in early childhood. In this cultural context, emphasis on children as loving and lovable creatures also increased, as did (by the end of the early modern period) the creation of TOYS and books explicitly designed to promote children's abilities.

Demography

Demographic patterns in early modern Europe were critical determinants of life experience for the majority of people. The periodic expansion and contraction of the population helped define the limits of the possible, the balance between available resources and demand, and the standard of living. Economic and demographic trends affected changes in age at marriage for peasants and workers. In the sixteenth century, for example, when the population was swollen and there were land shortages, marriage was generally delayed, at least in areas like northwest Europe where the custom was to form nuclear households. Postponing marriage to the late twenties for men and early twenties for women limited fertility and helped to prevent an excess supply of children. Conversely, following great EPIDEMICS or long periods of war, smaller populations with sufficient landed resources general-

ly married younger and had the potential to have more children. Their resources permitted their children to be raised at home. Such trends were critical to economic life since marriage and reproduction created the basic units of production. A significant number of men and women did not marry at all, becoming servants or auxiliary members of the households of married kin.

War, famine, and epidemic disease had catastrophic effects on mortality rates in early modern Europe. INFANT MORTALITY was high, particularly for babies farmed out to wet-nurses by the upper class and the destitute as well as for those born illegitimate. Infanticide also contributed to the mortality rate, despite the harsh laws designed to prevent it. As much as a quarter of all babies died in their first year, and another quarter never reached adult age. The high mortality rate of the young is a factor that sparked a lively historical debate, beginning with the work of PHILIPPE ARIÈS, on whether parents held much regard for their children or much awareness of the early stages of life. Perhaps parents and children who were fortunate to live out their lives together cared very much for one another. However, large numbers of children received little PARENTING at all. The excess children of the poor either died of malnutrition or left at an early age to live as servants or apprentices with another family. Moreover, one or both parents could be expected to die during a child's lifetime, making childhood brief.

Children represented a large percentage of the poor in early modern Europe. ORPHANS and the abandoned presented new challenges for both church and state who sought to reduce the numbers of beggars and vagrants and to provide children with sustenance, vocational training for boys, and small dowries for girls. England devised the Poor Law. In the rest of Europe, cities, civic organizations, and religious orders established foundling hospitals and encouraged the wealthy to bequeath resources to sustain charitable institutions. Efforts intensified after 1520 in correspondence with the spread of Christian humanism and the religious reformations. At the upper levels of society, wealth-conserving strategies helped determine children's life experiences. Fathers decided sons' careers and whether daughters would marry. Many unmarried Catholic daughters were forced to take the veil. Restricted marriage was common. In Venice, the *fraterna* (brothers in business together) limited marriage to one brother while other male siblings shared the family wealth and acted as an association. Some unmarried siblings entered ecclesiastical institutions. Few daughters were dowered to be married but instead were placed in convents, particularly as dowry levels steadily rose. Roman law on the Continent and common law in England, on the other hand, rested on the principle of primogeniture, whereby siblings did not inherit the land earmarked for the patrilineal lineage. The result was a large number of displaced children of the nobility whose destinies were determined in accord with gender expectations.

Economy

The early modern economy witnessed dramatic changes in the global spheres of transoceanic voyage and market exchange. State building and colonialism shifted the center of gravity from the Mediterranean to the wider Atlantic world, Africa, and the Americas. Spain and Portugal experienced temporary prosperity during this global expansion, while England and the Low Countries thrived well beyond the sixteenth century. Global markets and new goods linked people of different continents through sugar, tobacco, and coffee. Neither women nor most men, however, were highly visible at this economic level, where capitalism was at work and European states were in competition to control global trade networks, for most people did not have access to large resources, to companies and monopolies of control, or to the power of the state that would enable them to invest in capitalist enterprise.

Peasants and workers did, however, witness significant changes in production. The urban guilds that had prevailed in the Late Middle Ages waned in the sixteenth century, and production shifted to rural households where all family members took part in both productive and reproductive labor. Economic historian Carlo Cipolla states that the preponderance of demand centered around food, clothing, and housing, a phenomenon that determined the structure of production. Women, men, and children from the age of seven worked the land, cared for the livestock, and produced essentials for the family unit. They also tended and harvested crops that provided raw materials for manufactured products, such as flax, hemp, silk, and plants for dye. Capitalist investors found it in their interests to bypass the urban guilds and to hire women (and children), whose wages were more determined by custom than by the market. They bought from urban and rural households for export to Atlantic markets. Thus commercial capitalism and the globalization of the economy stepped up production based on hand technology in the family household.

The domestic industrial system changed the kinds of work opportunities available to women and children. It also transformed the functions of the family as men, women, and children began to receive individual wages for work. Nonetheless, Europeans had to work harder between 1500 and 1800 than during the previous centuries in order to maintain what were stagnant living standards, for their purchasing power did not increase much. It was not until the nineteenth century that capitalism transformed definitions of work. In the Middle Ages it included all tasks that contributed to a family's sustenance. With nineteenth-century industrialization and capitalism work became more exclusively participation in production outside the home and the market economy. When the household lost its central economic role to capitalist production and became more a center for reproduction, the status and importance of women's work and work in the household declined. Productive labor was seen

as men's sphere, while women's labor, largely involving childbirth, infant care, and WET-NURSING, took place in the home and was of no monetary value. Women and children's roles in economic development were hardly recognized until gender analysis among late twentieth-century scholars re-evaluated the importance of reproduction and domestic work as well as proto-industry in the home, connecting public and private spheres.

See also: **Education, Europe; Medieval and Renaissance Europe; Protestant Reformation.**

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JOANNE M. FERRARO

Eastern Europe

BALKANS

Traian Stoianovich

POLAND

Bogna Lorence-Kot

BALKANS

Because of common biological foundations, societies have tended to divide childhood into two main categories, children under seven and children from seven to fourteen or fifteen. The age group from fourteen to twenty-one comprises a third life category, which most societies did not, for a long time, associate with childhood.

In classical Greek antiquity, Hippocrates distinguished between three phases of early human life: that of the *paidion*, the child until age seven; that of the *pais*, the child of seven to fourteen; and that of the *mourakion*, the person between fourteen and twenty-one, when males usually were admitted into their father's *deme* and females were married. In western Europe, in response to urbanization, commercialization, the development of schools, and the rise of chivalry, this third stage was recognized between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. With the diffusion of chivalry to the Serb lands between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, which required long training in knightly games, delayed marriage may have become almost as common among privileged Serbian males of the warrior class as it was in the West. For most social categories of the western and central Balkans, however, a long transitional stage between childhood and adulthood came into existence only after 1830.

The Domestic Family

From the fifteenth century until 1830, the Balkans divided on the basis of biosocial regimes into three areas: the western and west-central or Serb, Croat, western Bulgarian, and Albanian lands; the east-central Balkan or eastern Bulgarian

TABLE 1

| Percentage of Children in Total Population | | | | |
|---|---------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| Place | Year | Ages 0–14/15 | Ages 0–18 | Uncertain Age |
| Adriatic Zara/Zadar city | 1593 | | 34.4 | |
| Zara's islands | 1593 | | 44 | |
| Zara's <i>terraferma</i> | 1593 | | 46.7 | |
| Dubrovnik's rural communities | 1673/74 | | | 35 |
| Montenegro | 1692 | 47.6 | | |
| Venetian Albania | 1692 | 44.5 | | |
| Old Hercegovina districts: Grahovo, Hercegovni, Nikšići | 1692 | 52.5 | | |
| Savska Varoš, Belgrade suburb | 1734 | 39.2 | | |
| Serbia | 1846 | 48.9 | | |

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

lands; and the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black Sea coastlands. In the western and west-central lands, 60 to 80 percent of the population was included in extended households. In the east-central regions, the proportion fell to 40 percent; in the coastlands, to 20 percent.

Epistion was the ancient Greek term for household, meaning, literally, "(pertaining) to the hearth." The hearth was the place of assembly for the smallest socially defined unit for such common purposes as eating, celebrating, and grieving. The household could be small or large. Among the descendants of the Slavs who migrated into the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries, the term for household was the same as the word for house. In the early nineteenth century, however, south Slavic thinkers adopted the term *zadruga* to denote extended household, a term meaning "harmony" or "for the other." Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has suggested the use of another term, *domestic family*, for the extended household. We accept the suggestion but will define it in the sense of the extended household of the south Slavic or Balkan type. The latter was not just the product of a process of continuing lineal and lateral expansion and contraction but also of the aspiration to perdurability. It was a corporate body whose members identified land, work implements, and livestock as their common property.

Extension was a response to three circumstances. Pastoral transhumance, which needed the labor of male children from seven to fourteen years old, may have given an initial impetus to the formation of households of many adults and children. It was also a response to the need of agriculturalists and raisers of livestock alike for a household of more than two adults to assure the presence of someone to care for children in case of the death of one or two adults. Finally, large and strong families were a response to the need for protection against intruders during periods of insecurity.

By its very size, the vast Ottoman Empire created conditions under which long-distance transhumance was able to prosper and expand. It also engendered insecurity in the extensive marchlands formed with neighboring European states. Between the latter part of the fifteenth century and 1830, these marchlands remained an area of insecurity and of wide diffusion of a biosocial regime of domestic households, in which children up to fourteen years old made up well over 40 and even close to 50 percent of the population.

The Stages of Childhood

Records regarding the first phase of Balkan childhood are meager. Among the Balkan Turks, however, the sixteenth-century naturalist Pierre Belon du Mans, in a comparison of urban populations, says that children there were "never so stinky" or so difficult to bring up as the children of the "Latins," or Roman Catholics of western Europe. Turkish mothers breast-fed their infants until they were at least ten months old. They fed them no cereals or milk from a nonhuman source until that age, in contrast to the Latins, who gave them such foods much earlier. The infants were cradled until they were able to control their physiological needs. Through their cradles, which were made of taut leather, a hollow tube attached to the child's urinary member passed out through a small hole into a receptacle. In this way, mothers avoided the soiling of their rugs or carpets, diminished the need for linens, and kept their infants clean and comfortable.

Nineteenth-century and later observers note that infants were swaddled in almost all Balkan rural districts—lightly in Albania, round and round in Macedonia. In Macedonia, infants were allowed to have one hand free after their first smile; in Albanian districts, after they were forty days old. In southern Macedonia, mothers changed their children as soon as they wet themselves. Macedonian mothers fondled or tapped them playfully, tickled them around the lips, and told them stories. In Macedonia and Montenegro alike, infants normally were weaned in their third or fourth year. The functions of Balkan mothers later shifted to accustoming children to recognize male authorities and to teaching them the requirements of communal survival: to honor elders, observe age and sex differences, economize by not dropping crumbs, and respond to household needs.

In the second stage of childhood, the head of the household and the fathers and paternal uncles took over the task of teaching male children work tasks and instilling in them the need for collaboration. Mothers prepared female children for wifehood and motherhood.

ADOLESCENCE was virtually absent. Early marriage was common. In 146 of the villages enumerated in the county of Belgrade in 1530, only 13 percent of the male adults (males fourteen or fifteen years of age and over) were unmarried. In the Croatian Military Frontier during the Napoleonic era, females were married at age thirteen or fourteen, males at sixteen or seventeen. Table 1 shows certain other contrasts in the percentage of children in the total population.

Celibacy and late marriage suggest a low representation of children. Many Dubrovnik nobles married after age forty or fifty or remained celibate. Dubrovnik noblewomen did not marry until they were twenty-five or thirty. In the new city of Sarajevo in 1516, only 13.5 percent of the Orthodox males over fourteen or fifteen were unmarried compared to 39.6 percent of the Muslim males. In 1528, the proportion among Muslim males rose to 52.8 percent. In late nineteenth-century Istanbul, most males married after age thirty, and many remained bachelors. The city's females married after age twenty.

The practice of abortion, other means of BIRTH CONTROL, and venereal disease curtailed the number of children. A French consul versed in medical matters, F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, noted in the 1790s that Muslim Moreot (Peloponnesian) women practiced abortion and had fewer children than the Orthodox Greek women of the peninsula. Ottoman attempts to curb abortion were of no avail. Instead, Orthodox Christian women, rural and urban alike, also resorted to the practice. Long known to the western Asian and Mediterranean cultures, the practice of abortion and of other modes of birth control was less common in interior Balkan districts. Conducive to their diffusion were a growing acceptance between 1830 and 1880 of European ideas of fashion, an increasingly favorable attitude toward European conceptions of modernity and individuality, and the affirmation of European models of urban organization. Such influences emanated from two directions. They spread from the east (Istanbul) and south (Thessaloniki), moving northward and westward. They were also diffused—and ever more vigorously during the second half of the nineteenth century—southward from Vienna and Hungary. Finding acceptance among the Serbs of Hungary, they made their way to Serbia and Bosnia. In their wake and under the effect of compulsory male military service, urbanization, growing literacy, intensified contact with Europe, the relaxation of the authority of elders, and a growing propensity to delayed marriage, birth-control practices and abortion—which together were known as the “white plague”—spread southward.

The practice of delayed marriage acted to promote an upward creeping in the rate of illegitimacy in Serbia. From 1880 to 1884, however, the illegitimacy rate in that country still stood at less than 1 percent of all births. In 1877, it was 1.41 percent in Greece, 4.74 percent in Romania, 7.1 percent in France, and 7.4 percent in Hungary. In 1878, it stood at 7.15 percent in Italy, 7.44 percent in Germany, and 14.1 percent in Austria.

Revision of the Biosocial Regime

The revision of the biosocial regime of the Balkan interior, however, was a product not simply of diffusion but of earlier changes promoted by Balkan elites: demographic growth, urbanization, improved communication and transportation, commercialization, the obligation of military service for

males, the diffusion of an ideology of freedom and individuality, and the voluntary adoption of western European political, social, economic, and cultural models. These innovations included the establishment of governments of law, with provisions for the security of life and property and a favorable disposition toward the formation of an informed, communicating society. These innovations were introduced in Wallachia and Moldavia after 1830, and in Greece, Serbia, and Croatia in the 1830s and especially 1840s. Aided by a growing cereal economy, they spread to the Ottoman Danube *vilayet* (northern Bulgaria). After the Crimean War and the Congress of Berlin, they found root in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The best-informed person in a domestic household was likely to be the *pater familias* or *starešina*. The following incident suggests that he sometimes may also have been the member most responsive to the new institutions supportive of individual initiative and an informed society. The Serbian ethnographer Milan Đuro Milicevic (1831–1908), relates that when he was a child, his eighty-five-year-old grandfather gathered together his sons, grandsons, and older nephews to tell them that what hitherto had been known as “ours” henceforth would be “ours, yours, and theirs.” The household would have to separate. Eager to favor their own children, the women of such households later would also favor separation.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the spread of elementary, intermediate, and higher schools, and of opportunities for the sons of the privileged to study in other European countries, aided the process of creating self-instituted generations, made up of persons in their late teens and twenties who, under the impetus of some great issue, interest, or idea, emerged as groups able to influence the rest of the population until another strong interest or idea gave rise to the formation of a new generation. In Croatia, Serbia, Vojvodina, and Greece, such a generation, informed by the ideology of liberalism, arose in the 1840s. Its elders, constitutionalist notables, regarded the demonstrations and polemics of this generation in 1848 as the “games of children.” In fact, the extension of higher education to the sons of the privileged had resulted in the creation of a life cycle of delayed marriage. One demand of the students of the Licej (lyceum, the future university) of Belgrade in 1848 was that they be allowed to wear swords and marten-skin caps, parts of the uniform of the Serbian bureaucracy, in recognition of their right to fill future governmental positions. In 1868, Svetozar Markovic (1846–1875), the son of a Serbian prefect, urged the formation of a “radical party” to wage a “struggle against everything that has grown too old.” The Bulgarian poet Hristo Botev emerged as a critic of Bulgarian mothers for striving to prevent their sons and daughters from becoming realists. A fellow Bulgarian, Ljuben Karavelov, discoursed on the conflict of generations.

Another consequence of the new societal model was that rural houses began to be built of more durable materials and with more rooms. The typical Balkan rural house in lowland districts grew from a dwelling of one or two rooms (without the kitchen) in 1830 to a dwelling of four rooms in 1900. In highland rural districts, it grew from nothing more than a kitchen and all-purpose room to a building of two or three rooms. Households became smaller. Houses became larger. The idea of a separate room for children or of the separation of the sexes could be conceptualized only around or after 1900.

The formation of a new biosocial regime of childhood and adulthood similar to that of Western Europe, which was simultaneously furthered and arrested by two world wars and by political and economic crises, continued after 1945, at first mostly under communist but ultimately again under capitalist direction. Its affirmation has been least complete among rural Albanian, Kosovo, and Bosnian Muslims. Specific conditions under communism, however, did generate some distinctive features. Housing shortages in countries like Hungary, for example, generated more multigenerational households after World War II, when these were virtually disappearing in western Europe. More recent developments point to a resumption of convergence in the experience of childhood between the Balkans and the rest of Europe.

See also: **Eastern Europe: Poland.**

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POLAND

The values of the nobility shaped the rearing of Polish children until the mid- to late eighteenth century, when ENLIGHTENMENT influences and political developments led to major reforms. Enlightenment ideas about the nature and treatment of children had been seeping into Poland prior to the First Partition in 1772, when its territory was divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The loss of territory, along with fear of further losses, also spurred reforms dedicated to national priorities instead of the goals of the nobility, because child-rearing practices and educational norms were perceived as being basic to national interests. Reforms included the secularization, nationalization, and Polonization of schooling. Girls were to be educated and mothers were encouraged to raise good citizens from infancy by taking physical and emotional care of their young. These measures contrast with the preceding distant and intimidating attitude of adults toward the young.

Public discussion about children waned following the Third Partition in 1795, because the occupiers had little interest in Polish issues and even less in progressive ideas. During the period of subjugation (1795–1918), Austrians did little to proscribe Polish identity, viewing Poland as the empire's hinterland. The other two occupiers, Prussia and Russia, sought absorption of Poles into their own cultures, but Polish resistance to integration became apparent with the failed Uprising of 1830 in Russian Poland. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the failed 1863 Uprising in Russian Poland provoked elimination of all Polish topics from public school curricula. Prussians pursued similar measures in the wake of German unification and Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. But Poles, who made clear distinctions between nationality and state authority, felt no affinity for either Russians or Germans, and continued covert inculcation of Polish national identity in the young.

Historically, Polish cultural intransigence came as a surprise to those who knew that prior to the partitions, progressive Poles had shown little interest in Polish identity, preferring cosmopolitanism and everything French. In its serious version, that sentiment promoted the modernization of Polish culture for the purpose of preserving independence by aligning it with developments in Western Europe. Upon loss of independence Poles refocused on neglected national traditions, rediscovering some of what they had scorned in the eighteenth century. It may well be said that the partitions helped forge a modern Polish identity.

Identity apart, Poles always followed developing Western European trends. They were particularly interested in PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, such as the educational ideals promoted by FRIEDRICH FROEBEL and MARIA MONTESSORI. To the extent that private school funding was available and the censors were satisfied, a minority of Polish children experienced the best that the educational world could offer. As for the

rest, improvised home education augmented, if not negated, state schooling. Efforts to sustain the Polish ethos in the children of literate parents were expanded to illiterate peasant children. Progressives supported these efforts because they viewed peasant children as Polish nationals in the making; conservatives shared those goals because they were anxious to buttress class distinctions and inculcate the proper work ethic.

By the 1880s, when political activism turned to improving society instead of battling for independence, young Poles of both genders were proselytizing on behalf of Polish culture. The defeat of 1863 had turned Poles toward so-called organic work, which focused on social and economic improvement rather than armed struggle. Norman Davies points out that thirty years of such missionary activity yielded a bumper crop of private, informal, and covert Polish cultural enterprises, which swamped the Prussian and Russian educational system. Poles were culturally intact when they gained independence in 1918, but they faced enormous practical difficulties. The task of creating an organic infrastructure for three territories that had been apart for over a century was daunting. The problem of unification was compounded by the high rate of illiteracy and by the existence of several ethnic minorities who did not necessarily identify with Polish culture. The nation was still in the process of becoming when World War II began.

Loss is the operative word for the Polish experience of World War II. Estimates indicate that Poland lost over 2.6 million children under the Nazi and Soviet occupations. The children represent 38 percent of all Polish human losses during the war. Of the two hundred thousand children taken to Germany for the purpose of Germanization, only 20 percent returned. Both German and Soviet invaders destroyed school facilities and annihilated educators. Yet in the midst of terror, Poles managed to print books to teach their children Polish subjects, their teenagers finished high school, and graduates took university courses. It is as if wartime was just a variation on the period of partitions.

At the end of the war Poles expected to pick up where they had left off in 1939. That illusion lasted only three years. In 1948, having gained political control, the communists began organizing school reforms whose stated goal was raising the level and quality of education, but whose real purpose was indoctrination of the young. Polish texts were replaced with Soviet works. Contact with Western educational practice disappeared. Again, Polish families did their best to offset what children learned in school by exposing them to views that were not politically correct.

Following the dissolution of communist control in 1989, members of the Solidarity Party—with the support of the Catholic Church—embarked on new school reforms. In 1991, a law was passed authorizing the post-communist National School Reform Act. This act opened the door to the

establishment of private schools by individuals, foundations, municipal governments, and religious institutions, none of which was possible earlier. According to observers, the reforms have had mixed success so far. Their stated goal has been to modernize Polish education and to meet the criteria of the European Union. But, according to some Polish critics, the constant search for new programs, new texts, and new pedagogical approaches has, at times, undermined the stability of the public school system. Ironically, democracy appears to present greater educational opportunity, but also greater challenges, than Poles faced under various occupiers.

See also: **Eastern Europe: Balkans; Education, Europe.**

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BOGNA LORENCE-KOT

Economics and Children in Western Societies

FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY

David Levine

THE CONSUMER ECONOMY

Gary Cross

FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY

Studying the family's organization of production and consumption can only be carried out if one also keeps its reproductive behavior in the same field of vision. For the vast majority of people, for most of the time, the act of balancing "hands" (i.e., production) with "mouths" (i.e., consumption and reproduction) was a precarious act; whether they were peasants, landless proletarians, or artisans, the slightest hint of adversity could destabilize the family unit enough to drive it down into poverty and destitution, from which escape was difficult, if not impossible.

Before 1750 most proletarianization was the result of downward mobility by the landholding peasantry into the ranks of the landless poor; such people became vagrants and migrant workers who frequently ended up as the *lumpen-proletariat*, the lowest class of worker, which made up a majority of the urban population. After 1750 this trajectory of social decline was supplemented by a massive increase in a new kind of lateral mobility as industries in rural areas expe-



Cranberry Pickers (1910), Lewis Hine. Children began earning money in rural households at an early age. Five-year-old Jennie Capparomi is pictured here alongside adult workers harvesting cranberries in a New Jersey cranberry bog. © CORBIS.

rienced dramatic growth, sometimes in competition with—but more often as a complement of—factory industrialization. Marginal peasants having little or no land, sometimes called cottagers or dwarf-holders, who together made up a huge proportion of the rural population of northwestern Europe, found that their tenuous hold on the land was terminated when the products of the first phase of the Industrial Revolution destroyed the income supplements they derived from rural proto-industry. In North America, similar processes of downward (and outward) mobility were in evidence in the colonial and early federal towns, but the accessibility of the frontier meant that the day of reckoning could be postponed by starting life over again as pioneers.

The Demographic Revolution

The European population grew from about 65 million in 1500 to around 127.5 million in 1750, reaching almost 300 million in 1900. In North America, the population in 1750 was perhaps 2 million but grew almost exponentially—as a result of massive immigration from Europe as well as the natural increase of the native-born Americans—so that by 1900 there were about 81 million people living from sea to sea north of the Rio Grande. In this demographic revolution, population increased after 1750 in response to falling levels

of mortality and gently rising levels of fertility. The mix of factors was by no means homogeneous because in some places the whole population rise was accomplished by rising birth rates while elsewhere it was the result of falling death rates. Of course, in many places it was some combination of the two factors. The rise in FERTILITY RATES was itself remarkable because, all other things being equal, it would be expected that fertility rates would have declined in response to declining mortality. But all other things were not equal.

What is now known as the demographic revolution may have stemmed from declining mortality rates but, like the sorcerer's apprentice, this new state of affairs released uncontrollable forces when unexpected levels of survival of youths and married adults combined with earlier marriage and skyrocketing illegitimacy rates. Thus, more people married, they married at younger ages, and they stayed married longer. Around 1800, perhaps one English child in twelve was born out of wedlock (the comparable figure in 1700 was about one in fifty); in parts of Germany, the rates of illegitimacy were occasionally as high as one in five. This is especially significant to the birth rate, which is itself the product of length of marriage and fertility rates per year of marriage, for even small changes in mortality and birth rates when aggregated and allowed to multiply over several generations have profound implications.

It was within the changing tempo of daily life during the demographic revolution that family formation strategies were affected. The older world of family farming and family-workshop production was not lost for everyone, but the success of the few was predicated on the failure of the many. The majority of that population was forced to migrate—either socially or physically—and to establish wholly new routines. As a consequence, new ways of social life were simultaneously created and abandoned. Cottagers first became wage-earners and then lost their purchase on the land altogether. Furthermore, the value of women's and children's labor was initially enhanced and then radically depreciated. In handicraft cottage industry women and children supplied “hands,” but they were subsequently marginalized by the emerging political economy of urban and industrial capitalism. In moving towards the patriarchal breadwinner economy, in which a male household head commanded both economic and moral authority over the family group, these urban wage-earning families were re-creating the social norms of the villages from which they came and in which the peasant patriarchs usually ruled the roost, controlling all women as well as unmarried males. The other side of this process is that the social standing of those who were neither patriarchs nor breadwinners was increasingly jeopardized. While individual families struggled desperately against these larger historical forces, it is only possible to understand their demographic and family formation behavior if we conceive of it as just one of a series of proactive coping maneuvers.

The explosive demographic implications of cottage industrialization were at least as much the result of more frequent marriages, by more people, as of earlier and more fertile ones. So too, the dynamic of rural industrialization permitted married couples to stay together whereas in the earlier social mode of production marriages were constantly being fragmented, and wives and children deserted. The economic base of the marginal peasant family was flimsy because it was subject to cyclical strains, resulting from the impact of war, climate, and the harvest. In this sense, the proletarianized cottagers who formed the backbone of many handicraft industries were able to move into new zones of economic and social freedom that translated into the formation of new families. The preindustrial cottagers, therefore, formed a large population reserve; the growth of rural industries allowed such people to be siphoned out of the rural economy connecting their individual movements with larger population processes. Furthermore, before 1750 delayed marriage and permanent celibacy had acted as a check on population growth but afterwards boom times meant more frequent and earlier marriage as well as a decline of celibacy.

In the preindustrial demographic-economic system of reproduction, about three-fifths of all families were likely to have had an inheriting son while another fifth would have had an inheriting daughter, which meant that about one-fifth of all niches in the landed economy became vacant in each generation. Urbanization, with its filthy environment breeding microorganisms so lethal to babies, partially counterbalanced the global improvements in life expectancy. Overall, however, mortality rates dropped and it is probable that improvements in infant, child, and adult health were especially significant in the rural environment. Married couples remained intact and continued to reproduce for longer periods of time while a higher proportion of children was likely to reach adulthood and themselves marry.

These trends raise some questions, however. Why, when rising life expectancy yielded more survivors, did people produce so many children over and above replacement? How were these additional children to find their way in a world that was already overcrowded? How were new economic niches created? Were such niches in agriculture, industry, or service sectors? The key point to bear in mind in answering these questions is that children were brought into the rural industrial family's productive activities at an early age. In cotton spinning or straw plaiting, girls as young as five or six were working long hours; in nail making, boys of seven or eight were apprenticed to older, stronger workers. Both girls and boys in such rural-industrial households were probably able to cover the cost of their upkeep by the time they reached twelve or thirteen; as older teenagers, they probably made a "profit" for the parents who kept them working in the family enterprise. The economics of child labor—and the early opportunity for independence that came with it—had two important implications: first, it meant that such

piece-workers could assemble the wherewithal to marry at a young age even though they had no expectation of inheriting anything of substance, unlike their peasant forebears; and second, it was peculiar insofar as more children were a good thing because a large family would not only change the ratio of "hands to mouths" but it would also extend the period of the family cycle when there would be surplus income from the ratio of producers to consumers.

There were other effects that resulted from shifts in the fertility schedule. The age-pyramid rapidly broadened at its base as enhanced child survival combined with the diminishing chance of marital break-up to swell the lower age groups at the end of the eighteenth century. Generations followed one another more quickly, contributing to the maintenance of high aggregate fertility rates. But something else was at work in maintaining high levels of age-specific fertility at later ages. Marginal groups—such as non-inheriting children—felt the full force of the nonlinear implications of population growth, as over the course of three generations the number of places remained the same but the population increased exponentially. Villagers who were over and above replacement, then, could either wait in the hopes of marrying into a niche or they could emigrate, that is, they could move *socially down* and *physically out* of their native land. This second alternative had been the reality presented to generations of their predecessors, for whom non-inheritance meant downward social mobility and demographic death. People who had been unable to inherit a niche in the rural economy were at the end of a family line, which stopped because they were unable to marry and reproduce themselves.

For a time, however, cottage industry was a godsend for these non-inheriting, marginal people; the luckiest ones could even find a way to subsidize the formation of a new household without having to leave their native hearth. The less lucky ones could move to the villages, towns, and cities where rural proto-industries were located; once there, they could set up on their own and support themselves with income derived from their labor, often with common rights to keep livestock and even a small garden. Children were enmeshed in the labor cycle: as young as four or five, they could watch their infant siblings; at six, seven, and eight they could gather dung and firewood, sweep the floor, clean pots and pans and dishes and cutlery, carry water from the well to the hearth, and prepare foodstuffs by chopping and peeling, as well as going out of the cottage on errands. Nine through twelve year olds could spin, knit, mend clothes in need of repair, attend the fire in the hearth, wash and dry clothing and bedding, herd and milk domestic animals, watch the poultry, and prepare food for the family meal. By the time these children were on the cusp of what we would call ADOLESCENCE, they were able to cover their costs through a mix of domestic labor and productive work. They were also very nearly "adult equivalents" in that they may have lacked some strength, endurance, and skill but otherwise were capable of

a full day's work—and a full day's pay, too. Families engaged in rural industry were therefore less willing to see their teen-aged children move away from home and into domestic service. Having paid for the cost of their child's upbringing, parents wanted to benefit from their labor.

During the classic Industrial Revolution (1760–1840) a large segment of the population experienced what have been called “lifetime moves” into the proletariat. And while their actions may have consisted of efforts to retain or recapture individual control over the means of production, they were swimming against a powerful historical current that ultimately pulled most of them down into the ranks of the proletariat. This occurred with astonishing frequency as the population in the countryside thickened. If boom times were like a siphon sucking population out of their rural cottages, then proto-industrial communities were like sponges in their ability to soak up these footloose extras.

But what about those who stayed behind? In what ways were their lives and the lives of their children altered by the outlet provided by rural industrialization? We have already had a glimpse of the rising reproductive levels in rural areas that provided some of the migrants, so it would seem obvious that the opportunity to export non-inheriting children relaxed the pressure on resources the exporting regions would have experienced. Parents with additional non-inheriting children would have had the knowledge that their offspring could relocate. Proto-industry acted not only as a magnet, then, by attracting migrants, but also as an insurance policy in perpetuating the reproduction of those who would become migrants. In addition to absorbing excess people rural industry also provided a source of ready cash for children who would eventually inherit but were in the meanwhile required to wait for an economic niche to open. If only one of the children was to inherit the family farm or household, that does not mean that he or she was unavailable as a source of income while waiting. Indeed, most had usually spent some time as live-in servants or in husbandry during the long wait between PUBERTY and marriage or INHERITANCE. In the pre-industrial period, annual service for cash wages was of enormous importance in the rural economy of England and northwestern Europe. Children from poorer cottage households frequently moved away from home at twelve and worked for ten to fifteen years in the houses of the peasant patriarchs. But in the period of the classic Industrial Revolution this life-cycle system came into direct competition with more attractive, better-paid opportunities in proto-industrial households.

Cash earned in proto-industry was a kind of income transfer to the cottage economy: it gave some the opportunity to buy into an available, vacated economic niche; it gave others money to purchase the consumer products and the capital goods being produced more cheaply in an age of early industrialization; and it provided a valuable infusion of funds

into a sector that was notoriously undercapitalized. Rural industrial communities therefore provided both an outlet for and a stimulus to this demographic dynamic in those villages that were the source of migrants. Consequently, the countryside filled up quickly. Dwarf-holdings multiplied, intensive cultivation and new crops, along with a more vigorous division of labor in the service sector, combined to make it possible for the land to fill up to the point of super-saturation. It couldn't continue, and it didn't.

The Change from Rural to Urban Industry

If rural industrialization and population increase were the most prominent features of the countryside in the period after 1750, then deindustrialization and depopulation typified the countryside in the middle half of the nineteenth century, from 1825 to 1875. For children, in particular, this switch from rural-industrial production in the cottage to urban workshops and factories had a profound impact. When the economic prop of child labor was knocked out from under the cottage economy, children were among the first victims of sectorial unemployment. Thus while individual couples desperately tried to protect themselves and their children from the self-defeating cycle of high rates of replacement, the respiration of the countryside inhaled the majority of marginally propertied peasants and exhaled its landless proletarians. Unemployed children were soaked up by the emerging school systems that developed across the North Atlantic world in the middle half of the nineteenth century.

By the mid-nineteenth century the forces holding villagers to their land in England and on the northwest European continent were in tatters. Many tried mightily to stay, but more left out of despair. The second half of the century also witnessed unprecedented levels of migration, both external—millions left Europe, most of them after mid-century—and internal—continental urbanization proceeded furiously to catch up with British levels, where 40 percent of the population lived in six large conurbations by 1881. Together, the demographic revolution and the Industrial Revolution wreaked disaster on an over-stretched peasantry clinging to proto-industry as a supplement to their subdivided holdings by undermining the continued viability of the family farm.

The family production unit's reliance on its own labor power merely served to expose it when the terms of trade swung violently against it in the mid-nineteenth century. The significant if simple and repetitive tasks by which women and children had contributed to the domestic economy of the peasant household—first and most notably in spinning—inexorably declined in the face of competition from specialized, factory-based production. The mechanization of spinning in the last decade of the eighteenth century effectively demolished this cottage industry at the moment when population growth was creating increasing stress on the income of these rural industrial households.

Compounding this decline, the mutuality of the cottage was displaced as women and children were further marginalized in the world of work by the increased emphasis on gender roles and age-stratified activities in the new domestic economy, which replaced the family-based system of cottage production. The ideology of domesticity provided the key entry-point for a new culture of breadwinning respectability as work was reclassified as a masculine endeavor and masculinity, in turn, was judged by the harmony of domestic discipline and its respectable independence. Accordingly, observers of the time worried that the supposed “natural” character of rural, proletarian women was threatened by “masculine” work. Such women would not only be “unsexed” but also socially deranged since they would be indisposed to “a woman’s proper duties at home.” Powerful as this prescription was, it was irrelevant to the lives of working women, who had never conformed to bourgeois expectations nor given “femininity” priority over family subsistence needs—always their primary focus.

Proletarians’ high fertility during the early era of industrialization was incomprehensible to the bourgeoisie, who considered their additional children to be mouths to feed, while the working class considered them to be hands to work and insure the family against the ill-luck of any particular member. Sharing misfortune was a way of coping with the inevitable vicissitudes of daily life; this kind of mutuality found deep resonances in class-specific family formation practices. In England as well as in France, the mutuality of the proletarian family—which stood in contrast to the individuality so prized by social policy makers and reformers—was cited as evidence of its deficient moral education.

The organization of national social systems of education and welfare during the later nineteenth century provided the historical context in which the ongoing revolution in the family was keyed by the decline in fertility. The average English woman marrying in the 1860s had 6.16 children; her daughters, marrying in the 1890s, had an average of 4.13 children; her granddaughters, marrying in the 1920s, had on average 2.31 children. The decline of marital fertility was both an innovation and an adjustment; it not only responded to macro-level changes in social organization but also represented one of the primary ways in which individual men and women acted to make their own history. Not only were the numbers of children dropping dramatically but the period of the family cycle devoted to child raising was likewise abridged. Some demographers have explained this phenomenon in terms of a shift from “quantity to quality” in relation to the time, energy, and resources devoted to each individual child; but something even greater was at work: the family had been deindustrialized and children had been unemployed. The modern family was built on a very different set of priorities from its predecessors and the experience of childhood was intimately affected by this transition to privacy, domesticity, and, above all, child-centeredness.

See also: Child Labor in the West; European Industrialization; Family Patterns; Work and Poverty.

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DAVID LEVINE

THE CONSUMER ECONOMY

Throughout the twentieth century, children’s roles in providing labor and income for families decreased while their functions as consumers increased, leading to dramatic changes in their relations with parents. This trend coincided with what scholars call the family consumer economy—the organization of the nuclear family around purchasing and using market commodities—which emerged in various forms in economically advanced regions of the world.

The Reduction of Children's Work Load

Several factors created this new family setting: the introduction of electrification, central heating, and indoor plumbing to the home, a process which began around 1890 but was not completed until after 1950, all reduced the traditional chores of children (hauling water, helping with hand laundry, and carrying wood, for example). The gradual replacement of home-preserved and kitchen-prepared foods with canned, packaged, and refrigerated goods similarly lessened the need for children's domestic labor. So did the process of family migration from rural farms to cities, which eliminated chores such as caring for poultry, horses, and cattle, and tending gardens. Thus, by one estimate, at the end of the twentieth century children did four to six hours of domestic work per week compared to the same number of hours per day in 1900. Paralleling these economic and technological trends was a substantial reduction of fertility and thus of the number of babies and toddlers requiring care from older children.

While the need for children's manual labor in support of the family declined to token amounts, technological and social changes outside the home reduced the demand for children's wage labor. Mechanization had reduced the need for child workers as early as the mid-nineteenth century in textile factories. Improved communications networks (telephones and home newspaper delivery, for example) diminished the demand for errand boys and newsboys by the 1920s. The decline in the demand for domestic servants in the early twentieth century equally reduced the need for child assistants to paid house cleaners and cooks. Increased wages, especially for fathers, contributed also to the decline in parents' expectation that their offspring contribute wage income to the household budget.

Children's school work roughly replaced the time they had formerly devoted to domestic chores and paid work. In 1900, children seldom attended school after twelve or fourteen years of age and, even before the teen years, parents frequently withdrew them from school to help out the family with wages or work. After World War I, school-leaving was gradually pushed into the teens, coming first to urban and then to rural children after World War II. Leading these trends were urban and middle-class families. Adults, especially in the working classes (as well as employers in child-dependent industries), resisted compulsory schooling and legal restrictions on the age at which children could enter the workforce. Fears of child idleness prevented successful legislation against child labor until 1938 in the United States. Still, the need for more skilled workers and, even more, long-term economic trends reducing the jobs available for children encouraged parental acceptance of extended schooling by mid-century.

The Changing Role of the Family

All this increased the time required to care for and nurture children and extended the years of childhood economic de-

pendency into the teens and even beyond. Not only did children remain in the home until full maturity, but adults' daily interaction with them increased insofar as the family had become primarily an institution that socialized future workers and met their increasingly complex consumer needs. As a result, parents had a reduced incentive to bear large families, leading to the two- or three-child family of the twentieth century instead of the four- to six-child family of the nineteenth century. Because higher income and educational expectations over the century raised these time and money commitments, parents had increased incentives to bear fewer children. With the striking increase in the rate of married women in the workforce (around 60 percent by the end of the century in many economically advanced countries, compared to 10 percent to 30 percent in 1900), married women had to weigh the cost of bearing and raising children in terms of lost income when children required their leaving the workforce (and expenditures in raising them in a consumer economy) against any psychic benefits of children in the family. By the end of the century, it was estimated that the cost of raising an American child ranged from \$410,000 to \$1,500,000 (rising with family income). Even though all children's education contributes indirectly to the well-being of all adults, the shift of children's time toward education means that the young seldom pay back in labor and income the effort and money expended on them by their parents. Thus the traditional reciprocity between generations at the personal level has largely disappeared.

Another long-term effect was for mothers to enter the workforce in place of older children. This decision was motivated both by the shorter span of total years that young children were in the home and even more by the perceived need for mothers to contribute income to support the long-term costs of children (e.g., for further training, especially university) instead of children financially supporting their families of origin. This transformed older forms of reciprocity between parents and children, dramatically reducing the expectation that older children provide labor and income to parents in compensation for the parents' investment of time and money in children's early upbringing. Instead offspring gave back, not to their parents, but to the next generation of children, producing the contemporary pattern of one-way sacrifice, or staggered reciprocity.

This new economic relationship between parents and children, which placed such a large burden on parents, was in part sustained by a shift in the rationale for bearing and raising children. No longer could children be understood as economic assets or investments. Instead, they became emotionally priceless treasures, valued for their capacity to bring happiness into the home and for representing life beyond the market and work. Once parents widely accepted the doctrine of the priceless child (as it trickled down from the affluent), they could no longer expect their children to spend substantial time on domestic chores or earn money for family (as op-

posed to personal) use. The good parent could spend on the child but not expect the child to work for money beyond token amounts.

Family and Children as Consumers

Economically speaking, children became primarily recipients and agents of family consumer spending. Increasingly, most family goods and services were purchased rather than produced at home. As family incomes rose, the range of consumer goods, and especially symbolic or psychic goods, increased as well. By 1900, advertising appealed to parental concerns about protecting the health and enhancing the future opportunities and status of their offspring. New products, from appropriately sized furniture and clothing to baby cleaning and feeding products, were designed for parents eager to accommodate their children's perceived needs. Middle-class parents especially bought educational TOYS, backyard play sets, and uplifting magazines in the hope of giving their children the character and intellectual training necessary to prevail in competitive schools and later the business world. From the 1910s, child-care experts, who were especially influential in Britain and the United States, began advocating that children be given weekly money ALLOWANCES to train them in the arts of consuming. The allowance was intended to be educational, substituting training in well-considered consumption and money management for the older lessons in hard work and thrift.

While the allowance gave parents indirect influence and control over their children's decisions, the practice also affirmed CHILDREN'S RIGHTS to their own desires and to participate in the CONSUMER CULTURE. The child was increasingly expected neither to contribute money to the family nor to save for the future, but to use her or his earnings for personal gratification and self-expression. Moreover, from early in the twentieth century, children gained influence over family consumer decisions, especially in progressive, middle-class families. In the United States, ADVERTISING appealed to children's desires in the selection of foods, toiletries, and clothing, and in the 1930s merchandisers used premiums directed toward children to increase sales.

Deeper psychological motivations induced adults to bestow non-utilitarian goods on their offspring. In part, this was a form of vicarious consumption—adults enjoying spending, and the status that it brought, through purchases for their children. Starting with the mid-Victorian middle class, parents recognized that their wealth and domestic comfort allowed their children a less regimented growing up than they had experienced. As a result, childhood became more playful and involved more celebrations of fantasy. This trend culminated in the early twentieth century with a great upsurge of new toys, DOLLS, games, and fads designed for children or passed on to them. To a degree, spending on these goods was a substitute for older customs of transferring skills. Gifts of CONSTRUCTION TOYS and miniature TOY SOL-

DIERS “prepared” children by inviting them to imagine themselves as engineers or military leaders. Presents of baby dolls were substitutes for the real care of younger siblings (increasingly absent from smaller families) and preparation for later parenting. Yet the trend was gradually toward non-utilitarian spending on toys, sweets, and entertainment, which celebrated childhood as an emotional and expressive world apart from the care and competition of adult life. Beginning with the international TEDDY BEAR craze in 1907 and the play PETER PAN in 1904, toys and entertainment gave children permission to enjoy a playful, imaginative world. Although the hardships of the Depression and World War II reduced family discretionary spending on children's goods, merchandisers continued to appeal to parents' desire to please offspring with a widening range of toys, MOVIES, and other fantasy products. DISNEY, for example, not only distributed his cartoons globally from the early 1930s on, but also licensed products based on his characters.

Spending on children increased dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century, especially as Europe and JAPAN became affluent. In 1999, four- through twelve-year-olds spent \$11 billion and teenagers spent \$94 billion in the United States. And while a survey found shopping the favorite activity of 55 percent of American children from seven through twelve years of age, the percentage for children in other advanced consumer societies was also high: 47 percent in Japan and 37 percent in Germany. This consumption prompted oft-repeated fears that children were being spoiled by gifts that contributed little toward enhancing their life chances or developmental needs. Yet adults tolerated this form of fantasy consumption because it gave them permission to share it with their children, whatever their own guilt about excessive consumption might be, and it met other emotional needs.

Much of this type of spending on children took place during holidays, especially Christmas and BIRTHDAYS. The old potlatches of extravagance that had formerly taken place around community celebrations increasingly were focused on children. This trend was accelerated after World War II with the family vacation. The opening of Disneyland in 1955, Disney World in 1971, and sister sites in Tokyo in 1983 and Paris in 1992, was only a small part of this growing accommodation of children on VACATIONS.

At the same time, however, children's consumer desires were never controlled by parents. From the beginning of the century, makers of cheap fiction, films, candy, novelties, and playthings found ways to market directly to children, despite their lack of significant pocket money. With the development of peer groups on neighborhood streets and, with the lengthening of school years, in school and at extracurricular events, parental authority declined. In the United States, merchandisers of children's goods began advertising directly to children in the mid-1950s on television. In many other

countries, however, restrictions on commercial TELEVISION—and in Scandinavia outright prohibitions—limited this trend. Everywhere, children used their “pester power,” the income they accumulated from gifts during holiday potlaches, their allowances, and increasingly their own wages from part-time work to gain access to the children’s consumer market.

In the family consumer economy children have a reduced role in contributing to the material and social well-being of their families. Parents, however, have accepted this change in the hopes that schoolwork will provide their offspring with skills that will help them establish successful family consumer economies in the future. Gifts have become the means for parents to share and communicate with their children in a culture where older transfers of skill and even religious and ethnic values have declined. At the same time, consumer goods have become crucial in the formation of children’s identity, giving them material expressions of their growing independence from parents and markers of their roles and participation in peer groups. As a result, modern children in affluent families may also become separate from parents and siblings through their pursuit of consumer goods. Because parents expect that bestowing gifts on their offspring will create bonds across the generations, children’s consumer culture frequently frustrates adults insofar as it is alien to their memories of childhood and their expectations for their children’s futures.

See also: **Child Labor in Developing Countries; Child Labor in the West; Globalization.**

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GARY CROSS

Education, Europe

LITERACY in Europe has always been affected by conflict and competition among religious movements. The PRO-

TESTANT REFORMATION and the Catholic Counter-Reformation are examples that confirm this fact. Religious doctrines encouraged education of a select few in the Middle Ages, but additional reasons developed to educate more people from the Renaissance onward. For example, the growth of the urban economy in northern Italy during the fifteenth century necessitated that large numbers of children be taught about secular life.

The Frame and the Drive

Since the sixteenth century, the education of every young person in Europe has been framed by the dialectical relationship between the spiritual and the secular, which in practice has differed from century to century and from country to country. And these differences—between Protestants and Catholics, country folk and townspeople, girls and boys, the Mediterranean and the Nordic countries, and Eastern Europe and the West—have created a tension that formed the conditions for challenge and response.

From the Renaissance to the Reformation

By the fifteenth century, urban residents of northern Italy had developed a self-assured attitude toward life. People began to feel less subject to the will of God and more responsible for their own decisions. Thus, it became appropriate to teach according to humanistic principles, based on reason, contrary to the traditional religious scholastic ideals of education. In the arts, objects were no longer depicted from God’s perspective, but instead were viewed from a human’s place in the landscape. At the same time, scientists learned that the Earth was not located at the center of the universe; instead, it was just one of several planets that revolved around the sun. Both these understandings were crucial to the European belief that it was necessary to educate the public at large—not just a small clerical elite.

The Reformation

In the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic Church dominated both religion and education, controlling nearly all the schools and universities. There was, however, some growing opposition to the church’s monopoly. The Renaissance humanism that was concerned with individualism posed the greatest challenge to the ruling scholastic thinking. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a German monk named Martin Luther, who was a child of the Renaissance, declared himself opposed to the Roman Catholic Church. He wanted every person to read the Bible; thus, it became necessary to promote universal literacy. Subsequently, the Protestant movement began to develop its own school system.

After one of his visitations to a village in 1529, Luther compared many of its local priests unfavorably to cattle and pigs. Luther then began to write textbooks, one of which, *The Small Catechism*, still is used throughout Protestant Europe. This booklet was widely circulated, made possible by cheap distribution. According to Luther, the school was to be the daughter of the church. Most of the education of the



Marie Bashkirtseff's *The Meeting* (1884) was painted in the period immediately following the passage of the Ferry Law of 1883, which instituted free compulsory education in France. No longer a threatening political force, the young working-class boys shown here are on their way to school. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

rural peasant children took place in the church after the Sunday service; in the towns, separate schools, including GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, were established.

The Society of Jesus

The Protestant movement had set the pace of change in the field of education. A Spanish nobleman named Ignatius Loy-

ola, however, took up the challenge to defend education on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1553 he established the Collegium Romanum, a secondary school in Rome, which became a laboratory for the development of an effective school system in the Catholic world.

After a few years, similar schools were established in Italy, Spain, Portugal, India, and Germany. Each of these new institutions employed at least a dozen priests as teachers, contained a suitable house for the priests in connection with a church, and also included a garden. This educational establishment, which required a sound economic foundation, aimed to produce competent theologians, skilled professors of Latin and Greek, but most of all, excellent teachers who would be able to create a pious atmosphere. Of course, the overall aim of the new schools was to educate young people to be faithful Roman Catholics and thereby form a buffer against the expanding Protestant movement. By the seventeenth century, Jesuit educational institutions had been established in all the predominantly Catholic countries in Europe, as well as among the unlettered residents of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies outside of Europe. During the eighteenth century, secular authorities accused the Jesuits of using the end to justify the means. Some also questioned whether it was appropriate to allow an ecclesiastical group to educate children.

Enlightenment

In 1783 the German philosopher Immanuel Kant asked the question “What is enlightenment?” He answered “*Sapere Aude!*” meaning “have the courage to leave behind your ignorance.” Not all children could do this, but the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT movement helped to modernize and secularize education throughout the developed countries in Europe.

Despite the efforts of such reformers as Czech theologian JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS and British philosopher JOHN LOCKE, most eighteenth-century European parents paid a fee to send their children to dame schools, which provided nursery care rather than formal education. In a typical British parish of Islington between 1767 and 1814, for example, about 75 percent of poor boys and girls were illiterate. In the eighteenth century it was commonly believed that the poorer classes should not receive any education. In 1803 the bishop of London expressed it in this way: “It is safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in the state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them” (Hibbert, p. 450). The French philosopher JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU developed a theory of education based on the assumption that children were naturally good. He offered a different perspective; namely, that all teachers should give their students the liberty to learn from their own experience. In *Émile*, Rousseau’s model boy had to be taught by a professional teacher, not by his parents. Rousseau wrote that *Émile* should avoid the conventions of

civilization and learn from nature. He should be educated to be a good citizen and taught to work with his hands. Although many philosophers argued that the elementary education curriculum should be the same for boys and girls, in Rousseau’s work, *Émile*’s sister, Héloïse, was educated in preparation for life as a housewife.

Industrialization and Modernization

The growing urban economy, along with the new philosophies of the Enlightenment, made it possible for more people to think of themselves not just as workers, but as members of the larger society. Contrary to Martin Luther’s statement that a shoemaker should stick to his last, more and more people in the nineteenth century could move to new jobs or new social classes. Industrialization demanded a new middle class, which in turn required an education system that could produce a literate and broadly educated section of the population. To this end, the eighteenth-century grammar school curriculum was broadened from Greek and Latin to include history, science, chemistry, modern languages, and the national language. Educators needed to find out what parts of the different scientific subjects should be included in the curriculum, however, and this led to interesting discussions among teachers, university professors, and politicians. The measure or standard was to be *Allgemeinbildung*, that is, liberal education.

During the nineteenth century, all European states assumed responsibility for education at all levels. Private institutions were permitted, and often received public aid, but they had to conform to the laws of the state. The aims of universal elementary education were no longer considered to be simply religious and economic, for in an age of increasing democracy, the school also had to prepare the pupils for participation in political and civic life. The elementary school and compulsory military service, which became common in Europe in the nineteenth century, prepared males for trade and citizenship. This process of national unification had a high priority in the so-called new countries—namely, Greece and Belgium—in 1830, followed by Germany and Italy in the 1860s. In most European countries people were bilingual, and a condition for effective nation-building was a uniform national language. In Brittany, a region of France, for example, in order to prevent pupils from speaking the local language teachers forced children who spoke Breton to wear an ox bone or a wooden choker around their necks.

To develop an effective primary school system which could support the new nation-state, teachers had to be educated in training colleges, and this process stimulated the pedagogical debate. How should classroom discipline be maintained? Which were the best ways of teaching calculation? How should schools be constructed and classrooms organized?

Better economic conditions in the 1830s encouraged the development of new and more effective forms of education.

These changes were barely noticeable in university education or at the secondary level, but major advances occurred in the primary schools. As long as the gross domestic product relied more heavily on agrarian production than on trade and industry, however, access to higher education had to be limited (because few professionals would be needed in such a society). From 1840 to 1880 the population in Europe rose by 33 percent, but the number of children attending school jumped by 145 percent. In Italy the number of children attending primary school doubled in the fifteen years after the country was unified in 1840. France, after being defeated by the Germans in 1870 in the Franco-Prussian War, gave a high priority to education under the Law of 1873. The minister of education, Jules Ferry, had great visions for the educational system, which at the primary level was to be free, compulsory, and secular. In 1883 he wrote an open letter to all teachers in France concerning the main principles for the public school. Ferry said the new schools should stress morals and civics instead of religious instruction, which was to be the obligation of the family and the church.

Literacy rates varied widely throughout Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Germany, Scotland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, over 90 percent of the population could read; in France, England, and Belgium, approximately 80 percent of the citizens were literate, while in Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece the percentage dropped to around 50 percent. Allowing for difficulty in collecting the data, these differences were nonetheless remarkable. The main cause was likely to have been the varying degrees of industrialization, but this factor is not sufficient to explain all the differences. For instance, in 1870 Germany was no less industrialized than England and France, but nevertheless the educational systems in each country were very unlike one another. Universal elementary education, financed by the state, was established in Scandinavia and Germany by the beginning of the nineteenth century, whereas it was not made compulsory in Britain and France until the 1870s. The nation's governments varied in their ideological commitments to private education.

The Democratization of the Schools

The growth and the increasing sophistication of industrial production in the first half of the twentieth century made society far more complex; this complexity posed a challenge to all kinds of education.

If the solution in the nineteenth century had been primary education for all, the answer in the twentieth century was to be secondary education for all. This aim was the title of a pamphlet written by R. H. Tawney for the British Labour Party in 1922, recommending a break at age eleven, when pupils were to be allocated to different categories of schools. Under the 1944 Educational Act, secondary education was made universal and free. Reformers hoped that the system

would develop along tripartite lines: grammar schools, technical schools, and secondary modern schools. Placing the children in different types of schools would allow educators to provide a curriculum that suited their needs. Many European countries practiced the break at eleven. In 1896 Norway created a so-called middle school, and Denmark and Sweden followed suit. In France the urban academic pupils could choose a more advanced line of education which would prepare them to either take jobs such as bank clerk or railway company servant, or to continue their education at an upper secondary school.

Girls were allowed to participate in elementary education, but they were normally excluded from secondary schools, except those run privately or by the church. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, girls were legally allowed to enter the universities; this development compelled European governments to make equal secondary school provisions for female students. As the family evolved during the twentieth century from a traditional extended family to a nuclear structure, new jobs were created in the public sphere, where educated women were in demand.

The educational pedagogy in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by traditional classroom teaching. This practice had its virtues; namely, the teacher could take personal conditions into consideration to meet the needs of most students. But in many cases, teaching conditions did not favor respect for the individual pupil. Big classes, insufficient teaching material, choleric teachers, and the necessity in some rural areas to teach children of different ages in one room complicated the traditional approach. In most European countries, reform-minded educators became inspired by pioneer educators such as the United States' JOHN DEWEY, Italy's MARIA MONTESSORI, and the German anthroposophist RUDOLF STEINER. But nonetheless, the overall tendency was an education rooted in a centralized curriculum, controlled by examinations, and taught by teachers who were at best authoritative or at worst authoritarian. In most European countries, if the parents were not satisfied with the public school, they had three other options: they could send their child to a private school, to a so-called free school with a milder discipline and democratic ethos, or they could teach their children themselves.

The Posttraditional Society

After World War II, the Cold War infiltrated European classrooms. In France and Italy the communists were supported by more than a fifth of the population; moreover, regions of Eastern Europe from Lübeck to Trieste had been transformed into Communist states which promoted a utilitarian, politically dogmatic educational pedagogy. Although the United States wanted to establish comprehensive education in its German occupation zone, West German politicians wanted to return to the pre-Nazi tripartite system. Spain and Portugal, however, remained as they were before

the war—fascist dictatorships where no reforms were expected.

As industrial production became more technological, demand grew for white-collar workers to supplement the traditional blue-collar labor force. In the 1970s, conventional wisdom referred to the service society; in the 1980s, economists described the information society; and in the 1990s, experts coined the term the knowledge society. These developments had a great impact on education. Furthermore, new scientific discoveries entered the classrooms, which necessitated new forms of teaching. For example, knowledge of computers and the Internet had to be integrated in all subjects.

In a rapidly changing society, it is not sufficient to maintain one's competence; rather, it is necessary to engage in lifelong education. Given the extent of GLOBALIZATION it is not possible for nation-states to maintain their own individual standards. For example, international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have created channels to further global communication in the educational field. British sociologist Anthony Giddens described what he called the *post-traditional period*. He suggested that tradition should no longer be the guideline for education and for life; in the modern world, risks dominate and individuals must continually assess the pros and cons of their decisions. In such a complex world, education must also be more complex, and the solutions to teaching problems could be to create new subjects or to combine existing subjects in new ways. Thus, interdisciplinary work has become common in all types of secondary schools and the universities.

There are at least two paths to choose when planning an educational approach. One is the Anglo-Saxon curriculum, popular in Great Britain and the Scandinavian comprehensive schools. All pupils follow the same core curriculum and progressively they are given more choices in order to follow their individual talents. The comprehensive system responds to the challenge of globalization by teaching a variety of school subjects. Each student's proficiency is tested periodically to ensure that the teaching objectives are being satisfied. Another approach is the German or continental didactical method. Instead of choosing elective courses, students decide to attend one of three types of secondary schools: Hauptschule (26 percent), Realschule (27 percent) or Gymnasium (32 percent). Only a few students choose to go to private schools; the remaining 9 percent attend a comprehensive school. The pupils do not have a free choice between different institutions, however; their teachers at the lower level decides for them. The pupils in the Hauptschule can continue their studies at the vocational training schools, those who attend the Realschule can go to technical schools, and the pupils in the Gymnasium can go to the sixth form and continue their studies at the university and academy. In

fact, although there are relatively few choices between subjects in the German system, it ensures coherence and progression. Moreover, the teachers are free to develop a personal didactic approach to teaching, often with student participation, in order to prepare their pupils for the final state-controlled examinations.

In the 1990s, to prepare their citizens to contribute to the knowledge society, several European countries formulated an education plan. This approach expected 95 percent of young people to graduate from secondary school, with 50 percent of those students going on to university. In order to fulfill this plan, it was appropriate to stress the learning rather than teaching; educators discussed terms such as the Process for Enhancing Effective Learning (PEEL, a method developed in Australia) in order to focus on the responsibility of the pupils. Because the individualization of education made it difficult to know whether all students had reached an acceptable proficiency level, it was therefore necessary to evaluate the educational process and its results. Swiss psychologist JEAN PIAGET's theory of children's maturation influenced these educators. They also incorporated the ideas of German philosopher Wolfgang Klafki, who promoted categorical learning as a synthesis of material and formal education.

The development of globalization presented a challenge to the European nation-state; one of the responses has been the development of the European Union (EU), a trading bloc with a common currency. Another was the collaboration between the industrialized countries of the world in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This organization developed a program called PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) which in 1998 published a review called *Knowledge and Skills for Life*. This comprehensive account showed "evidence on the performance in reading, mathematical and scientific literacy of students, schools and countries, provides insight into the factors that influence the development of these skills at home and at school, and examines how these factors interact and what implications are for the policy development." More than a quarter of a million students, representing almost seventeen million fifteen-year-olds enrolled in the schools of the thirty-two participating countries, were assessed in 2000. The literacy level among students in the European countries differed very much from one nation to the next. Finland was at the top, followed by Ireland, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Iceland, Norway, France, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, the Czech Republic, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Greece, Portugal, and Luxembourg. All sorts of explanations for the differences can be brought forward, and there probably is no single underlying factor. Economic variation is likely to be a contributing factor, but it is not sufficient. The report concludes that the socioeconomic background of the students, although important, does not solely determine performance. Religious affili-

ations are no longer a decisive factor, but combined with the fact that countries like Germany and Luxembourg have a comparatively large number of immigrants with a different cultural background, religion may have had some influence on reading proficiency. Other factors could be the regional differences in teacher training, the structure of the native language, or the reading traditions in the home.

The Trend

The Reformation in the early sixteenth century gave illiterate children in Europe an opportunity to learn basic reading skills in order to understand the holy texts. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century questioned the power of the church and gave the new nation-states more control over the education of ordinary girls and boys. During the nineteenth century, European states increasingly wanted to provide a universal, free, and compulsory secular education, practiced by trained teachers in suitable buildings. The sophistication of the industrial production was a new challenge to schools in the twentieth century, and educators began to provide a secondary education for all. Globalization presented a challenge to the pedagogical thinking through the implementation of new teaching material and the Internet. In the knowledge society, the schools began to compete not only at a national or regional but also at an international level. The European school of the third millennium needs to prepare its students to participate in lifelong learning.

See also: **Education, United States; Gymnasium Schooling; Lycée; Public Schools: Britain.**

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HARRY HAUE

Education, United States

From the colonial period to the present, the question of how to properly educate and socialize children and youth has preoccupied parents, teachers, and other adults. With the establishment of more fully inclusive, free public schools in the nineteenth century, Americans increasingly made formal instruction outside of the home or workplace a significant aspect of most children's experience. Prolonged school attendance, rare before the Civil War, became increasingly

common by the early twentieth century. HIGH SCHOOLS, which enrolled a small fraction of adolescents even in the late nineteenth century, soon became mass institutions. By the 1920s, there were already more students attending secondary schools in some American cities than in some European nations. Over the course of the century, attending school became an integral part of growing up in America.

Schools in Colonial America

The modern emphasis on attending school contrasts sharply with the experiences of most children and adolescents in colonial America. A wide variety of schools existed, especially in the northern colonies, but they were not compulsory or necessarily linked together in any kind of system. Most famously, the early Puritan settlers required the establishment of schools in local towns and villages; communities sometimes evaded the laws, but many established elementary schools and even a local Latin GRAMMAR SCHOOL, the latter usually restricted to a few bookish boys preparing for college. Schools paled in significance, however, compared with the authority of parents and churches. Parents, particularly fathers, were expected to teach children to read, in order to ensure their capacity to read the Bible, before they attended the elementary school, which emphasized the importance of reading, Christian morality, and to a lesser extent numeracy.

Before the American Revolution, generations of children would recite their ABCs from successive editions of the *New England Primer*. Every school child, whether Puritan or not, was explicitly reminded by these primers of the sacred quality of language, which Christians had long regarded as a divine gift, as well as of their own sinful nature: "A: After Adam's Fall, We Sinn'd All." School children in reading classes also recited the Lord's Prayer and memorized scripture; older boys in Latin grammar schools memorized Latin and advanced math as they prepared for their college entrance exams.

Children growing up in places with heterogeneous populations—for example, New York City or rural communities in Pennsylvania—also attended schools, and adults there similarly assumed that pupils should learn basic LITERACY, numeracy, and religious faith. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and other Protestants often built denominational schools, sometimes with a mix of public and private funds. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Quakers in greater Philadelphia established schools for their own children as well as for free black adults and children. The slave South, in contrast, with its rural, dispersed population, had fewer schools, especially outside of the cities, leading to lower literacy rates among poor whites and especially among black slaves, 90 percent to 95 percent of whom may have been illiterate at the time of emancipation.

As in Europe, colonial Americans debated the nature of children and the best ways to educate them. There was never any clear consensus on the nature of children or on how they

should be educated or reared. Evangelicals often proclaimed that children were evil by nature, thanks to the misdeeds of Adam and Eve; their wills needed to be broken, which reinforced the familiar use of the switch. More moderate voices among Protestants held a more balanced view of the young, emphasizing Christian nurture, parental understanding, and the human potential made possible by free will. To most parents and educators, however, learning was widely seen as a form of moral discipline. Nearly every child who attended any school faced a regimen of study, memorization, and recitation, which was essential in learning religious truths as well as the alphabet or the rules of grammar and multiplication.

For the great majority of children and adolescents, school remained a minor aspect of life. Benjamin Franklin, while not a typical American as an adult, was perhaps typical in terms of his childhood. Reared in a large, poor family in Boston, he had some private tuition and attended the Boston Latin School, which he disliked, preferring to read on his own outside the constraints of educational institutions. Self-help long remained an attractive ideal to many citizens.

Some colonials certainly had access to schools. Modest one-room district schools dotted the New England countryside after the mid-eighteenth century, and many northern villages and towns (as well as southern communities) had private pay schools that taught such specialized subjects as French, drawing, or navigation. Other children had access to various elementary and grammar schools. But school attendance even in the North was not universal and was usually brief or irregular. The majority of children everywhere mostly learned what they needed in life at home, where girls worked with their mothers to learn the art of gardening and housewifery and boys tended animals and helped work the fields. To learn a trade or special skill, boys in particular, at around the age of twelve, were sometimes apprenticed to a master outside of the home, though such arrangements dramatically declined in the early 1800s. The modern world—with its age-graded, compulsory school systems, CONSUMER CULTURE, and linkage of jobs with educational credentials—was largely unknown during the colonial period. A tiny percentage of the male population attended colleges, nine of which existed by 1776, providing the nation with ministers, professionals, and members of its political elite.

The Creation of Public Schools

In the nineteenth century, the most important developments in the history of childhood and adolescence included the creation of public schools, first in the North in the antebellum period and in the South after the Civil War. This was an age of rising expectations for schooling, born in an age of intense evangelical Protestantism and dramatic social change, including the rise of cities, expanding commerce, and intensified industrialization. Late in the century, however, most children, even in the best financed school districts in the North, left school by the age of ten to twelve due to the pri-

macy of work and other family obligations. The creation of free high schools, an integral part of the public school movement, also led to the decline of private academies, particularly in the North, where they had provided most secondary education before the 1870s. In the South, the public schools created during Reconstruction were soon segregated by race, and they were poorly funded compared to the North, with African-American schools routinely starved for money. As in the colonial past, regional differences remained very visible.

The evangelical as well as secular reformers who built free, tax-supported public schools in the decades before the Civil War imposed an expansive mission upon them. Reformers claimed at different times that schools could end social conflict, create American citizens, save the republic, and reduce public immorality as well as poverty. This was a tall order, and impossible to fill, but it reflected the millennial hopes of the era. Ideas about education as well as school practices remained heavily shaped by religious values, particularly nondenominational Protestantism. Many schools began the school day with the Lord's Prayer and a reading without comment by the teacher from the King James version of the Bible; this offended enough Catholics that a fledgling PAROCHIAL SCHOOL system began to emerge in some northern cities by mid-century.

Shaping children's character—by having them attend school punctually, obey authority, honor rules and regulations, and attend to their lessons—was central to the thinking behind all of these schools. By the 1820s and 1830s, young scholars typically studied the proverbial three Rs plus English grammar and some geography and history. The McGuffey Readers, which became more secular and less religious in later editions, taught the values of piety and virtue, and Webster's ubiquitous spellers, as well as their rivals, emphasized the English language, uniform spelling and punctuation, and proper diction. Children studying geography learned of the grandeur of America and its material riches, and those studying history of its greatness among nations.

Boston established the first free high school as an alternative to the Latin grammar school and classical education in 1821. Other big cities in the North followed suit and similarly restricted admission to boys, a trend that was soon reversed in most communities. Separate male and female high schools remained common in the urban South and the larger northern cities, but the trend, as in the lower grades, was toward coeducation. At mid-century, whether in the ubiquitous, ungraded rural schools of the North or in the age-graded classrooms in the cities, boys and girls increasingly attended school together, even if they entered the building through separate entrances or sat in different rows within the classroom. This was seen as an alternative to Catholic and European practices, which often practiced strict gender separation.

Public high schools enrolled only a minority of adolescents in the nineteenth century. As late as 1890, only about 5 percent of all adolescents were enrolled. In most places the majority of pupils were girls, many of whom, whether or not they graduated, became elementary school teachers. Boys became clerks or white-collar professionals, and only a minority of high school pupils of either gender enrolled in college. Drawn mostly from a broad range of middle-class families, high school pupils usually maintained their family status and position through secondary education. Like children in the lower grades, students of the higher branches memorized reams of material, which they learned from textbooks and recited to their teachers. High schools also largely remained urban institutions, though northern villages after the 1850s often built larger central schools, which offered secondary classes for the more mature and advanced pupils.

Public School Expansion

Children in the cities were widely regarded as having the best educational opportunities in the nineteenth century. At least that was the point of view of most professional educators, who saw the cities, with their greater and more concentrated wealth and student populations, as model sites for educational experimentation and improvement. Cities over the course of the century increasingly hired women to teach, especially in the lower grades; had a more standardized and uniform curriculum; and added additional subjects late in the century, such as sewing for girls and drawing and manual training for everyone. Reformers who were inspired by romantic notions of the child called for more social cooperation and less competition in the classroom and demanded the elimination of corporal punishment and rote teaching methods. Most schools, however, embraced tradition and rejected these ideas as unsound and impractical. In contrast, schools everywhere seemed to catch the spirit of nationalism and patriotism sweeping over the nation in the 1890s. The nation's flag increasingly appeared atop school houses, and an early version of the pledge of allegiance became a common opening school exercise.

In the South, public school expansion after the Civil War progressed slowly. Despite some initial success at building racially integrated schools in such places as New Orleans in the early 1870s, schools throughout the South became formally segregated, reflecting a policy of racial apartheid enshrined in 1896 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Northern schools were also frequently racially segregated, sometimes by conscious intent, sometimes by custom; below the Mason-Dixon Line, separation was complete and legally mandated. Under this Jim Crow system, African-American schools suffered the most, and the South overall remained economically backward compared to the more urban, industrial North. In 1900, the much poorer South had twice as many children to educate as the North. Having a dual system of public education, one for whites and one for blacks, spread scarce resources even thinner.

In all regions, the twentieth century witnessed the continual expansion of the power and authority of public schools in the lives of children and adolescents. New ideas about childhood—that the young should be sheltered from the workplace; that compulsory school laws should be extended and strengthened; that the schools should offer a more diverse curriculum; and that the schools should provide more social services and welfare—also gained support. High schools, which for many decades had served relatively few adolescents, expanded dramatically and by the middle of the century had become mass institutions. In the second half of the twentieth century, schools became even more intensively linked with the job market and took on greater credentialing roles. Similarly, for different reasons, federal interest in the schools, which had historically been low, intensified in the liberal 1960s and even in the more conservative decades that followed. On the eve of the twenty-first century, few citizens downplayed the importance of a quality education for everyone, even if the rhetoric outpaced the reality and precise definitions of such an education remained unclear and contested.

School attendance in the elementary and grammar level grades became increasingly universal in the early decades of the twentieth century. The assimilation of immigrants had long been a goal of the public schools, and this only accelerated with the massive foreign migrations from central and southern Europe between the 1890s and World War I, which swelled enrollments in many parts of the urban and industrial North. In addition, a range of reformers during this period pressed for an expanded social role for the schools, including the addition of broadened social welfare services. Responsibilities traditionally regarded as the purview of the home, charitable institutions, or the workplace were increasingly assumed by the school. Locally funded school lunches, especially for the poor, were common in many cities decades before passage of the National School Lunch Act after World War II. In many cities, schools built playgrounds, gyms, and even swimming pools, as physical education grew in importance. Medical and dental inspection of children became common. The three Rs and academic subjects remained central to most schools, but the social functions of public education continued to expand by World War I. With the intense consolidation of rural schools into larger units over the course of the century, reforms that began in the cities increasingly became commonplace in most school systems.

In elementary schools, new forms of classroom organization, such as ability grouping, first found in urban graded classrooms in the early 1900s, forever changed the experience of going to school. Scientific testing, reflecting the larger fascination with scientific management in the business world, produced an array of “objective” measures to determine the academic potential and achievement of every child. Newly developed intelligence tests became popular and were

used in concert with achievement test scores and teachers' reports on children's reading ability. This helped in assigning children to a particular ability group. In some schools, teachers separated pupils within classrooms into slow, average, and accelerated reading groups; in others, pupils were placed in separate classes with academically similar children. Critics then and later warned that the use of scientific, "objective" measures discriminated against poor, immigrant, and minority children. Testing also promoted the expansion of special classes for "exceptional" children, later known as SPECIAL EDUCATION classes (whose enrollments in a diversity of programs would begin to skyrocket by the 1970s and 1980s).

Elementary and especially grammar and high school enrollments in the early 1900s were given a boost with the arrival of millions of adult immigrants, who displaced older children and especially adolescents from the work force. Technological innovations—the use of the pneumatic tube in department stores and office buildings, growing reliance upon the telephone, changes in the sale and distribution of newspapers—also displaced youthful workers such as messenger boys and the newsboys on the street corner. Adolescents were especially affected by these economic changes and by competition from adult laborers. As a result, high school enrollment grew dramatically in the northern states in the early decades of the twentieth century, followed by equally impressive growth in the Jim Crow South. Nationally, about half of all adolescents attended high school by 1930, leading to remarkable changes in the nature, purposes, and character of the institution.

The High School as a Mass Institution

By the 1920s and 1930s, as the high school became a less socially and academically selective institution, it increasingly became part of mass public education. Historically, elementary and secondary schools were fairly distinct institutions, poorly articulated with each other. Most children before the 1920s had never attended high school, but it was now a more common experience, whose social functions, like that of the lower grades, changed dramatically. As the GREAT DEPRESSION further eliminated many job opportunities for TEENAGERS (the term itself was coined in the early 1940s), the high school became a more custodial institution, one that tried to meet a rising demand to educate everyone. By the 1950s, expectations rose even higher, as more Americans increasingly thought that everyone, perhaps, should graduate.

In response to a larger and more diverse student population, the curriculum of the typical high school correspondingly became more diversified. Unlike their European counterparts, who differentiated pupils at an earlier age for separate academic or vocational secondary schools, American policymakers favored the comprehensive high school. Increasingly common by World War I, the comprehensive high school had separate curriculum tracks, or streams,

under the same roof. This was seen as democratic in the sense that pupils attended the same school, even though they were enrolled in different programs, presumably to match their academic achievement and potential (as determined by previous grades, IQ test scores, etc.) and likely destination in life. Academic subjects were directed more toward the high-achieving students, especially those aspiring to college, whose enrollments were growing and would dramatically expand in the 1960s. The high school had always been academically oriented, but the academic curriculum increasingly became synonymous with college preparation. Vocational courses of study, which disproportionately served the lower classes, were typically less prestigious and academically weaker, but they contained a breadth of offerings. These included commercial subjects (such as typing or shorthand) and home economics for girls, and classes such as carpentry, leather craft, and automobile repair for boys. The college and non-college bound alike thus found a niche in the comprehensive high school.

The expanding array of courses, programs, and pupils in the high school blurred its academic mission, which was further clouded by a dramatic rise in nonacademic activities, collectively known as the extracurriculum. Just as the diversified curriculum presumably addressed the varying intellectual needs and potential of youth, so too did the appearance of an increased number of social activities that promised to appeal to the now less-than-selective student body. Competitive SPORTS, for example, became enormously popular. By the 1920s, complaints about the excesses of high school BASKETBALL in Utah and Indiana and football in Texas were already heard in the national press. School-based student clubs proliferated, from academic specialties like the French club or honor society, to the radio club, ukelele club, Future Teachers of America, and Future Farmers of America. Still other pupils worked on the school newspaper or yearbook staff or served in STUDENT GOVERNMENT. After studying community life in Muncie, Indiana, in the 1920s, sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd concluded that the local high school was a "social cosmos" unto itself. It was no longer simply an academic institution, but a social world whose parameters seemed to know no bounds. This troubled some taxpayers and parents, and complaints about the subdued attention to academics echo to this day.

In a nation as diverse as America, high schools, like elementary schools and JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS below them, remained very diverse, even though they were all shaped by the same general trends. In some major cities in the North, specialized high schools focused on the sciences or the arts, and they remained academically elite, with admission guarded by competitive admission exams. The American high school was a study in diversity. High schools within the same town or city could differ enormously, reflecting the makeup of particular neighborhoods or which children were assigned to particular institutions. Some high schools were a cross-

section of their communities, while others overrepresented particular ethnic, racial, or social classes. In many small towns, high schools became an important way for people to identify with their community. Some citizens cared more about athletic success than academic programs; others counted the ever-expanding number of high school graduates as a sign of progress, while naysayers assumed that the academic quality of the high school had been unduly sacrificed along the way. Although adults frequently argued among themselves about whether academics counted for much in high school, alumni by the 1940s and 1950s probably remembered, for good or ill, its social side—dances, friendships, peer cultures, and athletic events—more than what they learned in algebra or shop.

Reform and the Role of the Schools

Traditional teaching methods were occasionally altered in some schools in the first half of the twentieth century, adding to the diversity of classroom experiences. A variety of Progressive educators called for a more experimental approach to teaching and learning, usually involving a more active role for the child in an assault on teacher- and subject-centered classrooms. Such ideas found expression more in the lower than the higher grades. This was accomplished through more group work on school projects, learning by doing, field trips, or other innovative approaches. Some of these ideas bore fruit, but mostly in affluent suburbs such as Winnetka, Illinois, in the 1930s; even there, however, flexibility did not come at the expense of mastering the basics. For most children in most elementary schools, the traditional emphasis on academic subjects, especially on reading and math in the early grades, remained common, and textbooks and their new allies, workbooks, were ubiquitous. Progressive educators despaired over the traditional ways of the high schools, where subject matter and teacher authority had long reigned supreme, and critics discovered that even shop teachers lectured or read to pupils out of textbooks. The curricula of high schools had undergone important changes with the rise of vocationalism, but teachers often ignored pleas for a more student-centered pedagogy.

In the second half of the twentieth century, about 90 percent of all children and teenagers were enrolled in the public schools. The exodus of teenagers from the workplace during the Depression was somewhat reversed with the rise of the service and fast food industry, but after-school jobs did not diminish the centrality of the public high school in the lives of most young people. As high school attendance increased, it provided a basis for the booming expansion of college enrollments of the 1960s, fueling fears from some parents and citizens that the schools were not academic enough. The launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957 had convinced many citizens that the Soviets had superior schools; America's schools, they said, should raise standards and return to the basics in the interests of national defense. But the 1960s also inherited a quite different legacy from the Eisen-

hower era: the prospect of racial integration and the schools. In a landmark 1954 decision, *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled segregated schools to be unconstitutional, leading to rancorous debates that again focused attention on the place of schools in the lives of children and adolescents; these debates live with us still.

Thanks to the rise of the civil rights movement and the Great Society reforms of President Lyndon Baines Johnson in the 1960s, the importance of public schools in American society remained evident, as liberal activists attempted to make them part of a wider campaign for social justice. Federal monies poured into elementary schools to try to improve the academic success of underprivileged children, and numerous programs at the high school level reached for the same lofty goal. *HEAD START* grew out of this liberal moment but over time gained bipartisan support. Bicultural and *BILINGUAL EDUCATION* programs, less popular with conservatives, gained more ground and federal support. After the 1960s, as liberalism faded and conservative views gained popularity, the role of public schools in American culture would be the subject of heated public debates, but these schools continue to serve the vast majority of children and adolescents and continue to play an important role in their socialization and education.

In the 1960s, liberal policy makers emphasized the importance of federal programs to promote greater equality, opportunity, and racial and economic justice in the schools. Since the 1980s, more conservative policy makers in Washington, as well as many on the state and local levels, have emphasized the importance of setting high academic standards for the nation's schools. They have also reemphasized the traditional notion of civic education, character education, and the importance of training the young to become productive workers. The standards movement reflected revived support for free market, competitive values, the reorientation of the economy away from heavy industry and toward the service industry and technology, and the spread of an economically integrated global economy. Since the Reagan years, presidents and governors of both major parties have regularly endorsed proposals to strengthen the academic character of the public schools, with mixed results. At the same time, the experience of attending school continues to reflect their many and varied social purposes.

In many communities, despite various movements for reform, the local public school often continues to have a blurred academic purpose. Special education programs, with a diverse student population, have proliferated, making universal academic standards difficult to set or at least impossible for every child to meet. And the great diversity of schools—in inner city northern ghettos, southwestern barrios, rich suburbs, small towns, and everything in between—ensures that having common intellectual outcomes in such

wildly different environments remains a utopian goal. Some schools continue to enroll many poor and minority pupils, many from families where English is a second language, and many who qualify for a free school meal. For very poor children, a free breakfast and lunch or a safe haven from violent streets may be as important as high standardized test scores are for upper-class parents living in gated suburbs.

The drive for more testing in academic subjects became irresistible in the early years of the twenty-first century, as exemplified by the requirements in President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind legislation. After some success at building more racially integrated schools in the 1970s, a trend toward resegregation has become apparent. How schools are to construct a more uniform curriculum in a multicultural world, where assimilation is not unquestionably accepted, also remains a heated issue. The fairness of common, even high-stakes, tests for everyone when disparities in school funding from district to district remain so wide similarly leads many to wonder whether testing will have much impact on school improvement. And finally, despite all the joys and importance of learning academic subjects, for many children the schools still remain to an important degree part of a social experience. In addition to their intellectual functions, schools have evolved as key social institutions, a place where friendships are made and broken, where social skills are taught if not always learned, and where learning about academic subjects competes with other human needs. The intellectual aims and social purposes of schools will remain in tension in the lives of children and adults into the foreseeable future.

See also: Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling; Compulsory School Attendance; Education, Europe; Progressive Education; Urban School Systems, The Rise of; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.

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WILLIAM J. REESE

Egg Donation

Egg donation involves, first, the synchronizing of the egg donor and egg recipient's menstrual cycles, the stimulation of multiple egg production in the donor, and the stimulation of endometrial lining development in the recipient through hormone injections. Then, the donor's eggs are removed with a small needle, fertilized in vitro, and several days later successfully fertilized eggs are transferred to the recipient's uterus. A successful birth from a donated egg was first reported in Australia in 1984. By 1994, it was estimated that there had been at least 750 births from donated eggs in the United States. Egg donation has generally been used in cases in which the recipient is infertile but wants to experience pregnancy and give birth to a child who is genetically related to the recipient's (male) partner, or in cases in which the recipient is a surrogate, carrying the fetus of a donor who has fertile eggs but who cannot sustain a pregnancy.

Despite there being many fewer births from donated eggs than from donated sperm, egg donation has attracted more criticism and regulation in Europe and the United States than has sperm donation. While sperm donors are generally paid for their donations, in Great Britain, payment for egg donors beyond compensation for time and expense has been banned out of fear that women's reproductive capacities will be exploited, either by themselves or by others. In contrast, in some poorer countries, such as Brazil, women can receive access to reproductive technologies in return for egg donation. While it is not clear that refusing women compensation for their donated eggs constitutes a nonexploitative policy, it is true that health risks and discomfort are much greater for egg donors than for sperm donors. Complications from the procedure can cause infection and possible infertility, and hormone injections put women at greater risk for various cancers. Donors are also asked to undergo a battery of tests before donating, and the hormone injections and surgery can have extremely uncomfortable side effects.

Egg donation has also attracted particularly widespread controversy in cases where nonwhite recipients have chosen to receive eggs from white donors. While many are uncritical of the eugenic implications of white recipients examining

elaborate donor dossiers and paying tens of thousands of dollars in order to choose the eggs of white, blond, blue-eyed, athletic donors with graduate degrees, the apparently eugenic choice by a nonwhite woman of a white donor raises popular ire to a much greater degree. Controversy has also erupted around the donation of eggs to postmenopausal women, and it has been made illegal in some countries. For example, in 2000, the donation of eggs to postmenopausal women was banned in Italy by the self-regulatory body of the medical profession, and in the Netherlands eggs could be donated only to women up to age 44, which is well under the average age of menopause. While egg donation provides opportunities to challenge some norms of motherhood and kinship, legal and popular censure often stem those opportunities, and the norm of women as mothers is inevitably promoted.

Typically, egg donors, unlike sperm donors, have not remained anonymous, and have often been recruited by egg recipients and their partners through personal connections with family and friends, as well as less personal methods such as newspaper ads and e-mails. Anthropologist Gay Becker points out the extensive work recipients and their partners do to define egg donors' relationships to, and within, the family, trying to include donors in some way as family members while refusing them any status as "mothers." Becker also describes recipients' efforts to "naturalize" egg donation, claiming kinship to their children though the biological link of pregnancy and birth rather than that of genetics. Like other new reproductive technologies, egg donation highlights, sometimes challenges, and in some ways reinforces cultural ideas about kinship, motherhood, and gender.

See also: **Adoption; Artificial Insemination; Conception and Birth; Fertility Drugs; Obstetrics and Midwifery; Surrogacy.**

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LARA FREIDENFELDS

Emotional Life

Scholars debate how much children's actual emotions have changed in the last five hundred years of Western history, yet all agree that the nature and extent of cultural interest in the emotional lives of children has shifted dramatically. From the sixteenth century to the twenty-first, from theologians to moralists, to novelists, to psychologists, to sociologists and anthropologists, adults interested in defining and regulating emotion have often trained their eyes and ears on

the lips and tongues of children. Whether children's souls were viewed as stained with sinful passions waiting to be cleansed, their hearts regarded as empty vessels ready to be filled with finer feelings, or their psyches seen as the seat of complex emotions ripe for discovery and discussion, over time the emotional life of children has been the focus of ever-increasing levels of adult attention. Historians charting such changes have been able to make few authoritative pronouncements about the lived inner experiences of children's emotions for most of this period. There simply are no records to consult that can reliably reveal the subjective texture of children's emotional lives in past times. On the other hand, historians have employed an incredibly creative array of methods and sources to try to make sense of the outward tracks and traces of children's emotion that have been left behind.

Emotional History in Context: Scholarly Debates about Historical Change

The first contemporary historians of emotions found fewer differences between the emotional lives of early modern adults and their children than between early modern and modern adult emotional attitudes. In the mid-twentieth century, many historians of early modern Europe argued that, regardless of age, the people of past times were universally childlike in their emotions, at least compared to contemporary standards. They cast early modern people as given to frequent, unpredictable, and extravagant outbursts of emotion, especially of rage, grief, jealousy, lust, and avarice. In this model, LOVE was portrayed as a rare feeling which, when it existed at all, passed mutely between male fellows, or flamed briefly in romantic entanglements outside the realm of marriage.

There was, according to this argument, little love within the family, either between husbands and wives or between parents and children. The family was simply a cooperative economic unit in which children were regarded as little adults in training, to be set loose in the world the moment they were able to earn their livelihood. This situation supposedly held until the rise of the modern era, an era begun by Protestant reforms, shaped by the rise of market capitalism, and marked by the growth of individualism. Released from its earlier economic frame, the family was free to develop more elaborate moral and affective functions. The emergence of what some scholars have called "affective individualism" led to an increasing emphasis on loving relations within the family. In the early 1970s, many historians of colonial America applied this paradigm to their subjects and argued that, as late as the seventeenth century, emotional ties were at most a limited feature of family life.

Subsequent work has tempered these extreme views, however; many historians have since unearthed evidence of the importance of emotional bonds within early modern families, especially between parents and children. Most historians now reject extremist characterizations of early mod-



Child Bitten by a Crayfish (c. 1558), Sofonisba Anguissola. This sixteenth-century drawing is a tender image of an upsetting event in a young boy's life. © Pedicini Napoli, Archivio dell'Arte, Galleria Nazionale de Capodimonte.

ern people as childlike in their rages and stunted in their love. Considerable evidence, from religious writings to court cases, indicates that early modern people were extremely troubled by the dangers they perceived to be inherent in violent emotion; moreover, poetry, letters, and diaries from this period contain ample evidence of strong family feelings.

Yet, even as recent historians have largely come to agree that loving relations between parents and children were likely quite prevalent throughout the early modern period, they have also come to a renewed appreciation of the fact that—whatever the continuities of the currents of subjective emotional experience—there have been marked changes in the kinds of ideals espoused and the extent of emotions expressed by and about children in past times. In fact, current

scholarship recognizes that while historians in the mid-twentieth century may have overstated claims that early modern emotion was fundamentally and experientially different from modern emotion, they were quite right to remark that attitudes and ideas about children and the ideal role of emotion in family life have undergone significant changes from the early modern to the modern period.

Just as claims of radical disjuncture in the emotional lives of early modern and modern children now seem unlikely and exaggerated, models of undifferentiated continuity appear overly simplistic, not to mention ahistorical. Postmodern critical perspectives have brought home an awareness that experience itself is shaped at least in part by cultural ideas. The range of emotions identified and expressed by children

inevitably would have been molded to a great extent by the prevailing culture's understanding of emotion. Thus, historians have recently become aware of the importance of making cross-cultural as well as chronological comparisons. Attention to the changing cast of observers who took upon themselves the responsibility of cataloging and critiquing children's emotions is an important starting point for sorting out the changing nature of interest in children's emotional life.

Children's Emotions in Early Modern Europe and Seventeenth-Century British America

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, during the years following the Protestant Reformation, theologians and litigants left the most extensive records concerning attitudes towards children's emotions. In much of northern Europe (especially in England and Germany where a good deal of research has been focused) as well as in colonial English America, Calvinistic attitudes towards sin and salvation dominated concerns about children's emotions. Emotions in this period were most often referred to as passions, and they were regarded with suspicion as a primary manifestation of the sinful and selfish will.

A central belief of Calvinist Christianity was that each believer should submit his or her will to God's will, in order to experience his saving grace. Therefore, ministers preached that passions ought to be eliminated as much as possible, with every effort made to discipline the will. For parents and children, this meant that one of the primary obligations of family life was to teach children to conquer their passions. From infancy, parents began to discipline their children's emotions, meeting cries and tears with the switch and schooling their children to contain their emotions at all costs.

Some parents may have relished their religious duty to break their children's wills; others, however, may have found this process painful to inflict. Scholars have speculated that the common process of "putting children out," that is, sending them to live and work as servants or apprentices in the homes of neighboring families, resulted from parents' concerns that their natural affection for their own offspring would inhibit their ability to impose proper emotional discipline. In this view, excessive parental love could potentially imperil children's immortal souls.

One unintended consequence of this extreme cultural emphasis on the importance of emotional containment was that rebellious outbursts of emotion were extremely common. Early modern court records are rife not only with instances where anger overflowed into violence, but also with examples of cases where verbal violence alone was enough to send people to seek public redress against anger. Most plaintiffs in court cases were adult men suing for compensation on behalf of themselves or their female dependents. Occasionally, however, some fathers brought suit against their

children for angry and disrespectful behavior. On the one hand, the prevalence of court cases involving outbursts of anger supports the notion that early modern people, parents and children alike, were, by modern standards, especially passionate. On the other hand, the fact that these emotional outbursts were litigated in a court of law, rather than simply negotiated as a private matter, indicates how seriously early modern Europeans and European Americans took religious injunctions against the passions.

Immoderate emotions were not only an instrument of spiritual sin, they also could cause physical sickness. In this period, the germ theory of disease was as yet undeveloped. Instead, early modern medical theory posited that bodily health depended on the proper balance of the four humors, or bodily fluids, including blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. If any of the four humors accumulated to excess, the body would become too hot, too cold, too dry, or too moist, and thus subject to disease. To be "out of humor" was not simply to be in a bad mood, but actually to be in bad health. When parents urged their children to master their wills and subject their passions, they did so out of fear for both their spiritual and physical well-being.

Indeed, death and disease were ever-present in the early modern world. At a time when many children would not live to see adulthood, and when those that did might well lose a parent along the way, it is possible that family affection had less room to flower than it would have in later periods. This fact has led some scholars to argue against the development of a great degree of familial love between early modern parents and children. Scholars favoring this view have noted the common practice of reusing the name of a deceased child at the births of subsequent children and have argued that this implied a lack of strong feeling for the lost child. Other scholars have viewed the same evidence from the opposite angle and made the point that a desire to preserve and pass on traditional family names, even in the face of grave loss, actually indicates the great importance of familial bonds.

Another important piece of indirect evidence indicates that, for all of Calvinism's emphasis on the discipline of the will, loving relations were still the family ideal. Ministers frequently described themselves in their sermons as nursing fathers and mothers, and a common metaphor for conversion (for men and women alike) was to take Christ as one's bridegroom. The church's reliance on loving and nurturing family metaphors to describe emotional connections between God and his believers or between preachers and their flocks indicates that early modern children probably did experience important degrees of familial love. That said, the emotional discipline and material challenges such children would have been subjected to daily, accompanied by frequent family separations due to death or servitude, would have made the cultural influences on their emotional lives distinct from those of later periods.

A final point remains to be made regarding the use of familial metaphors in this period. Church authorities and government officials across Europe drew on comparisons of parents (most often fathers) and children to describe relations of power and authority between rulers and their subjects. While noting the use of familial metaphors by ministers highlights the importance of familial love as a cultural ideal, it also reinforces the point that love and authority were explicitly intertwined in the lives of early modern children in ways which would be unfamiliar today.

Children's Emotions during the Enlightenment Era

In the eighteenth century, the number and variety of commentators interested in assessing and advising on emotion increased exponentially. From political theorists to moral philosophers, from theologians to novelists, writers and thinkers of the ENLIGHTENMENT became newly intent on explicating the importance of emotions. Where early modern writers had linked passions to sin and humors to bodily sickness, Enlightenment writers began to focus on feelings as a key to salvation and on sentiments as a source of social virtue. Unregulated by reason, passions could still be dangerous and undesirable. In such cases, physicians now believed they could be a potent source of debilitating nervous disorders. But, properly governed, emotion came to be viewed as a source of good. Children had to be taught a new, more balanced approach to emotions which continued to emphasize self-control and domination of the will, but which now also included a positive role for some kinds of feeling.

Historians who have focused their attention on religious writings have provided the most evidence of emotion's increasingly positive cultural valence. The 1700s saw the rise of pietistic religions in Germany, the growth of Methodism in England, and the emergence of evangelical awakenings in British America, all of which placed a new emphasis on the importance of emotion in the process of religious conversion. The path to salvation lay in the emotional conviction of sin, followed by the experience of the saving grace of God's love. Unlike biblically based Calvinism, which had stressed the need to be literate to know God's Word, these new religions placed feelings at the center of faith. The result was that even unlettered children could choose to give themselves to God. In fact, many contemporary depictions of religious revivals, including the widely read work of the colonial Massachusetts minister Jonathan Edwards, described the pious emotions of child converts in considerable detail. Children had once been taught that their own passions were the source of sin; now they were learning a new lesson—that the cultivation of religious affections could bring them closer to God.

Another important line of scholarly inquiry into the improving cultural status of emotion comes from research in intellectual history. One important philosophical strain of the Enlightenment, Scottish moral philosophy, developed

around the idea that emotions were the seat of social virtue. The capacity to imaginatively identify with the emotions of others provided the inner guide that made possible moral human actions. Neither theologians nor philosophers recommended emotion as a means to self-knowledge or self-promotion. On the contrary, the ideal of submission of the self to the will of God, as well as to the greater social good, continued to be of fundamental importance. Children remained bound by requirements for emotional discipline. But the desire to eradicate the passions had begun to be replaced by a desire to channel them for virtuous ends.

Not all historians who have considered society's changing attitudes towards emotion would chart the time line in quite this way. Some have contended that the eighteenth century inaugurated a newly antagonistic attitude towards emotion. The best evidence for this stance comes from the growth of a particular kind of literary genre: the etiquette manual. Writers of advice books began to focus their observations on children more forcefully in the eighteenth century than they had previously. Where once admonitions concerning proper conduct had been directed at adults (who were expected to enforce observance of these standards by their children and other subordinates), instruction in MANNERS began to be aimed directly at children themselves. This new emphasis on self-regulation has led some historians to write as if emotion itself took on a new negative valence in this period.

The chief argument of these historians—that conduct books exhibited a new concern with providing instruction in the modulation of emotion—is key and remains valid. It is probably more accurate, however, to argue that the advice about the regulation of emotion became increasingly elaborate because emotion was now seen to have positive potential in certain controlled circumstances. In fact, of course, invariable antagonism to emotion was far easier to enforce and to understand than the more complicated position that some kinds of emotion could serve useful religious and social ends, while others remained dangerous and undesirable. Conduct books thus began to address themselves to the task of sorting out such nuances.

Another key insight from conduct literature is that changing ideas about emotional regulation led parents and their children to redefine their relationships with one another. Once parents had held primary responsibility for disciplining the unruly passions of their children; now, however, parents began to expect young people to learn to regulate themselves. This shift released parents from their punitive positions as enforcers and allowed new ideals of family affection to flourish. Research indicates that advice writers began to instruct parents to express love for their children rather than to physically correct their children's unruly displays of emotion. Under this new system, parents were expected to teach their children by example to control outbursts of undesirable emotions, such as anger. Similarly positive messages

concerning emotions spilled from the pens of poets, playwrights, and novelists. The novel as a literary form was essentially invented in the eighteenth century, and its hallmark was the exploration of characters' inner emotions.

Of course, it is important to remember that evidence gleaned from prescriptive commentators—whether theologians or philosophers, writers of advice manuals or of novels—reveals ideals rather than practice. What some scholars have come to call emotionology—that is, the dominant constellation of cultural ideas about emotion—is not the same as emotion. The actual extent of loving feelings within families may not have changed markedly between 1500 and 1800; however, the importance attached to the idea of family feeling did.

As parents embraced these new ideas wholeheartedly, so did their children. By the mid-eighteenth century, many middling and elite young people began to keep commonplace books. They copied rules of conduct advice gleaned from etiquette manuals into these scrapbooks, along with various poems and literary snippets. Just as conduct literature was increasingly aimed at young people, so too were novels. Authors frequently wrote in epistolary style (a series of letters) and dealt with issues of courtship and seduction, of successful marriages and of suits gone awry. Meanwhile, ordinary eighteenth-century young people filled their own letters and diaries with a new, more emotional style of address. Many historians trace the beginnings of a distinctive youth culture to this period.

Some scholars argue that emotion began to be feminized in the late eighteenth century as well, but this is a point that has come under considerable dispute. It seems most likely that young men and women alike read and enjoyed novels, followed conduct advice, and shared concern for their souls and their societies in more or less equal measure. Indeed, as emotion became tied to civic virtue, and as the public sphere became masculinized, boys and young men maintained an especially marked interest in emotion. The one exception here probably had to do with anger, which may well have been more permissible in boys (in certain circumstances which required displays of masculine mastery), than in girls (where it continued to be regarded as necessarily sinful).

Because expressions of emotion came to be seen as desirable in certain circumstances, they gradually found their way into ideas about gentility and civility. The complex code of permissible versus reprehensible emotions was one ideally suited to the subtle signaling of social distinctions. Over the course of the eighteenth century, as people and goods circulated with increasing frequency, making social mobility possible, emotional agility emerged as an important badge of gentility, on par with dancing or other forms of polite behavior. Children and parents alike responded to these trends with a greater emphasis on emotion.

What of social and cultural diversity in eighteenth-century attitudes toward emotion? Surely not everyone espoused or experienced the version of emotion just described. Because the writing of political history usually precedes social and cultural history, and because Western European history has long predominated over that of other areas, it is clear that much remains to be discovered about the contours of the emotional lives of children outside those of the white elite. Still, certain arguments have emerged.

Some evidence exists to suggest that members of the lower orders (soon to become recognized as a distinct economic class) did not embrace the new ethos of emotional cultivation and control, but rather followed their own less-constrained inclinations. This appears particularly likely to have been the case with men and boys, who gave rein to everyday anger and participated in boisterous recreational fighting, such as wrestling. In any case, the same debates about gentility, assimilation, and imitation that accompany all studies of eighteenth-century manners and culture also apply to questions about class differences in the emotional lives of European and European-American children.

By contrast, the emotional lives of NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN and of AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN, whether free or enslaved, would have been markedly different from the European patterns just described. Differences in religious beliefs and forms of political and social organization would have led these groups towards a distinct set of emotional expectations and experiences. At the same time, exigencies imposed by interactions with Europeans would have further distinguished the emotional lives of these children in crucial ways.

According to colonial observers, surviving oral accounts, and contemporary scholarship, affection far outranked discipline as a concern of Native American parents. Native American children in North America (from the Northeastern woodlands to the desert Southwest) would most likely have been raised in matrilineal households where cooperative work habits would have ensured young children great amounts of time with their mothers and female kin. Later on, boys would have received greater attention and training from fathers and uncles. While both girls and boys would have had to undergo ritual trials before becoming recognized as adults—trials that would have tested their emotional as well as physical endurance—Native American children would not have had to submit to daily parental efforts to punish their passions. Love not only flowed freely between parents and children, but also between men and women. All but the most elite marriages were by mutual consent and divorce was easy and voluntary.

Still, this openness does not mean that Native American children faced no strictures concerning emotion. On the contrary, stoicism in the face of suffering was a highly valued trait amongst Native Americans, while mourning in re-

sponse to death was culturally patterned and especially important among the northeastern Iroquois nations. So great was their grief when a family member died, that in many cases mourners would attempt to replace lost family members by adopting a captive from another tribe or, following the contact period, from a European settlement. It is a testament to the relatively pleasant emotional lives of Native American children that many European-American children so adopted were reluctant to return to the homes of their birth, even when offered the opportunity. The reverse was not true, however; Native American children forced into servitude in the households of colonial Europeans usually languished there unhappily. Furthermore, the arrival of European weapons and especially of European diseases dramatically increased deaths and family disruptions in the lives of Native American children, perhaps making the experience of grief a more dominant companion than love.

African-American children would also have grown up amidst great emotional and familial challenges. In the seventeenth century, when slavery was just being established as a labor system in British America, various factors combined to limit the numbers of African-American children. Plantation owners preferred male bondservants to female, and living conditions were severe enough to ensure high rates of INFANT MORTALITY. Perhaps because of this, very little research has been done on African-American children in this era. By the eighteenth century, however, as male-female ratios became more even and basic living conditions improved somewhat, the numbers of African-American children increased. In fact, recent research indicates that in the eighteenth century as many as a third of forced African migrants enslaved in North America may have been children at the time of their departure from Africa.

Children living under slavery faced an unprecedented degree of family disruption, whether snatched from Africa or born in North America. Not only were family bonds torn asunder by death and disease, but they were also liable to be severed at the whim of slave masters who were more sensitive to their own fluctuating labor needs than to their slaves' enduring human desires for family. Still, considerable indirect evidence, such as family naming patterns and the transmission of specialized job skills from parents to children, testifies to the strong bonds of love that tied enslaved families together. Meanwhile, rich traditions of spirituality, song, and storytelling, passed down from one generation to the next, show the resilience and dignity with which children living under slavery were taught to confront daily injuries and injustice.

Like Native American children, most African-American children lived with their mothers in matrilineal family groups. Less clear is whether this arrangement was simply created at the convenience of masters, or whether it reflected African traditions and preferences. On the one hand, it ap-

pears that free black families often chose to live in nuclear, father-headed households. Some historians believe that this indicates that the mother-centered households typically found in slave quarters reflect the difficulty of sustaining family life under bondage. On the other hand, the prevailing view among historians is that matrilineality was a revered African tradition. In fact, many scholars argue that, even in free black families that appear to have followed a European model, greater equality in work roles meant that loving partnerships departed from the more authoritarian patriarchal model of European families. In either case, some of the challenges of family life under slavery would have been mitigated by the development of far-flung kin networks. Extended family and fictive kin provided parents and children alike with an important measure of emotional as well as practical support.

Children's Emotions in the Emerging United States

From the creation of the United States to the present day, Americans have placed an ever-increasing emphasis on the importance of children and their emotions. Just as emotions themselves have undergone a shift, from an exclusive association with sin to a potential alliance with salvation, so views of children have changed. Once seen as naturally depraved and in need of emotional discipline, children came to be seen as naturally innocent, innately sensitive, and in need of tender care. In the history of the United States, the turn towards a decidedly positive view of children's emotions came after the American Revolution.

The American Revolution heralded an era dominated by a republican political philosophy accompanied by a new political and cultural interest in the family. Much as the new nation stirred optimistic visions of expanding democracy and economic progress, it also provoked anxious images of moral decline and decay. One way to banish shadows and burnish republican dreams was to turn to the family as a haven from the vices of the marketplace and the dangers of political divisiveness. In such a context, the emotional sensitivity of children came to be construed as an important aspect of republican virtue, something to be nourished and encouraged by republican wives and mothers from the safety of hearth and home. Aiding and augmenting this trend among Protestants was the arrival of the Second Great Awakening in the 1830s, which once again placed a premium on the importance of emotion for salvation and which introduced a new optimism about the perfectibility of the self.

By the early nineteenth century, the cult of sensibility reached full flower. Taking off from the premise of eighteenth-century moral philosophers that emotion was the basis of virtue, citizens of the new nation sought to cultivate their capacities for finer feeling, their ability to appreciate pathos in art and literature. Initially, this emotional quality was expected of all good republicans and seems to have been more a mark of virtue than a trope of gender. As time went

on, however, and economic and political developments led to a widening conceptual gap between public and private life, the home came to be regarded as the feminine sphere. With this shift came an increasing feminization of emotion. At the turn of the nineteenth century, both little boys and little girls would have aspired to emotional sensibility. But, increasingly, girls learned to cry tears, while boys were taught to pat them dry. Such was the work of boys in training to be citizens and the girls who would grow up to be their republican wives.

For the children of those excluded from both actual citizenship and symbolic roles as republicans—namely, white men who did not own property and their working wives, Native Americans, and African Americans—emotional life appeared very different. Poor white children living in rural areas may have continued to experience emotional conditions akin to those of the eighteenth century. But for the poor living in cities, among them many immigrant Catholics, the long working hours of their parents and the squalid conditions of daily existence made for a very different set of emotional experiences. Court records and popular accounts make clear that verbal and physical violence were frequent features of daily life. Courage and a ready fist in defense of honor came to be seen as signal traits of the working-class man, whether immigrant or native, as well as among upper-class Southerners. Boys schooled their own emotions according to this ideal. Girls, meanwhile, learned from their mothers' examples the importance of sympathy as an emotional tool for survival. Often, female solidarity was the only thing that produced a fresh pail of water in times of sickness, or an extra bite of bread when a husband's wages went to drink.

As propertied white men came to define themselves as citizens of the new nation, they held fast to the idea that other Americans were their dependents. The parents of African-American and Native American children were not only excluded from the formal rights of citizenship, but actually denied recognition as adult members of society. Southern slave masters likened enslaved adults to children and referred to "my family black and white." President Andrew Jackson, architect of Indian removal, referred to Native Americans as "my red children." When these white male leaders spoke of their paternal affection for their "children," the centuries-old link between family feeling and public power continued to evolve.

African-American and Native American children faced particular emotional challenges growing up in a society increasingly intolerant of family forms that deviated from the republican norm, yet hostile to any attempt by non-elites to lay claim to the possibilities of republicanism. From Cherokee children forced west on the Trail of Tears, to African-American children sold south in the service of King Cotton, many children never experienced the cozy security of the re-

publican fireside. Their feelings of loss, of grief at separation from their mother, or shame at watching their father whipped, of rage against oppression never more than partially subdued, could not be fully assuaged even by ample amounts of love and affection shared among their friends and kin.

Surveying the distinctive contours of emotional life among elite white men, as opposed to white women and people of color, some scholars have argued that only American men were encouraged to embrace the individualism that supposedly characterized the nation as a whole by the turn of the twentieth century. Emotional distinctions loomed large in the socialization of middle-class children. Boys were urged to restrain certain emotions, such as fear. Not only parents and teachers, but also boys' own play patterns, emphasized the importance of this kind of emotional control. Boys who were too emotional were regarded as sissies. For girls, control of fear was seen as largely irrelevant; shyness and timidity were the desirable feminine traits. But control over anger was urged along with a positive emphasis on the importance of loving qualities. Children's toys, including dolls for girls, encouraged the same complex, gender-specific emotional release and control.

The Emotional Lives of Children in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

This split in emotional life finally began to change over the course of the twentieth century. By then, ever-increasing racial, ethnic, and religious pluralism (the result of large-scale immigration that included, among others, Jews and other Eastern Europeans, Asians, Latinos, and members of other groups only minimally represented in the United States at the time of the Revolution) made many old strictures untenable. Schooling, commercial popular culture, and psychological advice began to affect the large variety of groups now present in the society.

In the early modern period, Europeans believed the self and its passions posed so many dangers as to require total submersion. By contrast, in mid- to late-twentieth-century America, children learned of the importance of accessing and expressing their emotions in service of self-development or what came to be called self-actualization. YOUTH CULTURE, assumed to be more spontaneous, more sincere, and more open in its approach to emotion, gained a kind of social currency unimaginable in 1600. Black power movements in the 1960s allowed African Americans of all ages to express rage at last. In the postfeminist age, many Americans still assume that women are the more emotional sex; yet they often view this discrepancy as a masculine failing rather than a feminine sin. Children and their parents are both routinely encouraged to get in touch with their feelings. Emotional well-being has come to be sought for its own sake, not in service of bodily purity or in fear of spiritual sin.

While encouraging American children to identify their emotions was the most obvious change from the nineteenth

to the twentieth century, it was not the only one. Concern about exposing children to unduly intense emotions was another key development; it promoted new efforts at control despite the apparent trend toward greater openness. Spurred by psychological advice, parents were urged to become more concerned about fear and anger in children, while a campaign against sibling jealousy brought new attention to this emotion as well. Twentieth-century advice manuals encouraged children to talk about these negative emotions, but discouraged them from acting on their feelings. Other ploys, including the use of toys to distract children from feelings of envy or fear, accomplished the same objective. It was widely believed that parents had a responsibility to prevent many emotions from festering in their children in order to prepare them for successful adulthood. While gender differences persisted, commitment to radically different patterns of emotional socialization for boys and girls declined; instead, all children were taught to moderate their emotional intensity. Keeping children away from experiences of deep grief was another aspect of this new approach. Finally, awareness of children's emotional vulnerability focused attention on other issues such as promoting self-esteem.

Furthermore, the emotional lives of children continue to change, as do attitudes towards children and emotion itself. For example, scientists have recently begun rediscovering the "mind-body" connection, that is, the links between emotional and physical health. Ironically, the freer and more developed the self has become, the more that emotional self-control has come to be valued. Where parents once monitored and corrected the passions of their children, and courts controlled the unruly emotions of adults as needed, modern Americans expect emotional control to be a wholly individual matter. Meanwhile, many postmodern theorists have begun to argue that the very idea of an autonomous self is itself a Western illusion, a relic of the Enlightenment, and by no means the only, or even the best, way of considering emotions, identity, and social relations. In short, the history of children's emotional lives is still being written and still being lived.

See also: **Anger and Aggression; Child Psychology; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Fear; Friendship; Gendering; Guilt and Shame; Grief, Death, Funerals; Jealousy and Envy; Shyness.**

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NICOLE EUSTACE

Enlightenment, The

In 1784 the German philosopher Immanuel Kant gave a simple answer to the difficult question "What is enlightenment?" He defined this intellectual movement as man's emergence from his self-imposed tutelage. This emancipatory view of the Enlightenment was widely shared, as was his interest in education as shown in his lectures on the subject, *Ueber Paedagogik* (Lectures on pedagogy). Writers as divergent as JOHN LOCKE, Montesquieu, Voltaire, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, David Hume, Denis Diderot, and Benjamin Franklin all saw themselves as educators of mankind. Their common goal was greater freedom: freedom from arbitrary power, freedom of speech, freedom of trade, and freedom to realize one's talents. However, enlightenment also had a different meaning to every author. The Enlightenment was more a loosely organized family of progressive thinkers than a phalanx of modernity. Recent studies have shown that each country had its own variety of Enlightenment, and that Christian forms of Enlightenment were much more widespread and influential than the better known deist and the even more exceptional atheist variants. Another new insight is that the Enlightenment focused not only on rationality, but also on emotionality. Many writers stressed the importance of passions and sentiments and were convinced of the necessity of studying them.

Enlightenment Pedagogy

To a large extent, the Enlightenment and pedagogy were synonymous. In his introduction to the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné, des sciences et des métiers*, a cornerstone of the movement, published between 1751 and 1772, Diderot wrote that the project was undertaken to make future generations more enlightened, more virtuous, and happier. Diderot and his colleagues saw themselves as pedagogues, and their task was the emancipation of mankind. To educate the people, they believed, one had to start by educating its youth. Beginning with Erasmus, scholars and theologians had published advice books for parents and teachers, but in the eighteenth century pedagogy developed as a science in its own right. Modern pedagogy was an invention of the Enlightenment; as an anonymous author wrote in 1788, "Today we live in an age in which book after book is written or translated about education." This stream of publications sprang from two sources, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* was published in 1693, and is now seen as a starting point of the Enlightenment. Locke introduced a new approach to children. He compared the child with a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, in contrast to earlier writers, who regarded children as born with innate ideas and marked by original sin. A child developed by experience, argued the empiricist Locke, and parents should mainly stimulate and steer those experiences. In that way children would channel their passions and learn skills. Locke's treatise originated with a series of letters to a friend during the 1680s, while he was in exile in the Dutch Republic. He was influenced by Dutch child-rearing practices, which were relatively mild and involved little distance between parents and children. He stressed the need for an individual approach to each child. He also gave many pieces of practical advice about food, clothing, exercise, and reading. Not everything he wrote was new (much was obviously taken from an earlier Dutch treatise), but his pedagogical message fitted well into his other philosophical writings. In the article on *enfance* (childhood) in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, the reader is explicitly advised to read Locke's book on education.

While Locke's contribution to pedagogy was influential, that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau was no less than explosive. Although his *Émile ou de l'éducation* was immediately forbidden after its publication in 1762, within a few years the pedagogical ideas he had formulated were discussed all over Europe. *Émile* is a pedagogical treatise in the form of a utopian novel mixed with many bits of practical advice. *Émile* made all earlier ideas about education obsolete, Rousseau claimed. Only his predecessor Locke received some friendly words, but he ridiculed Locke's idea that parents should argue in a rational way with their children. The fundamental mistake of earlier writers was, in Rousseau's view, to base their pedagogy on the goal they aimed at, the adult person a child had to become. "Everything is good coming from the Creator, every-



Girl Mourning over Her Dead Bird (1765), Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Typical of eighteenth-century art, Greuze's painting plays off sexual innuendo (the dead bird symbolizes lost virginity) against a new Enlightenment belief in the natural purity of children. (NG 435. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh).

thing degenerates in the hands of men." This is the first sentence of *Émile*, and it states the basic principle of the book. A child is good because she or he is part of nature, and educa-

tion and culture can only spoil the natural child, he warned. The exemplary education of the little orphan *Émile* by his tutor—named Jean-Jacques—took place in the countryside,

and nature was his teacher. Books were forbidden—with the exception of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*—because a child had to learn from empirical encounters. Freedom was the highest good in life, and therefore a child should, for instance, learn to walk without leading strings or reins, since “the joy of freedom compensates for many injuries.”

Émile was seen by contemporaries as both compelling and chaotic, as a paradoxical mix of reason and incongruity, religion and godlessness, meddlesomeness and love for freedom. Despite all criticism, though, *Émile* became the foundation and touchstone of Enlightenment pedagogy. Although Rousseau afterwards explicitly stated that his book was not meant as a guide—he preferred to call it an utopian text—some parents tried it out in practice. Some of these experiments are well documented, such as that of Richard Edgeworth, born two years after *Émile* came out. His father wanted to make of his son “a fair trial of Rousseau's system.” The first results were encouraging, because as a boy Dick turned out to be “bold, free, fearless, generous” and “ready and keen to use all his senses.” At the age of seven, his father took him to Paris to visit Rousseau, who thought that the boy was intelligent, but also stubborn and conceited. These traits soon got the upper hand, and Dick was removed from school and sent to the navy, where he soon deserted and finally went to America, to the great relief of his father.

Émile led to discussions all over Europe, but even its greatest adherents realized that Rousseau's ideas were unworkable and should be transformed into practical guidelines.

The Philanthropists

Nowhere was the new science of pedagogy more enthusiastically developed than in Germany. This was no coincidence. The Enlightenment there occurred when the country was emerging from a period of retarded political and intellectual development. The German word *paedagogik* was introduced in 1771, and the period 1770 to 1830 is now called the *paedagogisches Zeitalter*, the age of pedagogics. A congenial group of writers, clergymen, and teachers developed a dense network. They were called the *philanthropen* (“friends of men”). J. B. BASEDOW (1723–1790), J. H. Campe (1746–1818) and C. G. SALZMANN (1744–1811) were the most famous among them. They were all enlightened and progressive, but on essential points they differed with Rousseau. For instance, they developed systems of punishments and rewards on which Rousseau would have frowned. They made a German translation of *Émile* with elaborate comments and criticisms in footnotes, which overshadowed the original text. In this revised version, *Émile* is tamed into a well-behaved bourgeois boy. The first footnote is a comment on Rousseau's famous opening sentence, cited above, and it reads: “It could be argued as well that many things degenerate when they are left to Nature only, without being helped by human diligence.” The philanthropist version of *Émile* was translated into

other languages, as were many of the books and journals produced in abundance by German pedagogues.

An important difference with Rousseau was their rejection of the possibility of education outside of society. These pedagogues strove to improve education within the family and at school. They wanted to educate not only the children of the elite, as early enlightened writers such as Locke and Rousseau had, but also children of the lower classes. Basedow was invited by the enlightened prince of Dessau to establish a school according to these new principles. This school, the Philanthropinum, became a model for many other schools. The small garden, in which each pupil had to work, and the little lathe which stood in each pupil's room were distant echoes from Rousseau's *Émile*.

The new generation of pedagogues concentrated on educating the common people. They observed that schools, both in cities and in the countryside, were old fashioned and that most teachers were incompetent. In the middle of the eighteenth century there still was a broad gap between the cultural elite and the majority of people, who were illiterate. Newly established societies aimed at bringing the message of the Enlightenment to the common people. In the Dutch Republic, for instance, the Society for Public Welfare established schools for the poor and published cheap schoolbooks according to modern principles.

The German philanthropists and kindred spirits elsewhere in Europe produced new teaching methods on a large scale. Basedow tried to present children with all existing human knowledge in his 1774 *Elementarwerk*, and this became a model for later authors. They also invented a new literary genre, children's books. Rousseau's idea that children should not read at all was partly a choice based on principle but was also based on the lack of suitable books. That changed rapidly after around 1770. The Dutch novelist and pedagogue Betje Wolff wrote, “This is the century in which we have started to write for children” (quoted in Dekker, p. 46). Although in many of these books the ideals of the Enlightenment were presented in a rather crude way, they were a great step forward.

Enlightenment and Revolution

In the age of the democratic revolution, from the American War of Independence to the French Revolution, new ideas about children also took on a political dimension. However, while the rights of men were formulated, no separate rights of children were even discussed (nor were the rights of women). Children nevertheless were very visible in revolutionary ceremonies and festivities, such as the planting of liberty trees. Revolutionary catechisms were published to explain to children the ideals of freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Revolutionaries developed plans for school reform. In the French constitution of 1791, education was made a task of the state, and the writer and politician the Marquis de Condorcet, and later on the politician Michel

Lepeletier, were asked to create blueprints for a new system of public schools.

Politics no longer was the domain of old men. Many French revolutionaries who came to power in 1789 were remarkably young. One example of the political youth was Marc-Antoine Jullien Jr., who had just finished an education of the sort inspired by Rousseau. Only sixteen years old, he was a regular visitor at the Jacobin Club in Paris, the meeting place of the radicals. One year later he was sent to England to establish contacts with the opposition there. In 1793, he was made a deputy in the provinces by the radical leader Robespierre and became responsible for the Terror in the northwest of France. Louis-Antoine-Léon de Saint-Just, another young revolutionary and one of the forces behind the French Terror, claimed that his moral authority was based on his youth: "Because I am young I am closer to Nature," he said. Not much later, at twenty-eight, Saint-Just died on the guillotine. Jullien escaped that punishment and after the revolution became a writer in the field of pedagogy. In 1817 he published *Esquisse et vue préliminaire d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée*, the first study in comparative pedagogy.

The legal status of children changed in many countries. In France, the voting age was lowered in 1792 from twenty-five to eighteen. In the Netherlands after the Batavian Revolution of 1795, the voting age was set at twenty. Other rights of children were extended at the expense of parental power in many countries. Children gained greater freedom to choose a marriage partner despite parental protest. Children could also no longer be completely disinherited by their parents. During the Restoration in 1814, these rights were to some extent restricted again in many countries. The voting age in France, for instance, became thirty. The discussion about rights and the age of majority was often implicitly about boys, not about girls. However, girls were not completely forgotten, and many pedagogues paid attention to their education, often in separate chapters or books, in the way Rousseau added the education of Sophie to the upbringing of *Émile*.

The Influence of the Enlightenment

In the end, the Enlightenment had its greatest impact in and through pedagogy and education. The last of the Enlightenment pedagogues was JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERBART, author of *Allgemeine Paedagogik* (1806), who held the Kant's chair at the university of Koenigsberg (Kaliningrad) after Kant's death. While most philanthropinists were forgotten in the nineteenth century, the Swiss schoolmaster J. H. PESTALOZZI and his collaborator FRIEDRICH FROEBEL, who, although often regarded as belonging to the Romantic period, were closely connected to their predecessors. Another link between the Enlightenment pedagogues and those of later times is found in the methods invented by the director of the Paris School for Deaf Children, Jean Itard, in his effort to educate the Wild Boy of Aveyron. His work exercised a last-

ing influence, despite the failure of what may have been the most daring experiment of Enlightenment pedagogy. The world of children today was to a large extent created in the age of Enlightenment, and several elements of today's standard school curriculum, including PHYSICAL EDUCATION, manual training, and school gardens, can be traced to the advice given by Rousseau in his *Émile*.

See also: **Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam; Education, Europe; Theories of Childhood.**

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Epidemics

From the onset of the statistical era (which began around 1840 in Britain and the United States) until the present time, roughly half the world's population were (and are) infants and children under the age of fifteen. This must also have been the situation among all humankind before 1840. In the eighteenth century in the West, in those regions for which some crude figures exist, such as Massachusetts, Britain, the core lands of modern France, Sweden, and the German lands, it can be said with some confidence that life expectancy at birth occasionally touched forty years but even there it was generally less. Given that measles and several other epidemic diseases tended to target people under fifteen—half of the population—it follows that they had a very large clientele to work on.

An endemic disease is one that is continuously present in any given population in nascent form. Its rate of occurrence as an illness—which is to say, its prevalence—may differ according to the season of the year and other variables, but its causal agent is almost always found within the locality. Heading the list of today's endemic, or always present, child killers are the water-borne ailments collectively known as dysentery and the diarrheal diseases. In contrast, an epidemic disease, such as smallpox in its most virulent forms (extinct

since 1977 in its free-ranging state) or measles (which still exists), only occasionally attacked any given human population. The disease agents, or pathogens, which had the potential to periodically set this sort of epidemic in motion almost always came in from outside the place in which victims lived.

Smallpox

Unlike a dread disease such as bubonic plague (essentially a disease of rats and other rodents), smallpox had no nonhuman host. Thus, over time it was vital to the perpetuation of the smallpox variola that it not kill off all its child hosts. If it did, the children would not be there in a few years, in their capacity as sexually mature adults, producing children of their own, who in turn could host the variola. Without hosts, the variola would become extinct.

It is essential to understand that the causal agents of infectious disease are living things that have the potential to change their forms over time. These mutations make their presence felt in the altered way the disease makes its presence felt among humankind.

In the case of smallpox as it affected populations in western Europe and the Middle East before around 1650, it was most commonly a benign endemic disease that did not kill its victims. Aside from sickly infants, who in any case could not be expected to live, pre-1650s smallpox neither killed nor scarred nor blinded nor neutered its victims. It was in this benign form that smallpox first entered the medical record.

Writing in Baghdad before 925 C.E., the Persian physician-philosopher Abu-Bakr al-Razi reported that smallpox was a common disease which most Middle Eastern children underwent with no ill effects. Al-Razi noticed that the illness never struck the same person twice. Nearly 700 years later, this was apparently still the situation in the British Isles. William Shakespeare, who died in 1616, in his many sonnets in praise of beautiful young men and women nowhere mentioned the threat of disfigurement or death from the disease. Thus, before 1616, it would appear that rampaging lethal smallpox was still unknown in England.

Opinions are divided about when and where the variola virus of smallpox first changed into its violently nasty forms. On the one hand, many historians argue that the Spanish, Genoese, and other European adventurers who went to the Caribbean Islands in the New World in and after 1518 were responsible. Having acquired smallpox immunity by hosting a benign case of the disease in their infancy at home, they brought forms of smallpox with them that, when let loose, quickly changed into lethal forms that killed millions of non-immune Native Americans who had never before been exposed to smallpox. If these events—so catastrophic from the First Nation point of view—actually happened, it can be suggested that disease mutation may have first occurred in the New World.

Or it may have already happened in parts of sub-Saharan Africa, or in Bengal, in northeastern India. In both regions, sometime before medically aware European observers came on the scene in the late seventeenth century, village curers recognized that some cases of smallpox were now lethal. They also observed that little children who survived a bout of the disease in any of its forms were immune to further attacks. Putting two and two together, they devised the control technique known as inoculation.

In this process, a curer took a bit of a smallpox scab from a moderately sick child, diluted it, and then scratched it into the skin of the child being inoculated. The curer and the parents realized that this process was not risk free, yet they continued to use it. In the 1870s it was found that more than eighty percent of the Bengali men who were imprisoned in government jails in that province had already been inoculated.

The processes of inoculation first described by Western observers in Bengal in the late seventeenth century were also being commonly used at that time in parts of West Africa, from whence they were brought to the New World. In 1706, the slave Onesimus taught his master, the Reverend Cotton Mather of Old North Church, Boston, the mysteries of smallpox prevention through inoculation. In earlier years, between 1620 and 1700, Massachusetts had been blessed by an exceptionally benign disease environment and a low infant mortality rate that had allowed far more babies to survive to adulthood than was the case in the middle colonies and in Europe. However, in the years just before 1706, Old World diseases, including smallpox, had begun to strike youthful New Englanders. For this reason, Mather was atypically willing to listen to what his African dependent said and to put it into practice. He had the children in his immediate circle inoculated and encouraged his friends to follow suit.

Massachusetts-style inoculation against smallpox caught on in the New England colonies and in some of the more smallpox-prone parts of Europe. Thus in authoritarian Sweden, the central government gradually realized that if smallpox were allowed to rage among its infants unchecked the country would be in danger of being depopulated. During bad periods, such as the years between 1779 and 1782, nearly a fifth of all deaths were from smallpox; most of the victims were children under the age of nine. Aware of this, the Swedish government strongly encouraged parents to have their offspring inoculated.

Among western Europeans and European-Americans, inoculation processes may have turned the tide against smallpox, even before the immunization process known as VACCINATION was devised by Edward Jenner in the late 1790s and put into common use early in the next century.

Measles

At the opening of the twenty-first century, twenty-five years after smallpox was abolished in its free-ranging state worldwide, measles—an air-borne virus—continues to kill one million children each year and to make an additional 42 million seriously ill. First tentatively identified as a separate disease by the Persian philosopher-physician al-Razi in the tenth century, measles today is most common among the third of the world's children who are chronically malnourished and who live in the non-West.

In addition to children with an unfavorable nutritional status, young children living in large families are also much more prone to being infected with measles than are children living in families with one or two siblings. Nowadays, when the total population of most western European countries is rapidly shrinking due to the limitation of family size, and at a time when most European and European-American parents have their children immunized against all common infectious diseases, measles has become rare in the West. This means that it has become one of the many infectious diseases most commonly found in the non-West. Its non-Western survivors, their immune systems weakened through a bout with the disease, often fall prey to pneumonia.

Bubonic Plague

From 1348 through 1351, western Europe and Egypt were ravaged by a terrible disease, which killed between a quarter and a third of the population. The first great onslaught was called the Black Death. In Europe visitations of what used to be regarded as the same disease (at the time there were no means for identifying disease agents) recurred until the late seventeenth century. In western Europe, the last major outbreak was imported into Marseilles, France, in 1721 by a rogue ship coming from the Orient.

Conventional scholarship once held that humans who survived one attack of the bubonic plague did not develop immunity against a subsequent attack. Conventional scholarship also held that bubonic plague did not necessarily target children. Given that roughly half of the population in any place was under the age of fifteen, one could expect that roughly half the victims of the disease would be non-adults. However, according to Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (2002), the late medieval plagues that repeatedly hit western Europe after 1351 directed their attention primarily against children; children who survived acquired life-time immunity.

Given that these events happened before the advent of modern laboratory medical science and before the statistical age, we have no sure way of knowing just what disease agents were actually at work in Europe between 1347 and 1721. In time, new scholarship may permit the writing of comparative studies based on findings from the non-West. It is already clear, however, that the Bubonic plague that continued to kill people in Egypt until 1844 was the same as, or closely related to, modern laboratory-certified Bubonic plague.

Poliomyelitis

Much more certain is our knowledge of the so-called summer plague, more usually known as poliomyelitis or infantile paralysis. In the summer of 1916, several thousand middle-class children in New York City and the surrounding region were struck with a strange new disease. Although outright death was rare—because hospital care was available—many survivors were left severely crippled in their legs and unable to walk. Other less fortunate survivors suffered impairment of their breathing apparatus and had to be placed in an iron lung.

Caused by viruses (there are three main viral strains), POLIO spreads from one person to another by a fecal-oral route and in the East Coast of the United States was very often contracted by middle-class young people who had access to public swimming pools. Polio was a high-profile disease—its victims included President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Accordingly, it attracted the attention of highly qualified American scientists. In the development of a preventive vaccine suitable for mass distribution, the first great breakthrough was by Dr. Jonas Salk in the 1950s. In most areas of the world, Salk's techniques, which were based on the use of an injection, have now been replaced by an orally administered vaccine by Dr. Albert Sabin that was released in 1961.

Thanks to preventive immunization, polio has all but disappeared in the United States and elsewhere in the West. Yet in India, Nigeria, and some other parts of the non-West, young children and infants over the age of six months are still at risk from the disease. As of 1998, more than 18,000 fatalities were reported. Given that the quality of hospital care found in most non-Western countries is far below the standard found even half a century ago in the United States, cases that in the United States might have been successfully treated are left all but unattended and commonly result in death.

AIDS

Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was first reported in 1981 and has become the world's fourth most common cause of death. As of 2002, 40 million people bore the lethal virus, 70 percent of them in sub-Saharan Africa.

According to the conventional wisdom of leading funding agencies as expressed by the World Health Organization (WHO), "99 percent of the HIV infections found in Africa in 2001 are attributable to unsafe sex." (WHO 2002, p. xv). However, four years earlier, the same organization admitted that half a million victims were under the age of fifteen (WHO 1998, p. 93).

An alternative assessment of the situation was found in the *International Journal of STDs and AIDS* in October 2002. Here, David Gisselquist and his colleagues found that a size-

able percentage of Africans suffering from HIV had not yet reached the age of puberty. Though none of these children had engaged in sexual activity involving a partner, all of them had been the recipients of clinically administered injections which were intended to prevent communicable diseases, fevers, or other childhood illnesses. On-site study showed that the cash-strapped clinics often reused syringes simply because no other instruments were available; more than half of all HIV and AIDS victims in Africa may have been infected in this way. In many cases, newborn infants may have been infected in utero by infected mothers who had made use of the disease-prevention services of clinics.

The current AIDS epidemic affects infants and young children under the age of fifteen in financially hard-pressed sub-Saharan regions in two ways. First, many of them will die of pneumonia and the other killers that strike down people whose immune systems have been rendered useless. Very often their deaths will be recorded as having been caused by something other than AIDS.

Second, and more difficult to capture statistically, millions of young Africans are becoming ORPHANS through the AIDS deaths of their parents, aunts and uncles, and other potential care-givers. In several countries in southern Africa, where nearly half the adult population is HIV-positive, orphans have little chance of survival. For this reason, many of these who do survive do not acquire the veneer of civilization and instead become teenaged mercenary soldiers, drug-dealers, extortionists, or all-purpose terrorists.

As of 2003, the AIDS epidemic continues, and in the next two or three years is expected to make its presence heavily felt in China and in India, nations which between them are the home of half the world's population. Because many non-Western countries are burdened with debt repayment to financial institutions based in the West and are thus unable to fully fund proper health services, the AIDS epidemic may well become the non-Western world's principal childhood killer. The prognosis is not good.

See also: **AIDS; Contagious Diseases; Infant Mortality.**

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SHELDON WATTS

Erasmus. See Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Erikson, Erik H. (1902–1994)

Erik Erikson was born of Danish parents in 1902 and brought up in Germany as the stepson of a pediatrician. His first love was art, which he studied in Munich and Florence. He came into contact with the psychoanalyst ANNA FREUD when he took up a post as a teacher in a Viennese school. He was analyzed by her and, following her example, worked with both children and adolescents as well as with adults. Erikson spent six years in Vienna, becoming a member of the Freudian community there and studying the methods of Montessori education. In response to the threat posed by the rise of the Nazi movement, Erikson moved to the United States with his wife and sons, setting up as one of the first child analysts in Boston. He carried out research on children with the Harvard Psychological Clinic and made contacts with both psychologists such as Henry Murray and Kurt Lewin and anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict and MARGARET MEAD. Although he had no academic qualifications, Yale University offered him a teaching and research appointment.

In 1939 the Eriksons moved to California, where Erikson did longitudinal studies on children at the University of California, Berkeley, worked as a child and training analyst, and carried out anthropological studies. Eventually he returned to the East Coast to teach at Harvard, particularly on his theory of the cycle of psychological development throughout life. He subsequently retired to the San Francisco area, where he died in 1994.

A major focus for Erikson, as both analyst and researcher, was the study of children, and he drew together his ideas about childhood in his first major and seminal work, *Childhood and Society*. Here he elaborated his approach of "triple bookkeeping": that understanding a person or behavior in-

volves taking into account somatic factors, social context, and ego development, each in relation to the other. To unpack the somatic aspect, Erikson developed and clarified SIGMUND FREUD's theory of psychosexual development. He explored the power of social context in relation to child-rearing practices and their effects on later personality through some fascinating anthropological-psychoanalytical analyses of Sioux and Yurok Indian cultures. He looked at ego development in particular through an analysis of the significance and role of PLAY. In this book, as in all his work, Erikson emphasized the need for integration: that these three processes (somatic, social, ego developmental) are interdependent, and that each is both relevant and relative to the other two.

Childhood and Society also contains an early statement of his theory of the life cycle (which he subsequently elaborated in 1959, 1964, and 1977). This extends the notion of developmental stages, each with its own character, dynamics, and conflicts, beyond childhood into ADOLESCENCE, young adulthood, maturity, and old age. For example, he placed considerable emphasis on the significance of school experience for the developing ego. Erikson took a particular interest in adolescence (e.g., in *Identity, Youth, and Crisis*). He was fascinated by this transitional stage where identity is being forged, and by the conflicts and turbulence that this can provoke. He became best known in the 1960s for his articulation of the adolescent "identity crisis."

In summary, then, Erikson's primary contributions to the understanding of childhood rest on his:

- elaboration and modification of the theory of psychosexual development,
- theorizing and case studies on the development of ego in childhood, and
- anthropological and other explorations of the significance of social context, child-rearing, and cultural processes for personality development

He made a further contribution in unraveling the processes involved in the development of identity, particularly during adolescence.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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RICHARD STEVENS

Eugenics

During the first half of the twentieth century, the movement known as eugenics profoundly influenced children and reproduction in most Western societies. The term *eugenics* was first popularized by Charles Darwin's cousin, Sir Francis Galton, who defined it as the use of science to improve human heredity. But that definition left many key questions unresolved: What is an improvement? What is heredity? How can science improve heredity? Who has the authority to answer these questions?

Self-proclaimed eugenics experts, drawn largely from middle-class professional and managerial backgrounds, formed a network of formal institutions, such as the American Eugenics Society and the British Eugenics Education Society, which promulgated a set of orthodox answers to these questions. These groups enjoyed political success disproportionate to their relatively small numbers, but they did not monopolize the meaning of eugenics. Public discourse included a variety of conflicting alternative answers to each of these questions, with differing implications for children.

What Is an Improvement?

Eugenicists' diagnoses of good and bad human traits were molded by their particular cultures' values, including their racial, religious, gender, and class prejudices. Eugenicists in the United States focused on racial and ethnic distinctions more than did British eugenicists, who tended to see class as more important than race, while French eugenicists instead emphasized nationality. Eugenic leaders from elite or managerial backgrounds depicted poverty as an inherited disease, while socialist eugenicists portrayed greed and capitalism as the pathologies. Eugenic intellectual leaders emphasized what they called the "menace of the feeble-minded," but in mass culture eugenic popularizers often ranked an attractive body ahead of a brilliant mind. Although the subjective, culturally derived nature of these diagnoses is obvious in retrospect, at the time each was presented as the objectively proven verdict of science.

What Is Heredity?

Early-twentieth-century scientific understanding of heredity was transformed by rediscovery of Gregor Mendel's research on the patterns of inheritance of specific traits, and by August Weismann's demonstrations that heredity is unaffected by environment. However, many eugenicists campaigned against conditions from infectious diseases to malnutrition whose causes science now attributed to environment, not genetics. This expansive version of eugenics did not result from ignorance of science, but from a different set of concerns. In this view, calling something hereditary meant that you got it from your parents, regardless of whether you got it via genes or germs, precepts or probate. The 1922 U.S. Public Health Service film *The Science of Life* defined a man's heredity as "what he receives from his ancestors." What made a

trait hereditary was the parents' moral responsibility for causing it, rather than the technical mechanism of its transmission. On this view, eugenics meant not simply having good genes, but being a good parent.

How Can Science Improve Heredity?

Eugenicists often categorized their methods as either positive—increasing the reproduction of those judged fit—or negative—decreasing the fertility of those judged unfit. Positive measures ranged from proposed government stipends for parents of large healthy families, to Better Baby and Fitter Family contests modeled on rural livestock shows. Negative measures included forced sterilization, ethnic restrictions on immigration, and euthanasia. In France and Latin America eugenicists generally emphasized positive measures, while the United States and Germany led in negative measures.

However, positive and negative were meant as simply arithmetic not evaluative distinctions. Negative measures often relied on coercion, but so did some pronatalist methods. In addition, negative techniques from BIRTH CONTROL to euthanasia often were not imposed by the government, but chosen by families, sometimes even when they violated the law. Furthermore, most eugenicists employed a mix of positive and negative methods. Both positive and negative methods shared the same goals, based on shared definitions of good and bad heredity.

Eugenics and Children

Different versions of eugenics affected children in different ways. Eugenic efforts to control who had children did not explicitly prescribe how to raise them. But the eugenic assumption that heredity determined a person's essential characteristics could undercut support for efforts to improve children's environment through such means as education or health care. Furthermore, many eugenicists such as Charles Davenport endorsed Social Darwinist and neo-Malthusian assertions that disease in general, and INFANT MORTALITY in particular, were valuable means of natural selection. On this view, death was nature's method for eliminating children with inheritable defects. For example, from 1915 to 1918, a prominent Chicago surgeon, Dr. Harry Haiselden, refused to treat and sometimes actively hastened the deaths of infants he diagnosed as eugenically unfit. His practice won widespread public support.

On the other hand, eugenics was also frequently invoked to support improved medical treatment, education, and welfare programs for children. The American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality had a formal section on eugenics, while America's first major eugenic organization, the Race Betterment Foundation, promoted a broad range of preventive health measures for children, from exercise to clean milk. Eugenicists who supported social services for children argued that infant mortality was insufficiently selective—too random, or too likely to kill children

with valued traits (such as intelligence). They also tended to define eugenics as good parenting, not limited to good genes. Such views were especially appealing to maternalist social reformers, who believed that power for women would make society more nurturing, and to advocates of scientific motherhood, who sought to professionalize homemaking. These versions of eugenics attempted to help all children, but they still depended on distinguishing between good and bad parents.

Support for programs labeled as eugenic declined in the 1930s and 1940s in the United States, in reaction to the Nazi use of eugenics to promote genocide, and in response to growing scientific understanding of the complexity of genetics. To protect genetic medicine from the prejudiced values of past eugenics, many post-World War II scholars insisted that doctors should treat only objectively defined diseases. However, medicine has always required some evaluative judgments to distinguish good health from disease. Well-intentioned efforts to keep medicine value-free actually replicated past eugenicists' faith in the objectivity of their own diagnoses. Such efforts could not succeed in eliminating the need for value judgments in medicine, but they could obscure and delegitimize the political and ethical analyses necessary if a culture is to make such value judgments wisely.

See also: **Family Patterns; Fertility Rates; Pediatrics.**

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MARTIN S. PERNICK



In eighteenth-century Britain, as the Industrial Revolution created new wealth, children from affluent families are sometimes depicted in portraits as symbols of parental status, as are these elegantly dressed children in William Hogarth's *The Graham Children* (1742). © Art Resource, NY. National Gallery, London, Great Britain.

European Industrialization

It is tempting to assume that the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century was a disaster for children. There are the familiar images of child workers struggling in the mills, of wretched street urchins in the slums, and of poor OLIVER TWIST half starving on gruel in the workhouse. Yet even in the British case this was a very partial reflection of reality. The young factory operative or the slum child was the exception rather than the rule during the nineteenth century. In the first place, industrialization was a slow and protracted process that affected different regions of Europe in a number of ways. During the first half of the nineteenth century, a core of western European nations began to industrialize, with Britain leading the way, followed by Switzerland, Bel-

gium, France and Germany. This left a huge periphery of backward regions which had barely begun the process. Similarly, the massive urbanization characteristic of modern society only began in earnest around the middle of the nineteenth century in most of Europe, the exceptionally precocious British case apart. Even within the more developed western "core," important regional differences were much in evidence. The most spectacular forms of industrial development were confined to a handful of well-known localities around Manchester, Birmingham (both in England), Liège (Belgium), Mulhouse (France), Elberfeld (Germany), Brno (Austria-Hungary), and so on. This meant that in Britain, and more so in continental Europe, small islands of modern industry were surrounded by a large sea of "pre-industrial" forms.

Second, industrialization brought benefits as well as misery to the people of Europe, though how this panned out for individuals depended on such influences as class, gender, and region. If the factories and sweatshops blighted the existence of some young people, the wealth they created would eventually release many others from the need to work at all. Mass immigration to the towns may have swamped basic facilities such as housing and schools for a while, but in the long term urban civilization proved favorable to medical, educational, and cultural advances. In short, any account of the impact of industrialization on children in Europe must take account of continuity as well as change, of material and cultural advance as well as poverty, and, bearing in mind the massive social inequalities persisting through the period, of winners as well as losers.

Work, Play, and Education

People in the West now take it for granted that the children should be free from adult responsibilities—notably the need to earn a living—so that they can develop a healthy body, complete their education, and have time for PLAY. However, this type of “long” childhood, quarantined from much of what goes on in the world, is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Until mass schooling began to make an impact during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most young people in Europe gradually moved into the world of adults at an early stage in their lives. They helped with little tasks around the farm, the workshop, or the home, and learned their trade, and the values that went with it, on the job, by means of a formal or informal APPRENTICESHIP. This latter approach was not without its advantages, avoiding the more modern tendency to infantilize the young. It certainly involved a very different balance in everyday life between time spent at work and time passed on the school benches.

Children in preindustrial Europe gradually drifted into work from around the age of seven or eight. Much of their labor was casual and undemanding, for they were not strong enough to take on most of the tasks required on a farm or in a workshop. It was only when they reached their teens that they began the more serious business of an apprenticeship in a trade or work beside adults. In the meantime, they often occupied themselves with simple but time-consuming jobs, such as caring for younger siblings or running errands, which released adults for more productive labor. Girls in particular looked after younger children for their mothers or earned a few pence minding a baby for another family. On the farms children helped by picking stones from fields, scaring birds from crops, minding pigs and sheep, and similar work appropriate to their size and experience. In the towns they might start work in some of the lighter trades, such as making clothes, manufacturing nails, or doing deliveries. Many also tried their luck on the streets, sweeping crossings for pedestrians, performing tricks, or cleaning shoes. Some of this work required long, lonely hours out in the fields or

TABLE 1

Occupations of children under sixteen in French industry, 1839–1845

| Industry | Number | Percentage |
|-------------------|---------|------------|
| Textiles | | |
| Cotton | 44,828 | 31.2 |
| Wool | 26,800 | 18.7 |
| Linen and hemp | 7,232 | 5.0 |
| Silk | 9,326 | 6.5 |
| Mixed fibers | 15,803 | 11.0 |
| Mines, quarries | 6,256 | 4.4 |
| Basic metallurgy | 6,340 | 4.4 |
| Metalworking | 6,315 | 4.4 |
| Leather | 751 | 0.5 |
| Wood | 262 | 0.2 |
| Ceramics | 4,089 | 2.8 |
| Chemicals | 606 | 0.4 |
| Construction | 2,930 | 2.0 |
| Lighting | 71 | 0.0 |
| Furnishings | 0 | 0.0 |
| Clothing | 410 | 0.3 |
| Food | 6,889 | 4.8 |
| Transport | 223 | 0.2 |
| Paper, publishing | 2,841 | 2.0 |
| Luxuries | 95 | 0.1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,598 | 1.1 |
| Total | 143,665 | 100.0 |

SOURCE: Statistique de la France, *Industrie* (4 vols, Paris, 1847–1852).

on the streets, not to mention facing rain, mist, and cold winds during the winter. Tiennon, hero of the peasant novel *The Life of a Simple Man* (1904), recalled time hanging heavily as he watched his flock in the Bourbonnais region of France during the early nineteenth century:

Sometimes fear and sadness overtook me, and I started to cry, to cry without reason, for hours on end. A sudden rustling in the woods, the scampering of a mouse in the grass, the unfamiliar shriek of a bird, that was enough during these hours of anxiety to make me burst into tears.

At the same time, it was often possible to lighten the load by combining work with play. The young shepherds, for example, could amuse themselves carving wood or joining with others to play games.

Authorities in EARLY MODERN EUROPE were generally worried more by the lack of work for poor women and children than by any abuses of their labor. They therefore welcomed the first signs of industrialization: the spread of industry in the countryside, notably in the northwestern parts of the continent. These new “protoindustrial” forms brought a grueling round of agricultural and industrial work unknown in earlier centuries that bore down on children as on the rest of the family. During the early nineteenth century, for example, among the handloom weaving families of the Saxon Oberlausitz, young children wound bobbins and pre-

pared spools, while adolescents of both sexes learned to weave. Besides handloom weaving, village children were employed in large numbers by protoindustries in hand spinning, hosiery, embroidery, lace making, braiding straw, and metalworking. The early textile mills of the late eighteenth century were a further boon for governments saddled with large numbers of ORPHANS by war and revolution. Robert Owen employed around 500 parish apprentices in his famous cotton mill at New Lanark in Scotland. Although the early spinning machinery was specifically designed for use by young people, most factory children continued with the traditional role of helping adults. Best known are the little piecers working beside the mule-spinners in the textile mills, the trappers operating ventilation shafts in the mines, and the carriers of bottles for glass blowers. The French example shows CHILD LABOR concentrated in a small number of industries during the 1840s, above all in textiles, mining, metalworking, and food production (see Table 1).

Overall, industrialization may have drawn more children into the labor force, though historians argue whether in the British case the maximum level of participation occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with protoindustrialization, or during the 1830s and 1840s, with the spread of the factory system. It may also have required a more intensive work regime in terms of working hours and effort, at least for that minority employed in the mills and “sweatshops.” Children like those in the cotton mills of Ghent, in Belgium, who worked from dawn until 10:00 P.M. in winter, and from 5:00 A.M. until 8:00 P.M. in summer, would have had little time for leisure. As one young Londoner lamented, there was “never no time to play.”

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the misery involved. Historians frequently note that children might start work in the mills “as young as seven or eight”—but the majority probably waited until they were closer to ten or twelve, and even later in a heavy industry like iron- and steel-making. To take the best-documented case, the British census of 1851 recorded that only 3.5 percent of children aged 5 to 9 had an occupation. Even in the next age group, 10 to 14 years, no more than 30 percent was gainfully employed (37 percent of boys and 22 percent of girls). If the new industrial system sucked in child labor during the early stages, it also spewed it out later. The reasons for the decline in child labor in Western Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century remain controversial, but it was not necessarily due entirely to intervention by the state. Historian Clark Nardinelli has pointed out that the proportion of children among workers in the British silk industry fell during the 1840s and 1850s, even though they were not covered by factory legislation at this period. New technologies were one influence, such as the self-acting mule in the spinning industry, which largely made it possible to dispense with the piecers (though not all employers chose to do so, notably in Lancashire). At

the same time, rising wages may have allowed working-class parents more leeway for keeping their offspring in school.

The favoring of work at the expense of leisure during the opening phase of industrialization is unlikely to have created a vacuum in popular leisure activities. Some of the old holidays and festivals persisted; children had the run of the fields or streets around their homes; and even on the factory floor child workers had some scope for “larking about.” Witness the two French girls revealed to have been dancing together in a mill at Saint-Pierre-les-Calais during the 1850s, until they suffered broken arms when their skirts became caught up in the machinery. Doubtless it was children from well-off backgrounds who principally benefited from innovations such as board games and jigsaw puzzles, not to mention visits to ZOOS, circuses, and puppet shows. Even so, the capacity of industrial centers such as Nuremberg in Germany and the Black Country in England to churn out cheap wooden and metal TOYS ensured a certain democratization in this sphere. There was, in addition, a section of the market catering for popular tastes by the late nineteenth century, with “penny dreadfuls” and *romans à quatre sous* to read, and “penny gaffs” and music halls to visit. By this time young people in the towns would scorn their country cousins for their unfashionable clothing and traditional dances, preferring the varied delights of a consumer-oriented urban culture.

In terms of drawing children into the schools, industrialization emerged as an ambiguous influence. On the one hand, during its early stages the rapid movement of population into the new industrial areas played havoc with the school system, depressing levels of literacy in areas such as Lancashire or Flanders. Certain trades were particularly associated with illiteracy, notably coal mining and construction. In northern Europe Protestant churches took the lead in encouraging education during the early modern period; they were joined in this aim in the late eighteenth century by reformers promoting a national system of education. Prussia, hardly a leading industrial power during the early nineteenth century, led the way: by the late 1830s, an estimated 80 percent of children aged six to fourteen were attending the elementary schools. On the other hand, the more progressive industrial employers tended to insist on some schooling for their employees, even if it was more to instill religious and moral values than to promote learning. Skilled craftsmen, retailers, and at the very least a new elite of foremen, technicians, and clerks in the factories depended more on literacy than did peasants and farm laborers. The atmosphere in the towns was more favorable to education than that of the villages, given the more vigorous political and intellectual life. By the time education was made compulsory in Britain and France during the 1880s, most children were probably receiving some elementary education. Yet the pressures of poverty and parental indifference meant that, even during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many children in Western Europe still had to

combine work with school. Aurelia Roth, for example, complained from Bohemia that with her long hours spent grinding glass, “I didn’t get much time to learn, and still less to play, but it hurt me the most if I had to skip school.” Nonetheless, at this time children in Western Europe were a dwindling force on the shop floor; the only problem was the need to enforce more regular attendance at school among the poor.

The “Middle-Class” Family and a New Ideal of Childhood

Industrialization made an impact on the family, as surely as on the workshop. During the early modern period, particularly in northwest Europe, many families had routinely sent off their sons and daughters to a boarding school or to another family. A spell as a farm servant or an apprentice was a common experience for young people between leaving home and getting married. An unfortunate minority was separated from their parents from a very tender age, as young as seven, but most could afford to wait until some point in their teens before going off into service. With the coming of protoindustrialization to the countryside, families in the affected areas chose to keep their young people at home, given the wide variety of tasks that needed to be performed on the farm and in the workshop. Similarly, working-class families in nineteenth-century mill towns had their sons and daughters living with them well past childhood, as the pioneering study of Preston (Lancashire, England) by Michael Anderson has revealed. The exceptions, until the early twentieth century, were the young women living away from home as domestic servants in the big cities. Even so, the general drift was for young people to live at home until they married.

There was in addition a long-term change in the function of the family during the period of industrialization. With the rise of specialized institutions, such as factories, schools, and hospitals, the family began to lose some its earlier roles. Rather than a unit of production, education, and so on, it became above all a source of emotional support for its members. Nowhere was this more the case than among the new “middling strata” which flourished during the nineteenth century, from the wealthy bankers and industrialists at the top to the shopkeepers and master artisans at the bottom. Aristocratic parents had a tendency to distance themselves from their children: Talleyrand, born into a noble family in France in 1754, noted that neither of his parents ever showed him any affection, for “paternal care had not yet come into fashion.” Peasant and working-class parents were often too hard-pressed by work and insecurity to be able to pay much attention to their offspring. Hence it was among the affluent professional and business groups that domesticity flourished, and, as Philippe Ariès has put it, the family organized itself around the child. It was above all mothers who were supposed to devote themselves to their families: breast-feeding their infants, teaching them sound religious and moral values, and cosseting them in a nursery far removed

from the harsh realities of adult life. This was the milieu which proved most receptive to new ideas on the nature of childhood emerging from leading figures in the ENLIGHTENMENT and the Romantic Movement.

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU is the thinker usually credited with challenging the Christian tradition of original sin with the contrary notion of original innocence in the child. His *Émile* (1762) was not entirely original in its ideas, but its witty and engaging style of writing ensured a ready reception in educated circles. Rousseau asserted that the child was born innocent, but became stifled by all the prejudices and authority of society. His advice was to respect childhood, and “leave nature to act for a long time before you get involved with acting in its place.” The Romantics went even further in idealizing childhood. The German Jean Paul Richter, for example, suggested in his *Levana* (1807) that children were “messengers from paradise.” Most influential of all on nineteenth-century conceptions of childhood was the poet William Wordsworth, and his *Ode. Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Childhood* (1807). Lines such as “Heaven lies about us in our infancy!” echoed down the years, as later writers quoted, plagiarized, or adapted them for their own purposes. As Peter Coveney observed, in the Machine Age the child could symbolize Imagination and Sensibility. Yet it required a wealthy, urbanized society to accept the view that children were essentially innocent, vulnerable, and asexual. The way was open for a range of philanthropic and legislative initiatives to protect children from the dangers they were perceived to face.

Philanthropy, the State, and Child Welfare

The nineteenth century brought a series of private charitable initiatives and government regulations to improve child welfare. Most directly linked to industrialization were the campaigns to eliminate the abuse of child labor. The motives of the reformers were a combination of humanitarianism and more mercenary considerations. Thus the textile magnates of the Société Industrielle de Mulhouse, in Alsace, who campaigned for a law on child labor from the 1830s onwards by petitioning the government, had their eyes firmly set on their own profits as well as on the health and morality of their employees. The British pioneered such legislation in 1802 with an act protecting apprentices in the new cotton mills. Subsequently they and their continental neighbors proceeded by a process of trial and error, gradually extending the scope of factory legislation and tightening the systems of enforcement. In Britain Althorp’s Act of 1833 replaced an earlier one of 1819 by introducing the first viable inspection system, while the 1867 Factory Extension Act finally reached out beyond the factory system. Both Prussia and France experimented with child labor laws around 1840, but neither had an effective means of enforcement. The former produced a more comprehensive system in 1853, the latter in 1874. All such legislation aimed to regulate child labor rather than abolish it, setting minimum ages for working,

grading hours according to age, banning night work, and insisting on some schooling. It doubtless curbed some of the worst abuses, though it also had the perverse effect of driving some children into small, unregulated workshops.

The nineteenth century also transformed the relationship between the state and the family. In the French case, a group dominated by doctors and administrators launched the challenge to the traditional authority of the head of the household. Appalled by the waste of infant life around them, and the high cost of supporting single mothers, they founded societies for the protection of children during the 1860s and a series of laws that shifted control from cases of “morally deficient” parents to philanthropists and magistrates. The 1889 Roussel law on the divestiture of paternal authority, for example, allowed courts to deprive parents of their rights on the grounds of drunkenness, scandalous behavior, or physical abuse. In Germany zealous Protestants took charge of the reform process, placing what were known as “wayward” children in a *Rettungshaus*, or House of Salvation. As in France, because private initiatives were all too easily thwarted, the reformers turned to the state for support. A Prussian law of 1878 made possible the placing of juvenile delinquents in a *Rettungshaus*. Similarly, in Britain, reformers like Mary Carpenter blamed parents for crime and vagrancy among children, and in the 1850s responded with industrial and reformatory schools. Later in the century, the Cruelty to Children Act of 1889 permitted the courts to take into care children who had been abused or neglected by their parents. The good intentions of these reformers need not be doubted, though in retrospect one can discern a desire to refashion poor, working-class families in their own middle-class image.

Finally, the spread of industrialization coincided with that of mass schooling, at the expense of informal methods of education in the family or the local community. Various German states attempted to make elementary schooling compulsory during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but there were simply too few teachers and school buildings available for such measures to have any chance of success. They did at least enjoy a considerable lead over surrounding parts of the continent where schools were few and far between, notably in Scandinavia, Ireland, Southern Italy, and Eastern Europe. Other nations gradually took the path pioneered by the Germans, taking over responsibility for education from the churches, and making schooling both free and compulsory. In Britain and France, for example, this latter shift occurred during the 1880s. The social inequalities that had always marked access to education were far from eliminated by the early twentieth century, but at least the widespread illiteracy of the past disappeared. Compulsory education had long-term significance for children. More than any factory legislation, which was always difficult to enforce, it ended most forms of child labor (part-time work excepted). It also made everyone familiar with the notion of an

age-graded society, with children starting school at the same age, and working their way up the system year by year. A “long” childhood had come to replace the gradual transition into adulthood by the early twentieth century.

See also: **Compulsory School Attendance; Education, Europe; Social Welfare; Street Games; Theories of Childhood; Work and Poverty.**

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COLIN HEYWOOD

Ewald, Wendy (b. 1951)

Wendy Ewald was born into a large family in Detroit, Michigan, in 1951. She studied photography at Massachusetts Institute of Technology under the photographer Minor White and graduated from Antioch College in 1974. Ewald's work has earned her numerous prizes and fellowships, including Fulbright and MacArthur fellowships.

Ewald creates photographs through subtle collaborations with children. Giving children cameras while also photographing them demands that Ewald acquire the visual vocabulary the children themselves use in this process of self-representation. This complex work confronts the lopsided relationship introduced as the subject is framed and contextually defined by the camera's gaze. While imparting to the photographer the spectacular power to extract from the world a controlled visual story, the camera also inserts an almost incontrovertible, hierarchical distance between subject and photographer. Ewald, recognizing the limited dialogue available to an artist within traditional photography, first began photographing alongside children on a First Nations reservation in Canada in 1969. Viewing the photographs the children made against her own, she saw the differences between the children's perceptions of their community and her own view as an outsider.

Ewald sought new processes to make images that would be drawn out of a shared interaction between herself and the children. The resulting collaborative approach resists placing a frame around another's world; instead she engages with the children, allowing their vision to shift her own sense of seeing and guide the artistic process. Though the photographs possess their own narrative power, which is similar to the work of other documentary photographers like Dorothea Lange and W. Eugene Smith, it is the creative process rather than the artifact that Ewald emphasizes. The intricate negotiations among her child collaborators, herself, and the worlds they are seeing challenge notions of photographic objectivity and sole authorship. The subsequent layered images operate from a documentary vantage point established

by Walker Evans in the 1930s, which contests the privileged narrative of photographs composed by an outsider. Ewald's collaborative photography is also strongly connected to conceptual art like that of Alfredo Jaar, which requires not only observation but reflection on the logic of ideas present throughout his politically confrontational work.

Ewald worked with students in the Appalachian Mountains of eastern Kentucky from 1975 to 1982. Four central themes emerged from this work: self, family, community, and dreams. Giving the children simple point-and-shoot cameras, she asked them to make photographs. Together they developed and printed the film in school darkrooms, demystifying the photographic process and offering the children complete ownership of their image, from conceptualization to production of the final print. The children then wrote from these photographs, sharing their stories and elaborating their images into powerful narratives, rich with the embedded detail of their lives. This established the framework for Ewald's later projects in such places as India, apartheid-era South Africa, Colombia, Saudi Arabia, and Durham, North Carolina.

Ewald's work with children disrupts the notion that only adults can use artistic tools for personal expression or documentary intent. By revealing children's interior worlds, Ewald's approach complicates and questions the view of children usually attributed to adult society. These conventional conceptions perpetuate a homogenous portrayal of children's experiences that is ruptured as the children with Ewald both interrogate and construct the world using the extraordinarily populist medium of photography.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Photographs of Children.**

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DWAYNE EMIL DIXON

Ex Parte Crouse

The 1838 Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision *Ex parte Crouse* elaborated the doctrine of *parens patriae* by establishing that the state has a right and an obligation to remove children from improperly supervised households. The common law doctrine *parens patriae*, or "the state is the father," provides that the state has the responsibility to care for those who are legally incapable of caring for themselves. During the nineteenth century, JUVENILE JUSTICE advocates frequently relied on this doctrine to justify their efforts to protect children, both from the harsh adult criminal justice system and from parental neglect and abuse.

Ex parte Crouse was heard by the court as an appeal brought by a father whose daughter was committed to the Pennsylvania House of Refuge. The House of Refuge was established in 1826 to house and rehabilitate children who were charged with or convicted of committing criminal offenses. In 1835, the law governing the House of Refuge was amended to provide that girls under age eighteen and boys under age twenty-one could also be committed to the care and supervision of the House of Refuge for incorrigible or vicious conduct. The local magistrate committed Mary Ann Crouse to the House of Refuge under this provision after her mother filed a petition alleging that she was no longer capable of controlling Mary Ann's "vicious conduct." Following the commitment, Mary Ann's father filed a petition with the court in which he argued that the commitment was a violation of Mary Ann's constitutional rights because the magistrate did not conduct a trial before placing her in the House of Refuge.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court disagreed with the argument that Mary Ann's commitment was a violation of her constitutional rights. Instead, the court held that Mary Ann's proper place was in the House of Refuge because, according to the doctrine of *parens patriae*, the state had an obligation and a right to assure her well-being. According to the court, if Mary Ann's parents were unable to control her, to educate her, or to protect her virtue, it became the state's responsibility to protect her. The court stated that although parents have a right to parental control, the right is not absolute, and if parents fail to exercise their rights in the appropriate manner, the rights and responsibilities of caring for the child are

transferred to the state. Furthermore, Mary Ann's commitment was not a violation of her constitutional rights because the House of Refuge was a place of rehabilitation, not of punishment. The court reasoned that Mary Ann's placement in the institution would save her from a course of certain harm and that to release her from the House of Refuge would itself be an act of cruelty.

According to historian Michael Grossberg, *Ex parte Crouse* can be considered "the most influential antebellum judicial analysis of newly created children's asylums." In addition to providing an explanation of the rehabilitative goal of houses of refuge, the case was also important because it expanded the application of the doctrine of *parens patriae*. The expansion of this important legal doctrine was later relied upon by legal reformers to support the expansion of the legal powers of JUVENILE COURTS.

See also: **Children's Rights; Law, Children and the.**

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AMY L. ELSON

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Fairy Tales and Fables

Fables provided instructional reading for European children from the Middle Ages well into the nineteenth century. Fairy tales for children, on the other hand, were relative late-comers for child readers, appearing in the early eighteenth century but becoming popular only from the later eighteenth century onward.

Fables

In the western world, brief animal fables with an appended moral are generally identified as *Aesop's fables*. Although attributed to Aesop, reputedly a freed Greek slave living in the sixth century B.C.E., the body of work took shape over centuries, absorbing tales from disparate sources, such as the Hellenistic *Recensio Augustana*, whose animal protagonists typically had predictable characteristics: a cunning fox, a strong lion, a proud eagle.

Aesopic fables have dramatic plots, clear construction, and striking dialogue leading to a general moral that can easily be summarized in proverbial form. Fables are above all a didactic genre. Many Romans—Ennius, Lucilius, Horace, Livy—used Aesopic fables as exempla (short stories that illustrate a particular moral or argument), but Phaedrus strengthened their didactic elements in order to produce a guide for moral instruction.

Medieval Aesopica flowered in the eleventh century and grew larger in the twelfth century, as Johannes of Capua's edition absorbed fables from the Indian *Panchatantra*. The *Panchatantra* (Five Books or Five Teachings)—a story cycle consisting of fables about animals whose actions demonstrate the wise conduct of life and the knowledge of ruling—had emerged sometime before 250 C.E. Translated into Persian as *Kalila and Dimna* in the sixth century, these Eastern fables spread in multitudinous reworked forms in Arabic translation from the Middle East to northern Africa and Moorish Spain. Once Aesopic fables with their *Panchatan-*

tra / Kalila and Dimna admixture were incorporated into the Latin exempla collection for use in church sermons in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, the way had been prepared for their use in schools throughout Christian Europe. From the High Middle Ages through Galland's early eighteenth-century translation, fables powerfully influenced European storytelling.

The sudden flourishing of published animal fables for children in late seventeenth-century England reveals the presence of a reading appetite no longer satisfied by a rigorous diet of gory Protestant martyrdoms, fervid child deaths, and earnest religious directives. Much of England's Christian practice had softened, as evidenced by the runaway success of the popular religious writer John Bunyan's allegorical narratives. Many of hymn-writer Isaac Watts's *Moral Songs*, though religious in category, nonetheless taught children about living harmoniously within a close family circle. Fables went one step further and provided moralized worldly narratives about how to live on earth. Isolated editions appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the sudden publishing success of Aesopica between the 1690s and the 1740s demonstrates that parental child-rearing imperatives had moved far away from purely religious injunction in those years. The narrative-cum-moral form, so warmly recommended by English philosopher JOHN LOCKE, enabled Enlightenment educationists to incorporate interpretations that expressed rational values.

Internationally, Jean de La Fontaine's book of 245 fables (in three parts 1668, 1678–1679, 1693) prepared the way for an enormous efflorescence of fables in England, Germany, Italy, and France in the eighteenth century. In England, fables' success can be measured by their remarkable publishing history. Caxton printed an English translation of Aesop's fables in 1484; Roger l'Estrange's 1692 collection, *Fables of Aesop and other eminent mythologists (Barlandus-Anianus-Abstemijs-Poggius) with morals and reflexions*, was republished with remarkable frequency throughout the late seventeenth

and early eighteenth century. The success of L'Estrange's fables encouraged imitators and competitors, and so Reverend Samuel Croxall produced his *Fables of Aesop and Others* in 1722. It, too, enjoyed an enormous success (being reprinted five times between 1722 and 1747), as did John Gay's Aesopic fables (1727, 1738).

Fables passed early into school use. The London publisher S. Harding marketed *Amusing and Instructive Fables in French and English* in 1732. La Fontaine's *Fables and Tales . . . in French and English* (1734) and Daniel Bellamy's translation of Phaedrus's *Fifty Instructive and Entertaining Fables* (1734, 1753), both intended for youth in schools, immediately joined them, as did FRANÇOIS FÉNELON's *Tales and Fables* (1736) and Gabriel Faerno's *Fables in English and French Verse* (1741). The latter also appeared in Latin and French (1743, 1744). Benjamin Cole put his name on a collection, *Select Tales and Fables* (1746). In 1747 *The Instructive and Entertaining Fables of Bidpai* (tales derived from the *Panchatantra*) appeared in English for the first time. The pace of newly introduced fable books attests to market success for this genre, as each printing evidently sold out quickly enough to warrant new printings and new versions. As always England's chapbook (small, inexpensive paper booklets) publishers picked up whatever sold well, and in this case the Dicey printing house put out John Bickham's *Fables and Other Short Poems* as early as 1737.

John Newbery included several fables in *Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744) and *Goody Two-Shoes* (1766), and in 1757 Newbery himself produced *Fables in Verse. For the Improvement of the Young and the Old*. Attributed jokily to Abraham Aesop, Esq., Newbery's book was reprinted on ten separate occasions. Other fable books appeared, such as the simply entitled 1759 *Fables* and Robert Dodsley's *Select Fables of Aesop and Other Fabulists* (1761). Children read these and other fable books long after their original dates of publication, as attested by the multigenerational ownership inscribed onto many of these books' flyleaves.

When fables had to share the market with fairy tales from the end of the eighteenth century onward, they diminished in significance. Nonetheless, fables have continued to form a staple of children's literature and children's reading in a broad variety of (principally illustrated) editions to the present day. The classic historian of children's literature, Harvey Darton, wrote that fables "had been regimented for schools and decked out for fashion. It had been Everyman's and now was Everychild's" (p. 23).

Animal stories of the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries may also be understood as a natural outgrowth of eighteenth-century Aesopic fables. An outstanding change from 1800 onward was a shift in animal attributes towards positive personal characteristics of courage, patience, loyalty, and endurance that remains evident in twentieth-century stories such as *Lassie* and *Black Beauty*.

Fairy Tales

Fairy tales, as they exist today, took shape in sixteenth-century Italy as literature for adults in a handful of tales in *Pleasant Nights* (1551, 1553) by Giovan Francesco Straparola. These made their way to France, as did the *Pentameron* (1634–1636) of Giambattista Basile, where both underlay French fairy tales published from 1697 onward by Marie Catherine Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705), Charles Perrault (1628–1703), and other French retellers of the genre. In England, fairy tales were not a presence during the seventeenth century. At that time it was chapbook romances, whose heroes bravely encountered and courageously vanquished magical or gigantic opponents, that fired boys' imaginations. If girls read chapbook romances recreationally in the same period, women's memoirs do not mention it, generally reporting only devotional reading.

England's fairies and elves, which offered little in the way of narrative adventure, were chiefly anecdotal and explanatory rather than narrative figures. Only with the introduction of French fairy narratives can extended tales about fairies and fairy tales be said to have begun an English existence. Despite decades of assertions about the oral transmission of fairy tales from nursemaids to children in times past, no evidence exists to support the belief. Tom Thumb, whose adventures included a fairy patroness, was created in the early seventeenth century by Richard Johnson; Jack, the killer of giants, came to life a century later. Both supplied English imaginations with thumping good magic for centuries, but both are, strictly speaking, folk, not fairy, tales.

In the eighteenth century two bodies of fairy literature reached English shores. From 1699 to 1750 Mme d'Aulnoy's tales were translated and published for adult women readers, first for the upper class, and later for ever lower social classes. Robert Samber's 1729 translation of Charles Perrault's tales for child readers did not sell well as leisure reading; in consequence, its publishers attempted to recast the book as a French-English schoolbook. With many other dual-language texts available for school use, however, Perrault's tales foundered, perhaps because of their inclusion of "The Discreet Princess" with its questionable morality.

It was Mme Le Prince de Beaumont who made fairy tales socially acceptable for middle and upper-middle class girls in her *Magasin des Enfants* (starting in 1756), when she alternated highly moralized versions of existing fairy tales with equally moralized Bible stories, interleaving both with lessons in history and geography. Of all Mme Le Prince's fairy tales, only her "Beauty and the Beast" has survived.

Selected tales from the *Arabian Nights* began to appear in English chapbooks from about 1715 onward; the tales of Perrault and Mme d'Aulnoy, on the other hand, spread via chapbooks to English readers only after the 1750s. Perhaps they picked up fairy tales' potential for popular consumption

from John Newbery's 1743 inclusion of "Red Riding Hood" and "Cinderella" [*sic*] in his *Pretty Book for Boys and Girls*. Ever cautious, Newbery gradually introduced fairy tales into his publications by including some of Fenelon's highly moralized fairy tales in his *Short Histories for the Improvement of the Mind* (1760); putting "Fortunatus" and a version of Perrault's "Diamonds and Toads" into a later edition of the *Pretty Book*, and introducing "Puss in Boots" into *The Fairing* in 1767. Later firms, however, published all of Perrault's tales, minus "The Discreet Princess," and propelled those tales, along with Mme d'Aulnoy's "Yellow Dwarf" and "White Cat," into their nineteenth-century popularity.

Despite the disapproval of sober educators such as Sarah Trimmer, Robert Bloomfield, and Mary Martha Sherwood, England's nineteenth-century fairy tales were joined by Edward Taylor's translation of the Grimms' tales (vol. 1 in 1823, vol. 2 in 1826); Hans Christian Andersen's tales in 1846; Basile's bowdlerized *Pentamerone* in 1848; *The Fairy Tales of All Nations* in 1849; and Scandinavian myths, folk tales, and fairy tales in the 1850s. All of these tales were recirculated through late nineteenth-century editions, a practice that continued in the twentieth century. However, fairies and fairy tales enjoyed far more currency in England than in the United States in the nineteenth century.

The relationship of fairy tales to the lives of children is much debated. In the United States and England in the wake of World War II, a distrust of the Grimms' tales developed (the ferocious gore in some of their tales was thought to have encouraged genocide), a distrust that Bruno Bettelheim countered in *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976). Bettelheim implied that fairy tales arose from children's own subconscious as he sought to demonstrate that fairy tales accurately projected children's psychological needs and neatly described their psychosexual development. However, his neo-Freudian approach to textual analysis was often flawed by lapses in logic and by the substitution of assertion for proof. In contrast, Kristin Wardetzky's research in the 1980s, based on a sample of 1,500 schoolchildren, rested on an awareness that children's early and continuing exposure to books of fairy tales suffused their consciousness with fairy-tale characters, norms, and motifs. Wardetzky's analysis of fairy tales written by children themselves demonstrated that their narratives used standard fairy-tale motifs to bring evil under control and to (re)establish domestic harmony.

See also: **ABC Books; Children's Literature.**

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RUTH B. BOTTIGHEIMER

Family Patterns

Throughout history, family composition has affected children's lives in important ways. The size and structure of the family and its capacity to sustain itself has played a critical role in how children are raised, their level of formal education, and whether or not they participate in the labor force. The principal household structures are nuclear, extended, and blended. The nuclear household contains two generations, parents and children. Extended families are multigenerational and include a wide circle of kin and servants. In blended households—the result of divorce or the death of a spouse followed by remarriage and a new generation of children—mothers and fathers can be both biological parents and STEPPARENTS simultaneously.

Patterns of Family Structure through the Modern Era

Household structure took a variety of forms throughout Europe and North America during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Research during the late twentieth century on European family systems situated these forms within sharp geographical boundaries over time. Those models, however, have since been adjusted, with consensus that geographical areas held more than one family pattern contemporaneously. Moreover, household systems sometimes changed over historical cycles. Finally, households were not necessarily autonomous but part of a wider network of relations with the community. The nuclear family, with late marriage preceded by a term of service in another household, was one common form in northwest Europe and North America, while multigenerational households were common to southern and eastern Europe. In Albania, Bulgaria, and European Russia as well as some parts of Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal, new households were formed when large ones divided or small ones combined. Marriage was not restricted to one son or daughter, there were few servants save for the rich, and households were home to multiple married couples. Children thus were supervised by co-resident adult kin. Elsewhere, in parts of central and southern France, Italy, Austria, and Germany, nuclear households combined with the fission and fusion processes of the East and South. Others contained two residential married couples consisting of parents and a married son. This usually occurred when there was not enough land to start a separate household.

Age at marriage and life expectancy were two important variables influencing household structure. Early marriage

permitted a longer cycle of fertility than marrying late. Late marriage for women, from the mid to late twenties, was a means of restricting the number of births per household. Late marriage for men may or may not have affected the household's fertility cycle. It did, however, impinge upon the number of years fathers would be available to their children. The same was true for mothers. In fact one or both parents could be expected to die during the child's lifetime during the early modern period, creating the potential for economic hardship. There was a large percentage of ORPHANS, many of whom were farmed out to other families as servants, laborers, or apprentices. They lived with their employers rather than in their natal households. In other cases, the death of a parent brought remarriage, new stepsiblings, and the constitution of a blended family. This was common, for example, in New England and the Chesapeake area of North America during the colonial era. Children too died young. INFANT MORTALITY rates were very high during the early modern period, making it highly uncertain whether parents could expect their children to reach an age when they could help support the family household or sustain them in their elderly years.

INHERITANCE practices also affected household structure. Primogeniture in the nuclear family insured that the patrimony remained intact, under the authority of the eldest son upon his father's death. That son was expected to marry and carry on the family's future over time. In a stem family, common in Austria, brothers might work for the eldest sibling but would not be allowed to marry or to inherit. Sisters might marry or take vows, yet only the eldest son would inherit the family estate. Partible inheritance, on the other hand, allowed for the formation of separate households among all children. Extended families, whose size was generally limited by high mortality and low fertility, practiced joint inheritance, that is, shared ownership of their patrimony.

During the early modern period another important variable influencing household structure was the family's proximity to a means of production and its ability to sustain itself. Climate, geography, the productivity of the land, and the strength of the labor market all shaped household composition, and consequently childhood experience, in important ways. They helped determine whether or not people married and at what age, whether to try and restrict fertility, whether children worked and/or went to school, and whether or not they would be able to live at home under the supervision of their parents. Affluent households might have had less incentive to restrict fertility since they did not depend on offspring to contribute to the family economy. They did quite frequently, however, restrict marriage in order to keep the family patrimony intact. Modest households, however, presented another case, for there children were an economic liability. Children could remain under the family hearth only if there was a viable means of sustaining them. Otherwise

they were sent to work as domestic servants, laborers, or apprentices, living in employers' houses. Frequently in north-west Europe and North America, marriage took place only when the couple could afford to set up an independent household. Life-cycle servitude followed by late marriage was common because it was only at that stage that couples had accumulated the resources needed to set up the customary separate household. In extended families, on the other hand, where married children were joining a preestablished household, age at marriage was normally younger. The main consideration in deciding whether to marry was whether the new couple had the means to sustain a new family. Ten to 15 percent of the population never achieved the means to marry.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, land was perhaps the most important financial resource for the majority of the population. Its availability and how it was managed affected household composition. Firm assurance of land tenure, even in conditions where land was scarce, could encourage the establishment of more complex households, while adequate landed resources lent itself to the establishment of small, independent households. Peasant families required an adequate but not excess number of children to work the land. The nuclear household ideally contained several children spaced widely so that the oldest had left the household by the time the youngest came along, thus avoiding surplus mouths to feed. This was achieved by postponing marriage to the late twenties for men and early twenties for women, a practice that shortened their years of fertility. In addition, parents often sent their children to live and serve other households in need.

Yet not all peasants were able to avail themselves of land. Population growth and land shortage, characteristic of eighteenth-century North America, for example, forced sons to leave the family hearth. Landless villagers who sought employment where they could find it may not have formally married but procreated. This often resulted in pools of abandoned women and children. On the other hand, some peasant economies were replaced by more commercialized systems in which rural households were centers of production associated with the textile industry. Free markets created a greater demand for labor, drawing families into the production process. Children could remain at home rather than be farmed out to service if there was work allowing them to contribute to the sustenance of the household. This was also true when the center of production moved outside the home, a phenomenon characteristic of the nineteenth century. Fathers and children rather than mothers went to work in factories to support the family. In short, household composition and children's ability to remain living with their parents depended heavily on the availability of economic resources and employment.

The household as a center of production affected childhood experience. To age seven, even among slaveholders in

North America, children were generally exempt from work. But from then on they were gradually brought into the labor force. On farms young children collected firewood and worms on the vines, herded livestock, weeded, and helped around the house. After age ten boys might be trained outside in fields and stables to learn to be farmers or herders, while girls were tracked into domestic work. By the eighteenth century children were helping with sewing, spinning, lace making, and nail making. Slave children in North America had a similar experience, with light chores to age six and domestic or farm labor after age ten. In midwest and western North America, where the labor market was small, gender roles were less rigid than normal. Girls worked in the tobacco fields and did herding, harvesting, and hunting while boys took on domestic duties as well as working outside. On the frontier, children assumed duties earlier than in other regions. The young panned gold as well as performing a variety of domestic chores.

When the household did not offer a means of production it affected children in dramatic ways. In the nineteenth century they left school at the minimum required by the state and were put to work in factories, much to the horror of social reformers, and they were not normally under parental supervision. Cotton mills and coal mines, industries with steam power and machinery, drew children into the adult labor market. In the cities poor children took to street selling. All the while, domestic service was one of the largest employers of child labor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century children were 10 percent of the labor force in the American Northeast; by 1832 they constituted 40 percent.

Childhood experience during the early modern period was thus affected in numerous ways by family structure. First, their primary caretakers differed according to the configuration of the household. In nuclear families, parents normally assumed responsibility for raising their children, while in extended and blended families other adults besides the parents might be involved in the lives of the children. That might include uncles, aunts, and GRANDPARENTS in multigenerational extended families, while in a blended family, where one parent has remarried and constituted a new family, children might be raised by both a stepparent and a parent. In a nuclear household, children had economic and emotional relationships with their parents alone, while in extended and blended families the network of ties was potentially much larger. Domestic production in the home facilitated both parents assuming responsibility for child rearing. In the nineteenth century, when production moved outside the domestic hearth, mothers assumed more authority over children while fathers worked outside.

Another way household structure affected childhood was that the quality of a child's experience was directly affected by whether he or she was expected to contribute to the financial well-being of the household and whether he or she

would inherit land. The latter determined whether or not marriage would be possible. Broader trends affected ability to marry as well. In periods of demographic rise and land shortage, marriage was delayed and restricted, while the opposite conditions encouraged early marriage. Although parents assumed responsibility for children's religious instruction, until the early twentieth century imparting vocational skills that would serve the means of production constituted the primary responsibility in child rearing.

The Twentieth Century

The parameters of household structure and childhood experience described above dramatically changed for the middle class during the first half of the twentieth century. The steady decline of the birthrate in Europe and North America from the nineteenth century was an important underpinning of this transformation. During the twentieth century highly reliable BIRTH CONTROL methods and legalized abortion made the one- or two-child family the norm. During the 1990s, for example, the average number of births per household in Italy was only 1.2, and in Muslim communities of Europe such as Albania they averaged no more than 2.5. With fewer children, parents devoted more time to their proper care and upbringing. Other developments that contributed to the transformations in household structure and childhood experience included state intervention in child labor, rising real wages, COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, and new ideals of childhood and family life. Extended families also declined. In the nineteenth century, a grandparent often lived with an adult child and her children, and rates of co-residence in Europe actually increased. But in the 1920s older people began more consistently to live separately, a sign of quiet change in family structure.

Increasing prosperity had the effect of extending childhood beyond the minimum that had been experienced by working-class families. For the more fortunate, life shifted from the farm, domestic manufacture, factory, or streets to the home where parents nurtured and emotionally protected youngsters and socialized them for the wider world. While poorer children continued to receive minimum schooling so that they could help support their families, middle-class children increasingly withdrew from the labor force, enrolled in schools, and became the focus of parental investment both emotionally and financially. The age at which children became wage earners for their families was thus delayed to the late teens or beyond, and the period in which children remained living in the parental household was prolonged. Ethnicity and social class produced variation. Immigrants to North America, for example, brought their own customs. If they were poor, they depended more on their children to be wage earners rather than students. Socially mobile immigrants placed greater emphasis on schooling and higher education.

The transition from wage earner to schoolchild did not occur in a linear fashion. World War II, for example, dis-

rupted all aspects of family life and the family economy due to separation, death, and financial hardship. Women entered the workforce while men were at war, and children were forced to mature more precipitously. However, from the 1950s, childhood in Europe and America became a defined stage of the life cycle which preceded formal schooling and vocational training and was clearly separate from the adult world of work. Age at marriage dropped, birthrates were exceptionally high compared to preceding periods, and divorce rates were low. There was a sharp gendered division of child-rearing responsibilities, with mothers at home, ideally giving affection and emotional support, and fathers out in the work force supporting their families. There was a marked preference for residential independence. In North America families moved to suburbs where, with economic prosperity, they could endow their children with material goods and better education. Middle-class children had more leisure time and money than ever before, but not without some cost: by the 1990s the majority of parents worked outside the home to maintain consumption standards, leaving children in care facilities.

The late twentieth century, especially in North America, produced quantitative leaps in the structure of the modern family. Divorce was relatively rare until the twentieth century. However, from 1900 onward it spread in both Europe and North America, becoming available to all social groups by the end of the century. By the 1980s birthrates had fallen dramatically and divorce rates had doubled or tripled. Women obtained greater property rights as well as the possibility of alimony and child support, making divorce a realistic option. Moreover, women could more effectively choose whether or not to marry. The result was a rise in single-parent households and households headed by women. Financial independence, coupled with desires for self-fulfillment and gender equality, caused more women than ever to enter the labor force. These developments reduced the amount of time mothers could spend with their children. Fathers took greater responsibility in nurturing their children as mothers contributed to the family economy, but in cases where both parents worked, parents in the United States struggled to find child care arrangements while parents in Europe usually placed children in day care facilities.

The late twentieth century ushered in new household structures, with unwed parents, gay parents, and remarried parents who brought with them a series of step-relations. Divorce, premarital pregnancy, and single parenthood lost some social stigma. Children in divorced families generally experienced independence at an earlier age. Some developed close relationships with more than one adult, and they developed new relationships with each parent. However, their sense of stability could not help but be disrupted by the breakup of the nuclear family unit, parents dating other people, and in some instances one or two new families being formed as a result of their parents' new relationships.

Blended families require considerable emotional if not financial adjustment. Children with SAME-SEX PARENTS also face complex social and emotional issues, including building perspective on gender roles as well as dealing with the community's reception of their nontraditional family structure. For the most part, in the early twenty-first century gay marriage has not been legally recognized in the United States and has been only marginally recognized in Europe. Children face larger challenges from society when their parents' relationship does not fit more familiar role models and is not supported by the institutional structures that uphold heterosexual marriage. On balance, same-sex parents are exceptionally committed to caring for and nurturing their children. The twenty-first century thus witnesses greater social complexities in household structure and family patterns that inevitably impact childhood, itself a structure continually in transition.

See also: **Apprenticeship; Child Labor in the West; Divorce and Custody; Economics and Children in Western Societies; European Industrialization; Fertility Rates; Siblings.**

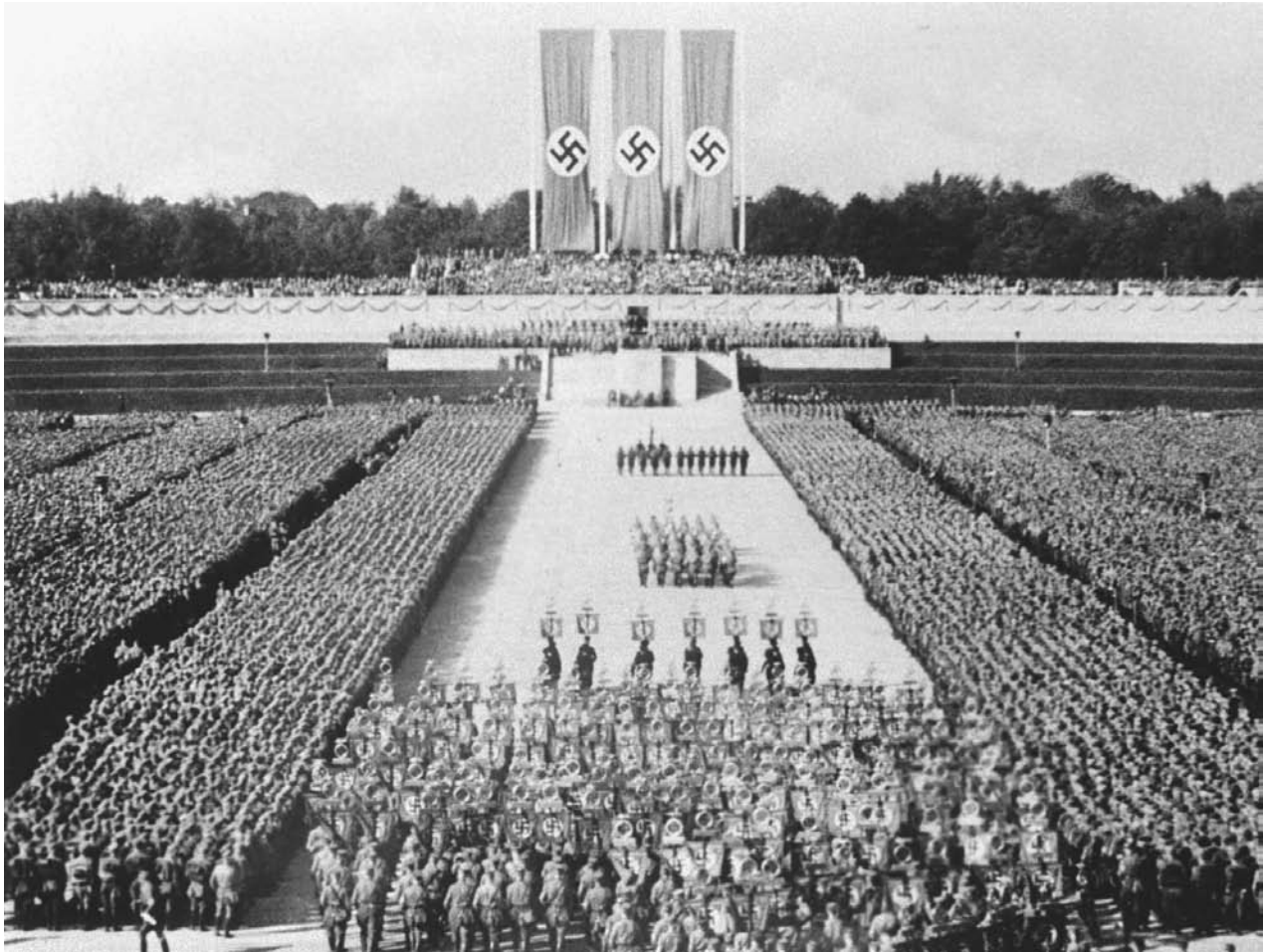
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JOANNE M. FERRARO

Fascist Youth

Fascism is a right-wing political movement rooted in nineteenth-century elitist nationalism and cultural romanticism.



A still from Leni Riefenstahl's Nazi propaganda film *Triumph of the Will* (1936), depicting the Nuremberg rallies of 1934. At these rallies thousands of Hitler Youth, along with members of other Nazi Party organizations, had the opportunity to see and hear their leader in person. The Kobal Collection.

It advocates authoritarian, single-party rule as the only solution for the socioeconomic problems of modern society. Fascism became a political force after World War I, when right-wing parties throughout Europe promised to restore health, moral order and a sense of purpose to their respective national communities. In 1921, the first self-proclaimed fascist party was founded by Benito Mussolini in Italy. Mussolini took the term *fascist* from an ancient Roman word meaning a bundle of sticks used as a disciplinary tool. As the term suggests, the National Fascist Party brought together various socioeconomic groups, particularly those who felt disenfranchised by World War I and/or the GREAT DEPRESSION—veterans, the lower middle class and youth.

Fascism's Appeal to Youth

Fascism recognizes youth as a vulnerable and politically significant population. In the 1920s and 1930s, fascist parties promised young people not only jobs and educational opportunities, but also a divine mission—to be the leaders of a revolutionary movement that would purify the nation. The fas-

cists promoted a cult of the youthful, featuring young heroes in their music, film and literature, rejecting the ruling elite as cynical and complacent, and emphasizing the relative youthfulness of their own leaders. Fascism celebrated duty, loyalty and physical vitality, and challenged the young to use their natural energy, idealism and competitiveness for the good of the national community.

Fascist youth associations attracted large majorities of young people in Italy under Mussolini's rule and in Germany under the Nazi dictatorship. In these state-sponsored movements, young people found a variety of subsidized leisure opportunities, a strong national identity, and clearly defined gender roles. Because leaders encouraged members to put youth group duties above all other responsibilities, many youth joined in order to undermine the traditional authority of parents, school, or church. This practice reinforced core fascist beliefs that individuals owed primary allegiance to the state and that youth—not their elders—would shape the future.

National Variants: Italy and Germany

Benito Mussolini ruled Italy as a dictator from 1922 to 1945. His National Fascist Party offered a comprehensive array of clubs and service organizations for youth ages six to twenty-one, thereby challenging the traditional role of Catholic associations and sports clubs. The Fascists worked hard to attract older youth, particularly university students, but were most successful in mobilizing eight to fourteen-year-old boys into their *Balilla* organization, which promoted physical fitness and paramilitary training. Parallel groups for girls, such as the *Piccole Italiane*, promoted ideals of domesticity and motherhood.

In Germany, the NSDAP (Nazi Party), led by Adolf Hitler, won power in 1933 and immediately assumed dictatorial control of the country. The party's youth wing quickly evolved into a state-sponsored movement intended to simultaneously inspire, educate, and compel young Germans to serve the Nazi state. Like the Italian Fascists, the Nazis prescribed obedience, loyalty, and gender-specific roles. German youth were taught that racial purity would help Germany regain its proper dominant role among European nations. In their view, Jews, Gypsies, and other minorities had contaminated Germanic culture and weakened the nation. Through new national youth organizations, the Nazis recruited young Germans to help "cleanse" society of these racial impurities. In addition to ideological indoctrination and obedience, the boys' HITLER YOUTH emphasized preparation for future service in the German army or navy. The parallel League of German Maidens promoted physical health, service and motherhood, encouraging older members to volunteer for a year or more of domestic service.

Smaller fascist youth movements (such as the French *Jeunesses Patriotes*) existed throughout Europe prior to World War II. The Hitler Youth, however, was by far the most successful. Through the Hitler Youth, the Nazi state controlled virtually all educational, vocational and recreational opportunities, and effectively coordinated propaganda, peer pressure and intimidation techniques to claim, at its peak, more than 95 percent of German youth as members.

Post-1945 Fascist Youth

After World War II, the Nazis' militant authoritarianism and nationalism were blamed for corrupting and exploiting an entire generation of young Germans, and fascist youth groups were banned in many countries. Isolated groups persisted, often in secret association with racist political association. The skinhead movement, originally a working-class youth subculture that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, was initially associated with fascism. However, although both European and American skinheads typically embrace Nazi symbols (the swastika), aggressive behavior, and nationalism, they lack a clear political organization. Consequently, most observers describe the skinheads as a rebellious subculture rather than a fascist youth movement.

In contrast, true neofascist youth groups are usually associated with ultraconservative political organizations, and while promoting nationalism, also foster international contacts and cooperation. The European Confederation of National Youth, for example, draws support from far-right parties including the French Front National and the German *Republikaner*, while the British-based International Third Position (ITP) promotes ties between European neofascists and American white-supremacist groups. These contemporary organizations attract youth (mostly males) hard-hit by economic decline, particularly in Germany and Eastern Europe, but also throughout Western Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. Like their historical predecessors, contemporary neofascists advocate racist, paramilitary, and authoritarian programs. Since 1989, neofascist youth groups have attracted public attention—and new members—with aggressive anti-immigrant rhetoric and demonstrations.

Debates

Scholarly debates about fascist youth highlight questions of motivation and program content. First, does membership imply acceptance of fascist ideology? In Nazi Germany, the Hitler Youth oversaw virtually all educational and extracurricular activities, so that membership became almost compulsory, and former participants sometimes argued that they simply endured (or ignored) ideological messages in order to participate in other activities. Later neofascist youth groups, on the other hand, had no such monopoly, leaving ideology and rhetoric as their primary recruiting tools. Second, what, other than ideology, distinguishes fascist youth from other youth organizations? Both the Italian and German variants borrowed program content, methods and rhetoric from pre-existing groups such as the Scouting movement; the fascist youth organizations simply imbued activities, songs and traditions with more extremist political and social significance. In this context, later neofascist youth groups again stand out because, unlike mainstream youth organizations, which promote cooperation and tolerance, neofascists cultivate absolute obedience, racial elitism, and paramilitarism.

See also: **Communist Youth.**

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KIMBERLY A. REDDING

Fashion

Historically, children have been clothed to mirror the adult society responsible for producing and assembling their

wardrobes. The protective wrapping of infants and children not old enough to physically clothe themselves has alternately served as fantasy in miniature or as a burdensome necessity for doting or struggling parents or guardians. As manifest through images and surviving textile artifacts, the study of children's clothing predominantly serves to testify to social class or ethnicity. Only within the recent epoch, beginning with the Age of ENLIGHTENMENT, has the physical design of children's dress evolved to acknowledge and facilitate their developmental stages.

Children's Dress as an Extension of the Adult

Other than religious representations of the infant Jesus, early Western images of infants and children are within the context of larger, adult-dominated pictorial scenes. When not portrayed in the nude, infants are almost universally shown constrained by SWADDLING bands. Depending on the period or locale, these were widths of linen or cotton looped around clothing or strips of material, intended to immobilize the baby and prevent injury resulting from its uninhibited flailings. Older children, portrayed within the context of crowd scenes, are shown wearing scaled-down versions of adult attire, comprising tunics, coats, and cloaks of amorphous shape with only head or armholes, and held at the waist by belts or girdles. This clothing was functionally plain, fabricated by hand from hand-spun linen or wool. As fashion became more complex it evolved to differentiate between and accentuate the features of the female and male anatomy. Children's garments emulate this aesthetic, with only minor simplifications. During and following the Renaissance, those at the pinnacle of society reinforced their rank by wearing conspicuous and sumptuous clothing. Contemporary portraiture vividly illustrates an opulent vocabulary of silk velvets, metallic brocades encrusted with pearls, embroidery, stiffened lace and linen collars, and jewelry in both adult clothing and that of their progeny. This miniaturization extends to the wearing of form-modifying undergarments, including tightly laced boned stays, horsehair-stiffened underskirts and hoops, and varying shapes. A rigidly constructed combination conspires to make any playful or spontaneous childish motion impossible.

Concurrently, depictions of children of the working classes show functional garments that have been cobbled and reconfigured from larger, previously worn clothing. As textiles are an inherently costly commodity, while hand sewing is self-provided and abundant, fabrics initially acquired for adult purposes are almost indefinitely reused to the point of rags. The practical necessity of recycling endures throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, with successive siblings, relatives, and neighbors receiving still-useful cast-offs. Only the contemporary advent of inexpensive yard goods and lavish supplies of ready-to-wear clothing has served to diminish the financial hardship of purchasing new clothing.



Blue Boy (c. 1770), Thomas Gainsborough. Although Gainsborough's portrait was painted in the late eighteenth century, his preadolescent subject wears the fashions of a hundred years earlier. By the end of the eighteenth century, simpler clothing designed for children was being introduced, yet children continued to wear "fancy dress" for special occasions, including sitting for portraits. © Francis G. Mayer/CORBIS.

Ethnicity and Children's Clothing

In broad terms, children's dress and body adornment reinforce, and are derivative of, cultural ethnicity. In pursuit of an adult aesthetic, children have been subjected to an unmodified array of social customs, in some cases almost from birth. Head flattening, whereby an infant's skull is distorted through pressure applied by boards, pads, bindings, and massage, created a mark of high status among tribal peoples in North and South America through the nineteenth century. The practice of foot binding in China, which requires the irrevocable manipulation of pliant bones to produce the culturally desirable lily-shaped foot, subjected girls between the ages of five and six to a first, painful step toward their initiation into womanhood well into the twentieth century. The universal vogue for ear piercing is clearly apparent in Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian depictions of royal children adorned with large, decorative glass earplugs. More elaborate and ornate body altering techniques, such as TATTOOS



In *The Richard K. Haight Family* (c. 1849), attributed to Nicolino Calyo, both the adolescent girl on the left and her toddler sister wear bodices that reveal their shoulders, a style also popular with adult women, while their brothers are dressed in skeleton suits, a clothing style that was uniquely for boys. (Gouache on paper. Museum of the City of New York. Bequest of Elizabeth Cushing Iselin).

and scarification, are reserved for adolescents as a rite of passage into adult societal status. Practiced by cultures of central Africa and by the Maoris of New Zealand and Dayak groups of Central Borneo respectively these remain as tools for reinforcing ethnic identities.

Specialized Clothing for Special Needs

The first customized children's accessories appeared in the seventeenth century to address the specific needs of toddlers, who were in particular peril of injury or death due to their inquisitive, sometimes unsupervised, adventures. The innovations of the pudding (a leather and textile padded cap) and leading strings (separate tethers or reigns cut as part of a dress bodice) were first introduced in Europe but remained in use through the colonial period in America. Other early attempts at protecting children included the ubiquitous presence of baby caps, as well as a superstitious and talismanic use of coral for jewelry and rattle handles as a safeguard against evil.

By the late eighteenth century, philosophical departures celebrating the inquisitive nature of childhood set the tone for innovations in the attire of children. Influenced by the writings of JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU in *Émile* (1762), and reflecting his pursuit of nature in child-rearing practices, a dramatic revision in the formula of dress began by banishing corsets and SWADDLING clothes in western Europe. A new empathetic and rational approach expounded the wearing of high-waisted, loose-fitting muslin chemise gowns over long pantalets for small children of both sexes. A plentiful supply of cotton and linen goods brought on by the increased output of the Industrial Revolution underscored the appeal of this soft, picturesque fashion for women as well. The skeleton suit, a period novelty, was recommended as garb for slightly older boys. A more formal look, its tailored design facilitated ease of motion by providing trousers that buttoned into the suit's bodice. Short simple hairstyles were worn with soft, flat-soled slippers to compliment this neo-classical look for children and adults alike.

After a mid-nineteenth century return to miniaturized adult dress, the influence of both the aesthetic and dress reform movements at the century's end can be seen in the stylistic direction of children's styles. Popularized in the 1890s in the West and in Western-influenced societies a penchant for pastel-tinted natural dyes and soft smocked shapes supplanted the garish, synthetic palette and Parisian-derived silhouette fashionable in the mid-nineteenth century to join the permanent vocabulary of children's custom and ready-to-wear clothing for the next century.

Special Occasion Dressing

The prospect of dressing for a unique occasion furnishes children and their guardians with a varied menu of socially prescribed garments. RITES OF PASSAGE are enduring and momentous events that traditionally require clothing of formulaic and memorable design. Frequently worn only one time, attire for occasions such as christening, FIRST COMMUNION, BAR AND BAT MITZVAHS, quinceañera (a girl's fifteenth birthday celebration in Latino cultures), CONFIRMATION, and social debuts is envisioned as a timeless garment of fantasy. As if in theatrical costume, the fledgling wearer assumes an unfamiliar identity and acts out a culturally defined role. Accordingly, many of these garments reflect an ethnic aesthetic, and sometimes provide a single opportunity to resurrect a long-silent family history. Surviving images of children taken at these thresholds of life serve to document the transition and its accomplishment through the interaction between garment and wearer.

Children's Clothing and Gender

The inherent naïveté of infants and small children has traditionally precluded the relevance of gender-specific dressing. Even christening gowns failed to betray a baby's sexual identity until the advent of color-coded ribbon trim in the twentieth century. Following their release from the bondage of swaddling, toddlers of both sexes were androgynously garbed in skirted, feminine styles. During the seventeenth century, these were interpreted in the same heavy, stiffened silk or wool worn by older children and adults. By the beginning of the eighteenth century androgynous baby and toddler dresses of bleached linen or cotton were embellished with an inexhaustible range of intricate embroidery and openwork. The strengthening affect of the handwork, coupled with the presence of rows of growth tucks, simultaneously served to preserve and extend the life of the dresses. Frequently they passed from one sibling to another, many times being worn by children of opposite sexes.

For small boys, the sartorial rite of passage marking the transition from dressing in skirts to short trousers occurred somewhere between the ages of three and five, generally corresponding with a first haircut. Into the twentieth century, the age of BREECHING remained subjective, and was ultimately determined by sentimentality and the readiness of family members to release their baby on the path toward

manhood. A preoccupation with gender-mandated roles characterized children's dress for most of the nineteenth century. Parroting the vocational demeanor and somber tones of men's attire, boys were costumed in sailor and Scottish suits, military uniforms, and a variety of tailored clothes. The somewhat effeminate tone of the theatrically derived Little Lord Fauntleroy suit made it the ideal transitional garment for recently breeched children.

The homemaking woman of the same period was advised by a newfound proliferation of ladies' companion and fashion publications. The increased accessibility of home-sewing patterns, augmented by the proximity of merchandise in department store displays, exposed all classes to the allure of fashion trends. Affluent young ladies were dressed in store-bought cage crinolines and bustles, while homemade interpretations sufficed for most. Distinct, sexually prescribed parameters continued to govern the fashionable look for children and adolescents throughout most of the twentieth century, before they were superseded by the overwhelmingly popular trend toward transgender dressing that became prevalent by the mid-1980s. The carefree, practical appeal of intermixing ready-to-wear components came to dominate the contemporary fashion scene for all ages.

Increased exposure to fashion trends through pop culture and marketing devices has progressively lowered the age of children's personal involvement in the selection of their own wardrobes. Clamoring for looks endorsed by media icons, contemporary children demand a historically unprecedented voice in the way they look. The modern emphasis on named or designer apparel has also strongly affected the youth and even infant market as trademarks designate the status and fashion savvy of the young and their parents. In the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries shoes have become part of this trend as choices for this formerly utilitarian and expensive item have been influenced by peer pressure.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Consumer Culture.**

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PHYLLIS MAGIDSON

Fathering and Fatherhood

According to conventional wisdom patriarchal fathers of old were stern authoritarians, fatherly solicitude for one's children is a recent phenomenon, and industrialization removed men from the home and weakened their role. Historical study has added complexity to our understanding of their roles in the past, noted their involvement in their children's lives, exposed the various impacts of the Industrial Revolution, and complicated a linear view of the history of fathering and fatherhood. Historians ask about the extent of fathers' legal and domestic authority, the division of responsibility with their wives, their role in rearing their children, and the differences in the PARENTING of girls and boys in the past.

Patria Potestas

The Roman concept of *familia* described the people in a household subject to the authority of the master of the household, the paterfamilias. Members of a household shared a common subjection to the father first and blood or other ties second. Fathers, as *paterfamilias*, had complete power over the household. This included sexual rights to the slaves and freedmen or women who comprised his household. The ultimate power, in fact, lay in a Roman father's hands: *patria potestas*, the power of life and death. At the birth of a child fathers both acknowledged paternity and decided the child's future by picking up the newborn son laid at their feet or refusing to do so. Daughters they ordered nursed, or not. No law required fathers to support their biological offspring. ABANDONMENT, common among Romans of all social classes, protected the patrimony or INHERITANCE and was a means of family limitation. While rejection could mean death, abandoned children were often raised as foster children or slaves in a nonrelated household. They could later be reclaimed by their birth fathers, so long as the father reimbursed the foster family for the child's upbringing. Roman fatherhood was volitional, legal, and social, rather than biological, and ADOPTION was common. Adoption also solved problems of inheritance and could be enacted posthumously in a deceased father's will.

The power of fathers in ancient Rome reverberated beyond the family to affect Roman public life in myriad ways. The father-son relationship was a model for political relationships between men of different rank. Fathers represent-

ed their entire household politically, including their sons. Members of the Roman senate addressed one another as *patres conscripti* ("assembled fathers"), indicating that they served as leaders of households and ruled as fathers of Rome. Sons received citizenship through their fathers, albeit a second-class one. Responsible for raising and educating their sons as future full citizens, fathers went about the city and their political duties accompanied by their sons.

Young men were expected to become fathers when they came of age but they only became fully independent upon their own father's death. Citizenship, military service, and fatherhood were men's responsibilities to Rome. Men divorced and remarried if a wife was barren and quickly remarried should their wives die in childbirth. Leaving behind many children was a civic duty, a necessary rite of citizenship.

Under Roman law paternal authority was complete. The law permitted fathers to disinherit sons and theoretically, it also permitted them to kill their sons, although in the few cases where fathers exercised this right it was for high crimes such as treason. Widowed pregnant women were monitored carefully, even sequestered, by their husband's family, for according to statute her child belonged to her husband solely. Fathers retained authority over married daughters, including the right to punish them for adultery or to remove them from one marriage in favor of another more beneficial family alliance.

To escape this paternal control, if only partially, adult sons of the aristocracy left their father's households upon marriage, indicating an appetite for independence that could be satisfied because of wealth. Sons received the means to live independently but ownership of property remained with the father. Stress on the paternal line meant that grandchildren were likely to be raised by paternal GRANDPARENTS or in the paternal grandparents' home should their families be disrupted by DIVORCE, death, or additional marriages. Marriage was a means of facilitating alliances among men, and first wives might find themselves sent back to their fathers when their husbands arranged a new match. Perhaps because of the long-term responsibilities ascribed to fathers with regard to their adult daughters, Romans placed a high value on the father-daughter relationship. Cicero said, "What has nature wanted to be more pleasurable to us, what has nature wanted to be more dear to us than our daughters" (quoted in Hallett, p. 63).

Roman writers urged against the free expression of anger in the home. While corporal punishment was the right of the father, Seneca distinguished the exercise of this right from any need for anger. This advice likely arose out of the dangers posed by the all-encompassing authority over the household invested in fathers by law.

Christianity introduced a challenge to paternal authority. Individuals became answerable to an authority outside the



Eugène Manet and Daughter at Bougival (1881), Berthe Morisot. Although the image of the Victorian patriarch looms large in the modern imagination, nineteenth-century fathers were much more domestic than fathers in previous centuries. In the nineteenth century fatherhood and the emotional life of the family were seen as a respite from the demands of the increasingly industrialized outside world. © Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Private collection, Paris, France.

head of household when they became Christians, an earthly one in the form of Church and priest and a heavenly one as well.

The Middle Ages

In the period of late antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, German *hausvaters* could corporally punish, reject, sell, and kill their offspring by law. Village social customs that assigned responsibility for rejected, illegitimate, or abandoned children to the maternal family—such as maternal uncles serving as guardians to the children of their sisters, an example often found in literature—modulated the starkness of the law.

The conjugal family was the basic family unit quite early in European family history—most certainly by 1000. While this truncated family did not much alter a father's authority in law, it would seem to improve his wife's place in the home

slightly, now that marriage was seen as a lifelong bond, and it meant that fathers would expect to see their sons leave their household upon marriage. Hence, authority over the adults of the next generation declined. Population growth in the feudal household gave rise to affective changes in family life: greater parental concern with child rearing and education. Fathers took charge of sons' upbringing as they grew less dependent on their mothers for full-time care, a pattern that would persist in later centuries. Inheritance practices tended to heighten the emotional and economic dynamics of fathers' relationships with their oldest son.

Inheritance and thus fatherhood underwent a revolution in the eleventh century that resulted in a stronger patriarch. Partible inheritance (that is, inheritance that could be split among heirs), bilateral kinship (a system wherein lineage was traced on both maternal and paternal lines), and women's

control over property declined sharply. The nobility pioneered the system of primogeniture wherein property passed from the father to the oldest son in its entirety. Fathers designated a single male heir and passed on not only an impartible inheritance, but also a surname that followed the male line. Control of family resources shifted almost entirely to males. Women lost all but the most fleeting control over property as dower became only a lifetime grant and a husband's consent was required to sell any land a wife had inherited prior to her marriage. The emerging system that gave rise to this revolution, feudalism, also made the heads of noble families the founders of dynasties who exercised not only household authority, but because they were responsible for the defense of their lands, in effect ruled in the territory around them.

Yet, medieval Christianity moderated paternal power and altered the view of fatherly responsibility. Children were no longer seen as the property of the fathers; instead they were a responsibility entrusted to their fathers' safekeeping by God. Fathers were now expected to support and protect their offspring, even their illegitimate children.

Ideally, men, as fathers and husbands, ruled with love while children honored their parents. Intergenerational conflict between fathers and sons occurred, however, because a father's longevity could keep a son from inheriting the land needed in order to have the economic wherewithal to marry and set out on their own. Fathers controlled the patrimony, but the Church claimed that the next generation should be launched regardless. Late medieval household size in the fifteenth century indicates that family practice reflected these ideals and multigenerational households were the exception rather than the rule. Significant intergenerational tension erupted over marital choice as fathers sought to make suitable economic arrangements and alliances through their children's marriages. Daughters of the nobility in conflict with their fathers over marital choice had an option—a life in the service of God—although their fathers might go to great lengths to prevent or persuade them from exercising it.

The late medieval cult of St. Joseph reveals prescriptions for fatherly deportment. Writers and iconographers celebrated St. Joseph for his ability to support and care for the Holy Family, pointing out that he was both affectionate and a hard worker. The famine and plague of the late medieval period made concerns over the survival of families and lineages, and the protective and loving role of fathers in securing this, paramount.

One duty of the wealthy medieval father was in hiring a wet nurse for his children and proceeding to check up on the care she provided. It was also the father's decision when the child was to be weaned and returned to the natal household. Fathers were responsible for the education of sons, once they reached the age of seven, and focused on guiding them into

a suitable occupation. Among the aristocracy, fathers might decide upon the education of their sons, but would not carry out this education themselves. Instead boys were trained for knighthood in another noble house, perhaps that of a maternal or paternal uncle. Urban fathers of means apprenticed their sons, placing them under the authority of another father. Peasant fathers were those fathers most likely in medieval times to rear their children through ADOLESCENCE in their own households. By the medieval period, all the components of modern fatherhood were present: breadwinner, educator, and at least in imagery, playmate. However the weight and meaning assigned to these roles shifted over time.

Reformation- and Enlightenment-Era Fathers

Close scholarly focus on the emotional quality and affective ties of fatherhood begins with the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, largely because Protestantism encouraged self-scrutiny and produced the written records that enable a close study. Protestantism also demanded a new role of men in the home: that of religious educator. The Reformation has been described as the "heyday" of the patriarchal nuclear family. The Protestant Reformation and ensuing Counter-Reformation in the Catholic Church resulted in a reform of family life, often in ways that cemented fathers' authority. For example, the laws of marriage were changed across Europe, outlawing the secret marriages of children that the Catholic Church had validated. Statutes now required a public ceremony along with parental consent and parents were expected to take into consideration their children's well being. The goals of reformers may not have been so much to enhance the control of children by their parents as they were to shore up the institution of marriage and clarify the means by which it was entered. In Catholic France and Italy, young people who disagreed with parents over marital alliances could turn to the state (in France) or the Church (in Italy) to find an ally, while in England, canon law allowed elopement to continue unrestrained until reforms were enacted in 1753.

German advice books for fathers indicate that fatherly solicitude began while their offspring were still in the womb. The books prescribed foods and herbs for the health of the fetus and pregnant woman and deputized the father to summon the midwife as the time of the birth neared and to serve as aide during labor. Diary evidence from Protestant fathers records their presence and attentiveness at the births of their children.

Reformation-era Europeans placed great stock in the abilities of parents to shape their children's future nature. Parents, fathers as well as mothers, were responsible for their offspring's physical and, most importantly, moral health. Europeans of this era sang the praises of the well-behaved and pious child, but, if anything, advice literature from the time would indicate that in practice parents were too lax rather than too firm in the application of DISCIPLINE.

Social order and eternal salvation were the primary rationales behind a strict upbringing. Ideas about the inherent nature of the sexes delegated to fathers the task of physically disciplining the children; mothers were thought too gentle for such a task. Echoing Roman prescriptions regarding corporal punishments, Lutheran advisers preferred that cool heads prevail and children not be spanked in anger. As in medieval times, fathers reared male children after age six. Both fathers and sons expected that fathers would guide the education and career choice of the next generation, but would take into consideration a child's inclinations, talents, and happiness.

Sixteenth-century child mortality rates and Protestant concern over original sin appear not to have shaped a particularly callous style of fathering. The death of a child brought men intense personal grief, despite religious beliefs and sermons (sometimes written by grieving fathers) that exhorted men to show little outward sign of mourning, but rather to rejoice that their children were relieved of earthly suffering. To fathers, Protestantism ascribed the duty of catechizing their children, even though first-generation Protestants themselves had thrown over the faith of their fathers. The texts they taught their children emphasized an individualism likely to produce self-confidence. According to historian Steven Ozment, the challenge of fathering the next generation of Protestants, then, was to inculcate a firm sense of responsibility to society to balance that incipient individualism.

ENLIGHTENMENT thinkers both affirmed the propriety of the rule of fathers over their households and set limits on its expression. The notion of the contract permeated their family philosophy. The marriage compact was a consensual one, and the task of parenthood shared, according to JOHN LOCKE. Locke saw in fatherhood an obligation to care for children. Any cessation of care obviated children's need to obey. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU saw any father-child bond once children ceased to require the father's aid in order to survive as voluntary.

Fathers in Colonial America

Patriarchy received a boost when English colonists constructed communities in the New World. English colonists expanded on the English laws and practices of family government, creating fathers who were among the most powerful household heads in the Western world, largely because of their control of the labor of subordinate household members, children, servants, and slaves. According to Carole Shammas, no English fathers, or any in Western Europe, had the ability that fathers in the New World had to force marriage, sell servants, or the authority to take a life. Chattel SLAVERY and indentured servitude granted household heads control of their labor force and concentrated tremendous patriarchal power in the hands of wealthy men. In colonial America, 80 percent of the population was legally dependent

on a male household head. Colonial fathers assumed power over the lives of adult and juvenile laborers through their servitude, while fulfilling the function of poor relief and correctional systems for their local communities. Control over the lives of dependents, family religious authority in Puritan communities, and distance from obligations to the Crown enhanced fathers' authority even if laws limiting the spectrum of physical correction might have tempered it slightly.

With the full development of plantation slavery, patriarchal power of white male household heads reached its apex in the antebellum slave South. For enslaved African-American men, slavery meant a fatherhood quite different from that of white men. Enslaved children followed the condition of the mother and white masters held authority over the African-American slave family. Sale separated slave parents and children in the internal slave trade from the Atlantic seaboard to the Southwest and residential patterns of the enslaved often meant that fathers lived on separate, although not necessarily distant, plantations from their children. Emancipation during and after the Civil War marked the first time that most African-American men assumed the paternal right to control family labor and the ability to protect their families without automatically risking their lives.

The Victorian Era

The Victorian patriarch, the mythically autocratic and stern father largely removed from the affairs of the household, is more a construction of the present than the past. While it may not have absented fathers from the home completely, the Industrial Revolution changed the days and duties of men and families dramatically, affecting the location and meaning of work, leisure, and parenting.

In preindustrial households, children owed their labor to their fathers for as long as they lived in the same house. The same assumptions governed the master/apprentice relationship and applied to nonrelated young people within the home. Industrialization transformed the family economy from one where household members pooled labor to a family wage economy where they pooled money gained from productive labor outside the home. In working-class homes, young people began to earn wages and the dependence of working-class families on their wages diminished the power of fathers. In middle-class households, industrialization had a different impact, transforming fathers into breadwinners and mothers into primary caretakers within the home. When the location of work shifted to the public sphere, middle-class fathers ceded control of the direct education and guidance of their children. On the one hand, this increased maternal autonomy at fathers' expense, while on the other fathers maintained a continued connection to the resources of power outside the home. Middle-class fathers may not have been true patriarchs in their own home, but they still held the reins of family political, social, and economic capital.

The Victorian father was, contrary to popular belief, quite domestic, and according to historian John Tosh, in England, Victorian fathers were more domestic than fathers either before or since. Home was a place where men ruled, but also a place that ministered to men's emotional needs. The family in the home was to make up for the dramatic social and economic changes of industrialization that threatened to turn men into mere drones. Home life and fatherhood was expected to rejuvenate men and provide meaning in an increasingly "heartless" world. In addition, domestic life was expected to replace the more homosocial leisure distractions outside the home of the English male middle class. In the United States men were similarly urged to eschew the club for the pleasures of the domestic hearth. Yet within the home, fathers had duties as well as respite. As in eras past, male parenting was focused particularly on sons and a successful masculine son was a public symbol of a successful manly father. According to Stephen Frank, in America, this pattern produced more formal relationships between fathers and sons, who were encouraged to be independent and manly; in contrast, fathers developed greater intimacy with daughters, even bestowing expensive educations on them as evidence of their economic success.

Fathers' legal powers were winnowed quite significantly in the Victorian era. In the United States coverture, the common-law system in which males represented the household to the public, diminished with the passage of married women's property acts, laws that gave women control of their earnings, and those that provided custody to mothers in the case of divorce. In addition, public education systems took over the education of youth in nearly every state by 1880. Many of the nineteenth-century reform movements, including temperance and abolition, at heart, dealt with the problem of the corrupt or out-of-control patriarch.

The Twentieth-Century "Decline in Patriarchy"

Assumptions of complete authoritarian patriarchal control in families of the past do not often hold up to scrutiny. Affection, piety, practicality, and allies both within and outside the household often mediated fathers' powers. Nonetheless, historians find a new fatherhood evolving with the democratic or companionate family. The exact timing of this new father's emergence is debated.

Fatherly play took firm root in the nineteenth-century American middle-class family. In the home, fathers refreshed themselves in the joyful company of their brood. PLAY both carved a specific place for fathers in family life and marginalized their importance. By the turn of the century paternal play became a marker of middle-class identity and a means by which experts imagined the domestic sphere could be injected with masculinity.

During the 1930s when the global economic crisis prevented many men from performing as family breadwinners and as the psychological community embraced the theories

of SIGMUND FREUD, advisors elaborated a new role for fathers beyond that of playful companions. Father was a role model for the proper sex role development of both sons and daughters. This attention reflected anxieties about masculinity in the home as massive unemployment reduced the power of fathers to provide for their families. Men and women saw male authority as derived from their breadwinning role. Work relief programs targeted men with the aim of getting breadwinners back to work. If the GREAT DEPRESSION brought concerns about too many economically emasculated dads hanging around the nation's families, World War II raised concerns over the impact of their complete absence. The stage was set for the re-embrace of the "pater-unfamiliar" as Americans experienced a resurgence of domesticity at the war's end.

Father as Equal Participant

Fatherhood's function as a male restorative and as sex-role modeling for the family was achieved largely through companionship and play. Both could spawn intimacy but often did not. Neither required reorganizing gendered child-rearing responsibilities greatly. By the mid-twentieth century, American fathers emerged as pals as well as providers. As defined by experts, the role of father involved childcare, but men performed such labor to "spell" mother or to foster relationships with children, not because the work had to be done. These notions reified the gender division of labor even as they assigned men a place in the home. Parenting was fatherplay and motherwork.

Three twentieth-century developments challenged this division of labor which has proven, not surprisingly, quite resistant to change. The postwar BABY BOOM (1946–1964) ushered the ideal of fatherly participation further into the mainstream. Experts, mothers, and fathers themselves insisted, "Fathers are parents, too!" Women brought expert advice into the home to back up their need for help as they coped with raising the baby boomers. As the baby boom family cycle progressed, men, torn between the demands of home and work, opted for the more familiar rewards of breadwinning, but they, their wives, and their children became increasingly aware that the emotional penalty paid when men failed to engage in the daily care or play of their children was high. Resignation and regret characterized the reflections of empty-nest mothers and fathers in the 1980s and unleashed a spate of literature by male boomers scarred by absent fathers.

The postwar years brought another change to American families and those in Western Europe as well: the increased participation of married women in the labor force. With fathers as primary breadwinners, the occasional child-care chore was all that most families demanded of men, but as women increasingly shared the breadwinning role while shouldering the lions' share of the child-care and household work, their demands and persuasive power escalated. Con-

temporary studies attest to the ongoing negotiation of gender responsibilities with regard to household work and child care in American homes. Finally, the feminist movement of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s offered a critique of patriarchy, promoted the idea that gender roles were social constructs rather than immutable biological inheritances, and proposed that equality in the public sphere for women would be impossible without lessening the inequality in the private sphere.

Linked to feminism in the popular mind, but enabled by both women's labor force participation and a welfare state, women have increasingly been able to remove themselves and their children—either through divorce or the choice not to marry—from fathers they deem abusive or unsatisfactory. This has led to an increase in the number of children living in poverty and calls on both sides of the Atlantic to require popularly dubbed “deadbeat dads” to support their children. These changes provoked cultural anxieties about the decline of male authority and “disappearance” or weakness of the fathers at the end of the twentieth century. The issue reveals the continued economic inequality between men and women and the volitional quality of participatory fatherhood in the new millennium as well as the strong association of fatherhood with power. Breadwinning remains father's principle responsibility and the workplace remains family unfriendly, while more and more, mothers must balance their commitments to work and family. Fathers are no longer patriarchs, but they strive to be more than breadwinners and pals. The twenty-first-century father looks for self-identity, meaning, and satisfaction in his relationships with his children.

See also: **Mothering and Motherhood.**

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JESSICA WEISS

Fear

Changes in the occurrence and handling of children's fears in the West fit into the pattern in which the history of childhood has been discussed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Notions of the “discovery” of the child in early modern times and of the absence of emotional relations between parents and children seem less convincing now than they did in the 1970s, when enthusiasm for the idea that personal relations could change in a short period of time was

fresh. But without any doubt, ideas about how children should be raised show considerable shifts, and the debate about education has intensified since the eighteenth century. The social position of children changed in a long process in which childhood came to take several decades instead of (for most social classes) one.

Fear as a Pedagogical Tool

Everyday life in traditional society seems to have been determined by fear, since ignorance of natural phenomena, long periods of disease, and social strife made daily existence insecure. Religion was for a long time supportive in this world full of fear, but from the sixteenth century on became divided and destabilized. With religious disputes dominating public life, basic fears were reported to have been experienced in the religious domain as well.

In his autobiography, *Grace Abounding*, John Bunyan, who was born in 1628, tells his readers about the “fearful dreams” and “dreadful visions” which afflicted him while sleeping, and which were caused by “Devils and wicked spirits” but were ultimately sent by God to punish him for his sins. His greatest fear was the Day of Judgment, on which he might be ordered to spend his time “amongst Devils and Hellish Feinds.”

By the eighteenth century, however, an enhanced confidence in knowledge and rationality made fear an undesirable relict, which was soon labeled as childish. In traditional society, fear had been used extensively in the raising of small children. In circumstances where it was difficult to keep an eye on the little ones who crept around and were in danger of getting lost, drowned, or burned, the bogeyman was a powerful tool to prevent children’s dangerous inquisitiveness. As children got older they could prove their fitness for adult society by discarding their fears of a whole range of monsters, batmen, toe-shearers, werewolves, and child-eating roosters that had been said to be after children all over Europe. Before 1800 only few autobiographers wrote about their childhood fears, but those who did usually mentioned frightening stories told by adults. Isabelle de Moerloose, born in Flanders around 1661, confessed that she was afraid of a man wearing a long cape, who roamed the land to kill babies by putting a ball in their mouths.

Autobiographical writings confirm that parents widely used the bogeyman as a pedagogical tool. Even an educated person such as the Dutch statesman and poet Constantijn Huygens, born in 1596, threatened his little daughter with a creepy doll in a black cape. Such dolls were made especially to serve this purpose. Nineteenth-century autobiographers still frequently complained about parents who frightened them. Willem van den Hull, for instance, wrote that to keep him away from the canals, his mother had taught him that death lived underwater and was lingering to grab his feet and pull him down under if he dared come too close.

Since the seventeenth century, a growing number of pedagogues warned against such methods. According to the Dutch writer Jacob Cats, bogeymen had such an impact on the “tender senses” of children that they would never lose their early fears. JOHN LOCKE, in his influential *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, advised parents to keep children away from frights of all kinds and he warned against “telling them of Raw-Head and Bloody Bones.” In the eighteenth century the practice was even more widely condemned. Betje Wolff, the first female Dutch pedagogue, protested the practice avidly, the more so because she was herself being scared by the “black man” in her youth. She called fear and fright “the poison of a child’s heart.”

To protect children from real dangers, bogeymen remained an acceptable practice, but writers on education warned that they should never be used for fun. Rational use of bogeymen, however, was embedded in a culture in which childhood and fear were still interwoven with deep-rooted beliefs and customs. Marina Warner, for instance, cites a particularly bad-tempered Italian lullaby: “Go to sleep, may you die in your sleep, that the priest come to take you to keep! Ninna . . . oh, Ninna! To whom shall I give this little girl? . . . To the bogeyman I’ll give her, for a whole day he will keep her. . . .” Peasants who threatened children with the terrible corn mother to make them stay out of the fields may themselves have had a vague belief in ghosts and spirits.

Conquering Fear

In the new literature on childhood that began appearing in great supply in the second half of the eighteenth century, the conquest of fear became an important educational goal. As Peter Stearns and Timothy Haggarty have noted, the enthusiasm for actively encouraging children to master their fears prevailed in the nineteenth century, in advice literature as well as in stories and books for children. But the age at which it was considered fit to help children overcome their fear was lowered. It also became customary to think that adults (and especially mothers) were the source of children’s fears because they transmitted their own fears to their children.

In feudal society, the show of fear had been functional in relations between the social classes, especially in the behavior of inferiors toward their superiors; only the aristocracy had been supposed to show defiance. Fearlessness had been admired intensely, as numerous FAIRY TALES testify, but most people could not afford it. During the eighteenth century, the ideal that men were free and equal left no room for people to consider fearfulness an acceptable attitude. As children in general lack the self-control needed to suppress expressions of fear, this changed attitude toward fear was one of the phenomena that enhanced the distance between children and adults. Children were banned from polite society as long as they were supposed to be unable to control themselves.

As the psychological costs of this suppression of fear became clear to psychiatrists, and possibly even more to artists

and writers, toward the end of nineteenth century, the emphasis of advice-givers on the handling of children's fear shifted to avoiding fearful situations as much as possible. Actively instilling fear into children as an educational tool, which had already been discouraged during the nineteenth century, became an abhorrent type of miseducation in the twentieth century. As parents had more opportunities to supervise their children, or to have them supervised, instilling fear in children made little sense anymore. Thus the conditions for a modern attitude toward fear were first realized in the upper and middle classes. As most advice literature was meant for these groups, who were living in comfortable circumstances where children could be prevented from endangering themselves, bourgeois parents began to worry about the contact their children had with representatives of the lower classes. This is notable in the extensive warnings against the possibility of housemaids scaring the children in their care. In books on education, children's fears were taken much more seriously after the second half of the nineteenth century; parents were encouraged to pay attention to any sign of distress. Where fear had been seen as a moral defect, in the course of the twentieth century new psychological insights considered it a natural phenomenon, something children could never be blamed for.

The Experience of Fear

Advice manuals and children's books provide the material with which to write the history of emotional standards, but childhood memories bring us closer to the actual experience of how fear shaped the identities of children in the past. In the absence of systematic studies of childhood memories, some preliminary conclusions from a study-in-progress of 500 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES from the Netherlands and Flanders, covering the period from 1750 to 1970, show that one out of five of these autobiographies mentions fear, which makes it clear that it was a focal point. The social bias in the available authors commands caution, however: upper-class witnesses dominate the early period (up to 1850), whereas a solid majority from the middle class, with emphasis on white-collar professions, is evident throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The earliest statements show a remarkable agreement with the normative sources: aristocratic boys remembered with pride that they had been put to the test of their fear of darkness, being asked to get a Bible out of a distant, unlit church or being ordered to fetch a bottle of gin from an inn on a night when there were rumors of burglars in the neighborhood. In particular they remembered the praise they received after fulfilling these commissions. They even remembered their mothers' protests against their being put to the test. Having to fight the dark outside the house has almost completely disappeared from twentieth-century childhood memories. Actively forcing children to overcome this fear by sending them out in the dark is only mentioned by a few lower-class boys; middle-class parents seem to have taken

the hints of educational reformers who opposed the practice. But autobiographies contradict the advice books too: the horror stories told by servants are duly reported, but for every child who was scared by them, at least one remembers them with delight—a fondly remembered exercise in the control of fear.

What were children afraid of? In search of their first memories, almost one in three of the autobiographers comes up with sudden frights. Being lost in a crowd, the parents being out of sight, or a fire can easily be understood as impressive moments that can trigger a first memory. But many more mysterious moments are remembered only as anxious distress whose immediate cause has been lost. Some autobiographers simply state they were afraid of everything when very young.

The dark has inspired by far the most memories of childhood fears. Though it would seem feasible that night was less horrifying when children slept in the same bed or at least in the same room with others, some witnesses claim that the presence of sleeping family members enhanced their fright. If the others were not snoring, was it a sign they had suddenly departed? Were the monsters only after the children who did not sleep? But most memories of terrible fears in the night have been delivered by middle-class children who slept in their own bedrooms, with noises coming from all sides while they were on their own to cope with them. Whether night lights were a help is questionable. Enough witnesses remember the disturbing shadows and the spluttering sound adding to their misery. But many children asked for a light and remember the struggles they had to wage to be allowed one. Mentions of this fear declined in later years, with the most recent mention by an autobiographer born in 1918, which supports the idea that electrical light made a big difference, especially since many children have lamps by their beds that they can operate themselves and few people now feel they have to be economical with electricity.

Thunder and lightning could be overwhelming experiences, especially when others who were present could not master their fear. Quite a few autobiographers remember older brothers and sisters in distress: it was a moment of triumph for the smaller children. When the person who was afraid was an adult, the distinction between children and adults was lifted for a moment as children saw to their amazement that they were more in control of themselves than the trembling aunt or maid. Fathers visibly affected by the tempest, however, were a too severe breach of security: they left their children feeling that the world itself could perish.

The ubiquity of death in traditional society was an emotional burden to children and adults alike. In modern times the mystery of death became a more explicit moment of fear as children remembered clearly the day they realized their mortality for the first time. Many record it as a nauseating

panic against which parents were almost helpless. Generalizations are dubious here, however: some autobiographers tell about childhood confrontations with sudden deaths—bodies encountered, skeletons found—that seemed only comical and made an impression only because other people were scared.

Generalized fear of the future seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon, not mentioned in memories of youth before 1880. Children have coveted adulthood as an escape from humiliating childhood. They remember their desire, but at the same time considered the future a frightening place where one had to be able to do all kinds of things that seemed very difficult. By the time childhood came to be valued as a special period in life, in the later nineteenth century, autobiographers wrote more specifically about their reluctance to grow up. How could they master all the skills in time to hold their own? The proliferation of vague fears about the future is a symptom of the disappearance of childhood in the last decades of the twentieth century. Rumors of war tend to result in frantic war games among the boys, but also in stifling anxiety. The horrors of mass warfare during two world wars, with carpet bombing, gas attacks, genocide, and nuclear destruction, had a great impact on children, but it is difficult to say to what extent this impact differed from that of warfare in previous centuries.

Finally, since the eighteenth century, all forms of fear appear in children's books, and since the twentieth century in MOVIES and on TELEVISION, continuing a much older tradition of telling children folktales and ghost stories. Children's fears are today exploited by writers and film directors, because in a paradoxical way fears have a great attraction. Often, but not always, the causes of fear are presented in a sensible way and the level of anxiety is coupled to the age of the intended audience. Nevertheless, books and films that are read or watched by children younger than their intended audiences have in the last decades been a new source of fears.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Emotional Life.**

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Female Genital Mutilation

The mutilation of the female genitals known as *female circumcision* takes place today primarily in AFRICA. The practice is prevalent in areas where ISLAM is dominant, but female circumcision is far older. Pharaonic circumcision, the name given to the most mutilating form, goes back to ancient Egypt. It is not found in North Africa, Saudi Arabia, or many Asian countries where Muslims are numerous. But the Christian Copts of Egypt and the Jewish Falacha of Ethiopia know of the practice. The Kikuyu of Kenya perform it while their neighbors, the Luo, do not. Similar practices can also be found in eastern Mexico, in Peru, and in western Brazil, where they were imported at the time of the slave trade. Female circumcision was also performed in the West during the nineteenth century to treat feminine "hysteria."

The least traumatizing of these practices are called *sunna*, meaning "tradition" in Arabic. The most benign form consists of removing the foreskin from the clitoris, although the whole clitoris is often removed. The procedure also entails the removal of the smaller labia, called *tabara* (purification). Young Gishri girls in Hausa country, barely pubescent, are sold at a very high price once they have been made ready for penetration by this procedure, which involves cutting their vaginas.

Infibulation eliminates a major portion of the inner labia. What is left is sewn together with a silk thread in Sudan and Ethiopia, and with acacia needles in Somalia. This practice can sometimes also be found in western Africa (northern Nigeria, Al Pular of Senegal). Cauterization is accelerated by a concoction called *mai-mai*, a mixture of gum and sugar, herbal compresses, and even ash and goat dung. The operation closes the vulva almost entirely, except for a narrow orifice kept open by the insertion of a stick or a straw. This orifice is intended to permit the later evacuation of urine and menstrual flow. The procedure is performed before or sometimes after the first marriage in order to ensure the young girl's virginity. It is the husband who, using a razor blade or something similar, must open it up again to allow penetration. The goal of this practice is to give the husband strict control of his wife's SEXUALITY.

These operations are performed on girls of various ages, anytime from birth to PUBERTY. Sometimes the opposite is done: the lengthening of the clitoris is a practice of some communities in Benin and among the Khoisan of South Africa. The elongation of the smaller lips is done by MASTURBATION in lake villages, and the Shona people perform enlargements of the vagina with the use of a stick. These operations are women's business, never spoken of to the husbands. Social pressure to perform female circumcision is very strong, and the older women are especially attached to the practice. Except in educated urban areas, young women who have not gone through female circumcision are deemed unmarried-

able. It is also an event that girls await impatiently because it is a cause for celebration, rejoicing, and gift giving. Without it they would be ostracized.

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that about 40 percent of African women are subjected to such operations in more than thirty-six states. The negative short- and long-term consequences of these operations are many. Most practitioners are women who are unfamiliar with modern aseptic techniques. The most common side effects are hemorrhages, septicemia, and tetanus, not to mention painful psychological trauma. One report estimates that a third of young Sudanese girls do not survive the operation. Its consequences continue to affect women throughout their lives: repeated infections and sterility (and therefore, repudiation by their husbands) may result.

Mandatory prohibition of female genital mutilation has yielded little result. Even emigrants to western Europe from areas where female circumcision is prevalent have been known to sometimes continue the practice. Great Britain banned female circumcision in Sudan and Kenya in 1946. The practice has retreated the most in Egypt and Eritrea, thanks to the social and educational advances made during President Nasser's time. The clumsiness of Western feminists for a long time alienated African women's movements, but they nevertheless took up the fight in Khartoum in 1979, and in response, in 1982 the World Health Organization condemned female circumcision. Today the taboo is finally lifted and the subject is being openly discussed, but progress remains slow.

See also: **Circumcision.**

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CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH

Fénelon, François (1651–1715)

French archbishop, theologian, writer, and royal tutor François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon played many diverse intellectual roles; among these, posterity has celebrated him as a philosopher with extraordinary views of education.

Fénelon was born in 1651 into an established noble family that had long served the French Church and Crown. After

completing his theological studies, he was ordained a priest in 1676; in 1678 he was appointed director of the *Nouvelles Catholiques*, a college that converted young women from French Protestantism. Here he wrote his first important work, *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687; Treatise on the education of girls). The same year, he published his *Réfutation de Malebranche*.

In 1689 his noble birth, combined with his remarkable pedagogical skills, landed Fénelon the influential job of tutor to Louis, the duke of Bourgogne and grandson and heir to Louis XIV. Several honors resulted from this privileged position at court, including Fénelon's election to the French Academy in 1693. His greatest success, however, was his *Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (1699; Telemachus, son of Ulysses), a poetic rewriting of *Ulysses* composed for the political education of the prince.

At the same time, however, Fénelon's support of Madame Guyou, the leader of the quietist movement in France, had given rise to the so-called Quarrel of Quietism (the Christian doctrine in which human passivity is supposed to generate divine activity). Actually, by arguing for the "disinterested" and "pure" love of God in his *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (1697; Explanation of the sayings of the saints on the interior life), Fénelon generated much consternation within the authoritarian Church. His selection as archbishop of Cambrai the year before had been a disappointment for a man whose accomplishments and reputation legitimately could have been expected to earn him the bishopric of Paris. His disgrace became official in 1699, when first Louis XIV, and later Rome, banned Fénelon's *Explication*.

Exiled to his diocese, Fénelon remained a vigilant observer of political matters, although he did despair upon the death of his pupil the duke of Bourgogne in 1712. Three years later, he himself died in Cambrai.

In a century with few childhood and educational theorists Fénelon was indeed an exception—as his countrymen Michel Montaigne and François Rabelais had been in the previous century. Fénelon's first pedagogical work explored the neglected field of girls' education. Although France had several nuns' schools, and the Saint-Cyr girls' school had been founded in 1686 near Versailles, Fénelon pointed to the necessity of educating, from a global moral perspective, all French girls for their roles as future mothers and housewives. The pedagogical counsel and rules given in Fénelon's *Treatise*, however, included not only girls' instruction, but also education in general; he encouraged recognition of the child *as a child*. The schoolmaster was to follow the child's nature, preparing her for education even before she could speak, never forcing her to study when not absolutely necessary, and eliminating her FEAR and submission by teaching using PLAY, joy, and amusing stories.

Because of this educational philosophy, Fénelon did not write scholarly treatises or discourses, as the other royal tutors had done before him. Instead, he invented pleasant dialogues, fables, and a less predictable format: the didactic novel *Telemachus*, originally conceived as an insertion into *Ulysses*.

Telemachus, in search of his father, is guided by the wise Mentor, alias Minerva, on his perilous travels through various civilizations throughout the Mediterranean. By telling such an adventurous story, Fénelon not only initiated his royal pupil into Greek mythology, but he also awakened the prince's interest in politics, religion, and virtue. Furthermore, by helping his pupil to identify with the future king of Ithaca, Fénelon hoped to teach him the art of good government. When Telemachus considers the countries he visits—comparing their laws, manners, and customs—he is actually preaching humanity and peace in contrast to the violence and despotism characteristic of Louis XIV's reign. Nevertheless, *Telemachus* is basically a pedagogical work for the use of young people and their teachers. Fénelon's genius was to incorporate traditional topics into a new dynamic process of teaching and learning.

Entirely organized around the fundamental coupling of the master and the disciple, *Telemachus* is in fact as much a didactic method as an edifying narrative. If *mentor* (meaning a good master) has become an ordinary word, it is because Fénelon's creation, in accordance with the Jesuits' pedagogical ideal, transforms the act of instruction into a relationship—one full of love. The master must help the child acquire her own experiences, kindly and step-by-step, "arranging" pedagogical situations, and sometimes even leaving the child alone when necessary.

Advocating for an entirely experimental education, Fénelon's writings had enormous influence on the ENLIGHTENMENT, directly affecting two of the era's leading philosophers, JOHN LOCKE and JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. From the eighteenth until the mid-twentieth century, *Telemachus* was required reading in French schools, mainly as a means of imparting knowledge of Greek culture to the pupils.

See also: **Education, Europe; Girls' Schools.**

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Fertility Drugs

Fertility drugs are prescription medications that stimulate the ovaries to produce eggs. They are also known as ovulation induction medications. Typically in the course of a female monthly cycle, one egg is produced in response to hormonal signals from the brain. This ovulatory function can be disturbed in a variety of medical conditions or with the increasing age of a woman. When ovulation does not proceed normally, female infertility can result and fertility drugs are often used to restore ovulation.

There are two major types of fertility drugs. The first is a drug called clomiphene citrate, which comes in pill form. It was first synthesized in 1956, and approved for clinical use in 1967. The second type is derived from the urine of menopausal women, and is therefore called human menopausal gonadotropins (hMG). It was first clinically used in 1969, and is only available in an injectable form. Although both types of drugs can cause multiple eggs to be produced at one time, this is more common with the hMG drugs, so they are thought of as more potent ovulation inducers and are prescribed only by specialists in infertility treatment.

Clomiphene is generally used to induce ovulation when conception will occur through heterosexual intercourse, or when sperm will be inseminated into a woman's vagina or uterus. The cumulative six-month conception rate with clomiphene approaches 60–75 percent. HMGs can also be used for conception through intercourse or insemination, and cumulative six-cycle conception rates approach 90 percent. HMGs are more commonly used in IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (IVF), where it is important for a woman to produce as many eggs as possible.

Multiple gestation—twin, triplet, or higher order pregnancies—are an important consequence of treatment with fertility drugs. The multiple pregnancy rate with clomiphene is approximately 10 percent, nearly all twins. Multifetal gestation rates are approximately 20–25 percent with hMG use and intercourse or insemination. With IVF, twin rates approach 35 percent, and triplet or higher order pregnancies occur in 6–7 percent of cases. Overall this represents a twentyfold increase in twins and a fifty to one-hundredfold increase in higher order multiples compared to rates of multiples in natural conceptions.

Ovarian hyperstimulation syndrome (OHSS) is another potential complication of fertility drugs. In OHSS women experience massive ovarian enlargement, large shifts in fluid and chemical balance in the body, and occasionally blood clots in major veins. Severe OHSS occurs in 1–2 percent of women undergoing fertility drug treatment, and can require hospitalization. In rare cases OHSS can lead to death.

Questions have been raised about the possible association of fertility drugs with later development of ovarian cancer.

Several retrospective studies concerning this association offer contradictory conclusions. As a result, the American Society for Reproductive Medicine—the major organization of infertility physicians in the United States—recommends that physicians caution patients that these medications may increase their lifetime risk of developing ovarian cancer.

Data from the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), the only source for up-to-date nationally representative infertility data, indicates that approximately 1.8 million U.S. women used ovulation-inducing medications in 1995, the last year for which data is available. Several social trends have influenced the use of fertility medications. First, there has been a recent increase in infertility rates, according to NSFG data. In 1995, 10 percent of women reported some form of fertility impairment, compared to 8 percent in 1988. This rate increase occurred across almost all age, marital status, income, and racial subgroups. This is the first year that the NSFG showed an increase in infertility rates since the survey began in 1973. It is unknown if this increase represents a “real” increase in infertility status or a change in recognition and reporting of fertility problems.

Second, there was a dramatic increase in absolute numbers of women with impaired fertility, out of proportion to the infertility rate change. The number of women with impaired fertility rose from 4.6 million to 6.2 million between 1988 and 1995. It is thought that the dramatic increase in numbers is due to delayed marriage and delayed childbearing trends among the baby boom cohort, who reached their less fertile reproductive years in the 1990s. Third, because older women attempting reproduction have fewer years in which to accomplish childbearing, baby boomers have pursued infertility therapies in great numbers. In 1995, 2.7 million women in the United States sought infertility services, compared to 1.8 million in 1982. Women who sought infertility services tended to be older, married, wealthier, and white.

See also: **Conception and Birth; Multiple Births.**

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Fertility Rates

Almost all societies limit birth rates to some extent. BIRTH-CONTROL patterns change over time. Hunting and gathering societies often limited births through prolonged lactation; in contrast, agricultural societies combined two strategies: on the one hand, making sure enough children were available for work and to inherit family land and possessions, and on the other hand limiting birth rates to protect resources.

Differences in the ways societies limit family size affect children. Some societies focus on controlling how closely children are spaced, with implications for SIBLING relationships, while others limit the number of girls as a method of population control; this in turn affects relationships between boys and girls as well as unbalancing the sex ratio among adults, which makes marriage almost universal among the surviving girls but not among the overrepresented males. Furthermore, birth rate limitations often reflect socioeconomic status, as the very wealthy in preindustrial conditions usually had more children than poorer groups because the rich had more resources to support larger families.

Demography is the study of changes in population composition and in vital rates that combine to identify pivotal transformations in social life. In addressing the question of fertility, the issue that deserves to be considered first is how people without access to modern contraceptive technology restrict their numbers. Almost all anthropological investigations reveal a welter of cultural adaptations to the basic biological fact that human fertility is never close to its physiological maximum. According to Henri Leridon, “First, the biological maximum for women who remain fecund and exposed to risk from their fifteenth to their forty-fifth birthdays, and who do not breast-feed their children, would be 17 to 18 children” (p. 147). In point of fact, Leridon is somewhat ungenerous in his assessment of what earlier generations would have called prolific power. For example, in Quebec a tiny minority of women had more than twenty live births from the seventeenth century until the quiet revolution of social change in Quebec in the 1960s. And in any population some women would be sterile. The historical question that comes into focus concerns the difference between Leridon’s “biological maximum” and observed total fertility rates. How low were these premodern fertility rates?

Fertility Control through Late Marriage

Daniel Scott Smith has summarized the findings of thirty-eight family reconstitution studies (twenty-seven of which described French villages from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) as follows: “A woman who married at age 20 exactly, and survived to age 45 with her husband would bear nine children” (p. 22). Thus the potential maximum fertility was only about half of Leridon’s biological maximum. And what is more, Smith’s potential maximum fertility is an overstatement for two reasons: first, the average

age at first marriage for northwestern European women was not twenty and second about one-third of all marriages were broken by the death of one partner before age forty-five, which Smith is using as a shorthand measurement for the onset of menopause. In Smith's sample of thirty-eight villages, for example, the average age at first marriage for women was 25.7 years old; their husbands were 28.0 years old.

Basing his conclusions on fifty-four published studies describing age-specific marital fertility rates for women in early modern northwestern Europe, Michael Flinn agrees with Smith, describing an average age at first marriage for women that fluctuated around twenty-five. Flinn does not provide us with measurements to assess the spread of the distribution around this midpoint, but other studies have determined the standard deviation to be about six years, meaning that about two-thirds of all northwestern European women married for the first time between twenty-two and twenty-eight. A few teenaged brides were counterbalanced, as it were, by a similar number of women who married in their thirties. Perhaps one woman in ten never married. In the demographer's jargon, that tenth woman was permanently celibate.

So in answering our question concerning the relative lowness of high birth rates, the first point we have to keep in view is that, uniquely, northwestern Europeans married late. Or, to be more precise, the link between PUBERTY and marriage was dramatically more attenuated in early modern northwestern Europe than elsewhere. Modern demographic studies have shown that in eastern and southern Europe this puberty-marriage gap was about half as long, while in most African and Asian countries puberty and marriage roughly coincided as a girl entered womanhood (and adult status) with the onset of menstruation. Arranged marriages followed almost immediately thereafter.

The identification of this austere Malthusian regime has been the greatest achievement of early modern historical demography. These statistics provide us with a single measure that distinguishes the creation of new families in northwestern Europe from other societies. This unique marriage strategy was vitally important for two reasons: first, it provided a safety valve, or margin for error, in the ongoing adjustment between population and resources that characterized the reproduction of generations and social formations; and second it meant that the role of women was less dependent and vulnerable insofar as they were marrying as young adults, not older children. Arranged marriages were normal among the propertied Europeans, as they were in almost every other part of the world; most of these marriages were arranged while the girl was still a child and they were formalized after puberty.

What about the second point raised from a consideration of Smith's statistics, mortality during marriage? Before considering the impact of adult mortality on the fecundity of

marital couples, we need to discount his estimate of potential maximum fertility (nine live births) in order to take into account the impact of permanent celibacy, which was the destiny of perhaps 10 percent of all adult women. In Smith's thirty-eight villages, the "maximum spinsterhood percentage" was 13.3, whereas the "minimum spinsterhood percentage" was 8.6. Averaging these figures out provides an agreement with our rough approximation of 10 percent never marrying. This yields a revised potential maximum fertility per woman of eight births.

Now we can return to the impact of adult mortality on fertility rates. How many of these eight potential births would not have been realized because the marriage was broken by the death of one of the partners? The demographic parameters of early modern society were heavily influenced by the omnipresence of death. However, the truly gloomy statistics about life expectation at birth—averaging in the thirty- to forty-year range—are not a sure guide to adult mortality, since the heavy concentration of deaths in the first years of life was not so much an indicator of general levels of health as a reflection of the fragility of life in a period when both public health and individualized medical care were essentially nonexistent. Overall, an average of two babies in ten died in the first year of life, and a similar number died in the next few years of early childhood; however, a person who reached the age of five had an even chance of living until he or she was fifty.

Women were uniquely susceptible to deaths relating to childbirth, which was both dangerous and traumatic, so that there was female excess mortality during the childbearing years. Perhaps 1 percent of all women died as a result of complications from childbirth; and, of course, the average woman had several births, which heightened her exposure to this risk; the cumulative impact of adult mortality was, therefore, substantial. Only about two partnerships in three were likely to survive intact from marriage to menopause (i.e., from age twenty-five to forty-five). The cumulative impact of this mortality regime on fertility levels was likewise substantial—we might estimate that almost one-third of all of the revised potential maximum fertility would have been lost as a result of marriages that broke up because of parental death. The reality of the early modern demographic regime was that the average number of births per woman was likely to have been somewhat over five—not the eight suggested by the first revision (which took into account permanent celibacy) and surely not Smith's nine.

Fertility Control through Infanticide

The northwestern European system of delaying marriage and concentrating fertility into only some of the years of a woman's reproductive years is just one example of the strategies that populations practiced throughout history. In China and Japan a rather different system was deployed. There the key ingredient was systematic infanticide, frequently the re-

sult of a strong gender-preference for boys. Marriage of women in premodern Asia took place at a much earlier age than in northwestern Europe, but the ultimate level of reproduction was essentially similar, although it was achieved through quite different means.

The Historical Methods Break Down

Before 1800, in both east Asia and northwestern Europe, levels of fertility were kept in line with mortality rates to create low rates of population growth. After 1800, the Malthusian system of prudential marriage was somewhat less effective among the newly emerging proletariat, and that led to rising levels of population growth in (and considerable out-migration from) northwestern Europe. In China, too, the older system of fertility regulation was strained in the nineteenth century and population growth rates in the poorest regions increased substantially. However, it is crucial to maintain some perspective on this point, since the older systems of restraint bent but they did not break. Both northwestern European and east Asian populations grew more slowly in the nineteenth century than did Third World populations in the twentieth century.

When populations grow it is usually reflected in a change in the age pyramid, which gets larger at its base as there are more births than deaths. Malthus postulated that growing populations would be subjected to “preventative checks” that would cause death rates to rise, but the evidence for this assertion is skimpy. More significantly, when populations grow they become younger and children represent a larger percentage of the total. The various systems of prudential restraint—delayed marriage in northwestern Europe and infanticide in east Asia—had the effect of keeping the proportion of children in the population at a lower level than is the case in the poorer parts of the world today. The reason for this widening gap is that many Third World populations have benefited from public health measures that dramatically lessen mortality but have not yet made compensatory adjustments in fertility.

So far, the argument has considered only global averages. To make sense of these averages additional factors have to be taken into consideration. The difference between Lerdon’s biological maximum and Smith’s potential maximum—as well as between Smith’s potential maximum and the reality of the early modern demographic system—is not explicable solely in terms of biological or physiological factors. Indeed, the largest part of this difference can only be accounted for by also referring to cultural—and historical—factors. As is described above, the role of prudential marriage in northwestern Europe or infanticide in East Asia reflected cultural choices.

Accounting for Low Premodern Fertility Rates

Why, then, were high birth rates in the past so low? To answer this question one has to consider not only such factors as the age and incidence of nuptiality but also coital frequen-

cy, which affected the likelihood of impregnation; abortions; and starvation-induced amenorrhea, which cut off conceptions before they could result in live births; and breastfeeding practices and ritual taboos that created a safe period after childbirth when a woman was either unlikely to conceive or was not permitted to engage in sexual intercourse. Fertility, therefore, was more the result of such cultural norms than of biological forces. Biological forces were never allowed to work themselves out in a “natural” fashion, so it is misleading to speak of “natural fertility” when all societies brought children into the world as a result of the way that each one worked out its own cultural economy of fertility.

Another range of factors reducing premodern fertility rates relates to rates of INFANT MORTALITY. When a baby died there was a shorter interval between its birth and the next one than the average interval that would have occurred if that first child had lived. So the relationship between fertility rates and mortality rates was interactive; crudely put, populations with extremely high rates of infant mortality also had extremely high rates of fertility, and vice versa. Furthermore, while a large number of marriages were likely to have been broken by adult mortality, from the demographic point of view it was only female mortality that mattered. This brings us to consider rates of widowhood, remarriage, separation or desertion, and so forth. Some societies practiced stringent refusal against remarriage for women, which effectively meant that a husband’s death was, in demographic terms, the same as her own; she could keep living but could no longer engage in a sexual relationship or bear children. These cultural rules were incredibly flexible, ranging from the extreme example of some parts of India, where widows were burned on their dead husband’s funeral pyres, to the situation that prevailed in parts of northwestern Europe, where a few women (like Chaucer’s wife of Bath) outlived several husbands.

Fertility rates can only be understood by placing them in sociocultural context and by finding nondemographic explanations for them. By reconstituting demographic statistics from their biological and cultural elements, we can comprehend how children were brought into a world patterned by social relationships. The transformation of premodern reproductive patterns was part of a massive shift in the nature of social relations; social change in the cultural economy of fertility was the result of changing norms of family life and in particular the value of children. Parents were thinking people who reflected on this relationship and changed their behavior with regard to it.

Below-Replacement Fertility Rates and Immigration

The fertility transition—from five or six births per woman to the controlled rates of fertility that result in below-replacement fertility in some late-modern societies—has been neatly summarized by J. C. Caldwell, who argues that we can understand this process by focusing on the role of

children within the family. In high-fertility regimes wealth flows upwards from children to parents, whereas in low-fertility regimes the child-centered family means that there is a concentration of time, money, and emotion on each individual child as resources flow downwards from parents to children. Caldwell calls this a compass swing, a metaphor that may be too dramatic for this change since there were already restraints on fertility in premodern societies.

To date, the Caldwellian compass has swung most dramatically in Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia. For example, in Quebec in the early twentieth century, about one child in two was born into a family of ten or more children, but in the early twenty-first century the so-called *pur laine* Quebecois (those descended from the original French settlers) have below-replacement fertility. In France, northern Italy, Japan, and most other regions of the developed world, the native-born population has below-replacement fertility whereas immigrant groups account for a disproportionate share of the children. In Toronto, for example, the reproduction rates of recent immigrants outstrip those of the native-born two-to-one; in some schools in Toronto (or Los Angeles or London or Paris, for that matter) immigrant children outnumber native-born children. In immigrant-receiving cities like Toronto, more than half of all children entering the public school system do not speak the dominant language of the civil society at home. Such children come from larger families, stay in school for a shorter period of time, and are much more likely to work after school and on weekends in order to contribute to their family's income even if they do stay in school. These children are also disproportionately poorer than the majority population. When the writer George Orwell visited the poor families of Wigan in the Depression of the 1930s, he asked rhetorically if these families were poor because they were large or large because they were poor. Either way, the migration flows of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century have kept large numbers of children in poverty in the midst of plenty. In other parts of the world, children dot the landscape in mushrooming numbers.

World Population Growth

How do we account for this massive acceleration in both fertility and child survival, which has led to the quadrupling of the world's population in less than a century when the previous doubling had taken two hundred years (from 1700 to 1900) and when before that it took several millennia? Perhaps the best way to visualize this process is by comparing it to the action of a pair of scissors. For most of the past few millennia, the two arms of the scissors were kept close together as population growth rates moved in tandem with mortality levels; in the twentieth century, however, public health measures dramatically improved the life expectation of both children and adults while fertility rates were slow to respond to this massive increase in survivorship. The opening of the demographic scissors has had two dramatic effects:

first, the rate of population growth, which hovered at about 0.5 percent in the nineteenth century, has grown four- and fivefold (and in some places, like Egypt, as much as sixfold) so that the time it now takes for a population to double has dropped from about two hundred years to about forty years; and second, as population growth rates have shot up, the percentage of the total population at the bottom of the age pyramid has increased. Children have become more numerous as the surviving generations are significantly larger than the preceding ones.

This modern demographic explosion has been like the problem facing the sorcerer's apprentice in that once the demographic scissors open it is extremely difficult to close it again, and once a new equilibrium is attained the global organization of population will be radically different from what existed several hundred years ago. In 1700, almost two humans in five were Chinese; now the comparable figure is just over one in five; in 1700 the proportion of Europeans was perhaps one in five, whereas it is now about one in ten. In contrast, the relative proportion of South Americans, Africans, and Asians has increased incrementally as the world population balance has swung in a new direction. Moreover, not only are most of the additional people in these areas children but because of the dynamics of uncontrolled fertility among the poorest peoples most of them grow up in large families. In BRAZIL, for example, the white, urban, and middle classes have families of two or three children whereas the black, rural, and landless classes have families of six or more children. A similar dynamic is at work in Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, and a host of other countries with small economies and large populations to feed. It will take a full-fledged sorcerer to get the modern explosion of population back into a condition of equilibrium; without such a magic act, the new demographic dynamic of the twenty-first century means that an ever-larger proportion of the world's population will be composed of children from underprivileged backgrounds living in poor countries.

See also: **Family Patterns.**

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DAVID LEVINE

Fetal Imaging. *See* Sonography.

Film. *See* Movies.

Flappers

Flappers were modern adolescent girls and young women whose FASHION and lifestyle personified the changing attitudes and mores of America and its youths in the 1920s. Magazines, books, and MOVIES depicted the flapper with short, bobbed hair, powdered face, and painted puckered lips, and they dressed her in rolled stockings and scanty, low-waist dresses that emphasized a boyish figure. The flapper drank and smoked like men, and played and worked with men. She exuded an overt SEXUALITY not only with her provocative clothing, but also in her actions: dancing to jazz, flirting with men, and attending petting parties unchaperoned.

The flapper was the subject of a great deal of controversy in public discussion. Many critics found her departure from the fashions and manners of the corseted women who came before her representative of a lapse in morality among the young and of an emerging generation gap. Indeed, the open sexuality and the sexual practices of the flapper generation were divergent from earlier generations: women coming of age in the 1920s were twice as likely to have had premarital sex as their predecessors. At a time when DATING, the use of BIRTH CONTROL, and frank discussion about sex was on the rise, the flapper became the symbol for the new sexual liberation of women. Portrayed as predominantly urban, independent, career-oriented, and sexually expressive, the flapper was hailed as an example of the New Woman.

Despite these stereotyped images, the flapper was not a revolutionary figure; rather she was an updated version of the traditional model of womanhood. Although she was freer in her sexuality and public conduct among men than her mother, the flapper had no intention of challenging the role

of women in society or abandoning the path towards marriage and motherhood. On the contrary, like the rest of the middle-class younger generation that she exemplified, the flapper was conservative in her ultimate values and behavior. As contemporary suffragists and feminists complained, the flapper took up the superficial accoutrements of the emancipated woman, but she did not take up the ballot or the political pursuit for equal rights under the law.

In fact, the flapper and her lifestyle were reflective of mainstream American values and the emerging cult of youth that began to characterize popular culture in the 1920s. She represented the new vitality of a modern era. Advertisers used her image, combining youth and sex, to sell an array of goods, including automobiles, cigarettes, and mouthwash. In addition, although flapper fashion flourished to its fullest extent among the privileged and bohemian few, new innovations in the mass production of clothing made it possible for the fashion to have a wider influence in all of women's dress. Young teenagers could afford to follow fashion and made the style into a trademark among their peers. Even older women exposed to certain elements of flapper style in Sears Roebuck catalogs sported some of that look. While movie actresses like Clara Bow and personalities like Zelda Fitzgerald epitomized the flapper persona and philosophy, the flapper fad prevailed among middle-class youth, infusing its style and manner into mainstream American culture.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Bobby Soxers; Manners; Teenagers; Youth Culture.**

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Laura Mihailoff

Formula. *See* Infant Feeding.

Foster Care

Foster care refers to the informal and formal custodial care of children outside of their own biological family home when their parents are unable, unwilling, or prohibited from caring for them. Historically, foster care provided homes to poor and parentless children and served to maintain order in a changing society. The origins of contemporary American foster care date back to the colonial-era practice of indentureship or "binding out." Following English tradition, families frequently placed their child with a master who taught

the child a trade and provided basic sustenance in exchange for the child's labor. Poor children were often involuntarily bound out through public auction when a family was unable to provide for their care; exploitation was quite common in these circumstances. Indentureship declined in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as reformers promoted institutional living and believed that its structured and contained life of the institution offered the solution to poverty and its accompanying social ills, including the plight of dependent and orphaned children.

The Formalization of Foster Care

The practice of foster care grew more formalized with the development of an anti-cruelty movement and the establishment of SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (SPCC) in the late nineteenth century. These agencies provided a feeder most commonly to institutions and to a lesser degree to family-based foster care. As a result the number of ORPHANAGES tripled between 1865 and 1890. Voluntary SPCC agents were often granted police power and removed children from their biological homes due to physical abuse or, more commonly, poverty-related neglect. Yet some nineteenth-century reformers questioned institutional practices. Most famously, CHARLES LORING BRACE established the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY that sent urban orphaned, half-orphaned, and other poor children to reside with farm families. Espousing romanticized notions of countryside living and a belief that it was best to remove neglected and abused children from their families of origin, Brace's work constituted a response to the increased immigration, crime, and disease that characterized urban society. Brace, however, was not without his critics, particularly those who believed that the farm families exploited the children's labor and Catholic reformers who accused Brace of placing Catholic children in Protestant homes.

The Progressive Era witnessed a deepening concern with the plight of poor and orphaned children. The period's CHILD-SAVING movement portrayed children as vulnerable beings in need of family protection, nurture, and affection and argued that a child was best cared for by its own biological parents. The child savers focused on a variety of child welfare initiatives, such as mothers' pensions, day nurseries, and public health reforms that they hoped would reduce the need for out-of-home care. Yet reformers such as Holmer Folks also recognized the continued need for custodial care and strongly advocated family-based foster care, which they viewed as far superior to institutional arrangements. Even Progressive-era child-caring institutions were refurbished to provide more of a family-like setting through "cottage" style housing although the majority of dependent children continued to be cared for in institutional settings in this period. These voluntary and largely sectarian foster care agencies often engaged in discriminatory practices. Historians of both the anti-cruelty and child-saving movements highlight the class and ethnic biases of middle-class Anglo Saxon reform-

ers who intervened in the family life of poor immigrant families and often equated foreign cultural practices and poverty-ridden conditions with neglect. Moreover, the child welfare agencies typically denied AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN foster care services or provided only a small number of homes on a segregated basis. As a result, early-twentieth-century African-American reformers established their own organizations, although these agencies often suffered from a lack of adequate funding. Members of the African-American community also fostered children on an informal basis, taking in children of friends, neighbors and relatives when assistance was needed. Informal fostering practices were also common in many immigrant communities.

Modern Foster Care

Concern with child welfare and foster care declined in the conservative 1920s and even the welfare state architects of the New Deal era paid little attention to foster care as they believed that larger anti-poverty efforts would reduce and ultimately eliminate the out-of-home placement of children. But the New Deal reformers were far from correct in their assessment. The years following World War II actually saw the development of the contemporary child welfare bureaucracy. The federal government provided an increasing amount of funds for the establishment and expansion of public child welfare agencies that, unlike the voluntary sectarian agencies, had to serve all children, regardless of race, ethnicity, or faith. The postwar period also witnessed the "rediscovery" of CHILD ABUSE. Mid-century radiologists uncovered the phenomenon of multiple, repeat fractures in children resulting from parental abuse and in 1962 the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a now famous paper entitled "The Battered Child Syndrome" by physician C. Henry Kempe and his associates. The article drew massive amounts of public attention and captured the imagination of a reform-minded America. Between 1963 and 1967 every state passed legislation mandating professionals to report suspected instances of child abuse and in 1972 Congress enacted the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act that provided funds for a national center on child abuse and neglect. Not surprisingly, this legislation resulted in a huge increase in child abuse reports and ultimately a dramatic rise in the foster care population.

Disturbed by the growth in foster care, child welfare advocates of the 1970s uncovered the phenomenon of "foster care drift" in which children experienced multiple foster home placements. This phenomenon flew in the face of popular social scientific wisdom that stressed the importance of attachment and permanency for children's positive developmental outcomes. In response to this mounting critique, Congress passed the Child Welfare Act of 1980. The act attempted to reduce the foster care population by emphasizing family preservation and reunification programs and required state agencies to make "reasonable efforts" before removing a child from its home. It also institutionalized the previously

informal practice of “kinship care” in which relatives serve as foster parents. While the act contributed to a temporary decline in the foster care population, from 1987 to 1992 the number of children in foster care grew from 280,000 to 460,000. While some suggest that the act suffered from inadequate funding, others partially attribute the rise in foster care to the development of an epidemic of drug use that ravaged low-income, inner-city America during the 1980s. At the same time, family preservation efforts came under fire as some research showed that intensive social work programs did little to prevent child removal and a series of highly publicized child abuse cases described how children were allowed to remain or return to the homes of their biological parents where they ultimately met their deaths. Other critics were especially concerned about the growing overrepresentation of African-American children in the foster care population, which some attributed to institutionalized racism within the child welfare system.

The backlash against family preservation along with ongoing concern regarding the number of children in foster care culminated in the passage of the federal Adoption and Safe Families Act (ASFA) of 1997. ASFA sought to reduce the foster care population and promotes permanency for children by stressing ADOPTION over family preservation efforts, although some money was set aside for family preservation. The act sped up the time line toward termination of parental rights, allowed for “concurrent planning” in which child welfare workers simultaneously prepare for family reunification and adoption, and provided states with financial incentives for adoption. Adoption advocates argue that with increased assistance safe and loving adoptive homes can increasingly be found for foster children who were previously considered “hard to place”—such as those experiencing physical or psychiatric disabilities or children of color who historically have experienced low adoption rates.

Ongoing Critiques

Critics of the contemporary child welfare system argue that it is not foster care in and of itself that produces poor outcomes for children but rather a dysfunctional, underfunded child welfare bureaucracy run by poorly trained and overwhelmed staff. The Child Welfare League of America observed that by 2002 caseworkers in some states had up to 55 children on their caseloads, while the League recommended a caseload of no more than 15 children. Others maintain that the inadequacy of the child welfare system stems from its inability to address the primary issue contributing to child neglect, abuse, and removal: poverty. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of children in foster care are born into poverty and some studies show that the primary predictor of child removal is not the severity of abuse but the level of the family’s income. Critics noted that in the early twenty-first century the United States had the highest rate of child poverty of any industrialized Western nation and argued the income and social supports more typical of Western European nations,

such as family allowances, government-supported day care, family leave policies, more generous benefits for single mothers and their children, would reduce the number of American children in foster care.

See also: **Placing Out; Social Welfare.**

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Laura Curran

Foundlings

From as far back as Hellenistic antiquity and up through the first decades of the twentieth century, the large-scale ABANDONMENT of newborn babies features prominently in the history of Western Europe. Although sometimes confounded with infanticide, abandonment frequently occurred with the hope that someone would find and rear the child. In many cases, these abandoned infants, or foundlings, were left with tokens to aid in reclamation or to ensure that they would be well treated. By the thirteenth century, salt was left with foundlings as an indicator of their baptismal status. These tokens suggest some expectation, or at least hope, that the child would be found alive.

Until the later Middle Ages, infants were frequently left outside of public buildings or in open places where they might be easily seen. As Christianity spread, foundlings were increasingly deposited at churches. However, beginning in the twelfth century, the process of abandonment became more institutionalized. Aimed at preventing loss of life—especially when it occurred prior to BAPTISM—a system of foundling homes emerged in Italy and then spread throughout much of Europe. By the nineteenth century, over one

hundred thousand foundlings were being abandoned annually to these institutions. The officially sanctioned system usually allowed for the abandonment to remain anonymous. In many parts of Europe, it was possible to abandon the infant via a device known as the wheel—a wooden turntable placed within the wall of the foundling home building, often containing a cradle of sorts. A person standing outside the foundling home could place an infant inside the wheel, and, in many instances, there would be a bell above the wheel to ring and alert someone inside, who could then turn the wheel and procure the foundling without seeing the person who left the child. Ideally, these institutions would place the foundling with paid foster parents, preferably in the countryside, who would then raise the child. Foundling homes differed in the age at which they stopped paying foster parents, but in most cases, female foundlings remained the wards of the home until marriage, while male foundlings were cut off from all support once payments to their foster families ceased.

Although abandoned children were not uncommon, especially in urban areas, the first foundling home in the United States was not established until 1856, in Baltimore, Maryland. In the years that followed, many more were established so that by the early twentieth century most large cities had at least one foundling home. However, in many other places separate homes were never established and foundlings were received by ORPHANAGES, county almshouses, or poorhouses. The fragmentation of the U.S. system makes it difficult to estimate the numbers of foundlings at any one time or to generalize about methods of care they employed. Indeed, there is evidence that some foundling homes opposed fostering while others actively pursued rapid foster placements. One sad generalization about institutionalization can be made, however. In both Europe and the United States, competition from middle-class families created a shortage of wet nurses who could foster children or who wanted to work, often feeding more than one child, in the cramped conditions of the foundling homes. As a consequence, prior to the safe pasteurization of milk in the late nineteenth century, many children died in foundling hospitals, both from disease and malnutrition, in their first months of life.

See also: **Adoption in the United States; Baby Farming; Bastardy; Foster Care; Orphans; Wet Nursing.**

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WENDY SIGLE-RUSHTON

Francke, Aug. Hermann (1663–1727)

August Hermann Francke grew up in Gotha in Prussia amid the ecclesiastical, pedagogical, and social reforms of Ernst the Pious, Duke of Sachsen-Gotha. After a conversion experience in 1687, Francke founded a circle of "awakened" students in Leipzig, where he was studying theology. In 1691, he was appointed pastor of Glaucha near Halle; the same year, he was named a professor at the University of Halle in Prussia. His close relationships with members of the Prussian royal dynasty, particularly Frederick William I, helped promote Francke's great educational experiment: the Hallesches Waisenhaus. Francke founded the Hallesches Waisenhaus (Halle Orphanage) at the university in 1695. In addition to various economic enterprises, the facility contained an ORPHANAGE, elementary schools for boys and girls, the LATIN SCHOOL, and the Pädagogium Regium.

Francke's significance for the history of childhood lies in his ground-breaking methods of school organization, teacher training, and the promotion of gifted children; these innovations developed under his direction in the various institutions of the Hallesches Waisenhaus. Beyond Francke's pedagogical writings, the educational techniques in the Hallesches Waisenhaus contributed a great deal to the modern understanding of education. On the threshold of the ENLIGHTENMENT, Lutheran Pietism found in Francke an ideal spokesperson. He sought to realize in his pedagogy the Pietist aspiration to devote all of life to Christian objectives. In doing so, Francke helped to establish a different view of children and to enhance the status of childhood as a stage of life.

The decisive characteristic of Francke's approach was the submission of educational activity to specific methods. His philosophy contributed to the development of one of the most effective pedagogical prescriptions of the modern age: exerting methodical influence on the child's emotional life with the aim of shaping him from within. By extending its scope of application to include all children, regardless of social status or sex, Francke elaborated this objective and its realization in the form of pedagogical ordering concepts designed to promote discipline. His most important writings in this field include *Kurzer und Einfältiger Unterricht . . . (Brief and simple instruction . . . , 1702)* and the preface to the German translation of FRANÇOIS FÉNÉLON'S *Über die Mädchen-erziehung* (On the education of girls, 1705). In his writings, Francke developed a unified notion of the child independent of her social status; similarly, the pedagogical practice of the schools of the Hallesches Waisenhaus reflected a unified educational concept which was applied to all its

students. The Waisenhaus soon gained the reputation of a model institution. It achieved a heightened control of affect and individualization of education through the external organization of schools; instruction and internal influence in the form of catechism, self-observation and the examination of conscience; and by the extraordinary alertness of its teachers to the intellectual and spiritual development of their pupils. Francke's influence on the Prussian state and its educational system is undisputed, but his philosophy extended far beyond the borders of Prussia, as evidenced by his international contacts and the broad geographical origins of the children who lived and studied in the Franckesche Stiftungen (Francke Institutes). Francke's life and work are splendidly documented in the archives of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle a.d. Saale.

Francke's influence on the development of a modern understanding of childhood continued in the writings and teachings of Nikolaus Graf von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), the founder of the Moravian Church; his pedagogy also left a profound mark on F. Schleiermacher's (1768–1832) Romantic notion of childhood. Francke thus occupies a prominent position in the development of childhood education. His followers, along with those of Jansenism in France and Pietism in Germany, not only led pedagogy to autonomous modes of thought but also had a decisive impact on cultural images of the child at the beginning of the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

See also: **Education, Europe; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.**

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JULIANE JACOBI

Frank, Anne (1929–1945)

Anneliese Marie (Anne) Frank was born on June 12, 1929, in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. She fled from her country of birth to the Netherlands in 1934, following her father, mother, and sister. Their hope to be freed from the German persecution of Jews disappeared when Germany invaded the Netherlands in 1940. From then on, anti-Jewish measures

isolated the Frank family more and more. Anne was forced to go to a school established for Jewish children, the Joods Lyceum. Finally, in July 1942, the family went into hiding in the *achterhuis* (annex) of her father's office and warehouse. A month before that, Anne had started writing a diary, which now became an account of two years of living in isolation with the constant fear of discovery and betrayal. The diary also became an analysis of the tensions among eight people living closely together in hiding. Finally it is the personal story of a girl growing up during her thirteenth through fifteenth years.

In March 1944 Anne heard a radio announcement by the Dutch government in exile that after the war diaries would be collected to document the German occupation. From then on she rewrote her diary in a more polished form. This came to an end in August 1944, when Anne and the others were betrayed, arrested, and deported. Anne died in Bergen-Belsen in February or early March 1945. Her father Otto Frank survived. After his return one of the people who had provided food during the family's period of hiding, had saved Anne's diary and gave it back to her father. He made a typescript of the diary, which was published in 1947 under the title *Het achterhuis*. German, French, and English translations followed. A play based on the diary, written in 1955 by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett, became a success on Broadway, and in 1958 was made into a movie by Hollywood director George Stevens. Anne Frank posthumously became famous worldwide. Otto Frank was convinced that his daughter's diary would be a warning against racism for young readers, and to this end he corresponded with readers all over the world. Meanwhile, however, the image of Anne Frank developed from a young victim of the HOLOCAUST into that of some sort of humanist saint. In Amsterdam, the annex became a museum. In 1986 a thorough scholarly edition of the Dutch text was published (followed by an English translation in 1989), in which questions about the authenticity of the diary from neo-Nazis were countered by an extensive technical examination of the manuscript. All three versions of the diary are included in this edition: Anne's first version, her own rewritten version, and the 1947 edition as edited by Otto Frank.

Anne Frank's diary has now been translated into dozens of languages and has sold millions of copies, yet the first biography of the author was published only a few years ago. The diary has traditionally been given to young people to read from a pedagogical motivation; nevertheless, there are several other ways to read the text. Today more attention is given to Anne Frank's Jewish background, which previously was kept in the background, especially in the play and movie. However, it is clear from the diary that for Anne herself her Jewishness was not a very essential part of her identity. Another aspect now more clearly realized is that Anne Frank was only one of many young victims, and the context of the Holocaust therefore now receives more attention. Recently

a history of her school, the Joods Lyceum, was published, partly based on interviews with surviving schoolchildren. Anne Frank is now also seriously studied as a woman writer. Writing a diary was in itself an activity typical of girls, and a diary written by another pupil of the Joods Lyceum, Ellen Schwarzschild, was published in 1999. Anne's diary must also be seen in a long tradition of autobiographical writing. During World War II in Holland, as in other periods of crisis, many people started writing diaries, and hundreds have survived, of which several are published. Anne saw her diary, at least the second version, as a literary achievement. The diary itself reveals which novels were an influence on her writing, especially those by the popular Dutch novelist Cissy van Marxveldt. Anne's ability as a writer, her creativity and originality, are receiving more recognition than before. Finally, having arrived in Holland only in 1934, Anne's mastery of the Dutch language is remarkable. Scholarly research has intensified in recent years, and it has taken different roads, but reading Anne Frank's diary itself is still a starting point.

See also: **Autobiographies.**

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RUDOLF M. DEKKER

Freinet, Célestin (1896–1966)

Célestin Freinet was born in 1896 at Gars, a small town of Alpes-Maritimes, a then fairly poor region of southern France. He spent his childhood working in the fields and as a shepherd. He participated in World War I and was seriously wounded, an injury from which he never quite recovered. He returned to the region of his childhood as a teacher and after serious conflicts with local school authorities he founded his own school, establishing a free platform for his educational work. He developed a school program, laid the groundwork for a national movement of school reform, published several books on schooling and education, and wrote a great number of articles in professional and political journals like *Clarté*. He organized the production and sale of learning materials, organized several national and international conferences on progressive education, and edited the journal *L'Éducateur* (The educator). During the interwar years he participated in N.E.F., the federation of progressive educationalists. He died in 1966.

The hardships of everyday life in his native region and his injured health, not the heritage of educational theory, formed the basis of Freinet's ardent social, educational, and political critique of capitalistic and urbanized societies. His focus was on the process of learning. As a practitioner he brought innovations in the fields of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic based on what he called "techniques of living." He believed children should work in workshops or outdoors and learn as a process of experimental trial and error. He is best known for his printing press (now usually replaced by a computer) for learning spelling and developing free text.

Freinet held that education was a way to change humanity. The school of tomorrow should center on the full development of children as members of the community. He regarded learning as a serious labor in which children should find their own course. He was also inspired by the multidisciplinary teaching practiced by progressive Germans, by Belgian educational pioneer Ovide Décroly's approach to learning, and by GEORG KERSCHENSTEINER's approach to the process of labor.

Freinet's books and workbooks have been translated into several languages and his ideas, methods, and teaching aids have become known throughout the world. There are Freinet teacher groups in several countries, and he is especially popular in developing countries because of the simplicity of his methods and because his ideas are attractive to those fighting for freedom and self-determination.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe; Progressive Education.**

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ELLEN NØRGAARD

Freud, Anna (1895–1982)

Anna Freud, the youngest child of Austrian psychoanalyst SIGMUND FREUD, was born and raised in Vienna, Austria, where she trained as an elementary school teacher and psychoanalyst. After being psychoanalyzed by her father, she became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1922. Freud never married; she lived with a lifelong companion: the American Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham, whose children she psychoanalyzed. She worked as her father's scientific and administrative guardian, and she also made significant contributions to the technique of child analysis, theories of child development, and ego psychology.

Anna Freud published the first book on child psychoanalysis in 1926. *Introduction to the Technique of Child Analysis* combined her pedagogical experience with psychoanalytical insight and described an approach aimed at strengthening the child's ego. The book also criticized the techniques of British child analyst MELANIE KLEIN. Freud saw Klein's methods as a dangerous probing of the child's unconscious fantasy life; this criticism led to a 1927 debate between Freud and Klein about child analysis. Freud's *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* appeared in 1936. This classic work systematically explained her father's concept of the ego and forged her reputation as a pioneer of ego psychology, a theory which dominated American psychoanalysis throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

Through the late 1920s and the 1930s, Freud served as Secretary of the International Psychoanalytical Association and Chair of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. When Germany invaded Austria in 1938, the Freud family emigrated to London and Anna Freud became a member of the British Psychoanalytical Society. There she participated in a second debate with Klein and her followers about whether Klein's ideas were truly Freudian. These controversial discussions ended with the organization of separate Freudian and Kleinian training programs within the society.

Freud set up the Hampstead War Nurseries in 1940, where she conducted observational research on orphaned children described in her 1944 book *Infants Without Families: The Case For and Against Residential Nurseries*. The nurseries closed in 1945 but later were reincarnated as the renowned Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic, posthumously renamed The Anna Freud Center for the Psychoanalytic Study and Treatment of Children. Over the next few decades Freud analyzed many young patients, trained future child analysts, and focused her research on developing ways to assess the relative normality or pathology of children at different ages, which she published in her 1965 work *Normality and Pathology in Childhood*.

Freud's later work also involved the practical application of psychoanalysis to problems in education and child welfare, and she lectured to public audiences on diverse topics ranging from child-rearing to family law. In 1961 she joined the faculty of Yale Law School as Senior Fellow and Visiting Lecturer. She collaborated with Yale colleagues Joseph Goldstein and Albert Solnit on the influential 1973 book *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*. Followed by two similar volumes, this book helped establish social and legal rights for children in America.

Anna Freud continued to research and lecture until she died from the effects of a stroke in 1982. Her papers were placed with the Freud Archives in the Library of Congress, in Washington, D.C.

See also: Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.

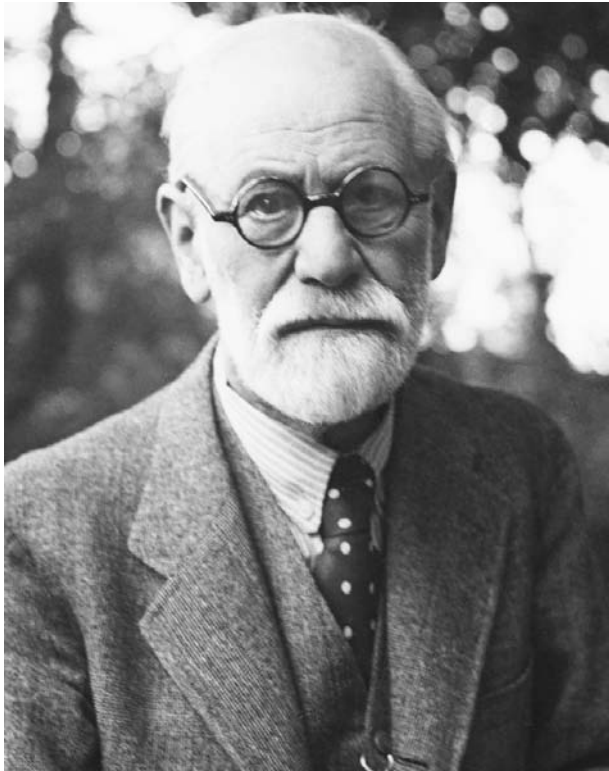
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GAIL DONALDSON

Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)

A century before Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, formulated his psychoanalytic developmental theory, the English poet William Wordsworth wrote about nature and nurture, "The Child is father of the Man." It is common-sense knowledge that from birth on the child undergoes physical maturation (e.g., sexual maturation) and the development of body, mind, and character (e.g., psychological growth, social interaction, and adaptation). Freud's develop-



Sigmund Freud's theories on childhood have not been without controversy, yet his work remains a strong influence on the field of child psychology. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS.

mental psychology grew out of his method of psychoanalytic investigation of adult emotional disorders and his readings in the medical sexology that preceded him.

The Early Process of Discovery

Freud first discovered that adult neurotic disorders, specifically hysteria, were caused by psychic shock, or trauma, which he saw as a three-part process: one, a traumatizing event, an actual assault or injury, happened, which, two, the victim experienced and perceived as traumatic or stressful, and to which, three, the person reacted to with psychological defense, such as dynamic (active) forgetting or repression. The repressed memory and the accompanying emotions would then result in the various manifest symptoms of an emotional disorder. The traumas were of both a nonsexual and sexual kind and the emotional component was the paramount factor. As he delved into the history of sexual traumas, Freud became "drawn further and further back into the past; one hoped at last to be able to stop at puberty . . . but the tracks led still further back into childhood and into its earlier years" (Freud 1953 [1914], p. 17). As far as childhood goes, Freud's predominant interest was in sexual traumas and emotions; he postulated the sexual emotions as the primary ones. His next step was the discovery of the

posthumous operation of a sexual trauma in childhood. If the sexual experience occurs during the peri-

od of sexual immaturity and the memory of it is aroused during or after maturity, then the memory will have a far stronger excitatory effect than the experience did at the time it happened; and this is because in the meantime puberty has immensely increased the capacity of the sexual apparatus for reaction. *The traumas of childhood operate in a deferred fashion as though they were fresh experiences; but they do so unconsciously.* (Freud 1962 [1896], pp. 166–167; italics in original)

Freud's term for deferred action was *Nachträglichkeit*, literally, *afterwardness*. As the traumas were a result of sexual acts of seduction or overwhelming by family members, servants, or others, they came to be known as the *seduction theory*, though nowhere did Freud himself employ the term.

At a certain point Freud wavered regarding the validity of this theory when he realized that some "hysterical subjects [traced] back their symptoms to traumas that were fictitious; [but] the new fact [that emerged was] precisely that they create such scenes in *phantasy*, and this psychical reality requires to be taken into account alongside practical reality. . . . From behind the phantasies, the whole range of a child's sexual life came to light" (Freud 1957 [1914], pp. 17–18). He discovered INFANTILE SEXUALITY. Eventually Freud reaffirmed the importance of seduction (trauma) and widened the theoretical scope by underscoring the complementarity of reality and fantasy.

In addition to external trauma, Freud also recognized the importance of internal trauma, the stimulation from within, by such forces as hunger, sexual drives, and other drives or needs. It should be noted, however, that Freud did not generally view the parents as traumatizers, in sharp contrast to his prominent student Sandor Ferenczi, with whom Freud fought tooth and nail. In contrast to Freud, Ferenczi insisted that parents can actually abuse their children, and this insight has been borne out by recent discoveries about CHILD ABUSE.

Freud's canonical text on infantile sexuality is the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, where he formulated the developmental stages of childhood psychosexuality: At each stage, he wrote, humans engage in a fusion of bodily and mental pleasure-seeking and displeasure-avoidant behavior, and he named these stages the oral, anal, and phallic (or genital) phases, or stages, of early childhood; these are followed by the changes of PUBERTY and adulthood. The sensuous bodily experiences were correlated with interactions, conflicts, and fantasies related to parents and other significant persons in the child's environment.

The Oedipus Complex

Freud also advanced the psychoanalytic theory of the Oedipus complex, that is, the oedipal or phallic phase. He saw the oedipal phase as a developmental milestone, a time to face the traumas pertaining to the triangular situation between

the child and the parents, when he or she is drawn to each of the parents as objects of desire, fantasy, and identification, while at the same time facing the threat of castration (or for girls, genital mutilation), and rivalry and competition in the wake of the birth of siblings. A good resolution of this constellation is a universal developmental task and is achieved by means of a consolidated sense of conscience (superego) and self-identity. These formulations would later be confirmed by anthropological and social sciences.

It needs to be emphasized that although the original, literal, nonmythological, name was the INCEST complex, Freud was not concerned with cases of actual incest but with incestuous fantasies. Again, more recent histories of child abuse have included the trauma of actual incest as well, including the problems of true versus false memories of past traumas.

This oedipal milestone led to a further differentiation between oedipal and preoedipal organization, in which the infant and young child of either gender relates primarily to the mother; however, here it was found that aggression, both in the parent and child, was a much more important issue than sexual attraction or fantasies. Another developmental line ran from autoerotism (deriving pleasure and satisfaction from one's own body), to narcissism (self-love), and to the full mature LOVE of others. Freud did not define a developmental line for aggression or a drive for power.

Integrated developmental psychology eventually led to a genetic psychological explanation of a wide spectrum of adult behavior: the psychology of love relations, mental disorders (neurosis and psychosis), criminal behavior, character formation, and the behavior of groups and masses.

Freudianism after Freud

When women joined the psychoanalytic movement, a fuller picture of developmental theory emerged, with an emphasis on the nonsexual aspects of development. Freud's followers elaborated seminal ideas that Freud had already discussed. ANNA FREUD elaborated the role of the defense mechanisms (dynamisms). MELANIE KLEIN, Anna Freud's great rival, emphasized the defenses called the paranoid and the depressive position in the first month of life. JOHN BOWLBY stressed attachment and loss. ERIK ERIKSON elaborated what he called the epigenetic stages in the development of identity.

While Freud focused on the organismic, or monadic (self-contained), aspects of development, later investigators were more receptive to the dyadic, or interpersonal, conception of development in health and disease first introduced by the great American psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan. This approach was importantly confirmed by family studies. The interpersonal-dyadic approach is the way of the future. The guiding principle should thus be not an exclusionary either/or but an inclusionary, this-as-well-as-that approach, integrating Freud's important monadic observations and insights with the interpersonal psychological reality as ob-

served in everyday life and depicted in imaginative literature, film, and television. In literature, a well-known example of applying the Oedipus complex is the interpretation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In religion, psychoanalytic ideas can be applied to the biblical sacrifice of Isaac and the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

Freud's THEORIES OF CHILDHOOD were subjected to both criticism and elaboration. Critics claimed that Freud's childhood theories were too exclusively fixated on SEXUALITY and were merely far-fetched extrapolations from observations of analyzed adult neurotics, thus lacking the empirical warrant of direct infant and child observation. This gap was first closed by the work of early women psychoanalytic pioneers who practiced child analysis, Hermine von Hug-Hellmeth and Sabina Spielrein. Further evolution of adult and child analysis significantly extended ideas that were only insufficiently developed in Freud, such as nonerotic attachment love, dependence (Freud's anaclitic type), and the role of aggression and envy. Here belongs the work of Melanie Klein and John Bowlby. These elaborations did not, however, amount to a refutation but rather to a more balanced view of issues in development. Further important work in the field came from infant and child research and focused on the role of interpersonal factors in development, such as the work of Margaret Mahler on separation-individuation or of Daniel Stern and Berry Brazelton on early good and failed communications between mother and child, among others.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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ZVI LOTHANE

Friendship

Discussions of the experience and the value of friendship, construed primarily in male terms, pervade Western cultural and literary tradition. The late-twentieth-century feminist reassessment of the uniqueness and significance of female friendship stimulated a variety of empirical investigations of the characteristics and function of friendship in contemporary society as well as several social historical examinations of the nature of past friendships. The latter work yielded two major new insights: the recognition that friendship is a socially constructed, historical phenomenon, mediated by the dominant emotional culture and various social and structural factors in a particular period—gender socialization, for example—and the recognition that friends have played a variety of important, and sometimes central, roles in the lives of both women and men.

Recent social scientific studies indicate that friendship also plays a significant role in children's lives from birth to ADOLESCENCE. While social relations within the family constitute a major component of the social environments of children, peer relations, including friendships, represent another important context for socialization. Psychologists have observed friendships between infants as young as eight or ten months. By the age of three, the development of social skills creates a wide range of friendship possibilities, and by the age of five, children can pretend and PLAY creatively. Between the ages of seven and twelve, friends still function as playmates, but they also provide mutual respect and affirmation. In adolescence, as in adulthood, female friendship involves a major component of trust and personal disclosure.

As children's social groups expand to include more than one "best" friend or a small, informal circle of close friends, their friends may be drawn from organized peer groups such as school classes, athletic teams, special interest clubs, scout troops, or gangs. Such groups also comprised significant social environments for nineteenth- and twentieth-century children. Factors such as access to schooling, period of compulsory schooling, length of school day, school size, diversity versus homogeneity of student body, and urban or suburban setting shaped children's social worlds and thus influenced their friendship patterns in the past. The modern history of friendship must deal with the growing importance of schooling as a bastion of friendship and a need for friends. Increasingly precise age-grading within schools has had a strong effect on the range of children's friendships. However, data concerning children's actual interactions with one another are not readily available for the historian who seeks to trace change and continuity in those patterns.

Some historians argue that the high proportion of childhood deaths in the premodern Western world conditioned children not to invest emotionally in their playmates, but we know very little about childhood friendship prior to the

eighteenth century. The presence of large numbers of SIBLINGS also affected friendships outside the family. As with the history of childhood more generally, accessible sources of information about children's friendships from the eighteenth century on primarily reflect the point of view of middle-class adults. For example, child-rearing manuals, children's books, travelers' accounts, and the diaries and correspondence of parents document middle-class standards and cultural prescriptions and expectations for children's friendships. Yet these sources reveal little regarding either children's actual friendship practices and experiences in small, face-to-face groups or their feelings about their friends. Direct information concerning the dynamics of young children's friendships is particularly difficult to find, but sources such as autograph books, photographs, diaries, journals, and letters can offer insight into the experiences and feelings of older children and adolescents. Autobiographic recollections can also provide data about individuals' childhood friendships, albeit through the filter of memory. Despite the limitations of the available sources and the absence of a fully developed historical perspective on friendship in general, the outlines of a history of this aspect of childhood experience are beginning to emerge.

Girls and Friendship

Late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Western culture promoted the development of strong female friendships. Didactic and prescriptive middle-class literature emphasized affiliation as opposed to achievement as the appropriate focus for women's lives and assigned them a subordinate place in the social hierarchy. Shared religious, educational, biological, and domestic experiences created powerful bonds between women and constructed a world of intimacy and support that distanced them from their male relatives. Victorian emotional standards, which began to take shape in the 1820s, also fostered close friendships, particularly through an emphasis on intense family love that extended into friendship. Middle-class, nineteenth-century families often discouraged daughters from playing with boys, although some preadolescent girls chose boys as companions. Nevertheless, most young girls, surrounded by models of intimate adult female friendship and exposed to periodical literature that romanticized such relationships, typically replicated them in their own lives, sometimes choosing cousins or sisters as their closest friends.

The rise of educational institutions for girls provided an important setting for the development of close friendships. From the middle of the eighteenth century, middle-class young women interacted with each other in boarding schools, female ACADEMIES, and seminaries where they formed intimate, often lifelong relationships. Affectionate language and suggestions of physical intimacy pervade the correspondence of nineteenth-century school friends and highlight the central role of friendship in their lives. In the early twentieth century, the enrollment of growing numbers

of girls in JUNIOR HIGH and HIGH SCHOOLS provided additional opportunities for peer interaction and friendship.

Like their predecessors, adolescent girls in the first two decades of the twentieth century expressed affection for friends, shared confidences, and relied on one another for emotional support. However, this period marks the beginning of a transition to different expectations and priorities with less emphasis on female intimacy. A new emotional culture stressed emotional restraint, and an explicit cultural preference for heterosexual relations stigmatized same-sex intimacy. These influences discouraged emotional intensity and closeness between female friends. Preadolescent girls were encouraged to go to parties and dances and to talk to boys. By the 1950s, ten year olds were worrying about being popular with boys. This distinctly new heterosexual imperative also dominated high school relationships, as the content of female friendships increasingly focused on boys and DATING, and young women's friendship choices often explicitly reflected their efforts to be perceived as members of the right group of girls to insure popularity with the opposite sex.

Although late-twentieth-century feminism re-emphasized the value and importance of female friendship, the impact of this ideology on young girls and adolescents is not clear. Several current studies describe a culture of aggression, backstabbing, and exclusive cliques among junior and senior high school girls, suggesting that friendship is fraught with problems for young women in contemporary society. While these descriptions of mean, calculating, and devious young women may be unrepresentative or exaggerated, they invite further study in the context of the history of children's friendships.

Boys and Friendship

Prior to the nineteenth century, boys spent more time in the company of adults than with their peers. As soon as they were old enough, they helped their fathers with farm work or served as apprentices or servants in other families. Certainly they had opportunities to play, but the structure of their lives offered limited occasions for independent activities out of the presence of adults, and hence for building friendships. This situation changed as urbanization and longer periods spent in school exposed them to larger groups of peers on a regular basis. In this context, boys developed a distinctive peer culture in which friendship played an important role.

Unlike those of girls, the friendships of young boys were unstable and superficial. Boys played outdoors, roaming more freely than their sisters were permitted to do. They chose their friends, often cousins and neighbors, pragmatically, more by availability than by any feelings of special affinity. Their relationships emphasized loyalty and good companionship rather than intimate confidences. Boys made friends easily, but conflict and rivalry were integral to their culture. Hence, their friendships shifted regularly, and fights

between gangs from different neighborhoods, villages, or social classes were common. Frequently friends, as well as rivals, engaged in physical combat, such as boxing matches. Numerous informal clubs that met in attics and basements brought boys together for athletic and other activities. Because these groups typically excluded certain individuals from membership, they actually promoted division as well as unity and companionship among boys.

Nineteenth-century boyhood ended in the mid- or late teens when young men typically left home to find a job or pursue further education. In this period of transition, often referred to by historians as youth, friendships became stronger. Individuals relied on peers for reassurance as they entered a new stage of life. Formal, self-created youth organizations first appeared in the late eighteenth century as descendants of earlier apprentice societies, and they proliferated. These groups—literary and debate clubs, religious societies, secret societies, fraternities, and lodges—provided a setting in which young men often found one or more close friends. In contrast to boyhood relationships, these new friendships displayed qualities similar to those of adolescent young women's friendships—intimacy, sharing of thoughts and emotions, expressions of affection, and physical closeness. However, while many nineteenth-century women maintained such friendships throughout their lives, intense male attachments ended as young men reached manhood and took on the responsibilities of marriage and careers.

As in the case of young women's relationships, the stigmatization of HOMOSEXUALITY in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century society and the post-Victorian emphasis on emotional restraint discouraged intimacy in young men's friendships. Affectionate male relationships disappeared as a new pattern of interpersonal distance between young men emerged in response to the fear of being labeled homosexual. Despite social criticism of this pattern in the context of concerns about the personal isolation experienced by late-twentieth-century boys and young men, and some efforts toward male bonding among adults, homophobic social pressures continue to influence the nature of male friendship from childhood through adulthood.

See also: **Boyhood; Emotional Life; Girlhood; Love.**

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LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG

Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm August (1782–1852)

Childhood education pioneer Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel was born at Oberweissbach in the Thuringia region of Germany. (Froebel is the English form of the German surname Fröbel.) Just as his last name was translated from his native language, his ideas and educational practices were adapted to a variety of international settings. Froebel's greatest contribution to the care and education of young children, however, was his invention called the KINDERGARTEN.

The principal accounts of Froebel's life were written either by himself or by his supporters. Most of these biographies draw extensively upon his correspondence, contain religious language, and present Froebel in an uncritical, sometimes hagiographical, manner. The accounts highlight Froebel's unhappy early childhood experiences, describing them as influencing his thoughts and actions as an adult. The most lasting of Froebel's contributions to early childhood education is his insistence that its curriculum be based on play. Although Froebel was not the first to recognize that PLAY could be instructive, he did synthesize existing educational theories with innovative ideas of his own. He was not a very clear thinker, however; his writing is sometimes difficult to follow unless the reader interprets it in the context of German Romanticism, Idealist philosophy, and Naturphilosophie, or Nature Philosophy. These intellectual concepts heavily influenced Froebel. He read works by the German poet Novalis (1772–1801) and the German philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), Karl Krause (1781–1832), and Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854).

Froebel applied his so-called spherical philosophy to education and it, rather than empirical observation, guided his

work. Because of his strong religious beliefs, some educators have argued that his approach is more accurately described as mystical rather than philosophical. His method was to counterpose opposites that would then be resolved through the mediation of a third element. For example, Froebel held that mind and matter, although opposites, are both subject to the same laws of nature in which God, the third element, is immanent. Another triad he used in relation to the child was unity, diversity, and individuality. Each child would spontaneously represent these elements, a process he referred to as all-sided, self-activity. This is the context of his statement that "play is the self-active representation of the inner from inner necessity."

Like the seventeenth-century Moravian bishop and educator JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS, Froebel thought that all personal development came from within. Therefore, he asserted that the task of the teacher was to provide the conditions for growth without intervening too much in the learning process. Froebel presented these ideas in his 1826 book *The Education of Man*. In this philosophical work, Froebel explains the aims and principles of his first school at Keilhau and describes the characteristics of the stages of BOYHOOD (never GIRLHOOD). Like the revolutionary Swiss-born French philosopher, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778), Froebel believed that education should be adapted to the needs and requirements of each stage. Also, like Rousseau, he advocated that teaching should follow nature, avoiding arbitrary interference in the life of the young child. Contrary to many religious beliefs at the time, this naturalist approach asserted that every child is born good.

After childhood the youngster begins school, and Froebel devoted a chapter to describing the subjects he thought appropriate for this stage. This discussion owes much to the theories of Swiss educator, JOHANN PESTALOZZI (1746–1827), whose work Froebel observed when he visited Pestalozzi's Yverdon Institute between 1808 and 1810. In the final part of his book, Froebel talks of the necessity of unity between the school and the family, thereby emphasizing the notion that education is most effective when the school and family complement each other.

Near the end of his life, Froebel turned his attention to the family and the education of young children through play. He invented his famous educational TOYS, which he called *gifts*, a graded series of wooden blocks together with a sphere and a cylinder. Later, he added learning activities, which he called *occupations*, such as paper-folding and -cutting, weaving, and clay modeling. At Blankenburg in 1837, Froebel gave the name *kindergarten* to his system of education for young children.

In 1843, Froebel published a book entitled *Mother's Songs, Games and Stories*. This was his most popular book; as the title suggests, it described action songs and finger plays (together with their musical notation) woodcut illustrations,

and guidance on how to present the songs as well as the meanings that could be derived from them. The book's content was based in part on Froebel's observations of mothers singing to their children. Froebel wanted to help women educate their infants more effectively as a prerequisite for a better society. Many middle-class women in Germany and elsewhere, including the United States, opened kindergartens and used Froebel's methods to educate their children.

Educators have long debated the nature of the relationship between Froebel's philosophy and his pedagogy. While the gifts and occupations and games may not have been logically entailed by his philosophy, without it many teachers resorted to formalism and mechanical imitation. For the most part, his attempts to persuade public schools to adopt the kindergarten saw only limited success during his lifetime. After his death, however, his ideas and practices spread rapidly; other educators came to agree with Froebel's belief in the importance of early childhood education.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe; Education, United States; Progressive Education; Theories of Play.**

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KEVIN J. BREHONY

Furniture

Furniture made especially for children is not a modern phenomenon but has existed independent of the ways in which adult views of children have changed. At the same time, its form reflects or rises from changing pedagogical views of childhood. Children's furniture has historically been defined not just by scale but also by pedagogical purpose.

The design of children's furniture is influenced by period, material, form, function, pedagogical views, and children's games and status. It reflects the grown-up world's imagining of children's needs and also its ideals of order, DISCIPLINE, HYGIENE, PLAY, and even stimulation. Children's furniture often tries to anticipate children's behavior—mostly proscribed behavior.

One can distinguish between children's furniture in private homes and children's furniture in institutions such as nurseries and KINDERGARTENS. The distinction reflects the

identity of each sphere. Children's furniture in the home often reflects the contemporary attitude to interior design and material. Institutional furniture tends to reflect the contemporary attitude toward pedagogy and hygiene.

High and Low Chairs

Of the children's furniture that has survived from earlier periods, chairs tend to show the most variety. (A great deal of children's furniture has been lost, but the oldest preserved chairs originate from the late 1500s and the early 1600s.) A Greek vase painting dated 400 B.C.E. shows a child in a high chair facing a woman sitting on a stool. The earliest known example of a low child's chair originates from the Viking age. The remnants of the chair were found during excavations in Sweden in 1981. The low chair has been known throughout most of Europe. Before the Viking chair was found, the oldest existing example of a low child's chair was in a family portrait in a 1601 Swiss tapestry.

These examples indicate that special furniture for children was made at a very early stage in the history of furniture, and that equally early two basic models of children's chairs existed: the high and the low model. Scale is what most distinguishes children's furniture from that of grown-ups. The sitting height of children's furniture is mostly either above or beneath the average grown-up sitting height. When children's chairs are built for pedagogical purposes, they tend to follow the low strategy to make children self-sufficient. The high strategy, on the other hand, puts the child at the level of the grown-ups at a table and enables the child to learn how to behave there.

Furniture and Status

Children's furniture stresses the social position of the child in relation to both the environment and to adults. To have an individual piece of furniture indicates status and the right to a status in the home or institution. The very existence of children's furniture promotes the child's status in the home and institution, because the furniture is the property of the child and because the furniture physically occupies space—a choice that excludes other furniture and reflects a priority, stressing the child's social importance. If a child has a piece of furniture of his or her own, this acknowledges the status and rank of the child. The special form of children's furniture signals that childhood is considered an important period.

School Furniture

The production of children's furniture for schools was an important innovation. School classes in the old village schools had long, narrow benches on which the children sat close together. Not until the second half of the nineteenth century was the first pedagogical school furniture designed: school desks with room enough between seat and table for children to barely stand. Classrooms were small, and the new desks minimized the space between rows.

In the late 1800s and the early 1900s many desk designs were considered. So-called school hygiene supporters made detailed descriptions of the correct way for a student to sit when writing, reading, or doing arithmetic or needlework. From these, they calculated designs, relating the height of the desk and the distance between the desk and the seat to the size of the child. There were different views on about whether to bolt the desk to the floor or allow it to be pulled aside when the room was cleaned, and about designing desks in differing heights adapted to differing ages and sizes. The choice between single desks or twin desks, however, was very often made on the basis of economics.

With the development of nurseries and kindergartens in the beginning of the twentieth century, children's public space became a focus of experiments with small, movable furniture. Between World Wars I and II, a group of creative and progressive schools used individual chairs and tables, allowing new pedagogical opportunities in the classroom. The traditional organization—a master's desk facing rows of pupils' desks—continued, however, into the 1950s in Europe but had largely disappeared in the United States by then.

Light, air, and a clean environment were the 1930s ideals of European pedagogical architecture. They were meant to produce healthy, clean, sound children. The first nurseries and kindergartens were models of clinical hygiene and sanitation, derived from hospital clinics. Their furniture was designed for easy cleaning in order to minimize the risk of infection. Not only hygienic precautions, but also the practical organization of the nurseries and kindergartens were intended to form the children. Furniture built to a child's scale was meant to make children active and resourceful. Children were to learn how to organize their own playthings on child-sized shelves and bookcases. Moreover, they were to learn how to wash themselves at washbasins built to their height.

Furniture and Play

The purpose of playing has been perceived differently through the ages. It may be considered, for example, to have social value or to help in motor development or to be of value in its own right. Research on children and the design of children's playthings and furniture between 1930 and 1960 shows that they were intended to prepare the child for the grown-up world and the working sphere. Therefore constructive playthings and junction furniture were popular and supported by the dominant psychologists and pedagogues.

Scandinavian furniture designers between 1930 and 1960 followed the lead of NURSERY SCHOOLS, socially engaged designers, and experts in child rearing regarding the child's need to play. It was generally accepted that children liked to

use furniture in their PLAY. The first educated furniture designers in Scandinavia began to make children's furniture when they had children themselves and they began to attach importance to the idea that children should be able to use their furniture for more than just sitting in (e.g., to stimulate their imagination or to use as play equipment). Previously, children's furniture for nurseries and kindergartens had been made by constructing architects and consequently was designed from a technical point of view, resulting in adult furniture scaled down to a child's size.

The youth revolution in 1968 and the changing views of authority changed pedagogy and the dominant perception of the child's world, moving both in an anti-authoritarian direction. These changing values were reflected in children's furniture, which now was designed for play and relaxed behavior.

Conclusion

Although children's furniture in the private home has a long history, children's furniture in the public sphere is a more recent phenomenon. On the other hand, all furniture originally made for the private home was made for the upper classes. It was not until the twentieth century that mass production allowed children's furniture—like TOYS—to be made for the middle classes. At the same time children and childhood came to be taken more seriously than they had been previously, creating a greater focus on and demand for children's furniture and toys.

Today the difference between the public and private sphere has been minimized since most children attend nurseries and kindergartens, encountering the same kinds of furniture there as they do at home. Contemporary furniture designers do not care whether children's furniture is used in nurseries, kindergartens, or private homes. It is primarily the spirit of the time that determines the understanding of the form, function, and creation of children's furniture.

See also: **Children's Spaces; School Buildings and Architecture.**

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KIRSTEN HEGNER

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Geddes, Anne

Anne Geddes has been called the most celebrated baby photographer in the world. Her style is instantly recognizable, and Geddes's images enjoy great popularity and unparalleled brand name status. Photographs by Geddes appear on posters, postcards, stationary, personal checks, bookmarks, jigsaw puzzles, and stickers. Geddes's greatest fame, however, has come from calendars and coffee-table books of her work. In 1997 Geddes's *A Collection of Images* was the number-one selling calendar in the United States. There are estimated to be more than 7.5 million Anne Geddes calendars and date books in print. Her book of photographs *Down in the Garden* (1996) sold more than 1.5 million copies, and reached number three on the *New York Times* best-seller list. As of 2002 over 15 million Anne Geddes titles had been sold worldwide.

Geddes's photographs are highly crafted and carefully staged. Most are taken indoors, in a studio setting, employing elaborate costumes and props. The images rely on jokes and puns, which are created by putting children in strange or anomalous situations. Geddes's most famous images blur the boundaries between the child modeling for the shot and the natural world around it. For instance, in *Sweet Peas* (1995), several newborn babies lie sleeping, each dressed in an individual cloth pea pod. Her work creates the illusion that children are adorable, passive objects, protected from real-world concerns, who exist solely for the delectation of adult viewers. Geddes often works with newborns less than four weeks old, or with premature babies, to ensure that the child will lay still for the duration of the shot. The sheer difficulty of photographing such young children is part of what makes Geddes's photographs so attention-grabbing.

Geddes's popularity is also due in large part to the fact that, in her calendars and books, she presents children as simultaneously innocent and sensual. One of her most famous photographs shows two children emerging from giant cabbages, a coy reference to the myth that babies come from the

cabbage patch. Geddes's own favorite photograph, entitled *Cheesecake*, is of a nude baby, its genitals covered, lying on a bed of roses, grinning. The image makes a joke of the idea of children as sexual, while at the same time indulging the representation of baby flesh. Recently, Geddes's work has begun to change. She is focusing less on props and has begun to include more black and white photographs in her calendars and books.

Geddes was born and raised in Queensland, Australia, and is a self-trained photographer. She now lives and works in Auckland, Australia.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Photographs of Children.**

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A. CASSANDRA ALBINSON

Gendering

"It's a Boy!" "It's a Girl!" Birth announcements with these headlines commonly appear in North American newspapers. Birth and adoption announcements sent through the mail to family and friends frequently signal the sex of the child by their use of the traditional colors—pink for a girl and blue for a boy—so that recipients know the sex even before they read the baby's name. Indeed, most of us would find it unsettling if the announcing parents did not inform us of the newborn or newly adopted child's sex. The importance we place



Jean Renoir Sewing (c. 1899), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (French 1841–1919). Twenty-first-century viewers might find it hard to identify the long-haired, beribboned child depicted here sewing as a boy, yet long hair and petticoats were common for young children of both sexes until the early twentieth century. (Oil on canvas, 55.9 x 46.6 cm, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Ryerson Collection, Art Institute of Chicago).

on the sex assigned to a newborn baby indicates just how significant this differentiating category remains in our culture. Many would argue that gender is the most fundamental of the multitude of categories employed in all cultures in all historical periods to divide individuals into distinct groups. To a greater or lesser degree our sex assignment at birth shapes our prospects in life and determines how we and others see ourselves.

Even today, most people in North America and around the world accept the validity and the stability of gender difference without questioning it, simply seeing it as “natural.” Indeed most parents and others who participate in shaping a child’s identity do not consciously reflect on their contribution to what sociologists and psychologists call socialization. “Boys will be boys,” or “girls will be girls,” people say, when boys hoot and holler and shoot at each other with toy guns, or when girls sit quietly playing with dolls. On the other hand, as researchers have pointed out, when girls engage in rough, noisy activities or boys play quietly with stuffed animals, the same people will either not notice such violations of gender stereotypes, or explain them away as exceptions to a general rule.

However, while its impact even in North America has been limited, there has been a revolutionary change in scholarly thinking about the differences between men and women, and about the role that child-rearing practices play in producing those differences. This profound change came about because of the rise of feminism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During the “second wave” of the women’s movement in the 1960s, feminism, especially in North America, emerged as a strong political force and, for the first time, had a significant influence on scholarly investigation in history and the social and biological sciences. The decade of the 1970s represents a high point, as the creative energy of feminist scholarship called into sharp question complacent notions about the immutability as well as the utility of our culture’s gender roles. These new scholars, along with feminist and gay and lesbian political activists, articulated the insight that masculinity and femininity (like race or class or ethnic identity) are shaped primarily by culture, rather than biology.

With these new directions, new concepts emerged. The use of the word *gender* as a category of analysis was a key development. The term is now used in scholarly literature to point to the contrast between biological sex and learned behavior. “Gendering,” the title of this entry, asks us to notice that newborns identified as female or male do not on their own develop into feminine and masculine adults: gendering is a major task of socialization which begins at the moment of birth. Parents, extended family, and caregivers all contribute to providing the cues that encourage the baby to adopt feminine or masculine patterns, and so also does the wider culture, which includes television, motion pictures, children’s stories, toys, and clothing, and institutions like government, religion, and schooling.

Definitions of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior vary cross-culturally and over time. However, most cultures, to a greater or lesser degree, have favored males, who have throughout much of human history had more power and prestige than women. Historically, male power and dominance has affected the treatment of children. In ancient Greece, notably in Athens, unwanted infants were often left to die, and a large majority of such exposed infants were female. A Victorian Englishman could write explicitly and without guilt about his deep disappointment that his first child was not a boy. In rural China in the 1980s, a grandfather would refer to the birth of a boy as a “big happiness,” whereas the birth of a girl was only a “small happiness.” In cultures past and present, when there is a shortage of food, girls and women get less to eat than boys and men.

In all cultures, children adapt to or attempt to resist the gender roles appropriate to their culture by learning through example. Through explicit as well as unspoken messages, girls are encouraged to model themselves on their mothers and other women they know or encounter in stories, school-

books, and television programs. Boys are encouraged to model themselves on their fathers and other male figures. In cultures where dominant beliefs unequivocally define women as wives and mothers and restrict them to nurturing roles and narrowly defined definitions of appropriate work, the lessons a child learns will be explicit. Middle- and upper-class Victorian girls, for example, were given dolls and encouraged to mother them, and moreover they were taught to sew dolls' clothing, thus learning to "use their needle," a skill then thought to be essential to womanliness. They were, however, rarely allowed to study Latin or Greek, subjects that marked the educated man. In many Muslim cultures today, children are taught traditional gender roles in family and in school. In all settings, including those parts of the twenty-first century world where ideologies about gender are changing and gender roles themselves are more flexible, it is still the case that women nurture more and men less, and men are more visible in public roles and exercise more public power. Boys and girls alike do not fail to notice these differences.

Many people, including some who do scholarly work on gender, maintain that such inequality is justified because males are "naturally" smarter, more assertive, more creative, and physically stronger than women, whereas women are "naturally" more gentle, submissive, and nurturing. As two generations of gender historians have demonstrated, the supposed naturalness of gender difference has been used as a justification for continuing male privilege and male dominance throughout human history. For much of this history, religious beliefs have served as the primary justification for gender inequality, whereas legal codes have served as the primary enforcer.

Science, however defined, has also played a role. In the ancient world, men like the philosopher Aristotle or the physician Galen articulated theories about male superiority and female inferiority based on their understanding of human biology. Galen for example believed that women were less perfect than men because they were colder. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in many parts of the world, religion and law have continued to buttress gender inequality. However, especially in Europe and North America, serious discourse about sex and gender has come to be associated with science. On the one side are researchers like behavioral psychologist Doreen Kimura, whose *Sex and Cognition* sets out to prove that there are significant differences in cognition between men and women, and that these differences are based in biology. On the other side are researchers like geneticist Richard Lewontin, whose work emphasizes biological and genetic diversity. Lewontin points out the one-dimensional thinking of those on the "nature" side of the debate who fail to take account of the complex relationship between biology and nurture when they assert that gender, race, and class differences rest fundamentally on biology.

The contemporary "nurture versus nature" debate is about politics as well as science, with those on the nurture side tending, like Lewontin, to support social policies designed to rectify inequalities, whereas researchers like Kimura tend to be politically conservative. Researchers who look for biological differences in temperament between the sexes do find some evidence of them, though any differences that have been found are small, and even diehard supporters of "nature" accept that "nurture" or culture can have a significant influence.

For this reason, we can assert that biology, while it may play a role, is not destiny. If it were, we would not see the great variation in the way in which seemingly universal gender norms manifest themselves. For example, many cultures believe that sexual appetites differ in males and females, but the definition of such difference varies. In medieval and early modern Europe women were thought to be more highly sexed than men but by the late nineteenth century people assumed that men had ungovernable passions and that women were passionless. In sixteenth-century England, men with money dressed to show off their bodies, wearing as much lace and embroidery as they could afford and sporting hose that displayed the shape of their legs. By the nineteenth century, ornamented or revealing dress for men was considered to be unmanly. A particularly telling example of varying patterns of gendering in childhood has to do with dress and appearance. Today, few North American parents, even those who support flexibility in gender roles, would dress a boy in a frilly pinafore or give a girl a boy's haircut. Yet in Europe and North America right up until the twentieth century babies and small children were dressed alike: both were put in petticoats and both had long hair. It was only when a boy reached the age of six or seven that he was put into britches (breeched), the ritual signifying that he was from then on to assume masculine gender roles.

Comparative work done on twentieth-century Japan and the United States reveals contrasting points of view about certain traits that are independent of gender and reinforces the importance of socialization, rather than biology, in shaping masculine and feminine behavior. In Japan, cooperation and acceptance of dependence on others (a trait that many North Americans would associate with femininity) is valued in both males and females, and the Japanese socialize their children accordingly, even though Japanese culture remains more committed to traditional gender differences than American culture and remains more male dominated. In contrast, in the United States since the founding of the Republic, individualism and autonomy have been valued and these traits have been fostered in both sexes, although more explicitly and extensively in boys.

In conclusion then, a culture's ideology about gender and its assignment of authority, responsibility, and privilege to men or women determines the way in which babies and chil-

dren learn about gender. Cultures that remain unequivocally patriarchal foster sharp gender divisions, whereas more egalitarian cultures offer greater role flexibility for both males and females. Those who support genuine equality of opportunity should not however be complacent about what has been achieved in more “advanced” secular cultures. Even in early twenty-first century North America and Europe, where feminism has brought about meaningful changes for the better in women’s legal status, it is still the case that most child care and early childhood socialization remains the responsibility of women, be they mothers, caregivers, or teachers. On the other hand, most powerful leaders in government or the work world are men. Some people believe that only when parents nurture equally will we achieve gender equality. Only then will assertiveness in girls and gentleness in boys be valued in our culture, and only then will men and women share power and authority equally in public and in personal life.

In addition to offering comparative work on the definitions of gender, and on changes in these concepts, historians have undertaken research on categories of children who are less clearly gendered or are deliberately cross-gendered. Sometimes these arrangements are designed to provide certain kinds of workers in an otherwise gendered labor system. Finally, historians work on changes in the importance of gendering in childhood socialization. While twentieth-century emphasis on gender remains stronger than many adults realize, it seems less sweeping than was true in the nineteenth century. Less emphasis is placed on separate educational tracks or on separate emotional arsenals. Shifts in the level of significance of gendering is a vital, and not simply contemporary, facet of the history of childhood.

See also: **Boyhood; Breeching; Girlhood.**

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DEBORAH GORHAM

Gesell, Arnold (1880–1961)

Arnold Gesell broke new ground in his use of careful observation of children’s behavior as a method of studying the orderly sequence of neuromotor development. Profoundly influenced by early embryologists who mapped the ontogeny of organ systems during fetal development, Gesell proposed that psychological development followed a similar orderly sequence governed by “lawful growth processes” (Gesell and Amatruda, p. 4). In his detailed studies of a small group of infants and young children, Gesell set out to define the stages of these orderly sequences and the laws governing their progression—what children are like at what point in their lives and how they respond to specific stimuli and test situations at different age levels.

Gesell’s work was part of an emerging interest in defining normative patterns of physical and mental development that began in the mid-1800s with several so-called baby biographers who had chronicled events in their own children’s lives. These personal histories of children’s lives were a rudimentary beginning of a scientific approach to understanding normative patterns in children’s psychological development. At Clark University, G. STANLEY HALL began to establish a database on the normal behavior and development of children as gathered through compilations of parent reports. His student, Arnold Gesell, took the field many steps further by defining observational methods for the quantitative study of human behavioral development from birth through adolescence. He pioneered the use of motion picture cameras and one-way screens to study the details of children’s behavioral responses to specific situations and test materials, and his observations on the growth of behavioral organization provide maps of the stages of neuromotor maturation which researchers and clinicians studying infancy have relied upon ever since.

Gesell was born in 1880. He was among the first generation of American-born children born to German immigrants

who had settled in Alma, Wisconsin. After receiving his bachelor's degree in 1906 from the University of Wisconsin, he obtained his Ph.D. in psychology from Clark University. Gesell accepted an assistant professorship at Yale in 1911. In his first years at Yale, he also worked toward his M.D., which he earned in 1915. Soon after his arrival at Yale, Gesell set up a "psycho-clinic" at the New Haven Dispensary, later known as the Clinic of Child Development, which he directed as Professor of Child Hygiene at Yale from 1930 to 1948. Gesell's clinic was the forerunner of the Child Study Center at the Yale School of Medicine.

Gesell's initial work focused on developmentally disabled children, but he believed that it was necessary to understand normal infant and child development in order to understand abnormality. He began his normative studies with infants and preschool children and later extended his work to children of five to ten and ten to sixteen. Gesell was one of the first to describe expectable maturational sequences in various domains of neuromotor development from early infancy through school age. He believed that, just as the body developed in genetically encoded, sequenced patterns, so behavioral patterns emerged in sequences reflective of differentiation in the central nervous system. In his own words:

A behavior pattern is simply a defined response of the neuro-motor systems to a specific situation. . . . A young baby follows a dangled object with his eyes; eye following is a behavior pattern. . . . Behavior patterns are not whimsical or accidental by-products. They are the authentic end-products of a total developmental process which works with orderly sequence. . . . These patterns are symptoms. They are indicators of the maturity of the nervous system. (Gesell and Amatruda, p. 4)

He gave primacy to maturational processes and to endowment, a primary emphasis that has generated criticism from contemporary developmentalists. But he also believed that experience and environment played a major role in determining the rate of maturational change, and he (and all psychologists since) defined experience, the developmental environment, as beginning at conception.

Through his accumulated observations of the maturational sequences of various behaviors (detailed in *An Atlas of Infant Behavior* and *The Embryology of Behavior*), he created the Gesell Development Schedules, which are applicable for children between four weeks and six years of age. The instrument measures responses to test materials and situations both qualitatively and quantitatively. Areas assessed include motor and language development, adaptive behavior, and personal-social behavior; the child's performance is expressed as developmental age, which is then converted into a developmental quotient, representing the proportion of normative abilities for that individual child at his or her age. Gesell's work made it possible to apply standards for many

aspects of development against which children may be compared to indicate how normally they are growing.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Gesell was regarded as a leading authority on child rearing and development, and his developmental schedules were widely used as a standard method for assessing children's developmental progress. He and his colleague, Francis L. Ilg, coauthored several books that are widely read by parents, including *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* (1943), *The Child from Five to Ten* (1946), and *Youth: The Years from Ten to Sixteen* (1956), in which he applied his basic research and gave norms for behavior at successive stages of development. Although his original data were derived from what has been criticized as a small, unrepresentative sample, his efforts were nonetheless the first to base descriptions of children's normative development on systematically gathered, direct observations. Gesell's description of the invariant sequences of development, the growth principles, and the variability of rates of development are milestones in the history of developmental psychology.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Child-Rearing Advice Literature.**

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LINDA C. MAYES

Girlhood

During the early modern period in Europe and the colonial period in America it was believed that children did not acquire sexual traits before the age of six; hence, young boys and girls were dressed almost identically, and little attention was paid to differences between them. Girlhood—as a distinctive or privileged experience—was not as important as the larger notion of childhood that encompassed it. After the age of six, girls were trained in women's household occupations and their daily life began to revolve around their mothers and sisters (while boys spent more time with their fathers). In this manner the end of childhood and the beginning of womanhood happened early and fairly seamlessly in colonial society. Filial obedience was perhaps the dominant ideal for both girls and boys in America during this period: moral and religious training, basic education, and social life were organized around the Judeo-Christian Fifth Commandment, "Obey thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land."

In the late colonial and antebellum agrarian South in the United States, expectations for girls differed based on race and class. Daughters of the plantation elite were schooled in the ornamental feminine arts—needlepoint, drawing, danc-

ing, and French. Because girls were largely considered to be ladies-in-training, a certain delicacy of manner was encouraged. Enslaved girls, meanwhile, were not ascribed any of the attributes of their white mistresses. Expected to work in the fields alongside adult men and women, they were accorded no special privileges until they became pregnant, at which point their owners had a vested interest in protecting their health. In fact, when black girls claimed for themselves aspects of femininity that applied to white girls—particularly sexual innocence or ill health during their menstrual cycle—they were accused of “playing the lady.” Similarly, in the industrializing Northeast as well as in urban centers in the South, native white and immigrant working-class girls toiled in factories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Over 18 percent of all children between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in factory work in 1890. Hence, many girls had to assume adult responsibilities and work alongside boys. Girls of the middle and upper classes, by contrast, led lives full of social experiences with other girls and older women—classmates, female teachers, their mothers, and other female relatives. Some went to all-female boarding schools, and they often formed extremely close bonds of FRIENDSHIP that lasted through adulthood.

It was among middle- and upper-class girls in cities along the Atlantic seaboard during the mid-nineteenth century

that the idea and experience of girlhood emerged in its modern form. As small-scale manufacturing declined, and as Irish immigration in particular brought more women and girls to the United States looking for household positions, many middle-class girls no longer needed to work within their own households at all. Consequently, the notion that girlhood was a period of “domestic apprenticeship” all but disappeared. Girls continued to “help” their mothers, but increasingly they were paid an allowance for such work; otherwise, they went to school, socialized among their peers, and spent their leisure time any way they wished. Freedom was especially granted to girls younger than the age of twelve. “A wholesome delight in rushing about at full speed, playing at active games, climbing trees, rowing boats, making dirt-pies and the like” was recommended for young girls, and the celebrated figure of the “tomboy” emerged at this time. Because of high rates of LITERACY, older girls often spent their leisure time reading novels or serialized fiction—both adventure and romance—and many kept diaries as well. In their journals they recorded their attempts to achieve that most vaunted of Victorian goals for girls: to be “good.” Being good meant controlling one’s emotions, especially anger, following a disciplined routine, and remaining sexually chaste. Boys were not expected to be as “good” as girls—especially when it came to considering others’ welfare before their own or maintaining a subdued countenance in public.

Due in large part to the efforts of Progressive reformers at the turn of the century, CHILD LABOR among the working classes declined and school attendance more than doubled between 1870 and 1910. Settlement workers built playgrounds and founded CHILD GUIDANCE clinics in cities across the United States, and educators advocated more opportunities for “personal growth” within the school curriculum. Largely because of rising rates of education, girls began spending more time with their peers. Among working-class girls, the growth of commercial amusements—dance halls, movie theaters and amusement parks—created new opportunities for girls to participate in a subculture that was independent of their parents. As a result, a heterosocial YOUTH CULTURE became a defining aspect of the Americanization process, and it contributed to an increasing generation gap between immigrant parents and their American daughters. The growth of this culture did the most to establish the prevailing sensibility about girlhood that exists to this day: that levity, playfulness, and consumerism are the stuff of girlhood through the teenage years. As “young ladies” evolved into “girls,” the designation *girl* was extended to any female who was not married. Young women who worked in the new department stores were called “shop girls,” those who were unmarried were often referred to as “bachelor girls,” and young women who went on dates with men were known as “charity girls.” Calling unattached young adult women in a range of situations “girls” reflected the growth and celebration of the notion of girlhood itself, a time when life was organized



The Boit Children (1882–1883), John Singer Sargent. Sargent's painting hints at something mysterious about girlhood, especially as girls grow into young women—only the youngest children are shown clearly, while their older sisters stand in the shadows. © Francis G. Mayer/CORBIS.

around the search for individual style, dancing, and flirtation—in short, the pursuit of fun.

Over the course of the 1920s, the *FLAPPER*—a term that applied equally to fashionable college-aged and adolescent girls—emerged as a figure of cultural fascination in the United States. Flappers were girls who cultivated a worldly, tough, and somewhat androgynous exterior in an attempt to

rebel against Victorian assumptions about feminine delicacy and “goodness.” Older ideas about girlish innocence remained, however, in such characters as *SHIRLEY TEMPLE* and *Little Orphan Annie*. Both were poor but sweet little girls who charmed the rich through their street smarts, winning ways, and heart-melting vulnerability, moving their patrons to intercede on behalf of the lower social classes. Thus, when older girls began dismantling traditional ideas about girls’

selflessness and purity, society began to look to young (or “little”) girls to embody the traditional notions of female purity and virtue.

Girls have been called the first TEENAGERS because, when the term was popularized in the mid-1940s, the kind of consumerism associated with the teen years—malted milkshakes, record collecting, and quirky fashions—were embraced by girls first. With the introduction of *Seventeen* magazine in 1944, a monthly devoted solely to girls’ fads and fashions, the perception of girlhood as a time of self-centered fun was fully enshrined in American culture. As teenage girls began to have more money in the 1950s—mostly through baby-sitting and increased allowances—they became an important consumer market segment, catered to as never before by advertisers, film makers, and fashion designers. It has been argued that girls’ new purchasing power enhanced their influence in the culture overall; that they became “consumer citizens” of a sort. Others have pointed out, however, that girls themselves were not in control of the images of them that proliferated, and that much of what was sold to teenage girls actually reinforced ideas about their dependence on their fathers for money and the frivolity of their desires.

After World War II, girls were increasingly allowed to date boys without the supervision of parents or chaperones. But girls did not necessarily become alienated from their parents as a result of their newfound sexual and consumer autonomy, as is commonly believed. Indeed, there is ample evidence that relationships between girls and their parents actually took on heightened social meaning and renewed cultural emphasis in the 1950s and 1960s. During the post-war period, psychologists and sociologists began to study how parents acted as “sex role models” for their daughters, and how adult femininity developed out of childhood Oedipal experiences. The discovery of the psychological depth and developmental importance of girls’ relationships with their parents contributed to new forms of familial intimacy and parent-child bonding.

As the SEXUALITY of teenage girls gained a certain amount of acceptance, social commentators and child experts began to worry more about younger girls. The age of the arrival of MENARCHE (the first menstrual period) had been declining since the mid-nineteenth century, with the average age dropping from just over the age of fifteen in 1850 to the age of thirteen by the early twentieth century. The seeming precocity of girls, and thus the potential erotic appeal of young girls to adult men, became a cultural preoccupation in the 1950s with the publication of Russian-born American author Vladimir Nabokov’s famous novel *LOLITA* (1956) and American author Grace Metalious’ blockbuster best-seller about the sexual escapades of youth, *Peyton Place* (1957).

The feminist movement of the late 1960s and 1970s shifted attention from the consumerism and sexuality of girls to

their inner lives, personal struggles, and educational needs. When Congress passed TITLE IX of the Higher Education Act in 1972, girls could compete in a range of SPORTS formerly reserved for boys. The Ms. Foundation’s national “Take Our Daughters to Work Day,” also established in 1972, focused public attention on girls’ professional aspirations. Furthermore, the feminist scholar Carol Gilligan, in her groundbreaking book *In a Different Voice* (1982), provoked unprecedented debate about whether girls develop moral values and emotional strengths differently from boys.

Nonetheless, the problem of sexuality continues to dominate contemporary thinking about girls—of all races and classes—at the turn of the twenty-first century. Scholars, social commentators, and fiction writers have focused such topics as: sexual desire during adolescence; girls’ sexual vulnerability; the threat of teen pregnancy; speculation about whether girls lie about sexual abuse; the ways in which girls are socially defined by their peers as “sluts” or “bad girls”; the suggestiveness of current teen and pre-teen fashions; and the extent to which girls are developing at earlier ages. The unrelenting cultural focus on girls’ sexuality, though some of it may be well intended, has contributed to a perception that girls are defined above all by their sexual identities. Moreover, it is worth pondering whether the scale of fascination with girls in the recent past, particularly on the part of advertisers and the media, has been entirely to their benefit. It is indisputable, however, that over the course of the twentieth century, girlhood has become one of the most studied, privileged, and treasured—if not always genuinely protected—cultural experiences.

See also: **Baby-Sitters; Bobby Soxers; Boyhood; Dating; Gendering; Victory Girls.**

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RACHEL DEVLIN

Girl Scouts

Girl Scouts of the USA, the largest voluntary organization for girls in America, is the only major group largely run by women ever since its inception. In 2003, there were 3.8 million Girl Scouts; more than fifty million women and girls have belonged to the organization since its founding on March 12, 1912. Furthermore, the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGS), formed in 1921, comprises an international sisterhood of more than 8.5 million members in 144 countries.

Juliette Gordon Low brought Girl Scouting to her hometown of Savannah, Georgia, with a troop of just eighteen girls. She envisioned, however, that Girl Scouting would eventually be "for all the girls of America." Although Low was completely untrained in girls' work and in organizing a national movement, her wide social network helped the group grow steadily. Initially called Girl Guides as their counterparts were in England (a similar group started by Lord ROBERT BADEN-POWELL and his sister, Agnes Baden-Powell), by 1913 they changed their name to Girl Scouts. The new name was to be analogous to BOY SCOUTS, which had begun in America in 1908.

From the outset, Girl Scouts offered a program that combined traditional domestic roles with practical feminism that enlarged girls' worlds and heralded a new day for women. For instance, while the Girl Scouts awarded badges for domestic activities such as cooking, laundering, and child care, they also taught girls a wide array of nontraditional skills, such as flying, semaphoring, and camping.

Although the Girl Scouts saw themselves and the Boy Scouts as allies, there were sometimes disagreements. For

example, one of the Boy Scouts' executive directors, James West, abhorred the name Girl Scouts. Believing it detracted from his boys' masculinity, West fought for years to have the Girl Scouts merge with the Camp Fire Girls (a name he believed to be far more feminine) to become a unified organization called Camp Fire Girl Guides. His rationale was that a "girl is to guide and a boy is to scout." While the Girl Scouts opened new gender roles for girls, the Boy Scouts reinforced traditional male roles. Furthermore, the Boy Scouts remain more socially conservative, as evidenced by their leadership's continuing reluctance to extend membership to homosexuals, in contrast to the Girl Scouts' philosophy of "welcoming diversity."

As the founder of the Girl Scouts, Low correctly intuited what activities girls would enjoy. She envisioned an organization that would combine play, work, and healthy values to shape girls into active, modern women. The group participated in outdoor activities, camping, and sports, attracting girls and women with leadership qualities. Training offered by the Girl Scouts involved adult women from the beginning and was held in communities as well as on college campuses. Many women were drawn to the organization because it opened up opportunities for both volunteer and paid work. By the 1970s, the Girl Scouts was the largest employer of women in management positions in America.

As the organization grew, it employed paid professional staff. By 1920, the Girl Scouts began a publication department, printing program materials such as *The Leader*, a magazine for adult leaders, and *The Rally*, which quickly became *The American Girl*, for many years the largest magazine for teenage girls in America. Over time, the Girl Scout Handbooks and program changed, responding to world events and contemporary ideas about girl development.

The Girl Scout Promise and Law stayed constant, however; these statements formed the basis for the organization's moral training, urging girls to try their best to be helpful to all, to revere God, and to become active citizens and leaders. The philosophy "A Girl Scout is a Sister to every other Scout" often helped girls stretch their normal boundaries. The sisterhood promoted participation by girls with disabilities, which began as early as 1913. Some Girl Scout troops challenged racial divisions in their communities, although troops throughout the South were segregated until the 1960s.

During World War I, Girl Scouts witnessed its first growth surge, with girls responding patriotically to the war effort. Raising money by selling war bonds and rolling bandages led these girls into public work they had never done before. Some Girl Scout troops began selling home-baked cookies to raise money for the war. By the 1920s Girl Scout cookie sales had become a successful trademark fundraiser, with girls selling boxes of commercially baked cookies to defer their costs.

In response to the Depression during the 1930s and the subsequent need for opportunities for youth, Girl Scouts expanded its programs to include girls beyond the middle class. Outreach to Dust Bowl migrants, Native Americans on reservations, and inner-city girls marked the decade and accounted for some membership growth. During World War II, thousands of girls joined Scouting, again responding to the war effort. By 1945, membership stood at over one million girls.

Throughout the 1950s the organization continued to grow, but it focused more on traditional domestic skills than it had previously. Even so, Girl Scouting provided one of the few outlets for girls who wanted to participate in outdoor experiences and nontraditional activities. The organization also greatly expanded its outreach to its sister Girl Guides in countries overseas. This internationalism, inherent in Girl Scouting since its inception, inspired the Veterans of Foreign Wars to accuse the U.S. Girl Scouts of promoting communist sympathies. This patently absurd accusation led many Americans to question the virulent anticommunism of the period.

Like other youth organizations during the 1960s, the Girl Scouts began to lose members and see its relevance questioned. Racial issues, the countercultural youth movement, the Vietnam War, and the new feminist movement all challenged the organization to change and become more "modern." Although the organization moved to adapt its program and be more inclusive, African-American Girl Scouts called for fundamental changes and reform, which the organization struggled to accomplish with mixed success.

In the early 1970s, seeking to reverse the universal membership decline in youth organizations, the Camp Fire Girls, by now much smaller than the Girl Scouts, decided to add boys and rename itself Camp Fire. Boy Scouts voted to include girls in their high-school-aged Explorer Scouts. The Girl Scouts, however, declared themselves a "feminist organization," endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment in its first political stand ever, and voted to remain single-sex. By the 1980s, the Girl Scouts' membership resumed its growth.

In the twenty-first century, the Girl Scouts persists as a strong organization. Still run primarily by women, it continues to be innovative and responsive to national issues. For example, the "troops in prisons" program was initiated so that incarcerated mothers can participate with their daughters weekly in Scouting activities. Although it has evolved from the organization Low founded, the Girl Scouts remains imbedded in the fundamentals she espoused: teaching girls to play, work, and live by moral values.

See also: **Girlhood; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups.**

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MARY LOGAN ROTHSCHILD

Girls' Schools

Although girls' schools existed well before the early modern period, in Europe and North America their development and diversification date back to the late eighteenth century. This development was in large part inspired by ENLIGHTENMENT debates about the importance of reason and education, which concerned both men and women. From the outset, girls' schools were almost always strictly divided along social lines—a feature that continued well into the twentieth century; working-class and peasant girls attended primary schools, where they received lessons in the rudiments, while middle-class and aristocratic girls received what was considered secondary education in the company of their peers. In both sorts of schools, lessons tended to emphasize women's distinct role in society, thereby contributing to maintaining them in positions of inferiority.

The expansion of girls' schooling over the past two hundred years, however, has brought a number of changes: first, the growth of primary schools for girls stimulated female LITERACY and opened professional opportunities for women as teachers. Thus the feminization of teaching and the spread of girls' schools went hand in hand. Second, girls' secondary schools, often under the impetus of a feminist movement, gradually aligned themselves with male standards of

excellence, preparing girls for the same exams and offering opportunities to pursue higher education. By the 1980s, the distinction between girls' and boys' schools had mostly disappeared, as coeducation had become the norm throughout the Western world. The virtual disappearance of girls' schools (except in the Catholic school system) has not eliminated the impact of gendered differences in education; instead these differences have become part of what is often referred to as a hidden curriculum, where teachers unconsciously encourage the gendered patterns of behavior and learning which were openly encouraged in the girls' schools of previous centuries.

The Spread of Girls' Schools (1750–1850)

A number of intellectuals strongly supported the expansion of girls' education in the late eighteenth century. In France, for example, the revolutionary philosopher the Marquis de Condorcet insisted in 1791 that "Instruction should be the same for women and men" while in Germany the philosopher Theodore von Hippel defended similar ideas. More commonly, the champions of girls' education in this period envisioned the development of separate girls' schools, and most writers focused on middle-class girls and women. In the United States, the republican essayist Judith Sargeant Murray and the physician and politician Benjamin Rush helped forge the concept of Republican Motherhood as they defended more rigorous education for women in order for them to assume their responsibilities in the new nation. In Europe figures such as Hannah More, the English pedagogue, heralded the emergence of a new domesticity within the middle classes, where women, as mothers and wives, were expected to rejuvenate private life but also to moralize public life through the lessons they provided their sons. A wide range of girls' boarding schools and ACADEMIES emerged in the early nineteenth century in order to help women assume these tasks more effectively within the private sphere.

In Europe most middle-class institutions for girls were relatively small, privately run structures where, for a fee, girls were given lessons in a relatively wide range of subjects: literature, history, geography, some natural sciences, foreign languages (but generally not Latin and Greek), and religion, as well as the indispensable female accomplishments (sewing, embroidery, painting, music, etc.). Prior to state involvement, these institutions were run by individual proprietors; by religious orders, particularly in Catholic countries; by trustees; and even at times by parents (which was the case for the Dottreskolen academy for girls in Copenhagen). Their longevity depended a great deal on individual ingenuity and economic resources.

Scholars have long ignored these institutions, considering them evanescent features of the urban social fabric or mere finishing schools; recent historical research, however, emphasizes the diversity of these schools and the ways they

contributed to building a network of girls' institutions. Indeed, a few institutions in both Europe and North America achieved long-lasting fame and recognition and served as models for other schools throughout the Western world. As early as 1686 Madame de Maintenon created a school for noble girls at Saint Cyr, France, while in Saint Petersburg, Russia, beginning in 1764, the Smolny Institute for Noble Girls offered an example of enlightened education for the elite. The Napoleonic creations, the Legion of Honor schools for the daughters of his military officers, were among the most renowned girls' schools in Europe, inspiring similar creations in Germany, Russia, and Italy. Placed under the headship of the well-known educator and pedagogue Jeanne Campan, the first institution at Ecouen introduced a rigorous curriculum for girls that went far beyond the modest academic ambitions of many private finishing schools of the period. In northern Europe influential women educators, such as the Dutch headmistress Anna Barbera Van Meerten-Schilperoort or the German Betty Gleim, opened schools and published books defending girls' education. In the United States, educators such as Emma Hart Willard and Catharine Beecher contributed significantly to improving the quality of girls' education thanks to the examples offered by their renowned institutions: Willard's Troy Female Seminary flourished between 1821 and 1872, while Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary acquired national fame thanks to her indefatigable energy in promoting women's role in teaching and education.

While separation of the sexes almost universally characterized secondary schools, elementary education was often mixed, notably in Protestant countries. In Catholic countries, however, efforts were made to separate the sexes, which often meant that girls' schools simply did not exist. This was not the case in Catholic Belgium or France, however, where separate elementary girls' schools grew apace over the course of the century, less as a result of state involvement than of religious initiatives. The 1850 French Falloux Law required communes with a population of 800 to open a separate school for girls, but even in the public sector religious teachers far outnumbered lay ones: in 1863, 70 percent of the teachers in public elementary schools were nuns. In England, the voluntary system of education led to the emergence of a variety of institutions attended by working-class girls: dame schools, SUNDAY SCHOOLS, Church of England National Schools, and schools founded by Unitarians. While these institutions were not systematically separated by sex, they certainly reinforced gender differences through their focus on religion and sewing for girls. Similarly, in North America the development of an URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM generally integrated girls and boys in the same schools except in private schools that were oriented to the elite.

Catholic teaching orders and Catholic churches provided an important impetus for the spread of girls' primary schools throughout the Western world. This began as early as the

Catholic Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century, when the Ursulines in particular devoted themselves to the education of girls. In Canada in the 1660s, Mère de l'Incarnation ran a boarding school for both French and "savage" girls. Often combining both teaching and nursing services, congregations such as the Daughters of Charity opened schools throughout cities and in rural areas, offering poor girls an education in the basics—reading, writing and arithmetic—in addition to religion. The spread of schools for lower-class girls was not motivated by any concern for promoting greater equality between the sexes. Instead, Sunday schools, day schools, and charity schools were all concerned with offering girls the lessons that would best suit them for their future responsibilities. Thus, the schools promoted minimal literacy while emphasizing religious lessons, since mothers were expected to transmit the first elements of religious faith to their infant children.

Diversification and Professionalization (1850–1900)

By the second half of the nineteenth century the numbers of girls' schools in Europe and North America had considerably expanded. More significantly, however, the rise of a self-consciously feminist women's movement placed girls' education at the forefront of its demands for change. These demands included better teacher training and more rigorous exams for girls and women as part of a concern with improving the professional character of girls' education as well as expanding the range of career opportunities such an education would offer. By the mid-nineteenth century, girls' schools no longer focused so exclusively on forming girls into good wives and mothers. They also envisioned more directly women's participation in the public sphere as workers and "lady" professionals.

A number of remarkable women around mid-century contributed not only to improving private schools for girls but also to the emergence of higher, or secondary, girls' schools. In Great Britain women such as Frances Buss, Dorothea Beale, and Emily Davies, and the Irishwoman Isabelle Tod all campaigned to improve the quality of girls' secondary education, and a number of reformed girls' institutions appeared to answer a broader social demand for a more rigorous education for girls: North London Collegiate School, Cheltenham Ladies' College, and the Ladies Institute of Belfast, as well as a number of "public" schools for girls (Roedean, St Leonards, etc.) modeled on the lines of male PUBLIC SCHOOLS, which were, in fact, private schools. Davies in particular fought to have women gain access to the Cambridge Local Examination on the same basis as boys; these prestigious exams testified to the quality of a pupil's secondary examination and opened doors for a professional future. In 1866, the Frenchwoman Julie-Victoire Daubié published an analysis, which was widely commented upon, *La Femme Pauvre*, emphasizing the need to improve girls' education at all levels. In Germany in 1890, the moderate feminist Helene Lange founded a Women's Teachers' Asso-

ciation and helped establish a *Realkurse* for women. This was a two-year program in mathematics, science, economics, history, modern languages, and Latin. The concern here was to give girls the knowledge necessary for further studies. All these endeavors were largely for upper and middle-class girls.

Trans-Atlantic and intercontinental European travel during this period encouraged the emergence of a common set of goals in the promotion of girls' education, even if the nature of the schools that developed took very different forms. The development of coeducational high schools in the United States as well as the early emergence of WOMEN'S COLLEGES (Vassar opened in 1865, Wellesley and Smith in 1875) attracted considerable attention among foreign pedagogues, even if neither model provoked many European imitations in the period prior to 1900; indeed, in Europe very few university-level female institutions ever developed. Instead the most remarkable changes involved the progressive development of secondary schools for girls, particularly within the public sector. In 1880, when the French state finally established public secondary education for girls in *collèges* and LYCÉES, the promoter of the law, Camille Sée, could offer a panoramic sweep of the Western world, noting the presence of serious secondary schools for girls in Russia (the first girls' *gymnasia* appeared in 1858), in Belgium (Isabelle Gatti de Gamond founded a model secondary school in 1864), in Austria (*Mädchenlyzeen* were created after 1870); even in Greece a private institution known as the *Arsakion* offered secondary education as well as teacher training. James Albisetti has argued that the German model of secular secondary girls' schools, which were already widespread in the 1860s, provided the impetus for many of these national developments; immediately after the French law, Italian reformers introduced the first state-run *istituti femmine*. In the United States and Canada, higher girls' schools did not vanish with the spread of coeducation, as Catholic families continued to prefer the single-sex environment of female academies or seminaries, such as those run by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart or the Sisters of Saint Joseph.

The appearance of more academically ambitious institutions for girls also encouraged developments in teacher training and certification throughout Europe and North America, which contributed to the improvement of elementary education for girls. The creation of normal schools (teachers' colleges) for girls accelerated notably in the second half of the nineteenth century, often thanks to the dynamism of religious organizations: in England the first normal school for women was founded by the Anglican National Society in the early 1840s (Whitelands Training College); a Catholic teaching order founded the first French normal school in 1838. Increasingly, however, the state also intervened, providing teacher training for girls throughout Europe: in 1858 in Piedmont, in 1860 in Florence, in 1866 in Belgium and Portugal, in 1869 in the Austro-Hungarian em-

pire, in 1879 in France. The growth in normal schools for women both encouraged and accompanied a tendency throughout the Western world—the feminization of the elementary teaching profession. By 1851 in Quebec, 50 percent of government schoolteachers were women, and the proportion was higher in the United States. This tendency strongly accelerated in the twentieth century.

Transformations in the Twentieth Century

By the end of the nineteenth century, northern European women had largely overcome their educational disadvantage with respect to literacy. (In the United States, male and female literacy rates were nearly equal by 1850 among white men and women). This reflected the emergence of national systems of public education and an increasing recognition that girls as well as boys needed to be literate in an industrializing society. In Mediterranean countries, however, girls' schools were notably few and far between, contributing to high female illiteracy rates in Catholic Italy (54 percent of Italian women were illiterate in 1901); female illiteracy rates were also high in Ireland and Russia.

In 1900 social class continued to determine whether girls pursued only elementary schooling or went on to secondary education, but increasingly intermediate levels of education emerged, some of which catered to girls. In France, higher primary schools for girls multiplied, offering more vocationally oriented education. The emergence of scientific approaches to domestic economy or social work, which were seen as feminine subjects, spurred the creation of either special classes for girls or such institutions as the Dutch School for Social Work in Amsterdam in 1898 and Alice Salomon's German equivalent. KINDERGARTEN teaching, in particular, generated the creation of vocational training institutions, generally influenced by the ideas of FRIEDRICH FROEBEL. Nineteenth-century institutions such as the German, *Hoschschule für das weibliche Geschlecht* or the French *Ecole Pape Carpentier*, spawned numerous imitations in the twentieth century. American workers' organizations also developed a range of innovative educational programs, such as the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, which was supported by trade unions and was aimed at providing working women with training in economics, labor history, and public speaking, along with classes on literature, art, music, and women's health issues.

While girls' schools initially developed to provide girls with the lessons they needed to fill their role as wives and mothers adequately, the impulse toward maintaining separate institutions began to fade as women's work opportunities expanded. The exception to this trend was where strong religious or moral considerations prevailed, most notably in Catholic countries: in Ireland in the early 1980s, over half of all secondary schools in the public and private sectors combined were single-sex. Indeed, by the 1980s in most Western countries girls not only attended schools at the same rate as

boys, they often performed far better academically. Nonetheless, women's access to the same educational opportunities as available to men has not redressed persistent inequalities in the professions, stimulating in part the current debates in many countries—especially in Germany, the United States, and Ireland, and France—about the need to return to single-sex schooling in order to give girls confidence in areas such as the sciences, where men continue to dominate.

See also: **Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling; Parochial Schools; Private and Independent Schools.**

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REBECCA ROGERS

Girls' Sports. *See* Title IX and Girls' Sports.

Globalization

Globalization refers to the growing interconnectedness in economic, cultural, and political life. The use of the term has increased since the 1980s to reflect the greater ease with which people, products, information, and images move across space and, consequently, the ability of events in one part of the world to more easily affect circumstances in others. Globalization is also linked to the remarkable ascendancy of free-market philosophy and practice worldwide. The nature and extent of these changes is the subject of extensive debate. Central questions surrounding globalization are whether the nation-state can maintain its position as the principal institution of economic and political governance in the face of rapid transnational flows, and the degree to which cultures can remain relatively autonomous.

The Expansion of Global Markets

In uneven but persistent ways, technological developments have tended to reduce the “friction of space” and to link markets in labor, finance, and commodities more closely. Children, as consumers of commodity goods, health-care, and education, and in some cases as producers of commodities, have been acutely affected by what some people term the “shrinking” of the globe.

It is important to note that deepening economic and social integration, captured by the term globalization, is not unprecedented. Mercantilism and the Atlantic slave trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and European colonialism, peaking at the end of the nineteenth, connected vast numbers of people across the globe; by the end of the nineteenth century, for instance, Britain’s territory had been enlarged by a factor of forty through colonial plunder. From the mid-1970s, however, there occurred what David Harvey, in *The Condition of Postmodernity*, describes as a new round of “time–space compression.” Intense economic restructuring signaled the collapse of the post–World War II development model consisting of Keynesian state-intervention and mass-production work methods. Responding to economic crisis, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom in 1979 and President Ronald Reagan in the United States in 1980 began reforms aimed at freeing the power of the market to restore prosperity. Policies emphasized were privatization, cuts to government expenditures, and tax breaks to businesses. At the same time, new forms of communication, especially the personal computer and the Internet, made contact everywhere faster.

In the 1980s some regions in the Third World, under pressure through structural adjustment policies to earn foreign exchange to pay heavy debt, moved from exporting primary commodities, a pattern set by colonialism, towards manufacturing labor-intensive industrial goods for a global production system. Multinationals were central to this process. They became closely linked to globalization not only

through aggressive advertising—promoting global icons such as Nike or Coke—but by relocating labor-intensive industries into the Third World to reduce costs. The other important international institution driving these changes was the World Trade Organization (WTO), which succeeded, with a larger scope, the General Agreement in Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1995. The WTO encouraged international trade by promoting reductions in trade tariffs.

The seemingly inexorable expansion of the market, reinforced by the collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s, made alternatives to capitalism appear increasingly unfeasible. Nevertheless, the perceived negative social effects of deregulation elicited a wave of criticism against globalization at the turn of the century. The 1997 East Asian financial crisis, fueled by massive currency speculation, suggested that markets could create not simply prosperity but great vulnerabilities. Moreover, antiglobalization protests at the 1999 Seattle summit of the World Trade Organization and subsequent international meetings focused further attention on the detrimental social effects of globalization.

Child Labor

The growing volume of industrial production in the Third World gave the issue of child labor a high profile from the 1980s. In contrast to similar concerns in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, child labor was framed primarily as a global and not simply a national problem. Despite the attention given to children working in export industries such as garments and rugs, the International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that most child labor in fact takes place in agriculture, domestic service, and the informal sector. Child workers in export industries probably amount to no more than 5 percent of total child labor, although the trend has been toward an increase in this figure. Another, less reported, link between globalization and child labor is through structural adjustment, which often results in cuts to social expenditure and reductions in formal work opportunities. In these circumstances, children’s earnings can be used to supplement household incomes, particularly when education becomes unaffordable because of increased fees that result from cuts in education budgets.

These broad trends, however, need to be differentiated regionally and by the type of work that children undertake. Massive debt crisis and political instability largely excluded sub-Saharan Africa from investment in industrial production. China, although exporting large quantities of labor-intensive goods, does not have a significant reported history of child labor. In fact, at least half of all child laborers work in southern Asia and Southeast Asia, with a large amount of bonded labor (labor to pay off debts) reported in India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Thailand. Child labor can also encompass child soldiers as well as the survival activities of street children. The term *street children* refers to children whose usual home is the street even if they may still have relatives. Ac-

According to Human Rights Watch, they are frequently subjected to physical abuse by police or criminally charged with offenses such as loitering, vagrancy, or petty theft. In some countries, participation in wars can offer children respect and material benefits. An estimated 300,000 children under the age of eighteen are involved in conflicts worldwide.

A related set of literature suggests that children's bodies have themselves increasingly become global commodities. According to Michelle Kuo, approximately 60 percent of Thailand's tourists visit solely to engage in sexual activities, including those with children. To keep the Thai sex trade "respectable" for international participants, those prostitutes found to be HIV positive are evicted to lower-class brothels, and younger children are recruited from Burma and China to replace them: the younger they are, the less likely they are thought to be infected with HIV. Similarly, Nancy Scheper-Hughes links economic globalism to an expanding trade in body organs, including those from children. Desperately poor individuals in BRAZIL, CHINA, INDIA, and other countries are forced to sell body parts in order to survive. Like sexual services, these organs follow a path from poor to rich, often from the Third World to the First World.

Global Child Standards

Clearly globalization, despite suggesting a process of homogenization, produces highly uneven patterns of development. A countervailing force against growing divergences is the institutionalization of global human rights standards for children. This is evidenced by the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (ratified by all but two countries: Somalia and the United States), and the ILO's 1999 Convention 182 that seeks to end the "worst forms" of child labor, such as debt bondage, the trafficking or sale of children, CHILD PROSTITUTION, or work harmful to the health of children. Efforts to promote CHILDREN'S RIGHTS are also assisted by campaigns that stretch across nations. In 1996, for instance, trade unions and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) launched the "foul-ball" campaign that successfully forced the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) to refuse to endorse soccer balls sewn by children. Particularly in the wake of antiglobalization protests in Seattle, transnational NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have become key sources of information on issues such as child labor and child soldiers. They have been among the quickest organizations to embrace the Internet which, through listservs (forums for quickly exchanging information by e-mail among a large group of people), is used to coordinate global campaigning strategies regardless of the physical location of members. At the touch of a button, global activists can now be in almost continuous contact.

Global Identities

Whereas classic anthropology represented culture as being static and bounded, the framework of cultural globalization

stresses how culture is produced through widening and deepening interconnections. Between 1980 and 1991, the global trade in goods with cultural content—such as printed matter, literature, music, visual arts, cinema, and photography—almost tripled. Worldwide, parents face intense pressure from their children to buy goods with global brand names. Although global icons are, in fact, typically produced in the United States, new global styles such as world music also celebrate cultures from outside of the dominant regions. With dramatic telecommunication advances, images are projected almost instantly around the world, expanding the geography through which childhood is constructed and experienced. In recognizing that identity is formed through more widely stretched interconnections, work on youth has moved away from long-established frameworks of subculture or deviance to show how the local, national, and global are intermeshed to produce children's identities. Icons such as Madonna, Britney Spears, and the Spice Girls, and technologies such as the Internet are the most potent symbols of these processes. Concerned about this globalization of consumption, however, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) are among groups actively engaged in research and interventions that promote more sustainable consumption behavior among youth.

See also: **Child Labor in Developing Countries; Consumer Culture; International Organizations; Juvenile Justice: International; Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues.**

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MARK HUNTER

Godparents

In the early Christian church, BAPTISM was only intended for adults. Their "godparents" were witnesses and vouched for the person's commitment, as expressed by the Latin legal term *sponsor*. As early as the end of the second century, baptism for infants appeared in Christian communities; the practice was believed to chase away the evil spirits present in every newborn baby. At the end of the fourth century, Saint Augustine enforced the rule of child baptism. At the time, parents were their own children's godparents. Between the sixth and eighth centuries, as child baptism became more widespread in Europe, the idea spread that for a child to have a spiritual rebirth, it needed to have new parents. Godparenting by parents was abandoned and even forbidden by the Mayence Council of 819, a law that endures to this day. A spiritual relationship, quite distinct from a blood relationship, is therefore created. The Church gives it a very specific religious goal: to ensure the Christian education of the child.

The metaphor of baptism as a second birth was expressed concretely in the beliefs and customary practices that made up the godparenting ceremony. Godfathers and godmothers were supposed to re-create the child and pass along some of their own personal qualities. Spiritual heredity was passed on in the NAMING of the godchild, in observance of prescribed customs or prohibitions, and through the giving of ritual gifts. These might include coins, medals, or crosses, cups, or silverware, first shoes, and first underwear for boys or earrings for girls. It was the duty of the godparents to help their godchildren become accomplished men and women until the child's marriage, which marked the end and the crowning of their ritual role. This relationship was considered sacred and

was exhibited in the respect the godchild showed the godparents. The godchild's obligations reflected those of the godparents, and they were considered to be linked into the afterlife. Through baptism, the godparent opened eternal life to the godchild, and in return the godchild found favor and approbation for the godparent's soul in heaven.

The sharing of a child's double-birth created ties of co-parenthood between parents and godparents, the Christian form of ritual fraternities. This friendship was considered sacred, "to the life, to the death," with obligations of solidarity. Parents and godparents called each other "co-mother" and "co-father," addressed each other formally with mutual respect, and were forbidden to have sexual contact with one another, at the risk of committing INCEST. Such sexual prohibitions transformed the relationship into a spiritual parenting, considered superior to biological parenting. A sexual prohibition concerning a godfather and his goddaughter was enacted by Justinian in 530, and did not disappear in the West until 1983. In 692, the Council of Byzantium extended this restriction to the goddaughter's mother, and this lasted until 1917.

In medieval Europe, godparenting relations therefore created a network of friends, whether the godparent was chosen from the same social circle or among more prominent people (clergymen, nobles, or bourgeois) whose reputations were measured by the number of godchildren they had. In this case, their relationships were similar to those of patronage. Among Joan of Arc's eight godmothers, one was the wife of the mayor of Domremy, another the wife of the court clerk, and one of her four godfathers was town prosecutor with her father. Co-parents among Florentine merchants during the fifteenth century were useful politically, and mostly appeared in groups of two or three. But the record is held by a child who was given twenty-two godfathers and three godmothers in 1445. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) limited the number of spiritual parents to two godfathers and one godmother for boys, and two godmothers and one godfather for girls. It also limited the sexual prohibitions that had proliferated throughout the Middle Ages.

Though the close relationship between godparents and parents endured in southern Europe and South America, where ethnologists have studied it exhaustively, it slowly disappeared in western Europe during the Renaissance. First among the aristocracy, and then in the other social groups, only one godfather and godmother were chosen from the immediate family, one belonging to the father's family and the other to the mother's. In France the custom was that the eldest child should have his or her paternal grandfather as a godfather, and his or her maternal grandmother as a godmother. For the second born it would be the opposite (maternal grandfather, paternal grandmother). For later children, or if one of the grandparents had already died, the parents' brothers and brothers-in-law, then their sisters and

sisters-in-law would be chosen, keeping a balance between maternal and paternal lines. The youngest children's godparents were often their own older siblings. This tying of parental spirituality to biological parenting—characteristic of western Europe—is related, among other things, to an imperative shared by many societies: that of having one's offspring named after their ancestors. Homonymy between godfathers and godsons first appeared in western Europe, in contrast with the Balkans, where godfathers were most often chosen outside the family. There a godfather would not name his godson after himself: the family would choose a first name for the child.

Today, even though practicing Christians are a minority in Europe, close to two-thirds of Christian children are christened in France before the age of two, and the proportions are higher in Spain and Italy. Often without going as far as baptizing the child, parents will designate a godfather and a godmother. A majority of children are thus still given godfathers and godmothers who are expected to stand in for the parents should they die. This commitment, which became widespread in the second half of the nineteenth century, was then and remains now largely unfulfilled, although starting in the eighteenth century, the law stipulated that orphans would be placed with a family member designated by the family. The tradition continues to favor choosing godfathers and godmothers from among close relatives or close friends, always considering the balance between maternal and paternal lines. The choice of a godparent generally creates emotion and gratitude in proportion to the importance ascribed to this symbolic gift of a child. It allows a family to transform a close friend into a relative, and relatives into friends. Often, privileged ties of complicity and affection develop between godparents and their godchildren. In the framework of the varying contemporary family configurations typical of Western societies, godparenting appears as a privileged, choice-based relationship created for the protection of the child. It could not enjoy such vitality in modern secular societies if it did not continue to convey values embedded in more than fifteen centuries of history.

See also: **Catholicism; Parenting.**

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AGNÈS FINE

Grammar School

Grammar schools have their roots in the medieval monastic and cathedral Latin grammar schools of western and central Europe. In preparation for the priesthood, pupils in such schools acquired a facility with the Latin syllables, words, and rules of grammar necessary to lead religious worship. Over time, particularly in Elizabethan England, these schools developed into institutions that educated future leaders of church and state. The curriculum was narrowly classical and humanistic, emphasizing the reading, writing, and speaking of Latin and providing an elementary knowledge of Greek and occasionally Hebrew. This course of study prepared pupils for higher education and stood in contrast to that of petty schools, which provided rudimentary instruction in reading and writing in the vernacular.

Grammar schools were formally introduced in the North American colonies with the founding of the Boston Latin School in 1635. This school accepted pupils, generally beginning at seven or eight years of age, who had previously received instruction in English. Pedagogy consisted of disciplined memorization and recitation and the curriculum was again comprised of Latin and the classics, becoming more precisely defined over the next several decades by the entrance requirements to Harvard College. Graduates usually completed their studies in seven years.

As in England, colonial grammar schools were heavily reliant upon tuition, resulting in a student population drawn primarily from the upper classes. In 1647, however, the General Court of Massachusetts, motivated by the Protestant conviction that all individuals should be able to read the Scriptures, passed the Old Deluder Satan Act, legally requiring towns of one hundred families or more to establish grammar schools. Over the next ten years, all eight towns of this size complied with the Act.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the number of colonial grammar schools increased in response

to similar laws throughout New England. As they did so, however, the character of these schools also changed, typically at the insistence of the communities that supported them. Grammar schools were compelled to expand curricula to remain competitive with newly developing ACADEMIES, which were more utilitarian and offered a vocational program for children of the growing middle class. By 1750, many grammar schools offered courses in arithmetic, geography, history, and even bookkeeping.

During the 1800s, in spite of this broadening curriculum the increasing availability of common or public schooling further limited the appeal of the grammar school. Its name, however, synonymous with elite, college preparatory education, was adopted by public schools as they began a system of age grading, separating younger students from older ones. Primary schools were established for children approximately five to nine years of age, corresponding with grades one through four. Intermediate or grammar schools were developed for students ten to fourteen years of age, corresponding with grades five through eight. By 1900, these two programs were united into a single, eight-year elementary school, also referred to as grammar school, which became the most prevalent type of school in the United States.

See also: **Aristocratic Education in Europe; High School; Gymnasium Schooling; Latin School; Lycée.**

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CHARLES DORN

Grandparents

The historical experience of grandparenthood reflects the influence of a wide range of social and cultural factors. Grandparent-grandchild relationships develop within multiple intersecting contexts. These include demographic variables, social structures and norms, cultural images of the family, gender, class, race, ethnicity, and location. Prior to the middle of the twentieth century, social scientists and historians rarely focused on grandparenthood as a distinct topic, but since the late twentieth century a growing body of empirical research has examined various aspects of the rela-

tionship between grandparents and grandchildren. This work has documented both direct and indirect ways in which grandparents can influence grandchildren positively (e.g., as advocates, advisors, motivators, mentors, and transmitters of ethnic and religious traditions) and negatively (e.g., as purveyors of unsolicited child-rearing advice that may foster intergenerational family conflict). Reciprocal influences from grandchildren to grandparents have also been identified. While most of the research has focused on grandmothers, some work has also concentrated on grandfathers.

No comprehensive historical analysis of the role of grandparents in individual children's lives has been attempted, but research on the history of aging has addressed aspects of grandparenthood in the past. Several studies suggest that grandparenthood in North America changed significantly from the colonial period to the end of the twentieth century. Although they differ with regard to the chronology of the transition, these studies argue that changes in the dominant cultural images and in the material circumstances of aging adults reduced the elderly from a traditional position of authority and esteem to one of obsolescence and dependence, and eventually brought them independence and autonomy. Furthermore, this transformation also altered the emotional condition of the aged, moving the balance between respect and affection in intergenerational relationships toward a new emphasis on LOVE and companionship between parents and children, and thus between grandparents and grandchildren. However, other work has challenged both the idea of a drastic change in attitudes toward old age and the notion that longevity automatically conferred honor and power on the elderly in early America. These conflicting views highlight the complexity of the historical study of old age and of the effort to locate grandparent-grandchild relationships in historical perspective.

Early American Grandparents

Although religious and cultural prescriptions stressed respect for the elderly and emphasized intergenerational familial obligations during the colonial and post-Revolutionary periods, grandparents, particularly grandfathers, exercised economic and social control primarily through their ownership of land in an agricultural society. Even when offspring married and established their own households, as long as they remained dependent on their parents' assets the latter maintained authority in the family. This situation changed if children migrated to another area or became financially independent. Only a small minority of the elderly lived with children and grandchildren; co-residence usually reflected necessity—illness, helplessness, and in the case of women, widowhood—rather than personal preference.

The characteristic Western demographic pattern of high mortality, high fertility, and late age of marriage determined that, unlike their twentieth-century counterparts, few adults in earlier American society experienced grandparenthood as

a stage of life separate from active parenthood. Short life expectancies meant that grandparenthood was a rare experience altogether in seventeenth-century Chesapeake society, although grandparents played an increasingly important role in eighteenth-century Southern families. In contrast, in early New England settlers survived to old age in larger numbers than elsewhere in the colonies. Longer life expectancies and the tendency for women to marry at a younger age than men meant that few survived to experience the maturity and marriage of all their offspring, and it was not unusual for the birth of late children and early grandchildren to occur simultaneously. Demographic records from New England indicate that first- or second-born children were likely to know all of their grandparents in early childhood, and perhaps to have two or three surviving grandparents in adolescence, while their younger siblings experienced fewer opportunities to interact with grandparents. Evidence from wills, probate court records, and other contemporary documents suggests that despite the high mortality and fertility rates of the period, frequent contact and affectionate ties between grandparents and grandchildren in early American families were not unusual. Grandparents regularly left property and money to their grandchildren and often cared for them in childhood. In turn, older grandchildren provided care and assistance to frail grandmothers and grandfathers. Occasional references to grandparental overindulgence in child-rearing literature also suggest relationships characterized by love as well as respect and obligation.

Grandparents, 1830–1920

As a larger proportion of people lived into old age and people married younger and bore children earlier, the possibility that three generations of family members would be alive simultaneously increased, and co-residence became progressively more likely. Thus by 1900 the percentage of trigenerational households had reached its peak in American history. Aging widows comprised the majority of those who resided with children and grandchildren. While the possibility of co-residence grew, concerns about its negative effects also multiplied. Middle-class commentators at the turn of the century and beyond lamented the disruptive consequences of living with aging parents, especially the frequency of intergenerational conflict over grandparental interference in child rearing. At the same time, dislocated parents complained about ungracious treatment and the constraints of living with children and grandchildren. While co-residence undoubtedly created difficulties for some families, such domestic arrangements remained the exception. Even in 1900, 70 percent of Americans who were sixty or older lived either as head of the household or spouse of the head, suggesting that most grandparent-grandchild interactions were not shaped by intergenerational domestic friction. Nevertheless, emerging images of the elderly as nonproductive and superfluous in an increasingly industrially and technically sophisticated society, along with medical interpretations of aging

as a disease, fostered the perception of aging parents and grandparents as a burden to society and to the family.

Despite the proliferation of negative cultural representations of aging individuals during this period, nineteenth-century letters, diaries, and autobiographic recollections document frequent contacts and close, affectionate relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, often, but not exclusively, defined by gender. For example, grandmothers frequently cared for young children in times of stress or illness, and in turn, adult granddaughters provided companionship and help for frail grandmothers. Many nineteenth-century women who recorded their life histories stressed the influence of grandmothers as models. Grandparents of both genders expressed joy at the birth of grandchildren and followed their progress eagerly. Grandfathers as well as grandmothers corresponded frequently with grandchildren of all ages. Letters from young women express love and concern for grandparents, but letters from young men, for example during the Civil War, illustrate closeness between young men and their grandparents as well. As in earlier America, nineteenth-century references to indulgent grandparents are not unusual. Artistic representations of grandmothers, emphasizing their benign qualities, suggest more positive public images as well.

Post-1920 Grandparents

In response to negative representations of the aging and warnings from family experts regarding the threats posed by co-residency, growing numbers of Americans espoused the ideal of autonomous households. While the catastrophic economic impact of the Depression temporarily disrupted the process of achieving this goal, the decline of co-residence represents a major development in the decades after 1920. By the middle of the century, Social Security benefits, private pensions, and growing prosperity among older people made it possible for most grandparents to live independently, a major change in the structure of many households that met widespread implicit approval. This trend was reflected in revised cultural images. No longer portrayed as burdens, the elderly were now depicted as active, busy, autonomous individuals who could and should control their own lives. Prescriptive literature addressed to grandparents explicitly defined their roles as providers of love and companionship. In the context of this new image, indulging and spoiling grandchildren no longer represented inappropriate behavior.

A range of evidence reflects congruence between the revised image of grandparenthood and grandparent-grandchild interactions in the second half of the twentieth century. Empirical studies as well as correspondence by and about grandmothers, grandfathers, and grandchildren illustrate strong intergenerational bonds. Grandparents reported that a sense of emotional distance had characterized their relationships with their own grandparents, while they enjoyed

warm bonds, shared interests, and a sense of relative equality with their grandchildren. They sent loving letters and whimsical drawings to younger children and generous gifts to adolescents and young adults, and they expressed their pleasure in grandparenthood to friends and relatives. Grandchildren wrote grateful thank-you notes, worried about grandparental health, described their own activities, and sometimes testified explicitly to the importance of grandmothers and grandfathers in their lives. Although many contemporary studies emphasize the positive nature of companionate grandparenthood in the second half of the twentieth century, some scholars suggest that the grandparent-grandchild relationships may have lost a valuable component when the balance between sentiment and more instrumental ties changed.

Diversity and Grandparents

Despite evidence of common experiences in the history of grandparent-grandchild relationships, it is important to acknowledge the danger of overgeneralizing. Diversity and heterogeneity have characterized grandparenthood in all historical periods. Although factors like gender, class, race, ethnicity, and location have not been fully analyzed as variables in this context, some examples of their impact can be cited. For instance, shared gender roles fostered special closeness between nineteenth-century grandmothers and granddaughters, while twentieth-century grandmothers developed warmer, more communicative relationships with grandchildren than their male counterparts did. At the turn of the century, co-residence with grandparents was experienced primarily by middle-class children whose families had the resources to support elderly relatives. African-American grandparents, especially grandmothers, have played prominent roles in the lives of their grandchildren from slavery to the present. In contrast to their white counterparts, they have remained deeply involved in the rearing of grandchildren, though not necessarily by choice. While providing a loving companionship, they have consistently assumed more functional responsibilities and more authority in response to the range of problems African-American families have faced over the centuries. Hence, substantial participation in grandchildren's lives became an integral part of African-American intergenerational family culture, and contemporary African-American grandmothers continue to reflect a distinctive, hands-on style in their interactions with grandchildren. Many immigrant families, Italian-Americans in particular, venerated the older generation, especially grandmothers who helped in the home. At the same time, language and cultural barriers could impede the development of close relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. Finally, strong bonds linked the generations in rural families, but this often changed when young people migrated to the city.

Conclusion

The links between changes in the social and cultural context of grandparenthood and in the actual experience of intergen-

erational relationships within families are complex. As with any aspect of family history, direct one-to-one correlations cannot be assumed. The research to date suggests that grandparenthood has changed structurally and emotionally from the preindustrial period to the present. In earlier periods, grandparents were in short supply. Grandparenthood occurred simultaneously with parenthood. Co-residency created family conflict. By the end of the twentieth century, older people enjoyed more leisure time, financial security, and independence than previously. Increased life expectancy meant that many older people lived long enough to experience grandparenthood as a separate stage of life over a lengthy period. Moreover they looked forward to grandparenthood as a goal. Now grandchildren, rather than grandparents, were in short supply as FERTILITY RATES declined. Although geographic distance often separated family members, ease of travel and communication allowed them to keep in touch. It is important to consider how these changes altered the nature of relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. Nevertheless, evidence of explicitly loving and affectionate relationships in earlier periods as well as in the twentieth century cautions against overstating the extent to which grandparent-grandchild interactions have changed over time. Further historical study of individual relationships as recorded in personal documents and other primary sources will be necessary to develop a fuller understanding of the balance between change and continuity in grandparenthood.

See also: **Godparents; Parenting; Siblings.**

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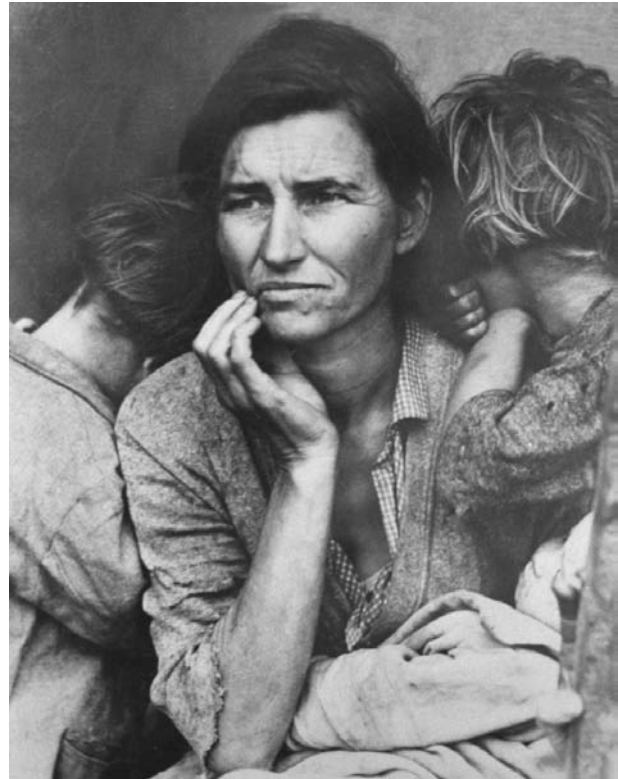
LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG

Great Depression and New Deal

For millions of American children and teens the Great Depression brought years of hardship and heartache. At a time of economic distress and double digit unemployment, when, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt put it in his second inaugural address, "one-third" of the nation was "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," the young bore a disproportionate burden of poverty. The Relief Census of 1933 found that although youths under sixteen years of age represented only 31 percent of the U.S. population they constituted 42 percent of all of the poverty-stricken Americans who became relief recipients.

The human toll that lay beneath these statistics can be gleaned from the thousands of letters that low income youths sent to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt during the Depression. The letters came from despondent children and teens, many of whom wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt asking her for the shoes, clothing, books, and transportation they so badly needed to attend school. This correspondence underscores the fact that initially the economic crisis of the Great Depression was an educational crisis as well. Diminishing tax revenues closed some 20,000 schools in rural America in 1934 and shortened school terms. The letters also tell of inadequate access to medical and dental care, constricted opportunities for recreation, and the psychological burdens the young experienced in homes where adults had been thrown out of work and into poverty. In such homes, as the studies of social scientists Mirra Komarovsky and Glenn H. Elder Jr. confirm, paternal authority often declined as fathers proved unable to play the traditional role of breadwinner, and children, denied elements of a protected childhood, assumed more adult-like roles in family management and support. These conditions led Americans to speak of the "youth crisis" of the 1930s in which material deprivation and limited educational and employment opportunities threatened the future of the younger generation—a crisis symbolized by the falling marriage and birth rates and the soaring youth unemployment rates during the early Depression years.

New Deal liberals, concerned intellectuals, and student activists did much to call public attention to this youth crisis. The New Deal's Farm Security Administration funded such compassionate photographers as Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans whose memorable images documented the plight of impoverished children. Eleanor Roosevelt used her daily newspaper columns and weekly radio addresses to highlight youth issues and urged an expanded federal role in



Dorothea Lange's 1936 photograph of a destitute migrant worker and her children in California has become one of the most enduring images of the Great Depression. According to Lange, at the time this picture was taken, this woman, her husband, and their seven children had been living for days on frozen vegetables and some birds that the children had killed. The Library of Congress.

assisting the Depression's youngest victims. The left-wing student and youth protest movements of the 1930s founded national organizations, such as the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union, championing federal aid to needy students and to education and led the first national youth marches on Washington.

New Deal liberals did far more than talk about the youth crisis; they acted to ameliorate it through a historic expansion of federal aid to youth and education. From 1933 to 1939 New Deal funds assisted 70 percent of all new school construction and prevented thousands of school closings by coming up with emergency funds to pay teachers. In Arkansas, for example, such aid stopped the closing of some 4,000 schools. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) made nursery school accessible to workers for the first time, establishing almost 3,000 free nursery schools in 1933 and 1934. By the end of the Depression the WPA had provided more than a billion free school lunches to needy students. Work study jobs provided by the National Youth Administration (NYA) enabled more than two million low income students to continue their education and funded 2.6 million jobs for

out-of-school youths, while the Civilian Conservation Corps also provided temporary work relief and training for male teens. Even adult-centered relief agencies indirectly aided youth, as parents funded by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration—though still poor—were better able to provide their children with the basic necessities of life.

This New Deal funding helped the United States to bounce back from the educational crisis of the early Depression years. Thanks in part to federal aid to students, high school enrollments rose from 4,399,422 at the opening of the Depression to 6,545,991 by the end of the 1930s. At the college level, NYA funds helped low income students stay in school by providing 12 percent of the college population with work-study jobs. Thus after a decline in enrollments from 1932 through 1934, college enrollment increased during the second half of the 1930s, so that in 1939 enrollment stood at 1.3 million, exceeding the pre-Depression peak of 1.1 million.

Beyond these emergency measures the New Deal enacted youth welfare legislation whose impact would endure far beyond the 1930s. The New Deal launched the AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN (ADC) program as part of the Social Security Act of 1935, which would become the central vehicle by which the welfare state provided aid to needy children. Title V of the Social Security Act established federal aid to the states to expand programs for neglected and abused children. With its passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 the New Deal realized another long-term goal of Progressives, the outlawing of many forms of CHILD LABOR.

While historic in their expansion of the federal role in promoting child welfare, the ADC and the child labor ban had problems in both design and implementation which delayed and in some cases blocked their assistance to children. Traditions of localism and states' rights combined with budgetary constraints to delay the participation of southern states in the ADC, so that states such as Mississippi and Kentucky did not join in this child aid program until the 1940s. And southern states tended to apply standards in a racially discriminatory manner, denying aid to mothers of dependent children (especially in black families) when they deemed them "morally deficient." The child labor ban did not apply to some of the most exploitative fields where the young worked, including agriculture and the street trades.

The liberal reformist ethos of the 1930s affected child rearing and educational discourse. In *Babies Are Human Beings: An Interpretation* (1938), a popular child-rearing book by C. Andrews Aldrich and Mary M. Aldrich, parents were urged to heed the emotional needs of their children, to display affection towards them and provide them with security in a changing world. This was a warmer and more child-centered approach than the behaviorist parenting guides that had proven so influential in the 1920s. Child-centered peda-

gogy also made some headway, as is evidenced by the fact that the Progressive Education Association (PEA)—the leading national organization devoted to promoting JOHN DEWEY's educational vision—reached its zenith in terms of both membership and influence during the 1930s. With capitalism faltering, some educators leaned left, following George S. Counts and the "Social Frontiers" thinkers, advocating social reconstructionism: that the educational system should be used to help build a new social system, freed of the inequities that had afflicted the capitalist system.

It seems clear, however, that the progressivism of PEA and the radicalism of the Social Frontiers group had more impact on educational theory than practice. School systems, confronting tight budgets under the leadership of conservative superintendents, tended to cling to traditional modes of teacher-centered pedagogy. The largest study of classroom practice in the 1930s, for example, the Regents Inquiry, which focused on New York, found that most school instruction centered on drill, factual recitation, and textbook memorization, as it had for decades—this despite the fact that New York was the home of John Dewey and the center of progressive education, Teachers College. Historical studies of progressive education by David Tyack and Arthur Zilverman suggest that it was mostly the affluent districts and schools that experimented with student-centered pedagogy during the Depression decade.

Much like Progressive education, New Deal liberalism promised more than it could deliver to the children of Depression America. The NYA, though assisting millions of needy youths, missed many more than it could help because of budget constraints, often operating programs on a racially segregated basis, and did not outlive the Roosevelt administration (though Lyndon Johnson, an NYA official in the 1930s, would revive the NYA-style federal aid in the Great Society youth programs during his presidency in the 1960s). New Deal dollars assisted impoverished students, but failed to reform the localistic school financing system which allowed for vast inequities between rich and poor school districts. Even the New Deal programs that endured beyond the 1930s, the ADC and child labor ban, though historic steps towards a more humane society, were too limited in scope and funding to protect all American children from the ravages of poverty and child labor. The ambiguity of this record on youth is reflected in the letters that low income children and teens sent to Mrs. Roosevelt in the 1930s, since they show that the New Deal's war on poverty evoked love and loyalty from these needy youths, but also disappointment that the new federal programs failed to meet their personal material needs or to advance their educational opportunities.

Reflecting its emergence in a time of crisis, Depression America's YOUTH CULTURE was more divided than youth culture had been in relatively placid eras. On the one hand,

the values of CONSUMER CULTURE and the marketplace, which tended to set the tone of youth culture in more prosperous decades, were still visible in the 1930s. It could be seen among the elitist segment of college youth who argued that only the affluent should attend college. It was even visible in some of the letters that poor children wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt, which were sent to her because of the ways that ADVERTISING and the superior possessions of their friends left them sounding like acquisitive individualists who longed for the material goods enjoyed by the middle class—and so requested consumer goods in a youthful brand of “keeping up with the Joneses.” On the other hand, the more cooperative ethos of labor, the Left, and the New Deal itself spread and made possible a challenge to the hold that the competitiveness of the consumer culture had over youth. This egalitarianism was evidenced in the rising degree of youth participation in the labor movement and the creation of the first mass student movement in American history, movements which championed an egalitarian social and political agenda. Prominent on that agenda and in the letters that poor children and teens wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt was accessible education and the left-liberal conviction that a just society was one that afforded all—not just the affluent—access to secondary and even higher education. It was no accident, then, that the generation of politicians who presided over postwar America’s age of expanding educational opportunities and the Great Society’s federal youth aid programs—from Head Start to the Job Corps—came of age politically in Depression America.

See also: **Social Welfare; Youth Activism; Youth Agencies of the New Deal.**

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ROBERT COHEN

Greenaway, Kate (1846–1901)

Catherine (Kate) Greenaway was an English artist and children’s book illustrator. She is best known for her distinctive images of children in simple clothes set in pastoral and garden landscapes. She was born in London, the second daughter of the engraver John Greenaway and Elizabeth Greenaway. When she was five her family moved to Islington, where her mother opened a successful shop selling children’s clothing and trimmings. During the summers, Greenaway and her siblings lived with relatives in the country village of Rolleston in Nottinghamshire. A keen observer, she would draw on remembered details from her childhood in her art.

Greenaway began her artistic training at twelve, when she enrolled in the Finsbury School of Art, which trained its students for careers in commercial art. At nineteen, she began further design training at the Female School of Art in South Kensington and some years later she took life classes at the Slade School. In the late 1860s she began receiving commissions for magazine and book illustrations and designing greeting cards.

Greenaway’s career reached a turning point in 1877 when her father introduced her to the printer Edmund Evans, who produced high-quality color wood engravings. Evans was already successfully engraving and printing books by Walter Crane and Randolph Caldecott, two well-known children’s book illustrators, and he printed Greenaway’s first book, *Under the Window*, with the publisher George Routledge in 1879. The book combined Greenaway’s illustrations of children with her own simple verse. It was a huge success and sold out almost immediately. Her subsequent books in the same vein continued to be successful, and several publishers produced books imitative of her style.

During these prolific years, Greenaway began to correspond with the art critic John Ruskin, who admired her images of children. She finally met him in the early 1880s. Ruskin, twenty-eight years Greenaway’s senior and already experiencing bouts of mental illness, would have a lasting influence on the rest of Greenaway’s life. She fell in love with him, although she was only one among several women with whom he had a flirtatious relationship. The two conducted a lengthy, complicated correspondence, and they visited each other sporadically. He offered artistic advice and en-



From *Under the Window: Pictures and Rhymes for Children* (1878). Kate Greenaway's drawings of children in pastoral settings were a great success in late Victorian Britain. The distinctive images of children dressed in early-nineteenth-century fashions spoke to adults' nostalgia both for a simpler era before industrialization and for the innocence of their own childhood.

couraged her to pursue nature studies and watercolor painting. Although he championed her work in a lecture and essay entitled "In Fairy Land," Greenaway's career suffered when she diverted her attention away from illustration. By the mid-1880s, Greenaway's books began to diminish in popularity. Focusing more on exhibiting and selling watercolor painting in the last decade of her life, she struggled to support herself. Countless products appeared with her designs (or were modelled after them), but most were produced without her permission. Greenaway died of breast cancer in 1901.

Greenaway's art nostalgically linked a pastoral landscape and the simplicity of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century styles of clothing with an ideal of childhood sheltered from adult experience. At the same time, her work's simple, clean lines, decorative details, and her choice of colors corresponded to the progressive tastes of the Aesthetic movement of the later nineteenth century. This visual formula easily transferred to other media. Greenaway's style was successful in an expanding market for images of children that continued well into the twentieth century. Her images of children appeared on greeting cards, advertisements, porcelain figures, tiles, wallpaper, and fabrics, while the distinctive style of dress she pictured in her work influenced children's fashions in England and elsewhere. The well-known store Liberty of London, for example, carried its "Greena-

way dress" into the early twentieth century. Although she herself did not benefit financially beyond the sales of her books and illustrations, Greenaway was one of the first women artists to achieve success in the growing childhood-related markets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

See also: **Children's Literature; Images of Childhood; Victorian Art.**

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DIANE WAGGONER

Grief, Death, Funerals

Death is clearly part of human experience, and yet children's experience of death depends heavily on their cultures' social customs and discourses surrounding death and funeral practices, beliefs regarding the afterlife, and norms of grieving. Any understanding of children's experiences with death must begin with the degree to which children are exposed to, or protected from, death and dying.

Exposure to Death

In many traditional societies, children were exposed to death on a regular basis, as mortality rates were often quite high. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, death rates among children in Europe and America were quite high: a third or more of those born died by the age of two. In contexts of such high child mortality rates, few people would reach early adulthood without having multiple siblings die. With about 10 percent of all women dying in childbirth, a noticeable minority of children also directly experienced the death of their mothers. Children in rural environments were also frequently exposed to the deaths of animals. Large-scale war, with its massive carnage among young men, contributed to the awareness of death as well, again for children and adults alike.

In contrast, where mortality rates are lower, children are less likely to routinely experience death. By the early twentieth century, the incidence of death in Western cultures began to shift dramatically, in ways that affected children particularly. Throughout the United States and most of Western Europe, the decades from 1880 to 1920 saw a rapid reduction in *INFANT MORTALITY*, from over 20 percent within the first two years of life to under 5 percent; deaths in childbirth also declined. However, mortality rates varied considerably across different groups in Western cultures, and continue to be high in many developing countries, meaning that many children still live in contexts of routine and frequent death.

The physical management of death also affects children's exposure to death. In traditional societies, death typically occurred in the home, as did preparation of the corpse for funeral rites, meaning that children would be routinely exposed to the process of dying as well as to the presence of dead bodies. The increasing professionalization of death management meant that death and its accompanying rituals increasingly occurred outside the home, in hospitals and funeral homes. Up until the late nineteenth century in the United States, most funerals and the preparation of the dead (e.g., embalming) occurred in the deceased's home, but by the 1920s death had largely moved from the home to the

hospital and the funeral home. The timing of this shift was not uniform across countries, however; in Newfoundland, for example, people continued to prepare bodies at home, with little access to professional funeral services, until the late 1960s.

Apart from the physical exposure to death, the willingness of adults to discuss death with children and the ways in which death is discursively managed in interactions with children have changed over time in Western cultures. Until the early twentieth century, it was considered perfectly appropriate for children to hear about death from adults. In Puritan New England, adults routinely discussed death with children as part of a larger message of sin and the necessity of salvation to avoid eternal damnation. Children were advised not only of the inevitability of death for all persons but of the imminent likelihood of their own death, a message accurately reflecting the high child mortality rates but almost certainly instilling fear of death. In the Victorian era, death was openly discussed with children, but in a more benign context. Stories for children routinely included death scenes and references to death, often with an emphasis on the joys of heaven and the inevitable reunion with loved ones there. In the United States, the most popular reading primers, such as McGuffey's, carried these themes on into the 1860s. A "poetical lesson," from the 1866 *Fourth Eclectic Reader* included a poem entitled "What Is Death?" addressing both the physical and metaphysical aspects of a baby's death. While these messages were less frightening than the Puritans', they still served to remind children of death's inevitability and the need to live a blameless life because it could be so easily and unexpectedly snatched away. Consider the simple Christian prayer, designed particularly for children: "Now I lay me down to sleep. . . . If I die before I wake, I pray dear God my soul to take."

By the 1920s, however, questions arose as to the appropriateness of exposing children to knowledge of death. Expert advice began to warn of the dangers of children's fears, including those of death, and parents were urged to use caution in their discussions of death with children. Using SLEEP as a metaphor for death was deemed problematic, for example, as it could cause children to be afraid at bedtime. Euphemisms began to replace direct references to death, and some purists even urged sidestepping confrontations with the death of PETS. Even the idea of heavenly reunions seemed too explicit to some, who were eager to banish all thoughts of death from the experience of childhood. It was best to encourage children to think of death as a remote result of old age; there was some hope that providing scientific facts would reduce fears of death for older children.

By the 1950s, a general silence had emerged on the topic of death in the United States, with some authors calling it a taboo topic, particularly in reference to children. David Sudnow's 1960s ethnographic work in two U.S. hospitals

found that hospital workers made a significant effort to shield children from knowledge of death, both of other children and their own. Hospital staff avoided references to the future when speaking with dying children and adolescents, for example. Children's deaths were more upsetting to the staff than adults', reflecting the general attitude shared by both parents and doctors that death and children did not mix, a consensus that had emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Children's participation in funeral practices and death rituals also reflected this shift. Funeral practices themselves changed considerably over time and across social groups, but children were included in funerals up to the early twentieth century. No respectable funeral procession in the late Middle Ages was complete without a delegation of children from ORPHANAGES or FOUNDLING homes. In the Victorian era, wearing somber clothes or other signs of mourning became widespread, and children were included in the practice. Although funerals moved from the home to park-like cemeteries, which were often at a considerable distance, children were still in attendance. By the 1870s, death kits were available for dolls, complete with coffins and mourning clothes, as a means of helping to train girls for participating in, even guiding, death rituals and their attendant grief. In the case of newsboys, children even organized and contributed toward the funeral rites of deceased newsboys in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to honor their lives and avoid the looming threat of a pauper's burial, as well as to express group solidarity.

The early twentieth century, however, saw a decline in these elaborate mourning rituals, and the remaining rituals often excluded children. It was believed that children should be kept away from funerals, just as they were usually barred from hospital sick rooms (even those of close relatives or parents). This stemmed in part from an increasing concern with children's vulnerability to emotional stress. It was believed that funeral rituals and contexts of great emotional intensity were too difficult for children to endure. Some countercurrents began in the mid-twentieth century, however, such as the hospice movement, which stressed the importance of a family context for the terminally ill. In addition, some subgroups in American society continued to involve children in highly emotional funerals. Certainly the death taboo with children in the twentieth century was not absolute, as children continued to confront death (both human and animal), but death was less explicitly and frequently discussed with children, and when death was presented, it tended to be in a less emotional and immediate fashion.

Emotional Responses to Death

Historians have debated the emotional response to death in the premodern period. Some once argued that adults, at least, became inured to death, so that it did not occasion significant grief. The standard adult "good death" (most fre-

quently from lingering respiratory infection) did allow family members to pay respects to the dying individual, permitting any outstanding scores to be settled, and this may indeed have blunted the emotional impact for other family members, including children. Even where children were concerned, certain adult practices, such as reusing the names of children who had died and, in some places, not naming children at all for a year or two, suggest the impact of frequent deaths on adult behavior. Attachment patterns can serve to minimize grief: Nancy Scheper-Hughes found that Brazilian women facing a high child mortality rate distanced themselves emotionally from young infants, particularly those who seemed sickly, as a way of minimizing their anticipated grief at the infants' death.

But newer interpretations of premodern Europe, often based on diaries and letters, emphasize how deeply adults were affected by the deaths of young children, however common their occurrence. Expressions of lingering grief, often remembered into later life, and a practice of using children's deaths as the key markers in family calendars, suggest powerful emotional reactions, in part because children, dying of causes such as diarrhea, and inarticulate in any event, could not have the kinds of good deaths available to older adults.

Children's emotional responses to death involve more than just grief, particularly in those cultures that use the fear of death as a disciplinary and religious tool. Fear of death was actively employed in Catholic Europe as a means of keeping children in line and also of illustrating the dire consequences of original sin (the same theme emerged in Puritan society, as noted previously). Holy days like All Saints' Day, which commemorated the dead but which were also often associated with stories of ghosts returning and misfortune, could play a lively part in children's imagination. (Even in modern Mexico and Central America, children may be kept home from school on All Saints Day because of the risk of disaster.) These messages were clearly influential, as children were indeed often terrified by the prospect of death and damnation.

The gradual secularization of culture in countries like France reduced these death fears by the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century death became romanticized for the middle class in some Western countries as part of the new, sentimental current in literature. Many novels portrayed tragic death scenes, designed to elicit tears and compassion for innocent (often young, often female) victims, and some of these were available for children as readers. Children may have been comforted, as well, by the growing belief that families would be lovingly reunited in heaven, a theme in popular religious and romantic fiction and poetry, as well as in nineteenth-century popular songs.

As attitudes toward death changed, ceremonies became more elaborate and expressive, and children and adults were encouraged to embrace the emotion of grief, which was seen as a strong, family-uniting emotional bond in a time of loss.

Many children, particularly girls, grew up knowing that sorrow and sentimentality over loss were an expected part of emotional life, a counterpart to love. Certainly the open intensity of grief upon the death of a child increased among adults. Diary entries portray a blinding sorrow, combining a sense of loss and a new feeling of guilt, indicating a belief that a child's death should somehow be preventable. Funeral markers for children became increasingly elaborate, in marked contrast to the bare mentions in family plots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However cushioned it was by the hope of heavenly reunion, adult anxiety about children's death inevitably spilled over into children's experiences as well.

Acceptance of grief declined in the early twentieth century, in part through a growing commitment to consumerism, which made both grief and death less popular than orientations more conducive to pleasure. Grief was increasingly reprobated where adults were concerned, with excessive emotion seen a sign of psychological weakness and indicative of a need for therapy. Children's grief came under even stronger attack, stemming from beliefs that grief was particularly hazardous to children's psychological well-being. Parents were urged to sympathize with crying children but to keep signs of their own grief in check in order to minimize childish grief. Fictional representations also reflected this avoidance of grief; in contrast to nineteenth-century children's fiction, contemporary children's media presented death as graphic and gory but emotionless, with no pause for grief.

By the 1960s some reconsideration of the new antipathy toward death had emerged. A variety of experts urged that children were being harmed by having insufficient outlet for their real feelings of grief, and that they should be reintegrated with the rituals of death. Schools moved increasingly to provide therapy to students when a classmate died—another move to bridge the gap between children and death. But the dominant contemporary reaction remained cautious in associating children with death, as evidenced by the relatively small purview of death-accepting hospices compared to standard death-fighting hospitals. Children encountered death in abundance in media representations, which has been a source of ongoing concern to some adults starting in the days of comic books and radio and continuing on to contemporary Internet games. But real death was more removed from most childhood experience than ever before in human history, with the result that many children had very little idea of what death was about. What happens to children who do experience the death of someone close, and the grief that accompanies it, without much experience or ritual support, remains a significant question in twenty-first-century childhood.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Emotional Life; Rites of Passage.**

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DEBORAH C. STEARNS

Guilt and Shame

Guilt and shame have been classified as emotions that reflect self-consciousness and enforce morality, and that function as a way of constraining behavior to societal norms. As such, instilling feelings of guilt and shame are a central component of childhood socialization. Precise definitions of guilt and shame have varied; some have argued that the critical component of shame is public exposure of one's wrongdoing or inadequacies, while others identify shame as self degradation and feelings of worthlessness. In both cases, shame involves the desire to hide from others. Guilt, on the other hand, is associated with a desire to apologize, make reparations, and be forgiven. In distinguishing guilt from shame, some define guilt as stemming from a focus on one's bad behavior, in contrast with shame's focus on the global self; others see guilt as private, a matter of one's conscience, and shame as public, a matter of one's reputation.

While guilt and shame are, most likely, inevitable aspects of childhood, children's experience of these emotions is influenced by social factors, including cultural beliefs and practices. Anthropologists have often distinguished cultures on the basis on which of these two forms of socialization is emphasized. Historians have often described certain religious

beliefs as resulting in an unusual degree of guilt in children, such as those emphasizing an uncertain relationship with God or the unworthiness of followers. Indeed, ERIK ERIKSON's analysis of the life of Martin Luther suggests that guilt was a key element of his childhood, which he then transferred to his emphasis on original sin in his version of Christianity. Children's experiences of guilt and shame are particularly influenced by patterns of DISCIPLINE and peer group activities.

Patterns of Discipline: Shifting from Shame to Guilt

To the extent that shame is related to the experience of public exposure, societies that rely heavily on public discipline will incur greater shame in children than those that emphasize more private discipline. Japanese children, for example, are exposed to relatively high degrees of shaming, in that wrongdoing is identified and corrected publicly, both at home and in school. For example, James Stigler and Michelle Perry describe a Japanese elementary school math class in which a child who was unable to draw a cube correctly was repeatedly sent to the blackboard to try again, each attempt being critiqued by his fellow students until he was able to do it correctly. The child's sense of right and self-worth is thereby made contingent on overt group approval. This pattern of discipline stems in part from broader ideals that emphasize the needs of the group and encourage group conformity. Guilt and shame are self-conscious emotions, and as such, are tied to culturally variable notions of self. Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama have argued that a number of non-Western cultures emphasize an interdependent self, one which is tied to group membership and would be more shame prone, while modern Western cultures tend to emphasize an independent self, separate from group membership and more prone to feelings of guilt.

Public shaming was also characteristic of early Western societies, however. Historians have been especially interested in the transition from shame to guilt in childhood discipline between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and particularly in those areas that became the United States. Shame was widely used in colonial America, sometimes bolstered by physical punishments. Children who misbehaved were routinely subjected to public ridicule by siblings or, still more commonly, other community members. Scolding was deliberately conducted in front of an audience, as were spankings or whippings. Children also participated actively in the shaming of others, not only other children but also miscreant adults, such as those put on public display in order to be reviled in the stocks, or those hanged in public. The experience of childhood, therefore, was influenced both by eagerly shaming others and the possibility of being shamed (although we can only speculate as to the impact of these experiences). This shaming tradition was long carried on, in schoolrooms, by the practice of forcing a misbehaving or poorly performing child to sit in a special corner, viewed by his classmates, sometimes wearing an identifying dunce cap or some other marker in addition.

In family discipline, however, a major change occurred between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Discipline now became largely private. A characteristic ploy, widely reported in diaries and prescriptive literature alike, involved isolating an offending child, sending him (or, more rarely, her) to a solitary room, sometimes for days, to subsist on a meager diet. The goal was to induce introspection about the offending act and, through this, provoke an ultimate admission of guilt—upon which point the child could be readmitted to the loving family circle. Shame was not fully removed from this approach, for other members of the family would be aware of the proceedings, but the real goal was guilt, and the capacity to experience or anticipate guilt for future offenses as well. Guilt measures were particularly applied to childish offenses seen as dangerous or as carrying the potential for bad character in adulthood. Thus signs of sexual interest, including MASTURBATION, came in for special doses of guilt. The capacity for guilt was increasingly equated with maturity and was seen as critical to shaping good character. Not surprisingly, the excesses of guilt figured heavily in the treatment of disturbed children by the end of the nineteenth century, especially in Freudian therapy.

Although adults are an important part of children's lives, we cannot assume that children's actual experiences of shame and guilt directly inscribed adult guidelines. Shame came under increasing criticism, but it was still a part of children's lives. In part, this resulted from parents, and particularly teachers, who continued to use shaming in the face of expert advice to the contrary. However, children's peer experiences were also important contributors to their EMOTIONAL LIFE, and children continued to shame each other. In the nineteenth century, groups of boys induced conformity through peer pressure and the threat of group shame (e.g., the practice of publicly "daring" a timid boy to display courage).

The spread of consumerism among children from the late nineteenth century onward intensified yet another instigator of shame. By the 1890s, many observers noted that children who could not keep up with the latest styles in clothing or toys often felt shame. Children's efforts to conform to peer standards in consumerism throughout the twentieth century was powerfully motivated by a desire to avoid being shamed by peers. Even when adults did try to reduce shame, children might not conform. By the later twentieth century in the United States, legislation banned the shame-inducing practice of posting school grades in public—a clear sign of the ongoing power of the adult concern regarding children's shame. Many children, however, blithely reported grades to each other, maintaining this impetus for shame.

Guilt Comes Under Suspicion

The cultural emphasis on instilling guilt in children began to be questioned in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States, and by the 1950s in Europe. Experts began to argue that

guilt was too heavy a burden to impose on children, and potentially distorted their development. Parents were urged to develop approaches that would avoid loading children with guilt, as prescriptive literature explicitly turned against what was now seen as the excessive repression of the nineteenth-century approach to socialization. Guilt was both too unpleasant and too intense, impeding the necessary development of a sense of self-esteem—rather than motivating children to behave appropriately, it was seen as incapacitating. Psychologists increasingly viewed children as vulnerable and unable to bear the character-building practices of the prior century. The new emphasis on consumerism may also have contributed to the shift away from guilt. Without abandoning standards, it was important to allow children, in childhood and as preparation for their adult consumer role, to feel comfortable with considerable self-indulgence, including buying things and entertainments—many advertisements explicitly urged their audience to cast aside any sense of guilt in the pursuit of the good life.

To replace guilt, three alternative approaches to childhood socialization were identified. First, adults were advised to help children avoid situations that might result in misbehavior, and thus eliminate the need for reprimands. This process was facilitated by greater tolerance for certain childish behavior (e.g., signs of sexual interest). Second, parents and teachers were encouraged to offer rewards for good behavior, as opposed to punishments for misdeeds. In schools, this resulted in the introduction of self-esteem programs and reevaluating the use of bad grades as sanctions. The behaviorist school in psychology was particularly influential in developing incentive strategies to modify children's behavior and in discouraging the use of guilt-inducing punishments, which they saw as largely harmful to CHILD DEVELOPMENT. A fearful child, for example, could be guided by bribes that would reward more confident behavior in entering a dark room or encountering a pet, rather than being stunned by blame, which would only exacerbate the emotional weakness. Third, when all else failed and some discipline became essential, experts and parents alike searched for emotionally neutral sanctions to substitute for the guilt-laden technique of isolating children from the family used in the Victorian era. It was always hoped that children would respond to rational discussion, without guilty overtones. But if this broke down, two characteristic approaches were urged from the 1920s onward in the United States. First, children might be fined—thus punished—but without the emotional tirade. Second, and still more commonly, they might be "grounded"—deprived of normal entertainments (such as radio or television) or the company of their peers, for a set period of time. Again, the goal was to provide corrective deprivation without resorting explicitly to guilt.

The new approach called for considerable parental investment in both time and self control. The injunctions to arrange children's lives to avoid the need for discipline could

be burdensome to parents. Moreover, parents were increasingly urged to control their own emotions in dealing with children, because of the guilt potential involved in expressions of anger. Needless to say, actual parents varied in their responses to the new advice, some noting that determined misbehavers did not respond as well as others to a guilt-free environment. But the expert injunctions were widely discussed and some disciplinary changes resulted, including widespread use of grounding as a disciplinary technique.

The overall impact of these changes on children's experiences is difficult to evaluate. While there may have been a reduction in childhood guilt, it is clear that children continued to feel guilty even in families that worked hard to reduce the guilt experience. Of course, many families, ignoring expert advice, did not even try. Indeed, other social changes offered new opportunities for guilt, including higher parental expectations for school performance and the rising divorce rate (from the later nineteenth century onward), which may have led children to feel at fault for family failure. However, the growing suspicion of guilt did result in children becoming increasingly adept at identifying their own feelings of guilt and expressing dislike for the experience. The aversion to guilt could also be used to manipulate adult behavior. By the second half of the twentieth century, middle-class children felt authorized to inform a parent that she or he was "making me feel guilty," with the goal of reducing parental criticism in the face of potentially damaging feelings of guilt. While guilt and shame certainly remain a part of children's experience, their meanings and uses have shifted considerably as part of larger changes in family, school, and peer contexts. As powerful means to develop adult behavior, these forms of emotion have become part of how we historically examine childhood experience in a culture in which a fundamental form of analysis is the examination of the self.

See also: **Anger and Aggression; Consumer Culture; Fear.**

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DEBORAH C. STEARNS

Gulick, Luther (1865–1918)

Luther Halsey Gulick was a leader in the promotion of the social and health benefits of play and physical education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born in Hawaii to missionaries Luther Halsey Gulick and Louisa Lewis Gulick, Gulick spent much of his youth in mission fields in Europe and Asia. He attended Oberlin College and New York University's medical school, where he graduated with an M.D. in 1889. He married Charlotte Vetter in 1887, and they were the parents of six children.

Until 1900, Gulick worked for the International Young Men's Christian Association College, then known as the School for Christian Workers, in Springfield, Massachusetts. After receiving his medical degree, he became head of its Gymnasium Department; he was also secretary for the Physical Education Department of the International Committee of the YMCA.

Gulick's combined interest in evangelical Christianity and recreation led him to promote "muscular Christianity," a concept that aligned physical and spiritual strength. He remained associated with the YMCA even as he moved to other institutions, returning in 1918 to assist with war work. One of Gulick's students at the YMCA Training School, James Naismith, invented BASKETBALL in 1891 in response to an assignment by Gulick to develop a team sport; Gulick worked with Naismith to develop the game's rules further.

Some of Gulick's work was done through traditional education institutions. He worked for a time as a teacher and as principal of Pratt High School in Brooklyn from 1900 to 1903 and served as Director of Physical Education for the New York City schools from 1903 to 1907. In 1903, he helped develop the Public School Athletic League, independent from the Board of Education, to give proper supervision to youth athletics. The Girls' Branch of the League focused particularly on folk dancing. In 1916, Gulick was instrumental in founding the American Folk Dance Society. In 1906, he helped to organize the Playground Association of America and served as its first president until 1910. The Russell Sage Foundation also initiated its work in the field of recreation by hiring him to chair its Playground Extension Committee, a position he held until 1913.

Gulick also helped to found the Boy Scouts of America in 1910. In 1911, Gulick and his wife joined with others to organize the Camp Fire Girls, a female counterpart to the BOY SCOUTS intended to prepare girls for future feminine

roles. (Gulick had worked with his wife before: Charlotte Gulick's interest in child-study prompted him to lead the Springfield, Massachusetts Mothers' Club from 1898 to 1900.) Gulick became Camp Fire's president when it was incorporated in 1914, serving until shortly before his death in 1918.

Gulick headed the Russell Sage Foundation's Department of Child Hygiene and helped to promote school medical inspections. He was a founding member of the American School Hygiene Association in 1906. Throughout his career, Gulick wrote extensively, publishing numerous articles (some later gathered into books) to publicize his views on recreation and hygiene.

See also: **Sports; Youth Ministries; YWCA and YMCA.**

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ELLEN L. BERG

Guns

Although the subject of children and guns is a troubling contemporary issue, it created little controversy before the twentieth century. Smooth-bored, muzzle-loading muskets were common in the colonies and the early republic. The weapons were imported from Europe, since there were few gunsmiths in America. Some guns were old or broken, but many more were in working order and accessible to children. The popular image of the crack-shot American boy given a gun in his cradle is overstated, however. Before the improvement of rifles and pistols in the mid-nineteenth century there were few guns accurate enough to support sharpshooting. Yet the wide distribution of guns among private citizens meant that American children were more familiar with them than were children in Europe (where gun ownership was closely regulated by the state). Anecdotes to that effect can be found in the narratives of European visitors.

While there was little generalized anxiety concerning children and guns during the early American era, the same tragic mishaps occurred that filled newspapers in the late twentieth century. The Reverend David Osgood preached a funeral sermon in 1797 for a nine-year-old boy killed when a gun held by a friend accidentally discharged and struck him in the bowels. But Osgood took a very different lesson from the accident than would today's moralists, drawing attention to the uncertainty of life and warning his audience to receive grace before they too were taken. He acknowledged but did not decry the gun's lack of a guard, and made nothing of children using a gun.

The author of one of the earliest documents to look critically at children and guns worried less about the children's safety than about their cheapening of what had been an elite sport. In his 1814 *Instructions to Young Sportsmen*, Peter Hawker tried to acculturate working-class youth to the finer rituals of shooting. Fred Mather, a renowned nineteenth-century fisherman and hunter, worried about children and guns for the sake of the small creatures that crossed their paths. In his memoir, *Men I Have Fished With*, he fondly recalled boyhood adventures using a very old musket he co-owned with a friend to shoot birds, muskrats, and deer. But his recollections are tainted with regret at his immoderacy. He implores fathers not to give guns to their sons because boys are savage and bloodthirsty, and will kill everything they can.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, toy guns appeared on the market. The cap gun was invented in 1859, pop guns in the 1870s, and the Daisy Air Rifle (or BB gun) in 1888. These toy weapons were initially quite dangerous, which restricted their appeal, but their increasing safety prompted escalating sales in the twentieth century. In the 1930s, advertisers shifted from selling toy guns for target-practice games to accentuating their use in fantasy role-playing. Boys could become G-men, cowboys, or even gangsters. For some adults, these games were too evocative of the terrorizing "gunplay" in which real Depression-era gangsters were engaging. In 1934 and 1935, Rose Simone, an activist, led Chicago schoolchildren to throw their toy guns into bonfires to protest the toys' fostering of youth violence.

However, there is little evidence that youth, even those who belonged to bootlegging gangs, used guns in their fights. Knives were more common. Only in the 1960s did guns begin to play a prominent role in teen gang behavior; still they were predominately used to make an impression rather than to cause injury. Meanwhile, pacifist sentiment aroused by the anti-Vietnam War movement had sparked a new campaign against toy guns, leading Sears to eliminate toy guns from its catalogs and Dr. Benjamin Spock to recommend against allowing children to engage in "pistol play." That antipathy to toy guns, however, shrinks in significance compared to the impact made on children's games by the invention of a new technology. The video game secured the role of guns—whether represented graphically or as a hand-held plastic facsimile pointed at the screen—in children's games. Some contemporary social critics argue that video games desensitize children to violence and condition them to take actual lives; others disagree.

The danger posed to children by the mass influx of guns into the illegal market in crack cocaine that developed during the 1980s is beyond the realm of speculation. The low price of crack, and its sale in small quantities, caused the absolute number of drug sales to increase exponentially, necessitating a parallel increase in the number of salesmen. Thou-



Boys playing with guns, c. 1950s. Toy guns were first manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century, but as early as the 1930s critics claimed that the toys encouraged children to be violent. © Horace Bristol/CORBIS.

sands of urban youths became crack dealers. The fluidity of the market encouraged violent competition among the sellers of crack, and more and more young dealers began carrying guns for protection. Between 1984 and 1991 homicide rates by adolescents tripled, an increase directly attributable to rising rates of youth gun-ownership.

Government and the not-for-profits have responded to the crisis with a flurry of well-intentioned campaigns. The U.S. Congress held hearings on the subject of children and

guns in 1989 (as part of the “Save the Kids” campaign) and 1992. There have been proposals for special legislation (some of which has passed, such as the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994) to curb the problem. The Carter Center, the Violence and Policy Center, CHILDREN’S DEFENSE FUND, and the American Youth Center have published reports since 1989 on the subject of children and guns. All argue for better gun control. A rash of well-publicized school shootings during the 1990s, most of which occurred in white rural and suburban communities, forced many Americans to recognize

that the crisis is not restricted to inner-city African-American youth. In 1999, 4,205 children were killed by gunfire. Most were older teenagers, but 629 were under fifteen years old.

Nonetheless, strong sentiment remains favoring children's gunplay. The National Rifle Association (NRA) publishes a special magazine, *InSights*, for its junior members, which features glossy photographs of children holding guns and encourages its readers to target-shoot and hunt. Memoirs of childhood shooting with dad, or granddad, likewise are a popular feature of *American Rifleman*, the NRA's primary publication. It remains to be seen whether either the gun-safety education programs that the NRA promotes, or the gun-control measures advocated by the NRA's opponents, will stop the gun accidents and gun violence that threaten American children.

See also: **Delinquency; Drugs; Law, Children and the; Police, Children and the; School Shootings and School Violence; Street Games; Toys; Youth Gangs.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Gutmann, Bessie Pease (1876–1960)

Bessie Pease Gutmann's work was part of the explosion of images of children which flooded the American commercial art market at the beginning of the twentieth century. Gutmann's drawings appeared in illustrated books, on magazine covers, and in advertisements.

Bessie Pease was born on April 8, 1876 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She showed an early interest in art and after high school, she attended the Philadelphia School of Design for Women and the New York School of Art. After training at the Art Student's League of New York from 1896 to 1898, she was invited to join the firm of Gutmann and Gutmann, which specialized in fine art prints and advertisements. She later married Hellmuth Gutmann, one of the owners of the firm. Gutmann often used the couple's three children, Alice, Lucille, and John, as models for her drawings.

Between 1906 and 1922 Gutmann designed twenty-two magazine covers, for publications such as *Women's Home Companion* and *McCalls*. She also illustrated many popular children's books, including *A Child's Garden of Verse* (1905)

and *Alice in Wonderland* (1907). About seventy Gutmann images are known to have been published as postcards. Gutmann's best-known work was her print *A Little Bit of Heaven*, published by the Balliol Corporation in 1916. *A Little Bit of Heaven* presents a close-up view of Gutmann's daughter Lucille that allows the viewer to admire the sleeping child's plump cheeks and chubby fingers in intimate detail. In 1926 Gutmann published a similar image of an African-American child, titled *My Honey*. She also produced a series of images of cherubs, and one of mothers and children together. Eschewing the nostalgic costumes and backgrounds that characterized the work of her closest competitor, JESSIE WILLCOX SMITH, Gutmann focused on rendering the tangible, physical presence of her adorable subjects.

See also: **Greenaway, Kate; Images of Childhood.**

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A. CASSANDRA ALBINSON

GutsMuths, J. C. F. (1759–1839)

Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths was born in 1759 in Quedlinburg, Germany, the son of an ordinary lower-middle-class family. GutsMuths's father died when he was twelve years old and in order to contribute financially to the family he worked as a private teacher for the two sons of the Ritter family while he attended high school. He went to Halle in 1779 to study at what was called the first modern university in Germany. Following the new principle of academic liberty, GutsMuths studied theology as well as physics, mathematics, philosophy, and history. He was especially influenced by a number of lessons on pedagogical methodology based on the principles of German educational reformer JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW.

Upon finishing his studies, GutsMuths returned to his occupation as a private teacher with the Ritter family. When the elder Doctor Ritter died GutsMuths assumed the responsibility for his children's upbringing and in that capacity followed the family to the new Philanthropic School in Schnepfenthal, Germany. The principal quickly noticed the young tutor's extraordinary pedagogical abilities and offered him a position at the school. GutsMuths remained there, with his wife and family, for the rest of his life.

GutsMuths was engaged as a teacher in the ordinary school subjects, but he won his international reputation as the founder of pedagogical GYMNASTICS when he took re-

sponsibility for gymnastics education at the school in 1786. His meticulously prepared book *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (Gymnastics for youth) was published 1793 as the first textbook in gymnastics (revised in 1804). The first five chapters of the book explain his theories of child rearing and the use of gymnastics as an instrument for raising children. The remaining chapters are concerned with the pedagogy of gymnastics, which GutsMuths divides into proper gymnastics, or exercises, various hands-on activities, including gardening, and social play. He believed that all gymnastics should take place outside and that a seven-year-old child ought to spend around ten hours a day in physical activity. The book's critical view of the prevailing culture places it in the German philosophical tradition of the ENLIGHTENMENT, especially as inspired by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. GutsMuths wished to break with the teachings of the Middle Ages and replace the divine with nature.

Besides *Gymnastik für die Jugend*, GutsMuths published several shorter works on physical exercise. He also published two books in which he combined gymnastics with the German *Turnverein* (gymnastics club) movement, a movement that followed the ideals of German educator Friedrich Ludwig Jahn.

Posterity has seen GutsMuths as a person who worked incessantly for pedagogical gymnastics, but actually we see in his orientation towards the German *Turnverein* the same nationalistic and patriotic thoughts as can be found in Jahn's work. The fact that he was engaged as a teacher for more than fifty years at Schnepfenthal probably supported the impression of continuity in his work. GutsMuths died in May 21, 1839.

See also: **Interscholastic Athletics; Salzmann, Christian Gotthilf; Sports.**

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JØRN HANSEN

Gymnasium Schooling

In the ancient world, the word *gymnasion* was applied to public places where young men exercised physically and were trained by teachers and philosophers, in particular in Athens at the Academy, which was associated with PLATO, and the Lyceum, associated with ARISTOTLE. Since the Renaissance, the term has been revived to designate educational institutions that refer expressly to the intellectual heritage of classical antiquity. In the Germanic countries, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe, *gymnasium* is the name for a senior secondary school that prepares students for the uni-

versity. Elsewhere in Europe and in the United States, however, the word gymnasium and its equivalents refer to the other element of the Greek *gymnasion*: a place for physical exercise.

Two periods are distinguished in the history of the classical gymnasium. From the sixteenth century, the word simply referred to the LATIN SCHOOL model that was developed by the humanists. This took various names: grammar school in England, *collège* in France, *colegio* in Spain, *Lateinschule* or gymnasium in the Holy Roman Empire. The French name was reminiscent of the university college, and indeed Latin schools were considered to be the first stage of higher education. In many countries the higher classes in the Latin schools, after the so-called humanities courses of grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, were part of the university system itself. The first truly Protestant gymnasium, created by Johann Sturm at Strasbourg in 1538, united a Latin school to a superstructure consisting of university-level chairs. Such chairs in arts, philosophy, and theology, and sometimes in law and medicine, prepared pupils in or near their hometowns for university level functions or academic degrees which they would go on to take at the full-fledged universities. In early modern Germany, the word gymnasium finally came to be used for the most elaborate form of a Latin school, with a complete range of classes, preparing the children of the literate citizens for the university and hence for the learned professions.

Neo-Humanistic Ideals

During the late eighteenth century, humanistic ideology underwent a radical change. The focus of classical education shifted from a philological approach and a conservative concept of erudition embedded in the society of orders toward a more dynamic vision of self-cultivation, linked up with a secular professional ethic in a society that wanted social and political change. As a consequence, the old, virtually closed "learned estate" (*Gelehrtenstand*) was gradually replaced by a cultured bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*), characterized by functional expertise, a liberal spirit of self-cultivation, and a meritocratic ideology. After the era of the French Revolution, the German gymnasium was revived by the cultured bourgeoisie with a new, neo-humanistic scope: classical languages and literature, considered the main source of the new ideals of humanity and aesthetic purity, were henceforth the unavoidable rite of passage toward culture (*Bildung*), profession (*Beruf*) and office (*Amt*). This internal transformation of the classical education was legitimized by legislation. Indeed, the unitary school system of Prussia, designed in 1812 by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and Johann Wilhelm Süvern (1775–1829), culminated in the gymnasium, intended for what Humboldt called "a harmonious cultivation of the mind," though the body was certainly not neglected. The new gymnasium got a completely new curriculum, including modern languages, mathematics, and natural sciences. The nine-year course, for students aged ten to eighteen, was

closed by an examination called the *Abitur*, the certificate of maturity, which was the prerequisite for matriculation at a German university.

The downfall of Latin as a language of science since the eighteenth century cleared the way for new functions. Henceforth the gymnasium could stress the intrinsic values of classical antiquity. It became a privileged tool for the intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual education of the nineteenth-century cultured bourgeoisie. Yet in spite of its broad ambitions, it touched only a small elite—not more than 3 percent of the German population until World War II (whereas less than 1 percent matriculated at the universities). Research has shown that the highly selective practices of the prewar gymnasium had served the continuous self-reproduction of the intellectual elite though it admitted a small proportion of pupils from the middle classes. From the second half of the nineteenth century women were slowly admitted too.

During the nineteenth century, the Prussian gymnasium with its Humboldtian ideals heavily influenced the evolution of secondary education in the Germanic Empire and in the neighboring countries: the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, the Baltic regions, and Russia. Its ideology also resembled the *belles lettres* paradigm in contemporary France, where the LYCÉE played a similar role with a still greater impact on the self-reproduction of the intellectual class. Yet social reproduction through the *lycée* seems to have been still stronger in the closed French prewar bourgeoisie than through the German gymnasium.

Institutional Change

The classical languages remain the core business of the neo-humanistic German gymnasium in the early twenty-first century. Its preparatory function for the university and its social prestige as a senior secondary school remain intact. Nevertheless the institution itself has gone through a long series of transformations over the centuries, due to the alternate pressures of church and state and the demands of changing social groups for a more utilitarian curriculum with fewer classical subjects. From a single branch of studies, the curriculum shifted slowly toward a “reformed upper phase” with a broad choice of courses. Moreover, it has had to share its tasks and privileges with competing schools. The *Progymnasium* taught only a six-year course, with a less demanding curriculum. After the German unification in 1871, university admission was also granted to the pupils of the *Realgymnasium*, which in addition to the modern languages taught Latin but not Greek, and of the *Oberrealschule*, which provided no classical instruction at all but only a modern languages and sciences curriculum. During the Third Reich, the elitist ideology of the gymnasium was easily co-opted by Nazi propaganda. The concept of *Bildung* was appropriated into the aesthetic, moral, and intellectual values of the Nazi state and the

creation of an Aryan type. After World War II the German gymnasium went through a period of diversification and experimentation that was ended by the Federal Act of 1972.

See also: Education, Europe.

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WILLEM FRIJHOFF

Gymnastics

The word *gymnastics*, the practice of which extends back thousands of years, has been used to refer to activities ranging from simple movements to extraordinary acrobatic feats. *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (1793), written by JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH GUTSMUTHS, is often cited as laying the foundations for a comprehensive system of exercises and as well as today’s competitive sport. Drawing upon JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, contemporary physicians, and classical sources, GutMuths (a teacher at the Schnepenthal Philanthropinum) identified three components of PHYSICAL EDUCATION: manual arts; social games; gymnastic exercises, which included wrestling, running, swimming, leaping, balancing, and climbing. His ideas had a considerable influence on Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who in 1810 began meeting pupils in a wooded area near their school. There they engaged in a variety of activities that included exercising on rudimentary apparatus. Jahn’s *Die Deutsche Turnkunst* (1816) included sections devoted to the parallel bars, vaulting, and other movements that became the core of the German system, which made extensive use of equipment. The Swedish system (designed by Per Henrik Ling in the early 1800s) used comparatively little equipment and emphasized posture, sequential progression, proper breathing, and specific exercises for each portion of the body. Its educational and medical branches were adopted, and adapted, in many countries. Debates about which system was better were often intense and continued until sports became dominant in the curriculum.

Nineteenth-century teachers could draw upon small books like James H. Smart’s *Manual of School Gymnastics* to provide classroom calisthenic drills. Turners (members of German gymnastic societies) who arrived in the United States following the 1848 German Revolution campaigned vigorously to make German gymnastics the basis of the curriculum. Outside the schools, Turnvereins (German gym-

nastic societies) and Sokols (Czech gymnastic associations) organized their own events. Others held that the Swedish system, introduced into the Boston public schools in the 1890s, was more appropriate, especially for children and females. Books like Wilbur Bowen's *The Teaching of Elementary School Gymnastics* (1909) set forth the strengths of each. In the 1920s Danish gymnastics (which offered more variety) were introduced into the American curriculum. Some attention also was given to stunts and tumbling (such as the forward roll and the handspring).

Competitive gymnastics consists of two forms: Modern Rhythmic Gymnastics, which uses balls, hoops, and similar light equipment; and Artistic (Olympic) Gymnastics. Team competition for women took place at the 1928 Olympics, but it was not until the 1952 Games in Helsinki that individual competition began. Television coverage of the 1960 Rome Olympics resulted in an upsurge of interest in a number of countries. Following the performances of diminutive Olga Korbut in 1972 thousands of young girls in the United States joined the rapidly growing number of private gymnastic clubs and became involved in the Junior Olympic program. Gymnastics requires strength, flexibility, coordination, discipline, and willingness to practice long hours. The nature

of the apparatus is such that short stature and a light body is an advantage. Both the age and size of competitive gymnasts has been decreased as the sport became more competitive. Although many youngsters enjoy the challenges, and certainly the thrill of victory, considerable concern has been expressed about the effects of intense training on their bodies and their psyches.

See also: **Sports; Title IX and Girls' Sports.**

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ROBERTA PARK

H

Hall, Granville Stanley (1844–1924)

A founder of the academic discipline of psychology in the United States and the first promoter of the scientific study of the child, Hall received a doctorate in philosophy at Harvard with William James. In 1888, he became president and professor of psychology at the new Clark University. At Clark, where he remained for the rest of his career, Hall trained such prominent child psychologists as ARNOLD L. GESELL, Henry H. Goddard, and Lewis M. Terman. He authored hundreds of books and articles, established several academic journals, helped organize the American Psychological Association, and brought SIGMUND FREUD and Carl Jung to Clark in 1909. Hall's ideas shaped CHILD PSYCHOLOGY from the 1880s through the 1910s.

Hall popularized an instinct psychology that stressed the importance of natural impulses and biological imprinting. He thought that a child's innate nature unfolded over time through an evolutionary process, in which the development of the child *recapitulated* the development of the human race. Young children were like "primitive races" who advanced as they grew, achieving the level of the most "civilized races" by adulthood.

This theory of human growth had practical applications. Parents who understood what behavior to expect at certain ages could guide their children appropriately. Hall argued that young children were like animals who should be treated with indulgence and freedom. He recommended that children be kept away from school until the age of eight, since formal schooling might harm a young child's development. Young children should roam the countryside to learn the ways of nature or satisfy their instincts in informal settings free from adult standards of proper behavior. Guided by their own natural impulses, children would pass through the stages of childhood to become self-controlled adults.

In the early twentieth century Hall turned his attention to ADOLESCENCE, a term he introduced into widespread use.

In his monumental study *Adolescence* (1904), he described a period of turmoil in which a child's instinctive, primitive nature struggled with more evolved characteristics. Hall concentrated on boys as he analyzed this critical stage of physical, mental, and emotional development.

Hall's ideas were widely disseminated and influenced the early child study movement, particularly the work of the National Congress of Mothers (later the Parent-Teacher Association), founded in 1897 as the first national group devoted to parent education. Hall was a frequent speaker at the organization's conventions and served as its chief scientific authority. Members of the group became participants in Hall's research, filling out detailed questionnaires about their children's behavior and speech for his research projects.

The instinct theory of child development came under attack in the 1920s as a new progressive orientation in social science stressed environmental over biological explanations of human development. Hall's research methods were challenged as unscientific, impressionistic, and sentimental. CHILD STUDY leaders in the 1920s adopted more rigorous scientific techniques and highlighted cultural influences on child development. By the 1920s, Hall's studies were largely discredited, though his ideas continued to have an influence on views of development as well as adolescence.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of.**

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DIANA SELIG

Halloween

The history of Halloween began with the ancient Celtic festival of Samhain, the last day of the Celtic year. The holiday was celebrated at the end of summer and the beginning of winter, as days became shorter and nights longer. The Celts believed that the dead returned on Samhain, and they created traditions to keep themselves safe from evil spirits, including dressing up in costume to fool the dead.

During the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church appropriated the Celtic festival of Samhain with the express purpose of absorbing pagan celebrations into the Christian cycle of holidays. The resulting All Saints' Day was officially moved to November 1 by Pope Gregory III in the eighth century. Also called All Hallows, the night before became known as All Hallows Eve, which later became Hallowe'en, and finally Halloween.

Other traditions contributed to the evolution of Halloween as an American holiday. The historian Lesley Bannatyne refers to Protestant English settlers of the eighteenth century importing the tradition of Guy Fawkes Day. Cited by numerous authors as a source for Halloween, celebrations of this holiday often took on an anti-Catholic theme, with celebrants burning effigies of the Pope as well as other major contemporary figures. The holiday began in 1605, when English Protestants foiled a plot by Catholics to blow up the Houses of Parliament in London. Celebrations also included pranks, masquerades, bonfires, and fireworks.

However, the Protestants, a large, influential group, frowned upon Halloween celebrations, effectively stopping any systematic observation of the festival in the United States until the nineteenth century. Elements of the European folk holiday remained, however. After the American Revolution, "play parties" became popular in the form of harvest celebrations for families.

Halloween evolved into a holiday for children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as less frightening entertainments replaced commemorations of the dead. A large amount of printed ephemera about and for Halloween was produced at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, specifically for children. The earliest examples of this new genre were made by the lithographer Raphael Tuck, also known for the manufacture of paper DOLLS. The first quarter of the twentieth century also heralded the rise of businesses manufacturing products specifically for Halloween. Today Halloween is a major consumer holiday second in gross revenues only to Christmas.

Trick-or-treating, which began as a Thanksgiving tradition as early as 1881, became a major Halloween ritual in the 1920s. The phrase itself was first published in 1939 and has been used ever since. The "open house" tradition of welcoming trick-or-treaters (especially small children) became increasingly widespread in the 1930s.

For children Halloween is also traditionally an occasion to explore boundaries, often breaking rules or bypassing parental authority (whether symbolic or actual). In the past as in the present, this aspect of the holiday was often negative. By the 1930s the tradition of committing acts of vandalism on Halloween was a major concern of adults. Schools and civic groups across the country organized celebrations for children and teenagers in an effort to curb vandalism, a tradition that continues. Today Halloween is still a holiday primarily for children, which still includes age-old traditions such as dressing up in costumes and frightening masks and requesting candy favors.

See also: **Parades; Vacations.**

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SHIRA SILVERMAN

Hammer v. Dagenhart

In *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the 1916 Keating-Owen Act, which restricted child labor through the Congressional power to regulate interstate commerce, unconstitutional. Keating-Owen prohibited the shipment of commodities across state lines if they were manufactured by firms employing children less than fourteen years of age, or in mines employing children less than sixteen years of age. When Keating-Owen became effective in 1917, a Child Labor Division under Grace Abbott was organized to enforce the law through the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU directed by Julia Lathrop. Almost immediately, a Mr. Dagenhart, the father of two youths working in a mill in North Carolina, sued to stop the enforcement of the law. Dagenhart won a court injunction against the federal statute, and the North Carolina Attorney General appealed to the Supreme Court. In a 5-4 split decision, the majority rejected a lower court's reasoning that the statute was unconstitutional because it deprived parents such as Dagenhart of their property rights regarding their children. Instead, Justice William D. Day wrote that the statute attempted to achieve indirectly for the Congress what the Constitution did not grant them directly. The purpose of the federal statute was to regulate manufacturing in the states, and thus it had unconstitutionally used the commerce clause of the Constitution to intrude upon state's rights. Justice Oliver W. Holmes argued for the minority that the law was fully within the power of the interstate commerce clause, and the purposes and consequences of the Act relative to the states were irrelevant.

Keating-Owen and *Hammer* mark the first time the struggle over child labor moved before the highest judicial

and political bodies of the nation. The result reveals the difficulties child labor reformers faced when confronting state's rights doctrine and laissez-faire justifications for unfettered corporate power. Even after the *Hammer* ruling, reformers continued to work for federal action because they understood that the economic pressure on state legislatures to make their states appealing to business interests made it impossible to curb the abuses of capitalism in a meaningful way through state law. After the Keating-Owen defeat, they tried to amend the act to meet the Court's demands. This was rejected in *Bailey v. Drexel* (1922). Next the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE pushed for a child labor amendment to the Constitution in 1924, but this also failed. Reformers finally achieved a lasting and significant restriction of child labor in every state of the union with the 1938 Federal Labor Standards Act, and in 1941 the Supreme Court explicitly overruled *Hammer* in *U.S. v. Darby*. *Darby* was greeted with enthusiasm in progressive circles, but the *Hammer* defeat remained alive in the minds of reformers such as Edith Abbott, who responded by asking if the Court could repair the "stunted minds and broken lives" of the children who had been abandoned in the name of states' rights and free trade two decades before.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Law, Children and the.**

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PATRICK J. RYAN

Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling

In the closing years of the twentieth century, few books for children enjoyed as much success, scrutiny, or controversy as the phenomenally popular Harry Potter novels. Part British school fiction, part mystery, part conventional fantasy, J. K. Rowling's planned, seven-part series concerns a boy named Harry who discovers that he was born a wizard and that a secret society of witches and wizards exists beneath the noses of the Muggle (or non-wizard) world. Orphaned under mysterious circumstances and branded with a strange lightning bolt on his forehead, Harry grows up with his neglectful relatives the Dursleys. On his eleventh birthday he is visited by Hagrid, a friendly, giant caretaker of Hogwarts Academy, a school for wizards that Harry is called to attend. There, he quickly becomes close friends with a bookish girl named Hermione and a comical friend Ron, as well as the enemy of a rich student named Draco. Through a number of noticeably darker adventures—each of Rowling's books describes one year at the school—Harry discovers not only the deeply

held secrets of the magic world, but also the facts of his own past, including the death of his parents at the hand of an evil wizard named Voldemort.

The novels are marked by increasing sophistication, depth, and length; the fourth book, one of the best-selling children's books in history, is nearly 800 pages. Packed full of mythic references and names, not to mention a broad cast of well-drawn characters, these smart books are noted for their complex mysteries that revolve around even the smallest detail. They feature clever objects and spells, fabulous creatures, secretive adults, a Gothic-style castle for a school, and a soccer-like sport called Quidditch that is played on brooms. Rowling frequently deals with such themes as prejudice (against those of mixed parentage), class (through the different dormitories one is assigned by The Sorting Hat), and ADOLESCENCE (as the young protagonists learn to control their powers).

By word of mouth and clever marketing, the first three books in the series, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997), *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998), and *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999) spawned a number of fan clubs and websites, filled up the best-seller list, and became a favorite of adult readers as well. Critics argued whether Rowling was merely rewriting old conventions in a new guise. Faith-based groups, meanwhile, challenged the novels' emphasis on witchcraft and the occult, making the first three titles the most frequently banned books of 1999. By the time the fourth book, *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2000), was released, midnight sales and a rash of marketing had made Harry Potter a global phenomenon and a merchandising goldmine. The books, with an enticing world of flying brooms and invisibility cloaks, seemed to echo this drive for marketing. Yet Rowling's books are noticeably moralistic, often discouraging temptation by showcasing a number of alluring objects—a mirror of desire, a stone that gives eternal life—that are never fulfilling for the main characters.

Christopher Columbus's blockbuster film of the first book (2001), one of the highest grossing films in history, featured a near literal translation of the book to screen, employing an almost entirely British cast and a group of unknowns to play the three child leads. Its success guaranteed a franchise of films from the books. The fifth book, meanwhile, delayed by Rowling's own decision to spend more time with her family and to craft the plot, became a highly anticipated event. Scholastic capitalized on such reader anticipation with two supplementary books, *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them* (2001) and *Quidditch Through the Ages* (2001), both marketed as textbooks from Hogwarts.

A former English and French teacher, born in 1966 in Chipping Sodbury near Bristol, England, Rowling wrote the first books primarily in cafés, while her infant daughter slept. Conceiving the series on a train ride, she formulated the plot



Harry Potter (Daniel Radcliffe) consults with Dumbledore (Richard Harris), the headmaster of Hogwarts Academy in *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*. The 2001 film adaptation of J. K. Rowling's first Harry Potter book became one of the highest grossing movies in history. THE KOBAL COLLECTION/WARNER BROS/MOUNTAIN, PETER.

of all seven books at once, in a burst of creativity, imagining full lives for all of her characters. Initially rejected by several publishers, the first book was eventually released in England, before being purchased by Scholastic in America. It was slightly revised, as the "Philosopher's Stone" of the original title was changed to the more fantastical "Sorcerer's Stone" in American editions, and some British slang was taken out. It was also eventually translated into nearly thirty languages. The books remain a publishing phenomenon and a significant touchstone of contemporary children's literature.

See also: **Children's Literature; Lord of the Rings and J.R.R. Tolkien; Series Books.**

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CHRIS MCGEE

Head Start

Head Start is a U.S. federal program that provides education and social services to low-income three- to five-year-old children and their families. Head Start began as a summer program for about 500,000 children in 1965 and by the early twenty-first century served almost 1 million people annually in a mixture of school-year and full-year programs. Head Start's programming and politics reflects Lyndon Johnson's efforts to build the Great Society in the 1960s. Unlike other Great Society programs, a coalition emerged to ensure Head Start's survival and expansion.

Head Start developed out of two trends in particular. First, the emerging academic interest in "compensatory education for cultural deprivation" taught that government in-

tervention early in children's lives could help children overcome what many expert-advocates considered inferior parenting by poor and minority families, especially women. Second, the New Left sought to build a movement focused on civil rights and community action that would enable oppressed communities to take over government and social service institutions.

Expert-advocates and civil rights activists fought over Head Start's treatment of the parents of children enrolled in the program. Expert-advocates tended to want to educate parents, while civil rights activists wanted to empower them, and Head Start centers around the country displayed elements of both sides' desires. After arguing since Head Start's inception in 1965, the two groups reached a compromise in 1970 that required Head Start centers to create Policy Councils with parent majorities.

Neither expert-advocates nor civil rights activists correctly predicted how parents would actually experience Head Start. Head Start helped create a stronger sense of community among poor parents, especially poor mothers. As a result, parents advocated for themselves and their children more with local institutions and became a crucial part of the Head Start coalition, lobbying politicians on its behalf. This political organizing began without central coordination and led to the creation of the National Head Start Association, which organizes parents and Head Start employees to lobby on Head Start issues.

Despite disagreements over parent involvement, expert-advocates, and civil rights activists united in distrust for public schools and in their desire to use Head Start to reform the public school system. Throughout its history, members of the Head Start community helped establish broader changes throughout public education, pushing expanded early childhood education, comprehensive services and parent involvement.

This tense but effective coalition of expert-advocates, civil rights activists, and parents helped Head Start survive an era marked by academic and political challenges to many Great Society programs, including some studies that questioned its effectiveness and a brief attempt by the Nixon administration to eliminate it. By the late 1970s and 1980s, the coalition was aided by emerging research demonstrating the lasting benefits of Head Start in children it served. Research found that children enrolled in Head Start were less likely than their peers to be referred to special education or required to repeat a grade throughout their public school experience. Later studies found that children enrolled in Head Start were less likely than their peers to become pregnant as teenagers or become involved with the criminal justice system. Opponents could no longer argue that Head Start provided no benefit to children. The coalition continues to play a crucial role in its expansion and contemporary policy questions, such as how to increase academic standards in the pro-

gram, whether to move it from the Department of Health and Human Services to the Department of Education, and what are the appropriate means of assessing the program's effectiveness.

See also: **Education, United States.**

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JOSH KAGAN

Healy, William (1869–1963)

William Healy can be credited with bringing the interpretative framework of psychology to the JUVENILE JUSTICE system, with designing the institutional structure for the practice of clinical child psychiatry and psychology, and with popularizing psychological interpretations of youthful misconduct through his clinics, writings, and public appearances. Unlike many of his contemporaries in the early twentieth century who blamed poor heredity and mental RETARDATION for juvenile crime and called for institutionalization, Healy argued for the intellectual and psychological normality of delinquents and made a strong case for the efficacy of psychological intervention strategies.

A physician by training, Healy began his work with delinquents in 1909 when he was employed by a group of Chicago reformers to direct the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute. These reformers, having inaugurated the JUVENILE COURT movement ten years earlier, wanted Healy to provide the new court with assessments of troublesome repeat offenders. At the same time, he was expected to use these cases to develop a general understanding of juvenile crime. Healy's results were published in 1915 as *The Individual Delinquent*, a compendium of social and environmental, psychological, and medical characteristics found in the youths he evaluated. Healy rejected unidimensional theories of causation, arguing instead for an eclectic approach. The task for the court and the clinic, he believed, was to determine the unique combination of factors that shaped each delinquent's individual personality. This profile could be deduced only through a thorough investigation of the delinquents and their families by a team of medical, psychological, and social-work professionals. As established by Healy, the process included efforts to elicit the child's "own story" (Healy's phrase for the psychiatrist's contribution to the evaluation).

Healy's views on DELINQUENCY as laid out in *The Individual Delinquent* were heavily influenced by the adolescent psy-

chology of G. STANLEY HALL, the preventive mental hygiene programs of the psychiatrist Adolph Meyer, and the environmentalism of Progressive-era reformers. Increasingly, however, Healy was drawn to explanations of human behavior found in the works of SIGMUND FREUD. By applying psychoanalytic concepts of repression and the unconscious, Healy came to identify “mental conflicts” as the cause of much delinquency and adolescent misconduct. Like Freud, Healy was convinced that issues related to SEXUALITY usually caused these adolescent conflicts, and Healy’s work helped to fortify the SEX EDUCATION movement of the 1920s and 1930s. Also like Freud, Healy located the source of personality and delinquency in family dynamics and in particular in the child’s relationship with his or her mother. Healy’s concurrence helped to give validity to the mother-blaming psychology that consumed child psychiatry after the 1930s.

In 1917 Healy became director of the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston, where he remained until retiring in 1947. Healy’s clinic was originally designed to provide assessments of delinquents brought before the Boston juvenile court. By the 1930s the clinic evaluated and treated children from all walks of life who were experiencing a broad range of emotional or behavioral problems. In 1922, when the Commonwealth Fund, a wealthy private philanthropy interested in juvenile justice programs and research in child development, offered to support the establishment of a network of court-affiliated CHILD GUIDANCE clinics, Healy’s Judge Baker Foundation served as the working model. At first these child guidance clinics were solely for delinquents, but during the 1920s the clientele came to include other troublesome youths—in trouble at school or difficult to live with at home, for example. During the 1920s and 1930s the parents of these nondelinquent adolescents learned about the teachings of child guidance through child-rearing manuals, popular magazines, and government publications, and William Healy contributed to all these venues.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Child Psychology.**

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KATHLEEN W. JONES

Herbart, J. F. (1776–1841)

Johann Friedrich Herbart, a German philosopher and educational theorist, is considered one of the founders of scientific pedagogy. Born May 4, 1776, in Oldenburg, Herbart started his study of philosophy in Jena in the spring of 1794. Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Schiller, among others, were his teachers there. During this time Herbart critically analyzed Fichte’s transcendental idealism. In 1797 Herbart left for Switzerland to become a private tutor for the Steiger family children, and recorded his findings on his work with them. These records are considered the first documents of Herbart’s pedagogy. In 1802 he became a university lecturer at the University of Göttingen and in 1805 an associate professor of philosophy and pedagogy. In 1809 he accepted a call to the University of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russia) to take over the chair currently being held by the philosopher Wilhelm Traugott Krug, a position that Immanuel Kant had previously held. In 1833, Herbart returned as a full professor to the University of Göttingen, where he lectured until his death on August 14, 1841.

Some of Herbart’s main works on educational theory include *Ueber die ästhetische Darstellung der Welt als das Hauptgeschäft der Erziehung* (On the aesthetic representation of the world as the main subject of education), 1804, *Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet* (General pedagogics derived from the purpose of education), 1806, and *Umriss pädagogischer Vorlesungen* (Outline of lectures on education), 1835, 1841. In *On the Aesthetic Representation of the World* Herbart discusses morality as the main purpose of education. As one of the proponents of realism, Herbart, in contrast to the supporters of German idealism, adheres to the recognizability of the objective world, meaning that the mind has to discern rules but does not create them. Thus Herbart understands morality as an ideal that one strives for by learning to assess and influence his or her will on the basis of objective perception in order to act in the interest of social existence. Herbart asks: How can the educator consciously support this learning process?

In *General Pedagogics* Herbart develops the means of education: *Unterricht* (instruction), and *Zucht*, which he later completes in *Outline of Lectures on Education*. *Unterricht* is to provide understanding. Therefore Herbart’s theory of *Unterricht* stresses the material part of education concerning these dimensions: steps of instruction (structure), subject

matter of instruction (choice of subject), and course of instruction (methods). *Zucht*, on the other hand, focuses the ethical ideal to act according to a better understanding. It refers to the personal attitude of the educator and the pupil toward each other. Both aspects of education, *Unterricht* and *Zucht*, lead to Herbart's idea of *erziehender Unterricht* (educating instruction). This idea gained influence on classroom activity and teacher training at the university level through his followers, the Herbartians.

Famous Herbartians included Karl Volkmar Stoy (1815–1885), Tuiskon Ziller (1817–1882), and Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929). Their efforts were focused on teacher training at the university level that aimed both at specialist training and pedagogical professionalism. In order to offer both theoretical educational studies and educational practice to students, they affiliated practice schools with teacher training colleges. Life at the practice schools included lessons, school trips, celebrations, gardening, sports, games, and self-government by the pupils. Stoy developed Herbart's systematic work on education into an acknowledged body of educational theories. Ziller added Herbart's theory on *Unterricht* and created within the framework of his didactics the *Formalstufentheorie* (theory of formal steps of instruction), the principle of *Konzentration* (concentration), and the *Kulturstufentheorie* (theory of cultural steps). It is thanks to Rein that Herbart became famous all over the world. His pedagogical teacher-training college and holiday courses at Jena gained international interest.

See also: **Education, Europe.**

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ROTRAUD CORIAND

High School

High school as it developed over the middle decades of the nineteenth century was diverse in its instantiations—as variable, in fact, as the cities that gave it birth. An array of secondary educational alternatives included everything from a few courses in the “higher branches” offered to a handful of students in a solitary room of a city’s “union” school to Boston’s precocious English Classical School, established in 1821. Between these extremes lay the ACADEMIES, commercial institutes, seminaries, and proprietary schools that dotted the landscape of midcentury American education.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, indeed, until the 1880s, the high school was more easily defined by what it was not than by what it was: neither a college nor the classical GRAMMAR SCHOOL that prepared future collegians, the high school of the mid-nineteenth century both sprang from and was instituted in contradistinction to classical grammar schools, which prepared young people for college.

Development of the Nineteenth-Century High School

While high schools across the United States would continue to vary widely throughout the next seventy years in response to the highly specific needs of populations experiencing rapidly changing social conditions and political alignments, the very construction of a high school, whether in Kalamazoo or Philadelphia, demanded a shoring up of the school system that supported it. Age-grading and sequencing the curriculum became necessary to differentiate the offerings of the high school from its tributaries and to legitimize those offerings. This in turn was made easier by the adoption of standard textbooks and uniform high school entrance examinations. And since public schools largely justified their existence by offering education inexpensively, they hired the cheapest labor to teach their growing enrollments. Therefore, educated women, with few other avenues of employment open to them, soon replaced male faculty at the primary levels of public schooling. In some instances this ordering of the lower schools prepared the way for the building of a high school. In others, the “high” school, however modest its accommodations, preceded the reorganization of the lower schools or even the passage of COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE legislation. Yet all attempts to bring order and predictability were predicated upon the larger movement to centralize school bureaucracy locally.

By the end of the nineteenth century in the northeastern and midwestern United States this process had been largely completed, and the high school stood poised to become an extension of the American COMMON SCHOOL. Entrance examinations, widely employed during the middle decades of the century, were used to screen out students of lower aptitude and achievement in an effort to erect a perfect meritocracy. In one important respect this approach had been an unqualified success: before the turn of the century, once a student had entered the elite confines of the public high school, his or her grades were the best predictor of graduation; working-class pupils, whose chances of gaining entrance to high school were significantly diminished by their social background, performed just as well in high school as students of higher socioeconomic status. Their achievement after graduation, moreover, was rewarded in ways comparable to their graduate-peers across the social spectrum.

Committee of Ten

As high schools multiplied across the nation, one era came to a close and another beckoned. In response to this unruly expansion, the National Education Association convened the

country's leading educators to suggest ways to rectify the uneven shape of the secondary school curriculum. "The Committee of Ten," chaired by Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot, issued a report in 1893 recommending that the secondary school curriculum rededicate itself nationally to the goal of "training and disciplining the mind through academic studies," thus creating a better fit between the subjects offered by the high schools and the colleges receiving their students. Yet, in effect, as Jurgen Herbst has observed, the Committee of Ten had "written an epitaph instead of a blueprint for the future" (p. 108).

Left out of the report was any consideration of the demand for a curriculum that was becoming more, rather than less, variegated: one which included not just the call for "industrial arts" training in the Prussian mode but also for "commercial" courses—training in the new technologies of business and commerce such as typing, stenography, sales, accounting, bookkeeping, and French and other modern languages which had been excluded historically from the classical curriculum. From its origins the high school, like its closest cousin, the academy, had offered an alternative to the classical training of the grammar school. It was to be practical in orientation and so was inclined to expand in this direction as its embrace of young people was enlarged. Indeed, by the time the Committee of Ten had issued its recommendations, most public high schools in the United States had abandoned the use of entrance examinations as a device to restrict enrollments.

Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education

Between 1900 and 1940 the ratio of seventeen year olds graduating from high school nationwide shot up from 7 percent to 49 percent. As the great boom in high school attendance got underway during the 1910s and 1920s, high schools across the nation assumed broad similarities however much they differed in their particulars. These similarities were enhanced by the next major report on the status and purpose of secondary education, which was issued by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. Its *Cardinal Principles* (1918) stressed the importance of making secondary education available to the great majority of young people and dampened the emphasis of the Committee of Ten on strengthening connections between the high school curriculum and the mission of college education.

The *Cardinal Principles* laid the philosophical foundation for the adoption of the "comprehensive curriculum" and "tracking" during the 1920s and after—that is, the creation of curricular streams that channeled students according to aptitude, interest, and achievement into distinct courses of study judged to fit their individual abilities and inclinations. In practice, of course, this led to the reproduction of the very social structures that students experienced in the world outside the school, as principals, teachers, and career counselors often guided adolescents into tracks based upon their par-

ents' socioeconomic, racial, or ethnic backgrounds. As John Modell and J. Trent Alexander pointed out in 1997, in the "old regime" (high school before 1900) the school "reproduced the structures of the outside world by restricting admission." Under the new regime—high school as a mass institution—"schools reproduced the structures of the outside world through a variety of mechanisms that took place within the institutions themselves" (p. 23). Tracking was the curricular version of this device, indeed the major mechanism of sorting youths in the schools, but others arose in the form of the extracurriculum that emerged within the "new" high school of the 1920s and 1930s. The extracurriculum, which included every kind of student activity from sports to language clubs, was a way of engaging students in the values of high school outside the classroom. It was a means of extending enrollments by appealing to the interests of the average student, who a generation earlier would have "dropped out."

Postwar Developments

After World War II the great majority of adolescents attended and graduated from high schools. By 1967 graduation rates peaked at 76 percent and leveled off at around 75 percent for the remainder of the century. As high school graduation became normative, the financial consequences of not achieving a high school diploma became costly over the lifetime of those who failed to complete twelfth grade. The high school diploma had become a credential necessary both for employment after high school and for admission to college. On one hand, the expansion of higher education in the wake of the war fueled demand for this credential, and on the other, the collapse of the youth job market during the GREAT DEPRESSION and decline of the industrial sector of the U.S. economy and enlargement of the service sector after World War II discouraged leaving school early. Virtually as soon as high school became a mass institution, however, the problem of "warehousing" confronted educators. As greater numbers of adolescents entered high school for lack of economic opportunity, they were decreasingly likely, it seems, to find satisfaction in the school's offerings.

By the 1960s public high schools were criticized on a number of grounds: the bottom quintile of students who typically gravitated toward vocational offerings was incorporated into the comprehensive high school, but the skills imparted by the vocational curriculum had dubious application in the industrial workforce. The middle 60 percent, for whom a watered-down academic curriculum had been designed for "life adjustment," found the high school experience empty and irrelevant. And the top 20 percent of high school achievers, it was charged, were not being adequately prepared for the rigors of college. The most common criticism was that the social dimension of the high school experience was being overemphasized at the expense of academic achievement.

Roiling beneath the surface of these complaints was a more profound problem. If the *Cardinal Principles* early in

the century had succeeded in shaping the high school into a meeting place for adolescents of diverse ethnic, socioeconomic, and racial backgrounds, the student culture was rent by very real out-of-school differences within the pupil population. In the wake of *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*, the civil rights movement, and racial strife of the 1960s, middle- and working-class whites fled from inner-city high schools to new suburban schools. The effect of “white flight” was compounded by a plummeting birthrate among whites, so that by the 1980s it was commonplace for the composition of inner-city school populations to be composed of African-American and Latino students in excess of 90 percent. In addition to the detrimental social affects of such intensely segregated high schools, racial and ethnic segregation was accompanied by profound socioeconomic disadvantage. The separation of white suburban high school students from African-American and Latino central city students had erected a two-tiered, deeply unequal system of public schooling at every level.

Attempts to correct such imbalances have ranged from the use of vouchers in a handful of cities to the most pervasive approach, the creation of themed magnet high schools in inner-city districts. By attracting white students from the suburbs to take advantage of the specialized curricula of the magnets, the hope is to reintegrate the public high school. Thus far progress has been modest at best.

Despite its many problems, the high school became *the* institutional RITE OF PASSAGE for twentieth-century American youth. From a social standpoint it has provided the common basis for a youth experience that has included male and female, black and white, immigrant and native. It has served as an arena for the spread of youth styles and as an entry point for an expanding popular and YOUTH CULTURE. The high school, having largely abandoned its academic focus in the early twentieth century, found that by the twenty-first century, the search for academic retooling had become ever more difficult to achieve.

See also: **Education, United States; Junior High School; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.**

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STEPHEN LASSONDE

Hine, Lewis (1874–1940)

Lewis W. Hine was a pioneer of social documentary photography. His most sustained and influential body of work consists of over 5,000 photographs made between 1906 and 1918 for the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE (NCLC) publicizing the prevalence and harshness of CHILD LABOR in the United States. Born and raised in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, Hine first took up photography around 1903 as an extension of his work as a teacher at the Ethical Culture School in New York City. A Progressive educator, he soon came to embrace the camera as a tool of “social uplift” a generation before the social-activist photographers and filmmakers of the 1930s coined the term *documentary*.

In 1904, Hine began taking photographs on Ellis Island, portraying, in a dignified and sympathetic fashion, a representative sampling of the great influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. These images, made under difficult circumstances with bulky, primitive equipment, presented a powerful, humanist argument for open immigration at a time when nativist sentiment against the foreign-born was on the rise.

Hine’s work for the NCLC took him to thirty-one states and the District of Columbia. He photographed from Maine to Texas, in the Plains states and the Far West, documenting children of all ages engaged in wage labor as textile workers, telegraph messengers, street vendors, newsboys, mine workers, glass workers, oyster shuckers, shrimp pickers, sardine

packers, cigar makers, cigarette rollers, garment workers, lacemakers, and agricultural laborers. Hine's photographs were accompanied by meticulous field notes detailing the relevant sociological data: names and ages of the children, time and place of employment, hours worked, wages earned, length of employment, working conditions, and family circumstances.

As an impassioned middle-class reformer, he sought to convince an enfranchised liberal audience, by way of incontrovertible empirical evidence, of the harmful effects of child labor. At the time, both business leaders and working-class parents defended the social efficacy and economic necessity of child labor. Hine's photographs originally appeared on posters and in newspapers, bulletins, and periodicals advocating national legislation that would abolish most forms of commercial child labor and mandate a public-school education for all working-class children. However, despite compulsory education laws in most states, such policies were not enacted until the 1930s.

Hine worked mostly with a hand-held, wooden box camera, producing 4" x 5" and 5" x 7" glass-plate and film negatives from which he most often made contact prints, although enlargements were also common. Hine continued to make sociologically informed photographs for the remainder of his career, working for the American Red Cross in Europe during World War I and for the *Survey*, an early journal of social work. In 1930 he made a notable series of photographs documenting the construction of the Empire State Building. In this later phase of his career, Hine sought to portray in idealized terms what he came to see as the inherent dignity and heroic stature of the American worker and craftsman.

As a freelance photographer without an independent income, Hine's work necessarily reflected the agendas of the clients for whom he worked. Just as Hine's NCLC photographs reflected the politics of that organization, so his 1933 photographs of the Shelton Looms, commissioned by its owner, represented the interests of management. That being said, Hine's child labor photographs were the result of a particularly fruitful and serendipitous conjunction of a talented and dedicated photographer with a well-organized and highly motivated social movement. Collectively, these images constitute an invaluable resource in the study of early-twentieth-century, working-class children in the United States. They have also served as a model and inspiration for documentary photographers.

See also: Economics and Children in Western Societies; From Agriculture to Industry; Photographs of Children; Progressive Education.

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GEORGE DIMOCK

Historiography. See Comparative History of Childhood; History of Childhood.

History of Childhood

EUROPE

Benjamin B. Roberts

UNITED STATES

N. Ray Himer

Joseph M. Hawes

EUROPE

With his 1960 *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (published in English in 1962 as *Centuries of Childhood*), PHILIPPE ARIÈS put the history of childhood on the map. Since then, this former *terra incognita* has become a well-trodden battlefield for historians and social scientists. In a nutshell, the childhoods that Ariès sketched in Europe's Middle Ages and early modern period were not happy. Childhood was a social construction that developed between around 1500 and 1800. According to Ariès, the major differences between contemporary childhood and childhood in earlier periods are a lack of sentiment for—that is, preparing children for adulthood (i.e., education) and making an emotional investment in them (i.e., affection, time, and attention)—and no separate activities assigned to children in the Middle Ages and early modern period. From birth to age seven, children were considered miniature adults: they dressed like adults and they were not sheltered from the adult world. By the age of seven, children were physically capable of helping their parents care for farm animals and work in the fields; cognitively, children had acquired the same vocabulary as their parents.

European medieval society was rural and its inhabitants resided in small villages and on farms. A formal education—learning how to read and write—was considered an unnecessary luxury for the majority of children, and after reaching the age of seven children were expected to follow in the footsteps of their parents as farmers and artisans. They only

needed to learn these skills from their parents or from a master craftsman. The schools that did exist in the Middle Ages were a far cry from those that emerged in the nineteenth century, which children were required by law to attend. Medieval schools were attended not only by children. These one-room classrooms were for all age groups, from small children to middle-aged adults. The pupils learned at different levels and in the classical method, by reciting their lessons out loud. In addition to being noisy and difficult places for the pupils to concentrate in, classrooms were hard for teachers to manage. Discipline was physical and sometimes harsh. According to Ariès, both these conditions and the quality of education changed first under the auspices of the sixteenth-century humanists and then more fully over the course of the following three centuries. All this was accompanied by a growing affection for children.

Ariès detected a change in sentiment toward children in the seventeenth century, when painters started portraying children as individuals. In the Middle Ages, the only child painted was Jesus, who was portrayed as a stiff and unchild-like infant. According to Ariès, the seventeenth century was a significant benchmark in the attitude toward children in European history, and the beginning of modern childhood, which started to resemble twentieth-century childhood. With his negative conclusion about childhood in the past, Ariès launched a black legend into the historical community and the general public's mind.

The Black Legend

During the 1970s a wave of researchers investigated childhood from directions other than Ariès's but came to the same general conclusion. They agreed that childhood was a modern phenomenon but differed slightly on its exact discovery. Researchers probed and prodded the terrain of child ABANDONMENT, household structures, romantic LOVE between parents, and economic, social, and demographic factors in their quest to find affection for children in the past. In his 1974 *History of Childhood*, Lloyd deMause deduced that love for children did not exist in the antiquity, where child abandonment was common among the poor until the fourth century B.C.E. He also saw a landscape of CHILD ABUSE and mistreatment continuing until the very modern period. Jean Flandrin determined in his 1976 *Familles: Parenté, maison, sexualité dans l'ancienne société* that the notion of the nuclear family (father, mother, and children) in France, with its special focus on children, came in existence in the course of the nineteenth century. He based his work on terminology in dictionaries and encyclopedias. A main reason for paying more attention to children was the increased availability of BIRTH CONTROL, which started in the late eighteenth century. Parents realized that they could care for their children better if they had fewer of them.

According to the Canadian historian Edward Shorter (1995), romantic love, economic independence, and the nu-

clear family were the key ingredients of modern childhood. Romantic love between partners was necessary before parents could have affection for their children. This condition began to be met around 1750, when marriages were no longer prearranged for economic reasons. As a result, parents became more caring and concerned about their offspring. Free choice in marriage came about as a result of the rise of capitalism and the onset of the Industrial Revolution, which enabled young men to find work outside the family farm or business and to become economically independent of their families. This individualism allowed for couples to start their own nuclear families, consisting only of parents and children, and providing a haven for children from the world of adulthood, where parents could devote their time and energy to their children without the influence of the extended family and neighbors.

However, for the English historian Lawrence Stone (1977), the nuclear family doting over its children has a longer evolution. In the period from 1450 to 1800, Stone detects a transition in the structure of English families from an open lineage household—one with three or more generations and open to neighbors and distant family—to the closed, domesticated nuclear family. This consisted only of two generations, parents and children, with the parents giving a great amount of attention to their children. The closed, domesticated nuclear family came into existence parallel with what Stone terms “affective individualism,” which allowed for personal choice in marriage partners and resulted in a growing affection for members of the nuclear family (including a recognition of the uniqueness of each), and for children in particular. Stone detected that the free market economy (and eventual Industrial Revolution) and other social factors—such as the ability of more people to leave rural communities, where they had previously been dependent on family and neighbors, and move to cities, where they were economically independent, and to marry a partner of their choice—were important stimulants for the closed, domesticated nuclear family.

To these economic and social factors, Stone adds that the eighteenth century also witnessed a demographic change. Mortality rates, especially those for children, had started to decline. This was an important factor, allowing parents to feel more affection toward their children. Before then, the emotional burden of childhood death was considered a reason for parents to be cool and distant towards their children.

In her 1981 *The Myth of Motherhood*, the French historian Elisabeth Badinter elaborated on Shorter's and Stone's economic and social analyses and concluded that the Industrial Revolution brought about a separation of spheres and tasks between fathers and mothers. In the bourgeois society of the early nineteenth century, men moved to the public domain of the workforce whereas women retreated to the household and dedicated their time to being mothers and homemakers.

In France, the mother no longer had to work outside the house and could breast-feed her children instead of farming them out to wet nurses in the countryside, which was a practice that black legend historians considered evidence of indifference. Badinter's bourgeois mother was able to give her children more attention and shelter them from the outside world. This idealized image of motherhood—and childhood—is often associated with the Romantic period, the 1830s and 1840s. However, Simon Schama (1987) discovered a paradise of childhood that already existed in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century among the middling sort. According to the iconographic interpretation and medical and pedagogical advice books, Dutch mothers of this period nursed their children themselves, showered them with love and affection, gave them toys, and provided them with a proper education according to their financial means. Childhood, according to these historians, was the gradual creation of the period from 1600 to 1850.

The White Legend

In the 1980s, the debate over childhood took a different turn. Historians focused on new sources and came up with different results. In his 1986 *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction*, the English historian Alan Macfarlane showed demographic research indicating more continuity in household make-up and emotional investment in family members over a five-hundred-year period than the drastic changes detected by Stone. Macfarlane pinpointed the origin of the English nuclear family in the Middle Ages and argued, contrary to Stone, that the market economy and Industrial Revolution were a result of individualism and personal choice in marriage instead of being stimulants for them.

The notion of childhood as a modern phenomenon took another blow with the 1983 publication of Linda Pollock's *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* and her 1987 *A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Their Children over Three Centuries*. Her conclusions, based on diaries and correspondence, were that parental affection and concern had remained steady factors from the late Middle Ages until the nineteenth century. According to Pollock, economic conditions such as prearranged marriages and demographic factors such as high mortality rates had less influence on affection in parent-child relations than black legend historians had claimed. When children were ill, parents showed great concern and used every means they had to cure them. However, the problem with sources such as personal documents is that they allow insight only into the higher echelons of society. The European masses could not read or write in the early modern period, so historians are left to speculate.

This new material stressing continuity in the early modern period reopened the discussion of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Despite having fewer sources to consult, historians have been innovative in their interpretations. In his 1988 *The Kindness of Strangers*, John Boswell readdressed child aban-

donment in late antiquity and argued that the custom of abandoning children at the doorstep of a monastery was not an act of indifference or lack of affection, as Lloyd deMause had concluded. It was usually done by the poor, who hoped their infants would grow up in the security of a monastery or be found and taken care of by kind strangers. In her 1990 *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, Shulamith Shahar examined medical treatises and finds that parents were quite concerned about the health of their offspring. Parental protection and care began during pregnancy, when mothers took precautions in their diet. Shahar, like Marfarlane and Pollock, drew positive conclusions about childhood; their stress on continuity in the history of childhood was responsible for creating a revisionist school, or white legend, in the debate.

Light Gray

In the early 1990s, the debate between historians of the white and black legends seemed to be deadlocked, because neither group was able to reach a general conclusion encompassing childhood in urban and rural environs, in all economic and social strata, and for all religious groups. The deadlock began to end after historians started investigating specific child-rearing practices, examining smaller social groups, conducting more longitudinal research, and experimenting with new interpretations. Louis Haas investigated the ruling elite of Renaissance Florence, studying early child care in medical treatises and personal documents and publishing *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence, 1300–1600* in 1998. In regard to the use of wet nurses, Haas's evidence might prove historians such as Badinter to be correct. Florentine parents did have their infants farmed out to wet nurses living in the surrounding Tuscan countryside, but according to the personal documents Haas examined, parents were not at all indifferent toward their children. On the contrary, in most cases wet nurses were hired when mothers was incapable of producing milk. In addition, the milk of wet nurses in the countryside was considered to be healthier than the milk of mothers living in the city. Living in the country was thought to have a positive influence on the quality of a woman's milk and thus to be better for the child's health. The letters from Florentine fathers illustrated great affection for their children and active involvement in their upbringing. Similar results were found in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In his 1998 *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, Benjamin Roberts followed child-rearing practices in the correspondence of urban elite families over four generations. By examining the physical, cognitive, affective, and moral aspects of education and comparing them to medical and moral treatises, the author was able to detect continuity and change within families. The most significant change occurred in how children were educated. Parents in the course of two centuries changed school types and demanded different curricula for their offspring, but the physical care, moral

lessons, and affection for children remained stable from one generation to the next.

In 1994, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos published the innovative *Early Modern Adolescence and Youth* and in 1996 Paul Griffiths published *Youth and Authority in Early Modern England*. By examining youth through personal documents and legal records, Krausman Ben-Amos and Griffiths showed Ariès to be incorrect about the nonexistence of ADOLESCENCE prior to the nineteenth century, but at the same time these authors agreed that some of Ariès' conclusions were not unfounded. Early modern youths worked and lived outside the nuclear family and were entrusted with more independence than they are today; however, sending children into the world at an early age was not a sign of indifference, they argued, and can be regarded as a way to educate and prepare them for adulthood.

The lack of affection for children in the Middle Ages and the early modern period has been the most disputed of Ariès's arguments. However, Ariès's hypothesis about the lack of affection shown in the education of children is correct. Prior to the late nineteenth century, when school attendance became mandatory and CHILD LABOR was prohibited, educational opportunities were largely directed at a small sector of the population. Since 1960, the historiography of childhood has developed in many directions as new studies color in the numerous facets of childhood. New research into the formation of gender, personal identity, and SEXUALITY are now extending the lines on Ariès's map. By examining smaller, homogenous groups of similar economic, social, religious, and geographic background, historians are drawing more reliable conclusions and making less sweeping statements. The history of childhood is neither black nor white but somewhere in between—perhaps light gray.

History of Childhood beyond Ariès

The vast majority of European historians of childhood who have followed in Ariès's footsteps have worked on periods prior to 1900. Curiously enough, the century that the Swedish educator ELLEN KEY named the CENTURY OF THE CHILD has attracted much less attention. A few historians expanded their studies to cover the 1930s, but the years after 1945 have until very recently, as a general rule, been colonized by sociologists. As a consequence, their understanding of the rise of modernity as well as the welfare states has had a certain impact on the historians now studying the history of twentieth-century European childhood. The century is understood as having had a unique role in the understanding and the shaping of modern childhood. In the interwar years, new sciences, especially CHILD PSYCHOLOGY, supplemented the old medical knowledge about children and with the rise of the welfare state this knowledge has been spread to parents through infant-care programs, visiting nurses, and popular books on child rearing.

The rapid demographic changes of the twentieth century—with lower INFANT MORTALITY, lower fertility, and espe-

cially after World War II growing divorce rates and a rising number of mothers working in the paid labor market and away from home—have led historians to study changes in the roles of mothers as well as fathers and also to study the development of the day-care system.

The British historian Eric Hobsbawm has called the twentieth century the "Age of Extremes." It is an age that has seen more people killed in wars than any century before. It is therefore not surprising that war has become an important subject in the study of childhood. These studies examine state and interstate programs for orphaned or destitute children after World War I as well as the "war children" of World War II—children born in occupied territories to native mothers and German fathers or children born out of wedlock in Germany during the Nazi regime and placed in the so-called *Lebensborn* homes. Others deal with the children of the HOLOCAUST or with children who were born in Germany after the capitulation but fathered by American soldiers—the so-called Afro-German children.

With inspiration from the sociology of childhood, where children are understood as social actors in their own right, the British historian Harry Hendrick has raised the question of the absence of children's voices within the history of childhood. Because children live in an oral culture, the written sources are scarce—and despite its name, the history of childhood tends to deal with adults' views of children to a much larger degree than with the actual lived lives of children. This awareness is not new among European historians of childhood. The British historian Ludmilla Jordanova became famous by stating, in 1989, that there is nothing like "an authentic voice of children," meaning that history is a result of the historian asking and not of past children speaking in their own right. This did not prevent historians from trying to access the voices of children. The British labor historian Anna Davin made extensive use of memoirs in her work *Growing up Poor in London around 1900*, with the explicit purpose of giving children a voice in history. Another fruitful source of children's voices is letters to foster parents or to caretakers at children's homes.

What is new in the present debate is the insistence on bringing children back into the history of childhood by a more systematic use of sources like letters, diaries, and memoirs, and by using the growing range of twentieth-century sources where children have been filmed, videotaped, or questioned about their lives.

See also: **Comparative History of Childhood; Medieval and Renaissance Europe; Early Modern Europe; Enlightenment, The; Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood.**

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The historiography of childhood is a vast and largely uncharted field. In an entry of this length it is not possible to

do justice to the field as a whole. Accordingly we have chosen to emphasize the founders of the field, list some of the ways historians can approach the field (with examples of current work highlighted), and conclude with some discussion of what might be expected of the field in the future.

One of the first scholars to draw attention to the history of children was PHILIPPE ARIÈS, a French demographer and cultural historian. In *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962), Ariès argued that childhood did not exist in the Middle Ages and since that time, adult-child relations had deteriorated. Ariès was convinced that in the sixteenth century when adults stopped seeing children as miniature adults and began to view them as helpless, vulnerable, and incompetent beings, the foundation was laid for the oppressive intervention of the state and the creation of separate institutions for children where they were subjected to harsh physical and psychological discipline. Ariès warned historians not to confuse "the idea of childhood" with affection, which was experienced in abundance by medieval children. Recent scholars have subjected Ariès' work to severe criticism, especially his heavy dependence on iconographic evidence, such as paintings, and his assertion that childhood did not exist before the early modern period. Even so, Ariès did as much as anyone to legitimize the history of children and can justly be called its founder. In addition, Ariès's contention that childhood as a social construct was part of the historical process seems undeniable and has helped to justify continued research into its historical development.

Another scholar who influenced the early development of the history of children was Lloyd deMause, who established the *History of Childhood Quarterly* and edited *The History of Childhood* (1974), one of the first major collections of scholarly work on the subject. DeMause, a vigorous advocate for a particular psychohistorical approach to the history of children, reached conclusions that directly contradicted those of Ariès. Whereas Ariès was nostalgic about the distant past, deMause was highly critical, arguing that "the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken." "The further one goes back in history," asserted deMause, "the lower the level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed abandoned, beaten, terrorized, and sexually abused" (p. 1). From the infanticide characteristic of the earliest periods of civilization, deMause claimed that humanity has moved inexorably toward more humane treatment of children, especially among modern advanced parents and caregivers who seek the full development of children as persons. DeMause also argued that at critical points the state was vital to improving the care and nurture of children. Medieval historians, especially, have strongly condemned deMause's psychogenic theory as an unjustified attack on the humanity of those whom they study. In spite of this widespread criticism, much of which is justified, it is important to recognize that with his strong commitment to the humane treatment of children, deMause played a very

important role in promoting interest in the history of children.

Peter Petschauer commented in the late 1980s that historians who had studied child rearing could be divided into two groups, “those who find tears and those who find smiles in the past” (p. 3). This is certainly an apt description of the work of Ariès and deMause, but at the turn of the twenty-first century historians of children seem increasingly reluctant to accept either the optimism of deMause or the nostalgic pessimism of Ariès. In fact, Linda Pollock’s book, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (1983), directly challenged Ariès’s and deMause’s claims that radical changes have occurred in parent-child relations in Europe and America. After drawing on sociobiological theory and reviewing almost 500 diaries and AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, Pollock observed that the evidence “does not support the evolutionary theories on the history of childhood” (p. 283). Parental care for children, she concluded, has been curiously resistant to change. Pollock’s continuity thesis has itself been questioned, so the issue of adult-child relations, which generated so much of the early research on the history of children, remains unsettled among historians and seems unlikely to be resolved in the near future.

In retrospect, it is clear that much of the early, pioneering work in the history of children, though indispensable in stimulating interest in the field and establishing its legitimacy, suffered from a serious lack of definitional and theoretical clarity. If the history of children is to reach its full potential, more attention should be devoted to clarifying the nature of the subject and the questions that should be asked. For instance the concept of childhood may be viewed in at least three basic ways: as ideology or social construction, as experience, and as a set of behaviors. Childhood as ideology (the ideals and norms that society establishes for children) should not be confused with what children actually experience any more than an experienced teacher assumes that what is taught is necessarily learned. Beliefs about childhood clearly influence behavior and experience but is not coincident with either. Similarly, the behavior of children should not be confused with their experience or with childhood as an ideology. It would be naïve to believe that children reveal all of who they are in what they say and do. Thus, when historians declare that children in the past were miniature adults or that childhood did not exist in a certain period, what do they mean? Are they referring to what adults thought childhood ought to be, what children actually experienced, or what children actually did?

New Questions for the History of Children and Childhood

In 1985, N. Ray Hiner and Joseph Hawes proposed five basic questions that they believed should guide research in the history of children. The proposal was based on the assumption that although the questions that occupied early researchers in the field were important, they were not answerable in

their original form and needed to be refined. Thus, Hiner and Hawes designed these questions not only to guide research, but also to encourage continued thinking about how children in the past can be studied. Hiner and Hawes did not suggest that these questions actually determined the direction of scholarship or that they do not themselves need continued refinement, but they can serve as a convenient framework for assessing work in the field. These questions make it clear that the history of children is much broader than the history of childhood as a social construction or ideology. Below, we identify these questions and provide brief illustrations of how they can be used to organize and interpret information about children in the past.

1. *What were the conditions that shaped the development of children?* This question has been of special interest to social and demographic historians who have investigated the social indicators that determine the duration, scope, and intensity of childhood as a stage of life, the institutions in which children live, and the nature and patterns of relationships that occur within these institutions. One historian whose work emphasizes the importance of demographic factors is Robert Wells, whose *Uncle Sam’s Family* sketches in demographic factors in American history.

2. *What were the social, cultural, and psychological functions of children?* Children, like members of all social groups, are assigned both implicit and explicit roles in American society and culture. Children are part of a larger system that places demands on them and shapes their behaviors in very precise ways that historians should investigate. An early and still relevant classic, Bernard Wishy’s *Child and the Republic* is a fine example of this approach to the history of childhood. Another example of how societies define children’s roles is provided by the classic study of colonial Plymouth, *A Little Commonwealth*, by John Demos.

3. *What were the attitudes of adults toward children and childhood?* In one sense, this is the easiest question for historians to answer primarily because adults left voluminous records about their attitudes toward children. However, care must be taken not to confuse attitudes or rhetoric with actual behavior. Still, knowledge of what adults thought about children, what they expected children to do and be, how childhood was constructed, is fundamental to creating a comprehensive history of children. While this may seem difficult terrain for the historian, the very complex history of the idea of ADOLESCENCE as developed by the historian Joseph Kett in his *Rights of Passage* illustrates one of the many ways historians may think and write about children in the past. Karin Calvert’s *Children in the House* likewise examines changing models of children and is especially attentive to issues of gender.

4. *What was the subjective experience of being a child in the past?* This is a very difficult question for historians to answer in part because children, especially young children, have left relatively few records of their experiences. Yet with empa-

thy, imagination, and careful attention to evidence, it is possible for historians to gain important insight into children's subjective worlds. Without this perspective, the history of children is not complete but because this is so difficult there are not many works which illustrate this point. An outstanding example here is the book by David Nasaw: *Children and the City*. Nasaw's imaginative use of a wide variety of sources shows both the importance of doing this work and the difficulty. William Tuttle has similarly tried to reconstruct American children's experiences during World War II in *Daddy's Gone to War*.

5. *How have children influenced adults and each other?* To understand this question, it is important not to confuse influence with power. Because children have obviously had little power, historians too often assume that most of the influence in adult-child relations flows in only one direction, from the adult to the child. However, all human relationships, even the most hierarchical, are inevitably reciprocal and dynamic. Although children have had little formal power, they have nevertheless exercised and continue to exercise great influence on virtually all aspects of American society and culture. The ways in which children influence adults are many and varied, but one of the most obvious and immediate occurs when a child is born. N. Ray Hiner has explored this dynamic in his articles on how children influenced the life and thought of Cotton Mather, a Puritan minister and early parent educator.

A sixth question might also be posed: *What institutions have been most important in defining children's lives and experiences?* Here could be included the many excellent studies of schooling, orphan asylums, family, and church and religion. Philip Greven's *The Protestant Temperament* is a deeply researched investigation into religion's role in forming children's contexts and Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg's *Domestic Revolutions* provides important insights into the changing nature of the child's most basic site for development.

Unfortunately, history does not provide simple, definitive answers to these important questions about children in part because (1) these questions are themselves complex; (2) the sources for historical study of children are at times limited or unavailable; (3) history is a dynamic discipline constantly presenting new and challenging insights; (4) the history of children, though vigorous, is still a young, undeveloped field; (5) and perhaps most critically, because human experience is so full of variety children of the past, like adults, speak with many, sometimes confusing voices. As historians explore matters of race or class or gender, these inevitably create new paths in our studies of children. (For example, in the area of slavery, new work appeared in the 1990s, including Brenda Stevenson's *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* and Wilma King's *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*.) However,

in spite of these limitations, historians have added greatly to our understanding of children during the last two decades.

The Influence of the "Powerless"

In what ways were children influential? One part of the answer is undeniable. All adults were once children, an experience that obviously shaped their development in complex ways. Yet, children's influence goes far beyond the *universality of childhood*. Children were influential in our past in at least four additional ways: (1) as members of families; (2) as members of a distinct population group; (3) as producers and consumers; and (4) as cultural and political symbols.

As members of families, children exercised great influence over the lives of their parents, siblings, relatives, and caregivers. One does not need to tell parents that the birth or adoption of a child changes the fundamental dynamics of a family. Our archives are full of documents that testify to this influence. Moreover, few parents would deny that most children learn how to get what they want from their parents and others. An example of this point is the marketing strategy of the McDonald's restaurant chain, which pitches its ads directly to children, supplements those ads with a cartoon character like Ronald McDonald, and designs its retail outlets in ways that cater to children and make them feel welcomed. Thus, McDonald's uses the ability of children to influence their parents both as a way to sell hamburgers and to make a handsome profit for stockholders. Throughout history, millions of parents and caregivers have by necessity and choice built their lives around providing for and caring for children. (The ways in which purchases of TOYS have been influenced and how this has changed is explored by Gary Cross in *Kids' Stuff*.)

As members of a distinct population group, children have shaped society in ways that go far beyond their individual families. For example, few in the twenty-first century can grasp fully the omnipresence of children during much of the past. Before 1800, at least half of the population in the United States was under the age of sixteen, and the average age of Americans did not exceed twenty-one until the twentieth century. An enormous amount of society's human and physical resources has been devoted to providing food, clothing, shelter, and education for children. Furthermore, because childhood mortality rates were often twenty to thirty times higher than they are in the twenty-first century, many children in the past died before they could replace the substantial investment that society made in their care and training. The collective influence of children was magnified when they were segregated by age in schools and other custodial institutions. One could argue with some justification that one of the most radical decisions ever made by American society was to confine large numbers of TEENAGERS together in limited spaces for extended periods in HIGH SCHOOLS. We live with the consequences still. (For a discussion of the beginnings and development of this phenomenon, see Paula

Fass's *The Damned and the Beautiful* and Thomas Hine's *The Rise and the Fall of the American Teenager*.) Children's extraordinary collective influence can also be seen in the continuing effects of the BABY BOOM after World War II, which only temporarily raised the proportion of children in the population. Conversely, one can see in the early twenty-first century the powerful impact of declining birth rates on government programs, the economy, generational politics, and family dynamics.

As producers and consumers, children played a significant role in the development of the American economy. Because children constituted such a large percentage of the early American population, adult labor was relatively scarce, and children, often very young children, were expected to work. Preparation for work was a normal part of life for early American children. While the many individual tasks performed by children in households, fields, and shops of rural and small-town America were not in and of themselves highly significant, collectively they represented a vital contribution to the economy. Children also worked in the factories, mills, and mines of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America and thereby subsidized the industrialization of America by contributing to the production of cheap goods to compete in the growing international market. However, they did this at a very high cost in lost lives, ruined health, and lost opportunity for education and normal development. In spite of the intense campaign to eliminate CHILD LABOR, it had little effect until the 1920s when social pressure, regulatory legislation, new technology, and compulsory education laws combined to reduce child labor. As more children went to school than went to work, their primary economic role gradually shifted until the twenty-first century, when children's predominant economic role is to consume the extraordinary range of products that are created for them. (For these changes, see the collection of documents by Robert Bremner et al., *Children and Youth in America*.)

As cultural and political symbols, children have had a remarkable influence on a wide range of public issues. As children constituted proportionally less of the population and as their economic role shifted production to consumption, their psychological and cultural importance in families and in society intensified. Thus, children have often found themselves at the center of debates that express Americans' deepest feelings, hopes, and anxieties. Throughout American history, children have been central to debates about family, religion, crime, education, citizenship, slavery, gender, race, SEXUALITY, social justice, health, welfare, drug abuse, and day care, to name a few. A foundational work on how the sacralization of childhood greatly influenced the way society thought about children is to be found in Viviana Zelizer's path-breaking *Pricing the Priceless Child*. A more recent investigation of the cultural uses of the sacred child is Paula Fass's *Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America*.

The Future of the History of Children

The formation of the new Society for the History of Children and Youth in 2002 bodes well for the future of this relatively new academic field. What began in the 1960s as a small academic subspecialty has grown into a vigorous interdisciplinary enterprise that reflects more accurately the scope and importance of the subject. Not only historians, but also social scientists, literary and legal scholars, and educators, among others, have begun to realize that to study children is a fundamental and necessary step in understanding the human condition and that to study their history is essential to understanding human history itself.

See also: Comparative History of Childhood; Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood.

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Hitler Youth

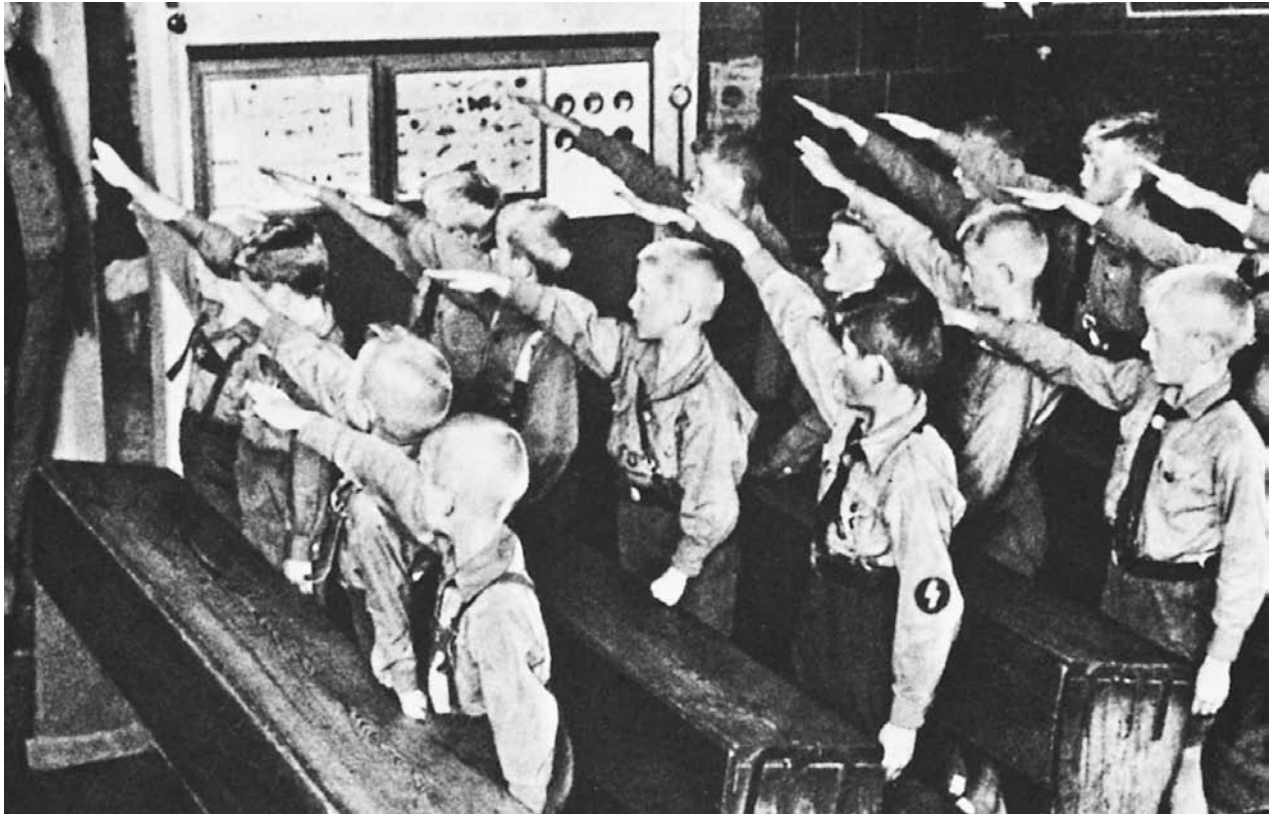
The youth organization of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei–NSDAP) was founded in Munich in 1922 and included only boys. It was given the name Hitler Youth (Hitler Jugend) in 1926, when a parallel organization for girls (Schwesterschaften) was established, which was known from 1930 as the League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel–BDM). By the end of 1932 the Hitler Youth had no more than 108,000 members, but when the Nazi Party came to power in 1933, the organization's growth potential and functions were decisively altered. Other youth organizations

were prohibited, dissolved or taken over, and membership in the Hitler Youth rose to 2.3 million in 1933 and steadily increased in the following years: 3.6 million in 1934, 3.9 million in 1935, 5.4 million in 1936, 5.8 million in 1937, 7.0 million in 1938, and 8.7 million in 1939. From 1934 the Hitler Youth was the principal means by which the Nazi Party exerted its influence on German youth and was more important in this respect than the school system, which was not as fully controlled by the party. Its status in the Third Reich was emphasized in 1933 by the appointment of its leader, Baldur von Schirach, to the post of Youth Leader of the German Reich (*Jugendführer des Deutsche Reiches*), then by a law of 1936, which stipulated that the Hitler Youth, aside from parents and school, was the sole legitimate institution for rearing children, and finally by a law of 1939 introducing youth duty, which in effect made membership in the Hitler Youth mandatory for young men. Mobilization during World War II added further pressure to expand membership. In spite of these factors the Third Reich never managed to enroll all German boys in the Hitler Youth.

The task of the Hitler Youth was to politically indoctrinate and physically harden young people. Physical training played a paramount role, and the lure of camping trips, terrain sports, shooting practice, rowing, glider flying, and other activities was effective for recruitment. Its tasks were militarily organized, using uniforms, rank, and a division by age and geographical area. Ten- to thirteen-year-old boys were organized in the German Young People (*Deutsche Jungvolk*), while the Hitler Youth itself comprised boys and young men from fourteen to eighteen. Correspondingly, girls from ten to thirteen were enrolled in the Young Girls (*Jungmädels*), and girls and young women from fourteen to twenty-one in the League of German Girls. The organizations for both genders were organized hierarchically into regions at the top (*Obergebiete* and *Obergau*), counting up to approximately 750,000 members, which were successively subdivided down to the smallest units (*Kameradschaft* and *Jungmädelschaft*) with little more than ten members.

The Hitler Youth, like other of the Nazi Party's subordinate organizations, was amply represented at the annual Nuremberg Party Rallies, where thousands of young people had the opportunity to personally experience, even at a distance, the presence of the party leader. The leader cult was at the core of the Hitler Youth's training program, and Hitler himself considered it the foundation of his "Thousand Year Reign." He wrote in *Mein Kampf*: "A violently active, dominating, brutal youth—that is what I am after. Youth must be indifferent to pain. . . . I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men."

World War II brought new tasks to the Hitler Youth, both to the organization in general and to its specialized units, which had already captured youthful interest in flying, driving, sailing, gathering intelligence, patrolling, music,



A classroom of young boys give their teacher the Fascist salute, Germany, c. 1939.

and other activities. In 1940 Arthur Axmann was appointed Reich Youth Leader (*Reichsjugendführer*) and put in charge of committing youth to the war effort. The first assignments consisted in collecting blankets and clothes for soldiers and bones and paper for war production. As part of the mobilization for total war in the spring of 1943 combat units of Hitler Youth members, some of them no more than sixteen years of age, were formed. These units were sent into battle from the summer of 1944, often with huge losses due to inadequate training and experience. They surrendered to American forces in May 1945 along with the other German units.

See also: **Communist Youth; Fascist Youth; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups.**

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JOHN T. LAURIDSEN

HIV. *See* AIDS.

Hobbies. *See* Collections and Hobbies.

Holocaust

The murder of Jewish children comported with the ideology of racial nationalism on which the Third Reich rested. Rooted in mythic notions of German national superiority, racial conflict as the key to history, and a vast empire ruled by a master race, this ideology identified Jews in particular as parasites in need of elimination. This anti-Semitism did not allow for distinctions according to religious commitment, social position, gender, or age: all Jews fit beneath a blanket condemnation. Adolf Hitler's central obsession was the removal of Jews from German lands, as well as from lands taken from "subhuman" Slavs and other Europeans by military conquest. A spirited debate continues about the sequence of decisions leading to the implementation of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question," the Nazi plan not merely to remove but to kill every Jew in Europe. It is clear that by the beginning of World War II, in September 1939, however, the Nazis had already crossed the moral threshold with respect to murdering children. At least 6,000 children up to sixteen years of age with serious congenital or hereditary illnesses or physical deformities were killed in the Third

Reich's euthanasia program, which began at this time. Some of these children were subjected to painful experiments. Increasingly inured to the suffering of the young, the Nazis waged a war of extermination against their racial enemies. One should not be surprised that Jewish children were, in the words of Elie Wiesel—himself a youth of fifteen when he entered Auschwitz—"the first to suffer, the first to perish."

The Ghettos

The successes of the German military during the first three years of the war significantly increased the number of individuals under German control who could be exploited or tyrannized according to Nazi racial doctrines. Among these individuals were millions of Jews, who were subjected to the same kinds of persecutions that had led to the social death of Jews living in Germany in the 1930s: revocation of citizenship, reduction of food rations, confiscations, deprivation of schooling, restricted access to public institutions. Anti-Semitic propaganda was given free rein; Jews were ordered to display the yellow Star of David on their clothes. Condemned virtually to remain at home, Jews in occupied areas became isolated from their neighbors, who, with Nazi encouragement, withheld their sympathy or expelled Jews entirely from their orbit of moral responsibility. From Poland to France, from Holland to Greece, a regime of diatribe and harassment descended on Jewish communities. In the east, Nazi measures to render Jews vulnerable and contemptible included forcible removal from their homes to designated urban areas called ghettos. Isolating them in ghettos facilitated the seizure of their property. The policy also concentrated Jews for forced labor in the production of war supplies.

Jewish children experienced these persecutions in emotional and spiritual distress. Entries in children's diaries indicate a general inability among children to integrate ghetto life with their pre-ghetto existence and confusion about the moral reordering of their world. Many diarists could not understand why they were hated, why they had to be prisoners, why their fathers had been arrested, why their mothers had been beaten. In the ghettos, children confronted grave responsibilities. Every day, children were orphaned, as adults perished from hunger, disease, or execution, or were taken away for forced labor. ORPHANS begged for bread and potatoes or smuggled food by squeezing through gaps in the ghetto walls. Older children cared for younger siblings in this way. Some provided for their entire families. This harried existence had dreadful consequences. Children in particular suffered from overcrowding, hunger, improper sanitation, lack of medical care, and exposure to cold. In winter, thousands of children froze to death.

Social welfare organizations in the ghettos attempted to meet children's special needs. Children's kitchens were opened, as were CHILDREN'S LIBRARIES, and some children

had access to schooling and cultural activities. In the ghetto at Theresienstadt, northwest of Prague, for example, children expressed themselves artistically. Some four thousand of their paintings and drawings were recovered. These included depictions of flowers and butterflies but also of executions, deportations at the railhead to Auschwitz, and queues for a ladle of broth. Most Jewish children, particularly those in large ghettos at places like Lodz, Warsaw, Minsk, and Riga, had little or no access to social welfare or cultural outreach programs. Their lives were consumed with meeting the everyday requirements of bare subsistence.

Hiding Children, Hunting Children

Tens of thousands of Jewish parents attempted to hide their children from the Nazis. When the ghettos were liquidated, parents hid them in pantries, coal boxes, toilets, walls, chimneys, floorboards—anyplace they might escape the Germans and their local collaborators. Forced laborers often hid their children in factories. Partisan bands fighting behind German lines ensconced children in woods, caves, bunkers, or family camps in the forests. Underground organizations tried to find refuge for Jewish children, too. Few non-Jewish individuals, however, were willing to endanger themselves or their families by hiding them. Those who agreed to help acted more from impulse than careful calculation. Girls found greater acceptance than boys did. Boys' Jewishness manifested itself physically through CIRCUMCISION, and it was not uncommon for the German police to demand that boys pull down their pants and expose their "race." Rescuers might conceal children around the clock in cellars, barns, even cupboards, or assign them false names and try to pass them off as non-Jews. Hundreds of children from across Europe found refuge in Christian children's homes and convents. Female religious orders in Poland, for example, especially if they ran ORPHANAGES or residential schools for girls, could be persuaded to hide Jews, sometimes on the understanding that the girls would be introduced to Christianity, other times to satisfy altruistic principles. An unusual episode of Christian heroism occurred at Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France. Here the largely Protestant community concealed some four hundred Jewish children from German authorities, saving them from deportation and almost certain death. For all these hidden children of the Holocaust, privation and the trauma of losing parents and siblings were accompanied by loneliness and the mortal terror of being hunted.

The Nazis allowed precious few to escape. With their invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, they unleashed the full criminal power of the Third Reich against Jewish children. Hitler wanted the newly won territories in the east to be completely *Judenfrei*, free of Jews. All traces of Jewish existence were to be wiped out. Before the invasion commenced, Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS and chief of the genocidal cohort, transmitted spoken orders to German military and SS commanders, which were interpreted broadly to authorize the extermination of Russian Jewry. Four mo-

bile killing squads, or *Einsatzgruppen*, were organized to execute this task. Elements of the German military, reserve police battalions, and local auxiliaries, whose violence towards Jews was historic, assisted these units.

Although Jewish children were shot along with their parents as early as late July 1941, in many towns and villages only adult males were killed. Adult males were also the principle targets of pogroms (organized massacres of Jews), which local inhabitants in Belorussia and the Baltics initiated under German auspices. This evidence suggests that initially German killers were uncertain what to do with children. After shooting their parents, they often removed children to a nearby town or interned them in local buildings. They quickly abandoned this practice, however. Multitudes of screaming, starving, soiled small children with no one to care for them became a nuisance, and commanders began shooting them en masse. Some worried that allowing children to suffer in plain view was psychologically disruptive to their troops and thought it better to liquidate them on “humanitarian” grounds. Others acted on what they understood to be legitimate orders. Still others took their cue from Himmler, who justified the murder of children to avoid creating a generation of anti-German avengers. In any case, despite the initial hesitation, the mass murder of Jewish children rapidly became an integral part of the genocidal plan. By October 1941, at some execution sites, such as one outside Smolensk in the Soviet Union, the first to be shot were children, along with the sick, aged, and those who could not perform manual labor. Only later were their parents killed. The shooting of children at close range was particularly gruesome. Some killers shot children right next to their parents, who refused to abandon their boys and girls to face death alone. Spattered with blood and the brain matter of their victims, a handful of killers refused to continue. The great majority, however, became callused executioners, for whom the murder of children was routine activity. Before the death camps for gassing had even been constructed, almost a million Jews on the Eastern Front had been shot. Tens of thousands of these victims were defenseless children.

At the Wannsee Conference outside of Berlin in January 1942, Nazi officials met to systematize the genocide that was already underway. The Final Solution ordained that Jews from all over Europe be rounded up and evacuated to the east. Here they would be concentrated in transit ghettos before their murder at work camps or death camps. With extreme brutality, Jewish children were taken with the surviving members of their families to rail depots for deportation. Infants were shot on the spot, as were children found hiding or attempting to escape. Some children were snatched from their parents at deportation sites and were left to perish from hunger and the elements. Others were separated from their families and had to face the trials of deportation alone. From the fall of 1941 to the spring of 1945, more than 400 transport trains rolled to the work and death camps in the east.

Jammed into sealed cattle cars, many children were crushed to death or suffocated. Others starved or died of thirst.

Children in the Camps

When they disembarked, Jewish children encountered deadly peril. Those judged suitable for work were interned. Children as young as seven undertook heavy labor, such as carrying building materials or pushing overloaded carts. Some camp guards took Jewish boys for personal servants or for the traffic in children among pedophiles. Death visited young internees in numerous forms. Chronic malnutrition and exposure rendered children susceptible to infectious diseases. Many babies conceived in camps were forcibly aborted or had their heads smashed at birth by SS guards. At Auschwitz, some 3,000 twins underwent experiments conducted by the SS doctor Josef Mengele. These experiments included exposure to cholera and tuberculosis, operations without anesthetic, sterilization, and murder by phenol injection to the heart for the purpose of examining internal organs. In an attempt to create perfect “Aryans” from “inferior” racial stock, Mengele injected the eyes of some twins with chemicals in the hope of turning them blue. Few Jewish twins survived these horrific experiments. Few Jewish children survived internment at all. Those who did survive had generally been orphaned and continued to suffer after the war from penetrating psychological wounds and emotional disorders.

Most Jewish children, of course, were not interned in camps but were slaughtered upon arrival. All pregnant women, infants, and children deemed incapable of forced labor were sent for immediate gassing. As the commandant of Auschwitz explained, “Children of tender years were invariably exterminated, since by reason of their youth they were unable to work.” Pressed against their mother’s chests, some children did not die in the gas chamber and were burned alive in the crematoria. At Majdanek in 1943, the SS made sport of machine-gunning Jewish children in front of their parents. At Birkenau in 1944, Hungarian children, some of them still alive, were incinerated in great pits. Children were not always unaware of their imminent death. In October 1944, an eyewitness at Birkenau recorded the behavior of a large group of Lithuanian Jewish boys as they were herded into the gas chamber by SS guards: “Crazed with fright, they started running around the yard, back and forth, clutching their heads. Many of them broke into frightful crying. Their wailing was terrible to hear.”

Between 1.2 to 1.5 million Jewish children died in the Final Solution—89 percent of all Jewish children living in German-occupied lands. They glimpsed the world, and then they were gone.

See also: Frank, Anne; Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and the; War in the Twentieth Century.

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Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and the

Before World War II Jews enjoyed a rich cultural and social life throughout Europe. Despite pervasive anti-Semitism, Jews thrived and maintained their customs and traditions. Education had always been a cornerstone of Jewish life. But after the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, a series of laws were passed that gradually excluded Jews from business, civil service positions, universities, and all facets of professional life. On November 15, 1938—five days after a Nazi-organized night of widespread violence and vandalism against Jewish synagogues, stores, and businesses that came to be known as Kristallnacht (the night of broken glass)—Jewish children were barred from attending German schools. With the institution of Nazi decrees to end public education, the situation grew bleak. The effect on children was particularly harsh, as attested to by Naomi Morgenstern:

Marisha, my best friend, invited me to come with her to school. We met in the morning and walked together with a lot of other children. . . . Marisha went through the gate [of the school], and I followed her, as the watchman greeted her. “Where are you going?” he asked me. “To school, to the first grade,” I said proudly and continued walking. The watchman blocked my way. “No, not you.” “But I am six already—really I am!” “You are a Jew,” he said. “Jews have no right to learn. No Jews in our school. Go home!” I looked around. Marisha and the other children stood there listening. The school bell rang. Marisha, with the other children, ran into the building. I turned around, and walked away. Standing in the

street outside, I held on to the fence of the school. I watched Marisha. She entered the school building and disappeared. I did not cry. I thought: “I’m Jewish. There is no place for me. I stood there until no one stood in front of the school. Only me. The new school year had begun. But not for me.” (p. 12)

After the start of World War II, the Germans began to segregate Jewish populations into ghettos, primarily in Nazi-occupied lands in Eastern Europe. Historian George Eisen noted that “the educational system in almost all ghettos became victims of similar decrees [as those in Germany]. With one swipe of the pen, schools were outlawed and Jewish learning, specifically that of children, was forbidden under threat of death” (p. 21).

Such decrees did not halt the establishment, mostly illegal, of a network of elementary and secondary schooling and even higher education. Evidence clearly indicates that elaborate networks of schooling were established in ghettos like Vilna, Lodz, and Warsaw. In the Vilna ghetto, for instance, the Jews established a regular school system. The religious schools in this ghetto were particularly comprehensive in that the curriculum included attention to secular subjects such as arithmetic as well as study of ancient Hebrew texts.

In Lodz, the first major ghetto established (on December 10, 1939) and the last to be destroyed, the educational system included at the start forty-seven schools from kindergarten through high school with a total enrollment of 15,000 children. Although conditions in these schools were unbearable (e.g., classrooms were unheated, textbooks and materials were in short supply, and illness was rampant), classes were held with few disruptions for the first two years of Nazi occupation. According to a chronicler of the Lodz ghetto: “For many of [these students], school was a ray of light amid darkness—an anchor and symbol of the continuation of ‘normal’ life” (Unger, p. 136).

Overt schooling, however, ceased in the autumn of 1941, as children aged ten and over were compelled to join the labor force. Clandestine schools continued in the Lodz ghetto despite gnawing hunger, backbreaking work, disease, and constant fear of deportation. According to one chronicler, “precisely because of these unbearable physical and psychological hardships—many ghetto residents sought refuge, albeit temporary, in other worlds far from day-to-day reality” (Unger, p. 133). One young resident, Dawid Sierakowiak, found this refuge in reading and study. He wrote in his diary on March 25, 1942: “I felt very bad today. I did some reading, but I find it hard to study anything, only several new words in English. One of the things I’m reading is an excerpt from the works of Schopenhauer. Philosophy and hunger—what an unusual combination” (Adelson, p. 120).

In Warsaw, the largest Polish ghetto, the first school year under German occupation began in October 1939. Occupa-

tion authorities allowed only elementary and vocational schools to open; they kept the secondary schools in the ghetto closed. Two months later, they closed all Jewish schools in Warsaw. Judenrate (Jewish Council) authorities made many unsuccessful appeals to the Germans to rescind this regulation. Lacking a legitimate educational system, the Jewish community began to establish an underground network of schools. Clandestine elementary schools operated mainly in children's kitchens under the aegis of various social agencies. However, only a tiny fraction of the ghetto's tens of thousands of school-aged children could actually attend them.

Another vast network of private schools was established in Warsaw primarily for high school students. Unemployed teachers from prewar faculties staffed these clandestine schools, known as *komplety* in Polish. In the Warsaw ghetto, some two hundred students also learned in at least eleven *yeshivot* (schools for advanced Hebrew studies). Most yeshiva students had no legal existence in the ghettos because they were not registered with the Judenrate. Their lack of official status meant that the students had no ration cards. Some more fortunate Jewish families supplied them with food in quantity, as did some welfare agencies. Students took turns begging on the street or soliciting food and money among people of means.

In many ghettos, clandestine schooling sometimes took the form of play. In an attempt to disguise a formal school structure, children, with the aid of educators, formed playgroups. In his brilliant study of children and play during the Holocaust, George Eisen described such playgroups:

The Youth Care organization of the [Theresienstadt] camp (Jugendfuersorge) formed several "play groups" which replaced the formal school structure. A prisoner remembered after the war that "lessons had to be camouflaged as games." In the guise of play, genuine school subjects such as history, math, and geography were taught. Children took turns in alerting their classmates and teachers to the approach of SS men. On a moment's notice, children and teachers magically transformed the classroom into a play scene. Even the smallest details of these activities had to be well rehearsed, for if anyone were caught it could mean death for children and teachers alike. (p. 84)

Conditions in ghetto schools were deplorable. Survivors, reminiscing about their experiences, recalled the horrible conditions in the Lodz ghetto. Dawid Sierakowiak noted in his diary "School is deteriorating. There are no teachers or classes. Everything is vanishing before our eyes" (Adelson, p. 120). Yet despite these horrendous conditions, learning became a form of spiritual survival and even resistance. David Weiss Halivni, in his memoir *The Book and the Sword: A Life of Learning in the Shadow of Destruction* (1996), described in detail how learning contributed greatly to his sur-

vival: "It was learning that made my life as a child bearable, insulated me from what was happening in the ghetto, . . . and it was learning that allowed me to resume my life after the Holocaust" (p. 175). Despite deplorable conditions, Jews established a network of schooling in many ghettos. The attention to the education of children and its impact on them as a means and expression of survival are remarkable testimonies of courage and determination.

See also: **Holocaust; Judaism; War in the Twentieth Century.**

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JEFFREY GLANZ

Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States

The population of homeless children in the United States is estimated to range from five hundred thousand to more than two million. Historical studies of homelessness in general have concentrated on urban homeless men living on skid row. A 1996 National Rural Health Association study found rural homeless people so elusive that they refer to them as America's lost population. Large numbers of homeless and runaway children have always roamed the streets of every major city in the United States as well as the countryside, from small towns to remote rural areas.

The issues surrounding homeless children and runaways generally have been either ignored or altogether unknown; and, when the issues have been acknowledged, the discussion has most often focused on homeless families with children, not independent children with no homes to which they can return. The extent to which the populations of homeless children and runaways overlap is unknown, partly because there are no commonly agreed upon definitions of the terms *homeless* and *runaway*. Fortunately, there has been some research on homeless children in recent decades. Works such as Mark Nord and A. E. Luloff's "Homeless Children and Their Families in New Hampshire: A Rural Perspective," for example, have shown that childhood homelessness is a rural problem as well as an urban problem and that there are some significant differences between the two groups.

The History of Homeless and Runaway Children

Homeless and runaway children, although not specifically mentioned in early vagrancy laws, have existed since the early settlement of the United States. Throughout the country's history, the conditions of larger society, such as a frequently depressed industrial economy that struggled with overproduction and labor surpluses, resulted in family upheaval. Sara A. Brown (1922) lists reasons children ran away from home during the early twentieth century: death of parents, abusive home life, broken homes, feeble-mindedness, DELINQUENCY, and poverty. The major difference between runaway children and homeless children was that runaways chose to leave their home for the reasons above while homeless children were victims of social and economic factors that left them without shelter for varying lengths of time.

As Gregg Barak has shown, treatment of homeless and runaway children was strongly influenced by the ideology of social Darwinism, particularly the EUGENICS movement. The eugenics movement was based on the belief that selective breeding and breeding control would rid society of the inferior genetic material that was responsible for crime, mental illness, and retardation. Sterilization laws were an important tool of the eugenics movement. If homeless or runaway children were determined to be feeble-minded, it was not uncommon for them to be institutionalized and sterilized.

The first state to pass sterilization laws was Indiana, in 1907. By 1944, thirty states had passed sterilization laws and forty thousand men, women, and children had been sterilized. Between 1945 and 1963, another twenty-two thousand people were sterilized. California sterilized the largest number at twenty thousand, followed by Virginia, with eight thousand. Virginia's sterilization program did not officially end until 1979. Homeless and runaway children and adolescents were the most likely to be sterilized.

Homeless and runaway children have been the victims of changing societal attitudes toward vagrancy over the years. Barak describes the early discussions and definitions of vagrancy laws, in which children were referred to as waifs and were included in the definition of hobos, tramps, vagabonds, beggars, and bums. The early definitions included terms such as wandering, deviating, devious, aberrant, undisciplined, twisted, freakish, and maggoty. Reform Darwinism, the ideology of the Progressive Era introduced around the turn of the twentieth century, carried somewhat kinder judgments of poor homeless children. Barak notes that the definition of the term *waif* changed to include words such as homeless, forlorn, abandoned, deserted, desolate, friendless, helpless, defenseless, indigent, and destitute.

However, along with the kinder definitions of poor homeless children came the distinction between the *deserving* and *undeserving* poor. The deserving poor were considered worthy of public assistance because the causes of their poverty were beyond their individual control. The undeserving poor, however, were poor due to their flawed characters and personal faults, and were thus unworthy of aid. It was believed that if the undeserving poor were given assistance, their numbers would simply increase.

A large percentage of Americans in the early twentieth century recognized that poor homeless people were victims not only of individual circumstances, but often and perhaps more importantly of institutional and structural arrangements. For example, many rural communities were accessible by automobile only during certain seasons of the year; therefore, social service agencies literally could not expand their services into remote areas in a consistent manner. However, any allowances made for causes external to the individual only went so far and were applied only to the socially defined deserving poor.

The distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor was applied to homeless and runaway children as well. Children who had lost their homes due to societal conditions fell into the category of deserving poor; runaway children who chose to leave their homes, for whatever reason, fell into the category of undeserving poor. Only deserving homeless children were viewed as unfortunate and in need of human services and caring intervention. Runaway children were viewed as vagrants and criminals deserving punitive forms of intervention from people trying to rid themselves and their

environment of spoiled goods. This attitude resulted in homeless children and runaways being abused and used as cheap labor by agriculturalists and industrialists.

Research indicates that people continued to discriminate against homeless children and runaways throughout the twentieth century. Johann Le Roux and Cheryl S. Smith examined attitudes toward urban homeless children and runaways and found that street children in the 1990s lived under a constant threat of violence and maltreatment. Some people regarded them as nuisances, and some regarded them as criminals.

Rural homeless and runaway children of the past had much in common with their counterparts of today as well. Their problems included distance from neighbors, school, church, stores, doctors, mail services, and telephones, bad roads, and a lack of social activities, wholesome recreation, and community school spirit. Brown reported in 1922 that of approximately five hundred thousand rural children under eighteen years of age in West Virginia, twenty-five thousand were dependent on people other than their parents for shelter, food, and clothing. Her study of 1,005 homeless children included children from broken homes, children who lived in hit-or-miss situations where they sometimes had homes for a while, children born out of wedlock, and feeble-minded children with feeble-minded parents. She described these children as unofficial wards of the community: some families provided for them, but those provisions were never totally predictable for the children.

In 2000, Peggy Shifflett reported the results of a study of contemporary adults who grew up between 1930 and 1960 as homeless children in a rural Virginia community. Homeless and runaway children in this community were called *field rabbits* because they roamed the roads with no attachment to their parents, and particularly their fathers. The adults reported that when they were homeless as children they were often beaten and forced to work, at minimal or no wages, for community families. Other families provided for their needs, and they knew from experience which families would feed them and give them a bed for a night. From this community, six adolescents were institutionalized and sterilized.

The Current Status of Homeless and Runaway Children

In 1989, the American Medical Association (AMA) called for research on the health-care needs of homeless and runaway children. They reported that they had no way of knowing the extent to which the populations of homeless children and runaway children overlapped, and noted that any attempt to distinguish between homeless and runaway children would be artificial since the health needs of both groups are likely the same. For the first time in the literature on homeless and runaway children the AMA had moved away from labeling poor children deserving and undeserving. However, the AMA's focus was still on urban children—the homeless and

runaway children who roam the streets of every major city in this country.

Janet Fitchen reported in her 1991 article that homelessness in rural America is still generally overlooked and ignored because it does not fit urban-based perceptions and definitions. Most Americans think of the homeless as living in boxes in alleys and sleeping on subway benches or in homeless shelters. Rural homeless people do not fit these images. In fact, few rural people are literally homeless in the sense of not having a roof over their heads. However, the roof they have may be only a car roof or a shed roof; it may be the leaky roof of a dilapidated farmhouse or an isolated shack with no running water, or the temporary roof of an old mobile home already full of relatives or friends.

Nord and Luloff reported in 1995 that there was a strong stigma associated with homelessness in rural areas. As a result, homeless children suffer from loneliness and depression. They are more likely to be diagnosed as retarded in school and relegated to SPECIAL EDUCATION classes for the learning disabled. Homeless children do attend school, but are inclined to drop out at age sixteen. Attention deficit disorder is the most frequent diagnosis, with emotionally disturbed bringing up a close second. Teachers often report homeless children as inattentive and sleepy in class. Most of these diagnoses result from inadequate sleep and poor nutrition.

The American Medical Association in 1989 summarized the health issues of homeless and runaway children as being the same as those faced by homeless people in general. The one exception is that older children tend to be healthier by virtue of their age and the shorter length of time they have been homeless. The health problems faced by homeless and runaway children can be grouped into six categories: nutrition, substance abuse, mental health, physical health, sexual health, and victimization.

Nutritional deficiencies are common. This situation has frightening implications for the health and well-being of children born to homeless adolescent females, among whom pregnancy is fairly common. Large numbers of homeless and runaway children drink regularly and up to one-half have diagnosable alcohol problems. The abuse of other DRUGS is also common. Homeless children are also afflicted with mental health problems, the most common of which are depression and self-destructive behavior, including SUICIDE.

The physical health of homeless and runaway children is challenged by exposure to the elements, lack of sleeping quarters, and the absence of a clean home. The most common problems reported are upper respiratory tract infections, minor skin ailments, and gastrointestinal tract problems. Sexual health problems include genitourinary disorders, pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases. Because homeless and runaway children are too young to work

and lack marketable skills, they are often recruited by criminals involved in the illegal drug trade, prostitution, and pornography. They are either active participants in these activities or serve as recruiters of other vulnerable children.

Experts generally agree that homelessness among children is increasing in both rural and urban areas. The causes are social in nature. These children are often homeless along with their mothers and are victims of economic recessions, job loss, and high housing costs. Data on the extent of the problem is inadequate and can be found only in isolated case studies. Virtually nothing is known about the needs of racial and ethnic subgroups within the young homeless population or about what happens to these young people as they age.

See also: **Foster Care; Police, Children and the; Law, Children and the; Social Welfare; Street Arabs and Street Urchins.**

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PEGGY A. SHIFFLETT

Homer, Winslow (1836–1910)

Winslow Homer was an American painter and engraver. After beginning his career as a freelance illustrator for magazines like *Harper's Weekly*, he turned to the subject of children in one-room schoolhouses, on farms, and at the seashore. By the 1880s he moved away from this theme of childhood, and began to paint the dramatic seascapes of Maine and the hunting and fishing scenes from the Adirondacks for which he is well-known.

Homer's pictures of schoolchildren depict both the interior and exterior of the rural red one-room schoolhouse.

Homer publicly exhibited or published eight paintings and two engravings of this subject between 1871 and 1874. The most well-known of these is a picture (of which there are two versions) of a group of boys playing the game of snap-the-whip. Others depict the young female teacher or children engaged in their lessons. The female teacher was a sign of the modernity of the pictures (the prevalence of female teachers was brought about by the Civil War), while the rural one-room schoolhouse was a nostalgic image for urban viewers. Importantly, the public school was seen as a uniquely American institution, and therefore the pictures were also seen as particularly national. Two of them represented the United States at the 1878 Paris Exposition.

During these years Homer also painted many farm scenes, featuring both children and adults. He depicted boys relaxing and engaged in summer activities (including crossing a pasture to go fishing, sleeping on the grass, eating watermelon, and fishing from a log). Many of these pastoral images also include young girls, and often a flirtatious exchange between the two. Henry James described these figures as "little barefoot urchins and little girls in calico sun-bonnets." Towards the end of the decade Homer painted a group of works which depicted young girls on the farm, or "shepherdesses," as contemporary critics called them.

Some of Homer's paintings were watercolors, including a large group from his 1873 summer visit to Gloucester, Massachusetts. These pictures depict children, especially boys, along the seashore: in the water on boats (including *Breezing Up*), on the beach, digging for clams, and looking out to sea. In Gloucester, where many fishermen were lost at sea in the 1870s, this last theme (as in pictures like *Waiting for Dad*) is especially poignant.

Homer's pictures are consistent with the growing interest in childhood in the late nineteenth century. Although they often depicted a sense of an earlier world, they were very different from the sentimentalized genre pictures of the period. As such, they received a mixed reception from contemporary critics. While some praised the subjects as particularly national and representative of the unique way of American life, others lambasted the subjects as coarse; while some saw his style as innovative and modern, others saw it as unfinished and crude. The mixed responses are typical of the changing standards of the art world in the 1870s; during the twentieth century some of these pictures of children were among Homer's best-known works.

See also: **Images of Childhood.**

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MELISSA GEISLER TRAFTON

Homeschooling

Schooling has historically often occurred both formally and informally at home. Most colonial children in the United States were homeschooled in what were called *Dame schools*. The children in each rural area would gather at a neighbor's kitchen table to read and reread the hornbook, a catechism, passages from the bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and other improving material. This family-centered learning, along with APPRENTICESHIP, continued to be the primary mode of education until well into the nineteenth century.

For most of human history schools were exclusionary rather than inclusive. Latin GRAMMAR SCHOOLS were only for boys from wealthy families. Harvard was founded in 1634 for the young male graduates of the grammar schools. It was nearly two hundred years later, in 1827, that the first institution of higher education for girls opened. In most southern states, it was illegal to teach African-American slaves to read. Some of those who could not go to school were occasionally schooled at home.

In the early nineteenth century, COMMON SCHOOLS were opened to educate all, but many children did not attend. The growing industrial revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw thousands of European immigrants coming to the industrial cities of the North. By the twentieth century, they were joined by a migration of blacks from the South. The children often did not attend school. They worked in the factories alongside their parents and other relatives. Together with child labor laws, compulsory attendance laws began to remove children from the factories. The state needed a safe place to warehouse children. School became a place you could go—if your family could spare you. In reality most children attended school only through the fourth to the sixth grades, after which they were needed to help support the family.

Access to schooling increased steadily from the middle of the twentieth century. HIGH SCHOOL attendance burgeoned following World War I and again after World War II. In 1954, the Supreme Court decided that African-American children should be allowed to attend local public schools instead of the separate schools they had been attending since the end of the Civil War. Desegregation of public schools was finally enforced in the 1960s by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Thus, by the end of the 1970s the United States saw high school graduation occurring for the largest percentage of its population ever before—or since. In response to this and other issues, the decade of the 1980s ushered in

the era of school reform. One of those reforms was homeschooling. It has always been available to the privileged, some of whom were tutored at home. But when large numbers began to homeschool, district officials began to arrest parents, saying they were encouraging truancy. This led early homeschoolers to band together, to litigate, and to lobby.

Who was homeschooling at the turn of the twenty-first century, and why? The demographics are elusive. Detractors say only two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand children are homeschooled. Supporters claim the number is closer to one and one-half million. A 1999 report from the Center for Educational Statistics in the U.S. Department of Education estimated that eight hundred and fifty thousand students nationwide were being homeschooled. Families choose homeschooling for a variety of reasons, but most are concerned either with ideology or with academic achievement. Ideologues, from fundamental Christians to New Agers, prefer the moral climate of their own homes and communities to that of school. Pedagogues are more concerned that their children will be academically handicapped if they are required to learn at the pace of classroom instruction.

Homeschooled children excel academically, despite the early concerns of educators and truant officers. Research shows that their test scores are at or above the norm, and the longer children are homeschooled the wider the gap between their test scores and those of conventionally schooled youngsters. The household income of homeschoolers in 1999 was no different from their conventionally schooled peers, but the homeschooling parents had higher levels of educational attainment. Another early concern, the socialization of homeschoolers, eventually dissipated as well. Homeschoolers form networks. They issue newsletters, have play groups, organize soccer teams, share resources, and interact in multiage social groups.

State statutes that regulate homeschooling come in three different categories. The most restrictive recognizes no exception to public school attendance except qualified private schools, but these statutes are rarely enforced. A second category gives implicit approval of homeschooling through language that allows "equivalent education elsewhere." A third is an explicit statute providing for home instruction and specifying some criteria and procedures. This last category allows superintendents to count the homeschoolers in their districts for the purpose of receiving state subsidies. Homeschooling remains controversial but has also become a much more ordinary choice and is now seen as one alternative among many in a society deeply concerned about educational achievement.

See also: **Education, United States.**

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MARY ANNE PITMAN

Homework

Homework is not only a routine aspect of schoolchildren's lives, but also the key daily interaction between school and family. As such, it often leads to tension between family and school over control of children's time and over parents' role in education—particularly after the expansion of mass schooling during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A vocal anti-homework movement emerged in the United States in the early twentieth century, asserting parental prerogatives and children's rights. One critic argued that "the cultural or recreational life of the family is seriously restricted or handicapped . . . by the school's invasion of the home hours" ("Home Study?" p. 69) while another pronounced that homework was a sin against childhood. The anti-homework position reflected the growing influence internationally of scientific knowledge about children's health and development. This in turn motivated a Progressive reform movement in education that rejected rote methods of teaching and learning in favor of individualized, "child-centered" approaches. Many educators argued that homework had no place in a Progressive educational regime, particularly in the elementary grades. During the first half of the twentieth century, school policies in many communities across the United States commanded the reduction or abolition of homework.

Nevertheless, throughout the era of mass education, most parents supported homework, at least in moderate amounts. They regarded homework not only as essential to academic achievement, but also as an important means for children to develop self-discipline and responsibility. Finally, some parents viewed homework not as an intrusion into family time but as a critical means of understanding how the school is educating their child. In the words of a parent from the 1930s, "Homework is a wonderful connecting link between the parents and the child's school life" ("Do You Believe in Homework?" p. 58). Two decades later, another parent made the point more bluntly: "Homework is our only way of keeping up with what goes on" in the school (Langdon and Stout, p. 370).

During the second half of the twentieth century, expert opinion increasingly came into line with parental views in support of homework. After the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957, U.S. politicians, parents, and educators became concerned that the educational system required substantial improvement to match Soviet technological prowess. The resulting focus on science and mathematics reinforced challenges to PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION and sparked interest in using homework to support increasingly ambitious academic goals. By the 1980s, at least in the United States, a "back-to-basics" movement had largely replaced the earlier Progressive discourse in education. With it came a celebration of homework as vital to fostering academic attainment, moral virtue, and international economic competitiveness—and a strong endorsement of parental partnership in schooling.

Not all parents joined in the celebration of homework, however, particularly when its sheer quantity was overwhelming for their children or their family life. But in the United States the great majority of children never spent much time on homework. Despite small increases for high-school students in the post-Sputnik decade and for young children in the 1980s and 1990s, homework involved only a modest time commitment for most American students throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In the primary grades, despite the increases at the end of the century, homework occupied most children for only two hours *weekly*—an amount perhaps comparable to that given in other industrial nations. Meanwhile most U.S. high-school students spent around an hour *daily* on homework—substantially less than their counterparts in other advanced industrial nations. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, high-school students in many parts of Europe and Asia were spending substantial amounts of time on homework. In the United States, by contrast, an enormous gap was evident between a solidly pro-homework discourse and levels of homework practice that remained stubbornly low, even among college-bound students.

See also: **Education, United States.**

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STEVEN SCHLOSSMAN

Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation

Traditional ideas about children and homosexuality depend upon a number of variables. One is what societal attitudes are toward same-sex activity among adults. This varied from culture to culture, but in Western societies where Christianity was dominant, such activity was regarded with considerable hostility. A second variable is what a culture determined should be the AGE OF CONSENT. Age of consent, the age at which individuals could legally come together in a sexual union, was for much of history something either for the family to decide or a matter of tribal custom. Probably in most cases this coincided with the beginning of PUBERTY, which is marked by physical developments that are clearly visible. In most cultures this was adjudged to take place between ages twelve and fourteen for girls and at a slightly older age for boys. Still another factor is how various societies break down sex and gender differences. In Western society there are only two different sexes or genders, while other cultures such as the Native American culture identify three, four, or even five, depending on how the individual researcher counts them. In some societies, those who do not conform to sex or gender stereotypes are regarded as special candidates to become a shaman or holy person. Sexual relations between two females are often regarded differently by a society than relations between two males, perhaps because in male-dominated societies what women did among themselves was not of much importance. In fact, much less is known about female relationships than about male, and much of what we do know about the female culture was disseminated through the eyes and voices of males for much of history.

In Western culture, much of what we know about youthful homosexuality comes from ancient Greece, where boys often entered into a relationship with an older man when they began to enter puberty. Studies suggest that this occurred earlier than was formerly believed, probably at an average age of about twelve. This early male initiation into sex

was described in some detail by the classical writer Strabo in his account of the mock abduction and subsequent honeymoon of a youth coming of age. This consensual relationship between an adolescent and an adult male was institutionalized throughout Greek culture by the sixth century B.C.E. and survived well into the Roman period among some elements of society. Plutarch, in his *On the Education of Children* written in the first century of the common era, stated that though fathers might view the society of those who admired youth as an "intolerable outrage to their sons," he himself felt inclined to emulate such past followers as Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and others in the practice.

The most influential force in changing such attitudes in the West was St. Augustine (354–430), the theological father of the Western Christian church. Augustine, who before his conversion had been living with a prepubescent girl to whom he was betrothed, became a strict advocate of celibacy after his conversion. He taught what became a basic doctrine of the Western Christian church, that the only justification for sexual activities was procreation. All nonprocreative sex was sinful. Essentially his idea of the sinfulness of homosexuality was written into Roman law and thus criminalized by the Emperor Justinian. Many religiously oriented groups in the Western world still adhere to this notion and for much of the twentieth century the American legal tradition was heavily influenced by it.

Despite the church's disapproval, homosexual activity did not disappear, and neither did same-sex relationships with and among children and adolescents. In the medieval Islamic world, as well as in medieval Judaism, there are a number of poems extolling same-sex relations with and among adolescents. Similar literary descriptions of adolescent homosexual relationships exist in the Chinese and Hindu traditions. In the West, both canon law and European civil law codes followed the Roman age of consent (twelve to thirteen) and generally regarded same-sex relations to be against the law. Thus most of our evidence of homosexual activity from this period comes through what law and society said about same-sex relationships, and does not necessarily indicate what individuals were actually doing. With the adoption of the Napoleonic legal code at the beginning of the nineteenth century in France, greater tolerance became possible, and more evidence of such relationships appears. The code established two standards, age and consent, to decide whether a sexual activity was criminal or not. Because the age of consent was thirteen, consensual same-sex acts were no longer criminal after that age. English and American common law were also revised in the nineteenth century, but same-sex relations were regarded with great hostility and homosexuality remained a crime until the last part of the twentieth century.

While hostility to homosexuality was well established in Western society for centuries, an important shift in attitudes occurred around 1900. Some physicians and other sex re-

searchers began to claim that people were either homosexual or not. The idea that people could have a combination of both homosexual and heterosexual interests, which had been a common experience for some groups, was increasingly downplayed in favor of the new dichotomy. Further, homosexuality was now regarded by many as a disease, rather than simply a form of immorality. With this new approach, and with growing emphasis on the importance of heterosexual DATING and other activities for older children, concerns about signs of homosexuality among children increased. Parents and children themselves became increasingly anxious about homosexuality, and it became a major element of child rearing and socialization from the 1920s onward. While the most recent developments have loosened strictures about homosexuality, elements of this earlier tradition persist as well.

Children and Homosexuality

In the twentieth century more data became available and the study of childhood sexuality became systematized, although studies are very difficult to do except retrospectively, that is, through people's reported memories of their own childhood activities. We know that children learn early on what sex they are. In most cultures they are easily identified as a boy or girl by the clothes they wear and what their parents and others tell them. In fact, the sex of a newborn is usually the first question asked about it. Though children gain a gender identity sometime between one and two years old, they do not yet have a sense of gender constancy. A little boy may believe, for example, that at some later point in life he will be a girl. Even though the overwhelming majority of children soon realize this is an error, many keep wishing they were of the opposite sex and try to act like they are, and this seems to be a strong disposing factor for later transsexualism and homosexuality. Children's unwillingness to accept their assigned gender roles is often very difficult for parents and other adults to accept.

Most children, however, do learn a gender role, and this becomes their identification during preadolescence, which is considered to be roughly eight to twelve years old in Western cultures today. During this period they spend their time away from adults and generally in all-male or all-female groups if such groups are available. This homosociality, as it has been called, lessens the opportunities for heterosexual interactions at a period in which members of both sexes are learning the facts of life; it also facilitates homosexual behavior. Boys, for example, may participate in group MASTURBATION or exhibition of genitalia or competitive urinating contests, but such activities are not necessarily an indicator of later homosexuality. Preadolescent children who later become gay or lesbian are more likely to distinguish themselves not so much by their sexual behavior at this time but by gender nonconformity in a variety of nonsexual traits.

It is in this period of development that gender norms become much more strict not only in adult expectations but in

peer group pressures as well. Social disapproval is generally more severe for nonconforming boys than girls, perhaps because a degree of "masculine" aggressiveness might help a girl gain a leadership position in her peer group. The "feminine" boy, however, might find himself excluded not only from other boy groups but also from the girl groups and thrown into the group of other misfits that exist in childhood. Studies of male adult transvestites, however, find that they conformed outwardly to their male peers but then retreated in secret to don clothes associated with girls or play as if they were girls. It is also in this period that children begin to experiment sexually. Alfred Kinsey found that a large number of preadolescents (between ages eight and thirteen) engage in what he called homosexual sex play. Nearly half (48 percent) of the older males who contributed their histories reported having engaged in homosexual sex play in their preadolescence. In his study of females, Kinsey found 33 percent of the preadolescent females engaged in some sort of homosexual sex play and many reported that such experiences had taught them how to masturbate.

ADOLESCENCE, between ages thirteen and eighteen, roughly corresponds with biological events associated with puberty, including the onset of menses in girls and first ejaculation in boys. At this age in earlier periods in history, a person would be classified as an adult. Adolescence in our society can best be understood as a social construction, designed to describe the ever-widening gap between reproductive maturity and the age at which society is willing to grant men and women full adult rights and responsibilities. It also is a period in which homosexual identity is most clearly formed. Girls in particular form strong emotional FRIENDSHIPS in adolescence; interestingly, however, there is generally much less social concern about homosexuality in such relationships than there is about boys' friendships. Such relationships among girls are widespread and are an almost normative part of many girls' psychosexual development. It has been suggested that girls need the support, LOVE, and affection of intense friendships to help them survive in a male-dominated world. Many of these friendships have strong homoerotic overtones.

Since both sexes in preadolescence play almost exclusively with members of their own gender, homosexual behavior is far more common among younger children than it is later in adolescence. In a 1973 study by Robert Sorensen, of those reporting homosexual experiences, 16 percent of the boys and 57 percent of the girls had their first homosexual experience between six and ten years of age. By the time they had reached their thirteenth birthday, 78 percent reported having at least one such experience. The number of boys exceeded the number of girls as they went into their teens. This difference in the teens was also found by Edward Laumann and his colleagues in the 1990s. Kinsey described homosexual play in females as mutual insertion of objects (including fingers) into the vagina, mouth-genital contact,

rubbing, and close examination. In the male he defined it as exhibition of genitalia, manual manipulation of genitalia in groups or between two individuals, anal or oral contacts with genitalia, and urethral insertions.

In the 1980s and 1990s there was growing public acceptance for homosexuality as well as increasing peer acceptance of varying gender identities among adolescents. Many high schools, particularly in urban areas, have clubs for gays and lesbians, and the stigma of being different has lessened. Critics are concerned that such open toleration will encourage more individuals to become gay or lesbian. Studies show, however, that many preadolescents and adolescents who express nonconformity in gender identity do not continue to do so as adults. Others who conformed to traditional views in childhood broke away to identify themselves as homosexual or lesbian adults. There are still many unknowns in the complex study of the formation of gender identity.

See also: **Gendering; Same-Sex Parenting; Sexuality.**

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VERN L. BULLOUGH

Hull-House. See Addams, Jane.

Hygiene

By the close of the twentieth century, good hygiene had come to signify adherence to high standards of grooming, particularly personal cleanliness. This conception is a rela-



John Everett Millais's *Bubbles* (1886) was the basis of a popular Pears' Soap ad for many years. Children were often the focus of various crusades for cleanliness throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Advertising Archive Ltd.

tively recent historical phenomenon, although hygiene as a health practice has its roots in antiquity. In classical Greece Hygeia was worshiped as the giver of health to all who followed a balanced physical regimen and lived in accord with her precepts. In this conception health came from maintaining both the internal harmony of the body and the equilibrium between the body and the environment in which it lived. One's well-being came from a holistic understanding of person and place. Through the European Renaissance the classical idea of hygiene as a set of routines aimed at keeping the individual in balance with the internal and external environment persisted. Prior to the modern period, however, almost all hygienic advice assumed that only the wealthiest members of society had either the leisure or the economic resources to follow hygienic rules. Nor was there much notion that children required any special hygienic attention. In the late classical period, the Greek physician Galen had given distinct advice about the hygiene of infants; otherwise most writing on hygiene and disease prevention remained primarily concerned with adults.

Evolving Ideas of Hygiene

Though many classical civilizations created strict regulations concerning domestic and personal cleanliness, the disposal of the dead, the elimination of human and animal waste, and other forms of public sanitation, these were not distinctly health routines. They were frequently rituals with deep religious meaning, like the Hebrew traditions of ritual baths, meant to purify the soul and not the body. Arabic writing incorporated the pursuit of health with religious purity. In his eleventh century *Almanac of Health*, Ibn Butlan, an Arab Christian, urged his audience to maintain good health through a personal regimen that included adherence to a diet that was determined by the individual's work and climate, regular exercise, sufficient sleep, daily washing, daily bowel evacuation, and weekly bathing. Central to his writing was the idea that balance in diet, exercise, and cleanliness was pleasing to God.

Christianity added an ascetic note to the hygienic. Medieval Christian writers introduced the persistent idea that good health required strict regulation of the appetites and disciplining of the body by diet and exercise. Hygiene routines became means of self-denial, aimed at living a temperate life. This conception paralleled the European medieval prejudice against public baths, which associated both classical and Muslim bathing practices with licentious sexuality and enfeebling luxury. Self-denial through strict hygiene (though not necessarily cleanliness) persisted as a theme in European and American writing well into the modern period. In early modern Europe this embedded Christian notion encouraged a cold bathing regimen for adults and children. JOHN LOCKE in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) proposed a hardening hygiene for children of cold water, cold air, and light clothing to toughen the body and spirit. The promotion of cold water as healthful was central to the nineteenth-century hydropathic movement.

Beginning in the eighteenth century Western European society saw a transformation in manners that increasingly emphasized physical appearance, restraint, and personal delicacy related to bodily functions. French aristocrats developed rules of etiquette that required restriction of public spitting, use of handkerchiefs, and strict toilet practices. By the end of the eighteenth century, the middle classes were imitating elite standards of cleanliness because such standards were thought "mannerly" and their use distinguished one from the common and vulgar. Such manners were a social obligation and were not necessarily associated with health. In this era Enlightenment Christians attempted to uproot the medieval Christian sense that frequent bathing was self-indulgent by asserting that cleanliness followed the laws of nature and of nature's god. The most often quoted assertion of this thinking was in John Wesley's December 1786 *Sermon 88 On Dress* in which he resurrected the ancient Hebrew doctrine of carefulness to support improved attention to appearance. He asserted, "Let it be observed, that

slovenliness is no part of religion; that neither this nor any text of Scripture, condemns neatness of apparel. Certainly, this is a duty not a sin. 'Cleanliness is, indeed, next to godliness.'"

Theories of Contagion

Even before any notion of germs became commonplace medical innovation created significant change in the understanding of hygiene. In the late eighteenth century theories of contagion began to emphasize the role of dirt in the spread of disease. These filth theories of contagion contributed significantly to linking visible dirt to infection. The development of the germ theory by Louis Pasteur, Joseph Lister, Robert Koch and others moved attention from visible to invisible dirt. Nonetheless, as Nancy Tomes in *The Gospel of Germs* has noted, general understanding of germs was often a superstitious caricature of the scientific theories concerning microorganisms and disease. People continued to associate visible filth with contagion well into the twentieth century, though they increasingly became concerned with eliminating unseen contamination as well.

One thing contagion and germ theory did was emphasize the degree to which individual health was dependent on the healthfulness of a person's surroundings. The health of individuals in society seemed to depend on a public commitment to cleaning, and middle-class people began by rigorously cleaning themselves and their homes. Acceptance of the germ theory, however, meant that cleaning oneself wasn't enough; fully preventing disease transmission required clean water, careful waste disposal, and improving the health of the poor. Public health measures related to improved hygiene became common in Western Europe and North America. These reforms included improvements in sanitation, provision of clean water, and the creation of a public bath movement that provided the poor with facilities for cleaning and attempted to convince them of the necessity of being clean. Such reforms often carried with them negative judgments and stereotyping of the working classes, the people Henry Peter, Lord Brougham, is reported to have first called "The Great Unwashed."

In the early to mid-twentieth century the general public seemed to become obsessed with hygiene. Hygiene continued to include a wide variety of practices such as diet, exercise, sexual abstinence, and regular evacuation of the bowels (known as internal hygiene). The concept of hygiene was extended to even more aspects of personal and public life. This included the creation of new types of hygiene, such as mental hygiene, sexual hygiene, and the racial hygiene of the international EUGENICS movement. In an era of imperialism other nations came to be judged as civilized on the basis of their adherence to European and American standards of cleanliness. The irony of this is that Europeans and their American cousins, who were often filthy prior to the modern era, judged unworthy those Africans and Asians who had long practiced frequent bathing.

Public Hygiene

A number of factors contributed to the zealous adherence to hygiene practice in Western European and American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In public hygiene movements throughout Western Europe and North America the power of the state was used to enforce adherence to hygienic behavior, including rules prohibiting public spitting as well as building extensive sanitation and water infrastructures. One primary impetus in this process was the effort to educate the public through clinics, medical publications, and social-work associations, including settlement houses. New organizations of the industrial bureaucracy contributed as well. Insurance companies in the United States contracted with public-health nurses at the Henry Street Settlement in New York to oversee and reform the hygienic habits of their subscribers. Manufacturers of soap and other hygiene supplies used the modern media to sell products first by enlisting medical claims about the need to eliminate germs, and then by creating new disease concepts (such as the Listerine company's "halitosis"). Hygiene advertisers goaded people to bathe for health and to avoid the judgments of others about cleanliness and odor. In one example, a 1928 advertisement from the Cleanliness Institute, the educational branch of the Association of Soap and Glycerin Producers, asked, "What do the neighbors think of *her* children?"

Nurses played an important role in the spread and enforcement of hygiene rules in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Europe and the United States. Florence Nightingale supported theories of contagion, but not germ theory. Still, she and later nursing advocates made it clear that nurses, because of their medical expertise and womanly nature, were central to spreading proper methods of personal and domestic hygiene. Other British medical reformers Charles West and Ellen and Mary Phillips saw the establishment of hospitals for poor children, in which nurses provided most of the care, as an important means of improving environmental conditions for children.

A Focus on Children

Children were at the heart of a growing public obsession with hygiene. Major health and hygiene campaigns in the United Kingdom in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had as their central focus the reduction of INFANT MORTALITY, first through the Poor Laws and then through the National Health Insurance Act of 1911. Children also increasingly became the focus of much of the hygiene literature. Hygiene proponents used schools to spread the word about regulation of the body. The 1882 French primary school curriculum included instruction on proper toilet routine and washing. In the United States the Cleanliness Institute published and distributed materials for schoolteachers and schoolchildren on maintaining health through personal cleanliness. Instruction for teachers and mothers focused on the necessity of getting children to adhere to strict disciplin-

ing of the body so they might live healthy lives and fulfill their obligation to avoid offending others. This instruction was couched in medical, social, and political terms: children were taught to exercise, bathe, and eat in particular ways because it was good for their bodies, created social order, and because medical, educational, and social authority said so. This association between schooling and cleaning was so well established that the Kohler Corporation, one of the largest manufacturers of plumbing equipment in the United States, declared in a 1927 advertisement that the bathroom itself was the schoolroom of health.

Hygiene education carried with it the moralistic tone of the public health movement as a whole. In France children were taught that moral character was inextricably linked to hygiene habits. In the United States the Americanization Movement supported hygiene instruction as a means of converting European working-class immigrants into good Americans. Maintenance of social order seemed dependent on maintenance of high standards of hygiene, based on the manners of the white middle class. The hygiene lobby proposed a single standard of cleanliness that often failed to take into account individual differences in skin type or living conditions. In the United States this was particularly problematic for African Americans, both because of their physiological differences and because they often lacked the means for following the prescriptions of the hygienists. African-American leaders were well aware of this problem and offered instructions specifically geared toward the African-American community. The most famous of these was Booker T. Washington's "gospel of the toothbrush." Unfortunately, in the racial climate of the United States, even strict adherence to the rules of hygiene did not free African Americans from the stigma of being by nature dirty, because of the cultural association between whiteness and purity.

The Social Hygiene Movement

The association of cleanliness and hygiene with children and social fitness was certainly central to the international social (racial) hygiene movement. In her 1910 *Hygiene and Morality*, American nursing reformer and suffragist Lavinia Dock drew a connection between venereal disease incidence and the mistreatment and corruption of women and children. Not only did corrupted men infect their wives, but they also polluted what Dock called the germs of reproduction (that is, their sperm), thus creating deformed children. Finally, syphilis carriers created unhygienic conditions within the family that harmed their innocent offspring both physically and morally. Such attitudes encouraged increased intervention by the state into the personal practices of the populace.

The most radical of these efforts was the international social hygiene movement, arising from the pseudoscience of eugenics. Forced sterilization of the unfit was couched in hygienic terms that focused on preventing unclean and corrupt persons from continuing to pollute the species through re-

production. The concept of racial hygiene saw its greatest expression in Nazi Germany, but it did not originate there. It was in the United States that laws related to reproductive hygiene were first initiated. By the 1930s two to three thousand forced sterilizations of the mentally ill, retarded people, criminals, and racial minorities were performed in the United States each year. During the HOLOCAUST the Nazis used hygiene language as a code for what would later come to be called *ethnic cleansing* of the Jewish, Gypsy, homosexual, and other “undesirable” populations. Nazi propaganda was particularly focused on the control of women and childbearing as the means of eliminating racial corruption and creating the master race. The link between this and notions of hygiene are best seen in the euphemism of the shower/gas chambers and the experimentation with turning human fat into soap.

Commercialized Cleanliness

After 1945 the social hygiene movement was largely discredited, but the impulse toward greater and greater levels of cleanliness, particularly cleanliness in children, persisted. Schools remained the focus of much childhood education, but hygiene came to be narrowly defined as proper grooming to maintain personal cleanliness. Here, standards continued to escalate. In the United States, hygiene films for grade school and high school students became a staple of 1950s classrooms. These continued to promote cleanliness by combining scientific arguments about germs and skin and hair care with an emphasis on maintaining proper social standards. They also incorporated negative judgments about those who failed to adhere. Adolescents were particularly singled out for attention. High school students were warned that failure to follow strict grooming codes would lead to their becoming dateless social outcasts.

In the late twentieth century these messages increasingly came to be seen as ridiculous and outdated. In 1956 Horace Miner, distinguished professor of social anthropology at the University of Michigan, published an article called “Body Ritual among the *Nacirema*” in the *American Anthropologist*. In this he lampooned both jargon-laden anthropological research and the American (*Nacirema* was “American” spelled backward) hygiene obsession. In this satire Miner targeted both the medical establishment for creating neuroses about health and cleanliness and parents for inculcating these neuroses in their children. In the radical sixties youthful rejection of these hygiene practices was a common feature of rebellion against parents and social authority. Around the same time purveyors of soap and children’s books shifted tactics. They began emphasizing bathing as a means of relieving social tensions (a minor theme in the early-twentieth-century literature) and promoted bathing as a sensual and self-indulgent activity. Advice to parents proposed tricking reluctant tots into good habits by adding bubbles and toys. Children’s literature depicted bath time as playtime.

Though hygiene came to be equated with good grooming in the late twentieth century, aspects of the health regimen of the ancients are reappearing in new forms. Proponents of aromatherapy and other New Age remedies are reemphasizing a holistic approach to hygiene. Still, this holistic attitude strikes a minor chord in the overall tone of preventive health care in Western society. Most of the activities associated with hygiene until the recent past are now specialized, distinct commodities. Postmodern society has divided care of the human body into separate components served by particular industries: the diet, exercise, soap, and cosmetic industries, as well as modern specialized medicine. Some critics call this process the commodification of the body. Yet, despite the intense selling of high levels of cleanliness and bodily discipline, public adherence to the standards authorities set shows marked unevenness. Even in the United States, where grooming practices encourage daily changing of clothes and bathing twice or more each day, hygiene routines that are less visible are often neglected. For example, studies in the 1990s indicated that cleanliness-obsessed Americans frequently failed to wash their hands after using public rest rooms.

Hygiene and Health

The impact of improved hygiene on health and comfort is difficult to deny. Several epidemiological studies have suggested that the decreased incidence of infectious disease and the dramatic decline in infant and child mortality that began in Western society in the late nineteenth century can largely be attributed to improvements in sanitation, water supply, and domestic and personal cleanliness. In the late twentieth century those nations that enjoyed the lowest levels of infectious disease were those that used the highest amounts of soap. This improvement has not been without cost, however. Increased attention to hygiene has also meant increased pressure on the natural environment. Even the most vocal proponents of maintaining high levels of cleanliness acknowledge that the degree of cleanliness in Western European and American society far exceeds what is necessary for health. This overcleaning has resulted in undue pressure on water supplies, chemical pollution of water and soil due to the use of soaps and other cleaning agents, and increased energy demands to heat water and wash clothing. Paradoxically, one cost of the advent of antibacterial soap and other products, such as Hygeia underwear, which manufacturers claim prevents the growth of bacteria, fungi, and yeast, may be the increased appearance of antibiotic resistant microorganisms.

Another possible irony in the success of hygiene campaigns is that improved domestic and personal cleanliness may also be associated with increased incidence of the so-called diseases of industrial society, particularly POLIO, allergies, and asthma. Under the regimen of the hygiene proponents, the best method for protecting children’s health is to provide them with a clean, virtually germ-free environment.

The standard care for allergy-triggered asthma, for example, is removal of asthma triggers from the sufferer's environment. In the last decades of the twentieth century researchers in Italy, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States began to suggest that lack of exposure to microorganisms and dirt at an early age may result in the body's failing to produce natural resistance to foreign substances. This failure may be associated with the mid-twentieth-century polio epidemics and with the increased incidence of asthma. Epidemiologists meeting in 2001 at the Pasteur Institute cited these studies and those related to environmental pressures as signals that we need not reject hygiene altogether, but instead should seek more carefully targeted cleanliness standards. They proposed homing in on key behaviors such as frequent hand washing and strict cleanliness of food preparation areas. The presenters noted that we need germ-free environments only in hospitals and the residences of the seriously ill. Soap manufacturers and the general public do not seem as ready to make such a nuanced distinction, however, if the promotion and sale of antibacterial items is any indicator.

See also: **Children's Hospitals; Contagious Diseases; Epidemics; Mental Hygiene; Pediatrics; Vaccination.**

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Hyperactivity

The pinpointing and treatment of hyperactivity in children forms a fascinating link between medical research and popular attitudes about and settings for the child. Scattered indications of new concern about hyperactive behavior began to accumulate in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hyperactivity formed part of a new interest in identifying and segregating "backward" children in the early twentieth century, particularly in western Europe. Medical research on

brain dysfunctions accelerated in the 1920s and 1930s, but there was continued dispute about whether some special condition of hyperactivity existed. Drug treatment, first introduced in 1937, became more common after 1957. But it was only after 1970 that identification of hyperactive children, under the designation attention deficit disorder (ADD), became widely accepted. Amid controversy, treatment programs gained ground steadily through the 1990s.

Historical Background

Children's hyperactivity, to the extent it existed, was simply a question of DISCIPLINE until modern times and received no specific attention. Protestant clergymen and parents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often resorted to physical discipline against children who could not sit still in long church services, but since this was seen as an expression of children's original sin and natural unruliness it did not come in for specific comment. We have no systematic indications of how what we would now call hyperactivity affected children's work performance.

A German children's book in the 1850s offered a character, "Fidgety Phil," who was the characteristic hyperactive child, unable to sit still. By this point stricter MANNERS for children included explicit injunctions about body control, which would implicitly single out children who had difficulties in this area. More regular schooling also created problems for hyperactive children. Still, a truly troubled child could still be pulled out of school and either sent directly to work or (in wealthy families) given private tutoring.

More extensive school requirements plus new medical research capabilities opened a new chapter in the identification of hyperactive children around 1900, particularly in England and Germany. Generally such children fell into a larger category of backward or mentally deficient children who could not perform well on standardized tests and/or who caused persistent behavior problems in school. Some of these children were placed in special schools or classes, where different kinds of instruction, focusing on specific tasks, could lead to improvements in learning capacity. By the 1920s experts began to realize that hyperactive children were often quite intelligent, and inclusion into a generic backward category began to diminish.

Research continued on brain dysfunction of children with hyperactive behavior problems, with increasing interest in the United States. A study by Charles Bradley in 1937 introduced the first possibility of medication, using Benzedrine. Widespread identification of a hyperactivity problem was still limited by a belief that a certain amount of unruliness in children was natural, that schools themselves were part of the problem, and that it was up to parents to figure out how to keep their children in hand.

Research, Diagnosis, and Treatment since 1957

Several developments, including the introduction of new psychostimulant medication, particularly the drug Ritalin in

1957, began to accelerate attention to and concern about hyperactivity. Fewer children were now encouraged to drop out before completing secondary school. With more mothers working, parental availability to help with hyperactive children declined; indeed parental interest in finding assistance intensified. With more children in day care facilities by the 1960s, opportunities to identify problems of hyperactivity at a younger age expanded. Increasing school integration in the United States exposed teachers to categories of children they might more readily define as behavior problems. Finally, teachers themselves faced new constraints in physically disciplining children, which put aggressive restlessness in a new light.

These various developments, along with effective medication, prompted a steady growth in the numbers of behaviors that were regarded as symptoms of attention deficit disorder—behaviors that in earlier decades might often have been regarded as normal. There were cautions: some observers worried about unduly frequent use of medicines that could have adverse side effects or induce dependency; some studies suggested that minority children were particularly likely to be cited as needing medication, with teachers using this option as a means of facilitating classroom control.

But acceptance of hyperactivity as a disease category gained ground steadily, and some schools required drug

treatments for certain children as a condition of entry. Estimates in 1980 that 3 percent of all children suffered from ADD grew to 5 percent a decade later. Production of Ritalin soared 500 percent between 1990 and 1996. Popularizations of the ADD concept bolstered many parents, who could now point to a problem of brain function for behaviors that used to be blamed on poor home discipline. Supplementary measures, including therapy, special diets, and adult support groups, were deployed against hyperactivity, but medication continued to command the greatest attention.

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PETER N. STEARNS

I

Illegitimacy. *See* Bastardy.

Images of Childhood

Reproductions of most of the images discussed in this entry can be found elsewhere in the encyclopedia. Please see the list of selected illustrations at the beginning of Volume 1 for specific page numbers.

Not all historians have agreed with PHILIPPE ARIÈS that childhood as we understand it did not exist before the Middle Ages. Yet his research opened up the possibility of examining childhood, including the modern Romantic idea of childhood innocence, as a social construction that changes along with the ongoing process of history. This can be applied to the history of art and visual culture. Visual representations of children can be interpreted as being not simply natural or transparently verifiable against some stable external reality, but rather as socially and discursively constituted out of shifting cultural and psychosexual paradigms. Since images of childhood are produced within particular cultural contexts and in response to specific historical moments, examining the changes in them over time does not mean abandoning the embodied historical child.

From the point of view of art history, visual images of children have often been marginalized or dismissed as a trivial, sentimental, or (given the sexual construction of femininity as infantile) feminized subgenre; frequently they have been interpreted as timeless or universal. According to Marcia Pointon, such pictures have frequently been seen as having simple and readily accessible topics, with the result that empathetic notions of shared human experience replace analysis. For this reason, depictions of children can say as much about their reception by adult spectators as they do about the childhood of their subjects. This is especially true for the early twenty-first century, when, as Anne Higonnet

has convincingly argued, the image of the child has become one of the most emotionally powerful and contradictory images in Western CONSUMER CULTURE. Intimations of innocence have been retained even as new meanings have been acquired having to do with political, sexual, and commercial forms of public and private power. With the recent development of children's studies, the category of age has been added to those of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation as a focus of critical inquiry. Providing a conduit for cultural anxieties and conflicting social values, visual images of childhood are seen as multivalent expressions of a Western, adult, middle-class search for identity. Interpreting them presents a challenge to map the social and psychological history of their production and reception.

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The history of images of childhood in modern times begins with the revolution in pictures of the innocent child in the eighteenth century, yet children were certainly depicted before that time. They show up, for example, throwing snowballs in the margins of an early Northern Renaissance manuscript, "The Hours of Adelaide of Savoy," in *December: A Snowy Street*. Miniature images of children could similarly be found as marginalia in other fifteenth-century Flemish books of hours as well as in devotional images of the ages of man. Here, however, the image of children does not so much signify "childhood" in its own right as it refers symbolically to a specific time of year or season of human life.

Children retained a marginal social status even as the iconography of childhood was given a more central symbolic or allegorical emphasis in Renaissance images of the infant Christ, of cherubs, and of cupids. Leo Steinberg has discussed how the Christ child, and, in particular, his fleshy genitals, are made the compositional and iconographic focus of numerous Renaissance paintings of the Madonna and Child so as to signify tangibly the incarnation of God as man. Julia Kristeva has given a more psychoanalytic reading to what Steinberg interpreted doctrinally. Discussing Giovanni



Madonna and Child with Pear (c. 1500), Giovanni Bellini. In Bellini's painting, the Christ Child's sturdy body is a visual representation of Christ as "the Word made flesh." The Art Archive/Carrara Academy Bergamo/Dagli Orti (A).

Bellini's Madonnas as a visual (and tactile) recuperation of a preoedipal, prelinguistic maternal space, she emphasized the psychological passion, bodily (even erotic) connection, and emotional splitting between mother and child in his *Madonna and Child* (c. 1470).

Cherubs, that is, infant angels in the Christian iconography, often accompany the Christ child in Renaissance imagery, attesting to his innocent yet fleshly divinity. In Raphael's famous *Sistine Madonna* (1513), the cute pair of cherubs at the bottom (whose image would be extracted for a U.S. postage stamp in 1995) are multiplied into infinity in the heavenly clouds composed of cherub heads floating behind and above the levitating Madonna, Child, and saints. Less theological and more sensual, but equally winged and symbolic, are the omnipresent cupids who seem to overflow the frame of Titian's *Worship of Venus* (c. 1560). This fertile crop of cuddly baby flesh becomes a tangible index of the cupids' symbolic function as collective emanations of Eros. As they gather emblematic fruit, the *amorini* embody pagan desire, engaging in playful physical activities that are hard to see as entirely innocent, at least in comparison with the kind of childhood innocence that would be invented in the mid-

eighteenth century. One can envision, in looking at the uninhibited variety of bodily positions, the "polymorphous perversity" that SIGMUND FREUD would later ascribe to INFANT SEXUALITY.

In sixteenth-century portraiture, children (who did not commission portraits) were more usually depicted with their parents than as separate individuals. Hans Holbein the Younger's *Edward VI as a Child* (1538) depicts its sitter as a tiny adult in the formal regalia and stiff pose of rule; it includes an elaborate inscription certifying his hereditary duties as heir to the throne. Rather than commemorating an individual child, the painting serves a social function that is more abstract, hieratic, and dynastic. Less formal portraits of children involved in everyday activities can be found in the work of Sofonisba Anguissola, who once painted her own self-portrait in the act of painting a tender kiss between the Madonna and Christ child (*Self-Portrait at the Easel, Painting a Devotional Panel*, late 1550s). Born into a provincial noble family that gave her a humanistic education, Anguissola painted her young sisters laughingly playing chess with their governess, whose presence attests to the artist's own higher social class, in *The Sisters of the Artist and Their Governess* (1555). According to Vasari, Anguissola's expressive and naturalistic black chalk drawing *Child Bitten by a Crayfish* (c. 1558) evidently impressed Michelangelo so much that he presented it as a gift to a friend, who later gave it, along with a drawing by the more famous Michelangelo himself, to the wealthy Florentine patron Cosimo I de' Medici. Anguissola thus achieved artistic recognition in giving a central focus in her work to children depicted in their own right. But she did so as a function of her marginal cultural position (despite her elevated social background and subsequent patronage by the Spanish court of Philip II) as a woman artist who did not produce the large-scale historical and religious works expected of male artists. As in the case of later artists like Berthe Morisot and MARY CASSATT, children could be seen as an appropriately feminized, domestic genre for a woman artist to portray.

The most elaborate sixteenth-century visual compendium of children, Pieter Brueghel the Elder's *Children's Games* (1560), exhaustively depicts over ninety different games, including blindman's buff, knucklebones, mumblety-peg, leapfrog, tug-of-war, piggyback, hide-and-seek, and mock marriage and baptismal processions. Despite the large size of the picture, the frenetic figures are so numerous as to become rather miniaturized in scale and detail. Some interpretations have linked the iconography of the scene allegorically to the seasonal or calendrical marginalia of illuminated manuscripts. Recent art historical accounts have debated playful and more moralizing meanings. On the one hand, realistic sixteenth-century details are depicted, including the caterwauling games, as well as the feminine costume worn by preadolescent boys, an allusion to early childhood's domestic construction. (Before the age of four boys wore dress-

es with aprons and bibs, as does, for example the boy with the hobbyhorse in the left central foreground of the picture; between the ages of five and eleven, they wore open frocks, as does the urchin on the barrel on the right; after that they adopted adult costume, like the short jacket with trousers worn by the boy with the hoop in the center). On the other hand, many interpreters, including Sandra Hindman, have read the picture as emblematic of folly, especially since various medieval and Renaissance humanist texts presented children as lacking in rational judgment. The topographical positioning of the uninhibited games, which are viewed from an omniscient perspective in proximity to civic architecture, may allude to the public virtues which correctly reared children should eventually be taught.

Seventeenth Century

Acknowledging the elusive and ambiguous meanings of Brueghel's games, as well as of related iconographies of children in seventeenth-century Dutch art, Edward Snow and Simon Schama have suggested that moralizing and more naturalistic interpretations need not be definitive or mutually exclusive. According to Schama, children were no longer necessarily regarded either as miniature adults or as vessels brimming with sin. As Mary Frances Durantini has shown, representations of children in seventeenth-century Dutch art were richly diverse, ranging from domestic genre scenes and family portraits to images of a more didactic nature. The growth of such pictures was facilitated by the early development in Holland of mercantile middle classes who favored art intended for their homes. From today's perspective, these images of children, produced in a democratic, largely Protestant, and capitalist republic, begin to look familiar. In seventeenth-century France and Spain, the lower-class beggar children found in the work of the brothers Le Nain, Bartolomé Estaban Murillo, and Jusepe de Ribera were conceptualized from the point of view of elevated social positions espousing virtuous poverty and picturesque sentiment. Ribera's plucky *Boy with a Clubfoot* (c. 1642–1652), who jauntily slings a crutch over his shoulder, is monumentalized in scale despite his physical disability. The paper he holds suggests the moralizing theme of charity as it asks the viewer for alms. In Holland, Jan Steen's pictures of spoiled or misbehaving middle-class children, such as *The Feast of Saint Nicholas* (c. 1665–1668) or the *Unruly School* (c. 1670) employ mischief and mirth to evoke a humanist and Calvinist lesson that childhood levity and free will are meant to lead to adult gravity and obedience.

Even in their most earthy and scatological manifestations, when they seem explicitly to break previous iconographic molds, Dutch images of children can retain potentially symbolic frames of reference. Card-playing and bubble-blowing children can be naturalistically playful at the same time that they function as iconographic reminders of vice or of the transience of life. Children with PETS, a topic that would multiply in the visual culture of later centuries, connected



Hans Holbein the Younger's 1538 portrait of Edward VI of England—dressed in the trappings of royalty—is less an image of an individual child than of a position in society, that of heir to the throne. Archive Photos, Inc.

children and animals with the natural realm. Judith Leyster's *Two Children with a Kitten and an Eel* (c. 1630s) combines teasing playfulness with potential symbolism, the kitten itself being an emblem of PLAY and the eel alluding to the proverbial slipperiness of life. That life's transience could be an especially sensitive issue in the case of mortal children and could often serve as a catalyst for their representation is evident in Gabriel Metsu's poignant painting *The Sick Child* (c. 1660).

Eighteenth Century

Pointon has charted further connections between CHILD MORTALITY and image-making in eighteenth-century England. As with later photographs of children, the captured image of the ephemeral child could serve on a psychic level as a visual fetish to acknowledge loss and to protect against it. It was during the eighteenth century that the idea of childhood innocence as a sheltered realm, fragile and susceptible to corruption, was elaborately invented and largely began to replace the notion of children as naturally immodest and uninhibited. Edward Snow, drawing upon Ariès, points out that even earlier, the idea of "weak" childhood innocence was not merely progressive or altruistic; it also had authoritarian implications about the strict supervision of the children it idealized. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU's enormously influential



In Gustave Courbet's *Studio*, subtitled *A Real Allegory*, (1855) the fact that the artist has managed to capture the attention and admiration of the child in the center of the painting is meant to signify the natural honesty of the realist painter and his art. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. The Art Archive/Dagli Orti.

book *Émile* (1762) presented the (male) child as free to express his “natural” inclinations, yet placed him under the controlling hand of a tutor. Without the guidance of education, a child’s “natural” goodness could be corrupted by society. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, in the context of political revolution in France and Industrial Revolution in Britain, the idealized innocence of children was visually constructed by artists whose clients were aristocrats discovering Rousseauian sentiment and, increasingly, members of the industrial bourgeoisie pursuing a nostalgic withdrawal from industrial and political revolutions. A picture of presumed childhood innocence could, however, imply its unrepresented opposite, the power (physical, political, social, psychosexual) which threatens innocence.

In eighteenth-century Britain, which experienced the Industrial Revolution earlier than the rest of Europe, portraits of children could display them as luxury items, informally arranged as “dynastic” symbols of bourgeois parental (and particularly paternal) wealth. The elegantly dressed and remarkably clean children in William Hogarth’s portrait *The Graham Children* (1742) probably served this purpose for their father Daniel, who commissioned the portrait not long after the king had given him a prestigious appointment as Apothecary of Chelsea Hospital. But the picture and its history are more complex than that. The smallest child on the

extreme left (Thomas, an infant boy dressed in feminine attire) died between the time the picture was commissioned and completed. The innocent charm of the scene is tempered by the posthumous nature of the portrait: symbolic reminders of mortality are found in the clock directly above the baby, which features a cupid holding time’s scythe, and by the cat avidly threatening the caged bird. (Even more menacing cats and a bird can be found somewhat later in the portrait of a more aristocratic child painted by Francisco Goya, a Spanish artist who had already seen five of his own children die young [*Manuel Osorio de Zuñiga*, c. 1788].)

In the case of Joshua Reynolds’s portrait *Penelope Boothby* (1788), the pensive child sitter with oversized, frilly mobcap would be dead within three years, although her image would inspire later developments in the visual culture of childhood innocence. In portraits such as Thomas Gainsborough’s *The Artist’s Daughters Chasing a Butterfly* (c. 1756) and Joseph Wright of Derby’s *The Wood Children* (1789), the elusive butterfly and the suspended cricket ball become signs of childhood’s fleeting nature, even as the children are monumentalized in scale and set in idealized, Wordsworthian pastoral settings. Children could be further removed from present worries if they were dressed in antiquated costumes. Gainsborough dressed the preadolescent youth in his famous *Blue Boy* (c. 1770) in a seventeenth-century satin suit bor-

rowed from a portrait by Anthony Van Dyck. By placing children in protected “natural” settings apparently removed from the menaces of death or industry, and in anachronistic, seemingly classless clothing, these eighteenth-century British artists effectively created what Higonnet has called the “modern Romantic child,” a nostalgic sign of a past that for adults is always already lost.

For all the attempted “timelessness” of such images, several British portraits of “pure” childhood innocence harbor a colonial and racial ideology that reveals the Western nature and historical specificity of their construction. In an early example, Sir Peter Lely’s *Lady Charlotte Fitzroy* (c. 1674), an Indian servant boy proffers a tray of fruit and kneels in homage to the young Charlotte. His dark skin is a foil to her fair whiteness, which is aligned with a classical relief in the background. According to James Steward, the presence of the Indian boy refers to the girl’s higher-class position at a time when the place occupied by Indians in British society was comparable to that of African slaves. (For analogous images of affluent English girls with African child servants, see Bartholomew Dandridge, *Young Girl with Page* [c. 1720–1730], and Joseph Wright of Derby, *Two Girls and a Negro Servant* [1769–1770].) Steward suggests that in Reynolds’s *The Children of Edward Holden Cruttenden with an Indian Ayah* (1759–1762), the ayah, who evidently saved the children’s lives during an Indian uprising, serves the compositional purpose of pushing the lighter-skinned children forward, thus establishing her relationship of servitude to children who otherwise could be seen as lacking in power themselves.

In France, a less colonial but nonetheless political ideology could be present in pictures of happy or unhappy families which, as Carol Duncan and Lynn Hunt have argued, could mask or allude to oedipal conflicts surrounding the French Revolution’s regicide. In the “family romance” of the Revolution, the recognition of the independent sphere of children was inspired not only by Rousseau, but also by the diminution of the father’s traditional patriarchal role. In the most famous Revolutionary image of a child, Jacques-Louis David’s painting *Death of Joseph Bara* (1794), an androgynous innocence is maintained even as the ephebic nude boy, whose genitals are conveniently hidden, is presented as a violated revolutionary martyr. *Bara* became a pubescent symbol of the state of childlike purity to which the Revolution aspired (but could not attain) during the Terror. In this invention of an unlikely Jacobin hero, David’s modification of the adult Academic male body displaced child SEXUALITY to an implicit level of the political unconscious.

A more conspicuously depraved view of child sexuality and adult abuse of it was produced slightly later during the Revolutionary period in Spain by Goya in the etching “Blow” from the series *Los Caprichos* (1799). Here lecherous warlocks employ a child’s buttocks as a pair of bellows to



Victorian imagery frequently subverted notions of children’s innocence even while they claimed to celebrate it. Julia Margaret Cameron’s photographs often mixed sensuality with a maternal affection toward her subjects, as in *The Double Star* (1864). (albumen; 11 x 95. Cm [4 3/8 x 3 3/4 in.]). Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

stoke the fire of carnality, even as fellatio is performed on another child. This purposefully irrational image of sadistic pedophilia exposed the dark underside of ENLIGHTENMENT ideals of innocence. In France, Jean-Baptiste Greuze had previously drawn less lurid symbolic connections between child innocence and its erotically charged Other. Unlike earlier, more uninhibitedly carnal rococo infants in the work of Boucher, Greuze’s *Girl Mourning over Her Dead Bird* (1765) appealed to the philosophe Denis Diderot because of its moral didacticism. That sexual misconduct has taken place is symbolized by the open cage (lost virginity) and limp bird (spent passion). As Jennifer Milam has pointed out, the girl’s evident remorse legitimized, but did not eliminate, the eroticism of the image. Childhood innocence, gendered as feminine, is here represented by its loss.

In Britain, innocence could likewise be gendered as feminine or could be more generic, even genderless. As Higonnet has argued, the pure white clothing of the girl in Reynolds’s *The Age of Innocence* (c. 1788) is arranged so as to expose only those parts of the body least associated with adult sexuality. A sense of genderlessness was compounded by the feminine costume typically worn by young boys (compare Reynolds’s girlish *Master Hare* of the same year, which displays more bare shoulder). The exception to protected yet vulnerable



Little Dancer Aged Fourteen (1878–1881), Edgar Degas. Degas' depiction of working-class child ballerinas was an exception to the Impressionists' primarily bourgeois representation of childhood. Degas drew attention to the dancers' hard physical training and their probable future in high-end prostitution. © Philadelphia Museum of Art/CORBIS.

innocence in Reynolds's numerous depictions of upper-class children was the working-class boy.

In *Mercury as a Cut Purse* (1771) and especially in *Cupid as a Link Boy* (1774), the fancy picture's trappings of classical myth allowed the artist to allude in a not so subtle way to adult vice. In London streets, link boys held torches that lit the route between front door and carriage; they were also exploited as aids to, and victims of, sexual liaisons. The erect, phallic shape of the boy's torch in Reynolds's painting, along with his lewd arm gesture and the mating dance of cats on a background roof, make him a less than innocent urban update of the mythological intermediary of love. (The boy's sexuality brings to mind Caravaggio's more titillating, if less victimized, *Cupid* of 1598–1599.) It was William Blake, in his etching and poem "The Chimney Sweeper" from his *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1794), who would less unequivocally

criticize social injustice in the treatment of working-class children and thereby predict the reformist concerns of the nineteenth century. The image and accompanying text remove the blackened boy (a Rousseauian "noble savage") from idyllic nature and implicate parents, church, and king in the promotion and condoning of CHILD LABOR. Without specifically mentioning it, the image suggests in a picturesque way the ineffectiveness of reform legislation such as the Chimney Sweepers Act of 1788.

Nineteenth Century

Paradoxically, the codification, glorification, and diffusion of the Romantic cult of childhood innocence in the nineteenth century coincided exactly with an unprecedented industrial exploitation of children. A nostalgic regression of such mythic proportions can be interpreted as a social and cultural withdrawal from the urban-industrial as well as the political and scientific revolutions of the nineteenth century. Romanticism's exploration of the subjective self through the idealized state of the child sought a repository of sensitivities and sentiments thought to be lost or blunted in adulthood. While legal reforms (however ineffective they may have been initially) helped attract public opinion to the plight of factory children, capitalism discovered in middle-class children and their parents a ready-made consumer class. A burgeoning industry in children's TOYS, books, magazines, songs, clothes, and advice manuals for parents helped market the child as a symbol of progress and of the future. As state protection and the surveillance provided by its various institutions, including educational, medical, and legal, increasingly diminished the patriarchal power of fathers over their children, the bourgeois ideal of the family and of the protected place of the child within it was magnified. By the end of the century, primary school education was compulsory and free and child protection legislation was enacted. An ideal of sheltered childhood had become accepted by the middle classes and was finally extended, as a right, to poorer classes as well. Shifting attitudes towards working-class children could be seen in the writings of, among others, Charles Baudelaire, Victor Hugo, and Charles Dickens. PEDIATRICS was founded as a distinct field of medicine during the late nineteenth century, by which time there likewise had emerged in France a new so-called science of child rearing called *puériculture*. Nineteenth-century authors ranging from Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard to Rodolphe Töpffer and Auguste Comte had meanwhile updated Rousseau's equation of childhood with cultural primitivism by comparing children to savages and by seeing them as representatives of the childhood of the human race as a whole, ideas that would later influence Freud. The constructed ideal of childhood innocence was, in many respects, a Victorian defense against advancing awareness of the sexual life of children and adolescents during the period when Freud himself was growing up.

The most famous Romantic portrait of childhood, *The Hülsenbeck Children*, by the German artist Philipp Otto



Children's Afternoon at Wargemont (1884), Pierre-Auguste Renoir. In this sunny domestic scene, Renoir depicts a feminized version of childhood. The girls are shown in a progression of feminine pursuits, from the doll play of the youngest child to her eldest sister's sewing. © Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany.

Runge (1805–1806), bursts with a tough, preternatural energy. The sheltered innocence of Reynolds's typical children gives way to an intense and looming monumentality that confers a new kind of mysterious, haptic power. As Robert Rosenblum has memorably described them, the Hülsenbeck children are given a primitive and plant-like vitalism. With a strong fist, the chubby-cheeked, barefooted baby boy in the wagon on the left grabs a sunflower stalk that seems to sprout with the same sap as he does; the stylized hair of his sister on the right resembles leaves; and the middle brother drives the others with a miniature horse whip. The three of them inhabit a utopian domain scaled to children, not to adults. Like growing Alices in *Wonderland*, they dwarf the picket fence that diminishes oddly into contracted space towards the seemingly miniature house on the right. The distant view of Hamburg on the left horizon includes the dye-works factory owned by their textile merchant father, reminding us that the growth of industry promoted the cult of the child by heightening a bourgeois desire to recuperate an imagined unity with nature. The Romantic artist seems to have envied

children's supposedly instinctual sensitivity to nature, imagined as unrepressed by civilization.

Although German Romanticism may have found an added impetus to depict children in a pietistic Christian revival, and specifically in Christ's injunction to become like a child to enter the kingdom of heaven, the French Romantic painter Théodore Géricault turned to something more sexually powerful and psychically uncanny (uncanny in the Freudian sense of the familiar becoming unfamiliar and disquieting). As Stefan Germer has pointed out, the spooky portrait *Alfred Dedreux as a Child* (c. 1814) makes its sitter tower over the horizon line, dominating the viewer with an alien gaze. Isolated within his surroundings and given oddly manneristic proportions, he no longer seems childish in the sheltered Reynolds sense, but more threatening, a potential wild child or savage trapped beneath his fancy suit. Just as strong but much less innocent than Runge's children is Géricault's *Louise Vernet* (c. before 1816), which is compositionally related to the *Alfred Dedreux* in terms of the child's loom-

ing position in a sublimely obscure landscape with none of Gainsborough's pastoral tranquility. Here the frank gaze at the beholder over a shoulder bared by a sliding dress may harbor a dangerous sexual power, symbolized by the oversized cat in her lap (very different from Leyster's kitten). Like Édouard Manet's later (adult) *Olympia* (1863), Louise Vernet is made to seem aware of a desiring gaze directed at her, without allowing herself to become its object. According to Germer, her knowing and rather confrontational gaze reverses the usual relations of power between image and viewer. If knowledge of sex was thought to separate children from adults, this is a child who seems to gain power over the adult viewer by ignoring that boundary.

In nineteenth-century France, male children could acquire a new political power in the imagery of democratic revolution. Gone was the monarchical stiffness of Holbein's *Edward VI* or the resigned victimhood of David's *Bara*. And whereas the Spaniard Goya famously depicted revolution as

a grisly *Saturn* symbolically devouring his children (1820–1823), the French Romantic Eugène Delacroix optimistically painted the French Revolution of 1830 as being led by a child. The title of his famous *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) refers to the allegorical female figure with bared breasts, but close inspection reveals that the first person to step over the barricade is actually the urchin to the right, a *gamin de Paris* of the type Victor Hugo would later immortalize in his novel *Les Misérables* (1862) as the character Gavroche. Another *gamin* (urchin) peers out from behind the barricade at the extreme left, grasping a dagger and a cobblestone (a potent symbol of insurrection) and wearing a pilfered *bonnet de police* (forage cap) of the infantry of the national guard (a militia which quickly opposed the king during the fighting). The more prominent urchin who brandishes pistols and carries an oversized ammunition bag stolen from the royal guard gives the composition an explosive force by leading the fray. As an emblem of the democratic future, he is a modern, urban, working-class boy wearing patched trousers and a blue-black velvet *faluche* (student beret). The latter, even if filched, serves as a sign of the bourgeois belief in education's promise of social reform. In the oedipal "family romance" configured in the composition, he plays the son to the maternal figure of Liberty; there is no single father figure, however, but rather several possibilities from both the working and middle class. Both politically and psychically, the boy is a symbolic *enfant de la patrie* (child of the nation) in the famous words of the French national anthem. His role would be played by the more neoclassical ephebe in François Rude's equally famous sculpture *La Marseillaise* (1836) on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. From a different political perspective, even Paul Delaroche's medievalizing painting of two threatened boys, *Princes in the Tower* (1831), a scene inspired by Shakespeare's *Richard III* which was exhibited in the same Salon as the Delacroix, was suspected (probably incorrectly) of making a veiled comment on the recent unseating of a king. When revolution recurred in Paris in February 1848, the caricaturist Honoré Daumier made a lithograph portraying a perennial street urchin with stolen hat enjoying an oedipal bounce on the king's throne in the Tuileries Palace in *Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries* (1848).

In addition to political agency, the male child could become an emblem of artistic genius in the nineteenth century. In France, the childhood of famous Old Masters, including Giotto and Callot, regularly inspired Salon paintings, especially during the Romantic period. As Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has shown, nineteenth-century French artists' biographies followed standard "family romance" plots in which childhood was seen to foretell the future emergence of creative genius. Susan Casteras has mounted a related argument about pictures of boy geniuses in Victorian Britain, for example, Edward M. Ward, *Benjamin West's First Effort in Drawing*, (1849), or William Dyce, *Titian Preparing to Make His First Essay in Colouring* (1857).

During the realist period in France, at a time when authors like Rodolphe Töpffer were extolling the virtues of children's drawings, Gustave Courbet prominently featured two boys in his huge painting *Studio* (1855), one of them admiring a landscape painting in the center, the other one drawing on the floor to the right. In what Courbet called his "real allegory," the boys allude to the supposedly "natural," childlike naïveté and primitive, unmediated vision of the realist artist and perhaps to future generations of such artists. As Daniel Guernsey has argued, the central boy in particular serves as a Rousseauian "Émile" to Courbet's tutor as the artist teaches the child (as well as the Emperor Napoleon III, portrayed in travesty on the left-hand side of the painting) about the origins of social injustice and the restorative lessons of nature. The fact that this is a peasant child from the working class enhances Courbet's political agenda and aligns the figure with the more urban urchins in the Romantic work of Delacroix and in the naturalist work of Édouard Manet.

The Old Musician (c. 1861–1862), completed the same year that Hugo published *Les Misérables*, is the most monumental of several pictures of children from Manet's early career. In an allusive manifesto about social disenfranchisement that looks back to Courbet's *Studio*, it includes on the left various waifs and child misfits who conflate modern Parisian street urchins of the type celebrated by Hugo (as well as in popular visual culture) with more timeless art-historical references to Le Nain, Watteau, Murillo, and Velázquez. Further distancing the children from the street, Manet, like Courbet, also employs them as self-reflexive allusions to his own artistic practice. In this respect, they stand as visual reminders of the famous declaration by Manet's friend the poet and critic Baudelaire in his essay "The Painter of Modern Life" (1859–1863) that artistic "genius is nothing more nor less than *childhood recovered* at will." Yet there is a darker side to this romantic claim: as Nancy Locke has argued, Baudelaire's prose poem "La Corde" (1864) is colored with incidents from Manet's life, in particular the suicide of a child model, so as to comment on the ideological illusions involved in representation. In other prose poems, most notably "The Poor Child's Toy" (1863), Baudelaire created disquieting and ambiguous confrontations between rich and poor children.

A less unstable image of children's class differences can be found in Victorian Britain in John Faed's *Boyhood* (1849), a painting exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1850. Here a well-dressed boy is being rescued from the pugilistic belligerence of a poorer barefoot boy. Real class tension is effectively disavowed through the humorous combination of the exaggerated features of the red-faced and frightened rich boy, the handsome physiognomy and upstanding demeanor of the pugnacious poor boy, and the intervention of the old man, who is probably their schoolmaster. The caricatural presence of the old man, as well as the location of the bundle

of books at the poor boy's feet, helps assure the viewer of education's progressive potential to create middle-class harmony and unity. A comparable point was made later in France in Marie Bashkirtseff's enormously successful salon picture *The Meeting* (1884), which was painted during a period of public debate about free, compulsory children's education that followed the passing of the reformist Ferry Law of 1882. Here the proverbially mischievous *gamins de Paris* carry not the insurrectionary ammunition pouch of Delacroix's urchin, but a reassuring school satchel. Faed's scene is, by comparison, safely moved from city to countryside. And the image of boyish aggression in Victorian art often served, as Sara Holdsworth and Joan Crossley have noted, as a sign of the competitive spirit needed in business and empire.

The slightly darker skin of Faed's poor boy connects him back to Blake's chimney sweep and with other representations of so-called STREET ARABS. This latter term, employed in Britain since the mid-nineteenth century, effectively identified class with ethnicity, so that, as Lindsay Smith has explained it, a working-class child could function as a displaced form of the colonized Other. Like the swarthy gypsy boy in Manet's *Old Musician*, lower-class European children could now occupy the position previously held by Indian and African servants in eighteenth-century British child portraits. In the United States, the intriguing half-breed Native American boy strategically placed at the center of George Caleb Bingham's *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* (c. 1845) could function, in concert with the more ominous bear cub on the left, as a racially hybrid sign of the interface between the mysterious wilderness and the supposedly civilizing influence of the French trapper on the right. In the urban context of Victorian England, race, class, and HYGIENE could be conflated in the representation of darker hair and skin, as can be seen in the figure of the homeless girl with a baby who figures prominently along with other "guttersnipes" in the central foreground of Ford Maddox Brown's *Work* (1852–1865). Like the gypsy girl with an infant on the left in Manet's *Old Musician*, she has prematurely assumed the duties of womanhood, while her tattered and revealing red dress and position literally in the gutter seem to prophesy a future in the oldest profession. At a time when factory children were commonly referred to as "white slaves" in Britain, homeless street arabs were constructed as the Other of clean, white, middle-class children in photographs by Oscar Gustav Rejlander, as well as in comparably staged photographs promoting the "philanthropic abduction" campaigns of the evangelical reformer Thomas Barnardo in the 1860s and 1870s. Similar strategies would operate in the more grittily "documentary" photographs of American street arabs taken in subsequent decades in New York by Jacob Riis. By the latter part of the century, mass visual culture, such as British advertisements for Pears' Soap showing black children having their skin washed white with the product, had further disseminated the conflation of ideologies of race, class, and hygiene.

Meanwhile the hyperreal, Pre-Raphaelite clutter of William Holman Hunt's *The Children's Holiday* (1864) could speak in an elegant but claustrophobic way to the building momentum of commodification in middle-class children's fashions (the undepicted father of the portrayed children being a Manchester fabric manufacturer). It simultaneously addressed the retrenchment of bourgeois childhood's protected domain to a privatized, idyllic, and nonindustrialized nature dominated by a crisply sumptuous maternal figure from whom the immaculate youngsters seem to emanate. In what is perhaps the ultimate visual celebration of elite nineteenth-century childhood, American John Singer Sargent's *The Boit Children* (1882–1883), there is projected a more sensual mystery that has something to do with the painterly representation of gender. As David Lubin (1985) and others have argued, the Boit girls serve on one level as well-dressed and leisurely signs of their father's wealth and on another as evocations of female subjectivity (including sexuality) at various developmental stages. Biological destiny, perhaps symbolized by the birth-like positioning of the central figure's doll, seems to hover over the girls like the oversized oriental vessels that lurk in the shadows, miniaturizing the domestic interior (as well as the physical and mental space) these female children inhabit.

As Greg Thomas has shown, French Impressionism's representation of girls and dolls as analogous objects addressed the normative and increasingly commodified socialization of bourgeois feminine behavior. In light of literature (Victor Hugo's *Cosette* or the Comtesse de Ségur's *Sophie*) and industry (Pierre François Jumeau's mass-produced porcelain luxury dolls), Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Children's Afternoon at Wargemont* (1884) clearly suggests, rather less mysteriously than Sargent's *Boit Children*, a cyclical maturation and reproduction of ideal feminine domesticity through doll play and other parlor accomplishments. Renoir's perpetuation of the feminized construction of childhood as a whole is indicated by his sumptuous portrait *Mme Charpentier and Her Children* (1878), in which the younger of what appear to be two elegantly dressed girls is actually a boy. The point is driven home further by a later portrait of his own small son (the future film director) engrossed in the decidedly distaff act of sewing, complete with a bow in his hair, in *Jean Renoir Sewing* (1898–1899).

Whereas Renoir freely chose to depict childhood as a modern life topic, Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt, his colleagues in the Impressionist movement, were, to a greater extent, relegated to depicting it by social expectations about appropriate subject matter for women artists. Yet, as Thomas argues, they found viable alternatives to the dominant representation of normative girlhood. Morisot, for example, painted the concentrated activity of her daughter as she shared a more boyish toy, perhaps a train, with her sun-dappled, bourgeois father in *Eugène Manet and Daughter at Bougival* (1881). Mary Cassatt turned conventional deport-

ment and etiquette on their respective heads in her *Young Girl in a Blue Armchair* (1878), something that may have contributed to the rejection of the picture at the 1878 Universal Exposition in Paris. The girl sprawls in a chair at loose ends both physically and psychologically. With legs apart, skirt thrown up to reveal petticoats, and one arm crooked behind her head almost in a parody of the pose of an odalisque (orientalist harem slave), Cassatt's child offers insight into the claustrophobic world inhabited by Victorian females and does so from a gendered perspective that differs remarkably from that of Cassatt's fellow American Sargent.

An exception to the Impressionist tendency to depict primarily bourgeois children was Edgar Degas's series of pictures concentrating on the hard work of child and adolescent ballerinas. Known as *rats* (in yet another analogy between children and animals) these working-class girls were transformed by the artifice of the dance. While acknowledging the eroticized reputation of the dancers promoted in popular visual culture, especially as regards their precocious relations with wealthy male "protectors," Degas more typically concentrated in his pastels on their repetitive labor, in which he saw analogies with his own serial work. Alternatively, in his realistic wax and multimedia sculpture *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen* (1878–1881), he drew upon the popular culture of dolls (in a remarkably different way from Renoir), anthropological mannequins, wax museums, and studies of "criminal" physiognomy in order to create a troubling indictment of the "degeneration" of the lower social orders as embodied in the scrawny girl. Although he rather fetishistically gave the sculpture actual hair and clothing, Degas for the most part de-eroticized the child.

Other artists of the later nineteenth century, following the precedent of Géricault's *Louise Vernet*, addressed child sexuality in repressed, coded, or more explicit fashion so that the seemingly contradictory states of childhood innocence and eroticism could be seen to coexist. As Lubin (1994) has discussed at length, the painting *Making a Train* by the English-born American artist Seymour Guy (1867) even raises the troubling possibility that innocence can be seen as erotic. The scene of the little girl (probably Guy's nine-year-old daughter, Anna) playing dress-up was evidently intended to contrast the innocence of the child's play with the vanity of grown women. Yet for adult viewers, the focus on the child's androgynous chest can bring mature female breasts to mind, with the difference serving as a stimulus to voyeurism. In Victorian Britain, a profusion of fairy paintings could, as Susan Casteras (2002) has pointed out, eroticize children and adolescents as a humorous invitation to viewers to experience vicariously, and thus to sublimate, illicit or transgressive behavior including gender masquerading and miscegenation (see, for example, Joseph Noël Paton, *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania* [1849]). Such pictures subverted, even as they exploited it, the aura of innocence associated with Vic-



In the upheavals of the nineteenth century, children, particularly the dispossessed children “of the people,” gained a new political significance. In Eugène Delacroix’s *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), a street urchin brandishing his guns stands in the forefront of the picture, while the adult workers and members of the middle class follow behind. Musée du Louvre, Paris. © Archivo Iconografico, S.A./CORBIS.

torian children's book illustrations of a type made famous later on by Kate Greenaway.

A frequently discussed example of this phenomenon in Victorian paintings and prints is the pedophilic innuendo of John Everett Millais's *Cherry Ripe* (1879), reproduced as a widely selling print in the *Graphic* Christmas annual in 1880. The image was based nostalgically on Reynolds's *Penelope Boothby*, but it moved the hands and the anachronistic black wrist cuffs to the genital area in an evocative reference to the hymen of its symbolic title. A more maternally erotic sensuality has been read by modern historians, including Carol Mavor, in the dreamily soft focus and invitingly haptic (nearly olfactory) flesh of Julia Margaret Cameron's photographs of children (see, for example, *The Double Star* [1864]). In a different vein, Diane Waggoner, through a close reading of images of Alice Liddell and her two sisters by LEWIS CARROLL, has analyzed visual strategies by which Victorian childhood, with its ambiguous mingling of purity and sexuality, was both fetishized and naturalized by photography. As both Mavor and Lindsay Smith have pointed out, interpretation of the fetishizing that informs, for example, Carroll's update of Reynolds in *Xie Kitchen as Penelope Boothby* (probably taken slightly before Millais's *Cherry Ripe*), or the class inflection of his earlier *Alice Liddell as the Beggar Maid* (c. 1859), or the orientalist frisson of his odalisque-like *Irene MacDonald* (1863) should take into consideration a historical moment in which, until 1885, the legal AGE OF CONSENT for girls in Victorian Britain was thirteen and abusive CHILD PROSTITUTION was rampant. This affected the representation of middle-class as well as lower-class children. Even more emphatically than in the eighteenth century, Victorian innocence implied its opposite.

That the ideological and psychic contradictions of the relationship between innocence and eroticism were not confined to Britain is suggested by the strategically positioned posterior of Jean-Léon Gérôme's boy *Snake Charmer* (late 1860s). Here orientalism and French colonialism became an excuse for a titillating gaze at child sexuality of a type that was disavowed publicly in the West but privately described by Gustave Flaubert in accounts of travels to North Africa with Maxime Du Camp. Even before Paul Gauguin traveled to the French colony of Tahiti seeking to experience, among other things, an exotic ideal of androgyny, he painted the *Naked Breton Boy* (1889), whose sunburned face and hands make him all the more naked and attest to his peasant, working-class status. As Patricia Mathews has described the picture, the viewer is positioned to stand over the boy, whose awkward, adolescent body, ambiguous expression, and pre-pubescent genitals (which the artist left in an unfinished state) add an erotic dimension. The loss of innocence as a charged topic for late nineteenth-century artists culminated with the Norwegian Edvard Munch's *Puberty* (1894–1895). Whether the depicted girl is frightened by or embraces her sexual awakening, symbolized by the phallic shadow behind

her, it obviously oppresses and subsumes her with a specter of biological determinism. As Freud's contemporary, Munch was attuned to changing ideas about child sexuality that would burgeon more fully during the early twentieth century.

Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries

To get an immediate sense of the post-Freudian paradigm shift in notions of child sexuality, one need only compare the late-nineteenth-century motif of girl with doll as represented by Sargent or Renoir with that found in early-twentieth-century child nudes by the German expressionist Erich Heckel (*Girl with Doll [Franzi]* [1910]) or the French independent painter Suzanne Valadon (*The Abandoned Doll*, [1921]). Innocence has been replaced by experience, but with a notable difference in the gendered perspectives of the artists. Heckel's girl, reclining on a Freudian couch with a reddish and rather vaginal arm rest, knowingly engages the viewer's gaze. The red-cheeked doll perched on the girl's nude thigh barely covers her genitals with its skirt and seems to gesture in the direction of the adult masculine legs cropped in the left background. More frankly than in Guy's *Making a Train*, the child's body is displayed as an erotic object for adult male delectation. In Valadon's rather Fauvist interior, a more pubescent girl discards her doll and, symbolically, her childhood as she turns away from the viewer to regard her own appearance in a mirror, a traditional emblem of vanity. The bow in her hair echoes that of the doll, perhaps alluding to the socialization of feminine adornment conditioned by doll play. The mother (or perhaps procuress) figure seems to initiate the girl into the realm of appearances. As Mathews has argued, Valadon's picture conveys a perspective on puberty that differs from that of Munch. Although the girl's ripening body may offer a voyeuristic pleasure to the viewer, the picture represents puberty from the girl's perspective as a process of acculturation that is as much socially constructed as biologically encoded.

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Sigmund Freud himself had proposed the then controversial idea that children are not innocent in the conventional Victorian sense, but are sexual from birth and experience various stages of erotic experience (oral, anal, and genital) followed by a latency period between about age six and the beginning of puberty. Yet, as Alessandra Comini has discussed, artists in Freud's native Vienna mapped a terrain of childhood and adolescent torments that were initially bypassed by psychoanalysts. Egon Schiele and Oskar Kokoschka addressed the taboo topic of MASTURBATION and raised uncomfortable intimations of INCEST, most notably in Kokoschka's *Children Playing* (1909) and in Schiele's nude drawings of his twelve-year-old sister.

While reformist photography projected middle-class assumptions onto the representation of child labor, most notably in photographs taken for the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR

COMMITTEE between 1907 and 1918 by American LEWIS HINE, child sexuality still hovered, subliminally or not, in the Greek-inspired modernist abstractions of Edward Weston's famous pictorialist photographs of his nude son Neil in the mid-1920s. The eroticization of the female child continued to be exploited by male artists of the surrealist generation. The sadistically dismembered and fetishistic dolls made by the Polish-born sculptor Hans Bellmer conflated infantile and adult sexuality with disquieting violence. His more famous countryman, the reclusive Balthasar Klossowski, better known as Balthus, painted enigmatically aroused pubescent girls of a type that Vladimir Nabokov would name *LOLITA* in his 1950s novel. For example, *The Golden Days* (1944–1946) turns the motif of girl with mirror (found in a remarkably different way in Valadon's painting) into an unsettling image of narcissistic voluptuousness ripe for violation. The depicted girl may be attributed more than a modicum of sexual agency, but it is for the benefit of the adult male viewer's fantasies.

Meanwhile, as the post-Cubist tide of abstraction turned many twentieth-century artists away from the human figure, the popularity of the representation of children was supplanted in many respects by the cult of child art, now seen as a paradigm for primitivist modernism. To a certain degree, this was nothing new, as can be gathered from the boy drawing on the floor of Courbet's *Studio* or the stick figure drawn on the fence of Bashkirtseff's *Meeting*. Yet, as Jonathan Fineberg (1997) and others have noted, artists ranging from Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee to Joan Miró and Jean Dubuffet now wanted not to depict children but rather to paint like them in an attempted recuperation of their own lost inner child (a rather literal update of Baudelaire's "childhood recovered at will"). Painters' fascination with child art left the field of representing childhood increasingly open to photography and mass visual culture.

As Higonnet has pointed out, early twentieth-century illustrators like JESSIE WILLCOX SMITH and BESSIE PEASE GUTMANN kept alive Greenaway's nineteenth-century tradition of Romantic childhood innocence. Its perennial and pervasive marketability can be charted not only throughout twentieth-century advertising, but also in work since the 1990s by the enormously successful commercial photographer ANNE GEDDES, who has sold millions of greeting cards, calendars, notepads, children's books, and posters of cuddly kids in bunny or bumblebee costumes. This trajectory of prolonged cuteness has been tempered not only by the darker inflections of illustrators like MAURICE SENDAK, but also by developments in journalistic photography since the Great Depression. By mid-century, photographers including Americans Dorothea Lange and HELEN LEVITT had registered their concern with child welfare. African-American photographer Gordon Parks commented on racial discrimination through a poignant image of doll play, revealing it as

a simultaneous instrument of socialization and hindrance to identity formation, in *Black Children with White Doll* (1942).

More recently, controversial photographers of childhood including Robert Mapplethorpe, Nicholas Nixon, and especially SALLY MANN have effectively documented, and aided the invention of, a paradigm shift away from Romantic innocence to what Higonnet terms "knowing childhood." Such photographs as Mann's *Jessie as Jessie, Jessie as Madonna* (1990) rivetingly suggest that the innocence and sexuality of children are not mutually exclusive and that bodily and psychological individuality can coexist with the state of being childlike. Likewise in recent years, photographer WENDY EWALD has facilitated children's taking photographs of their own complex identities, an all-too-rare example of child agency like that initiated in the early years of the twentieth century by Jacques Henri Lartigue (*Self-Portrait with Hydroglider* [1904]).

Meanwhile in a postmodern consumer world in which children's beauty pageants, waif models, and uncanny, ethnically diverse twin dolls have become mere tips of the iceberg in the commodified, sexualized visual culture of children, increasing numbers of sculptors, painters, and video and multimedia installation artists have joined photographers in returning to the representation of childhood in its current state of knowingness, not innocence. They address the way children are used to mold social patterns of consumption and desire so as to become powerful signifiers of the uncertainties of identity in global capitalist culture. Recent American exhibitions with titles like *My Little Pretty* and *Presumed Innocence* have featured works by artists including Janet Biggs, Dinos and Jake Chapman, Taro Chiezo, Larry Clark, Keith Cottingham, Kim Dingle, Todd Gray, Todd Haynes, Nicky Hoberman, Inez van Lamsweerde, Paul McCarthy, Tracey Moffat, Tony Oursler, Alix Pearlstein, Judith Raphael, Aura Rosenberg, Julian Trigo, and Lisa Yuskavage, who unabashedly and unsentimentally tackle the topic of children as both consumable objects and sexualized subjects capable of seduction or destruction. Charles Ray, in his mixed media sculpture *Family Romance* (1993) memorably created a new standard-issue nuclear family consisting of same-sized adults and children, all given the height of young adolescents. The increasingly indistinguishable interface of adult and child identities was likewise addressed by Dutch-born artist Inez van Lamsweerde in a series of computer manipulated digital photographs of girl models who were given the tight grins of adult males in a spooky prefiguration of images published four years later of the murdered child beauty queen JonBenét Ramsey (*Final Fantasy, Ursula* [1993]). Both artists mingled grotesque archaeological fragments of constructed childhoods past and present, including the Wordsworthian claim that the child is father of the man, the Freudian uncanny, and the disturbingly dark side of Disney. The quandary of being both adult and child was indelibly visualized by Judy Fox in her glazed terracotta statue *Sphinx* (1994). Offering

something of a postmodern update of Degas's *Little Dancer*, the nude, life-sized body of the enigmatic young gymnast is poised in the physical and psychological contortions of a gesture of salute. Her uncanny knowingness likewise finds an ancestor in the eponymous hybrid monster of Greek mythology who destroyed those who could not answer its riddle. Such arresting images challenge us to decipher difficult and crucial questions posed by childhood today.

See also: **Boyhood; Children's Literature; Fashion; Girlhood; Madonna, Orthodox; Madonna, Religious; Madonna, Secular; Photographs of Children; Theories of Childhood; Victorian Art.**

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Immunization. See Vaccination.

Incest

The taboo surrounding incest has existed for thousands of years, but its social impact has shifted over time, reflecting changing notions of children, law, SEXUALITY, and the family. The historian must exercise caution in interpreting the role of incest in the United States because rhetoric does not always reflect reality. People rarely spoke about child sexual abuse prior to the 1970s; nevertheless incest clearly occurred. Society's responses to allegations of incest reflect the changing and often ambiguous role of children in society and are shaped by notions of gender, race, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity.

Colonial America through the Nineteenth Century

In the colonial period, children were economic assets to the family and essentially under paternal control. Their economic function was eclipsed as Victorian concepts of middle-class domesticity emerged in the nineteenth century. Children were recast as innately innocent and malleable, and mothers replaced fathers as the moral guardians of the home. This image of innocence underscored the perception of childhood vulnerability. During the Progressive Era, CHILD-SAVING professionals increasingly intervened in the family, subtly challenging parental authority and implying that faulty and inadequate PARENTING could harm children. The twentieth century saw the emergence of CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, often at the expense of parental authority.

Although rarely mentioned, there is mounting evidence that child sexual abuse occurred frequently throughout the last two centuries. Laws about statutory rape and incest reflect awareness that child sexual abuse existed, but their erratic enforcement suggests ambiguity about sexual abuse and society's role in child protection. Between the 1880s and 1900, for example, most states increased the AGE OF CONSENT from ten to at least sixteen, reflecting a common concern of the social purity movement that girls were vulnerable to sexual harm. Although almost every state outlawed incest, sexual acts between parent and child outside of intercourse fell under less stringent legal statutes.

Historians have argued that cultural practices may have facilitated sexual abuse in the home. Sleeping arrangements

that placed adults in the same bed with children—such as occurred in the crowded conditions of nineteenth-century tenements, or the limited bed space in colonial and frontier homes—gave adults easy access to children, enabled children to witness carnal acts between adults, and may have facilitated incest. Myths about VENEREAL DISEASE transmission may have contributed to sexual abuse by reshaping taboos against incest into acts of desperation. According to one myth, which still occasionally surfaces as an excuse, intercourse with a virgin will cure a man suffering from a venereal disease. During the nineteenth century, men who invoked this explanation for sexual relations with minors were considered less predatory and legally culpable.

Late Nineteen and Early Twentieth Century

During the Progressive Era the profession of social work was born; with it came increased scrutiny of the private lives of American families. When early social workers uncovered cases of incest, they frequently described the girls as seducers rather than victims. Considered sexually deviant, these girls risked incarceration in institutions for delinquent girls. Conversely, fathers who were named as perpetrators were rarely prosecuted; a promise to reform was considered sufficient. By the 1920s, children were often imbued with paradoxical qualities of being at once erotic and innocent, a tension epitomized in Nabokov's 1958 novel *LOLITA*.

Commonly held beliefs may have deflected suspicion away from parents. Victorian domestic literature frequently warned mothers to beware of salacious domestic workers caring for children. Accused of calming young charges by masturbating them and introducing sexual activity prematurely, domestic employees were often the first household members to be implicated when sexual abuse was suspected. Little evidence supports these accusations against nursery maids; yet the frequency with which the concern was raised reflects a simmering fear that sexual abuse could perturb the seemingly calm Victorian home. Similarly, when a child contracted gonorrhea and a parent was found to have the disease as well, infected sheets and toilet seats were blamed instead of the parent. The mistaken belief that children could catch gonorrhea from objects led sexual abuse to go unrecognized as late as the 1970s.

Historians have shown how twentieth-century rhetoric may have hidden more abuse than it exposed. The stranger-perpetrator, so threateningly portrayed in mid-twentieth-century media, diverted attention from more likely perpetrators in the home. Freud's notion of children's innate sexuality and his belief that memories of sexual abuse represented unconscious wishes stressed the erotic nature of children and caused many professionals to question the validity of memories of sexual abuse. Even as concern about sexual abuse grew throughout most of the twentieth century, most experts resisted the idea that incest might be common.

CHILD ABUSE burst into American social conscience in the last three decades of the twentieth century, but there were

important antecedents, though initially they were focused on physical rather than sexual abuse. Organized social response to child abuse began in 1874 when a severely beaten girl was brought to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and thus led to the founding of analogous societies to protect abused children. Her case typified nineteenth-century stereotypes: abused children came from immigrant, impoverished, intemperate, and marginalized homes. These stereotypes buttressed middle-class values, reinforced notions of middle-class domestic tranquility, and persisted for over a hundred years.

Other social movements helped set the stage for the late-twentieth-century discovery of incest. Feminism empowered women to expose domestic abuse and encouraged society to protect other victims, like abused children. The social activism of the 1960s and 1970s created a sympathetic audience for abused children. Increased sexual freedom gave society a vocabulary to discuss sexual abuse. In the early 1960s pediatricians, inspired by social activism and responding to increased professional interest in developmental and behavioral issues, began to identify and protect physically abused children. By the 1970s this medicalization of child abuse had

expanded to include child sexual abuse as well, and medical evaluations became standard features of child sexual abuse cases. As society increasingly felt obliged to protect abused children, the paternal hegemony that dominated early American families had eroded and a variety of professionals gained authority in policing and protecting the family.

See also: **Law, Children and the.**

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HUGHES EVANS

Indentured Servants. See Apprenticeship; Placing Out.

India and South Asia

India has the largest population of children in the world: some 300 million of its almost one billion people. Pakistan has 58 million children, Bangladesh 47 million, Sri Lanka 5 million, and Nepal 10 million, about 40 percent of the population in each case. Together the South Asian countries have some of the richest folklore and artistic creations for and about children in the world. Although the suggestion that childhood is basically a modern concept is a useful one, it does not tell us much about the empirical history and cultural systems of children in South Asia, either in a premodern past or for those who are not wholly "modern" in the conventional sense today. That work remains to be done, especially given the diversity of the region. All generalizations below need to be tempered with a view to this diversity.

The Love of Children

Studies of South Asian literature reveal a high regard for infancy and childhood, starting with rich descriptions of the physical looks, antics, and charms of children; going on to their emotional appeal; and including the multivocal symbolism of childhood, or how childhood means many different things, most of them wonderful. Philosophical perspectives see childhood as representing the highest, hidden truths for humans, as well as marking the fallacy of worldly life and its entanglements. The mythological figures of Hinduism revel in the chaotic PLAY of children, specifically boys. The term *play* (*jeela*) for many Hindus describes the nature of God's work. Specially celebrated are the child-versions of Rama and Krishna in the many vernacular textual and performance versions of the Sanskrit epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (c. 300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.). There is probably no

bigger corpus of poems about the naughtiness of a child than those by various poets about Krishna as an infant and young boy. In Tamil there is a genre that explicitly addresses God as a child and positions the author's voice as that of the mother. Adult saints or incarnations of godhood were and are often praised as being "childlike" in their innocence and proximity to the Ultimate Divine, such as Ramakrishna in the late nineteenth century and Anandmayi Ma in the mid-twentieth century. In totally secular literature too, there is an appreciation of childhood, as by the poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941).

In the traditional Indian sciences, children are specially targeted. In the medical philosophies of Ayurveda the treatment of the child comprises one of the eight branches of medicine. The Indian/Hindu sciences of sociology and psychology discuss the graded stages of life and the relationships between the various ages. In modern times many memoirs, such as Mohandas Gandhi's *My Experiments with Truth* (1957), and novels, such as Mai Shree's 2000 work, that describe South Asian childhoods with empathy.

The Problem of Children

In modern South Asia over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, children have been seen as a problem in several ways. The urge for reform in colonial India often revolved around abolishing child marriages. Boys and girls were betrothed at any time from birth onward and could begin married lives from the age of ten or twelve onward. An early marriage meant frequent widowhood and among the higher castes there was a prejudice against widows remarrying, no matter how young the child-widow. A lack of formal education and overall gender discrimination was seen to be at the heart of the problem. Major reformers in the nineteenth century included Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), Isvarchandra Vidyasagar (1820–1891), and Jyotirao Phule (1827–1890), although they, like all the many other reformers of the time, did not think of themselves as working for the interests of children specifically.

The constitution of independent India, adopted in 1950, has taken an uncompromising stand in protecting children from many of these problems, and when practice lags behind theory, insufficient education is held accountable. The inefficacy of law is seen as related to another problem that arose in the middle of the twentieth century: overpopulation. The population of India went up from 238 million in 1901 to 439 million in 1961 and 844 million in 1991. Family planning was proposed as a solution, with national efforts to persuade people to have two or three children only. Apart from a brief interlude of coercion in India from 1975 to 1976 there have been efforts only to educate and persuade, unlike CHINA. However, the success of family planning efforts are belied by the growth rate of the population: 1.98 percent in 1961 and 2.28 percent in 1991. The answer lies partly in reduced INFANT MORTALITY rates, which vary all over the region, but

had fallen for all of India from 129 per thousand in 1971 to 96 per thousand in 1986.

Another highly visible problem in recent decades is child labor. Many children work either as unskilled labor or as apprentices in skilled production. While unskilled child labor is due to the problem of poverty and the infrastructural bottlenecks in education and employment, APPRENTICESHIP is a complex system within which skills and ethical training are imparted and future employment guaranteed. Children working as apprentices in trades such as weaving and pottery making work in domestic settings and are not neglected or abused, although they certainly are not given the separate space, resources, and consumer goods taken as normative in the West.

Education and Socialization

In precolonial times there were several systems of education in South Asia, all local, community-based, and geared to specific purposes and futures. Diversity was the norm, and many factors, including caste, class, region, and religion decided the education that a child would receive. From the 1850s onward, home and community based schooling was gradually replaced by a centralized system of schooling. This was liberal and secular in its trappings and based on a unilaterally enforced British colonial understanding of the proper scope of knowledge, rather than on the extant plural understandings in South Asia. Because of its lack of resources and philosophy in the matter, the colonial state could not and would not provide total or compulsory education for children. The numbers being formally educated in South Asia have always remained small.

Elite children took to the new education with alacrity. Whereas some grew up to be distanced from the masses, most also learned their own histories and languages and became the nationalist intelligentsia of their countries. Today the problems of a system that is insufficient to educate all children continue, as well as those of inequality and division. Schools range from municipal schools for the poor to expensive private schools. In Pakistan the split is most dramatic, ranging between a *madrasa*-based religious education and a modern liberal education. Everywhere in South Asia, schooling is mechanical and uninspired, and at its best produces young people who can read, write, and count well, but not necessarily be creative or enterprising. The most popular type of schooling is in a liberal curriculum, English is seen as empowering, and the child is encouraged to pursue both as an investment for the family. But such is the lack of interest in the experience of the child, there is a dearth of modern, liberal educational resources, specifically of books, even as consumerism burgeons.

The community and the family are the main sources of socialization for children, where they learn of their religion, ethos, and identity. Muslim communities typically send their children to *madrasas*, domestic schools for learning the

Qur'an, for two to five years, before or together with formal schooling. Hindu communities have no formal religious education. Hindu children learn of their mythology from art, performances, festivals, popular everyday activity, and now the media. All children, with rare metropolitan exceptions, are socialized into an acceptance of interdependence with others, of negotiation about freedoms, and ultimately an age hierarchy.

Age is one of the most crucial hierarchies in South Asia, together with those of class and education. But gender is the fundamental dividing line in children's experiences across all regions, sects, and classes. Much of South Asia is patrilocal and all of it is patrilineal and patriarchal. Girls are encouraged to fit into a future of wifedom, housework, and mothering, each of which comes with complex rules. Muslim girls are taught to have "shame," to be private, and to adopt the veil from PUBERTY onward. Hindu girls are married to men and into families to whom they must adapt and configure themselves satisfactorily. Girls from the more liberal, educated classes, who are sent to mixed or all-girls' schools, are still socialized into roles deemed womanly. Boys of all sects and classes are encouraged to experiment, move around, and learn a skill or acquire a liberal education. The unemployment rate is high, meaning that not only do many boys grow up to be unemployed, they often retain a dependency on their parents well into adulthood. According to some psychoanalysts this dependency is responsible for a part of the economic backwardness and political problems of South Asia.

The games, activities, and media experience of children in South Asia are diverse and rich, even if specific spaces, consumption patterns, and identities are not considered essential for them as they are in the West. Children play a variety of local games, including the international favorites cricket and soccer, listen to a huge range of music, and are audience-participants in amateur theatricals, neighborhood celebrations, and small and large festivals. All this entertainment is free. According to their resources they also watch TELEVISION and MOVIES, although there are almost no programs or features specifically for children. There is little overt presentation of the SEXUALITY of children or adolescents. DATING and physical contact before marriage is publicly avoided in all classes and communities. Everyday violence is unknown.

For the most part, children in India and South Asia live in a rich communal world in which there are many fictive kin, and family members are around and available. These same kinspeople contribute to making it difficult for a child or adolescent to break with tradition and act autonomously, resulting in, perhaps, a dependency syndrome. Progress for children in South Asia requires a better system of education catering to the diversities of the region, as well as a more enlightened role for the community.

See also: **British Colonialism in India; Child Labor in Developing Countries; Islam; Japan.**

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NITA KUMAR

Indoor Games

While examples of board games still exist from ancient civilizations such as Egypt or Mesopotamia, indoor games involving manufactured TOYS did not become as common as homemade playthings among children until the nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, changing definitions of childhood, as well as increased industrialization and urbanization, led to the beginnings of the modern toy industry in Europe and the United States, and to the rise of leisure.

However, leisure remained an occupation of the middle and upper classes. Working-class families, especially immigrants, rarely had the time or money to indulge in leisure activities. In addition, working-class children (and women) were a very important part of the industrial labor force until well into the twentieth century, with little time to play. Most evidence of play by working-class children is of outdoor games, or street play. Urban children living in overcrowded tenements had no space to play indoors, resorting instead to the street or the stoop.

By the 1830s, popular perceptions of childhood were completely different from those of the previous century. Children were considered pure and innocent, to be nurtured and protected. By the 1830s, conceptions of motherhood had also shifted. With industrialization, divisions of labor between men and women became more pronounced. According to the middle-class model, men went to work while women stayed home and took care of the children. This model was very different from that of the previous century, when many middle-class families were shopkeepers or artisans, working out of their own homes. In the eighteenth century, the home was still a major center for production, with a domestic economy involving all family members. In the nineteenth century, the domestic economy was transformed into a domestic haven.

Indoor games, within the controlled setting of the home, offered unparalleled opportunities for adults, whether parents, caregivers, or educators, to direct children's play. Historian Jay Mechling has observed that adults began trying to shape PLAY into a constructive form in the nineteenth century, often through toys. The KINDERGARTEN movement, based on a system of early childhood education developed by FRIEDRICH FROEBEL in the 1840s, advocated learning through play, especially in early childhood. However, evidence of spontaneous games, such as playing under the dining room table, singing, or dressing up the family dog, exists in anecdotal form in memoirs and fiction.

Board and Table Games

Early board games were manufactured in England in the late eighteenth century. American firms only began to produce board games around 1840. Prior to producing board games, most of the American manufacturers were already estab-

lished as publishers of educational materials for children, such as maps or books. One of the first American manufacturers, W. & S. B. Ives of Salem, Massachusetts, published the card game *Dr. Busby* (or *Happy Families*) in the 1840s as a sideline for their stationery business. Milton Bradley first introduced the *Checkered Game of Life* in 1861, a year after starting a lithography business in Springfield, Massachusetts. Bradley went on to become one of the most successful manufacturers of board games in the United States. A proponent of the kindergarten movement, he published books and produced kindergarten “gifts.” The gifts consisted of toys specified by Froebel. Other such companies included McLoughlin Brothers, Parker Brothers, and Selchow and Righter.

Many indoor games, including board games or card games, were educational in nature. Nineteenth-century board games, card games, and jigsaw puzzles often depicted contemporary events as well as educational themes. In her 1991 book on games, *Caroline Goodfellow*, an English toy expert, connected the rise of the middle class with an increased emphasis on educating children about national and international affairs. According to *Goodfellow*, the nineteenth century was an age of exploration and expansion, requiring more extensive preparation before children were ready to enter the adult world. Games such as the 1845 *Game of the District Messenger Boy*, manufactured by McLoughlin Brothers, taught children about commerce and trade. Such games also taught children about morality, elevating virtues such as honesty and initiative while showing the consequences of vice—failure and jail. Other games, such as the 1890 *Around the World with Nellie Bly*, also manufactured by McLoughlin Brothers, took current events and made them into a game.

Other Manufactured Toys

Most existing evidence of indoor play consists of manufactured toys, which became prominent immediately following the American Civil War. Although the toy-making industry in Europe (especially in England and Germany) was already solidly established by at least the eighteenth century, the mass production of toys was certainly a nineteenth-century phenomenon. Historians are divided on whether these toys (mostly cast iron and tin) were actually played with by children or whether they were less popular than handmade playthings or improvised games without toys (e.g., hide-and-seek) during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. What is known, however, is that the toy industry flourished.

TOY TRAINS and firefighting toys were especially popular with boys, beginning with cast iron sets from the 1870s, made by companies including Carpenter, Hubley, Ives, Kenton, and Pratt & Letchworth. As technology changed, so did toys: children played with scaled-down representations of the vehicles then in use.

DOLLS and dollhouses were especially important for girls. Over time, dolls have continued to be the toys most men-

tioned by girls. Recent scholarship has focused on negative aspects of doll play, most notably in the role of the doll in reinforcing stereotypes of femininity and domesticity. However, the positive aspects should not be understated, with many girls (and boys) playing with dolls in numerous ways—nurturing them, destroying them, and telling stories about them.

Mechanical toys are especially prominent in private and public collections of toys. Notoriously fragile, these toys were almost surely used only indoors. Most mechanical toys before the end of the nineteenth century are either French or German in origin, with the most famous examples produced by Fernand Martin of Paris or E. P. Lehmann of Brandenburg, Germany.

Toy Theaters

Toy theaters consisted of wooden stage sets and figures covered with lithographed images. Businesses producing toy theaters flourished in London, around the Covent Garden area, from the 1830s to the 1840s. Sets and figures were often based on plays then running at Covent Garden. By the 1850s, German manufacturers dominated the market.

In the beginning, toy theaters, like board games, were often produced by small publishers who sold numerous engravings or lithographs of popular plays. Toy theaters were typically middle-class entertainments, to be purchased and played with at home. Never manufactured extensively in the United States, toy theaters were likely to have been luxury imports. Today, the artistry of the printing is much prized by collectors.

Play Manuals

A number of instruction books about play were published for children in the nineteenth century. These books were generally filled with suggestions for both indoor and outdoor play, which consisted of activities and hands-on projects. One example, *The Boy's Own Toy-Maker: A Practical Illustrated Guide to the Useful Employment of Leisure Hours*, published by E. Landells in 1866, is almost entirely composed of suggestions for indoor amusements, with instructions for making paper and cardboard toys. Other books included chapters for both indoor and outdoor activities, including *The Boy's Own Book*, by William Clarke, published in 1829 and reprinted 1996. Clarke included numerous chapters on outdoor sports, as well as chapters on indoor activities such as tricks with cards and chemical amusements. Different games and activities are detailed in *The Girl's Own Book*, published in 1833 and reprinted 1992, by Mrs. L. Maria Child. Mrs. Child's suggestions include less vigorous games, most of which can be played either indoors or outdoors. Instructions for craft projects are for more “ladylike” pursuits, such as pressing flowers or dressing dolls. In the main, such books for children promulgated progressive notions of child rearing, encouraging moderation in all types of play, whether indoors or outdoors. These books mirrored the adult belief that chil-

dren had to be trained to become model citizens through daily activities and amusements.

Most recreational books encouraged children to make their own toys in order to learn skills and promote creativity. Even today, commercially made playthings are often considered (by adults) to be inferior to the handmade toys of the past, continuing a debate that began as early as the late nineteenth century.

In some cases, there may in fact be a dramatic difference in toys and games from one generation to another. Shifts over time are especially important when studying indoor games, because this category of play has been so affected by the proliferation of manufactured toys, both for urban and rural children. In the 1993 *The Foxfire Book of Appalachian Toys and Games*, children from northern Georgia interviewed older residents about the past, compiling oral histories about toys and games. Most residents remembered making their own toys, especially dolls, and playing what folklorist Simon Bronner, in an introduction, calls “folk games.” Indoor games were primarily for rainy days, when the weather prevented kids from going outdoors.

Games in Memoirs and Fiction

Memoirs of childhood from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries rarely make direct references to indoor games. Play, while widely acknowledged by historians and sociologists as the primary activity of children, does not always seem to dominate childhood memoirs since they are works composed by adults about the past. The memoirs of urban writers differ radically from those of rural writers, and memoirs of middle-class childhoods are very different from the writings of authors who grew up in tenement buildings.

However, indoor games do appear in works of fiction from the nineteenth century. Particularly interesting is the work of Louisa May Alcott, best known for *LITTLE WOMEN*, published in 1868. Alcott described spontaneous indoor games in exhaustive detail, especially in her 1871 *Little Men* and her 1880 *Jack and Jill*. Like the authors of play manuals, Alcott emphasized the virtues of wholesome activities, such as crafts and cooking, but also mentioned commercially made toys such as dolls, building blocks, and miniature cooking stoves.

Studies of Games

By the end of the nineteenth century, children’s play, especially games, were considered to be of such paramount importance to early development and growth that they warranted closer examination. Several major studies of children’s play preferences are part of the historical discourse on toys and games. These studies collected data about toys and games in general, not about indoor games in particular.

In the earliest of these surveys, which was published in *The Pedagogical Seminary* in 1896, social scientist T. R. Cros-

well sampled about 2,000 children in Worcester, Massachusetts, public schools. This extraordinarily detailed study asked questions differentiating between different types of amusements, which he classified according to their perceived functions. The resulting favorites, for both boys and girls, were predominantly outdoor games, with a few, such as dolls and doll carriages, that could be part of either indoor or outdoor play. In general, girls included more indoor games among their favorites than did boys, for whom physical activities were more important. In a 1991 article, cultural historian Bernard Mergen observed that the play of boys and girls, as evidenced by their choices of toys and games, was much more similar at the end of the twentieth century than in the previous century, and postulated that this change was due to the ubiquity of electronic media.

Indoor Spaces for Children

Nurseries became increasingly common throughout the nineteenth century as the middle class became an established part of the urban landscape. Separate spaces for children were made possible by the construction of larger houses, and by the removal of labor from the home to outside places of business. For upper-class families, entire suites of rooms, often with a bedroom for a live-in nanny, completely separated children from the everyday activities of adults. However, for both middle- and upper-class families, the nursery served the purpose of protecting children from what was considered the corrupt world of adults, as well as preparing them for later entry into the grown-up world.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most nurseries were filled with toys, probably both handmade and manufactured. Unfortunately, very few images exist of playthings within the context of children’s rooms. Through the course of the twentieth century, separate rooms for children or spaces allocated for indoor play have become even more common for families from all social classes. However, the availability of space is still an issue for poor and working-class families, especially in cities.

Indoor Games as Family Entertainment

Certain indoor games were popular as amusements for the family as a whole. With the advent of gas lighting (among other factors), evening entertainments became more common. In 1992, Shirley Wajda observed in her essay on the stereoscope that Victorians in particular were dedicated to educational games designed for self-improvement. Parlor toys included magic lanterns (precursor to the modern slide projector) and lantern slides, as well as the stereoscope and stereographs. Board games, card games, and jigsaw puzzles also fall under the heading of family entertainment and had the same goal.

Table games are still primarily educational in focus at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Classic games like *Monopoly*, invented in 1935 by Charles Darrow, also reflect contemporary values and interests, affording families the opportunity to play together on several levels.

Electronic Games and Indoor Games as Commercial Enterprises

At the start of the twenty-first century, computer and video games are among the most popular pastimes for children and adults. According to most sources, the first computer game (Spacewar!) was invented in 1962 by Steve Russell; the first game played on a television screen was invented in 1967 by Ralph Baer; and the first arcade game (Computer Space) was invented in 1971 by Nolan Bushnell and Ted Dabney. Since the 1970s, electronic games have become increasingly popular. In 2001, the Interactive Digital Software Association reported sales of computer and video games amounting to nearly 6 billion dollars, not including educational software.

Parents and professionals have expressed a number of concerns related to electronic games. The violence depicted in games is a popular subject for research, due partly to several prominent cases linking computer games to crimes committed by children. To date, however, no substantial evidence has been found to support this theory. Another early concern was that the solitary nature of electronic games would somehow impair the development of social skills in children by limiting recreational activities with peers. While computer and video games are, by definition, indoor games, smaller handheld gaming consoles (such as GameBoy) were designed to be taken outside of the home.

While the market for computer games is primarily geared toward older children and adults, other businesses have turned their attentions to activities for smaller children. An interesting contemporary development is the creation of indoor play spaces for children within commercial enterprises. Several American entrepreneurs have created businesses for the indoor entertainment of young people in particular. Gymboree, for example, which also sells children's clothing, was one of the first companies to market music and physical activity classes for small children. Other businesses simply maintain an indoor play space, usually complete with climbing equipment and other recreational devices. Both are in the business of stimulating the child's development, either physically or mentally. Often, play equipment is elaborate enough, and the spaces large enough, that they serve as a simulation of the outdoors.

Collections of Indoor Games

Most major collections of toys are primarily repositories of indoor games. Collections of toys and games can be found at museums and historical societies around the world. Of particular interest in the United States are the Strong Museum in Rochester, New York, and the New-York Historical Society in New York City. The New-York Historical Society recently acquired the Arthur and Ellen Liman collection of games, which represents the largest publicly held group of American commercially manufactured board and table games. Other prominent museums include the Bethnal

Green Museum of Childhood and Pollock's Toy Museum in London, England.

See also: **Children's Spaces; Street Games; Theories of Play.**

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Industrial Education. See Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.

Industrial Homework

Industrial homework refers to production of manufactured goods in private residences. The common arrangement is for factories to contract labor-intensive portions of their production out to networks of ethnically homogeneous families who live in a nearby neighborhood. Historically, industrial homework has been common in textiles, garment and needle work, cigar-making, and hand-made craft goods. Today, industrial homework remains common in all these sectors as well as more modern sectors such as consumer electronics. Similar homework arrangements are common in commercial agriculture involving pre-processing activities like stripping, shelling, and hulling. The employer saves money on space and utilities and assures cost-effective production by paying on a piece-rate. The more the household produces, the more it makes. Contracts between factories and households are often brokered by labor-agents who organize the networks of neighborhood production.

Industrial homework is infamous as a haven for CHILD LABOR. Wedded to preindustrial traditions where all able-

bodied members of the household produced for the household's succor, and released from modern factory legislation providing for minimum working conditions, including minimum age requirements, children are an integral part of the industrial home workforce. Once industrial production leaves the factory, monitoring conditions of production becomes difficult. Once it enters the home, any remaining barriers to child labor are overcome.

Industrial homework is closely related to the "putting out" systems that have been associated with the "proto-industrial" phase of the Industrial Revolution. Originally, merchants contracted for production of goods with private households. Later, they organized "manufactories" where production could be organized under one roof, but where production technologies continued to use the traditional hand-craft methods. In colonial New England many of the first schools were "spinning schools" that taught farm girls the industrial arts of spinning and weaving so they could earn cash in the cottage industry network. As work gradually shifted to the factories, industrial homework remained an option for many employers whose product could be easily transported back and forth. It also remained an option to supplement the family income, especially among those who could not get out to work. Homeworkers invariably endured the lowest wages and the most irregular work—long hours during the busy season, no money during the slack season—of all workers in the commodity chain.

As child labor law and reform efforts emerge, the factories are the first to surrender their child workers. But eliminating children from the factories is no assurance that child labor has been eliminated in those industries where homework is prevalent. Often child labor is merely displaced from the factories back into the home production networks. Before RugMark—the global consumer labeling program in hand-woven carpeting, in which the International Labor Organization estimated over half-a-million children under fourteen were engaged—children were brought to the loomsheds, the primitive "manufactories" of the industry. After RugMark, while consumers could be fairly well assured that labeled rugs were not made by children, many looms moved back to the children, in home-based worksites.

Because of the difficulties in regulating industrial homework, many in America's child labor reform movement concluded that to eliminate child labor from homework, homework itself must be abolished. But homework has never been effectively abolished, so regulation remains necessary. Industrial homework is the first and last refuge of child labor.

See also: **Economics and Children in Western Societies; European Industrialization; Work and Poverty.**

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Infancy of Louis XIII

The infancy of Louis XIII of France is well documented, primarily in the detailed journal that his physician Jean Héroard kept from the dauphin's birth on September 27, 1601, until 1628. The royal infant did not grow up in daily contact with his parents, Henry IV and Marie de' Medici. Louis lived at Château Saint-Germain outside Paris, where he and the legitimate and bastard children of the king had their own little court. The main character in the upbringing of the infant was his governess, Françoise de Longuejoux, baroness of Montglat, whom the dauphin designated "Maman Ga."

Louis was a vigorous and temperamental child with a capacity for rapid learning. From infancy he was able to act in accordance with the *courtois* code of courtesy. At sixteen months old the dauphin began to hold his own *lever* ritual when rising in the morning, and within a short time the child also received princes, ambassadors, and noblemen in audience, performing the required gestures and phrases with proper politeness. The infant was fond of music and dance. He played the lute and the fiddle, among other instruments, and he danced all sorts of dances. To strengthen his morals he was taught from the influential collection of etiquette and morality *Les Quatrains*, by Guy du Faur, seigneur de Pibrac. When the dauphin lost his temper he was punished, mostly whipped. The dauphin's demonstrative playing with his genitals was much laughed about at the court at Château Saint-Germain and courtiers did not hesitate to joke about sexual matters when Louis was present.

When Louis was about seven years old he was drawn into a more adult and masculine sphere. In June 1608 he shed his child's skirt and began to wear the adult male costume, and in January of the following year he moved to the Louvre palace in Paris. A governor, Marquis Gilles Souvré, replaced "Maman Ga." Louis's intellectual education was now more systematic than before, and he was taught the noble arts of

riding, shooting, and hunting. Simultaneously the indiscreet sex jokes ceased. When Henry IV was murdered on May 14, 1610, Louis, then eight years old, became king of France with his mother Queen Marie as guardian regent.

The American historian Elizabeth Wirth Marvick has seen Louis's early life experience as disastrous for his personal development: it left him, so she has claimed, at the Freudian anal stage. Taking the opposite point of view, Madeleine Foisil, the editor of Héroard's journal, sees Louis's early childhood as a happy experience in a supportive environment. Devoted letters written by the adult king to "Maman Ga" tend to support the latter interpretation. Héroard's journal has been used as a major source by PHILIPPE ARIÈS to support his argument that the idea of childhood is a modern-day novelty. The infancy of Louis XIII shows how noble infants in the early seventeenth century took part in adults' occupations and how sexual topics were not taboo for children.

See also: Aristocratic Education in Europe; Early Modern Europe; Masturbation; Sexuality; Theories of Childhood.

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Infant Feeding

Feeding newborn babies is a fairly straightforward process, at least for the majority of mothers who are healthy and have adequate milk to nourish their young. Mothers worldwide have always breast-fed their babies. This has been considered the safest, easiest, healthiest, and least expensive means to ensure an infant's survival. Studies today show that breast milk contains certain antibodies, nutrient proteins, lipids, vitamins, and minerals to help a baby ward off various diseases, infections, and allergies. Until physicians and medical advisors began to investigate the subject and write about it, women carried on as tradition dictated, breast-feeding their infants by instinct to meet their babies' nutritional needs.

Early American Feeding Practices

Most mothers in the North American colonies breast-fed their infants. Details of these breast-feeding practices are scarce, however, since many women could not read or write, had little free time, or felt too constrained by the intimacy of breast-feeding to write about it. Using a wet nurse never became common practice among North American settlers as it had been among the European elite, due to different life

styles, the frontier character of colonial settlement, and the paucity of wet nurses. Mothers intuitively understood that breast-fed babies had the best chance of surviving childhood. They also noted that breast-feeding helped to delay conception, providing a natural, even if not a completely reliable, means to space their children.

Of course, not all babies could be breast-fed by their mothers. Some women did not have enough milk or were too sickly or exhausted to feed their infants. A woman with swollen, impacted, or infected breasts found it too painful to have a baby suckle. If a mother died during childbirth, which happened far more often than it does today, a source of milk had to be found. A family might turn to a female neighbor, friend, or relative who was feeding her own baby or they might hire a wet nurse. Families also advertised in newspapers, stipulating the desired qualifications. Wet nurses were usually nursing their own or another baby or had just weaned their child. Many myths developed about nursing a baby. In cases where a baby needed a wet nurse, medical advisors warned parents that the type of woman hired to feed a baby was critical. For instance, parents were urged to avoid a wet nurse with red hair, for this apparently implied a volatile temperament that could affect the woman's milk.

In the antebellum South, elite women might use a slave woman to feed their babies, though this custom was less common than myth has led us to believe. When they did so, southern white mothers rarely expressed concern about a black woman feeding their infants, even though racial sensitivities affected other areas of southern life. In a few cases, white women fed slave babies when the slave mother had died or was unable to breast-feed her own newborn. The most important issue was to keep a baby alive. Slave mothers took their own babies to the field where they would hang them from a tree or lay them on the ground and breast-feed them as needed. Babies living on large plantations were often left in the care of an older slave woman, and mothers would rush back to the slave cabins to feed their infants.

Artificial feeding was always an option, usually a pragmatic response when other possibilities failed. If no woman was available to breast-feed, the baby was hand fed with what historians call artificial food. This often consisted of softened bread soaked in water or milk and fed from what was called a pap boat or pap spoon. Mothers fed their babies cow's or goat's milk, various teas, or clear soups from a suckling bottle or nursing can made of glass, tin, pewter, or other metal. They sometimes masticated table food in their mouths or mashed or strained adult foods for the babies—anything to feed hungry infants.

A few mothers made a conscious decision not to breast-feed their babies or nursed their infants for only a brief period of time, despite society's encouragement to breast-feed. Some women found it impossible to feed a baby and also help run the family business or work in the fields. Vanity in-

fluenced a handful of wealthy mothers who did not want to bother with the demands of nursing and who were eager to resume their social life. Husbands may have influenced the decision not to breast-feed since many people believed that it was inadvisable for a nursing mother to resume sexual relations. Hiring a wet nurse or hand feeding the baby were options in these cases.

By the mid- to late-nineteenth century, doctors became increasingly involved in obstetrics and infant care. Medical practitioners and advisors discussed numerous issues related to child rearing. They urged women to breast-feed their young, recognizing it to be the best way to keep a baby alive. One of the infant diseases that most concerned doctors and parents was cholera infantum, a severe form of diarrhea that affected especially those babies who were hand fed or who were being weaned from breast milk to artificial foods. Breast-feeding also fit the period's image of women and their central role as mothers. What made a better statement about a woman's commitment to her maternal duties than breast-feeding?

An issue that fostered debate among physicians and new mothers was whether to feed a newborn right after birth. The appearance of colostrum from a mother's breast fostered some uneasiness. To an observer, this watery liquid did not seem to provide adequate sustenance to ensure a newborn's survival. Lacking the scientific evidence we have today, people did not know that colostrum contains antibacterial ingredients and nutrients perfectly suited to protect a baby against certain diseases and infection. But wary mothers who could afford to do so might find another woman to feed their newborns temporarily until their breast milk flowed. Gradually, mothers and doctors began to accept the healthy aspects of colostrum.

Another concern was the proper age for weaning a baby off breast milk. As records reveal, up through the nineteenth century, many families had children spaced about two years apart, suggesting that the normal length for breast-feeding was about a year. Women often ceased breast-feeding when a baby's teeth came in, and nursing became uncomfortable. Mothers also stopped breast-feeding if they became pregnant, for they felt it could harm both the fetus and the infant to be simultaneously drawing vital sources from the mother. The timing of weaning also depended on the season of the year; the safest time was felt to be fall or spring in order to avoid the extreme temperatures of summer and winter. The process of weaning a baby from breast milk could be traumatic for both mother and baby. Mothers developed various strategies. Some covered their nipples and breasts with a nasty-tasting salve. Others left home for a few days, leaving the child in the hands of someone who hand fed it. Some sent the baby to a neighbor or nurse until the infant had become accustomed to artificial food and substitute liquids.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the nation's increasing interest in children's health and well-being, doctors grew alarmed at the startlingly high INFANT MORTALITY rates in the United States, especially among the urban poor. A 1911 study of Boston showed that one in five infants who were bottle-fed died before they were a year old compared to only one in thirty babies who were breast-fed. Despite advances in scientific thinking related to infant feeding, especially knowledge about bacteria and pasteurization, doctors and social reformers still had to work hard to reduce high infant mortality. Urban health departments took a lead in establishing milk stations where poor mothers could obtain fresh, clean milk for their young. Cities passed laws requiring the inspection of dairies that delivered milk for urban consumption. In 1910 New York City passed a law stating that milk sold or distributed there had to be pasteurized; in 1912 it imposed a grading system on milk. Health departments sent agents to neighborhoods to advise mothers on proper infant care. Some communities set up milk banks where women could contribute their excess breast milk, which was then dispensed through a directory to needy infants. This system still exists through the Human Milk Banking Association of North America.

Advances in Artificial Baby Foods

Significant changes took place by the early twentieth century as more mothers began to depend less on breast-feeding and more on artificial foods and a modified form of cow's milk or infant formula. The reasons for this change are numerous, though historians debate the importance of each. For one thing, companies like Nestlé in Switzerland and Mellin's and Gerber's in the United States found safe, effective methods to process baby food. Companies hired chemists to develop baby formulas that would replicate mother's milk as closely as possible. Baby food producers eventually created and sold dozens of strained food and cereal products. They pitched their products to doctors and advertised widely in magazines.

Artificial baby foods and milk products became safer and more healthful. With an understanding of bacteria and sepsis, there was more emphasis on the need for sanitary bottles and pasteurized liquids, so infants would be less likely to get sick from artificial foods and unclean bottles. The development of rubber bottle nipples replicated the feel of mothers' breasts and made it easier to hand feed. As more women began to enter the paid work force, they welcomed the freedom and flexibility offered by artificial feeding. Further aiding the acceptance of artificial feeding was the development by baby food companies of pre-mixed, prepared formulas, soy milk products, and disposable bottles.

By the 1950s a majority of women in the United States no longer breast-fed their babies, a dramatic shift from past practice. A number of factors explain this change: the importance of PEDIATRICS as a medical specialty, the ready avail-

ability of manufactured formula and infant food, sanitary bottles, an increase in hospital rather than home births, the changing role of women as more moved into the public sphere and wage work, and the close relationship between food manufacturers and doctors. Baby food companies convinced doctors that babies would be healthy if artificially fed. By 1971 only 25 percent of mothers in the United States breast-fed their babies, and only 20 percent of those did so for more than six months.

However, change occurred again in the 1980s, and by 1990, 52 percent of mothers in the United States breast-fed their infants. Even as feminists encouraged women to pursue higher education and jobs outside the home to achieve self-fulfillment, they also encouraged maternal breast-feeding as a natural, healthful approach that was best for both mother and baby. Breast-feeding, they insisted, fostered bonding between mother and infant. Also, the LA LECHE LEAGUE, organized in 1956 by a group of Christian women, played a major role in raising awareness of the benefits of breast-feeding. Today, almost a third of mothers who breast-feed do so until their baby is six months old, paralleling a recommendation by the American Academy of Pediatrics that mothers should breast-feed their babies exclusively for six months, avoiding any supplemental liquids or food.

At the start of the twenty-first century, the number of mothers of all races and classes in the wage work force has created new challenges for those who feel that breast-feeding is best for babies. Almost 70 percent of mothers breast-feed their babies, at least for a month or two. Some companies and institutions have set up on-site day care centers and nurseries, giving mothers who work there the opportunity to breast-feed their infants. Most companies, however, leave it up to new mothers to handle childcare on their own. Mothers have found some flexibility by using a breast pump to produce maternal milk that their baby can drink when they are apart. But not all women do this. Other working mothers cut short breast-feeding and turn to artificial feeding or never start nursing in the first place.

Discussion about this important maternal duty continues. Physicians and mothers debate the advisability of feeding an infant on demand and at what age other foods should be introduced into the baby's diet. The suitability of breast-feeding in public fosters discussion, some of it heated. No matter what the debates, the majority of women will continue to ensure the good health of their newborns, through sensible, healthful sustenance, whether that means breast-feeding or giving the baby artificial foods.

See also: **Wet-Nursing.**

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SALLY G. McMILLEN

Infanticide. See Abandonment; Foundlings.

Infant Mortality

Of all the ways in which childhood has changed since pre-modern times, perhaps the most significant has been the dramatic decrease in the likelihood of dying during the first year of life. Although we can only estimate levels and trends of infant mortality prior to the most recent centuries, it seems probable that through much of human history 30 to 40 percent of all infants born died before they could celebrate their first birthdays. Today, in even the most underdeveloped and high-mortality regions of the world, barely a tenth do. And in the most developed and wealthiest regions less than 1 percent of infants fail to survive their first year. The vast majority of this sharp reduction in infant mortality took place in the twentieth century. Among today's highly developed nations, the major improvement in infant survival came prior to World War II. In the less developed nations, almost all the improvement has come since the war. In both sets of nations, mortality first dropped among older infants and then only later, if at all, among newborns.

Measuring Infant Mortality

The term infant mortality is generally understood to refer to the incidence of death among infants less than one year of age. When demographers attempt to chart the levels and trends of that mortality, they employ a number of statistics, most notably infant, neonatal, and post-neonatal mortality rates. These are standardized measures unaffected by differences in the proportion of infants in a given population. The infant mortality rate is the annual number of deaths among infants less than one year old per thousand live births. This measure is similar but not identical to what is called the infant death rate, which is the ratio of infant deaths to infants living and is somewhat higher. The neonatal mortality rate is calculated as the annual number of deaths of infants less than twenty-eight days old per hundred thousand live births. It is generally accepted that most of the deaths during this period are from *endogenous* causes; that is from congenital anomalies, gestational immaturity, birth complications, or other physiological problems. The post-neonatal mortality rate is computed similarly but describes the death rate of infants twenty-eight days to one year. In much of the world, the vast majority of deaths during this period continue to be from *exogenous* causes; that is, from injuries and from environmental and nutritional factors, especially as they interact with infectious disease like gastroenteritis and pneumonia. In the more highly developed nations, however, control of infectious disease and nutritional disorders has reached such a level that an ever-increasing proportion of post-neonatal deaths are attributable to *endogenous* causes.

Infant Mortality in the Developed Nations before the Twentieth Century

What we know about the historical mortality patterns of today's highly developed nations suggests that through the seventeenth century infant mortality averaged between 20 and 40 percent and fluctuated substantially from year to year, occasionally hitting extremely high peaks when EPIDEMICS, famines, and war created mortality crises for the general population. Highly dependent on levels of maternal nutrition and general health as well as on the local sanitary and disease environments, infant mortality also varied significantly from place to place. In isolated rural villages in seventeenth-century England and New England, as few as 15 percent of all infants born may have perished in their first year. At the same time, their counterparts born in seaports, where sanitation was poor and where there was commerce in people, goods, and infectious diseases, probably died at over twice that rate. In the Americas and in southern Europe the presence of malaria could push infant mortality to over 50 percent. So too could the introduction of new diseases. Following the arrival of Europeans and then Africans in the New World, the aboriginal populations of the Americas were decimated by exposure to diseases to which they had no acquired or inherited immunities. In short, nothing so characterized levels of infant mortality in the premodern era as their variability across time and place.

That variability continued into the early eighteenth century, when the yearly fluctuations began to decrease, the periodic peaks became less frequent, and the differences between localities diminished. In a few places, a slight secular downward trend took place, but for the most part the period saw the stabilization rather than the lowering of infant mortality. Contributing to the homogenization and stabilization of infant mortality rates were the concomitants of economic development. Improvements in transportation made travel to rural villages less difficult and time consuming, increasing the communication of diseases from place to place and thus decreasing the likelihood that isolated pockets of low infant mortality could exist. Better urban sanitation, improvements in housing, and the more even distribution of foodstuffs, the filling and draining of swamps, and, perhaps, a world-wide southward retreat of malaria all helped make it less true for infants that being born in certain years and certain places constituted a death threat that would be enacted within a year's time. Of course, variability by time and place did not disappear; it only decreased. Seaports and cities were still

TABLE 1

Probability of dying before age one in the developed world, c. 1900, selected nations

| Location | Period | Probability of Death before Age 1 ^a (percent) |
|-------------------|-----------|--|
| Australia | 1890–1900 | 11.0 |
| Austria | 1900–1901 | 23.0 |
| Belgium | 1900 | 19.5 |
| Czechoslovakia | 1899–1902 | 22.9 |
| Denmark | 1895–1900 | 13.4 |
| England and Wales | 1891–1900 | 15.6 |
| France | 1898–1903 | 17.2 |
| Germany | 1891–1900 | 21.7 |
| Italy | 1900–1902 | 16.7 |
| Netherlands | 1901 | 11.6 |
| Norway | 1891–1900 | 9.6 |
| Russia (European) | 1896–1897 | 27.7 |
| Sweden | 1898–1902 | 10.7 |
| United States | 1900–1902 | 12.4 |

^aBased on published life table values.

SOURCE: Preston and Haines 1991, table 2.3.

more inimical to infant life than the countryside. And epidemics of smallpox, yellow fever, and other infectious diseases could still produce spikes of infant and general mortality. Additionally, considerable evidence exists that cultural differences in child rearing—particularly infant feeding practices—may have contributed significantly to higher rates in some areas than others.

The trend toward stabilization and conformity continued until the effects of early industrialization and urbanization began to be felt in the mid- to late eighteenth century. Industrialization brought increased wealth and higher living standards, but it also created industrial towns and massive cities which contained a significant underclass whose health was compromised by the social and biological pathologies that attend grinding poverty and filthy, overcrowded, disease-infested urban slums. For infants, it seems that initially the positive consequences of industrialization outweighed the negative ones. Although the evidence is not abundant, it is probable that infant survival improved in England through the third quarter of the eighteenth century and in western Europe and the United States during the forty years following 1790. It is also probable that by the middle of the nineteenth century, infant mortality rates were rising again as urbanization, industrialization, and the migration of workers and their families worsened sanitation and environmental pollution, made infant care more difficult, and increased the likelihood that pregnant women and infants would be exposed to dangerous diseases or toxins.

Indeed, late-nineteenth-century cities and industrial towns were deadly locales for infants, where 20 to 35 percent

of all those born died within twelve months and where summer epidemics of gastroenteritis and diarrhea turned densely packed neighborhoods into infant abattoirs. As the *New York Times* editorialized in 1876 after one particularly deadly July week in which over a hundred infants a day had died in Manhattan: “There is no more depressing feature about our American cities than the annual slaughter of little children of which they are the scene” (quoted in Meckel, p. 11). Growing public concern throughout the industrialized West over this annual slaughter helped precipitate a public health movement to improve infant health and survival. Along with a complex amalgam of socioeconomic, environmental, and medical developments at the end of the nineteenth century, that movement started infant and child death rates on the path of decline that they would follow through the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

The Twentieth-Century Decline of Infant Mortality in the Developed World

As the twentieth century opened, infant mortality throughout much of the industrialized world had begun to drop. Nevertheless infant survival was still precarious, especially in eastern Europe. As table 1 shows, the probability of dying in infancy ranged from less than 10 percent in Scandinavia to over 22 percent in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and European Russia. In the United States the rate was approximately 12 percent. By the middle of the twentieth century it had declined significantly. In North America, northern Europe, and Australia it was less than 3 percent. In western Europe it was less than 5 percent and in eastern and southern Europe less than 9 percent. Much of that decline came among post-neonates, initially from a reduction in gastroenteric and diarrheal disorders and then from control of respiratory diseases.

Behind this reduction lay several developments. Prior to the 1930s, declining fertility and better nutrition and housing, accompanied by a rising standard of living, played important roles in reducing infant mortality. So too did environmental improvements brought about by the publicly funded construction of sanitary water supply and sewage systems and the implementation of effective refuse removal, particularly in urban areas. Also crucial was the work of public health officials and their allies in medicine and social work in controlling milk-borne diseases and educating the public in the basics of preventive and infant HYGIENE. Indeed, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, all the industrial nations of the world were the sites of major public health campaigns aimed at dramatically reducing infant mortality.

For many of the same reasons that it declined during the first third of the century, infant mortality continued to fall during the second. However, beginning in the 1930s the development and application of medical interventions and technologies played an increasingly large role in driving down infant death rates. Particularly important were the development, production, and dissemination of effective immunizations and drug therapies to combat the incidence and

deadliness of infectious and parasitic diseases. Also important were significant improvements in both the techniques and technologies available to manage or correct life-threatening diseases or health problems. Among the most important of these were the perfection and widespread use of electrolyte and fluid therapy to counter the acidosis and dehydration that is often a consequence of serious bouts of diarrhea and enteritis; the increasingly sophisticated preventive and therapeutic use of vitamins to aid metabolism and combat nutritional diseases; and the development of increasingly safe and effective obstetric and surgical techniques to facilitate problem births and correct the consequences of congenital malformations.

In the last third of the twentieth century, the decline of mortality among older infants slowed to a snail's pace. Among neonates, however, it quickened precipitously, falling over 50 percent in some developed nations. Driving neonatal mortality down was an intense international effort to develop and make widely available various sociomedical programs and specific techniques and technologies to increase the survival rate of neonates, who deaths had come to constitute the bulk of infant mortality in the developed nations. That effort resulted in the perfection of diagnostic techniques and drugs that have proven effective in regulating pregnancy and preventing premature labor, and in the development of sophisticated surgical, therapeutic, and intensive care techniques and technologies to correct congenital deformities and to counter the risks faced by low birth-weight and premature babies. It also resulted in significant improvements in both the quality and availability of nutritional, prenatal, and natal care. As a consequence of a century of profound decline in infant mortality, babies born in the late twentieth century in developed nations enjoyed a probability of surviving their first year unimaginable through most of human history.

Twentieth-Century Infant Mortality in Less Developed Nations

As the second half of the twentieth century began, life expectancy in the less developed nations of the world was not much better than it had been for centuries, largely because infant mortality remained astronomical. Some areas, of course, were less inimical to infant life than others. In LATIN AMERICA less than 13 percent of all infants born died each year, while in Asia over 18 percent did. Worst off was AFRICA, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, where infant mortality ranged above 20 percent. Indeed, in some sub-Saharan countries, over a third of all children born perished before they reached five years of age.

Over the next half century, infant mortality dropped dramatically in all these regions, though at different times and rates. In Asia, particularly China, it dropped earliest and fastest, declining from over 19 percent at mid-century to around 4 percent three decades later. Infant mortality also dropped significantly and relatively quickly in Latin Ameri-

TABLE 2

| Region | Infant Mortality Rate (Deaths before age 1 per 1,000 births) | | |
|------------------------------------|---|------------------------|------|
| | 1950–1955 ^a | 1980–1985 ^a | 2000 |
| World | 156 | 78 | 54 |
| Africa | 192 | 112 | 87 |
| Asia | 181 | 82 | 51 |
| Europe | 62 | 15 | 11 |
| Oceania | 67 | 31 | 24 |
| Northern America | 29 | 11 | 7 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 125 | 63 | 32 |

^aProbability of dying before age one.

SOURCE: *Mortality* 1988, table A.2; U.S. Census International Database 2000, <<http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbnew.html>>.

ca, halving by the mid-1980s. Even Africa, which remains the continent most dangerous to infant life, ultimately achieved over a 50 percent decline in the infant death rate. Indeed, at eighty-seven infant deaths per thousand births, the 2000 African infant mortality rate is lower than that in the United States on the eve of World War I.

Contributing significantly to this drop in infant mortality during the second half of the century has been an international movement to improve child health and survival that has been led primarily by two organizations created in the aftermath of World War II: the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization (WHO). Through the 1970s, this international effort involved both specific medical and public health interventions aimed at improving nutrition, controlling the incidence of malaria, increasing the availability of immunizations, and promoting in poorer countries the development of health care and public health systems emulating those of wealthier countries. While efforts to purify water supplies generally had positive effects, the overall results of the effort were mixed, and in the early 1980s UNICEF and WHO embarked on a new community-based child survival program which sought to increase immunization and educate community members about proper sanitation, prenatal hygiene, breast-feeding, and the use of a newly developed and simple oral rehydration salt formula for treating infants with acute diarrhea. In combination with continuing efforts to make clean water available, this community-based program seems to have had considerable success. Between the mid-1980s and 2000, infant mortality throughout the world dropped by approximately 30 percent.

Not all infants, of course, have benefited equally from this drop in infant mortality in the less-developed regions. There is considerable variation not only between regions but

TABLE 3**Highest and lowest national infant mortality rates, 2000**

| | Infant Mortality Rate (Deaths before age 1 per 1,000 births) |
|---|---|
| Nations with lowest infant mortality rates | |
| Singapore | 3.8 |
| Finland | 3.8 |
| Sweden | 3.9 |
| Japan | 4.0 |
| Switzerland | 4.8 |
| Nations with highest infant mortality rates | |
| Afghanistan | 137.5 |
| Malawi | 130.5 |
| Angola | 125.9 |
| Somalia | 125.8 |
| Guinea | 123.7 |

SOURCE: Kaul 2002, table A6-4.

also between different nations in the same region. In sub-Saharan Africa, which each year accounts for over 40 percent of the world's deaths of children less than five, infant mortality in the year 2000 ranged from a low of 58.8 per thousand in Kenya to a high of 130.5 in Malawi. Similarly, in western Asia, Iran had an infant mortality rate of 28.1 while neighboring Afghanistan suffered a rate of 137.5, the highest in the world. Even in the Americas, tremendous variation still exists. Only a relatively narrow stretch of water separates Cuba from Haiti, but an immense gulf exists between their infant mortality rates. In 2000 Cuba had a rate of 7.7 while Haiti had one of 96.3.

As in the past, the causes of infant mortality remain numerous and many: the communicable childhood diseases, diarrheal diseases and gastroenteritis from poor sanitation, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases, an environment infested with the parasites that cause malaria and other debilitating diseases, and the triangle of poverty, malnutrition, and lack of medical supervision that adversely affects the health of pregnant women and leads to gestational problems. Unlike the past, however, relatively effective means of dealing with these causes now exist. The incidence and deadliness of many of the communicable infectious diseases can be controlled by immunization and the use of antibiotics; the incidence of diarrhea and gastritis by improved sanitation, clean water, and use of rehydration therapies; and the incidence of gestational complications by prenatal care programs. All these, however, require resources and the willingness to use them. So long as some countries remain wretchedly impoverished and have governments which cannot or will not apply national resources to saving infants, the modern transformation of infancy from a period characterized by nothing so much as precariousness to one in which survival is almost a certainty will remain incomplete.

See also: **Contagious Diseases; Fertility Rates; Obstetrics and Midwifery.**

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Infant Rulers

Infant rulers are infants formally exercising supreme power, political or spiritual. Infant rulers have appeared in many

cultures and civilizations. Their role and influence can be very different according to religious, political and social traditions. Infant rulers commonly appear in stable, hereditary power structures with generally recognized political and legal principles, but can also be found in elective political or spiritual systems. Special procedures are connected with Tibetan Buddhism, where future lamas are found among male infants believed to be reincarnations of late predecessors. In medieval and modern Europe the term *infant ruler* normally describes a royal child recognized as the legitimate head of state. Very often the political power is transferred to a regency or a supreme council governing in the name of the infant. This does not mean that the royal infant is a puppet in the hands of powerful adults. Being the focus of all attention infant rulers often dominate their surroundings socially and psychologically.

In later centuries infant rulers have been rarer, probably as a consequence of a rising average life expectancy. In principle, infant rulers are still a possibility in hereditary constitutional monarchies, where the monarch's role is primarily of symbolic and representative character. An infant as elective head of a modern state, as a president for example, seems not to be a serious possibility within the existing political and social order.

The function of an infant ruler is normally to be the representative of continuity, the visible symbol of the state and to legitimate power. In early medieval Europe, where a combination of elective and hereditary principles were characteristic of most Germanic states, insurgent groups very often legitimated rebellions by making an infant member of the ruling family the symbol of their cause. Rebellious parties exploited the commonly accepted view that every member of the royal family had a right to the throne and the crown land, a perception associated with the idea of kinship.

A state with an infant ruler might be regarded as weak and could be put under pressure by internal and external enemies. The infant ruler and his advisors might be dependent upon support from influential individuals and groups. In the period from 1163 to 1164, the party behind the seven-year-old Norwegian King Magnus Erlingsson achieved the support of the Church by granting it huge privileges. Ecclesiastical support could be expressed in coronations and anointments of an infant ruler or infant heir to the throne. One example is the coronation of the seven-year-old Knut VI as King of Denmark in 1170. Such ceremonies demonstrated that the infant was under divine protection and rebellion thus an act of insurgence against God. On the other hand the coronation of the nineteen-year-old Christian IV (1577–1648) in 1596 marked the end of his infancy and the regency.

The education of infant rulers did not differ much from the tutoring of heirs to the throne or from the upbringing of princely and aristocratic children in general. It normally

reflected dominant social and cultural ideas and values of the contemporary society. In medieval Europe military qualifications were essential. The moral and Christian values in the upbringing of royal infants are reflected in the chivalric literature and in educational treaties such as the Norwegian *Speculum Regale* (The mirror of the king) from the thirteenth century which deals with the deeds and qualities of a Christian prince illustrated by historical and biblical ideals combined with reflections concerning other matters, such as the duties of court servants, military tactics, and chivalrous behaviour. Furthermore, the *Speculum Regale* presents common knowledge concerning the earth, the sun and the planets, the climate and geography of the Northern hemisphere.

The Christian and chivalrous ideas laid down in the *Speculum Regale* were in principle the ideological basis of European monarchies until the eighteenth century, but from the sixteenth century onward they were supplemented by humanism. The reading of classical literature and philosophy was an integral part of the education of the children of Henry VIII of England, including the boy king Edward VI, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who succeeded to the throne at the age of sixteen.

In the case of Christian IV of Denmark, nominally king in 1588 at the age of eleven, the aristocratic government excluded the Queen Dowager from the regency and from any influence on the education of the boy king. The purpose undoubtedly was to ensure that the infant ruler was brought up in the national tradition of the Danish aristocracy and to prevent him from being influenced by absolutist ideas. Apart from this, the education followed directions laid down by his father in instructions for his tutors. In most respects, Christian IV's education represented a traditional combination of Christian, chivalrous, and humanistic ideas. The moral and ideological basis was the writings of DESIDERIUS ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM and Martin Luther. Pedagogically his chief tutor was inspired by the ideas of Johan Sturm. According to Sturm's ideas, great importance was attached to developing his written style both in Danish and Latin. From November 1591 to May 1593, he wrote more than 190 Latin letters as exercises. More than three thousand handwritten letters in Danish and German show that he could express even complicated matters with clarity. Mathematical and technical skills also played an important role in his education and he received training in shipbuilding as well as the building of fortresses.

Military leadership was the foundation of monarchy. As a consequence, men normally inherited before females. In 1632, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was killed in military action leaving his six-year-old daughter Christina as the only heir to the throne. It was therefore decided that she should be educated just like a male infant. This was the only way to overcome the prejudices in society concerning female inferiority. She was trained in classical and modern lan-

guages, politics, history, mathematics, philosophy, and theology. "God knows what delight it is to me that her Majesty is not like a female, but a courageous person with a supreme intellect" wrote the chancellor Axel Oxenstierna later.

While there were some differences in the upbringing of royal infants between Protestant and Catholic parts of Europe these should not be overestimated. In general the education of the Catholic Louis XIV of France was based on the same combination of military, chivalrous, Christian, and humanistic ideas as the training of the Lutheran Christian IV some sixty years earlier. The reading of classical authors and lessons in modern languages, drawing, music, politics and history as well as the training of technical and engineering skills were in both cases the foundation of the infant ruler's instruction.

The health of infant rulers was always under strict surveillance. The diaries of the physicians of Louis XIV give a vivid impression not only of the medical treatment of symptoms of disease but also of the medical and psychological interpretation of the way in which the infant ruler reacted.

As a field of research the subject infant rulers is still uncultivated land. While much literature deals with individual infant rulers such as Louis XIV of France or Queen Christina of Sweden, the starting point in most of these cases is the political or social consequences of the regency or attempts to explain the political and social behavior of the adult monarch from influences and impressions received in the childhood. Few attempts have been made to introduce modern behavioral and pedagogical theories into the study of the bringing-up of infant rulers. In most cases the conclusions are based on general reflections made by historians without special insight into psychological and pedagogical disciplines. Comparative studies with examples from societies with different cultural and social values might prove to be useful, but comparisons between Western and non-European societies require considerable insight in ethnological and anthropological sciences. A typical eurocentric perception can be found in Bernardo Bertolucci's epic film *The Last Emperor*. Bertolucci interprets the life of Henry Pu Yi (1906–1967), the child who became emperor of China at the age of three, in a Freudian context and stresses the negative consequences of his growing-up in the huge palaces of the Forbidden City in Beijing for the development of his personality. Henry Pu Yi's personal inabilities are seen as the fruits of a feudal system that would inevitably be overruled by social revolution. Bertolucci is not a historian, but his portrait of the Chinese infant ruler follows the main tendencies in Western historiography.

The study of infant rulers in non-European societies can be complicated because of the difficulties in interpreting the sources themselves and the conceptions they reflect. This could be illustrated by supposed Egyptian infant rulers such as Thutmosis III and Tutankhamen. In much twentieth cen-

tury historiography it was believed that the co-regency between Queen Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III might be explained in the light of the minority of Thutmosis. The infancy reign of Tutankhamen seems to be an assumption based on a combination of evidence. His mummy belongs to a young person, and it is known that he reigned for about ten years. Unfortunately, his exact age at the hour of death is uncertain. The statements vary from eighteen to twenty-seven.

The bulk of literature concerning infant rulers is related to specific individuals in a certain political and social context. As a result it is a field of study which lacks a firm concept of itself and still has to develop a theoretical and methodological framework to understand and explain the psychological and mental impact of the role on the ruler.

See also: Aristocratic Education in Europe; Infancy of Louis XIII.

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STEFFEN HEIBERG

Infant Schools. *See* Nursery Schools.

Infant Sexuality

A child's SEXUALITY is normally understood to mean the precursors and parallels to adult sexuality which are found in childhood, although right up to the present time it is disputed whether one may ascribe sexuality to children at all prior to PUBERTY, and the topic has only with difficulty been approached scientifically, since any systematic investigation collides with legislation protecting children against sexual abuse.

While there has been, throughout history, an extensive literature concerning sexual relations of adults toward children, accounts of the sexual inclinations and sexual activities of children themselves remained sporadic until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when a number of child-rearing manuals warned against the danger of children masturbating. Educators thus conceived ingenious methods of surveillance so that all instances of MASTURBATION could be eliminated from the outset by, for instance, installing small bells to reveal nighttime hand movements. In 1879, the pediatrician S. Lindner noted that even finger sucking could be a sign of premature sexual maturation and lead to masturba-

tion. Signs of sexuality in children were as a rule regarded as morbid deviations caused by hereditary disposition and bad influences.

Freud's Theory of Infant Sexuality

Scientific theorizing about childhood sexuality began with new observations in embryology. The fact that every human being has to pass through a bisexual stage on the way to monosexuality was used to explain cases of biological hermaphrodites as well as certain sexual "deviations," particularly HOMOSEXUALITY, which was thought to be caused by incomplete or defective sexual differentiation, with remaining traits of the opposite sex continuing to be at work. This way of thinking included a rudimentary theory that infancy was the period when sexual differentiation takes place but is not yet complete. Beginning around 1890, several scientists put forth ontogenetic as well as phylogenetic hypotheses, in which the child's sexuality was viewed as a transitional phase on the way to adult sexuality. Of these, SIGMUND FREUD's theory of infantile sexuality soon became dominant.

Freud called the child's sexuality polymorphously perverse because it has certain similarities to adult "perversion" (somasochism, voyeurism, exhibitionism, fetishism, and homosexuality). It is spread across a plurality of activities, does not have procreation as its purpose, and is tied to bodily zones other than just the genitals. The most important of these so-called erogenous zones associated with pleasurable stimuli are the mouth, anus, and genitals, and Freud assumed that these three orifices successively play a major erogenous role in sexual development.

The simple version of Freud's developmental theory thus contains three successive phases: first is an oral phase during the first two years of life, when the oral sensations of pleasure are dominant. When the mother breast-feeds the child, the child experiences oral pleasure and subsequently sucks his or her finger in order to recover this pleasure. The nature of the breast-feeding determines the kind as well as intensity of oral sexuality. Second is the anal phase, in the third and fourth year, when the pleasurable sensations of the intestinal zone dominate. Anal sexuality is primarily linked to the pleasurable excitation arising through defecation and rectal hygiene and secondarily linked to pleasure associated with playing with excrement. Third is the phallic (infantile genital) phase, during the fifth year, when the genitals become central, though they are still lacking any procreative function. During the so-called latency period, which lasts until puberty, sexuality is less apparent, as its immediate expression is repressed or sublimated. It has, however, been pointed out that no sexual latency period is found in cultures without a restrictive sexual upbringing.

According to Freud, infantile sexuality is from the outset predominantly autoerotic (masturbatory), after which it, in the course of development, is linked to various so-called partial objects. Around the age of three to four, it finds an object

in the parent of the opposite sex. When the erotic lust of the child connects with a possessive drive, the oedipal complex begins and the child will normally encounter obstacles along with prohibitions and possibly punishment. The oedipal conflict is typically expressed as obstinacy, antisocial activity, and demandingness. Children at this stage develop a special ability to do precisely what their parents consider most revolting, embarrassing, and offensive. The conflict-ridden material is itself culturally determined but is always thought to have its basis within the psychosexual register. In Western culture, it is often linked to TOILET TRAINING, the proscription of masturbation, and sexual roles. According to psychoanalytic theory, the struggle to renounce polymorphous sexuality and accept one sexual identity or the other causes the child both anxiety and envy. Overcoming the oedipal conflict is assumed to have wide-ranging significance for the child's gradual compliance with family and social norms.

Later Discussions

Theorists both within and outside the psychoanalytic community have at times tended to downgrade pre-genital sexuality and instead focus on the presence of genital sexuality from the time of birth. If a child was found to have a special interest in the oral or anal area, this was regarded by, for instance, Wilhelm Reich and Karen Horney as defective development and not, as Freud saw it, a part of normal sexual development. Alfred Kinsey, also a critic of Freud, in his seminal publications on human sexual behaviors (1948 and 1953), provided a detailed description of the child's genital-sexual reactions. Although he was later criticized for using manifest pedophiles as his source, he seems to have demonstrated that the child is physiologically capable of sexual activity comparable to adult sexuality, including the erection of penis and clitoris and orgasm through rhythmic muscular contractions in the genitals.

This, however, did not bring the discussion to a close. Perhaps the most important of the psychoanalytic hypotheses regarding infant sexuality is that it has to be evoked through object contact in order to be expressed, as Jean Laplanche and his collaborators stressed. According to this view, the body may be compared to a photographic plate, which can be exposed in a multitude of ways. A child with no physical contact, no touching, and no intense object relations does not get to know his or her bodily pleasure potential. René Spitz, who in the 1930s and 1940s did research on children placed in institutions, found that the lack of physical contact led to inactivity and in the long term to illness, while children with good bodily contact were sexually curious and actively masturbated. Freud's original intuitive understanding of infant sexuality as requiring some sort of "seduction" in order to come into play thus seems to be confirmed.

Following the youth revolution of the 1960s, the 1970s saw a renewed interest in the child's pre-genital sexuality, which many regarded positively, as an alternative to the tyr-

anny of genital sexuality. Some theories of sexual politics considered pre-genital truly revolutionary. The discussion of the child's sexuality became more structured, and it was held that since children harbored obvious sexual potentials, they should also have the right to exercise these in some form or other, although how and with whom remained an open question.

Beginning in about 1980, a reaction emerged against these approaches to the emancipation of infant sexuality. It was claimed from many sides that sexual abuse in childhood was occurring on a hitherto unknown scale and that a great deal of mental suffering was caused by early sexual abuse. Alice Miller, among others, blamed psychoanalysis for having overlooked this, and an at times hysterical campaign was waged against scientists who insisted on the natural sexuality of the child. The sexual games of children came into focus once more, since they were seen as being linked to abuse, even when the age difference between the children was small. That the strongest arguments for the sexual rights of the child often came from pedophile associations did not help the credibility of the argument.

Social Implications of Infant Sexuality

It is in no way the case that an overtly negative stance against infant sexuality will prevent infant sexuality from existing. Sexualization often goes hand in hand with prohibition, as Michel Foucault pointed out. The function of the prohibition is to hem in and intensify sexuality, after which it may be formed in a socially acceptable manner by enhancing the character traits that receive priority within a given society. This becomes clearer when one looks at cross-cultural studies. Entire cultures have been classified according to the fixations embedded in their handling of the problems of child rearing, as Ruth Benedict, MARGARET MEAD, and ERIK H. ERIKSON have shown.

Infant sexuality is never found in a purely natural form but is always defined in relation to socialization. Sexuality is most clearly exposed in societies where sexual relations between children and adults or among children themselves are instituted as a norm. In ancient Greece, boys were sexually initiated by adult males. In many so-called primitive societies, children are encouraged to practice sexual games, and their sexual initiation often takes place with older children (see Bronislaw Malinowski's research on the Trobriand Islands during World War I), but it may also take place with adult men (as shown by Gilbert Herdt's research in New Guinea during the 1970s). When a restrictive sexual morality prevails, as it did in Europe from the time of Rousseau, the explicit interest in children—their formation, manners, and illnesses—constitute a source for understanding how they are formed, for better or worse, as sexual individuals.

Anthropologist William Stephens (1962) found a connection between the severity of the demand regarding the mother's sexual abstinence following childbirth (postpartum sex

taboo) and the sexual exposure of the child when she, as compensation, throws all her love at the child. Something similar must be assumed regarding the development of the bourgeois family through the 1800s, when mothers were locked with their children within the sphere of intimacy. This close relationship generates a sexuality of friction. When physical lust is blocked, the sexual tension will instead appear as a high-strung sensibility, as a sentimental binding to the mother and to the childhood universe, or as "nervousness," the most noted form of illness in the Victorian period. This is richly illustrated in literature and in contemporary educational instructions, pathographies, childhood memoirs, and so forth.

Sexual emancipation has, during the twentieth century, gradually shifted from adult culture to YOUTH CULTURE to child culture. The sexual emancipation of youth gathered momentum following the youth revolution of the 1960s, when premarital sex became the norm rather than the exception; in the final decade of twentieth century, genital sexuality is breaking through to the realm of childhood, which cannot be explained solely by the fact that puberty has, during the last century, been brought forward from the age of fourteen to twelve. As adult sexuality becomes increasingly more visible to the child, sexuality becomes an explicit theme from the age of eight, and the presence of pornography in the public domain has allowed it to enter the children's room also. Despite efforts by puritan parents, sexually provocative clothes, in-depth knowledge of sexual matters, and games involving sexual roles are all communicated to young children by older children, by the media, and by an industry that has helped to make children's culture a poor copy of adult culture. This is arguably a more massive problem than the approaches of pedophiles, which has usually been the focus of suspicion in cases of premature sexual maturation. This is of particular concern because there seems to be a connection between children assuming adult roles inappropriate for their age and a longer struggle after puberty to overcome infantile personality traits.

See also: **Child Abuse; Child Psychology; Incest; Pedophilia.**

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OLE ANDKJÆR OLSEN

Infant Toys

The proliferation of infant toys, now marketed for every stage of development from birth to twelve months, is a fairly recent phenomenon. Until the twentieth century, TOYS made specifically for the entertainment of infants (mainly in Western societies) consisted almost solely of rattles, often made of expensive materials such as coral or silver. Other artifacts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as walking stools, are more indicative of prevailing philosophies of child rearing than those of PLAY. Other cultures took care of their babies in different ways. Many Native American tribes placed their children in wooden cradleboards, SWADDLING the baby tight. Cradleboards could then be carried on the back or propped up next to the mother while she worked, presenting the baby with a wide array of visual stimuli. Small toys could also be hung from the hoop of the cradleboard. Patterns of child rearing also shared certain common characteristics across cultures. For example, toys for babies (whether coral rattles or woven ornaments) often served the dual purpose of entertaining the infant while warding against disease or accident.

The renowned folklorist IONA OPIE and her son, Robert Opie, in their book *The Treasures of Childhood* (1995), attribute the elaboration of playthings and games over time to the attainment of culture, which is historically delineated by the invention of rules and structures. In general, toys play a very important role in the socialization of children, promoting the values and expectations of the prevailing culture. The infant, then, engaged in acquiring basic physical and mental skills, is at the very beginning of this process of acquiring culture through play.

People as Playthings

In reality, toys are only a small part of a baby's daily life up to the age of one year. For a newborn, the earliest source of stimulation is the mother or primary caregiver. Since the 1960s many books have been published on infant play, most consisting of suggestions for activities and games for parents and babies such as singing songs, making the baby laugh, offering a variety of objects for the baby to examine, and popular games such as peek-a-boo. While it can be assumed that parents have everywhere entertained and interacted with their babies in these and similar ways, such books reflect how modern theories of child development became mainstream in the course of the twentieth century.

Changing Definitions of Childhood

By the mid-nineteenth century, new definitions of childhood promoted notions of learning through play. Child-rearing manuals from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be the best evidence of these more modern theories of child development. It is also possible that advice books served the purpose of suggesting toys for infants as well as aiding parents to make similar playthings with similar goals for sti-

mulating the very young child. Certainly parents have made toys for babies out of a variety of materials since time immemorial. However, few if any examples of this ancient history exist. In particular, handmade toys rarely survive childhood and almost never reach museum collections.

Educators

By the beginning of the twentieth century, psychologists and educators had established a set of precepts almost identical to today's notions of child development. In 1934, when the psychologist Ethel Kavin published *The Wise Choice of Toys*, children's projected abilities according to age were a primary consideration in choosing toys appropriate to their interests and skills.

This new body of research (and conclusions) became increasingly part of the fabric of everyday life as accepted educational institutions such as the KINDERGARTEN incorporated it into their teaching activities. The kindergarten, in fact, as conceptualized by the German educator FRIEDRICH FROEBEL in the 1840s, was instrumental in transforming the field of early childhood education and influenced thinking about infancy as well. Froebel's idea that children learn best through play is still the basis for most scholarship on early childhood.

Stimulating Mental and Physical Development through Toys

Today play is considered to be a key part of the daily care of infants. Current child-rearing literature emphasizes the importance of early childhood development for achievements later in life. As a result, parents in industrialized societies often feel a real sense of urgency in stimulating their children enough, often through toys. The noted pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton observed in 1974 that this sense of urgency has been fueled by both toy manufacturers and child experts. So-called educational toys, in particular, are products of this trend. Lamaze toys (made by Learning Curve) and products made by the Baby Einstein Company are specifically marketed as playthings that contribute to an infant's physical and mental development. Baby Einstein, for example, produces a line of toys designed to stimulate precocious development through exposure to classical music.

Toys for babies are in the main discussed as tools to encourage the physical and mental development of very young children. For example, editions of one popular child care book produced by the American Academy of Pediatrics include lists of recommended toys for each developmental stage as well as possible activities.

Recommended Toys

In general, most recent child-rearing manuals recommend almost exactly the same types of toys for different stages of development. Mobiles, for example, are considered to be ideal toys for babies from one to three months, giving the baby a stimulating object to look at. Toys for the brand-new

baby, then, are designed to gently stimulate developing senses of sight, hearing, and touch. Unbreakable crib mirrors are also very popular playthings for newborns, based on research showing that babies are interested in faces most of all. As the baby's vision develops, experts suggest the introduction of objects with high-contrast colors. Floor gyms are also popular toys, giving babies something to look at and reach for before they learn to sit up (between six and eight months). Throughout the first year, rattles, musical toys, and soft balls and toys are recommended to go along with babies' growing comprehension of the world around them. By the end of the first year, as infants learn to crawl and acquire more small motor skills, toys like stacking cups, plastic telephones, "busy boxes," board books, blocks, and push-pull toys are considered to be more appropriate.

However, babies, just like older children, do not always use toys in the recommended mode (according to adult designers). A young child, for example, may take the pieces of a stacking toy and pack them into a small bag to drag around the house rather than practicing the specific skill that the toy was manufactured for. In the same manner, an infant may find a use for a more advanced toy that has almost nothing to do with the original intent.

Changing Fashions in Toys

Certain traditional playthings have undergone major shifts in popularity due to changes in recommended child-rearing practices. The baby walker, for example, has lost the support of mainstream child care professionals because research has shown that babies prepare themselves for walking in other, more efficient ways. Other factors have also contributed to this trend, including the rise of concern about ACCIDENTS. Safety is an especially important concern in considering infant toys. Most safety recalls (now widely available through the Internet) concern products for infants and toddlers as the population most at risk from accidents.

Books as Toys

Books for babies are often grouped with toys. Inherent in this classification is the notion that babies spend the majority of their time engaged in play. Many authorities, most notably Brian Sutton-Smith, have contested the latter notion, asserting that very young children primarily explore and master important skills and that those activities are commonly perceived as play.

However, picture books (board books, in particular) do constitute a substantial body of material manufactured specifically for very young children. In the last decade, more and more picture book classics have been transferred to the more durable board book format. Other formats created for very young children are the bath book and the cloth book. The bath book, made of plastic, is intended for use in the tub, either for reading or for playing; the cloth, or stuffed, book, as in examples manufactured by Lamaze, are often written more simply than board books, with more movable features.

Many of these books are nearly indistinguishable from other stuffed toys.

Manufacturers of Infant Toys

Today there are a large number of companies that focus on toys for infants, designed for each stage of early development, as previously defined by child psychologists. Most of these businesses maintain websites with large sections devoted to parenting guides, which include information on how to select toys based on the growing skills of the baby and how to further stimulate those skills using their toys.

See also: Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child-Rearing Advice Manuals.

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SHIRA SILVERMAN

Inheritance and Property

Inheritance practices, associated as they are with death and with survival of family, name, and estate, reveal the main-springs of human behavior at a time when people face their transitory nature. Approaches to this human necessity may be as various as the social groups they emanated from. Detailed studies may trace Latin, Celtic, German, and other influences, but they always reveal an extreme diversity of behaviors. In Brittany, for example, two communities, only ten miles apart, developed different inheritance customs.

Systems of Transmission

Comparative research on the subject is recent. To mention only France, it began with the ethnological approach of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who, beginning in 1949, explored the major role of family strategies. It continued with the historical and geographical comments of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1976) about Jean Yver's 1966 study of inheritance customs and with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological research, which opened new perspectives on BIRTH ORDER.

Two family transmission systems have been identified. The first one is more or less egalitarian, favoring kinship but resulting in divided up estates; the second one favors one privileged heir—male or female—and is apt to secure continuity for the house but is inegalitarian. Under both systems, transmission of family prestige and assets from a given generation to the following one is at stake.

Another feature of interest, illustrating the desire to provide a heir for the family when no satisfactory offspring is available, is adoption. Statutes of ADOPTION are as revealing of the mental and social factors governing inheritance as are the legal provisions governing estate transmission.

Inheritance practices were modified much less as a result of legal change than of demographic, economic, and social change. This confirms that these practices were deeply rooted in custom rather than in written law. It also explains why perturbations in the social climate, favoring, for instance, regional or overseas migrations of children, affected traditional family courses much more than did any legal clause. It may also explain other changes that took place when the legal basis stayed stable, such as the changing status and growing authority of women (as mothers and widows) in the Pyrenean family.

More or Less Egalitarian Inheritance Systems

Analysis of notarized property transfers and of land markets suggests clearly that so-called egalitarian societies did not shirk complex adaptations if they would result in smallholdings of reasonable size. Some big landowners developed ad hoc matrimonial strategies to avoid dividing up their land, but no child's share was reduced to zero. In many European societies, girls often got only movable property, leaving their brothers with the land and the means of production. In all Scandinavian countries, males inherited a property worth more than that which girls inherited—usually double the value.

There were pretensions to egalitarianism, as, for example, in Brittany according to a custom, written in 1539, which did not allow for any privilege to any child. Even an advantage given to a child before the death of the parents had to be compensated for in the global succession. But Breton peasants were seldom farm owners, so inheritance only concerned movables, which were easy to divide up. Things changed when land came to be more commonly owned.

Then the firstborn was privileged by being given a choice of the share he or she would take.

Many European rural areas practiced transmission of land, lease, or movables without gender or birth order discrimination. In those cases, marriage contracts were not necessary since marriage was not directly tied to succession and use of inherited assets. However, conflicts between brothers and sisters could appear when the successor delayed the agreed-upon payments after the succession was settled. This kind of egalitarian system did, in the end, help impoverish a population, especially in periods of population growth such as the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the areas of egalitarian transmission were those where tenant-farming was predominant. But even then, some flexibility was possible since fathers were entitled to make a will. Not all fathers did, but those who did had to trust their notary's ability to accommodate their wishes to the law.

Inegalitarian Systems

Inegalitarian sharing out appeared as the result of a unified written law, theoretically inherited from Rome but very intricate when concrete sharing out had to be practiced: Who would be privileged? The males more than the females? The firstborn? The heir mentioned in a will? The boy or girl who had already received some share before the parents' death, thus being beneficiary of a *preciput*, or advantage? It would be simplistic to ignore the coexistence of local customs with written law.

Endowing a girl when she married or entered a convent was a common way to exclude her from a later sharing out. It was also used in countries that practiced egalitarian transmission, such as Normandy. Some old rights restricted the capacity of women to inherit even more than the dowry system did. The future of a family was reputed to be threatened when it depended on the female line: The saying "Girls mean the end of the father's family" (Julien, p. 441) was held to be true in more places than just eighteenth-century Provence.

Although so commonly mentioned in discussions of royal or feudal successions, the law of primogeniture was not frequently referred to in the legal documents. In France, it appears only in some customs of the Basque country and the surrounding Pyrenean valleys. But the father was entitled to choose his heir, and he usually chose the firstborn child, giving him a *preciput* by donation or will. It was rare for a family to wait until the head of the family died to fix the conditions of succession. Arrangements were usually made in the children's marriage contracts.

What happened when the father died before expressing a choice depended on custom. In seventeenth-century New York City, colonial parents could circumvent the laws of in-

testate succession and bequeath property according to their own desires, ignoring the English custom of primogeniture. But Pennsylvania and New England law allowed the eldest son a double portion of both real estate and personal property if there was no will, while granting his siblings only a single share, although most wills show equal grants to all sons. The *Statuts de Provence* gave Provençal sons equal shares of the patrimony, without consideration of birth order, reserving for the girls a “legitimate share” (a very reduced one) depending on the number of children in the family. When they were only two, the boy received five-sixth, the girl one-sixth. For two sons and one daughter, each boy received four-ninths and the girl one-ninth of the family assets, which was much less than the amount of the dowry she usually got when marrying. Such strategies involved some psychological and legal subtlety, since the interest of fathers was not to give rise to conflicts among the children. These inegalitarian customs were not limited to colonial North America and southwestern Europe. Giving a *preciput* was common in Picardy, Wallonia, and Luxemburg, contrasting with the strong egalitarian Flemish systems.

For all the countries with inegalitarian transmission systems, the French Civil Code of 1804, proclaiming equality in matters of family succession, created disruptions. But it allowed advantaging one of the children (up to one-third of the succession if there were two children, one-fourth if there were three, etc.), and it drew attention to the risk of land division, so that we now read it more as a compromise inherited from Parisian custom than as a revolutionary proclamation. The Code generated reactions that give the historian an opportunity to evaluate the resistance local customs posed to written law. For instance, as early as 1814, the German jurist Friedrich Karl von Savigny developed his thesis contrasting popular practice and law. Decades later, Frédéric Le Play, observing how traditional customs endured alongside the law, advocated a social reform enhancing the traditional custom of the stem family (when, at each generation, the married successor stays in residence with his parents in the family house) as an antidote to the harmful ideas of revolution, progress, land division, and proletarianization.

The influence of the French Civil Code was felt in many countries, including Spain and its American colonies, where *majorat*, the “right to inherit assets . . . under the condition that these assets would be kept in full and perpetually in the family” was suppressed in 1841 (Clavero, p.391). Social reality, contrary to what Le Play had predicted, actually helped this change: In stem family regions of Europe during the nineteenth century, the number of single people of both sexes who could not marry for want of a proper dowry led to a growing number of illegitimate births as the church lost most of its capacity to control sexual behavior; younger brothers and sisters refused to work in the natal house as unpaid servants; and after the 1860s, in the European middle uplands, from Norway to the Balkans and across all Mediter-

ranean countries, young people, especially boys, began to dream of a better life in the big cities or abroad, which often left only the lastborn child in the natal house, or girls more than boys. This transition to ultimogeniture is attested to in many places after the 1880s, as heiresses more often than heirs became farm heads.

The role of heiresses in Western Europe societies has been underestimated until recently. Historians and sociologists have long noted that heiresses were the main transmitters of family behavior models. But the fact that they happened to secure continuity for the house (be it the farm or the urban business) when it was needed was often considered nothing more than a deviation from the general model. But they did transmit, and the evidence is statistical: about 30 percent of family transmissions followed a female line (in the Pyrenees, Scandinavia, and in Austria) as early as the seventeenth century. And the proportion of inheriting females grew over time, eventually affecting more than half the inheritances in the parts of western Europe that were affected by emigration.

Replacing Missing Children or Missing Parents

The hazards of the family course and events, especially when life expectancy was short, generated many cases of missing children or missing parents. What happened, then, when a couple had no surviving child to inherit (and to take care of them in their old age)? Would they adopt?

Philippe Ariès writes, “It would be a distortion to interpret the attitude of traditional societies as one in which the child did not exist, did not count. On the contrary, he was physically necessary for the reproduction of a society that scorned adoption” (1980, p. 645). This suggests that Western societies valued blood filiation more than adoptive filiation. European societies had forsaken ancient practice, which considered adoption a standard method of transmission. In ancient Greek societies, adopted individuals were mainly male kin, whom the adoptive parents, deprived of a male descendant, adopted either during their lifetime or through a will.

In traditional western Europe, adoption did not play the same role it did in non-European societies, where adoption is not only a way to cope with demographic hazard but also an opportunity to integrate into one’s family children born outside its social group, either native or foreign. Christianity seems to have preferred blood ties and direct transmission to legitimate or legitimated children, thus separating itself from many other societies known for their large circulation of children. In Asian societies, for example, adoption is recurrent and even desirable, so much so that the Japanese son-in-law becomes a true adopted son as soon as he enters the house. Adoption in JAPAN is essentially a substitution of ancestors. The adopted person must from then on worship his adoptive ancestors. In contrast, children entering a foster family in Europe are expected to behave respectfully, but

they remain a member of their family by blood, even if at a young age they consider themselves members of their “milk-families.”

Taking Charge of Underage Orphans

The problem of missing parents (or underage ORPHANS) was a recurrent one in the Western European and was subject to regulations emanating from ecclesiastic and civilian authorities—all the more so since, due to short life expectancy, orphanhood was common. Fostering orphans was generally delegated to somebody in the family—often the surviving parent in the case of semi-orphans—who would be designated as a guardian or curator subject to the control of a family council, sometimes with addition of an officer of the law. But fostering orphans day after day was one thing and preserving the patrimony another: How could dispersion of the family patrimony be avoided when the children were underage and had to be fostered?

Before the redaction of customary laws—that is, before the sixteenth century—the orphan’s fate, at best, was sealed in a deed authenticated by a notary: a close family member received lease and guardianship, collecting the income of the orphan’s real estate, acceding to ownership of the personal estate, and pledging to “feed, educate and maintain” the child, who in turn had to “serve” him or her. We sometimes find in such written deeds a provision that the child would receive back his or her real estate upon coming of age, with the condition that the income and personal estate had been sufficient to refund to the lessor his or her fostering expenses. The final and not surprising result was that the patrimony as a whole was more often than not absorbed in unverifiable expenses. The guardianship system may not have been that bad for the lessor, since we often note competition between candidates to care for one child or to “purchase” him or her for a certain time, although the theoretical aim of this competition was to secure maximal protection for the orphan’s patrimony.

The institution of a family council, which would be in charge of naming and controlling the guardian, was not automatic. In fact, one finds evidence of such a council only when the orphan’s interests were deemed worthy of specific attention—for instance in case of remarriage of the surviving parent or when the orphan became heir to an uncle or grandmother. Family council members were male kin plus the mother or grandmother if they were alive, and sometimes also male neighbors. They supervised fostering until the orphan reached age fifteen, when he or she usually could begin to earn a living.

Candidates to guardianship took into consideration the orphan’s gender and age: a girl’s work was thought to be of less value than the boy’s; furthermore, the lessor would have to give her a trousseau when she married (but not a dowry, since that was a part of her patrimony). The younger the child, the later he or she became able to serve the lessor—

that is, to repay the costs of fostering. To preserve the child’s patrimony, the lessor inherited the child’s labor.

What were these children: temporarily adopted children, boarders, or simply small servants? They could go on living in familiar surroundings, but they were “eating their personal estate and the income of their real estate” (Desaive, p. 1987), with some hope of recovering their landed property. Only deep indigence could justify selling part of the orphan’s patrimony—usually some badly maintained dwelling—and indigence was very often the case for widows who wanted to keep their children at their side. Widowhood meant a lower standard of living, so a widow had to promise the family council to take care of her children and to protect their portion of the patrimony whose usufruct she obtained.

It could happen that the guardians nominated by the family councils for these fostered children would be childless, so that fostering would be close to adoption, in fact if not in law. A Polish judicial writ from the district of Grabovice, dated 1729, says, “If it happens that a couple dies, whose husband is a farm-hand in the service of a peasant, it is the duty of the peasant to bring up their children. If a childless neighbor offers to take one of them at his home, he shall be allowed to” (Kula, p. 953). Taking in orphans was often one element in a strategy of family reproduction: Orphans filled the place of missing children and went where their hands were the most useful and where they had also a chance to become heirs as legatees through a will. There was therefore no need for adoption.

Preindustrial Fostering of Children

The orphan advancing in age represented a value which grew in relation to the value of his or her patrimony. According to Witold Kula, the European peasant saw the child as a charge until age ten; between ten and eighteen, the child’s work more than covered the expenses of fostering. The work of boys and girls, however, was held to have different value and different seasonality, but a child of either sex had some prospective economic value, even in the absence of any patrimony.

If not abandoned and if not dependant on a community, the orphan child was transferred to the house of his guardian, foster parent, or “purchaser.” His or her trustee—a childless aunt, an unmarried uncle—might choose this child as a beneficiary for the transmission of some assets, possibly adding in the registered will some provisions defining mutual and reciprocal commitments. The child might also be placed with some relative or neighbor (when at least ten years old) as a young apprentice or servant. This pattern of circulation of young children in the society can only be understood in the context of the family network: the young girl servant was more often than not a niece, a cousin, or a relative of some kind in the household where she served.

A family network was evidently what was missing when children were abandoned. Churches had cared for them

since the earliest times and endeavored to find them substitute households. But at the end of the seventeenth century, in urban western Europe, the newly created hospitals had to deal with an increasing number of children who were abandoned at birth. While these children were taken care of, the administrator of the hospital looked for a foster family which would associate Christian hospitality with an anticipation of the gains the labor of the child would generate. For centuries, such placements were a constant in child welfare. When surviving infants were placed in foster families, the institution paid a pension that stopped as soon as the children reached age seven, at which age they were supposed to work and serve.

New conditions appeared with the beginning of industrialization, around 1800. Throughout Europe, textile manufacturers used CHILD LABOR, which was cheap. This opened another way to foster children: to exploit them. Most of the nineteenth century was a painful period for abandoned children. The church was still a force, but it was no longer the mighty institution it had once been, present in all sectors of public life, rural or urban. The state, however, did not yet coordinate the random efforts of communities to deal with abandoned children.

See also: **Abandonment; Bastardy; Family Patterns; Fertility Rates; Foster Care; Siblings.**

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ANTOINETTE FAUVE-CHAMOUX

In re Gault

In the landmark juvenile law decision *In re Gault* (1967), the Supreme Court established that children are persons within the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment, and as such, they are entitled to its procedural protections. The decision set forth the legal principle that although minors are not entitled to every constitutional protection afforded to adults, they are not entirely without constitutional protection. Perhaps the most famous statement to emerge from this Supreme Court decision was that made by Justice Abe Fortas: "Neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone."

Gerald Gault, a fifteen-year-old boy, was charged with making a lewd telephone call to one of his female neighbors. Following a hearing on the charge, the juvenile court judge determined that Gault's actions were a disruption of the peace and that he had exhibited a pattern of engaging in immoral behaviors. The judge committed Gault to the Arizona State Industrial School (a juvenile detention center) until the age of twenty-one. During this hearing, Gault was not offered the same procedural protections to which he would have been entitled had he been tried in an adult criminal court. His treatment, however, was consistent with the goals of JUVENILE JUSTICE during the first half of the twentieth century. During this era, juvenile justice was seen as reform rather than as criminal punishment; consequently, it was widely believed that the courts' reformatory powers would be hampered if they were expected to apply the same constitutional rights to children as to adults. This approach, however, was not without controversy, and the Supreme Court voiced its disapproval in the *Gault* case.

The Court's decision in *Gault* established the principle that JUVENILE COURTS must observe standard procedures and provide specific protections guaranteed by the Constitution. The Court set forth several procedural requirements for juvenile DELINQUENCY proceedings. First, the juvenile and his or her parents must be given written notice of the particular charges brought against him or her, and this no-

tice must be delivered within such time as to permit the juvenile to have a reasonable opportunity to prepare for the hearing. Second, the juvenile and his or her parents must be notified of the juvenile's right to be represented by an attorney, and they must be informed that the court will appoint an attorney if they are unable to afford one. The Court also held that juveniles, like adults, are entitled to the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination, and, finally, that juveniles have the right to hear the sworn testimony against them and to confront that testimony through the cross-examination of witnesses.

The Court did not render an opinion regarding the key questions of whether a state must grant a juvenile a right to appeal a finding of delinquency or whether the state must provide an account (either a transcript or audio recording) of the court hearing. However, the Court's affirmative declarations were of far greater importance than these omissions. Because the Court acknowledged limits on the state's power to justify the regulation of juveniles through reliance on the doctrine of *parens patriae*, *In re Gault* was a watershed decision for juvenile rights. It is commonly cited as the most important CHILDREN'S RIGHTS case.

See also: **Law, Children and the.**

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AMY L. ELSON

Intelligence Testing

Treatments of modern measures of intelligence often begin with a discussion of the French psychologist ALFRED BINET (1857–1911). In 1905, Binet initiated the applied mental measurement movement when he introduced the first intelligence test. In response to a turn-of-the-century law in France requiring that children of subnormal mental ability be placed in special programs (rather than be expelled from school), Binet was called upon to design a test that could identify these children. Binet's first test consisted of thirty items, most of which required some degree of comprehension and reasoning. For example, one task required children to take sentences in which words were missing and supply the missing words that made sense in context (such sentence-

completion tasks are still used widely). Binet grouped his test items such that the typical child of a given age group was able to answer fifty percent of the questions correctly. Individuals of similar chronological age (CA) varied widely in their scale scores, or mental age (MA). The ratio of MA to CA determined one's level of mental development; this ratio was later multiplied by 100 to calculate what is now known as the intelligence quotient (IQ).

Binet's approach was successful: children's scores on his test forecasted teacher ratings and school performance. While Binet was developing this first test of general intellectual functioning, the English psychologist Charles Spearman (1863–1945) was conducting research to identify the dominant dimension responsible for the validity of the test's predictions.

The Hierarchical Organization of Mental Abilities

Spearman was the first to propose and offer tangible support for the idea that a psychologically cohesive dimension of general intelligence, *g*, underlies performance on any set of items demanding mental effort. Spearman showed that *g* appears to run through all heterogeneous collections of intellectual tasks and test items. He demonstrated that when heterogeneous items are all lightly positively correlated and then summed, the signal carried by each is successively amplified and the noise carried by each is successively attenuated.

Modern versions of intelligence tests index essentially the same construct that was uncovered at the turn of the twentieth century by Spearman, but with much more efficiency. For example, *g* is a statistical distillate that represents approximately half of what is common among the thirteen subtests comprising the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. As noted by intelligence researcher Ian J. Deary, the attribute *g* represents the research finding that "there is something shared by all the tests in terms of people's tendencies to do well, modestly, or poorly on all of them." This "tendency" is quite stable over time. In 2001, Deary's team published a study that was the longest temporal stability assessment of general intelligence, testing subjects at the age of eleven and a second time at the age of seventy-seven. They observed a correlation of 0.62, which rose to over 0.70 when statistical artifacts were controlled.

Psychometricians have come to a consensus that mental abilities follow a hierarchical structure, with *g* at the top of the hierarchy and other broad groups of mental abilities offering psychological import beyond *g*. Specifically, mathematical, spatial-mechanical, and verbal reasoning abilities all have demonstrated incremental (additional) validity beyond *g* in forecasting educational and vocational outcomes.

g and the Prediction of Life Outcomes

Research on general intelligence has confirmed the validity of *g* for forecasting educational and occupational achieve-

ment. Empiricism also has documented general intelligence's network of relationships with other socially important outcomes, such as aggression, crime, and poverty. General intellectual ability covaries 0.70–0.80 with academic achievement measures, 0.40–0.70 with military training assignments, 0.20–0.60 with work performance (higher correlations reflect greater job complexity), 0.30–0.40 with income, and around 0.20 with obedience to the law. Measures of *g* also correlate positively with altruism, sense of humor, practical knowledge, social skills, and supermarket shopping ability, and correlate negatively with impulsivity, accident-proneness, delinquency, smoking, and racial prejudice. This diverse family of correlates reveals how individual differences in general intelligence influence other personal characteristics.

Experts' definitions of general intelligence fit with *g*'s nexus of empirical relationships. Most measurement experts agree that measures of general intelligence assess individual differences pertaining to abstract thinking or reasoning, the capacity to acquire knowledge, and problem-solving ability. Traditional measures of general intelligence and standard academic achievement tests both assess these general information-processing capacities. In 1976, educational psychologist Lee Cronbach noted: "In public controversies about tests, disputants have failed to recognize that virtually every bit of evidence obtained with IQs would be approximately duplicated if the same study were carried out with a comprehensive measure of achievement" (1976, p. 211, emphasis in original).

The Causes of Individual Differences in Intelligence

Both genetic and environmental factors contribute to the individual differences observed in intelligence. The degree to which individual differences in intelligence are genetically influenced is represented by an estimate of *heritability*, the proportion of observed variation in intelligence among individuals that is attributable to genetic differences among the individuals. By pooling various family studies of *g* (e.g., identical and fraternal twins reared together or apart), the heritability of general intelligence in industrialized nations has been estimated to be approximately 40 percent in childhood and between 60 and 80 percent in adulthood. This pattern is thought to reflect the tendency of individuals, as they grow older and more autonomous, to increasingly self-select into environments congruent with their unique abilities and interests.

Environmental contributions to individual differences in intelligence are broadly defined as all non-genetic influences. Shared environmental factors, such as socioeconomic status and neighborhood context, are those that are shared by individuals within a given family but differ across families; non-shared environmental factors, such as the mentoring of a special teacher or one's peer group, are those that are generally unique to each individual within a family. The majority of environmental influences on intelligence can be attrib-

utable to non-shared factors for which the specifics, thus far, are not well known. Family studies of intelligence have consistently documented that the modest importance of shared environmental influences in early childhood, approximately 30 percent, decreases to essentially zero by adulthood.

The Debate over Research on Intelligence

The above empiricism is widely accepted among experts in the fields of measurement and individual differences. Yet research pertaining to general intelligence invariably generates controversy. Because psychological assessments are frequently used for allocating educational and vocational opportunities, and because different demographic groups (such as those based on socioeconomic status or race) differ in test scores and criterion performance, social concerns have accompanied intellectual assessment since its beginning. Because of these social concerns, alternative conceptualizations of intelligence, such as Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences and Robert Sternberg's triarchic theory of intelligence, have generally been received positively by the public. Measures of these alternative formulations of intelligence, however, have not demonstrated incremental validity beyond what is already gained by conventional measures of intelligence. That is, they have not been shown to account for any more variance in important life outcomes (such as academic achievement and job performance) than that already accounted for by conventional intelligence tests.

See also: **Age and Development; IQ; Retardation; Special Education.**

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APRIL BLESKE-RECHEK

International Organizations

In most cultures children are considered vulnerable and defenseless, and therefore deserving of special protection and treatment. However, throughout history millions of children have suffered or died due to starvation, disease, poverty, exploitation, or war. The emphasis on the protection of children started at the beginning of the twentieth century, and it is still evolving. The creation of international governmental organizations (IGOs), specifically the United Nations (UN) and its subagencies, religious groups, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), was propelled by the tragedy of the two world wars, primarily to provide humanitarian food and assistance to children in need. In 1950 there were only a handful of organizations working together to contribute to the improvement of the lives of children; today there are thousands.

The Emergence of IGOs

The League of Nations was established as an attempt to provide collective international security after World War I. However, the League's Covenant, adopted in 1920, did address some children's issues, such as providing humane labor conditions and halting the trafficking of women and children. The League failed to achieve its objectives, however, and disbanded when the victors of World War II created the United Nations in 1945.

The initial task of providing emergency aid to several hundred million people at the end of World War II, especially the housing and feeding of children, was given to the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In 1945, these functions were progressively transferred to newly created specialized UN agencies, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Refugee Organization (which became the UN High Commission for Refugees in 1951). The UN International Children's Emergency Fund (now called the United Nations

Children's Fund, or UNICEF), was created in 1946 and, with offices in 126 countries, is now the principal UN agency for promoting and advocating CHILDREN'S RIGHTS. UNICEF works with UN agencies and NGOs to provide millions of children with food, medicine, and basic education.

Two new units created in the 1950s also work on programs targeting children: the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP). UNHCR has helped an estimated fifty million people since it began operations in 1950, and it continues working with approximately 20 million refugees annually, 80 percent of whom are women and children. UNDP began in 1959, and is today one of the most important UN agencies. It provides multilateral and development aid to developing nations. Several IGOs, including UNICEF and UNHCR, and one NGO, the International Red Cross, have earned Nobel Peace Prizes for their efforts to promote and protect children.

Legal Instruments

There has been significant progress on children's rights issues since the League of Nations and UN were founded. IGOs and NGOs have worked together to help codify international laws and legal norms that define the legal rights of the child.

The first legal instrument specifically targeting children was the Minimum Age Convention in 1919. Two years later the League of Nations passed the International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children. The basic rights of children, including protection from exploitation, were first stated in the 1924 Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was created to help Balkan children refugees.

After the League of Nations dissolved, the UN became the primary vehicle for the creation of international laws to protect the basic needs of children. This is done either through global conventions hosted by the UN or through UN General Assembly resolutions.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. This declaration outlines basic political, economic, and social rights for all people. Among the children's rights that are included are those guaranteeing a free elementary education, an adequate standard of living, and social protections. These rights are meant to include those born out of wedlock, which is still controversial in many cultures.

A 1954 UN resolution and a 1962 treaty on marriage both declare that child marriages are illegal if the participants have not reached the age of PUBERTY. The Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1959) calls upon governments and civil society to provide children with access to education,

health care and good nutrition. In 1965, the UN specified that the minimum age for marriage should be fifteen years old or older (with some exceptions).

In the 1970s, treaties and children's services began to reflect the child's perspective, rather than that of the parents or the state. For example, the UN Declaration on Foster Placement and Adoption (1986) gives children rights over their parents if their physical and emotional needs are not met. In 1988 the plight of child refugees unaccompanied by adults led UNHCR to establish its Guidelines on Refugee Children.

By far the most important treaty protecting children is the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (CRC). This is the most ratified convention in the world, and it is the first to combine economic, political, civil, and social rights for children. Two optional protocols, one eliminating the sale of children, CHILD PROSTITUTION, and CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, and the other dealing with the involvement of children in armed conflicts, were added in 2002. It is estimated these new laws impact over 300,000 children serving as soldiers, servants, or sex slaves.

A UN review of the progress on children's rights during the 1990s shows progress in some areas and deterioration in others. Positive developments include millions of additional children in school; increasing gender equality, especially in education and health; the near eradication of POLIO; and children living longer and healthier lives. Violations of children's rights are increasingly gaining government and public attention, thanks to the passage of the CRC and the work being done by international organizations, NGOs, and the media. For example, multinational companies have faced public protests and boycotts as a result of their employment of child laborers.

However, at the beginning of the new millennium, 100 million children were still out of school (60 percent of them girls). Fifty million children were working in intolerable forms of labor, while 30 million more were being trafficked for sexual exploitation. In addition, 10 million children die annually from preventable causes; 150 million children suffer from malnutrition; and HIV/AIDS has infected millions of children. It is estimated that 30 million children will be orphaned by AIDS by 2010.

Despite efforts to provide assistance to children, and the many legal instruments that protect them, children living in poverty, in conflict zones, or in developing countries face many difficulties. Millions live in pervasive poverty, lacking access to proper sanitation, drinking water, education, or hope for a future. War, corruption, and foreign debt often prevent governments from financing the basic needs of children. Unfortunately, international organizations lack adequate funding to provide protection to all children.

See also: **Child Labor in Developing Countries; Child Labor in the West; Juvenile Justice: International; Soldier Children; War in the Twentieth Century; Work and Poverty.**

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SONJA L. TAYLOR

Interscholastic Athletics

Interscholastic athletics emerged in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and like their collegiate level counterpart, they were organized and directed initially by students. The students at Worcester, Massachusetts High School inaugurated high school athletics when they formed a BASEBALL team in 1859. Students, eager for victory, recruited nonstudents for their teams, a practice that caused school administrators to take control of athletics. Although some New England boarding schools, public schools in Philadelphia and Buffalo, and private ACADEMIES in Chicago fielded teams during the 1860s, interscholastic athletics were not firmly established until the closing decades of the nineteenth century when social goals fostered by the Progressive movement gave athletics a useful purpose in America's high schools.

Social and Educational Benefits of Athletics

As Progressives labored to reduce turmoil in America's cities, they looked for a means of controlling youth whose affiliation with urban gangs resulted in deviant behavior. They believed athletics would keep youth occupied and hasten their transition into productive adults. An advocate of Progressive reform, LUTHER GULICK, Director of Physical Education in New York City, organized the Public Schools Athletic League in 1903. The PSAL sponsored interschool competition and self-testing fitness activities during the school day. So successful was Gulick's program that the PSAL prototype was duplicated in dozens of American cities, including Washington, DC, where Edwin B. Henderson adopted it for the District's segregated black schools. In 1905 Gulick and his assistant, Elizabeth Burchenal, orga-

nized the Girls' Branch of PSAL that emphasized noncompetitive activities. But in other cities at this time, namely Chicago and Los Angeles, girls athletics, particularly BASKETBALL, were highly competitive, though short-lived due to increasing social pressures to mold girls into refined young ladies in Chicago and to entice boys to stay in school in Los Angeles. High school athletics thus became the domain of boys. In extolling the educational benefits of athletics, educators not only defended the necessity of high school athletics, but they now had reason to expand physical education programs where they could assign athletic coaches for full-time administrative control.

National Tournaments, Intersectional Rivalries, and the Blossoming of Interscholastic Athletics

In the aftermath of World War I, interscholastic athletics experienced enormous growth. The number of athletic teams multiplied as high school enrollments increased. City and county leagues crowned champions in baseball, football, and basketball, states organized tournaments for major sports, and the National Federation of High Schools open its doors in 1920 to preserve the educational integrity of athletics.

Although intersectional competition in baseball and football dates to the early 1900s, New York and Chicago held seven intercity baseball championships during the 1920s. Intersectional rivalries in football were more widespread as teams from New England and Mid-Atlantic states played schools from the Midwest. Schools in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and other states initiated rivalries with opponents in nearby states. From 1921 to 1924, Illinois high schools participated in nine intersectional contests each year that involved teams from Toledo, Cleveland, Louisville, Detroit, and Baltimore.

The University of Chicago sparked a trend of national tours when it hosted the National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament (NIBT) from 1917 to 1930. Catholic schools, excluded from NIBT, established their own tourney, NCIBT, at Loyola University in 1924. By 1928, thirty-two teams from around the country participated in this five-day event. Catholic schools declined NIBT's overtures in 1929, and a year later NIBT lost credibility when it denied an invitation to Phillips High School's all-black team, Chicago's Public League Champions that annually received an automatic bid. Black high schools held their own national basketball tournament at Tuskegee Institute, Tennessee A & I, and Hampton Institute in Virginia.

The Struggle of African-American and Female Athletes

African-American and female athletes endured an uphill battle to gain entry into interscholastic athletics. Excluded from the beginning, African Americans had to contend with such sanctioned segregation policies as they experienced in Indiana, for example, where the state association barred "colored" schools from participating in the state tournament from its inception in 1908 until 1942. Female athletes played

competitive interschool basketball early on, but soon feminine propriety and the prospect of future motherhood caught up with them. Physicians and educators feared sports damaged child-bearing organs, and female physical educators denounced competition as unladylike. During the 1920s, girls' high school basketball in North Carolina, for instance, was highly popular among white and African-American schools. But in North Carolina and elsewhere, female physical educators gained control of girls' athletics and replaced competition with a participation model that emphasized socialization and friendship. White schools followed suit, but most African-American schools continued with the competitive model. The feminist movement of the 1960s and the enactment of Title IX in 1972 reopened the doors of interscholastic competition for girls.

Commercialization, Specialization, and Exploitation

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, commercialism drove the course of high school athletics. National tournaments and intersectional contests returned on a grand scale. Post season all-star games and roundball classics abounded. Hundreds of high schools created Internet web sites that featured their athletic programs. In the 1980s *USA Today* began ranking the Top 25 boys and girls high school teams each season in sports such as basketball, football, baseball, and softball. Scouting services generate substantial revenue by identifying and tracking the most promising athletes for college recruiters. Some high schools, with financial support from footwear giants Nike and Adidas, recruited stellar athletes from other school districts. Increasing commercialism caused athletes to specialize in one particular sport in order to perfect their skills with the hope of someday landing a lucrative professional contract. Untold numbers resorted to steroids and other performance-enhancing substances to improve their lot of securing a college scholarship.

In many cities and towns across America, high school sports are at the center of the community. They provide entertainment, contribute to community building, and foster civic pride. But sometimes this creates an atmosphere where success in athletics becomes all-important, thereby forcing coaches to exploit young athletes. Nowhere was that more evident than in Texas high school football where H. G. Bissinger's *Friday Night Lights* revealed the clout of Odessa's Permian High School football program to supersede the school's educational mission. The overmatched underdog seeking stardom from a tiny hamlet, as portrayed in the film *Hoosiers*, had all but disappeared from interscholastic athletics by the dawn of the twenty-first century.

See also: **High School; Sports; Title IX and Girls Sports.**

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J. THOMAS JABLE

In Vitro Fertilization

In vitro fertilization (IVF) is a method of infertility treatment in which an egg and sperm are joined in a laboratory container ("in vitro" means "in glass"). This is in contrast to normal "in vivo" conception, in which fertilization occurs in the fallopian tube of a woman's reproductive tract. Scientist S. L. Schenk began animal IVF research in 1880, but it was not until 1959 that the first animal IVF was clearly documented by another scientist, Michael Chang. In 1978 Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards in England produced the first human IVF baby, Louise Brown, who became known as the world's first test-tube baby. The first IVF baby in the United States was born in 1981, largely due to the research work of Howard and Georgeanna Jones. The Joneses varied their technique from that of Steptoe and Edwards, and these newer techniques grew into contemporary IVF. In the United States alone, over thirty-five thousand babies were born through assisted reproductive technologies (ART) techniques in 1999. ART use has increased 54 percent between 1996 and 2000, the only years for which data is available. It is unclear if increase in use is due to actual increases in infertility over this time period, increases in knowledge and availability of services, or due to the aging of the large baby-boom cohort, many of whom delayed childbearing and reached their later and less fertile reproductive years during this time. Even so, ART is used by only 1 percent of all reproductive aged women, and by only 7 percent of all women who seek services for infertility.

Typically a woman's ovary produces one egg per month. Physicians who specialize in IVF use FERTILITY DRUGS to

stimulate a woman's ovaries to produce multiple eggs. Eggs are then retrieved during an office procedure in which a needle is inserted into the ovary through the vagina. The eggs are then mixed with sperm in order to allow fertilization. After a period of growth and observation in the laboratory, a number of fertilized eggs, now known as embryos, are returned to the uterus of the woman who will carry the pregnancy. The embryo transfer is another brief office procedure in which embryos are deposited into a woman's uterus through a small plastic tube that is inserted in the cervix.

IVF was originally developed to treat infertility due to blocked or absent fallopian tubes in women under thirty-five years of age. The use of IVF has expanded considerably over the years, and it is now considered to be a treatment for ovulation dysfunction in women, male infertility, and infertility of unknown etiology. Some IVF facilities offer egg donation programs so women without ovaries or women whose advanced age or menopausal status makes successful conception impossible can achieve pregnancy. Embryos can be frozen and stored indefinitely for later use, for donation to other couples, or for transfer to the uterus of a surrogate mother. Embryos can also be screened for genetic disorders prior to transferring them to a woman's uterus.

The American Society for Reproductive Medicine publishes an annual report detailing success rates for IVF clinics in the United States. Success rates vary depending upon patient age, fresh or frozen embryo use and a variety of other factors. Data from 2002 shows that on average for every egg retrieval procedure a woman undergoes she has a 29.1 percent chance of delivering a live infant. There is currently no evidence of increased rates of birth defects in IVF babies, although recently, investigators have raised the possibility that placenta formation in these pregnancies is abnormal, which can lead to fetal growth problems.

IVF raises a host of medical, ethical, legal, sociological and religious questions and controversies. Medically, the techniques pose some risks to women. Fertility drugs can produce ovarian hyperstimulation syndrome (OHSS), which in rare instances can be life threatening. In addition, most IVF practitioners transfer several embryos into a woman's uterus in order to maximize the chance of successful pregnancy. This in turn carries a risk of twin (approximately 25 percent), triplet, and higher order pregnancies (approximately 5 percent). Multiple pregnancies carry increased risks to pregnant women compared to singleton pregnancies, and carry increased risk of premature delivery and associated newborn problems like cerebral palsy, blindness, and death. All of these consequences of IVF place enormous stress on families and on health care systems.

IVF is sociologically interesting because an IVF baby can have up to five "parents"—a genetic mother, a genetic father, a gestating mother, a rearing mother, and a rearing father. The separation of genetic, gestational, and rearing contribu-

tions to childhood raises questions about the meaning of parenthood and the family. Legal battles have arisen over “custody” of frozen embryos and of children born to surrogate mothers. Some religious groups prohibit IVF on the grounds that it separates sex and procreation. The issue of what to do with “leftover” embryos is also a source of intense controversy. When embryos are discarded or used for research purposes, as in the case of stem cell research, IVF becomes entangled in the intractable abortion debate in the United States.

IVF also raises questions related to issues of gender, race, and class. While some feminist scholars argue that IVF provides women with additional choices in life because it permits biological motherhood in otherwise impossible circumstances; others argue that it enforces women’s conventional roles as reproducers and creates traffic in women’s bodies. Some feminist critics argue that the medicalized discourse of “disease” that surrounds infertility prevents clear perception of the ways in which infertility is a socially constructed diagnosis. The racial dimensions of IVF are not well understood, and may relate, among other things, to the stereotype that excess fertility, not infertility, is the most salient black reproductive issue. Although black women in the United States have infertility rates one and one-half times higher than white women, white women use ART techniques at rates twice as high as those of blacks. IVF is inextricably linked to class, as the costs of IVF are exceedingly high—typically \$10,000 per month—and not always covered by insurance, and even more rarely covered by public medical insurance.

See also: **Conception and Birth; Multiple Births; Surrogacy.**

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LISA H. HARRIS

IQ

IQ, or intelligence quotient, is a measure of intelligence that schools, children’s homes, and other child-saving institutions have used since the 1910s to assess the intelligence of children for various diagnostic purposes. Welcomed and reviled in different social and political contexts in the twentieth century, especially in the United States, because its deployment has influenced the life chances of millions of children, the IQ and the tests that produce it had modest beginnings. French psychologist ALFRED BINET devised the first test of intelligence for school children in 1908 and 1911. He understood that intellectual capacity increased as children matured; his age scale, which he obtained as a norm of right over wrong answers about everyday artifacts and information for each year of childhood, was based on the Gaussian bell-shaped curve. The result gave the child’s “mental age.” If the child was three years old and her or his mental age was normal for a three year old, then the child was normal because his or her chronological and mental ages were the same. If the child’s mental age was “higher” than her or his chronological age, then the child was advanced, or had a higher than normal IQ. If the situation were reversed, then the child was behind or retarded, with a lower than normal IQ for his or her age. There were several tests for each age, and Binet expressed scores as mental ages. His great insight was that mental age existed apart from, but was related to, chronological age. William Stern, of Hamburg University, devised the notion of the intelligence quotient—soon dubbed the IQ—by dividing the child’s mental age by her or his chronological age. Thus a child of ten with a mental age of twelve would have an IQ of 120. One with a chronological age of five and a mental age of four would have an IQ of only 80, and so on.

The American psychologist Lewis M. Terman, of Stanford University, “Americanized” the Binet test, and Stern’s notion of the IQ, in the 1910s. He standardized the Binet test on many small town, middle-class California school children of northwestern European, Protestant extraction, so that the norms for each age were synchronized with cultural knowledge best understood by such children—and their relatives, peers, and neighbors. In transforming Binet’s test into the Stanford-Binet measuring scale of intelligence, or, more simply, the Stanford-Binet, Terman insisted that the test measured innate intelligence in individuals and in groups, and this assumption was not widely or seriously questioned by mainstream academic psychologists until the 1960s. The

Stanford-Binet became the model for subsequent IQ tests and tests of intelligence, in the United States for the next generation, thus influencing the lives of many children in America and abroad. From the 1920s to the 1960s, the IQ reigned supreme in education and social welfare institutions. Although it is true that in the 1920s there was a furious, if short-lived, controversy among social scientists over whether such tests constituted legitimate scientific measures of the “average IQ” of specific ethnic and racial groups in the population, only an ignored handful of researchers questioned whether an individual’s IQ was innate at birth and stable thereafter.

After the 1960s, various constituencies and interest groups raised critical questions about IQ testing. Champions of civil rights and feminism claimed that defenders of segregation and institutionalized racism had used so-called average racial IQ scores to keep minorities and females from good schools, jobs, and neighborhoods. Some psychologists claimed that intelligence was too complex a phenomenon to be reduced to a simple ratio; most post-World War II tests, based on a model developed by the psychologist David Wechsler, argued that intelligence was the consequence of multiple factors and processes. Researchers in early childhood education insisted in the 1960s that IQs of preschool age children could and did respond to environmental stimuli and pressures by at least as much as the gap between many racial minorities and the white majority. As in the 1920s, a nature versus nurture debate took place over the next several decades without a definite conclusion. After World War II, most institutions, such as schools and child-saving organizations, tended to interpret IQ scores as mere indicators, to be used with many other indices to understand a child and her or his potentiality.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Intelligence Testing.**

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

IQ Tests. *See* Intelligence Testing.

Isaacs, Susan (1885–1948)

The child-development theorist, educator, and psychoanalyst Susan Sutherland Fairhurst Isaacs, born in 1885, was the youngest of fourteen children, left school at fourteen, trained as a teacher, and in 1912 gained a philosophy degree from Manchester University. After a year doing research at the Psychological Laboratory, Cambridge, she lectured at Darlington Training College (1913–1914) and in logic at Manchester University (1914–1915). Between 1924 and 1927 she was head of Malting House School, Cambridge, an experimental school that fostered and observed the individual development of children, allowing extensive free play. From this experience she wrote several of her major works, which became classics of educational psychology, including *Intellectual Growth in Young Children* (1930) and *Social Development in Young Children* (1933). Two other important books were *The Nursery Years* (1929) and *The Children We Teach* (1932), about children from ages seven to twelve, followed by *Psychological Aspects of Child Development* (1935).

Isaacs trained and practiced as a psychoanalyst. In 1933 she became the first head of the Department of Child Development at the Institute of Education, University of London, where she established an advanced course in child development for teachers of young children. Between 1929 and 1940 she was also an “agony aunt” under the pseudonym of Ursula Wise, replying to readers’ problems in child care journals. She married twice, first to William Brierley and second (in 1922) to Nathan Isaacs. Some of her papers are in the archives of the Institute of Education, London, and more material relating to her psychoanalytic practice and theory is at the Institute of Psychoanalysis.

Isaacs was a brilliant teacher, expositor, and clinician. Her most substantial theoretical contribution came out of her reconciliation between observational psychology and her recognition of the role of powerful forces of LOVE, FEAR, and hate in the minds of very young children. In the controversial discussions that shaped psychoanalysis in Britain she aligned herself with MELANIE KLEIN, believing that child analysis was possible and that the work of psychoanalysis was essentially conducted in the transference relationship between analyst and analysand, revealing the role of the unconscious. In Isaacs’s words, “There is no impulse, no instinctual urge or response which is not experienced as unconscious *phantasy*” (1952, p. 83). She goes on to emphasize the importance of fantasy itself as a mechanism for dealing with the power of emotions: “phantasy soon becomes also a means of defence against anxieties, a means of inhibiting them and experienced in phantasies which give them mental life and show their direction and purpose.”

Isaacs published widely in popular magazines and spoke frequently on the radio to spread ideas about the normalcy of anxiety, night terrors, behavioral manifestations of the unconscious at work, and the concept of child development being emotional and social as well as physical. She encouraged PLAY as a means of learning about the world and dealing with unconscious forces and set herself against the debilitating effects of mass educational testing. Generations of teachers in training were also encouraged to understand healthy emotional development as an end to their work.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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DEBORAH THOM

Islam

Any child of Muslim parents is considered a Muslim, and Islamic law contains precise and detailed provisions regarding children. Islam is the system of beliefs, rituals, and practices traced back to the Prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632 C.E.), who reportedly started his mission in Arabia in 610 C.E. Islamic law is contained in the Muslim holy book, the Qur'an (or Koran), as revealed to Muhammad. The Qur'an contains 114 *suras*, or chapters, that were revealed to Muhammad over the course of twenty-three years. There are over one billion Muslims in the world, who inhabit forty predominantly Muslim countries and five continents, traversing a diverse geographical and cultural area. As Islam spread and established itself in these diverse areas, some of the many local cultures and customs became assimilated into Islamic practices. Thus, there may be slight variations on classical Islamic practices from country to country. There are also variations between the two major sects of Islam: the Sunnis and the Shi'is (also spelled *Shiite*).

Islamic Law

Islamic life is determined by the *Shari'a* (the Way), which is Islamic law, although in the strict sense of the word it is much more than law, as it contains prescriptions for every aspect of life, ranging from rituals, customs, and manners to family law—including the treatment and rights of children. The primary source of the Shari'a is the Qur'an, which is considered to be the direct and unmediated word of God. Although there is only one Shari'a, there are slight differences

in the constitution of the Shari'a amongst the Sunnis and Shi'is. These differences are due on the one hand to different interpretations of the Qur'anic text, known as *tafsir* (sing.), and on the other to legal interpretations, or *fiqh* (sing.), by the jurists. This exercise is known as science of the law (*usul al-fiqh*).

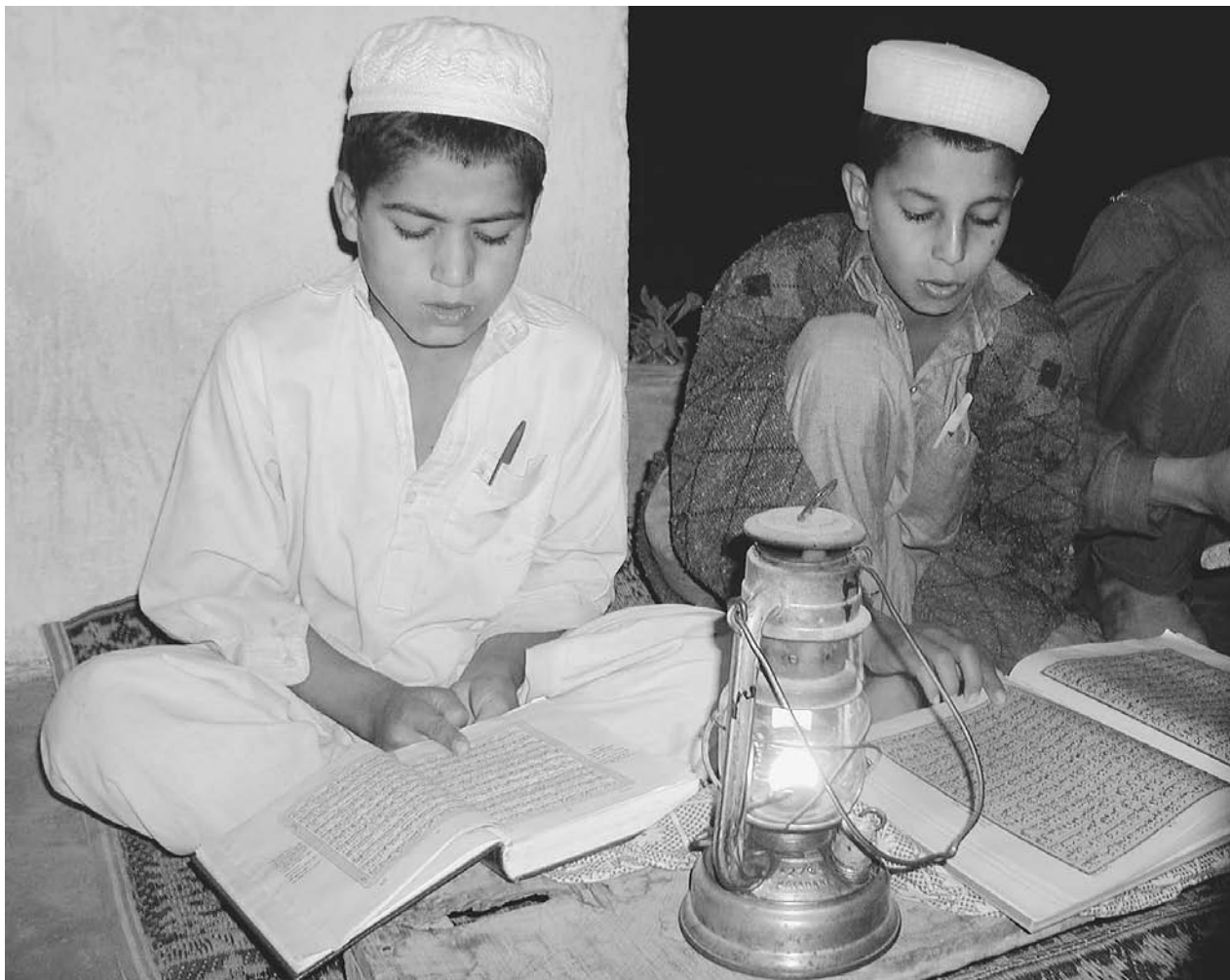
According to the Sunni jurists, four principal sources (known as legal indicators) provide the basis for the Shari'a: the Qur'an (the word of God as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad); the Sunna of the Prophet (Muhammad's words, actions, and habits); *ijma* (consensus among Muslim jurists on a particular subject or the consensus of the Muslim community); and *qiyas* (reasoning by analogy), in which jurists develop new laws based on the Qur'an or the Sunna. The primary sources for the Shari'a used by the Shi'is are also the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet, as well as the Sunna of the Imams, who are the descendants of the Prophet and who, for the Shi'is, also carry the spiritual mantle of the Prophet. The historical differences between Shi'i and Sunni Islam affect the structure and method by which they formulate laws from original sources. In place of *qiyas*, the Shi'i *faqih*, known as *mujtahid*, uses a method of legal inference called *ijtihad*, which is essentially a personal soul searching and reasoning. These variations are also due to the cultural differences of the diverse areas which Islam encompasses. However, the major provisions for the rights of children are the same within all the sects of Islam as they are based on the Qur'an and the Sunna.

Before the advent of Islam in Arabia, children not only had no rights but newborn babies were frequently buried alive, either because of poverty or because they were female and considered a burden. There are several Qur'anic verses on this subject: "And when the birth of a daughter is announced to one of them, his face becomes black and he is full of wrath." (Qur'an XVI: 58); "And kill not your children for fear of poverty—we provide for them and for you. Surely the killing of them is a great wrong." (XVII: 31); "And when the one buried alive is asked for what sin she was killed . . ." (LXXXI: 8–9). These verses support the fact that the custom of infanticide was practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia.

A Child's Upbringing

In Islamic societies the main purpose of marriage was, and still is, procreation, which is an obligatory religious duty. The advent of a child is not only welcomed and considered a blessing, it is also regarded as essential for strengthening the marriage bond, for the perpetuation of the line of descent, and for enlarging the community of the faithful. A house in which no child is born is seen to lack God's blessing. Childlessness frequently results in divorce, or at least the addition of another wife (as polygyny is permitted in Islam) who is able to bear children, as the inability to do so is always considered to be the fault of the woman.

There are various rituals associated with the birth of a child, and it is the duty of the father or legal guardian to see



These boys read the Qur'an by lamplight at a school in Kabul, Afghanistan, in November 2001. Religious education is an important component of Islam and *makhabs* (Qur'anic schools) exist in all Islamic countries. © Reuters NewMedia Inc./CORBIS.

that they are fulfilled. The first of these dictates that when the child is born the Muslim call to prayer is whispered in both its ears. The parents choose the child's name, but if there is a disagreement it is the father who chooses the name. On the seventh day after the birth a ceremony known as *aqiqa* takes place, during which a sheep is slaughtered and the child's hair is cut. Another rite, considered by some to be an aspect of incorporating the child into the community of the faithful, is male CIRCUMCISION. This can take place at any age ranging from seven days to fifteen years, depending on the local culture, and is usually accompanied by festivities. Female circumcision does not exist in the Qur'an and there is no evidence that the Prophet recommended it. In the Muslim areas where it is practiced, as in parts of northeastern Africa, it is the consequence of local pre-Islamic practices.

In Islam, childhood is considered a special period in an individual's life. The different stages of childhood are well

defined, and there is a rich vocabulary for them in Arabic. For example, the general term for the child is *walad*; the baby in the mother's womb is called *janin* (fetus); at birth, *tiff*; and at completion of seven days, *sadigh*. A baby who has not yet been weaned is called *sabiyy* if male and *sabiyya* if female. A boy is called *gbulam*; a young man, *habab*. Once he attains the faculty of discernment and is able to differentiate between good and evil, he has reached the stage of *tamyiz*. There are other terms for the various stages until the child reaches maturity. For instance a child who dies before adulthood is *farat*.

Physical maturity in either sex establishes majority (*bulugh*) in Islamic law. There is a difference of opinion in the legal schools about the exact age, but it ranges from nine for girls to eighteen for boys, although for girls the age of menstruation is generally acceptable. If there is doubt, however, a statement by the person that he or she has reached PUBERTY is adequate. Before reaching majority, a minor is

not legally recognized, does not have social responsibilities, and is under the care of a parent or guardian.

Duties of Parents

Islam considers children to be vulnerable and dependent beings. Therefore, Islamic law provides diverse rules for the protection of their body and property. According to these rules both parents have well-defined duties toward their children before they reach the age of maturity. In Islamic countries the patrilineal system of descent is the norm, so these duties are incumbent upon an established paternity resulting in mutual rights of INHERITANCE, guardianship, and maintenance. Any child born within wedlock is considered legitimate, and provisions have been made regarding paternity in cases of divorce or the death of the father. Due to the importance of patrilineal descent, adoption is not permitted in Islam (Qur'an XXXIII: 4–5), although before the advent of Islam it was practiced in Arabia. Muslims are enjoined to treat children of unknown origin as their brothers in the faith.

The father of a child should provide the mother with the necessary material for the child's growth and survival. The baby has the right to food, clothing, and shelter (Qur'an II: 233). The father should also see to the child's education (both secular and religious). Should the child's father be dead or unable to provide for the child, and if the child does not have any inherited property, then providing for the child becomes first the duty of the paternal grandfather, then other paternal relatives, and finally any other living relatives.

It is the responsibility of the mother to take care of the child during infancy. The mother must breast-feed the child at least up to the age of two (Qur'an II: 233), although even in present-day Islamic countries breast-feeding usually continues as long as the mother has milk. If a mother is unable to nurse, it is permitted to employ a wet nurse who is in good health and of good character (it is believed by some jurists that traits are inherited through human lactation)(Qur'an II: 233, LIV: 6). If the family cannot afford a wet nurse, frequently a neighbor or a friend who has recently given birth may fulfill the role.

If there is a dispute between parents, it is generally agreed that mothers have the right of custody for the first few years of a child's life. If a mother dies, custody reverts to a female relative, preferably in the mother's line. However, aside from these facts, the different schools of *fiqh* hold dissimilar opinions on this matter.

Children also have well-defined rights in respect to inheritance. Provisions have been made within the Qur'an and the Shari'a for the inheritance rights of both female and male offspring. In pre-Islamic Arabia, women and children had no inheritance rights. In Islam, boys inherit two times the amount that girls inherit. There are also provisions for the inheritance rights of parents (Qur'an IV: 11, 12).

The child is also entitled to a guardian. This may be the father, or it may be someone the father appoints to protect the child's property interests. Under Islamic law a child, as a minor, is not permitted to enter into any contractual arrangement. It is therefore the duty of the guardian to ascertain that any intended contract is to the child's advantage.

Religious Education

The religious education of the child is the responsibility of the parents, with boys being educated by their fathers, and girls by their mothers. Through the initial rituals at birth, the child is incorporated into Islam, and the basic principles of the faith are explained when the child starts talking. However, the systematic religious education of the child does not begin until the age of *tamyiz*. In the past, this education frequently began by sending boys to the *maktab* (Qur'anic school), where they learned the recitation of the Qur'an and instruction on the performance of religious commandments. Female children did not go the *maktab*, although female *maktabs* were available in some countries. Girls frequently received their religious instruction at home from their mother and were taught household work. However, although *maktabs* exist in all Islamic countries today, religious instruction is also incorporated into the general curriculum of modern state education, and special religious books have been written for children. In some Islamic countries, such as Turkey, schools are coeducational, while in others, such as Saudi Arabia, any kind of schooling for girls is of recent origin, and children are taught in separate male and female facilities.

The ritual five daily prayers, which constitutes one of the five pillars of Islam, do not become incumbent upon the child until she or he reaches his or her majority. (As explained above, although different schools of law hold diverse opinion on the actual age of majority, fifteen is generally considered the age that separates the minor from the major.) Corporal punishment is permitted for children who do not fulfill their religious obligations or who show signs of unacceptable traits or behavior. In addition, children have duties toward their parents. They are enjoined to be kind, obedient, and respectful toward their parents, and to look after them in old age (Qur'an: XVII: 23; XXIX: 8; XXXI: 14, 15; XXXXVI: 15).

The Family

It must be remembered that Islam encompasses many different cultures, so it is difficult to generalize about the rights of children in present-day Islamic countries. But it can be seen that within Islamic law there are definite rights and duties granted to children. Although most modern-day Islamic societies have incorporated parts of the Shari'a into their constitution, they have not necessarily incorporated all rights accorded to children by Islam. However, there is one institution in most Islamic societies that is of great importance in the upbringing of children, the extended family system.

The number of people living in one household varies according to the economic status of the family. But the minimum number would include grandparents in addition to the nuclear family and any unmarried siblings. This often results in early indulgence of the child. The child spends a considerable amount of time with its mother and is breast-fed on demand. It also receives much affection and pampering from its mother, father, older siblings, and other members of the extended family.

In spite of differences from country to country, there are certain cultural norms regarding children that are shared by most Islamic societies and have continued from the past to the present. These include the importance of the group over the individual, the importance of children (particularly sons) to continue the line of descent, and responsibility for parents in old age.

See also: **Africa; Bible, The; Middle East.**

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SHIREEN MAHDAVI

Israel

The modern state of Israel was founded in 1948 and, in the early twenty-first century, has a population of over 6 million people. Of these 6 million, over 2 million (36.7 percent of the population) are children. However, the history of childhood in Israel, like the history of Israel itself, extends to earliest days of human civilization.

In the land of Israel, part of the ancient "fertile crescent," one can find some of the oldest evidence of agriculture and early signs of town life. The Biblical figures of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the forefathers of the Jewish people, lived in the area about 2000 B.C.E. and later the twelve tribes of Israel settled the land. Judea prospered under King David and his successors between 1000 and 600 B.C.E. After being conquered and dispersed by the Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks, Judea again became independent under the Hasmonean Jewish Kingdom from 165 to 63 B.C.E. Then, within a century, the land was occupied by the Romans. Rome suppressed revolts in 70 and 135 C.E., and renamed Judea Pales-

tine, after the Philistines who had inhabited the coastal land before the Hebrews arrived. The Romans dispersed Jews to all parts of the Roman Empire.

Arab invaders conquered the land in 636. Within a few centuries, Islam and the Arabic language became dominant and the Jewish community reduced to a minority. During the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the country became a part of the Seljuk, Mamluk, and Ottoman empires, although the Christian Crusades provided a temporary break in the dominance of Islamic culture between 1098 and 1291.

As the Ottoman empire collapsed in World War I, Britain took control of the Palestine Mandate (comprising present-day Israel and Jordan). The Balfour Declaration in 1917 pledged support for a Jewish national homeland in that area, but the British gave 80 percent of the land to Emir Abdullah in 1921, and Jordan was created. Jewish immigration, which began in the late nineteenth century, swelled in the 1930s as Jews fled the rise of Nazism in Germany. After the turmoil of World War II, the United Nations General Assembly voted to partition what was left of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states. In 1948, Britain withdrew from the country and Israel declared itself an independent state. The Arab world rejected the new state and Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia invaded, but were defeated by Israel. In separate armistices signed with the Arab nations in 1949, Jordan occupied Judea and Samaria (sometimes called the West Bank of the Jordan) and Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip, although neither granted Palestinian autonomy. Subsequent wars expanded Israeli territory but created recurrent tensions with Arab states and with the large Palestinian minority within Israel's borders.

Conditions for Childhood

Childhood in Israel has been shaped by several factors. From Jewish tradition came, among other things, a strong emphasis on education that was maintained even by secular Jews. Following the experiences of the Jewish people in Europe, where Jews had sometimes been seen as unduly passive victims of outside attacks, many Israeli leaders developed a desire to alter some aspects of the traditional socialization of children, particularly to create a greater emphasis on physical prowess and assertiveness. These qualities also fit the role of agriculture in Israel, with its demand for physical labor, and the need to maintain military service and preparedness. Childhood in Israel was also quite diverse, as Jewish immigrants not only from Europe but also from North Africa and the Middle East brought different customs and habits (including different levels of religious commitment) and as substantial Muslim and Christian minorities also coexisted. Finally, particularly amid mounting internal violence after 2000, fear and insecurity played a growing role in children's experience in both Jewish and Arab communities.

Judaism

The Jewish faith does not claim that the Jews were the first to worship one God. The Jewish tradition is based on *the law*

of the sons of Noab, the law that is the foundation of an universal ethical religion (including the worship of God; bans on murder, theft, INCEST and sex aberrations, eating “the limb of the living” or cruelty to animals, and blasphemy; and the establishment of justice, i.e., courts, judges, and a system of equity).

The ten commandments, an expansion of the above, were given by God at Mount Sinai to the Jewish people to guide them in their everyday life. Historically, JUDAISM never separated belief from performance, so in the Torah (the written law, or Bible, and the oral law, or Talmud) gives the Jew vision and purpose in life, a feeling of supremacy and special purpose in life for the superior mission he must accomplish. With the superior strength of Torah he overcomes failures during his lifetime. From this it can be seen that the Torah, rather than a history book, is the guidebook for life from which Jews must draw their power. A great sage of Judaism, Rabbi Hillel, who lived in the second century B.C.E., put it very plainly to a convert who asked to be taught all the Torah while standing on one foot. Hillel told him: “Love your neighbor as yourself. All the rest is commentary. Go now and learn.”

Childhood in Judaism is considered a period of joy and purity that should be valued. The Talmud describes childhood as “a garland of roses.” For every Jewish boy, childhood lasts from birth to the age of thirteen years, but after his BAR MITZVAH at age thirteen he is considered a man. At this age he begins to be responsible for his own actions and obliged to perform and fulfill mitzvot (good deeds). For a Jewish girl the age of reason begins at the age of twelve years.

Childhood in Israel

The educational system was established in 1948 in the new state of Israel in order to serve the Jewish population returning to their homeland. The system focused on culture, language, and ideology in order to create a new and strong Jew. In this period the kibbutz movement, which focused on the group and not the family, was very important. Growing from socialist theories, the kibbutz downplayed the traditional family. Children lived by themselves in children’s houses, grew up collectively, and had very little family life. Long seen as the most distinctive aspect of Israeli childhood, the kibbutz movement was designed to instill strong community values and to promote hard work and efficiency, particularly in commercial agriculture. Children socialized in the kibbutzim were found to have less individualism and emotional fervor than children raised in traditional families, but their combination of schooling and work activities helped build the Israeli economy in the nation’s early decades. Growing urbanization and the spread of more individualistic and consumer-oriented values increasingly undermined the kibbutz movement. In the early twenty-first century only 2 percent of children live in kibbutzim and even on remaining kibbutzim, children often live with their parents and have an in-

creasing array of consumer items such as televisions. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries Israeli society has changed from agriculture to high-tech industry and the kibbutz population has declined. The kibbutz childhood was an experiment that got the attention of many important researchers in child development in the twentieth century, but has been mostly abandoned as an idea in the twenty-first century. This change can be seen in the draft of soldiers to elite units. Years ago the best soldiers came from the kibbutz population, but in recent years the elite has shifted to the modern Orthodox population and the child of the kibbutz is no longer in demand.

Israeli society is mainly Western oriented with many contacts and relationships with the United States. This consumer-oriented society has influenced children growing up in Israel. TELEVISION, Burger King, and whatever is the hit in America will quickly be introduced to the Israeli child. Israeli children have been avid consumers of MTV and other Western fads and fashions. But even with that influence, childhood is not the same for every child. The religious Jewish child in a settlement or in an ultra-Orthodox neighborhood of Jerusalem (where children grow up without television at all) will live a life integrated with the history of Israel, a life different from that of a secular Jewish child in Tel Aviv living the life of Western civilization, which again is different from that of a child in a Druze village or an Arab village.

CHILD ABUSE, family violence, and school violence, while always a part of life, have only emerged as a concern in Israel in the 1990s. With massive immigration from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, rates of reported family violence have risen. The increasing internal conflict and terrorist action that started in 2000 has killed more than one thousand persons (including children, mothers and fathers and grandmothers and grandfathers). The experience will have long-term effects and psychological consequences on children growing up in Israel. Terror has been part of the scene in Israel for many years, but the latest period has brought the terror closer to home, with many more victims.

Research and clinical experience have shown that in Israel today four groups of children are at a disadvantage: children living in poverty (25 percent of the children in the Israeli population), the Arab minority, immigrant children, and disabled children. In these areas the government will need to focus in order to make childhood in Israel better for all children.

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JOAV MERRICK

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Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig. *See* Gymnastics; Physical Education.

Japan

In studying the history of children in Japan, as in studying the history of children in other parts of the world, it is possible to distinguish between the history of childhood and the history of children. Investigating the history of childhood involves tracing the history of the idea, or rather, ideas, about children. Mothers, fathers, relatives, and religious, political, and other leaders, in addition to children themselves, have held ideas about what a child is and how children should behave. These ideas have been spoken and also written in pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, and books and have appeared in plays, films, and radio and TV programs. On the other hand, the history of children can be defined as the history of children's attitudes and experiences. In other words, the history of childhood is a history of norms, a history of notions of what a child should be, while the history of children attempts to grasp the lived experience of children. Because family, children, and childhood are cherished ideals for many people, there is sometimes resistance to the idea that childhood and children's experience have varied across space and time. Although the history of childhood and children in Japan is in its early stages, a survey of existing data and research presents solid evidence of changing ideas of childhood and changing children's experiences in Japan since roughly the seventeenth century.

Although Japanese prehistory shades into history around the sixth to eighth centuries C.E., this article focuses on childhood in Japan from the seventeenth to the early twenty-first centuries. These four hundred years span three historical periods: the early modern (or Tokugawa) period, from 1600 to 1868; the modern (or pre-World War II) period, from 1868 to 1945; and the contemporary (or postwar) peri-

od, from 1945 to the present. The history of childhood or children in earlier eras is not included due to limitations of space and the scarcity of existing research.

Like other historical projects, the history of children in Japan requires sources. As in other countries, it is easier to find material about Japanese children than by Japanese children. The difficulty of finding sources is one of the limiting factors for research on children's attitudes. On the other hand, adult observations on the situation of children are not hard to find, and many youths and adults have recorded memories of their childhoods. Therefore, material on the history of childhood is easier to find than sources for the history of children.

Five major issues are crucial to a basic understanding of the history of Japanese childhood and children over the past several centuries: (1) shifting definitions of childhood; (2) continuity and change in Japanese lifecycle rituals; (3) the changing importance of children in Japanese families (or households); (4) substantial continuity in Japanese child-rearing techniques; (5) the modern proliferation of schools and other children's institutions. The emphasis here is on the history of Japanese childhood because the history of children has been much more difficult to uncover.

Definitions of Childhood

Probing the history of childhood in Japan leads to a very basic question: What is a child? In advanced industrial societies today, children are economically dependent on their parents, and many are expected to be students until their early twenties. Legally, children may be required to live with their parents, attend school, and stay out of the labor force. However, in early modern Japan, most children were workers rather than dependents, and many children never attended school. Children in poor and ordinary families labored in peasant, merchant, and artisan households. They were valued for their contribution to the family livelihood as workers, especially in farm households. Despite increasing enroll-

ment in schools of various types in the early modern period, most children were not students. Formal education was generally required for samurai sons who would inherit official positions in the warrior hierarchy, and it was highly useful for children working in merchant households and for the sons of peasant leaders. Tutoring or school education also functioned as a marker of status for the sons and daughters in the families of samurai and wealthy peasants and merchants. Yet the majority of children learned necessary social and vocational skills in households—in their natal households if they resided at home, in their adoptive households if they had been taken in by another family as successors, or in their masters' households if they had been placed out as servants or apprentices.

The transition to modern notions of the child as an economically dependent student took place in Japan's modern period with the implementation of a national school system and laws requiring four, then six, and finally nine years of compulsory education. Leaving home to attend school for many hours each day greatly reduced children's labor in the home at both economically productive and housekeeping chores. Today, according to the 1997 *Japan Almanac*, although only nine years of education are required, high school graduation rates are 96 percent of eligible children, while 45 percent of high school graduates go on to attend two- or four-year colleges.

Lifecycle Rituals

rites of passage mark various stages of Japanese childhood. They have not been extensively studied by Western scholars, but the available evidence indicates that since the early modern period these ceremonies have varied by region, social status, and economic status. Lifecycle rituals have changed over time as well; much of the information presented here is from the modern and contemporary periods. In general, NAMING ceremonies involving household members or the larger community took place within about a week after birth. Thereafter, the newborn was presented to the guardian deity, or *ujigami*, at the local shrine, often thirty-one days after birth for boys and thirty-three days after birth for girls, but sometimes as long as fifty to a hundred days after birth. Midwives, neighbors who breast-fed an infant, wet nurses, nannies, or a couple in another household sometimes became lifelong ritual parents to a child. In some regions, the first full BIRTHDAY was celebrated, but not later birthdays, or a feast with decorations was held on *sekku*, the doll festival on the third day of the third month for girls, or the carp kite festival on the fifth day of the fifth month for boys. May 5 is now a national holiday known as Children's Day, or *kodomo no hi*. On November 15, the *shichi-go-san*, or Seven-Five-Three Celebration, children of these ages are dressed in their best clothes, usually in traditional costumes, and taken to shrines. In the early modern period, a major rite for children, especially boys, was coming of age. This generally occurred around age fifteen. In some regions, not age but the

ability to perform work tasks was the main qualification for attaining adult status. Upon entering adulthood, children might change names, clothes, and hairstyles. In the modern period, eligibility for conscription at age twenty also became a marker of adulthood, although conscription ended when the armed forces were abolished in 1945. In the contemporary or postwar period, children are often taken to shrines after birth and for the Seven-Five-Three Celebration, ceremonies mark the entry and exit from preschool and elementary, middle, and high school. The legal age for voting and drinking is twenty, although the marriage age is lower, eighteen for boys and sixteen for girls. On January 15, Adults Day, or *seijin no hi* young women reaching age twenty may visit shrines wearing kimono.

The Changing Importance of Children in the Household and Family

In Japan household goals and structure are closely related to conceptions of childhood and the treatment of children. Both children's experiences and notions of childhood have shifted as the goals and structure of Japanese households changed over the centuries. In the early modern and modern periods, when the overriding goal was the eternal continuity of the *ie*, or stem family (one couple from each generation in a household), children were essential to households as future heirs and heads of households. Lineal, or blood, continuity was not required; Japanese households could be carried on by adoption of kin or nonkin—for example by adoption of a boy, or of a daughter's husband, or even of a married couple. Occupations were hereditary, so children born to or adopted into a household, or brought in as servants or apprentices, were valued as successors, heirs, and laborers for samurai, peasant, artisan, and merchant families. The treatment of children varied according to their status as permanent or temporary household residents. The heir often received more attention and better food and clothing than non-inheriting sons and daughters, who were destined to leave the household for employment, adoption, or marriage.

From the end of the nineteenth century, as the ideal of a companionate family, stressing affective relations between husband and wife and parents and children, began to replace the household goal of everlasting continuity, the importance of children decreased in the home. As workplace and home separated and state bureaucracies and corporations replaced family enterprises from the early twentieth century, the need for children as heirs, successors, and laborers declined. At the same time, children came to be defined primarily by their role as students rather than as productive workers. The government aimed to mold children into loyal, self-sacrificing citizens of a modern, powerful nation-state. But in Japan's advanced industrial society of the contemporary period, the main life goal, or *ikigai*, of many Japanese, especially of the younger generations, is shifting from continuing the stem family or self-sacrifice for the company to consumption, leisure, or self-fulfillment. As the age at marriage increases, di-

orce rises, the proportion of women who never marry increases, and the birthrate falls, Japanese society is becoming less family- and child-centered. Despite politicians' laments about national decline, demographic analysis shows Japan to be an aging society, with a corresponding fall in the proportion of children in the population.

Child-Rearing Methods

Despite changes in family and individual goals, and in family structure, there has been significant continuity in child-rearing techniques. True, some early modern and modern physical punishments, such as locking children in storehouses and moxibustion (igniting a powder on the skin), have fallen into disuse, but patterns of indulgence of infants and toddlers followed by steadily tightening behavioral expectations for older children and youths remain. Babies still sleep with (or even between) their parents, are breast-fed on demand, are carried on the backs of their caregiver with head facing forward, and are toilet trained by following the child's natural elimination schedule. Cultivating the child's dependence on the mother's affection, approval, and care is still a major means of controlling older children, as opposed to scolding, physical punishment, or withdrawal of privileges. In general, children focus on their homework, extracurricular lessons, or play, and do little household or remunerative work.

Schools and Other Children's Institutions

A fifth major issue in the history of childhood is the proliferation of children's institutions. In the early modern period, children were born, cared for, and educated in households. In that period, many types of schools developed in both rural and urban areas. The number of schools and the social range of children attending school expanded. Not only the children of the ruling warrior and commoner elites, but increasingly the children of lower-ranking warrior families and the children of merchant and farm households also attended schools. In the upper ranks of society, girls as well as boys received educations through tutoring, formal schooling, or household service. Ronald Dore estimates that at the end of the early modern period, overall LITERACY rates were around forty percent. Children were even more likely to attend school in the modern and contemporary period. According to a 1997 Asahi Shinbun almanac, in 1960, 58 percent of children advanced to HIGH SCHOOL, but the rate was 96 percent in 1995. In that year, 13 percent of high school graduates (2 percent of males and 25 percent of females) went on to junior colleges, and 32 percent (41 percent of males and 23 percent of females) to four-year colleges. The corresponding 1960 figures were 2 percent and 8 percent. Furthermore, in the modern and contemporary periods children live and are cared for in households, but they are increasingly educated in various types of schools rather than at home. In addition, especially from the modern period, specialized institutions such as ORPHANAGES, reformatories, clubs, camps, mother-child shelters, mother-child guidance centers, milk

depots, and day care centers have developed to care for children.

The history of childhood in Japan exhibits a fascinating combination of change and continuity. Prepared by prior interest in schooling, particularly in the early modern period, the Japanese made the transition to mass compulsory schooling quickly after 1872. Work obligations for children declined, particularly as emphasis not only on schooling but on school success expanded. By the 1950s, conversion to a low birth rate also shaped childhood. From the late 1970s, the spread of consumerism also had a strong impact on children, with participation in international musical fads and leadership in the development of electronic games for children. Yet Japan has preserved both continuity in child-rearing methods and considerable emphasis on group norms for children, as opposed to the more individualistic socialization that is standard in the United States. From day care and preschool onward, education tends to emphasize the importance of links with other children and of conforming to peer standards and achievement of national and corporate norms.

See also: **China; Comparative History of Childhood; India and South Asia.**

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Japanese Art, Contemporary

The signs of Western childhood play a very prominent role in post–World War II Japanese popular art, which has become increasingly global in its reach. This imagery, which is loosely called *anime*, takes many forms, including animated films, books, still drawings, playing cards, clothing, accessories, and toys.

Begun in reaction to the events of World War II, *anime* have been described as both evidence of Japanese cultural vitality in the face of trauma and an escape from it. The great *anime* pioneer Osamu Tezuka codified the genre in the 1960s, establishing an *anime* facial type and a distilled drawing style that eschews fluid realism and emphasizes metamorphosis. Overall, the look of *anime* has been dubbed "superflat." Classic examples of *anime* film include *Princess Mononoke* (1997) by Hayao Miyazaki (the highest-grossing Japanese film of any genre) and *Ghost in the Shell* (1995).

The salient characteristic of Japanese popular art within the history of childhood is its wholesale adoption of distinctly Western conventions for representing the ideal of innocent childhood— hybridized with traditionally Japanese *manga* comic drawings and mainstream Western cartoons. Most importantly, the large, round-eyed facial features of the stereotypically innocent child quickly became the standard mode of representing *anime* heroes and heroines, despite their clear racial difference from Japanese facial features. The complete roster of Western childhood toy and costume imagery also reappeared in *anime*, and, intensified, has spread through Japanese popular culture to become a popular esthetic, sometimes called *kawaii*.

Kawaii can be translated as "cute," "cool," "pretty," and "sweet," but also "smart" and "elaborate." But although the Western image of childhood is often translated into Japanese culture in a hyper-cute mode, just as often *anime* are about extremes of sex and violence (and also often deal with post-nuclear environmental issues). The stereotype of the Western schoolgirl, for instance, dressed in white blouse, pleated plaid skirt, socks, and flat shoes, has become a highly sexual image in Japanese popular art. The many people, referred to as *otaku*, who are preoccupied with *kawaii*, *anime*, and *manga*, are hardly all children, but rather a growing group of all ages that has spread outward from JAPAN.

Since the mid-1990s, the globalization of culture in general, and, more particularly, trends in contemporary high art to adopt the styles of popular art, have brought attention to Japanese popular art on a new scale. The work of leading *otaku* artists such as Yoshimoto Nara and Takashi Murakami are now widely exhibited in the West in galleries and museums. Western artists, moreover, have begun to incorporate *anime* imagery into their traditions, causing the stereotypes of childhood to reappear where they came from in radically new modes. A group of artists led by the award-winning French conceptual artist Pierre Huyghe, for instance, created a series of works made between 1999 and 2002, collectively titled *No Ghost Just a Shell*, based on an *anime* girl character called Annlee. These works addressed a range of distinctly adult concerns. As with other aspects of a post-modern, global culture, the signs of what was once considered inherently natural, in this case innocent childhood, have been detached from their content.

See also: **Comic Books; Globalization; Images of Childhood.**

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ANNE HIGONNET

Jealousy and Envy

Since the nineteenth century, parents, psychologists, and educators have expressed concern over children's envy and jealousy. Envy and jealousy are often conflated today, but in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the two emotions elicited different responses from child experts and mor-

alists who believed them to be quite distinct. *Envy* described the feelings experienced by one who longed for the belongings or attributes of another. In contrast, *jealousy* referred to the emotion experienced when an individual felt that a relationship or possession was threatened. While envy was frequently associated with material longings, jealousy was more often linked with LOVE.

Long viewed as a deadly sin, envy first became a source of worry for many in the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century. In the midst of a rapidly expanding consumer economy, moralists worried that Americans were becoming too covetous and materialistic. Educators, ministers, and pioneering psychologists expressed particular concern over the envy that children were displaying. They repeated Judeo-Christian condemnations of the emotion and told youngsters that they must learn to be contented with what they had rather than envying the belongings of their playmates. God had placed people in the condition he believed best for them; to long to be in different circumstances was to question God's wisdom. This message was repeated ceaselessly in children's schoolbooks, sermons, and stories, as well as in parenting advice.

By the 1910s and 1920s, many child-rearing experts had ceased thinking of envy as a sin. They still regarded it as a problem; however, believing that children who did not learn to conquer the emotion in youth might grow up to be unsuited for the corporate world which increasingly demanded cooperation and teamwork. Therefore, envy among children still had to be addressed. The experts suggested that the way to do this was not to force children to repress their envy and live with deprivation, but instead to give them the things they desired. If they envied their classmates' clothing or playthings, they should be provided with similar items.

While restrictions on envy generally relaxed in the twentieth century, rules governing jealousy became more rigid. Peter Stearns (1989) describes how attitudes towards the emotion changed. In preindustrial Europe and America, jealousy was not as harshly condemned as it would be in later years. Many authors claimed that jealousy arose naturally from love and the desire to protect a cherished relationship. Jealousy was considered a manly emotion, intimately connected to honor. Because it was seen as natural and even laudable, very little attention was paid to the question of how to limit jealousy in children.

In the early 1800s, attitudes towards jealousy began to change. Many commentators and moralists regarded jealousy as antithetical to true love. Ideally, love was so encompassing and total that jealousy need never arise. Women, in particular, were told to control the emotion in themselves, and the selfishness on which it was based. But while the emotion was becoming both feminized and stigmatized, scant attention was paid to it in child-rearing literature. Conventional wisdom held that real jealousy did not plague children—it

only became a problem in adolescence and adulthood when romantic feelings were developing. Children might squabble and fight, but family love and unity were supposed to be strong enough to offset these problems.

By the late nineteenth century, however, child experts deemed jealousy a problem. During this period, family size decreased and maternal attention increased, causing more intense competition between SIBLINGS for affection and attention. Experts often framed their discussion of jealousy in terms of sibling rivalry, a problem first identified in the 1890s. They concluded that sibling rivalry was widespread in middle-class families, and that girls were more prone to the emotion than boys. As a result, throughout most of the twentieth century, child-rearing literature frequently addressed the problem of sibling rivalry and jealousy. Advisors suggested that children who did not overcome jealousy ran the risk of being maladjusted as adults and incapable of sustaining satisfying relationships. They advised parents to address the problem of jealousy by giving their jealous children extra love and TOYS. While concern with sibling rivalry subsided in parenting literature after the 1960s, parents continued striving to distribute affection and playthings evenly, in order to minimize sibling rivalry and jealousy.

The modern approaches to children's jealousy and envy reflect not only the changing nature and structure of family life, but also the powerful influence of CONSUMER CULTURE. The contemporary solutions to these childhood problems are based on the belief that material goods can bring contentment, and that it is better to indulge longings than to repress them.

See also: Anger and Aggression; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Emotional Life; Guilt and Shame.

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SUSAN J. MATT

Judaism

Jewish conceptions of childhood have undergone considerable transformation from the biblical era to the present. The practical challenges posed by child rearing have elicited a wide range of approaches to CHILD CARE, DISCIPLINE, and education, while also raising important questions concerning the role of gender, the scope of parental authority, and the nature of parent-child relations. The evolution of these issues reflects the impact of ethnic, cultural, and regional factors in Jewish history, and also bears unmistakable traces of the ever-changing role of religious ritual in Jewish life. No aspect of childhood has remained immune to these forces or indifferent to the dynamic influence of neighboring cultures.

Conceptions of Childhood

Research conducted by Jewish historians over the last thirty years, similar to most general studies devoted to childhood, stands largely in opposition to the theories advanced by French historian PHILIPPE ARIÈS. Ariès argued that childhood as we know it today did not exist in medieval society, owing to a lack of “awareness of the particular nature of childhood.” Only with the approach of modernity was childhood “discovered.” Countering these claims, Judaic scholars have assembled overwhelming evidence, culled from ancient and medieval Jewish sources, attesting to distinct developmental phases of childhood within Judaism and a clear appreciation of the child as such. As understood within Jewish society and culture, childhood refers broadly to all stages of life that precede adulthood, at which point an individual attains economic independence and assumes family or communal responsibilities. Abundant evidence in the Talmud indicates that the transitional stages, which include infancy, childhood, ADOLESCENCE, and youth (young adulthood), were widely acknowledged within ancient Judaism.

Several ritual ceremonies denote critical moments in the development of the child. CIRCUMCISION, a ceremony that takes place on the eighth day after birth, marks the entrance of the male child into the covenant of ISRAEL. In the Talmudic age it served additionally to set Jewish males apart from others in the Greco-Roman world. An intricate new ritual created in northern France and Germany during the twelfth century marked the initiation of boys at the age of five or six into Hebrew studies. Dressed in his best clothes, the boy was escorted to the synagogue and was fed eggs, fruit, and cakes of honey. The letters of the Hebrew alphabet were written on a slate and read to the boy. Then the letters were covered with honey, which the boy licked. Staged during the festival of Shavuot (Pentecost), the ceremony symbolically incorporated the child into the ranks of the Jewish people by reenacting the Torah covenant that was created at Mount Sinai. It was also intended as a rite against forgetfulness and as a means to open the heart. Some scholars have suggested that this initiation, insofar as it contains elements resembling the Christian Eucharist devotion, was designed

as a counter-ritual to challenge the claims of the majority faith. Bread, wine, and honey likely were included in the Jewish ceremony simply because they represented knowledge and were commonly used to teach the alphabet. The initiation ceremony later found its way to distant Jewish communities in the Mediterranean basin and eastern Europe during the seventeenth century.

The BAR MITZVAH ceremony commemorates a boy's reaching the age of religious majority: thirteen years and one day. No comparable ritual marked a girl's attainment of her majority (twelve years and one day). The bar mitzvah first arose in Germany during the eleventh century, though it only became popular two centuries later. Thirteen had been established as the male age of religious obligation during the previous century; in the new ritual the boy's father was called to the Torah to declare that he was now relieved of responsibility for his son's misdeeds. Although minors had been technically permitted to participate in the full range of ritual commandments before their bar mitzvah, they were nonetheless dissuaded from performing certain rites until they attained their religious majority. Fourteenth-century sources describe a boy being called to the Torah for the first time on the Sabbath that coincided with or followed his thirteenth birthday; in sixteenth-century Poland, the ceremony developed into a bona fide RITE OF PASSAGE.

For all practical purposes, however, a young person did not become a full-fledged member of the community until he was much older than age thirteen. The precise age at which this occurred varied according to time and place. Furthermore, in many communities, unmarried men regardless of age were not eligible for certain synagogue honors; for example, religious authorities in eighteenth-century Metz refused to authorize unmarried men as ritual slaughterers. Marriage by itself could not definitively confer adult status, however, in part because child marriages were still prevalent in the early modern period. Seeking to harmonize the Talmudic tradition of “at eighteen to the marriage canopy” with the social and cultural desirability of marriage at a younger age, the authoritative *Shulhan Arukh* code of 1566 stated: “It is the duty of every Jewish man to marry a wife in his eighteenth year, but he who anticipates and marries earlier is following the more laudable course, but no one should marry before he is thirteen.” The phenomenon of young men who married even at the age of ten was not unknown in early modern Europe. In some instances where the age at marriage was significantly higher, limitations were still imposed on relative newlyweds. According to an enactment of the Council of Lands in Poland in 1624, no note signed by a man within two years after his marriage had any validity; this period was subsequently extended to three years. Similarly, the council barred the extension of a loan to any person who was either under the age of twenty-five years or who had not been married for at least two years.

Care of Children

In sharp contrast to ancient Greece, where the practice of leaving newborns to die of exposure was not uncommon, Jews of antiquity emphatically rejected infanticide as murder. Philo of Alexandria, a leading Jewish philosopher of the first century, forcefully articulated the importance of caring for all infants. His revulsion against infanticide (he called it “a violation of the laws of nature”) went hand-in-hand with the Judaic view of procreation as a divine command. Eventually this teaching would enter the mainstream of Christian thought as the Roman Catholic Church subsequently outlawed infanticide in the fourth century. Child ABANDONMENT would nonetheless persist as an acute social problem well into the modern age, tolerated by the Church so long as there was an economic argument for it.

The care given to young Jewish children reflected Judaism’s overwhelmingly positive attitude toward childhood. According to ancient rabbinic law as recorded in the Talmud, a father was obligated to redeem his (first-born) son, circumcise him, teach him Torah, teach him a trade, obtain a wife for him, and according to one other opinion, to teach him to swim as well. No provision for child maintenance was mentioned explicitly in this list of parental obligations because the moral obligation to care for one’s children was so elemental. Only after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 C.E.), in an era when Roman law developed in a parallel fashion, *misbnaic* law was recast so as to offer greater protection for children. The father’s obligation to feed his children became a matter of law, and the prerogative to sell a son as security was abolished, though this legal advancement was not applied as fully to daughters. Even so, in times of severe economic hardship some parents felt compelled to offer their sons and daughters for sale.

Most sources describe the ideal medieval home as a gentle regime resting on mutual affection between parent and child. Ethical writings of the Middle Ages, such as the thirteenth-century German *Sefer Hasidim*, emphasized the obligations of mothers to keep their infants clean, well fed, and protected from the elements. Unlike other cultures that showed a clear preference for adult children, Judaism was partial to infants. This is evident in Jewish tomb inscriptions, where more attention was paid to the deaths of young children than was the case in ancient Egypt and Rome. Similarly, the anguish expressed upon the death of a child by Rabbi Judah Asheri of fourteenth-century Spain and others, consistent with the advice offered by *Sefer Hasidim* about showing sensitivity to parents who have lost a child, confirms the depth of attachment to children. Consistent with this is the imagery of *Midrash Rabbah* (on Psalm 92:13), which portrays playfulness between parents and their young children in the most positive terms.

Medieval sources also point to the growing involvement of Jewish fathers in their child’s upbringing, as is evident in

both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic cultural orbits. Fathers are depicted as becoming increasingly aware of intensity of love for an infant rather than an older child. Perhaps for this reason, the ethical literature was alert to the tensions between the competing demands of child care on the one hand and adult responsibilities on the other, and therefore underscored the priority that fathers were expected to give to their own Torah learning. Parents were nonetheless cautioned against indulging the child in an overabundance of affection. Excessive indulgence, it was argued, would undermine the goal of training children to fear their parents. This oft-repeated concern, which can be traced to a fourteenth-century Spanish moralistic work, *Menorat Ha-Ma’or*, also confirms that such expressions of affection were commonplace.

Discipline

In the biblical era corporal punishment was commonly viewed as the primary means of DISCIPLINE, as exemplified by Proverbs 13:24, “Spare the rod, despise the child.” In the Talmudic age the strap replaced the rod, and by all accounts, strict punishment was meted out both in the home and at school. From the third century on, however, a reduction of physical punishment was favored; instead, alternative disciplinary measures were employed. For example, in response to the problem of the inattentive student, the specific recommendation of the Talmud was to “place him next to a diligent one” rather than to impose physical punishment. Parents and teachers were advised to exercise patience and sensitivity. Medieval sources point to a reality that was frequently at variance with the picture emerging from these Talmudic prescriptions. Although *Sefer Hasidim* was equivocal about corporal punishment, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides) (1135–1204) and Rabbi Solomon ben Aderet (1235–1310) acknowledged the right of the parent or teacher to strike a boy in the course of his studies. The fourteenth-century Sarajevo Passover Haggadah and the Coburg Pentateuch show teachers with whips, and a number of early modern sources, such as the *Brantspigel*, advised teachers to gauge the severity of the punishment in accordance with the pupil’s age.

Education

Owing to the primacy of ritual in traditional Judaism, instruction of children focused on the attainment of ritual literacy as its central goal. In the Talmudic era, boys attended elementary school or studied with a tutor from the age of five, six, or seven until the age of twelve or thirteen. A network of schools operated in the Land of Israel by the second century. School children learned to read the Torah and to write; at age twelve they studied *Mishnah*. No formal instruction in secular courses such as mathematics, Greek, or GYMNASTICS, was included in the Jewish school curriculum in this period. Initially, the houses of study excluded children from the lower strata of society, but by the third century education was made available to children of all classes. Girls were, by

and large, excluded from the elementary schools, however, though some Talmudic sources suggest that fathers taught their daughters informally.

In the medieval period there was no system of communally funded elementary schools in northern France or Germany. Schooling was a private arrangement between parents and teachers. By contrast, the Jews of Spain and Italy maintained a more formal educational structure; moreover, in southern France there are references to elementary schools, though it is unclear whether these were schools or synagogues. Conditions in Italy were likely exceptional. Women gave elementary lessons in reading and writing to girls and boys, often in the teacher's home; the most striking example was the establishment of a special elementary school ("Talmud Torah") for girls in Rome in 1475.

Quite apart from formal schooling, great emphasis was placed on ritual education within the home and the synagogue. Each of the Jewish festivals provides an opportunity for children to acquire an understanding of the religious ideals of Judaism within a national and historical perspective, while at the social level the holidays foster shared values and a strong collective identity. The Passover *seder* offers perhaps the most outstanding paradigm of informal education in the entire Jewish calendar. The narration of the exodus from Egypt follows a question-and-answer format and uses rituals and symbols specially created to hold the interest of the children and to deepen their experience. Talmudic in origin, these strategies stress the importance of adapting both the supporting materials and the level of discussion to the child's ability to understand.

The importance attached to ritual literacy was also emphasized in less formal settings. The seventeenth-century Polish mystical-ethical work *Shnei Lubot Ha-Berit* emphasized the importance of teaching the child from the age of two or three, as this was seen to be the critical period for acquiring proper moral virtues, such as fear of one's father. The author, like the author of the *Brantshpigl*, went so far as to assign great importance to the role of mothers in rebuking their children, "even more than the father." Although children were formally exempt from reciting the *Shema* (daily credo) and from putting on *tefillin* (phylacteries), they were nonetheless obligated in prayer, *mezuzah* (scriptural verses attached to the door posts of the home), and grace after meals for training purposes. Nevertheless, at each successive stage in the child's development a new level of ritual involvement was added, and children were thus taught to observe certain commandments as soon as they were old enough to perform them. When a boy reached the age of three, he was given *tzitzit* (ritual fringes) to wear, and by the age of five, he was taught to recite the *Shema*. At the age of nine or ten the oaths that a child might take were considered valid. Girls and boys at this age were also encouraged to fast for several hours on Yom Kippur, with the time period increasing by

one hour each year "so that they may be versed in the commandments" and so that when they reached the ages of twelve and thirteen, respectively, they would be ready to observe the full day of fasting.

Developments in the Early Modern and Modern Periods

The sixteenth century opened an era of escalating intergenerational tension. Challenges to parental authority in numerous Jewish communities became especially pronounced in the age of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, and this trend would continue through the modern period. Numerous Jewish communities in the 1520s and 1530s prohibited marriages that were contracted without parental consent. Nevertheless, several distinguished rabbinic authorities at mid-century upheld the independence of young people to choose their marriage partners. Misgivings about the instability of youth and juvenile DELINQUENCY found expression in a variety of communal initiatives, including the creation of publicly funded schools and legislation establishing compulsory education. Other efforts sought to curb the freedom sought by adolescents from parental authority, especially in the realm of sexual conduct.

Revolutionary changes in society's attitude toward children were felt conspicuously within Jewish communities as well. Since the Renaissance era, thinkers had placed ever-increasing emphasis on the power of nurture over nature. The European ENLIGHTENMENT, and its Jewish variant, the Haskalah movement, favored the image of a child's mind as a *tabula rasa* on which teachers could write suitable information. Modern Jewish schools, founded in Berlin and other centers of Haskalah in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, drew heavily on the new pedagogical theories advanced principally by J. B. BASEDOW and J. H. PESTALOZZI. Their emphasis on a systematic approach to education that was attuned to the individual needs and talents of each child exerted enormous influence on Jewish educational reformers such as Naphtali Herz Wessely (1725–1805). Ambitious efforts to provide vocational training to children of poor Jewish families were part of the same modernization project. In the traditional *heder* (Jewish elementary school) of Eastern Europe, however, the modern spirit was much less in evidence. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, corporal punishment continued to be severe.

Powerful currents of religious modernization in the nineteenth century not only dominated the ideology of religious reform, but also substantively influenced the leadership of traditional Judaism. Among the most pressing issues was the recasting of educational and religious opportunities to include girls. Early in the century, most modern Jewish schools in Germany and France had been designed to educate both girls and boys. At the 1856 Paris rabbinical conference, a new ceremony for the blessing of newborn girls was created and adopted. The most widely implemented innovation in

France and Germany was the confirmation ceremony. Adopted by traditionalist rabbis, the ceremony was conducted for boys and girls who had passed examinations in Hebrew reading and in the catechism designed for Jewish students.

In the same spirit of egalitarianism, bat mitzvah ceremonies for girls proliferated in Conservative and Reform congregations in the United States in the twentieth century. In the second half of the century, such ritual celebrations also found acceptance, albeit in a more limited manner, in the Orthodox movement. There is also an increasing trend among vastly different Orthodox streams to provide Jewish elementary (and higher) education for girls that is virtually identical to that of boys. Dynamic forces at work in the State of Israel, as well as developments in the United States, are setting the pace for these trends.

See also: **Catholicism; Christian Thought, Early; Holocaust; Holocaust, Jewish Ghetto Education and; Islam.**

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Junior High School

The first junior high school opened its doors in Berkeley, California in 1910, and by 1920 over 800 junior high schools, each containing grades 7 through 9, had opened across the country. Outspoken advocates for the establishment of junior high schools like Leonard Koos, Thomas Briggs, and William Smith generally agreed on a core group of aims they attributed to a school specifically designed for students ages eleven to fifteen. These aims included:

- enriching and strengthening the curriculum and instruction offered in junior high schools in ways suitable to the age group
- recognizing and accommodating the special nature of early adolescence and individual differences in aptitude, interest, and ability
- staffing the schools with teachers specially prepared to work with young adolescents.

Some advocates also believed that the junior high school would encourage students, many of whom would halt their education at the end of the eighth grade, to stay in school for an extra year.

The push to introduce a more rigorous and varied curriculum earlier in students' public schooling began in 1888 with Charles Eliot's speech to the National Education Association (NEA) in which he argued college freshmen were not being adequately prepared during their years in public school. In their 1893 report, NEA's Committee on Secondary School Studies recommended beginning study of academic subjects in the upper elementary grades. Beginning in 1906, Carnegie units became the focus of college entrance requirements and secondary school academics. Each Carnegie unit required seat time of 40 to 60 minutes per day, five days a week, for one school year. Fourteen Carnegie units were required for college entrance, and those units started accumulating in ninth grade. Most junior high schools included ninth grade and adopted an organizational structure that supported acquiring Carnegie units. That structure was exactly like that adopted in the nation's high schools and eliminated practices like instruction across academic disciplines and flexible schedules that junior high advocates believed essential to responding appropriately to young adolescents' needs.

The idea that adolescence is a discrete phase of human development originates in the psychological studies of the early twentieth century and particularly the work of G.

STANLEY HALL. Hall argued that adolescence was a time of rapid, significant changes in virtually every aspect of human development, including physical, mental, social, emotional, and moral. Junior high advocates called for practices, like individualized instruction, that recognized and responded to the needs of young adolescents in the midst of the “storm and stress” Hall described. In reality, junior high schools did not individualize instruction, instead ignoring the learning trajectory of each child and sorting students into academic, vocational, or remedial tracks from which the students could rarely move regardless of their intellectual development.

Most junior high school teachers were prepared in programs that supported high school-like curriculum, instruction, and organization. Without structures and practices tied to young adolescent development and without specialized preparation for teachers, the junior high school that advocates envisioned did not survive the crush of the high school’s traditions, setting up the push, begun in the 1960s, for a new school structure for young adolescents: the middle school.

See also: Adolescence and Youth; Grammar School; High School.

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P. GAYLE ANDREWS

Juvenile Court

The first official juvenile court was established in Cook County, Illinois, in 1899. By 1920, juvenile courts existed in almost every major city in the United States. Juvenile courts provided separate proceedings and facilities for criminal, neglected, and dependent youths under eighteen, and focused on prevention, diagnosis, and rehabilitation. The court originated as part of a larger movement in the nineteenth century to segregate children from the adult criminal system. Urban reformers had worried that the poor living conditions in many American industrial cities were causing deviant behavior. They advocated separate institutions and organiza-

tions that would remove troubled youths from bad environments and train them to become productive citizens. By the late nineteenth century, however, many Progressive reformers were critical of these earlier methods. Encouraged by new psychological and sociological studies, reformers promoted earlier intervention in children’s lives. Through the juvenile court, reformers believed court authorities could alter bad behavior by taking into account each child’s individual experiences. Since its inception, the juvenile court has served as both a humanitarian enterprise and a tool for social control.

Broadly conceived, juvenile courts intervened in the lives of children and their families. Courts adopted the medieval English doctrine of *parens patriae*, in which the state acted as parent in cases when the child’s welfare was threatened. Judges conducted cases informally, as civil rather than criminal proceedings, and had a great deal of discretion to act in the child’s best interests. Typically, judges appointed probation officers to investigate the child’s family, living conditions, and health, and to determine if the child needed to appear in court or to be referred to social services. Children awaiting hearings often were placed in detention centers. There, the child would be segregated according to his age, sex, and medical condition, and evaluated. When the case came to court, the judge could use all the information gathered up to that point, as well as his own informal interactions with the child and the parents, to render his decision. Usually, judges ruled in favor of probation. However, if a case was serious and the judge could find no other recourse, the child could be committed to a state reformatory.

Although many people heralded the juvenile court as a humanitarian achievement, others were more critical. Early critics complained that juvenile courts did not adequately implement their intended procedures and programs. Courts often were overwhelmed with their caseloads, and were unable to provide sufficient attention to the children in their custody. In many instances, courts relied on overworked volunteers as probation officers, and continued to use jails and punitive measures rather than rehabilitative treatments.

Others criticized juvenile courts for wielding too much power over children and parents. Children were labeled delinquent not only for criminal offenses, but also for statutory offenses and for being dependents. Juvenile courts had no juries, no rules of evidence or of witnesses, and no due process. Judges also discouraged defendants from seeking attorneys. This meant judges commanded a disproportionate amount of discretion. Meanwhile, as numerous juvenile court scholars have noted, courts interfered with the authority of parents, and were frequently the location of class and cultural conflicts between court officials and families. Although in many instances parents used juvenile courts to assert their own authority over their children, some scholars have suggested that the Progressive juvenile court served as a mecha-

nism of social control over both parents and children, and over the lower classes, minorities, and immigrants.

The 1960s brought about the most significant changes to the juvenile court since the beginning of the century. Civil libertarians argued that juvenile courts often discriminated against youths according to class, race, and ethnicity through discretionary rulings and institutional commitments. Moreover, they contended that youths faced punitive incarceration similar to adult offenders without the same constitutional rights in the courtroom. Within a ten-year period, the Supreme Court handed down five major decisions—most famous of these was *IN RE GAULT* (1967)—which, together, restructured the juvenile court. These rulings provided greater due process and formalized proceedings, and narrowed judicial discretion. At the same time, many states legislated the removal of status offenders from the courts, mandated attorney involvement, modeled juvenile court proceedings after criminal courts, and placed more juvenile offenders in noninstitutional facilities. Ironically, since the late 1970s, as juvenile courts became more oriented towards CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, their proceedings also became more criminalized. Americans increasingly expressed greater concern about youth violence, and juvenile courts responded with tougher procedures and by trying more adolescents as adults.

The 1899 Chicago juvenile court has been influential internationally. Many industrialized and some developing countries have used the American juvenile court model as the basis for their own courts, incorporating judicial discretion and a social welfare approach. While each country's juvenile court is unique to that nation's culture, they all struggle with many of the same dilemmas regarding children's rights, racial and ethnic discrepancies, and rehabilitative versus punitive methods of controlling delinquency.

See also: **Delinquency; Juvenile Justice.**

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Juvenile Justice

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INTERNATIONAL

In the late nineteenth century, a movement began in Europe and the United States that acknowledged the role played by social and economic conditions in setting children in conflict with the law. This resulted in the establishment of separate judicial proceedings for juveniles in many parts of the world by the beginning of the twentieth century, with uneven success and public support. Although interwoven with other human rights issues, such as a child's right to education, and to structural injustices—particularly racism and poverty, with its criminal wake of drug-dealing, prostitution, and theft—juvenile justice administration as a topic of international human rights concern did not fully emerge until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The League of Nations' 1924 Declaration of the Rights of Children, followed by the United Nations' declaration (1959), recognized the issue of CHILDREN'S RIGHTS as a topic of international concern. However, neither document addressed the rights of children in conflict with the law or whether the young should be differentiated from adults in justice administration. The UN's 1955 Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners stipulated that young offenders should not be imprisoned and, if they were, that they be separated from incarcerated adults. It was not until 1980 that the UN's Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders resolved to comprehensively address the unique needs of juvenile offenders.

Following this initiative, in 1985 the UN adopted the Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, or Beijing Rules. Recognizing the juvenile's evolving social, physical, and psychological development, the Beijing Rules sought to couple rehabilitation with judicial correction proportionate to a juvenile's personal circumstance and offense. Subsequently, the nonbinding UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of Their Liberty and the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, or Riyadh Guidelines, were adopted by the UN in 1990. Contributing to forming international norms that applied child-centered values to juvenile DELINQUENCY and criminality, these documents prescribed that society interact with its troubled youth as valuable members and not as objects to be socialized or controlled.

However, the most significant instrument establishing juvenile justice as a topic of international concern is the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (CRC). Entering into force in 1990 as the most well-received human rights treaty in history, it obligates its 191 ratifying states—only Somalia and the United States have yet to ratify—to alter their domestic legislation to comply with its provisions

and regularly report their compliance to the CRC's monitoring mechanism, the Committee on the Rights of the Child. Importantly, the CRC generalized seventeen as the maximum age for juvenile status, a dividing line between children and adults that has remained the international norm.

Although some of the CRC's general provisions are relevant to children in conflict with the law, Articles 37 and 40 specifically address juvenile justice issues. Article 37 upholds the dignity owed a young offender as a human being, prohibits torture and degrading treatment or punishment, and abolishes capital punishment and life imprisonment without possibility of release for people under eighteen. Imprisonment of a child is proclaimed a measure of last resort to be applied for as little time as possible. Reflecting the 1966 International Convention on Political and Civil Rights, the young offender must be separated from incarcerated adults if detained or imprisoned.

Article 40 advocates the reintegration of the child as a constructive member of society. It echoes the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in proclaiming a child's right to due process and presumption of innocence until proven guilty, to have access to legal assistance, and to obtain an expeditious trial. Besides requiring states to establish a minimum age below which children cannot be deemed criminally culpable, Article 40 calls for children to be handled without resort to judicial proceedings whenever possible and offered alternative correction programs which might involve counseling, probation, FOSTER CARE, education, and vocational training proportionate to their circumstances and offenses.

Regional treaties also significantly contribute to the shaping of international rights norms for juvenile justice administration. The 1969 American Convention on Human Rights prohibited the death penalty for those under the age of eighteen and prescribed the separation of young offenders from adults. It also specified the right to a speedy trial before "specialized tribunals" mindful of the offender's status as a minor. In 1999, the Organization of African Unity's African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) went into force as the first regional charter subsequent to the CRC that specifically addresses the administration of juvenile justice (Article 17) from the CRC's child's rights perspective. The 1954 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) stipulated few children's rights relevant to youth in conflict with the law, prompting the Council of Europe to adopt the comprehensive European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights in 2000.

Although much has been done in the last few decades to strengthen the rights of children in justice systems around the world, urgent human rights issues remain. Many countries, especially those most impoverished, lack a specific ju-

venile justice system or insufficiently support the existing system's infrastructure, resulting in overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and the detention of minors with adults. Countries are challenged to fund rehabilitation programs and training programs for juvenile system personnel (who are often of a different cultural and economic background from the offenders), and coordination of relevant services of child psychologists, social workers, and lawyers is lacking. A country's wealth is not necessarily an indicator of a thriving juvenile justice system or immunity from inefficient legal processes that lead to lengthy delays and confinement of a child pending indictment or trial. In 2002, Human Rights Watch reported the lack of legal representation and systemic guarantees to fair hearings for young offenders in the United States, along with Brazil, Bulgaria, Guatemala, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Pakistan, and Russia. In detention facilities, children can face prolonged separation from their families, denial of legal assistance, and sentences that are incommensurate with the offense.

Another profound problem is physical abuse, including corporal punishment, meted out by police or staff. The Committee on the Rights of the Child has noted incidences of torture, flogging, or whipping visited upon youth offenders in LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, and other areas. Youth detention also occurs as a remedy for perceived social problems such as sodomy or for family problems such as unruliness. Moreover, increasing crime at the end of the twentieth century in such countries as the United States and AUSTRALIA led to the establishment of mandatory sentencing rather than allowing the judge discretion to consider a juvenile offender's individual situation.

Underscoring the pressing nature of these human rights needs is a lack of domestic legislation that integrates the international norms of the CRC and other UN rules and guidelines regarding juvenile justice administration, as manifested in some formerly colonized countries that have retained colonial-era legislation. Some countries, like Vanuatu, have experienced conflicts because the application of new domestic legislation has been challenged by traditional law and custom. Tribal leaders and community chiefs, skeptical of the Western values the CRC seems to represent, expressed concern that the Convention's provisions might alienate children from their traditional values and customs and accelerate youth delinquency.

In complying with the CRC, many states assign its juvenile justice provisions low priority since the plight of young offenders attracts far less sympathy and support for scarce resources. Besides creating or strengthening juvenile justice administration, the young offender's right to education is generally neglected by states in contrast to their willingness to expand education for other children. The lack of sympathy this reveals is often exacerbated by the mass media's proclivity to link types of crime with young offenders in the

public's imagination, and to frequently distort the pervasiveness of juvenile delinquency in society. The Riyadh Guidelines specifically urge the media to "portray the positive contribution of young persons to society" since it has a substantial influence on the public will for either punitive or rehabilitative change in the juvenile justice system.

Global diplomacy is also affected by differences between national juvenile justice systems. Extradition treaties between countries must account for different views concerning the death penalty. This is especially true in relations with the United States, since it is one of the few countries that permits this sentence for those who commit capital crimes before age eighteen. Contravening the emerging international norm, twenty-three states within the United States still allow the death penalty for convicted youth under eighteen or life imprisonment without possibility of parole. Since 1985, only Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the United States, and Yemen have executed offenders younger than eighteen. Other international difficulties emerge with detained children who are in conflict with immigration laws in Australia, the United States, and Germany, among others. Abuses against certain minorities also bridge national borders, as illustrated by the Roma's plight in Italy, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. An effective and integrated approach to address global increases in cross-border youth prostitution and drug-dealing is a continuing topic of international concern for juvenile justice administration.

See also: Abduction in Modern Africa; Child Labor in Developing Countries; Child Labor in the West; Child Pornography; Child Prostitution; Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues.

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The American judicial system operates on the premise that "children have a very special place in life which law should reflect" (*May v. Anderson*, 1953). A prime example of this "special place" for children who are offenders is the U.S. juvenile justice system, with responsibility for protecting the general public from juvenile offenses while observing an intricate network of legal rights and procedures for those caught up in the system.

Major Eras of Juvenile Justice

Social welfare. The social welfare era (pre-1899) of American juvenile justice had its roots in centuries-old English common law. Derived from the royal prerogative, the early common law gave the English Crown the right and responsibility to protect persons deemed legally incapable of caring for themselves. Protection of children, however, was normally confined to families of the landed aristocracy, with an eye toward securing financial reward for the Crown itself. After the American Revolution, the states assumed for themselves the authority held by the Crown, but they extended protection beyond the landed gentry.

Throughout most of the United States' early history, children were viewed as legal incompetents in family and financial matters until they reached the age of majority (age twenty-one for most of U.S. history). The law remained generally unconcerned with affairs within the family and recognized almost absolute parental authority over children. Supported by religious and educational views that emphasized corporal punishment, parents and educators were free to use whatever means they deemed appropriate to break or to beat down disobedient children. Courts rarely interfered with parental and school disciplinary practices. This "hands-off" approach to problematic behavior by children generally characterized governmental approaches until the early and middle decades of the 1800s.

In nineteenth-century America, the Industrial Revolution forced people to live in close proximity to each other and to confront the social challenges that came with the urban life-

style. The changes that were taking place were especially significant with respect to children, and states quickly recognized the need to deal with children who were considered incorrigible or who posed a problem to their families or to the community.

In direct response to these concerns, the state of New York and later the city of Philadelphia established Houses of Refuge. These privately funded houses were designed to provide custody for children who had committed criminal offenses or who were found to be runaways or vagrants. These institutions were essentially established to save children from a life of crime and the consequences of incarceration with adults. By the end of the nineteenth century, concern for these children became widespread and similar institutions to house all wayward children were created in a number of major cities. This concern served as a basis for the creation of juvenile courts, through which states could intervene officially on behalf of children who had committed criminal acts.

Socialized juvenile justice. The socialized juvenile justice era (1899–1966) began with the advent of the JUVENILE COURT, a product of the social and political movements from the 1890s through the early 1900s. These movements have been characterized alternatively as Progressive child-welfare movements reaching out to rescue children from the harsh criminal justice system or as mechanisms to impose middle-class values upon poor and powerless children. Whatever the motives for its creation, the juvenile court idea took root and spread throughout the country. By 1912, about half of the states had juvenile courts, and by the end of the twentieth century juvenile courts existed in every state.

Until 1966, the juvenile justice system operated under a concept of law and justice fundamentally different from other American judicial systems. Instead of reacting to violations of law or providing a forum for resolution of legal disputes, the socialized juvenile justice system attempted to intervene before serious violations of law occurred. This approach involved predicting the future behavior of a child rather than deliberating over evidence of a child's past criminal acts. It was designed to offer approximately the same care, custody, and discipline that a loving parent would offer to a child. Acting in the capacity of a foster parent, the state assumed the nearly unchallengeable authority of a parent over a child.

All of the basic functions were performed in the socialized juvenile justice system that are performed in the current system, albeit in a much more informal and perfunctory manner. The socialized system simply left presentation of the child's side of the case to the same police officer or probation officer responsible for presentation of the state's side of the case.

Defendants' rights. The defendants' rights era (1966–1990) began when the Supreme Court examined the social-

ized era and expressed a "concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds: that he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children" (*Kent v. United States*, 1966). In 1967 the Supreme Court imposed the requirements of constitutional due process upon the juvenile court's adjudication hearing in *IN RE GAULT*, including the right to defense counsel for the juvenile, the right to notice of the charges and hearings, the right to confront and cross-examine opposing witnesses, and the right to remain silent and not to testify against oneself.

These basic procedural rights were bolstered in 1970 when the Supreme Court decided that delinquency cases must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt by the state, the same level of proof required in adult criminal cases (*In re Winship*, 1970). Since the general rules of evidence from criminal court also are followed in juvenile court, these juvenile adjudication hearings became almost indistinguishable from criminal trials, except that the Constitution does not require that juvenile cases be decided by juries (*McKeiver v. Pennsylvania*, 1971).

These procedural requirements had a profound effect upon the juvenile court process. Assurance of representation by a defense attorney meant that the hearings were converted from informal conferences into adversarial contests, often quite similar to criminal trials. Proof requirements increased the focus upon the elements of each offense charged and decreased the emphasis upon the individual child.

Retribution and responsibility. The juvenile justice system entered a retribution and responsibility era in 1990. The defendant's rights of juvenile offenders remained generally intact, but in the early 1990s American society became much more focused on juveniles being held responsible and suffering retribution for their offenses. This meant that more cases were transferred from juvenile to criminal court and the discretion given to prosecutors to file juvenile cases directly in adult criminal court was increased. This was a complete reversal of the original impetus for the creation of the juvenile justice system in the early 1900s, which was to remove children from the punitive criminal justice system in order to provide them with treatment and rehabilitation.

A relatively new type of statute, known as blended sentencing or extended juvenile jurisdiction, is also becoming more popular as an effort to merge critical functions of the juvenile justice system and the adult criminal system. Blended sentencing allows the adult criminal judge or the juvenile judge to impose both a juvenile sentence and, subsequently, an adult sentence for those juvenile offenders who should be incarcerated beyond the age of majority. This type of legislation is seen as a way to detain juveniles who may be too young for imprisonment in adult jails at the time of the offense but who should not be released in just a few years. Typically, the adult sentence is stayed pending good behav-

ior while serving the juvenile sentence. However, for particularly heinous crimes, such as murder or rape, the sentence becomes effective immediately after the juvenile reaches that state's age of majority. Variations of blended sentencing statutes range from the juvenile receiving either an adult sentence or a juvenile sentence to the juvenile receiving one combined sentence consisting of both juvenile and adult incarceration. A contiguous blended sentence allows the juvenile court to impose a juvenile sanction that may remain in force beyond the age of the court's extended jurisdiction.

In other modern legal systems, the youthfulness of juvenile offenders typically is an explicit factor in both the processes pursued and the sentences imposed, but few other countries have officially separate juvenile courts as found in the United States. Generally, the offenses and special needs of children are handled much more informally elsewhere, and American sanctions imposed on juvenile offenders are much more severe than almost anywhere else in the world.

Juvenile Offenses and Correctional Alternatives

The concept of children as offenders encompasses the instances in which persons under the juvenile court age limit (usually age eighteen) commit acts that harm or threaten to harm the persons and/or property of others or, in some cases, of themselves. Most of these acts would be crimes, but they are not treated as such because the actors are children.

Traffic offenses were originally treated no differently from other juvenile offenses. However this practice has come under considerable criticism, and the trend is to relegate less-serious traffic offenses to traffic court. The teenage driver is treated just as an adult driver would be, except that the teenager may have more restrictions placed on their driver's license and they may lose their driving privileges more easily than would an adult driver. More serious traffic offenses, such as reckless homicide, tend to remain in juvenile court and are processed as regular delinquency cases. Some jurisdictions allow the trial proceedings to be held in either the juvenile court or the traffic court, but the Supreme Court has made it clear that trials in both courts for the same offense would be unconstitutional (*Breed v. Jones*, 1975).

Status offenses cover a range of noncriminal behaviors by children and may account for up to one-half of the total work load of juvenile courts. Status offenses are comparatively vague, all-encompassing behaviors, such as habitual truancy, that could easily be interpreted to include the behavior, at some time, of every child. As a result, juvenile courts have essentially unchecked power to find almost any child guilty of a status offense. Juvenile courts also have the power to order almost the same punishment for status offenders as for delinquents, ranging from probation while continuing to live at home to placement in a secure institution far from home. Thus, status-offender jurisdiction remains broad and sweeping as compared to the comparatively narrow delinquency jurisdiction.

An act of DELINQUENCY is defined generally as a violation of a state or local criminal law, an act that would be a crime if committed by an adult. Some states have limited this broad definition of delinquency by excluding the most serious and/or the most minor criminal offenses. Such jurisdictions will exclude, for example, any criminal offense punishable by death or life imprisonment. At the other end of the scale, some jurisdictions exclude such minor crimes as traffic offenses and fish and game law violations. Some acts of delinquency are law violations that apply only to children. Violations of curfew laws by minors is the most common example, but others include possession of air guns or drinking alcohol. Correctional alternatives for delinquents range from community probation to institutionalization for several years.

The most serious criminal offenses, such as murder, rape, and robbery, typically result in the teenager being prosecuted in adult criminal court, either after having been transferred from juvenile court or having been filed directly in criminal court from the beginning. In most jurisdictions, juvenile offenders convicted of such serious criminal offenses can and do receive the harshest adult sentences, including life in prison and even the death penalty. These most severe American sentences are nearly unmatched by other modern societies. Prison sentences in the United States generally are much longer than would be found for the same offenses elsewhere, and most other nations have eliminated the use of the death penalty for juvenile offenders. By the early twenty-first century, only the United States, especially in the state of Texas, continued to execute offenders for crimes committed as juveniles.

Juvenile Justice Process

When children within the age limits of juvenile court jurisdiction commit acts of delinquency or status offenses, the juvenile justice system usually has the authority to process them accordingly. It is not unusual for juveniles and their parents to voluntarily contact the police juvenile officer or the juvenile probation officer without an arrest or a request to appear. Most often the family is referred to other social service agencies for the assistance they request, but in some cases official court action is deemed appropriate.

The arrest of a child is not significantly different from the arrest of an adult. Considerable physical force can be used to effect the arrest, up to and including deadly force if absolutely necessary, although this is rare. Along with the arrest, there is a wide variety of police investigative activities necessary to gather evidence for use in the case being prepared against the juvenile. This may involve, for example, search of the child's person, home, car, or school locker. The police must give the required warnings prior to custodial questioning, which include the right to remain silent and the right to have an attorney present during questioning—though there is some ambiguity in the law on this point (*Fare v. Michael C.*, 1979). Some states prohibit questioning of children if

their parents are not present, while other states require that the child first consult with an attorney before being allowed to make any statement.

If there are no parents to take the child, if the child's parents refuse to take the child, or if the situation is so serious that release seems inappropriate, the child may be detained pending further proceedings. The decision to do this is first made on the spot by a juvenile probation officer, but soon thereafter a detention hearing is held before a juvenile court judge. The policy of denying pretrial release to juveniles to prevent interim offenses was approved as constitutionally acceptable by the Supreme Court in 1984 (*Schall v. Martin*).

The next step is the intake hearing, which is the first stage of the juvenile court process. Here potential cases are screened for appropriateness for further, more formal action. Typically, the juvenile probation officer meets with the child and parents to discuss the police charges. The child is asked to give his or her side of the story, and everyone tries to determine whether or not formal court action will be necessary to resolve the matter.

If the case is not diverted at the intake hearing, the probation officer initiates a formal juvenile court petition under the authority of the juvenile court judge, establishing a formal prosecution of the juvenile in a court of law. The juvenile petition alleges that the child violated certain specific laws on a certain date in a certain place in a certain manner. Status-offender petitions are somewhat less specific but also allege the violation that is the basis of the case, and very serious juvenile offenses might be filed in directly adult criminal court.

In juvenile court a trial is referred to as an adjudication hearing, although it is quite similar in procedure to the criminal court trial. The prosecuting attorney presents the evidence for the state tending to prove that the juvenile committed the offenses alleged in the petition, and the defense attorney counters with evidence tending to cast doubt on that evidence. In almost all states the adjudication hearing is presented to the juvenile court judge alone, who returns the verdict and decides upon the proper sentence or disposition. Juvenile hearings are almost always closed to the public and press.

If the child has been adjudicated to be a delinquent or a status offender, then the juvenile justice process moves into the sentencing, or dispositional, stage. During the period between the adjudication hearing and the disposition hearing, the probation officers prepare a social history or presentence report. In addition to the probation officer's social history report and disposition recommendation, the juvenile court considers evidence and disposition recommendations presented by the juvenile's attorney, the parents, and anyone else knowledgeable about the child.

The dispositional alternatives available to the juvenile court judge in delinquency and status-offender cases are various forms of probation and institutionalization. Generally, younger juveniles with minimal previous offenses who have not committed very serious offenses tend to be placed on probation, while institutions are reserved for older juveniles with past records and those who have committed more serious offenses. The juvenile offender's record is kept confidential; and it may even be sealed and ultimately expunged from all official records, as if the offense never happened.

See also: **Children's Rights; Law, Children and the; Police, Children and the.**

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Juvenile Publishing

One of the consequences of the formation of the new, white middle class in the Northeast in antebellum America was the lengthening of childhood. Children's longer dependency within the family helped create and support institutions, namely private and public schools that provided children with skills and knowledge for the new white-collar occupations. But the rising sons of the middle class could not spend all their time at study, and hours apart from school became playtime, increasing the need for suitable recreations for adolescents. Besides typical boyish pranks, organized sports, and junior political and reform activities, boys and, to a lesser extent, girls between twelve and eighteen published their own newspapers in which the youngsters practiced for adulthood in a world all their own.

Juvenile newspapers all over the Northeast sprang up during the 1840s and 1850s as their youthful editors scavenged used type, cast-off composing sticks, and put their mothers' abandoned cheese presses back into service. Some teenage pressmen depended on their mechanic skill and copied their machines from engravings of Benjamin Franklin's press. However they were able to gather the tools of their trade, the young editors became part of a vast amateur recreation; on March 16, 1846, the editor of the Boston *Germ* noted that the city boasted eight juvenile papers and Worcester an equal number. Amateur newspapers continued to be a feature of boys' and, on occasion, girls' teen years

until 1867, when the invention of the Novelty Press and its later imitators, such as the Cottage, Lowe, and Kelsey Presses, brought publishing within financial reach of an even larger number of children. Selling for between fifteen and fifty dollars, depending on the style, the presses guaranteed professional results, albeit at a slow speed. For those young people who had the economic wherewithal, the presses provided the means to test their literary and journalistic talents and organizational abilities.

The advent of the small, toy press, moreover, ushered in the golden age of amateur publishing during the 1870s. Because subscription lists were large and because exchanging papers was an important element in amateur journalism, the hobby spread from the Northeast across the nation, creating a mass culture for adolescents who shared the experience of reading the same stories and debating the same issues. Louisa May Alcott, for example, had the March girls engaged in writing and editing an amateur paper, *The Pickwick Portfolio*, in *Little Women*, and L. Frank Baum, the author of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, started his literary career with an amateur newspaper, the *Rose Lawn Home Journal*. Although many of the papers of the 1840s and 1850s generally imitated their adult counterparts by reprinting selections from other periodicals, the juvenile papers of the 1870s were firmly committed to original work. Bereft of stylistic sophistication—metaphor, symbol, character development, and, sometimes, plot—the amateur papers and miniature novels provided a forum for young people's thinking as they used a toy to mark the longer time between childhood and adulthood. Because they were novice writers, the authors often copied or, more precisely, plagiarized plots and characters created by their favorite adult authors: Captain Mayne Reid, Horatio Alger and, especially, Oliver Optic. Nevertheless, in their so-called adaptations of adult work, the amateur editors made significant alterations in characterization and plotting to suit their own perceptions.

The National Amateur Press Association

In 1876 the amateur authors founded the National Amateur Press Association, holding their first convention in Philadelphia. Aside from allowing the editors to meet one another, the association furnished endless opportunities for reportage and editorials about the politics of the organization and amateur publishing in general. In their discussions of membership requirements, organizational protocols, and publishing problems, the young editors confronted difficult issues. Although the amateur press editors did not reject their parents' views in toto, they experimented with different relationships with women—relationships that included female autonomy and sexuality. They also grappled with race when the amateur editors discovered that several among their number were African American. Finally, they undertook the transformation of public policy, sparring with the U.S. Post Office when an increase in postal rates and reclassification of their papers threatened their newspaper exchange program.

The amateur newspapers and novels produced by novelty press owners show that nineteenth-century ADOLESCENCE was much more complex than socialization explanations involving structural shifts or parental exertions. The stories written by the young journalists capture young men and women in the mutually educative process of interpreting for themselves the complicated array of relationships in their society and freeze them in the act of exploring the possibilities of their own perceptions. Not only do these amateur journals demonstrate the pervasive influence of contemporary children's authors, but they also reveal a new set of values about gender and suggest how young men and women recast middle-class standards to shape the ideology of their own generation. The amateur papers also constitute one of the few places in which children and adolescents speak in their own voices.

New Publishing Forms

Amateur publishing persisted by fits and starts after the first generation of amateur publishers passed from the scene. An article in *St. Nicholas*, the popular children's periodical, revived the hobby in 1882 and attracted a new group of adolescents to amateur publishing. Never as popular as it was during the nineteenth century, amateur publishing fell on hard times in the early twentieth century but experienced a renaissance in the 1930s, largely as a result of a recruitment program sponsored by the Kelsey Press Company in concert with several amateur publishers. The demographics of amateur publishing had, however, changed; by the 1930s, amateur publishing was an adult pastime. The National Amateur Press Association, the organization created by the young people in the mid-nineteenth century, also maintained its existence, although its membership after 1930 also consisted largely of adults, and continued its program of annual meetings and paper exchanges. The advent of the Internet and World Wide Web ushered in an entirely new form of amateur publishing. Although web browsers and HTML editing software replaced the composing sticks, type trays, and presses of amateur publishing, the spirit of a teenage pastime lives on in the numerous adolescent websites and *blogs* (Web-based journals, diaries, or accounts) that populate the Web.

See also: **Autobiographies; Children's Literature.**

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PAULA PETRIK

K

Keene, Carolyn

Carolyn Keene was the pseudonymous author of the Nancy Drew and Dana Girls series of juvenile mystery books about young girl detectives. In the late 1920s, Edward Stratemeyer, the founder of the Stratemeyer Writing Syndicate, a producer of juvenile SERIES BOOKS (including *The Rover Boys*, *The Hardy Boys*, *Tom Swift*, and *The Bobbsey Twins*), created the penname Carolyn Keene, which was to be the name of the author of a new series based on a teenage heroine named Nancy Drew. Stratemeyer himself wrote the first three plot outlines, including detailed character profiles, while hired ghostwriters fleshed out the finished texts. The character of Nancy Drew represented a new phenomenon in juvenile literature. She was an independent, clever young woman who solved complicated mysteries, with the occasional help of two female friends.

Two weeks after Stratemeyer's death in May 1930, the first Nancy Drew books were published by Grosset and Dunlap. His two daughters Harriet, age 37, and Edna, age 35, then formed a partnership to continue their father's writing empire. The sisters wrote detailed chapter-by-chapter plot outlines for the next fifteen Nancy Drew adventures, as well as outlines for their father's other successful series. They sent them to ghostwriters, but maintained exclusive control over their stories and final published manuscripts.

The Dana Girls book series, about two sister detectives, was introduced by Harriet and Edna in 1934, also under the penname Carolyn Keene. This series continued intermittently until 1979.

In 1942, Harriet Stratemeyer Adams assumed full control of the Stratemeyer Writing Syndicate, which she ran from offices in New Jersey for the next forty years (until her death in 1982 at the age of eighty-nine). She herself wrote the story outlines for Nancy Drew books numbers 19 through 23, and she wrote books number 24 through 58 in their entirety.

Harriet Adams was eventually recognized around the world as the real Carolyn Keene. Her role in important series like *The Hardy Boys*, *The Bobbsey Twins*, and *Tom Swift Jr.* was less well known. Beginning in 1956, Adams, with the help of other Syndicate employees and editors, began rewriting the Keene books to shorten and modernize them, and to delete ethnic stereotyping and dialect.

Adams had graduated in 1914 from Wellesley College, where she was editor of the school newspaper. After graduation, she was offered a full-time job as a writer with the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times*, but Edward Stratemeyer refused to let his daughter go out to work. He told her that if she wanted to write, she could work at home for him, editing manuscripts for his series books. It was not until her father's death in 1930 that she and her sister were able to become directly involved in the work of the Stratemeyer Syndicate.

In 1984, two years after Harriet Adams's death, Simon and Schuster bought the Stratemeyer Writing Syndicate, and the Nancy Drew series of books continue to be written by a stable of their writers, still under the penname Carolyn Keene.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

KIMBERLEY STRATEMEYER ADAMS

Kerschensteiner, Georg (1854–1932)

Georg Kerschensteiner was born and raised in Munich, Germany. His family background was poor, and his childhood was filled with chaos and contradiction. He was arrested at the age of eight for gang theft, yet he was also educated at the Holy Spirit Seminary and demonstrated an aptitude and interest in art, books, nature, and technique. Kerschensteiner gained experience in teaching through a combination

of in-service classroom training, a position as an assistant schoolmaster, and the pursuit of ongoing studies in science and math. Praxis, experience, and participation are central tenets of Kerschensteiner's theory of education, along with order, obedience, and responsibility. As had his predecessor JOHANN PESTALOZZI (1746–1826), Kerschensteiner also recognized that children want to develop and express themselves.

Kerschensteiner considered the value of an individual's work to be directly related to its importance to the state. The most valuable citizens worked in positions that used their full capacities. Teaching methods were transformed from trade and craft to qualified and skilled work processes that also trained the pupil's thinking, emotions, and will. The ongoing industrialization and struggle for democratic reforms in Germany are not explicitly reflected in his theory, however. Kerschensteiner believed that skilled work processes support and create capacities to learn, to explore, to investigate, and to act; these jobs also require punctuality, care and precision, task prioritization, and self-reliance. He found that organizing education into workshops and laboratories helped his students learn specific activities and also helped build character and self-reliance through praxis and reflection.

As director of education he reformed the Munich school system in 1900, grounding the vocational school on his confidence in the students' self-activity, sense, and experience. He claimed that vocational and general education must also be recognized as providing equal opportunities for the personal and social development of a student. Parallel with his work as school director he became lecturer at Munich University in 1904, and then he systematically transformed his experience and knowledge into theoretical writing. His body of work qualified him as an honorary professor at Munich University. He also served in the German Parliament from 1912 to 1919 as an elected representative of the liberal Progressive People's Party.

Kerschensteiner promoted the concept of National State Citizenship in a time and place where parliamentary governments were immature and unstable: wars, revolutions, industrialization, and class struggle were ingredients of everyday life in his Europe. Kerschensteiner revealed that education for citizenship is historically defined and shaped. Other educators, such as the American JOHN DEWEY (1859–1952) and the Soviet educator Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869–1939), also connected work and activity to the process of learning; practicing manual skills while studying bodily and aesthetic topics enhances students' imagination and reflection. Ideas of empowerment, state, and citizenship help to illuminate the differences. Dewey focused on learning by doing to empower students to be versatile, experienced citizens who would participate in democratic development. Krupskaya wanted to empower students through polytechnic education to overcome a class society and master the development of a social-

ist state. Kerschensteiner thought that teachers could use skilled work to educate responsible future citizens who would contribute to the state through their work and knowledge of their civic obligations. These three ingredients—work, civic duty, and social rights—remain the key building blocks in the construction of a functioning citizenship through education.

See also: **Education, Europe; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.**

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KNUD JENSEN

Key, Ellen (1849–1926)

Ellen Key, a feminist writer and pedagogue, grew up on an estate manor in southern Sweden. Her father was a liberal politician and her mother came from an influential aristocratic family. She received a thorough education at home, which was completed with a journey to the Continent, accompanying her father who was undertaking a study of NURSERY SCHOOLS and houses of correction in Germany. As a teenager, Key founded a SUNDAY SCHOOL for the children of the estates' servants and laborers; she also served as the school's first teacher.

Her main interest, apart from teaching, lay in literature. She was a voracious reader of English literature in particular and wrote essays and articles on George Eliot and Elisabeth Barrett Browning in the feminist journal *Tidskrift för hemmet* (Home journal). She also functioned as her father's secretary during his terms in the Swedish parliament and familiarized herself with liberal politics, although she later developed strong sympathies for the burgeoning workers' movement. In 1880, she began teaching at a private girls' school founded by an acquaintance. Here, she introduced new methods of teaching and attempted to organize the staff into large blocs. Throughout her life she maintained a critical attitude toward the established tradition of teaching several subjects in one class simultaneously.

During the 1880s and 1890s, Key lectured at the Stockholm Workers Institute, a Swedish variant of the Institution

of Mechanics, founded by a liberal writer and physician. Her subjects dealt mostly with European literature and the history of ideas. Key nurtured a vision of a society consisting of citizens capable of discussing political and cultural matters in an atmosphere of full intellectual freedom. She also regarded aesthetics as an important part of any society. Inspired by John Ruskin and William Morris, she developed ideas about what she termed “the beauty of daily life” (*vardagskönhet*), which would not only produce a happier population but also a more morally refined one. In Key’s mind, unsightliness eroded the ethical character of human beings. An understanding of aesthetic beauty needed to be learned, and to this end Key published several pamphlets on home furnishing and arranged exhibitions, addressed directly to the working class.

From 1900, she earned her living as a writer and lecturer. Her main works are *Barnets århundrade* (1900; Century of the child) and *Lifslinjer* (1903–1906; Lifelines). The first book met with a rather skeptical response in Sweden but was received as a success in Germany, being republished in seventeen subsequent editions by the time of her death. According to Key, the twentieth century would prove to be the CENTURY OF THE CHILD. Children would be the focal point of political reform and their status in society would change dramatically. Key had a utopian perception of the coming century and projected her own ideas and ideals into the future. Each child has the right “to choose its parents,” Key wrote, meaning that the child has a right to a good home and a proper education. In Key’s view, a proper education was one that encourages children to develop their own “personalities”: “Let them have their own will, let them think their own thoughts.” She felt the school must not be allowed to “murder” the individuality that is inherent in every child.

In her second book, *Lifslinjer*, Key described the changing family structure to which she looked forward. In the future, she stated, women will enjoy the same rights as men in both the family and society. And, she argued, women must exercise these rights in order to turn society in a more nurturing direction, since women have a natural capacity for care and nurturing that men often lack. Part of the ideology of the Swedish welfare state was inspired by Key’s perception of society as an extended family.

The theoretical basis for Key’s feminist ideas, as well as her pedagogy, is comprised of evolutionism in its nineteenth-century form, having closely studied Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. In the theory of evolution, Key thought she found (especially in Spencer) a solution which met the requirements for creating a secularized morality. According to this philosophy, the individual’s aspirations must be judged after taking into consideration the effects these will have on the lives of future generations. Like Spencer, Key was convinced (incorrectly, it would prove) that characteristics acquired by the individual during his or her lifetime

would be inherited by future generations. The lifestyle adopted by the individual would determine its future.

This theory of the heredity of acquired characteristics was to revive interest in problems of upbringing. For Ellen Key, who had been interested in questions of upbringing since her youth, evolution in its Spencerian form provided a stimulus for continued involvement in the subject. The individual was “fashioned” by its environment. But upbringing was concerned with more than the fashioning of one individual; it also created characteristics which were to be inherited by generations to come. When choosing how to live, the individual must consider the future, since each choice confronts the individual with the task of formulating his or her own utopia.

The problems which evolutionism raised would become particularly important for women. According to Key, women lived in a period of transition, in the gap between what she called two “consciousnesses.” If women chose to enter the labor market under the same conditions as men, there was a risk that the woman-type might change, become more “masculine,” which would be devastating for future society. Key was very critical of the women’s rights movement in Sweden. She formulated her criticism in a widely debated book, *Missbrukad kvinnokraft* (1896; Misused womanpower), criticism which later recurred in her great writings of the turn of the century. On the one hand, she accused the women’s movement of not being radical enough in regard to sexual and political freedom for women, while on the other, she limited the female labor market by advocating special “natural workfields” for them, mainly consisting of the teaching and nursing professions.

Ellen Key spent her last years in Strand, a large home she herself designed and had built on the shores of Lake Vättern in central Sweden. Having earned quite a reputation through her works, she was constantly visited by European writers and critics. In her will, Key left Strand to female workers, to be used by them as a place for retreat and study.

See also: **Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe; Social Welfare.**

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RONNY AMBJÖRNSSON



A scene from an early kindergarten in New York City, 1879. © Bettman/CORBIS.

Kindergarten

The kindergarten was developed in the nineteenth century by FRIEDRICH FROEBEL, a German reformer and educator. He built upon the ideas of JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI, a Swiss follower of JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU's belief in the inherent goodness of children. During the 1830s and 1840s, Froebel made a case for the importance of music, nature study, stories, and play as well as symbolic ideas like children sitting together in the kindergarten circle. He advocated the use of "gifts" (or materials, largely geometric) and "occupations" (or crafts), which the teacher taught the children to manipulate. In 1837 Froebel opened the first kindergarten in Blankenburg, Germany. He also established a training school for women, whom he saw as the ideal educators of young children. Because of Froebel's unorthodox ideas, the Prussian government banned the kindergarten in 1851, but the kindergarten idea spread not only to other European countries but also to North America, the Middle East, Asia, and Australia. After 1860, the kindergarten also returned to Germany, where today it serves children aged three to six.

Johannes and Bertha Ronge, who left Germany after the revolutions of 1848, took Froebel's ideas to England and founded a kindergarten in London in 1851. Women helped

to set up private kindergartens for middle-class Britons between 1850 and 1870. By 1890 the kindergarten had been incorporated into some publicly funded British schools but did not achieve universal success, and between 1900 and World War I, reformers turned their attention to private kindergartens ("free kindergartens") for the poor, which charged little or no tuition. Ultimately, the kindergarten supplemented and transformed but did not replace other modes of early childhood education in Britain. There was a similar development in France, when the *salles d'asiles* of the 1830s were replaced by the first infant schools fifty years later. The French opted for an eclectic method, where schoolwork was combined with kindergarten activities. This also characterizes the present-day *écoles maternelles*.

Kindergarten in the United States

The kindergarten was much more influential in the United States and in the northern part of Europe. In the United States Margarethe Schurz founded the first kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1856. Her German-language kindergarten impressed Elizabeth Peabody, who opened the first American English-language kindergarten in Boston in 1860. The National Education Association began a kindergarten department in 1874, and teachers founded the International Kindergarten Union in 1892.

Before 1890, the kindergarten was most prevalent in private institutions, including free kindergarten associations, social settlements, charities, parochial schools, and orphanages. These half-day, free kindergartens were often funded by philanthropists to educate the three- to six-year-old children of working-class parents, many of them immigrants, who crowded the cities. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the kindergarten did not teach academic skills like reading and writing but instead sought to educate the whole child, a goal that encompassed a large range of social welfare and educational activities from helping to clothe, feed, and clean children to teaching urban children about nature study. Training schools specifically for kindergarten teachers (then called kindergartners) were organized separately from normal schools for elementary school teachers.

St. Louis was the first American public school system to adopt the kindergarten, in 1873, under Susan Blow. After 1890, the kindergarten entered school systems in larger numbers; often, boards of education began housing and funding previously existing free kindergartens. By 1900 public-school kindergarten students outnumbered private-school kindergarten students by almost two to one, with 225,000 children, or about 6 percent of the kindergarten-aged population, attending kindergarten.

By World War I, the major American urban school systems all had kindergartens. In 1920 about 510,000 children, or about 11 percent of the kindergarten-aged population, attended kindergarten, with public-school students outnumbering private-school students by almost nineteen to one. Once publicly funded, the kindergarten was open primarily to five year olds only, and people argued that it should be concerned with academic and social preparation for the first grade. Teachers now taught two sessions a day rather than one, leaving them little time for home visits and mothers' meetings, important elements of the earlier American kindergarten.

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, kindergarten teachers differed on how strictly to follow Froebel's teaching plan. Some teachers were particularly influenced by the American psychologist G. STANLEY HALL and the emerging CHILD STUDY movement. Hall praised Froebel's work but believed in the importance of "free play," an idea that influenced kindergarten teachers Patty Smith Hill and Alice Temple. The American philosopher and educator JOHN DEWEY, too, argued that Froebel's work was valuable, but he criticized the abstract nature of the Froebelian system. Beginning in the 1910s, the American kindergarten was influenced also by the ideas of the Italian physician and educator MARIA MONTESSORI, who stressed developing the child's initiative. Although Froebel's influence remained present in the existence of the kindergarten circle and other aspects of the program, by the 1930s the kindergarten in the United States was very different than that envisioned by Froebel.

The Modern Kindergarten

Kindergarten enrollments in the United States fell from 1930 to 1940, as many school districts cut back their funding (though other school districts simultaneously adopted the kindergarten). Public kindergarten enrollments then grew almost 150 percent from 1940 to almost 1.5 million children in 1954. Class sizes ranged from twenty to forty-nine students, and some states passed laws to lower the enrollment (to twenty-four per class in New Jersey, for example). Kindergartens also increased the age requirement of the kindergarten, accepting children whose fifth birthdays fell on or before November.

In 1965 between about 50 percent and 85 percent of five-year-olds attended kindergarten, more than 2 million of them in public schools in over forty states, most of which made state funds available for that purpose. The HEAD START program, begun in 1965, both served as a substitute for kindergarten for some five-year-olds and helped promote further kindergarten establishment.

By the 1980s kindergartens in the United States had moved away from child-centered education to academic preparation for first grade. Between 82 percent and 95 percent of five-year-olds attended kindergarten. In 1986 Mississippi became the last state to offer public kindergartens. As of the 1980s, ten states required children to attend kindergarten, and most states required teacher certification in elementary education, fewer in kindergarten or early childhood education. Today, about four million children in the United States attend kindergarten, over three million of those in public schools.

In Germany and Scandinavia the kindergarten for children between the ages of three and seven has developed from an institution caring for children of poor parents and single mothers to an integrated part of the life of nearly all children. This shift began in the 1970s after many mothers entered the paid labor market. There is a variety of kindergartens in Europe—private, public, and, especially in Germany, religious institutions. Kindergartens are separate from the school system, although recently there have been efforts to bring them into a closer relationship. In many communities the kindergartens are integrated with day-care centers for very young children as well as with after school activities for older children.

See also: **Child Care; Nursery Schools.**

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ELLEN L. BERG

Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936)

The poet, essayist, and fiction writer Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay, the child of English parents. Although cherished by his parents, he also developed strong bonds with the Indian servants who tended him, to the extent that his first language was Hindustani. In 1871, however, Kipling was sent to England to be educated. He was boarded with an unfeeling foster family, an experience he later used as the basis for “Baa, Baa, Black Sheep” (1888). In this short story young Punch is so ill-used by his caretaker that no amount of later love can take away his knowledge of “Hate, Suspicion and Despair.” Nevertheless, Kipling also credited this period with the development of qualities that would later serve him as a writer, such as keen observation of people and their moods. In 1878 Kipling entered the United Services College in North Devon. This furnished the material for *Stalky Co.* (1899), the story of three schoolboys who form an alliance that enables them to outwit peers and adults. Immediately after finishing school, Kipling returned to India, where he worked as a journalist for seven years. It was during this time that he began to write and publish fiction.

Although a number of Kipling’s books are categorized as children’s literature, it might be more accurate to say that he wrote for a dual audience. For example, his *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895) work on several levels: as simple adventure tales, as mystical coming-of-age stories, and as thoughtful explorations of the relationship between individuals and their societies. While children can read and enjoy these books, there is also much in them for adults to ponder.

Many readers have criticized Kipling for his imperialist views. In his famous poem “The White Man’s Burden” (1899), for example, Kipling urges English readers to accept the responsibility of civilizing people of other countries. However, another poem, “The Two-Sided Man” (1913), shows a different aspect of Kipling:

Something I owe to the soil that grew—
More to the life that fed—
But most to Allah Who gave me two
Separate sides to my head.

The presence of “two separate sides” characterizes much of Kipling’s work. The novel *Kim* (1901) is the story of a young Irish orphan living in India, torn between his roles as a secret agent for the British government and as a disciple of a holy lama. By presenting India as a diverse society harmoniously united under British rule, *Kim* justifies imperialism. On the other hand, Kim’s great love and respect for the lama implies that Kipling questioned British assumptions about the inferiority of native peoples. Similarly, *Just So Stories for Little Children* (1902) both depicts sexist stereotypes (a henpecked husband triumphs over his wife) and celebrates female intelligence (a small girl invents writing). If Kipling reinforces many of the conventional views of his time, he also often subverts them.

Kipling’s texts have been adapted for film, including *The Jungle Book*, which was adapted and released by Alexander Korda Films in 1942 and animated by Walt Disney Productions in 1967. *Kim* was adapted and released by Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer in 1950. Kipling’s writings also have been adapted for theater, radio, and television.

See also: **Children’s Literature.**

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JENNIFER MARCHANT

Klein, Melanie (1882–1960)

Born Melanie Reizes into a middle-class, Jewish family in Vienna, Austria, where she received a grammar-school education, Melanie Klein married Arthur Klein in 1903 and had three children before the family moved to Budapest in 1910. In 1914 she began treatment for depression with the Hungarian psychoanalyst Sandor Ferenczi, who encouraged her intellectual interest in psychoanalysis. Klein began by psychoanalyzing her own children, and she presented one of the earliest papers on child analysis to the Budapest Psychoanalytic Society in July 1919 when she became a member.

In 1921 Klein left her husband and took their children to Berlin, where she joined the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. With the support of its president, Karl Abraham, Klein developed her method of child analysis: the psychoanalytic play technique, which treated children’s play activity as symbolic of unconscious fantasies. When Abraham died suddenly in 1926, Klein lacked professional support in Berlin, so she

moved to London to join the British Psychoanalytical Society. Its members were very enthusiastic about her PLAY technique, and most took Klein's side in her 1927 debate about child analysis with ANNA FREUD, another pioneer in the field. In that debate, Klein and her followers advocated a deep analysis of Oedipal fantasies, while Anna Freud argued that analysis should instead seek to strengthen the child's ego.

Klein's psychoanalysis of children led her to develop theories that challenged the Freudian account of child development; for example, she proposed the existence of an early infantile superego and an innate aggressive drive. Her most important contribution, however, was the idea that an infant has a primary object relationship with its mother. Freud had asserted that the infant feels love for its mother only because she satisfies its basic physiological needs. On the other hand, Klein argued in her 1932 book *The Psychoanalysis of Children* that the infant is predisposed to seek a relationship with its caregiver independent of any other needs, and that this relationship is represented within the psyche as a complex world of objects. Klein and her followers developed this idea into object-relations theory, which emphasizes the importance of the mother-infant bond in shaping adult personality. These ideas later influenced the British developmental psychologist JOHN BOWLBY, who trained with Klein, to form his theory of infant attachment.

Klein also proposed the existence of two fundamental phases in child development: the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive positions. The concept of the paranoid-schizoid position, which suggests that the infant mind is dominated by psychotic defense mechanisms such as splitting, sparked a second debate with Anna Freud in the early 1940s who, as a new and powerful member of the British Psychoanalytical Society, argued that Klein's ideas were incompatible with traditional psychoanalysis. The so-called Controversial Discussions were resolved when the Freudians and Kleinians agreed to separate training programs for their groups. Klein's famous 1961 case study *Narrative of a Child Analysis* was published shortly after she died of cancer in 1960. Her papers were placed in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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GAIL DONALDSON

L

La Leche League

In 1956 seven women organized the La Leche League to defend the traditional practices of breast-feeding and natural childbirth. From its beginnings as a small discussion group in the Chicago suburb of Franklin Park, Illinois, the League grew rapidly and by 1981 sponsored 4,000 support groups, a monthly newsletter, and a telephone hotline. The group promoted its ideology through the sales of millions of books, leaflets, and the best-selling *Womanly Art of Breastfeeding*, first published in 1958.

League founders were white, middle-class, Catholic women who believed that babies and small children required the continuous presence of their mothers. The League ideology of “good mothering through breastfeeding” was intended to encourage an intensive, maternal-centered family practice. This ideology competed with two social developments during the twentieth century that profoundly transformed family life—the medicalization of childbirth and early child development, and the rising number of working mothers.

Since the start of the twentieth century infant feeding had become increasingly subject to scientific scrutiny. By the 1890s food manufacturers had developed complex formulas to substitute for mother’s milk, and by the 1920s commercially canned baby food had been adopted by American consumers as well. Physicians and scientists popularized the use of these infant foods through advice books and magazines designed to promote elaborate methods of INFANT FEEDING, where babies would be weighed before and after formula feeding, which was to take place on rigid schedules. If breast-fed, they were to be weaned to formula by three to seven months of age. By the 1950s, at the time of the League’s founding, breast-feeding rates in the United States had fallen from a nearly universal practice at the beginning of the century to about 20 percent.

Childbirth, too, became increasingly the province of medicine, as more mothers turned to hospital rather than home birth. Whereas some 95 percent of births took place at home at 1900, by 1940 about 50 percent of women and by the mid-1950s about 95 percent of women chose to have their children in hospitals, where many births involved the use of forceps, pain-killing drugs, and other interventions.

A second force challenging traditional styles of mothering was the growing tendency of mothers to seek employment outside of the home. From the 1950s on, an increasing number of mothers of children under the age of six worked, and from the 1970s, more and more mothers of infants entered the labor force as well.

The League’s challenge to scientific and medical authority on the subject of motherhood resonated with thousands of women and anticipated the women’s health movement that developed in the 1970s, while at the same time questioning the practice of mothers of young children working outside of the home. But the league, while arguing that it was in the best interest of children if their mothers were home full-time, still recognized contemporary practice and offered advice and encouragement to working mothers wishing to breast-feed their babies. By the 1970s breast-feeding rates began to rise, reaching some 60 percent by the mid-1980s, and 67 percent by the turn of the twenty-first century. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the La Leche League sponsored over 3,000 monthly breast-feeding support groups around the world and supported a Center for Breastfeeding Information.

See also: **Mothering and Motherhood.**

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LYNN Y. WEINER

Latin America

OVERVIEW

Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof

COLONIALISM

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WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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OVERVIEW

Publications on the history of childhood in Latin America only date since the 1980s. In fact, most pertinent sources are about something else: the development of institutions such as education or social welfare, or the history of women. Ironically, this neglect of childhood as a historical subject exists while scholarly focus on the historical role of the family as a political, economic, and social force continues to be strong, especially for Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Chile.

Children and the Family

Since the colonial period (1492 to approximately 1826), children have constituted a large proportion of the population of Latin America, and continue to be vital to the work force. One possible explanation for this scholarly neglect is that colonial Spanish and Portuguese law codes determined that the care and nurturing of children were private functions, and fell into the corporate sphere of the family. As a result, children who appear in historical documents were seldom members of "legitimate" families; most often they were children of the popular classes. Thus scholars have normally discussed abandoned and orphaned children, children enlisted in military service, children thrust into institutionalized workshops as "apprentices," or caught up in the criminal justice system. Other topics include prescriptive ideas about children's upbringing, and discussions of laws relating to children. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars, legislators, and politicians were also preoccupied by the levels of infant and child mortality, child labor, juvenile DELINQUENCY, and issues related to public education.

From a historical and legal perspective, the family in Latin America is represented consistently as the fundamental

unit of society, and as a nuclear unit that is essentially patriarchal, based on a system of monogamous marriage, and focused on reproduction. This vision is retained from the sixteenth to the twentieth century in spite of the remarkable diversity in family and household forms that existed and exist in Latin America. The family as constructed through law can be seen as the codification of an elite world vision, concerned with the legality of family ties, the legal definition of marital and paternal power, the legitimacy of offspring, and the regulation of family wealth. The remarkable fact is that the majority of children born in Latin America since 1492 were not born in such families. Thus most children have been defined as in some sense marginal, and in need of social control by some institution.

In a rare edited volume focused on childhood in Latin America since the colonial period, Tobias Hecht argues that the lives and histories of children must be studied for an understanding of society at large. He observes that familiar aspects of Latin American history can be seen in a new light through an examination of the experiences of children and notions about childhood. For example, he suggests that boys aged eight through seventeen, including forty percent or more of transatlantic crews, had an important role in the Conquest. In addition, Europeans commonly viewed the condition of Indians as similar to that of children, who were "only potentially, but not actually, rational beings" (Hecht, p. 10). Thus Europeans argued that Indians were better off under the tutelage of Spain. Their "childishness" provided a rationale for the Conquest. Similarly, in the early twentieth century, intellectuals blamed poor parents for the "moral abandonment" of their children and for being "childish" or unworthy parents, a verdict sometimes leading to loss of custody.

Rights and Obligations

The very definition of childhood in Latin America evolved over time through a continuous dialogue concerning the duties and responsibilities of parents and children toward each other, and the responsibilities of the state toward children. In the colonial period the parent-child relationship was seen as an aspect of the corporate family, embedded in the patriarchal property rights of legally constituted families. At that time, focus was on the parental obligations from early childhood up to age seven, which was considered the age of reason. The first period, from birth to age three, was designated infancy and distinguished by the child being sustained by human milk, either from the mother or a wet nurse. Children were generally left with their mothers during infancy if their fathers died, because of the need for mother's milk. In the second phase, from ages four to seven, the child remained with the parent, with little being expected of her or him. Education in the sense of learning obedience, manners, and prayers was emphasized. From age four the child was taken to mass.

In this second period the father was responsible for providing sustenance, whether the child was of legitimate or illegitimate birth. He had the legal right of *patria potestad*, which included the obligations to feed, clothe, discipline, educate, select occupations, and sanction the marital plans of children. In return, children were to obey parents and work without wages. In order to have a legal heir, fathers had to acknowledge paternity; otherwise the single mother had to support her children alone, though mothers were denied the legal rights of *patria potestad*.

Fathers who felt little obligation to children existed at all levels. During the colonial period orphaned children were usually the responsibility of grandparents or their parents' siblings. Abandoned children, estimated at between 10 and 25 percent of births, were also cared for by families.

From age seven the child was seen as having reason and as morally responsible for his or her acts. The child was required to study, work, confess, and follow the rituals of CATHOLICISM. Girls were expected to be modest. At age seven the little boy could go to primary school or work for a salary in somebody's house while he learned a skill or profession. The little girl at that age could begin to help with domestic tasks, learn to sew and do embroidery, and very rarely might be taught to read and write by a cleric or teacher. Until age ten, children could not be legally punished for crimes. Families assumed any penalties for crime. After age ten girls and boys had to sleep separately. According to colonial law, girls could be married at twelve and boys at fourteen.

After age seven a child's labor was believed to have value and judges emphasized the rights of an orphaned child from age seven to receive a salary and not to be exploited for free labor. However, there was no real discussion about what kind of work was appropriate for that age, or how many hours the child should work. In the eighteenth century the state began to exert influence as levels of child ABANDONMENT grew. In the nineteenth century mothers began to argue for child custody and *patria potestad*, usually with little success.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we see the emergence of an ethic of protection of children, including adolescents, with an emphasis on their fragility and assumed innocence, as well as on the importance of education. Early nineteenth-century governments began to assist abandoned children through ORPHANAGES and poor houses, though many beneficent societies were associated with the Catholic Church or lay brotherhoods. In Mexico, families in hard times would sometimes "abandon" a child for some weeks or months at an orphanage, and then reclaim the child when the family had more resources. For older children, orphanages often functioned as workhouses where the children remained until they were sent out for foster care, often as servants.

The concept of ADOLESCENCE and a specific notion of how children ages twelve through nineteen should be treated were linked to the dramatic economic and social developments in late-nineteenth-century Latin America. This development extended life expectancy and created expanded employment opportunities dependent on longer schooling. For example, the substantial sector of service occupations that developed in increasingly urbanized communities were an important source of new employment, particularly for children and women.

By the late nineteenth century, discourse based on ENLIGHTENMENT views of education as a means to foster civic responsibility were displaced by a growing penal consciousness, intent on the prevention and punishment of crime. An ideology focused on children's protection was transformed into a preoccupation with order and social control. Nineteenth-century legislation very often targeted the social control of abandoned or orphaned children, since unruly vagrant youths were seen as potentially dangerous to society. In Brazil, the child began to be referred to as a *minor*, with the term carrying an implication of danger and a tendency toward crime. The Brazilian Criminal Code of 1830 determined that a child between seven and fourteen could be sent to jail if the judge determined that the child understood his or her crime. Otherwise the child was sent to a juvenile correction house to age seventeen. Similarly, the Criminal Code of 1890 emphasized responsibility as related to a consciousness of duty, right and wrong, and the ability to appreciate the consequences of acts. This kind of emphasis implicitly argued that schooling rather than age determined the level of a child's responsibility.

Education

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, the definition of *education* was essentially identical with that of *work*. Much "education" took the form of APPRENTICESHIP or some kind of specific job. For adolescents in the lower classes this "education" was often provided through a kind of child-circulation, in which young people from poorer families were sent to serve in the homes or businesses of more elite families. By the early twentieth century, efforts were made to limit the types and hours of labor for children under fourteen, and to specifically reinforce formal education for children. The 1890 code in Brazil specified that children under nine years of age were mentally incapable of criminal behavior; those between nine and fourteen could be jailed if they understood their crime.

High child mortality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helped to return the discussion somewhat to questions of child protection, though the criminal potential of unruly children continued to preoccupy jurists. Legislators refocused on childhood as the key to the future. Intellectuals spoke of investing in children, and argued that society was protected through the protection of children.

Nevertheless, in Brazil and Chile, special JUVENILE JUSTICE systems were created in the 1920s to deal with “minors.” Although legislators wished to rehabilitate delinquent children, they did not make education a priority because they saw education as a “dangerous weapon” (Hecht, p. 176). It was recognized that education was an antidote for criminality; a minimal education was desirable to make “minors” into useful workers. Legislators debated the challenge of how to create an educated population that would also be docile and hardworking. Because the laws focused on marginal children, legislators did not consider developing a national policy of quality education accessible to all. Children continued at the margins in terms of social policy, still seen as a threat to law and order.

Mandatory schooling for children ages seven to fourteen was instituted in most of Latin America in the first decades of the twentieth century, though once again the felt need for social control of an otherwise disruptive population was a major incentive. In addition, many lower-class families were unconvinced that education would improve the lives or economic choices of their children. While school attendance and LITERACY have improved in most countries, child labor continues to compete actively with schooling in the minds of many families and children. Families with minimal incomes often view the salaries of children as vital to family survival strategies. Observers in several Latin American countries argue that childhood as a stage of life is denied to a large proportion of their children; however, it might be more accurate to say that the childhood experienced by poor children is distinct from that of the elite.

See also: **Brazil; Child Labor in Developing Countries; Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood.**

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COLONIALISM

In his classic 1946 study *The Masters and the Slaves*, Gilberto Freyre traced the formation of the Brazilian social order through what he called a “domestic history” of the patriarchal plantation household he saw as the center of colonial society. For Freyre, children and childhood were central to this domestic history and, by extension, to the formation of Brazilian civilization and psyche. Consequently, he devoted considerable attention to such issues as child-rearing practices and coming-of-age rites, education, SEXUALITY, and socialization.

Freyre’s work became part of the Brazilian canon, but it did not set the agenda for future historical work. It was not till the late 1990s that historians took the first tentative steps toward addressing the history of childhood in Latin America, and most focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The dearth of research on children and childhood in colonial America makes any attempt at a comprehensive overview of the topic a difficult, even hazardous, endeavor. Consequently, this entry will highlight several emerging themes in the historiography rather than provide an all-inclusive survey of the topic.

Colonial Latin American Childhoods

Given that *children* and *childhood* are themselves culturally and historically bound constructs, we might begin by asking who was a child in colonial Latin America and how was childhood defined and demarcated? In a society stratified by sex, class, and color, the answers to such questions depended fundamentally on a young person’s gender, social position, race, and legal status as free or enslaved. For example, girls were deemed to reach physical and social maturity faster than boys and for a number of purposes were granted legal majority earlier; on the other hand, because they were regarded as inherently vulnerable to corruption, charitable assistance for girls was more widely available and frequently more extensive than for boys. Meanwhile, definitions and experiences of childhood were necessarily contingent on caste. A case in point is the expansive definition of legal minority that governed INHERITANCE law and the exercise of parental authority. According to Spanish law codes, the age of majority was twenty-five—and for certain legal purposes, unmarried children were beholden to paternal authority as long as their fathers were alive. Similarly, the late eighteenth-century Royal Pragmatic on marriage held that prospective brides and grooms identified as white or Spanish had to obtain paternal permission to marry until they turned twenty-five.

This protracted legal minority had relevance only among limited segments of colonial society: those from propertied families or those identified as Spanish. Very different life chronologies applied to the poor, the non-white, and the enslaved. Chantal Cramaussel’s research on late-seventeenth-century baptismal registries from northern New Spain, for

example, shows that captive Indian children over age ten were classified as adults. Renato Venâncio, in turn, has noted that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazilian censuses recorded slave children over age three along with their occupations. It is difficult to say how such administrative designations translated into practice. What is clear is that perhaps the most widely observed milestone in the everyday lives of free colonial plebeians came at age six or seven. It was at this age that youngsters were deemed capable of performing useful labor and were often put to work.

This is not to say, however, that plebeians and slaves did not have a childhood. As in many societies historically, in colonial Latin America, childhood and labor were not defined as mutually exclusive. In fact, in some Amerindian cultures, the former was actually defined *in terms of* the latter: the Incas and peoples of central Mexico not only viewed children as productive members of family, community, and state but actually classified people into age groups according to the work they were capable of performing. Childhood for the poor and nonwhite was simply less clearly differentiated from adulthood in terms of the expectations and activities associated with it. This suggests that in colonial Iberoamerica, there were “childhoods” that varied across social groups rather than a single, universal childhood experience.

The characteristics of these different childhoods have only just begun to be explored, but a few observations are possible. The first, of course, is that labor was central to the experience of most children, the exception being the sons and daughters of a privileged minority. Long before the presence of young people in factories captured the attention of social critics in early-twentieth-century Mexico City or Buenos Aires, children in colonial Latin America performed valuable domestic, artisanal, and agricultural labors. The brief glimpses of their everyday lives afforded by sources like judicial and census records often find them busy herding animals, spinning, performing agricultural tasks, or laboring in the infamous bakeries of colonial cities. Insofar as minors were expected to contribute to the household economy from an early age, the colonial period provides antecedents for the experiences of children and the meanings of childhood among low-income sectors in Latin America today.

Child Circulation

Another significant aspect of childhood is the fact that many minors were reared outside of their natal households. The widespread ABANDONMENT of children to FOUNDLING homes is merely the most visible facet of this phenomenon. Many poor children resided as *agregados* (attached people) or as *criados* or *conchabos* (servants) in the homes of unrelated caretakers. Their presence was characterized by a broad constellation of arrangements, from informal fostering and ADOPTION to APPRENTICESHIPS and domestic service. The experiences of these minors contrast with those of elite children, who lived within a restricted private sphere of immedi-

ate kin. Living and laboring under the tutelage of unrelated caretakers also served as the sole means of education for many minors.

In some instances, parents voluntarily gave up children they could not or would not care for. Circulation reflects the burden that child rearing could entail for the impoverished majority of colonial society. It also reflects the stigma attached in some social groups to out-of-wedlock birth, even as illegitimacy was endemic across colonial society. In other instances, coercion was at work. In frontier societies such as southern Chile and northern New Spain, intractable wars with native peoples fueled a lively traffic in indigenous children. In southern Chile, and probably elsewhere, the sale of children as war booty eventually gave way to the routine abduction by local authorities of poor youngsters whose parents were deemed morally, ethnically, or economically unfit.

These myriad forms of child circulation reflect the value of minors as laborers in peasant economies, artisanal trades, and urban households. The economic role of child *criados* seems to have been particularly important in areas where slaves were either scarce or too expensive for modest households. But the presence of minors in non-natal households had significance beyond the value of their labor. Sometimes children became the heirs of their caretakers, suggesting the importance of these practices to the construction of kin relations. Children were also a form of currency within the patronage networks on which colonial society was based. María Mannarelli has shown how the circulation of abandoned children among households in seventeenth-century Lima bound individuals of all social levels and ethnic and racial groups. Moreover, the rearing of young *criados* may have acquired particular significance in societies in which many individuals served as the clients, dependents, and servants of others. What better way to guarantee the lifelong loyalty of a subordinate than to rear him or her from “tender youth”? This is precisely what households of all social ranks sought to do, grooming parentless, abandoned, orphaned, poor, and illegitimate youngsters as dependents, with an eye not only to their present labor but also to the prospect of long-term dependence.

Children and Imperial States

Particularly in the first centuries of the empire, the Iberian states’ interest in their minor subjects was limited. Civil law was concerned with the rights of the young in their role as inheritors, but such issues obviously had little relevance to the lives of the majority of young people. Broader and potentially more interventionist preoccupations with children’s health and labor, child-rearing practices and education, and the development of correctional institutions and protective legislation would come into full flower only in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It does appear, however, that Portuguese authorities were more activist both in their oversight of child welfare and in their use of children

for certain state purposes than were the Spanish. For example, in Portugal and Brazil one crucial role of the probate judge, the *juiz de órfãos*, was, as the name suggests, to oversee the welfare of the community's ORPHANS. No such official existed in Spain or Spanish America. The Portuguese crown also put into practice a system in which orphans were used to colonize its far-flung empire. Future research is necessary to confirm the impression of contrasting Spanish and Portuguese postures towards children, as well as to explain it.

Both crowns began to assume greater interest in child welfare in the late eighteenth century. Their newfound concern coincided with beliefs about the significance of population increase to the wealth of nations; an ENLIGHTENMENT preoccupation with charity and education; and an identification of children and their welfare with modernity. A series of imperial dispositions improved the legal and social condition of orphaned and abandoned children, and that quintessential institution of Enlightenment modernization, the foundling home, spread throughout the region. While ORPHANAGES had been founded sporadically since at least the early seventeenth century, they multiplied rapidly in eighteenth-century colonial urban centers, becoming the most visible public initiatives directed at children in colonial and republican Latin America. They also enjoyed a striking endurance: many functioned into the twentieth century, and the one in Santiago, Chile, continues to operate at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Because of the documentation they generated, foundling homes and their wards are the single best-studied aspect of Latin American childhood.

The Symbolic Significance of Children and Childhood

Childhood had an important symbolic function in colonial society. Cultural encounter, domination, and amalgamation, as well as political authority, were expressed and understood through the lens of childhood. For example, European interpretations of native peoples were refracted through early modern notions of children and childhood. Both critics and defenders of Amerindians portrayed them as childlike and childish. Whether willful and irrational, as critics charged, or unsullied in their innocence, as defenders countered, native peoples required the guidance and protection of paternal overlords. Meanwhile, indigenous children became the objects *par excellence* of missionaries' efforts to Christianize and acculturate native peoples. While Amerindian adults were often dismissed as intransigent in their barbarism, their children were seen as pliant and receptive to the faith.

Children also became symbolically associated with processes of *mestizaje*, or racial mixture. The eighteenth-century *pinturas de castas*, pictorial representations of *mestizaje*, produced primarily in New Spain, portray two parents of different racial or ethnic identities together with the product of their union, the mixed-race (*casta*) youngster. In such representations, children became the concrete embodiments of racial and cultural miscegenation. The association is evident

in public discourses beyond the canvas as well. As Bianca Premo has pointed out, Bourbon commentators associated disorder and danger, DELINQUENCY and crime not just with the urban *castas* but with mixed-race youths specifically. But if the progeny of mixed unions personified danger, in other contexts they embodied the potential to consolidate the socio-racial order. Kathryn Burns documents how the founding fathers of sixteenth-century Spanish Cuzco paid particular attention to the acculturation of their *mestiza* (mixed Spanish and Indian) daughters. The rearing of young *mestizas* as Hispanicized wives, mothers, servants, and nuns was regarded as crucial to the reproduction of Spanish pedigrees and hegemony in the city. The experience of Cuzco's *mestizas* also reveals how the social roles and symbolic significance of mixed-race young people—indeed, how childhood as social construction and social experience in general—were deeply gendered.

Finally, political authority itself in Iberoamerica was understood through discursive analogies based on family relations. The king was a father who guided his subject-children, and *patria potestad*, the principle of paternal authority that was a hallmark of civil law, was an organizing principle of political order. Little wonder, then, that early-nineteenth-century independence struggles were expressed in parallel metaphors as a process of coming of age, in which the colonies reached maturity and sought to emancipate themselves from an outgrown political minority.

See also: **Brazil.**

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WARS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Poverty, land hunger, and political repression have long characterized much of Central America. These social ills disproportionately affect the region's children, many of whom suffer from hunger, illiteracy, infectious disease, and inadequacies in housing, formal education, and health care. Children often work from an early age in order to supplement family incomes. Especially in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, poverty, social inequalities, and a closed political process have generated opposition movements and, in response, repression by government and economic elites. During the 1970s and 1980s, these conflicts erupted into full-scale civil war. Guerrilla armies and militant popular movements directly challenged authoritarian governments, and in post-1979 Nicaragua counterrevolutionaries tried to oust the Sandinista government.

Children suffer as disproportionately from political violence as they do from poverty. In 1995 the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported that more civilian children than soldiers are killed in contemporary wars and that half of all refugees in the world are children. This holds true for Central America, where millions of civilians were displaced from their homes during the 1980s, including 30 percent of El Salvador's population. In addition to death and displacement, the Central American Human Rights Commission (CODEHUCA) reports that war's direct effects on children include permanent injury, loss of parents and other relatives, destruction of home and land, and loss of family income. War also damages many children psychologically. Researchers have noted, for example, the prominent place of soldiers, airplanes, and corpses in the drawings of refugee children. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, the psychological, economic, and cultural damage created by the

political violence of the 1970s and 1980s continued even after the wars officially ended. Some researchers attribute the growth of juvenile violence and gangs in many parts of Central America in the 1990s to the social dislocation, economic hardship, and desensitization to violence resulting from the civil wars.

Children's victimization is not without political significance. Different parties in Central America have utilized images of suffering children to channel indignation toward the enemy that has hurt them. However, children are not only passive victims of political violence. In this region, as in other parts of the world, children as young as seven or eight have participated in both government and opposition armies. Despite governments denials, international observers repeatedly confirmed that boys under fifteen, often forcibly recruited, were serving in the Salvadoran and Guatemalan government armies.

Many boys and girls also participated in guerrilla movements as combatants and also, for younger children, as couriers or lookouts. However, most of these joined voluntarily. Especially in conflicted rural areas, joining the opposition often seemed preferable to the risks of civilian life. Guerrilla participation carried benefits, including not only protection and food but also social support structures, education, and respect. Further, many young people felt strong commitments to the political opposition, based on family, ethnic, or regional loyalties, ideological and religious beliefs, or personal experiences of violence.

While young guerrillas often received respect and affection from others in their movement, authoritarian governments usually called them delinquents, arbitrary opponents of law and order. The association of youth and political opposition created a climate, especially in Nicaragua and El Salvador, in which any youth was seen as potentially subversive and thus a legitimate target of government reprisal. Nicaraguans recalling the repressive period prior to President Anastasio Somoza's defeat in 1979, for example, often assert that "It was a crime to be young."

In sum, popular perceptions in Central America during the 1970s and 1980s understood children as primarily victims of the civil wars but also as active agents, either heroic combatants or dangerous subversives. This agency was rarely affirmed by humanitarian organizations or scholars, who generally condemn all political participation by children. Their critiques rest on an assumption that children can only be victims, never victimizers; only acted upon, never actors. While these assumptions undergird vital efforts to protect children, they also reinforce a culturally and historically limited vision of children's needs, interests, and capacities, even of the nature of childhood itself. Images and experiences of Central American children, in other words, challenge the mainstream Western view of childhood as a time of inno-

cence, ignorance, and isolation from the moral and political conflicts of the adult world.

See also: Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues; War in the Twentieth Century.

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Latin School

The term *Latin school* covers a variety of educational options throughout European history. At present, it persists only in Great Britain, as a general term for secondary schools offering an academic type of education. On the continent, the former Latin school developed into the modern GYMNASIUM in the Germanic and Scandinavian countries and the LYCÉE in France, or was replaced in the course of the nineteenth century by other forms of secondary education.

The Latin school has its roots in the Middle Ages, when literate people were predominantly clerics and had to know Latin in order to perform religious services. Initially Latin schools were set up by cathedral chapters, convents, parishes, or other ecclesiastical bodies for choirboys and future clerics destined for the service of church and state. Roughly from the fourteenth century secular authorities followed suit. Kings, princes, local lords, or town councils founded Latin schools in the interest of a better education for their subjects, for the development of intellectual skills, and to provide support for their administrations. By 1500, Latin or grammar schools existed all over Europe, either under a cleric, called the *scholaster*, or under a secular headmaster, who was often controlled by a board. The pupils were exclusively male, and mostly between six and eighteen years old, depending on age of entry and individual achievement.

In the early modern period two major developments—the spread of LITERACY and the differentiation of teaching institutions—determined the position of the Latin schools within the rising educational system, either as a secondary school or as the first step in higher education. When literacy became a more common requirement in the urbanizing so-

cieties of the West, elementary schools were founded, or split off from the Latin schools, for teaching literacy and numeracy in the vernacular tongue. Henceforth, the Latin school limited itself to the classical languages: Latin and, after the rise of humanism, Greek. Since Latin was the lingua franca of the learned world of Europe, the Latin school was for many pupils a first step to the university. Until the late nineteenth century the universities were reserved for a small elite, generally not more than two percent of the males aged eighteen to twenty-four, but Latin schools may have taught several times this number. This was still a small percentage of the youth, even in the major cultural centers, but it did provide a Latin-based education to a substantial elite.

Birth of the School Class

At the turn of the fifteenth century, a historical change occurred when a new curriculum was introduced by headmaster Joan Cele (d. 1417) in the flourishing Dutch Hanseatic towns of Zwolle and Deventer. Instead of rewarding individual progress, it distinguished between eight group levels of achievement, called *ordines*, or classes, numbered from the eighth (the lowest class) to the first (the highest). A fixed part of the curriculum was assigned to each class. Subjects included grammar, poetry, rhetoric or eloquence, and dialectic (which made up the old *trivium* of the arts faculty, as a result of which the Latin school was often called the Trivial school), and in the higher classes logic, moral philosophy, and elements of the *quadrivium*, which included physics, arithmetics, music, and geography. For each level particular authors were selected. The most widely used throughout the centuries were probably Cicero, Caesar, Ovid, Pliny, Sallust, Terence, Virgil, and Horace in Latin (along with a few neo-Latin works like Erasmus’s *Dialogues*); and Xenophon, Homer, and the dramatists in Greek.

With the help of the printing press, standardized textbooks like the Latin grammar of Despauterius (c. 1460–1520) allowed for a truly European curriculum. Erasmus’s dialogues on social behavior (*De civilitate morum puerilium*), used as a textbook throughout Europe and published in countless editions and in several translations since its first publication in Latin at Basle in 1530, have durably marked Europe’s manners. Many humanists have either highly praised or fiercely criticized their education. Erasmus, who studied at Deventer under the famous Alexander Hegius (c. 1433–1498), rejected both the pedantry of the schoolmasters and the leveling effect of the school system on the boys’ intelligence. Soon important reforms were proposed like that of the more practical method for the teaching of dialectics by the French Huguenot Petrus Ramus (1515–1572).

Tuition and Boarding

The new Latin schools attracted thousands of pupils and spread quickly over Northern Europe. Until the sixteenth century, pupils had wandered around as vagrants. François

Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532) and the diaries of the Platter boys from Basle give a marvellous insight into that moving adolescent world, described by Le Roy Ladurie in his *Beggar and the Professor*. This changed in the sixteenth century. Since many pupils came from far away, boarding houses were set up, either outside the school or by transforming the Latin schools into boarding schools. These were called colleges or *pensionnats* in France, or PUBLIC SCHOOLS (Winchester, founded in 1382, was the first) in England. After its introduction in Montaigu College at Paris in the late fifteenth century, the new collegiate system became known as the Parisian style. Through the Jesuit order it swept the Catholic world from Portugal to Lithuania, with the Jesuit college at Rome becoming the Catholic model. Through Strasbourg (Johann Sturm) and Geneva (John Calvin) it reached the Protestant world too, although in the Holy Roman Empire the day school remained more popular than the college. From a material necessity the boarding school soon developed into a pedagogical tool for the moral education of the youth. In the eighteenth century, attending a boarding school became a status element of the higher classes. In these closed communities, young boys assimilated social skills, good manners, and group values, and were efficiently prepared for entrance into the male networks of the ruling class.

Initially schoolmasters were church officials for whom teaching was only a part-time job. Full-time teachers at Latin schools had often been taught themselves in the arts faculty. In Protestant Europe, the teaching job soon became an alternative to the clerical profession, until teaching developed during the eighteenth century into a full profession in itself. As such, it required adequate training and examinations (such as the first systematic and compulsory professional examination in Europe, the French *agrégation*, instituted in 1766 and still in existence today). In the Catholic countries, new religious orders (Jesuits, Oratorians, Piarists) devoted themselves to the education of youth, and founded or took over a huge number of Latin schools. The Jesuits drew up a general rule of study (the *ratio studiorum*, 1599), combined teaching and moral education in their boarding schools, developed school drama, and introduced a very successful pedagogy of emulation among the pupils. They were imitated throughout Europe, by the Protestants as well, for example at Francke's *Paedagogium* in Halle (1696), with its emphasis on the merits of self-achieved talent.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, virtually every town had its Latin school, small or great. Teaching was not free, but since the schools were generally endowed fees were moderate, and scholarships did exist. The Latin schools served essentially to reproduce the social elites below the aristocracy, but they also enabled some gifted impecunious pupils to climb into the learned professions. In some countries at the beginning of this period students sang in the churches, and had official permission to beg in the streets in order to help pay their way.

Curriculum and Reform

Ideally, a school had six grade levels (classes) of humanities. The two or more top classes of semi-university level were realized only in the greater *collèges de plein exercice* or *gymnasia academica*. But each level could require more or less than a year's work, according to the school regulations and the pupil's capacity. School regulations varied greatly but there was a tendency toward regional or national unification. In Germany an examination called the *Abitur* (1788) and the *baccalauréat* in France (1808) were finally standardized as formal prerequisites for admission to the university.

Curricula in the Latin school turned entirely around the mastery of Latin, spiced with some Greek. Latin was the teaching language; Latin eloquence, poetry, and dialectic formed both the tool and the ideal of the classical education; and pupils were supposed to speak Latin with each other. Imitation of classical rhetoric was supposed to transfer classical values to the pupils: clarity of language equaled clarity of thought. Yet Christian values constantly interfered. Church attendance and catechization were compulsory. The Jesuits promoted religious school congregations and the Protestants strongly advocated an alloy of piety, eloquence, and erudition. Modern languages had to be learned after school time or in other schools, such as the private schools that flourished in the eighteenth century. The Czech refugee bishop JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS (1592–1670) tried with some success to introduce multilingual and visual teaching methods through his textbooks *Janua linguarum* and *Orbis pictus*. Natural sciences and mathematics were only taught in the philosophy classes, and were not common before the eighteenth century reforms.

During the later eighteenth century the reform of the Latin school became a national issue everywhere in Europe. It was included in the ENLIGHTENMENT reform of the educational system, which started from the conviction that it was the state's responsibility to properly educate its citizens: a cultural elite and a skilled bureaucracy were the two pillars of a well-ordered state. The new meritocratic ideals sapped the old society of orders and enhanced education as a tool of self-achievement. The expulsion of the Jesuits from most of the countries of Europe in the mid to late eighteenth century made reform urgent, but radical measures really had to wait for the great revolutionary wave that swept away the institutions of the ancien régime. After the Restoration period of the early nineteenth century, Latin schools reemerged with a new impetus throughout Europe, often with a curriculum adapted to the new order, except in Britain, where schools were still tied by their foundation statutes. However, they came under the pressure of modernization everywhere and were gradually replaced by the neo-humanist gymnasium or the secondary school with its modern language and science curriculum that we know today.

See also: **Aristocratic Education in Europe; Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam; Education, Europe.**

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WILEM FRIJHOFF

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was founded October 18, 1918 by John D. Rockefeller Sr., in memory of his deceased wife, and was terminated as a legal entity on January 3, 1929. The Memorial's mandate was the promotion of the welfare of women and children worldwide. In the 1920s the foundation was one of the major American supporters of applied social science research. By 1922, the Memorial's trustees gave away some \$13 millions, of which \$50,500 went to scientific research, the rest largely to traditional Rockefeller charities in the New York area. In January 1922, the Memorial had some \$74 million at its disposal, and the Trustees decided that the Memorial needed an overall plan for its dispersal. They were committed to social betterment through science, and believed they needed foundation professionals to help them. That May they lured Beardsley Ruml from the Carnegie Corporation as the Memorial's director. Ruml and the Trustees worked out three major programs for the Memorial, including general social science, interracial relations, and child study and parent education. They appointed Lawrence K. Frank program officer for child study and parent education.

The program's underlying assumptions were simple. Parents and teachers were directly responsible for the care of children. Such care often suffered from ignorance of CHILD CARE and nature; hence research would advance child welfare and educate parents and teachers in the best means of child nurture. Besides research, essential activities included disseminating such information to parents and teachers, training professional researchers, teachers, and administrators, and conducting experiments to determine the best methods of parent education.

Between 1922 and 1928, Frank created the entire professional scientific subculture of child development and parent education. He crisscrossed the country by train to interview prospective personnel for centers in research and parent education. He and the Trustees did not enroll volunteers. Instead they anointed particular groups and cadres after often long evaluations. They gave money to an existing research center, the Iowa Child Welfare Research Center, at the University of Iowa, and established other research centers—usually called institutes of child welfare—at Teachers College, Columbia University, Yale University, the University of Toronto, the University of Minnesota, and the University of California at Berkeley. Each center had a core of researchers dedicated to certain scientific problems; each center was to develop a statewide program in parent education, including research, teaching, and popularization. There were other centers of parent education research and teaching at various land grant or liberal arts institutions, including the University of Georgia, the University of Cincinnati, and Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. These public institutions complied more with the Memorial's plans than the private ones; Teachers College closed its institute when the Memorial's funds ran out in 1936, and Yale insisted on creating an Institute of Human Relations from its Institute of Psychology, neither of which functioned as a genuine interdisciplinary home for Yale professor ARNOLD GESELL, who preferred to work by himself. The institutes at Minnesota and Berkeley continued to operate into the twenty-first century; the Iowa Station lost its intellectual primacy in the 1950s and was closed in the 1970s.

Frank also helped create a Committee on Child Development of the National Research Council, which in the 1930s became the professional society of child development researchers. In addition, he helped fund journals for the nascent field, a program of National Research Council fellowships for 160 graduate fellows to take advanced study, and even a scheme with PARENTS MAGAZINE to generate dividends to the research centers for new investigations; although the magazine never paid a dividend on the Memorial's substantial investments. A small professional scientific subculture was thus inserted into American higher education, thanks to the Memorial's largess, and often over the protests of faculty in traditional psychology and other social science departments.

When the Memorial was closed in 1929, the bulk of its resources were allocated to the social sciences division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Other foundations intervened to support child development and parent education in the Great Depression and later, but clearly without the Memorial, the field's history would have been much less assured.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Saving; Child Study; Parenting; Social Welfare.**

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

Law, Children and the

As British colonists began peopling North America, political philosopher Thomas Hobbes voiced the stark traditional English view of the legal status of children: "For the child like the imbecile and the crazed beast there is no law." Over three hundred years later, United States Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun reached a very different conclusion. In a decision that granted a minor the right to an abortion without parental consent, Blackmun asserted: "Constitutional rights do not mature and come into being magically only when one attains the state-defined age of majority. Minors, as well as adults, are protected by the Constitution and possess constitutional rights." In the years between these dramatically different declarations, age had become increasingly significant in American law. However, the legal status of children had not simply improved steadily over that time. More critically, the law increasingly had become a primary source of identity, status, and power for American children. It did so as children gradually acquired a separate and distinct legal identity.

Central to the creation of law for children at any particular time and over time has been the ideal of youthful dependence. Though exact conceptions of youthful dependence have changed significantly since the first colonial settlements, in every era of the American past children were assumed to be less competent and more vulnerable than adults. Since immaturity was assumed to render them incapable of making competent decisions about critical aspects of their lives, lawmakers concluded that children should not be as legally accountable as adults for their market, criminal, or other acts. Denying children the legal powers and liabilities

of adults also meant that the law entrusted parents, the state, and other adults with significant legal authority over them. Consequently, the line between child and adult became the most critical legal boundary for young Americans. It has been, though, an uncertain marker because of the diversity of American children. Within the legal category of minors, children varied according to age, race, gender, capacity, and other critical factors and these variations complicated legal policies. Since the seventeenth century, the law dealt with this reality by devising particular policies for particular actions by particular groups of children. Thus, for instance, within the larger legal category of children, minors of various ages have had the legal power to wed before reaching majority. Taken together laws for children expressed the persistent conviction of legal policy makers that minors were a special class of citizens who required a different set of legal policies than adults.

Colonial Americans created a foundation for the law by transferring English policies to their new settlements. Fundamental changes then occurred in the first part of the nineteenth century when a comprehensive code for children was first devised. Other significant changes were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the role of the state in children's lives was increased in significant ways. A second era of substantive change occurred late in the twentieth century. The result of these eras of legal change is a multilayered set of judicial decisions, statutes, and legal customs that has made the law more and more consequential in the lives of American children.

Early America

Although never as completely outside of the bounds of law as Hobbes's declaration suggests, children in early America did find themselves enmeshed in a traditional European legal order. Children were part of a patriarchal system in which the household was to replicate the larger polity. Thus the father, like the king, served as head of the family while the wife and children were classified as subordinates. And in an era in which the definition of childhood meant that infants were treated as a distinct group but other children were considered more as members of the adult world, early integration of the young into the larger social order was the primary object of the law. In this system children were bound to their families and communities through webs of reciprocal duties and responsibilities, many of which were codified and enforced through the law. The most profound of these relationships fell under the traditional doctrine or legal rule of *parens patriae*, which made the monarch or the state the principal protector of children and other dependents. It was, and continues to be, the fundamental legal basis for all state intervention on behalf of children.

Colonial legislatures transferred the English legal system and its fundamental assumptions and policies about the young to the New World with relatively few changes. At its

heart was the notion of legal reciprocity: children exchanged their labor for parental care. Parents, primarily fathers, assumed the responsibility to maintain and educate their offspring and to give them a suitable start in life. In exchange, fathers were granted the right to the custody of their children and in turn the right to a child's labor. Mothers had relatively few legal rights to their children's custody or labor. Equally important, the imposition of English rules governing the age of majority made it the primary legal dividing line between children and adults. Set according to English custom at twenty-one, the age of majority was the designated point at which a youth shed the disabilities of childhood and assumed the full rights and responsibilities of adulthood.

Majority marked off childhood as a distinct legal category and made children legal dependents, but it could not encapsulate all youthful legal actions. Instead, the law crafted rules for specific actions, such as the right of girls to wed at twelve and boys at fourteen or the criminal innocence of children under the age of seven. In this way, following English policies meant establishing both a clear legal line between children and adults and also secondary lines within childhood for particular legal acts. This combination of uniformity and specificity laid the basis for the legal treatment of American children well into the future. It also ensured that legal contests would be waged over what a minor could or should be able to do and what he or she could not or should not do.

INHERITANCE is an apt illustration of the transfer of English legal policies to the new world. English rules were dominated by a determination to keep property in the family. Its most revealing policies were primogeniture and entail. The former dictated that the family estate was to be bequeathed to the eldest son; the latter severely restricted the right of a child to sell or otherwise diminish the family estate. Both envisioned the filial duty of family maintenance and the right of the parent to control the child. These rules were followed in much of colonial America, particularly in the South. However egalitarian ideas in the New England colonies led to the creation of a new policy: partible inheritance. It allowed a parent to divide his estate among his offspring and suggested the emergence of new ideas of sibling equality. Critically, all of the inheritance rules expressed the traditional English belief that child welfare was best secured through property arrangements. Those with property had greater security and also greater independence. The inheritance rules also underscored the primal belief in parental responsibility, especially that fathers should support their children. The implications of these practices were clear in the Chesapeake colonies, where officials established special orphan courts because the high death rate due to malaria left countless children without parents. The purpose of the courts was to protect the person and property of the ORPHANS. These courts recognized that children had interests of their own and used property as the children's most important welfare protection and most fundamental legal right.

A similar mix was evident in one of the most significant colonial legal policies toward the young, APPRENTICESHIP. It rested on a contract in which masters pledged training and support in exchange for a child's personal service. Fathers and, upon their death, mothers could indenture their children voluntarily because the right to an offspring's services carried with it a corollary authority to assign those services to another. The master then stood *in loco parentis*, receiving the child's services in return for parental support, nurture, and education. Indentures could also be forced upon a child by poor-law authorities after a finding of parental neglect or failure. These became the primary legal recourse of an emerging American approach to orphans, child poverty, abuse, and neglect. As in England, the practice was designed to teach children occupations and trades and to inculcate in them the habits of industry and thrift so that they would become self-supporting citizens. The system aimed to relieve the community of their support. The law governing apprenticeship thus typified English rules designed to integrate children into the adult world at an early age.

A similar approach emerged in the transfer of another traditional policy to the colonies. BASTARDS, as Anglo-American law had long classified children born out of wedlock, traditionally faced legal repression and discrimination. Statutes, doctrines, and customs used matrimony to separate legal from spurious issue. The latter suffered the legal status of *filius nullius*, the child and heir of no one. For centuries under English law, the bastard had no recognized legal relations with his or her parents, and no claims to inheritance, maintenance, or family membership. Nor did the illicit couple have any rights or duties toward the child. The English reluctance to help bastards was evident in their refusal to follow civil law and allow legitimation by the subsequent marriage of the parents. The only major reform in the law came with the inclusion of bastards in the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 and the demand that parents aid in their upkeep. Bastardy law had two primary purposes: repelling challenges to established family organization, especially property distribution, and preventing the public from being saddled with the costs of rearing children born out of wedlock. Beyond their streamlining of paternity hearings, colonial Americans made few alterations in the law.

Innovation in colonial laws regarding children was perhaps most evident in the creation of the most abject form of child legal dependency—SLAVERY. The need of colonists for labor coupled with the settlers' racism led to a fundamental modification of English law. Beginning late in the seventeenth century, lawmakers altered the legal pedigree of African-American children by decreeing that they would assume the status of their mothers, not their fathers. This shift helped ensure their continued enslavement. Slave children were also denied basic legal rights to family membership, could be sold at any time, and had the fewest legal protections of any children in the colonies. Though the adoption

of slavery created the most dependent legal status of all colonial children, it was less anomalous legally than it would be later in the history of the United States, because the young were to be found in a number of dependent legal statuses, from apprenticeship to indentured servitude.

Colonial legal policies represented a transatlantic transfer of traditional European policies codifying the dependent status of the youth. They were premised on the belief that child welfare was best promoted by the creation of webs of reciprocity that made families and, when they failed, communities responsible for children. In exchange, both were given extensive rights to govern the young. Policies like the age of majority established a European base for laws that would continue to govern children's lives far into the future. In this regime, children had few independent legal rights or powers and age was relatively unimportant as a source of distinctive legal rules. Thus in many ways the law was simply less significant in the lives of colonial children than it would be for later generations.

After the Revolution

In the years after the American Revolution the laws governing children were transformed in fundamental ways. Legal change was both a cause and a product of larger changes in the place of children in American society. New family beliefs and practices treated children more than ever before as distinct individuals with special needs. An individualization of the household implicit in the new view of the family led to an understanding of children as particular kinds of people with distinct rights and duties and relationships with the state. Age became a more important demarcation of legal rights and responsibilities, a development that challenged the Hobbesian view of children as beyond the reach of the law.

Determining a new legal place for the young became a major challenge for the antebellum legal order. It was one addressed primarily in the states because under reigning American conceptions of federalism the states had primary jurisdiction over children and families. As the principal definers of children's legal status, state judges and legislators struggled to find a way to treat children somehow as distinct individuals and yet not adults in a system that tied legal power to individual autonomy. The result was to emphasize children's needs. This approach found its most revealing expression in a new doctrine that would dominate legal debates about children into the twenty-first century: *the best interests of the child*. Early in the nineteenth century judges and other policy makers developed this doctrine by reinterpreting the *parens patriae* power of the state to include a newfound sense of children as having distinct interests recognizable by the law. The legal doctrine contained the assumption that children had their own needs and that others, most appropriately parents, and when they failed, judges or other suitable public or private officials such as the overseers of the poor,

must determine them. At the same time, this doctrine supported the emerging notion of the family as a private institution that should be granted significant autonomy by deferring to family privacy and parental rights. In this way, the new rule sanctioned broad discretionary authority to determine the interests of children only in the event of family conflict or failure.

The best interests of the child doctrine emerged most directly out of child custody disputes between warring parents. Those disputes, in turn, were fueled by new ideas about child rearing and gender roles. A sense of children as vulnerable and in need of nurture coincided with a growing faith in the nurturing power of mothers to make the mother-child bond the most important connection in the family. One result was the determination of more and more women to keep their children when their marriages failed and the equally critical decision of more and more courts to grant them that wish. State and federal judges used the best interests of the child doctrine to make maternal preference the basic rule of American custody law. And they created subsidiary doctrines to support this reallocation of parental rights, most notably the *tender years rule* dictating that the custody of young children and girls must be given to mothers. The custody laws' innovations redefined children's welfare to stress nurture and maternal care rather than property holding and thus ensured that most children of failed marriages would stay with their mothers. Equally important, the new custody rules led to the creation of ADOPTION, which authorized the legal construction of a family based on choice rather than blood ties. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1851, by end of the century almost every state had added adoption to its children's code. Though legal battles were waged over the inheritance of adoptees and their new parents, the idea that child nurture warranted this kind of new custodial relationship won wide approval and thus diminished the legal power of blood ties in children's lives.

The early-nineteenth-century reorientation of custody law also began to influence traditional children's legal policies like apprenticeship and bastardy. The importance of mother-child bonds and the notion of the home as a nursery and refuge undermined the attractions of apprenticeship at the same time that the creation of public schools in the north also undercut the role of apprenticeship as a training device. Voluntary indenture narrowed to a method of vocational training for youths and young men. Involuntary indenture, however, remained a basic poor-law relief tool, though it existed uneasily with the new ideals of custody law. The primary concern remained reducing the burden of poor relief for local taxpayers, not child welfare. The differing fates of these two forms of indenture graphically illustrate the corrosive effect of dependency on the legal rights of the young. Laws for middle-class and upper-class children stressed the private common-law rights of parents and freedom from state interference, but the laws for poor children used dependency to

abridge individual rights and to sanction broad public controls. And nowhere was that more evident than in the fate of free black children. Poor-law indentures, especially for blacks, came to resemble involuntary servitude as several states eliminated the educational requirements of their indentures and granted masters the right to indenture black children regardless of parental finances. When coupled with the complete denial of rights to slave children, these policies used the law to create an American system of apartheid for black children and suggest how race as well as class restrictions were being embedded in the laws governing American children.

The impact of the best interest of the child standard was more visible in bastardy law. Beginning in Virginia in the 1780s, state after state rewrote its laws to express the new conviction that children should not be punished for the sins of their parents and that they should be in families whenever possible. Statutes and judicial decisions declared the offspring of a couple who wed after its birth to be legitimate. They did the same for the children of annulled marriages. And even if parents failed to wed, state lawmakers lessened the penalties of illegitimacy by creating a new legal household when they turned the customary bonds between the bastard and its mother into a web of reciprocal legal rights and duties. Similarly, judges and legislators conferred reciprocal inheritance rights on bastards and their mothers and other kin. Through such policies illegitimate children began to have their own rights and responsibilities. Even so, American bastardy law never jettisoned two traditional influences: fiscally conservative local officials anxious to control child support costs, and a deeply ingrained prejudice against extramarital sexual relations. Indeed, protection of taxpayers' pocketbooks reinforced a general legal conviction that proper child nurture required guardians capable of providing adequate material support and thus determined that children with parents who relied on poor relief for sustenance probably did not benefit from the new custody rights.

The emerging conviction that children required special legal rules also affected those deemed unruly, neglected, and delinquent. They became part of the reform of criminal justice and punishment in the era with the creation of specialized institutions for the young: houses of refuge. Beginning in New York in 1824, houses of refuge were constructed throughout the country to provide wayward or neglected youngsters with special treatment aimed at making them grow into responsible adults. Predicated on the *parens patriae* power of the state, the jurisdiction of a house of refuge was purposely broad. Children were confined in these institutions on the basis of crime, vagrancy, disobedience, or parental neglect. Lumping children at risk together in this manner received judicial sanction in 1838 when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court rebuffed a father's challenge to the incarceration of his daughter without a trial. In *EX PARTE CROUSE* the court contended that "[t]he basic right of children is not to

liberty but to custody. . . . We know of no natural right exemption from the restraints which conduce to an infant's welfare" and thus equated the legal status of children at risk with their physical and social dependency. The justices went on to argue that placement in the house of refuge was treatment, not punishment, and that the public had a right to act when parents failed. The decision voiced a clear distinction between children and adults, while it blurred many differences among children by lumping together all juveniles deemed at risk.

As a result of developments like these, the legal place of American children was transformed during the years between the Revolution and the Civil War. The new laws expressed rules and assumptions of a legal order more explicitly stratified by age than ever before. They made the primary line between adulthood and childhood even more of a legal divider between rights and needs, autonomy and dependence. Children, like other dependents in a society fundamentally divided by class, race, and gender, were designated special legal individuals, and the legal officials created special policies like these for them. As childhood came to constitute a separate legal category, the law moved further from the Hobbesian view of youthful legal powerlessness.

Industrial America

In the turbulent years after the Civil War, the law regarding children underwent further change as it was selectively redrawn to include a greater role for state regulation of the young. A new assertion of public power and public interest in families challenged the now powerful American tradition of family autonomy: the right of families to be left alone and of parents to raise their children as they saw fit. That challenge was prompted by a growing sense among the middle and upper classes that families were in crisis. Beginning in the 1870s fears about disordered families stirred an intense national debate about the fate of children. Concern about abuse, DELINQUENCY, and neglect led to demands for greater state intervention based on the *parens patriae* doctrine. The resulting expansion of the role of the state in children's lives also expressed a growing faith in law as a tool for changing children's lives.

Self-styled child-savers took the lead in extending youthful dependence as they and their legislative allies filled states' codes with new regulations that substantially enlarged the legal definition of risks facing children. Each addition, from bans on entering dance halls or skating rinks and prohibitions against joining the circus or purchasing alcohol, to specific criminal penalties against CHILD ABUSE or neglect, represented a risk that now had to be prescribed. Each was premised on the assumption that childhood was a distinctive and vulnerable stage of life and that public regulation of child rearing had to be expanded to protect the young. These assumptions in turn were drawn in part from a new conviction that older children should be more precisely segregated

into their own legal category of ADOLESCENCE. Much of the debate and controversy of the era focused on this newly designated group of children and the determination that their childhood must be prolonged by keeping them in their families to gain more extensive preparation for adult roles. The intent, if not the full result, of changes like these was to use the law to increase children's dependence on adults and to remove the young from the adult spheres of the marketplace and the civic community. This logic was evident in the successful campaign to raise the legal age of marriage from the old common-law standards of twelve for girls and fourteen for boys to sixteen and eighteen respectively. Protective legislation like this also challenged an earlier faith in parental supervision of their offspring by circumscribing parental authority and creating a more direct legal relationship between children and the state.

The new concerns of the era were evident in the prolonged campaign to use the law to ban CHILD LABOR. Children filled many of the new places in the factories of industrial America and swarmed into urban streets selling everything from newspapers to artificial flowers. Child savers sought to redefine childhood by excluding work from the lives of children for the first time in the country's history. They turned to law as their tool of reform. By 1900, seventeen states restricted the age, hours, and conditions of youthful employment. But reformers wanted a national ban, as in Europe, where by the end of the nineteenth century nearly all countries had passed laws that prohibited or restricted child labor. They faced numerous opponents: manufacturers, particularly southern textile owners, who wanted young workers; working-class and immigrant parents and their allies who defended child labor on the grounds of the income that it brought to poor families; farmers who wanted the seasonal labor of children; and other critics who resented the intrusion by the government into their family work traditions. Resistance represented a recognition that child labor reform sought to sever the traditional common-law notion of family reciprocity in which children exchanged their labor for parental support. In an effort to entrench child nurture as the fundamental duty of families, child labor legislation attempted to restrict parental rights to children's services yet continued to insist on parental support for children. Reformers succeeded in securing congressional action in 1916 and again in 1920, only to have the Supreme Court declare the acts unconstitutional each time. They also failed to secure a national amendment. Despite these setbacks national restrictions on child labor were finally approved in 1941 when the Supreme Court upheld the Fair Labor Standards bill that prohibited the employment of children under sixteen in industries engaged in interstate commerce and young people under eighteen in dangerous occupations. As a result, the law provided yet another definition of childhood by restricting the place of the young in the workplace and by creating a growing thicket of regulations for youthful workers that regulated when, where, and how long they could work.

Reformers had more immediate success in another attempt to use the law to redefine childhood: compelling children to go to and to stay in school. The campaign took place in the states, since education was thought to be a state, indeed a local concern. Compulsory education laws were championed as another way of taking children out of the workforce and prolonging childhood. They proved to be a popular reform; thirty-two states had COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE laws by 1900, and by 1918, with their passage in Mississippi, all the states had them. As its advocates intended, compulsory education and the increasing curricular and disciplinary authority of teachers and school officials further regulated parental authority over children and made schooling a critical component of the legal definition of childhood and children's experience.

No development of the era more fully epitomized the new approaches to children and the law than the creation of the JUVENILE COURT. Advocates of special courts for children argued that adult standards of criminal responsibility should not be applied to children because the young lacked the moral understanding and judgment of adults. They demanded a separate JUVENILE JUSTICE system that emphasized rehabilitation, not punishment. These sentiments led them to advocate a legal trade-off: children forfeited due process rights to have an attorney, to face a clear charge, to an open hearing, and other criminal law protections in exchange for rehabilitation. The idea proved very appealing. Chicago created the first court in 1899 and by the 1920s every state had authorized the establishment of juvenile courts in major cities. Though critics complained that the new tribunal forced children to sacrifice too many rights, judges disagreed and accepted it as a legitimate exercise of the states' *parens patriae* powers. According to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, "Every statute which is designed to give protection, care, and training to children, as a needed substitute for parental authority and performance of parental duty, is but a recognition of the duty of the state, as the legitimate guardian and protector of children where other guardianship has failed. No constitutional right is violated." Equally important, the courts' reliance on foster families and adoption rather than institutional placements whenever possible and their abandonment of apprenticeship also demonstrated how a nurture-based definition of child welfare had been embedded in the law.

The most radical departure of the era was the creation of a special set of legal rights for children. Devising rights for children proved difficult because the existing concept of rights was designed only for adults who could assert their own claims directly against the state. Children could not do this, nor did reformers want them to. Instead they fashioned an idea of paternalistic rights that defined CHILDREN'S RIGHTS in special age-bound terms of needs and parental failure instead of the individual autonomy associated with adult legal rights. Reformers did so by recasting education,

socialization, nurture, and other fundamental needs of children as rights. In this way children's rights acquired a restrictive meaning. Children did at times assert more adult-like rights. Newsboys, for instance, organized a successful strike against New York press magnets based on their belief in their rights as workers. And sons and daughters used the juvenile court to renegotiate authority within their families by seizing the right to lodge complaints against abusive parents. Nevertheless, in most cases it was not children, but parents, reformers, or bureaucrats who asserted the newly proclaimed children's rights. For example, United States Supreme Court decisions in the 1920s such as *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923) and *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925) used children's rights to schooling to construct a constitutional foundation for parents' control of their children's education. Thus the initial conception of children's legal rights was steeped in paternalism; it translated children's needs into rights without jettisoning their dependent status. Such rights were unusual because they could not be exercised or waived by their holder. In this way, paternalistic rights institutionalized the irresolvable tension between treating the young as family dependents or as autonomous individuals.

In this era, most legal policies for the young devised in the previous period remained in place, but revisions used the law to increase the presence of the state in children's lives and to create a more direct relationship between children and the state. The result was greater legal surveillance of children and yet also the emergence of the first legal rights for young Americans. These two seemingly contradictory developments suggest both the depth and significance of the legal developments of the era.

Liberal America

The law regarding children took another dramatic turn in the last half of the twentieth century. Basic legal rules and practices underwent enough changes to warrant comparisons with the transformations of the early nineteenth century. At the core of the era's changes were two new realities. First, the federal government, and particularly the federal courts, assumed a powerful role in setting legal policies for America's young people. Consequently, many of the endemic tensions in American law that had plagued state lawmakers in the nineteenth century began to bedevil federal lawmakers in the twentieth. Second, rights for children underwent a major redefinition. In an era dominated by rights struggles, children's legal rights became a movement. For the first time children's plight in America was explained as a consequence of the lack of adult rights: an assertion challenging the long-standing belief that the denial of adult rights to children required no justification. The impact of the twin developments was evident in almost every legal category as the laws governing children moved even further from their Hobbesian roots.

Particularly revealing were changes in the laws of child custody, a critical issue in an era when almost half the na-

tion's children would live in families torn asunder by divorce. Amid broad changes in gender roles and beliefs, the central tenet of custody rules—maternalism—came under attack both as an ideal and as a policy as support for the presumed superior ability of mothers to raise children eroded. Consequently, basic custody doctrines like the tender years rule, which presumed that infants and young children were best cared for by their mothers, were eliminated or had their significance reduced in nearly all states. Similarly, the Uniform Parentage Act recommended that the claims of mothers and fathers be balanced equally. Though most awards of physical custody still went to women, the new rules enabled more fathers to secure custody than ever before. They also led to new custodial arrangements such as joint custody, shared custody, and divided custody. Because of the magnitude of divorce, the custody changes significantly increased the likelihood that young Americans would encounter the law.

Similarly momentous changes occurred in the laws governing illegitimacy. A series of Supreme Court decisions in the 1960s and 1970s remade the law amid rising rates of illegitimate births, problems with unpaid child support by putative fathers, concerns about the psychological impact of illegitimacy on children, increasingly reliable paternity tests, and reevaluations of the social utility of illegitimacy as a means of policing sexual misconduct. The court made illegitimacy a constitutionally suspect classification and granted children new rights to be treated as individuals and not punished for the sins of their parents. They did so in cases in which the court ruled that there existed no rational basis for denying illegitimate children the right to recover for the wrongful death of their mothers and in which it directly repudiated the age-old policy of using illegitimacy to check immorality and sexual promiscuity by declaring that states must have more convincing arguments than the "promotion of legitimate family relations" to support such policies. Equally dramatic, courts began to give custodial rights to unwed fathers for the first time in addition to their traditional obligation of support. And the 1973 Uniform Parentage Act urged states to jettison the concept of illegitimacy entirely and equalize the inheritance, wrongful death, and workers' compensation rights of all children. However, neither illegitimate children nor unwed fathers won rights as extensive as their legitimate and married peers. The court narrowed but retained the law's long-standing moral commitment to matrimony by limiting the rights of illegitimate children and their parents. Critically, like the continued resistance to giving greater custody rights to step- or foster parents, the retention of discrimination based on birth meant that blood ties continued to be the most important legal bond for children.

Children also acquired new national protections in the era. During the 1950s child abuse was rediscovered as a result of the identification of battered child syndrome. Accordingly, every state revised its laws on child abuse to include

more stringent penalties and reporting requirements. Congress also passed child abuse prevention measures for the first time and created a national reporting system. Child sexual abuse, a little-recognized problem in previous eras, became prominent as a threat to the nation's young. Panic over sexual abuse led virtually all states to rewrite their abuse and neglect statutes to specify particular penalties for this crime. These legislative actions and the accompanying national concern about child abuse led to the conviction that children had a legal right to a life free from abuse.

Developments like these demonstrate the growing importance of the rights of children in this legal era. Statutory changes, judicial decisions, and even a constitutional amendment significantly increased juvenile rights, particularly for adolescents. The federal courts, especially the Supreme Court, played a key role in recasting children's rights. Since the 1930s the courts had been increasingly receptive to claims of individual liberty and due process rights. They applied those concerns to children beginning in 1954 with *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*. The unanimous decision not only declared segregated schools unconstitutional, but it presented the ruling in terms of children's rights: "In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all children." Children's rights expanded further in a series of cases that gave children constitutionally protected rights they could assert against the state and even against their parents. *IN RE GAULT* (1967) granted youths coming before juvenile courts procedural rights such as the right to counsel and thus restored some of the rights lost when the juvenile courts had been created. *TINKER V. DES MOINES* (1969) ruled that high school students had the constitutional right to freedom of speech. Decisions like these applied adult models of rights to children. And those rights were increased by corresponding statutory changes such as medical emancipation laws and lowered drinking ages. Finally, the *TWENTY-SIXTH AMENDMENT* lowered the voting age to eighteen and thus redefined the civic rights of adolescents. Tellingly, "age-blind" rights became the goal of children's rights advocates, who argued that children should have the same rights as adults. Indeed, some even called for the abolition of minority status, which was likened to slavery and coverture.

However, the legal changes of the era did not eliminate the use of age as a means of determining legal rights. Instead resistance arose to the notion of autonomous children's rights and thus renewed the debate over the legal status of the young. Even the Supreme Court consistently qualified its assertions of children's rights. In *Tinker* Justice Potter Stewart had insisted that the rights of children were not "co-extensive with those of adults." And in *Ginsburg v. New York* (1968) the court upheld limits on access to obscene materials to those over seventeen, with one justice declaring: "I think

that a State may permissibly determine that, at least in some precisely delineated areas, a child—like someone in a captive audience—is not possessed of that full capacity for individual choice which is the presupposition of First Amendment guarantees." Such caveats underscored the persistence of legal policies that assumed the dependent status of children and the paternal power of the state. And amid fears of mounting risks to the young—parental abuse, *TEEN PREGNANCY*, *SUICIDE*, *DRUG* addiction, gang membership—the children's rights movement itself faced growing opposition. Critics argued that more rights put children at risk instead of helping them. They challenged the premise that autonomous adult rights were the most effective means of raising and resolving children's problems. Indeed a growing number of opponents charged that increased rights had undermined child welfare by fostering adversarial family relations and undermining necessary parental and school authority.

These concerns led to another round of legal change in the last decades of the twentieth century. States began to revise some of their earlier endorsements of greater rights for children. For instance, Michigan, which in 1971 had lowered the minimum age for purchasing alcoholic beverages from twenty-one to eighteen, raised the age back up to twenty-one seven years later. Similarly, state legislators sought to impose greater restrictions on the right of young women to obtain abortions without parental consent. And in response to increases in violent juvenile crime, states rejected rehabilitation in favor of policies that made it easier for prosecutors to try adolescents who commit serious crimes as adults and to sentence them to adult prisons. Doing so erased not only rights but previous protections that resulted from age-defined dependency.

Fears about children viewing obscene materials led to the Communications Decency Act of 1996 and Children's Online Protection Act of 1998, which sought to protect children by asserting the rights of parents and other adults to control what they see, by prohibiting the use of the Internet for sending indecent material to children, and by imposing responsibilities on those who use the Internet to protect minors. Though declared unconstitutional because of vague and overreaching terms, attempts to limit juvenile computer access continue. As a result of such policies, children continued to have a separate age-based body of law even as they gained new adult-like legal rights.

Conclusion

In 1993, the Illinois Appellate Court offered its reading of the history of children and the law in the United States. The judges declared: "Fortunately, the time has long past when children in our society were considered the property of their parents. Slowly, but finally, when it comes to children even the law rid itself of the Dred Scott mentality that a human being can be considered a piece of property 'belonging' to another human being. To hold that a child is the property

of his parents is to deny the humanity of the child.” This judicial declaration certainly captured a part of that history, particularly the growth of distinctive laws and especially legal rights for the young. And it suggests how fundamental the legal changes have been since Hobbes placed the young beyond the law. However, the progressive vision of constant improvement in the legal condition of children masks the persistence of conflict and controversy and ignores the complicated relationship between children and the law. Greater legal autonomy for American children has not always meant better lives or even recognition of their humanity, though it has meant the law assumed a greater and greater presence in the lives of children. Consequently, at the dawn of the twenty-first century age continues to be a fundamental dividing line in the law. And that will surely be the case in the future as well.

See also: **Age of Consent; Beyond the Best Interests of the Child; Divorce and Custody; Youth Gangs.**

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MICHAEL GROSSBERG

Levitt, Helen (b. 1913)

Helen Levitt was born and raised in Brooklyn, New York. She briefly apprenticed with a portrait photographer, but rejected commercial work (and formal study) for a more intuitive approach to the medium. Inspired by French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson, whom she met in 1935, Levitt acquired a Leica camera in 1936. She worked mainly in the

densely populated streets of Harlem and the Lower East Side, especially in the summer, for this is where and when she found activity on sidewalks and front stoops at its most vibrant. The Leica's small size, her use of a right-angle viewfinder, and a sharp eye allowed her to capture her subjects quickly and inconspicuously.

Levitt spent almost her entire life in New York City, although a trip to Mexico in 1941 resulted in a significant body of work. She also worked on films, including *In the Street* (1945–1946; released in 1952), a short documentary done with James Agee and Janet Loeb. This film partly prompted Agee's important essay on her work, *A Way of Seeing*, first published in 1965. She was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1959 (renewed in 1960) and worked in color for much of the 1960s and 1970s. Levitt's approach is more lyrical than documentary. Though she established herself as an artist during the Depression, spent time in working-class neighborhoods, and admired the work of Walker Evans and Ben Shahn, her images are not didactic constructions exposing poverty or social injustice, though they do reveal sensitivity to issues of gender and race. Rather, they call our attention to the poetry of everyday human movements and interactions—with an eye to both laughter and sorrow.

Much of Levitt's work features children, caught playing in vacant lots, dancing in the streets, wearing masks, embracing, exploring, with or without the presence of adults. Although frequently seen at close range (leaving parts of bodies outside the frame), they almost never acknowledge the photographer. Levitt moved swiftly through their world, searching for signs of nobility and joy: a little boy comforts a friend, a girl struggles to lift her younger brother; others have fun with baby carriages, crepe paper, and boxes. *In the Street* is a nonscripted film featuring similar actors and activities. Yet Levitt's work occasionally hints at darker forces, though veiled in play: a boy peeks under a girl's skirt, children clutch toy guns and engage in mock battles. A similar juxtaposition of comedy and tragedy informs her photographs of chalk drawings and inscriptions, mostly done by children, which range from hilarious versions of pinup models to dark and threatening messages. In Mexico City, Levitt also photographed children. While some of the children in these Mexican pictures are absorbed in their games, others appear timid or distant, more burdened by responsibility or poverty than their U.S. counterparts.

Levitt's best-known images of children from the late 1930s and 1940s are contemporary with research on child psychology and children's art, also of interest to the surrealists. Yet the influences back and forth were generally indirect, results of a shared fascination with the complexity and contradictions of childhood and modern urban life. In her work, we see how easily games can veer into threats, how dreams collide with reality, and how adversity breeds creativity as much as tragedy. Though they are among the most

complex and insightful images ever created of childhood, Levitt's photographs never attained popular fame (like those by Evans or Dorothea Lange), in part because they evade easy didactic or saccharine readings.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Photographs of Children.**

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JAMES OLES

Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood

The idea of the life course is relatively new, a concept, like that of human evolution, that reflects the modern tendency to think of everything (species, nations, individuals) as developing through time in a certain irreversible sequence. Today, we think of stages of life in the same way we think of periods of history, as separate and distinct, each with its own peculiar qualities. We think of adulthood (a term that was not used until 1870) as being far removed from the ages that precede it. In the modern understanding of development through time, childhood and youth often seem like foreign countries, to which we can connect only through memory.

Nostalgia for childhood is a unique feature of modern culture. Prior to the nineteenth century, people yearned for certain places but not for certain pasts. They did not feel separated from either their own individual pasts or the pasts of the societies to which they belonged. Both life and history were imagined to be short, containing everything that had existed or would ever exist. Different stages of life were, like different eras of history, variations on a similar theme. Children and adults were simply bigger and smaller versions of one another. In the traditional representations of the ages of man, elderly people were often given childlike qualities. It was not that there was no recognition of differences between children and adults, but rather that there was no inclination to emphasize or institutionalize them in the ways that modern Western middle-class cultures have done. It is not that the biological and psychological processes of aging have changed, but rather that our understanding of what it means to age has altered.

Prior to the nineteenth century, age groups mixed together in ways that make modern age-conscious societies

very uneasy. In the early twenty-first century, as the problematic character of age segregation has become more apparent, we have come to have a greater appreciation of these premodern sensibilities. We were first alerted to these by PHILIPPE ARIÈS's 1962 *Centuries of Childhood*. Today we are even more aware of the limitations of notions like the "life course" and "adulthood," understanding that they cannot be applied to every historical period, but belong specifically to a modern sensibility which may even now be in the process of changing. It is useful therefore to think of three distinct eras in the history of the Western transitions to adulthood: the premodern, modern, and late modern.

Premodern Transitions to Adulthood

In preindustrial Europe and North America much less attention was paid to distinctions between ages. Life was not perceived as a series of distinct, sharply defined stages organized in a certain uniform age-graded sequence. Schooling was far from universal, with pupils entering and exiting at a wide va-

riety of ages. At the universities, young boys sat in classes alongside adult males. The sequences of a woman's life differed from that of a man's, and transitions also varied by economic status among both sexes. The age of majority, the legal transition to adulthood, varied not only by region but status group. In a world where who you were born to was far more important than when you were born, elite males assumed military and civilian office at very young ages. The AGE OF CONSENT differed from place to place and there were no age limits on entry into or exit from most occupations. The age of marriage varied widely and there was little sense of being "too young" or "too old" in a society where most people did not know their own age with any great precision. Precocity was honored, but so too was seniority. There were no mandatory retirement ages, but, on other hand, there were no special protections provided for either the young or the old. Everything depended on one's ability to perform rather than on age criteria.

The unimportance of age criteria was related to the demographic and economic conditions of a preindustrial society. Prior to the nineteenth century, high death rates were compensated for by high FERTILITY RATES. Average life expectancy in Western societies remained below fifty, though there was considerable variation by status. There was considerable mortality at every stage of life, but the greatest uncertainty was in childhood, where one-quarter of all children died before the age of one, and half were dead by age twenty-one. As a consequence, fertility rates remained high; and inability to control the number of living children left many parents in a situation where they could not support their surviving offspring much beyond early childhood. Rates of poverty comparable to today's developing countries contributed not only to high levels of child labor within families, but to the vast circulation of children among households, usually from the households of the poor to those of the propertied classes. In some European regions, as many as three-quarters of children had left home by their mid-teens. The notion that preindustrial society consisted of multigenerational families rooted in a particular place by a small farm or business is a nostalgic fantasy with no basis in reality.

The preindustrial, prewage economy was household rather than family based. The possession of an economically viable household was a virtual prerequisite for marriage. Couples waited for a household to become available, one of the reasons the age of marriage was relatively late and rates of marriage relatively low by modern standards. Slaves and those too poor to acquire a household were often prevented from marrying, though many cohabited clandestinely. But only those with the status of a master or mistress of a household were accorded the full status of maturity. The other members of the household, even those who were of the same or older ages, remained "boys" or "girls," terms that defined their subordinate place in the household hierarchy rather than indicated their actual age. Indeed, in a society that saw

itself as a static great chain of being organized in spatial terms of high and low rather than in temporal terms of early and late, an aged retainer addressing the teenage head of the household as "sir" or "madam" made perfect sense.

The uncertainty of life, together with extremes of economic and social inequality, account for the lack of universal age categories in the premodern West. Space rather than time organized generational relations inside and outside households. Furthermore, there were no powerful organizations interested in, much less capable of, organizing society by age criteria. European states still depended on mercenary armies, so there was no need to set ages of military service. Political power was a privilege of the propertied, so age was irrelevant to it as well. It would not be until the introduction of universal male citizenship during the American and French Revolutions that voting age became the issue it has remained ever since. As long as LITERACY remained a luxury, largely irrelevant to the functioning of the economy, states had no interest in organizing schooling. Sumptuary laws—that is, laws governing what certain classes and groups of people could and could not wear—existed, but they were aimed at maintaining the existing social hierarchy rather than maintaining the order of age groups. Children and adults drank, ate, smoked, worked, and played alongside one another without heed to the age and gender distinctions that modern society later learned to regard as natural and therefore sacrosanct. In such a world, transitions from one age to the next were rarely marked and the terms for childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age were vague and general. Before the nineteenth century only the elites marked birthdays, and then only toward the end of life. Both boys and girls passed into youth without specific rites of passage.

Religious ceremonies like CONFIRMATION and BAR MITZVAH were of much less significance then, and were not tied so closely to specific ages. In the absence of schools, there were no graduation ceremonies; in the absence of the draft, no age-related military RITES OF PASSAGE existed. The one great rite of passage was marriage, publically celebrated by the community on the occasion of the creation of a new household. It clearly marked a momentous transition for both the man and woman involved, but it was less age than status related. It was less a transition to a stage of life called *adulthood* (the word itself did not yet exist) than an elevation to a higher place in the social hierarchy, a spatial rather than a temporal realignment. The new bride and groom were perceived not as older, but higher, the thing that mattered most in a world still organized by space rather than time.

Modern Transitions to Adulthood, 1870–1970

The concurrent industrial and democratic revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century not only changed the course of history but placed change at the center of modern consciousness. Older notions of a static great chain of being gave way to a dynamic view of the world in

which individuals, nations, and species were seen as developing through linear time, following certain universal irreversible sequences. In a process which Martin Kohli has called *chronologization*, a normative life course, with certain set stages and turning points, came into being, first among the middle classes and ultimately for society at large. By the middle of the twentieth century, not only the clocks and calendars, but the lives of Europeans and North Americans had become synchronized to a remarkable degree.

The lowering of the death and birth rates made chronologization possible. With the lowering of mortality, life became more predictable and for the first time in human history longevity became a reasonable expectation for everyone. Now aging became a personal responsibility, yet another of life's many challenges. With an extended horizon of expectation, men began to plan their lives around a series of distinct stages leading from childhood to school, adult careers, and eventual retirement. Women's lives were planned around marriage and child rearing. Once child mortality rates fell, fertility also declined. This, combined with the conquest of poverty, allowed families to dispense with child labor.

In the course of the Industrial Revolution, the household ceased to be a productive unit. Men's work in urban areas moved outside the household, which now took on the characteristics of the modern "home," a separate sphere associated with women and children. Adequate wages and salaries brought home by male breadwinners meant that children no longer circulated from the households of the poor to those of the rich. Children stayed at home for longer periods and went to school, which became compulsory in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the first half of the twentieth century, their dependency on home and family was extended still further, creating the stage of life we now know as ADOLESCENCE. Middle-class males were the first to experience adolescence, but by the twentieth century a female variation had come into being. After World War II, when university education became more general, yet another new stage of life—*young adulthood*—became normative in the Western world.

Chronologization meant not only fixed ages for school entry, but age-graded curricula, classrooms, and promotion procedures. Children not only learned their time tables, but began to "act their age" as defined by new theories of child development, which established norms for each stage of life from infancy onwards. Birthdays became for the first time an important family occasion. In the course of the twentieth century, both childhood and adolescence were increasingly subjected to scientific and medical inquiry. In the age of new mass education, both precocity and retardation were stigmatized; and in the era of the nation-state, male adolescence moved in lock step through school into the cohort of draft-eligible youth. While it was not until World War I that

states commandeered women's time, the female life course also underwent its own form of chronologization. By the twentieth century, marriage was becoming not only more universal, but virtually compulsory. Women of all classes and ethnic groups began to feel the pressure to marry and have children at a certain age. To marry too early or too late was to forfeit their claim on true womanhood.

In the modern era, the stages of life became increasingly marked by official and unofficial rituals. Schools provided an increasingly complex set of entry and graduation ceremonies. Religions provided confirmation and bar and bat mitzvah ceremonies to mark the transition from childhood to the newly invented status of adolescence. For boys going away to school furthered the process of both maturation and masculinization, but becoming a man often involved even more rigorous tests involving sports and military service. Upper-middle-class girls remained longer in the feminized orbit of home, making their transition to young womanhood through a series of rites culminating in the coming-out ball, placing them in the category of marriageable females. But the ultimate test of true womanhood was marriage leading to motherhood. Those who failed it, childless wives as well as spinsters, were condemned to feel inadequate and immature. The single male could still prove his masculinity in the world outside the family, but for women biology was regarded as destiny.

In industrial society, access to maturity had been democratized. No longer associated exclusively with heads of households, maturity was now seen as a time of life rather than a place in a social hierarchy. Yet it had its own norms and locales, notably the suburban single family home, the symbol of male earning power and female domesticity. By the 1950s marriage and home ownership had come to be *the* major transition to adulthood. For females, it was the wedding itself which formed the horizon of expectation; for males, it was the first mortgage which confirmed maturity. In any case, never before had marriage meant so much to so many as it did in the 1950s and 1960s, when marriage rates reached a historic high throughout the Western world. Equally telling is the fact that cohabitation was at an all time low, an indication of just how important being married was to the adult sense of self at the time.

By this time, Western societies had become extraordinarily age segregated. Class, gender, and ethnic life-course differences remained, but what is striking is the degree to which the life course had been divided into a series of discrete age groups, set apart not just temporally but spatially from one another. Children were now confined to their own worlds, complete with their own special foods, clothing, and forms of play. They were kept apart from adolescents, who now had a distinctive YOUTH CULTURE, complete with its own dress and music. Marriage automatically separated men and women into yet another set of separate worlds, identified

with the suburbs, while for the growing body of elderly people there were now separate retirement communities. These novel forms of age apartheid were reinforced by a variety of laws regulating age-appropriate behavior and by the current psychological and medical theories of the life course, which defined anything but the prescribed sequence of life stages as abnormal. Those who did not conform to the strictly gendered and sexed rules of child development were stigmatized as deviant and consigned to the newly invented categories of the “retarded,” “juvenile delinquent,” or “homosexual.”

The division of life into a series of radically different stages generated among adults a sense of being cut off from their own pasts. The yearning for “lost” childhood appeared first among middle-class men and gradually spread across class and gender to become a part of modern popular culture. Having failed to locate paradise in remote parts of the world, Western culture relocated it to the time of childhood. In a secular age which had ceased to believe in eternity, childhood became proof of immortality, the one thing that remained the same when everything else was constantly changing. Childhood became the most photographed and memorialized of all life’s stages. “We fend off death’s terrors, snapshot by snapshot,” observes Anne Higonnet, “pretending to save the moment, halt time, preserve childhood intact” (p. 95). Even though families had fewer children, they became ever more child-centered. Family time came to be organized around children’s meals, birthdays, and school holidays. The calendar was restructured in a similar way, with Christmas, Easter, and Hanukkah becoming child-centered holidays. While ostensibly organized for children, these occasions reflected adult desires to preserve their own remembered childhoods. By the mid-twentieth century, this effort to connect with and preserve an imagined past had become a driving force of Western CONSUMER CULTURES. Ironically, the cult of childhood only reinforced the distance between adults and children, thus intensifying the nostalgia for “lost” childhood.

Late Modern Lives, 1970s and Beyond

From the late 1960s onward, the rules and institutions of chronologization began to be questioned. Young people chafed against age restrictions on consumption and voting; older folks balked at mandatory retirement, or sought to retire early. This was partly the result of changing demographics: the average life span had been extended by as much as twenty-five years since the beginning of the century, radically raising the proportion of elderly people while reducing the proportion of children and juveniles. The three stages of life—childhood, adulthood, and old age—that once seemed natural and immutable were now challenged. Earlier maturation of children was reflected in the emergence of the “pre-teen,” and adolescence was extended by education and late marriage into the twenties and even early thirties. At the other end of the life course the term “young-old” has appeared, and we distinguish between those still capable of liv-

ing an active life (what Laslett calls the Third Age) from those who are not (the Fourth Age). The concept of adulthood itself has come under pressure with evidence of the increasing occurrence of the so-called midlife crisis.

Changes in the economy were also at work in the post-1970 reassessment of the life course. Western capitalism had begun to restructure itself by moving its industrial processes to Third World countries, reserving for itself the key managerial and service-sector occupations. Deindustrialization of Europe and North America meant that many well-paid traditionally male jobs disappeared. In order to maintain family standards of living, married women moved into full-time work in massive numbers. But most of the new jobs were not lifelong careers. To remain employable, adults now had to retrain, which meant going back to school. Education, once something associated with the young, became a lifelong affair, with huge implications for the structure of the life course and age relations. But the new economy, organized around consumption as well as production, has also affected children and adolescents. They have been drawn into consumption at ever earlier ages, encouraged to emulate older age groups in everything from food and drink to fashion and leisure activity, including SEXUALITY. Precocity is once again encouraged, producing what one psychologist has described as the *kinderdult*, half child/half adult, who no longer belongs to any conventional age category. To pay for these new tastes, juveniles have also been drawn into employment in numbers that have not been seen since the nineteenth century. In an era when the gap between the rich and poor has increased dramatically, more children are also working out of necessity. Indeed, in many impoverished Third World countries the vast majority of children have no experience of a childhood free from labor.

Childhood has lost its association with innocence as experiences once associated with older age groups become more accessible through the electronic media to very young children. The boundaries of adolescence have also been blurred, moving both earlier into the so-called preteen years and later into the extended period of semi-dependency that characterizes young women and men whose educations now extend into their late twenties through professional training and graduate school. Over the past twenty years the average age of marriage has been delayed by several years for both men and women. Women are staying in school longer and establishing themselves in careers before deciding to marry. Men who once had the earning power to marry early are also delaying the decision. Rates of cohabitation have shot up over the past thirty years, and marriage and parenthood have been decoupled as the rate of single parenthood grows and married couples postpone parenthood to ever later ages. Marriage, which was once the universal gateway to adulthood, can no longer serve that purpose. The markers of maturity have become more various, as single mothers contend with married women for adult status in an era that is much more

tolerant of unwed parenthood. In a similar way, gays and lesbians claim adulthood with marriage and partnership rituals once reserved only for heterosexuals. The very notion of adulthood has been called into question, transformed from a state of being into a series of passages, and thus, like other late modern stages of life, a state of perpetual becoming. Even old age has lost its static character, becoming plastic and performative. Older people are urged to think and act young. Rules of good aging, such as retirement at a designated age, that only a short time ago seemed so natural and self-evident are being challenged at every age level.

The institutions which once policed the boundaries of age no longer show much interest in doing so. Schools are not as rigorous about ages of entry and exit as they once were. The curriculum is less age-graded and students are more likely to be allowed to learn at their own pace. Young offenders are now more likely to go to adult jails as the ages of criminal responsibility become less rigid. Religions still offer a range of rites of passage, but they do not insist that their members go through them. Even marriage rites are not so strictly enforced as they once were and some churches even offer ceremonies adapted to homosexual partners. The state has also ceased to regulate age in the ways that it once did. It still polices sumptuary practices with respect to reading, movie-going, drinking, and smoking, but has deregulated retirement and rules of seniority to a considerable extent. Furthermore, nation-states have come to rely on professional armies, making draft age much less important than it once was. And since the military services are no longer sex segregated, joining the army or navy is no longer the mark of manhood it once was.

In this era of GLOBALIZATION, with its massive migrations of people, the cultural standards of aging have become much more diverse. A whole new raft of rites of passage have been introduced by new immigrants to both Europe and North America. Our calendars are now full of new holidays which underline the heterogeneity of our current understandings of what it means to be a child or an adult. In short, the notion of a single universal life course is no longer viable. The notion that aging is culturally and socially variable, that it is a system of meaning rather than a set of natural facts, is now increasingly accepted in the social and psychological sciences as well as in popular culture. People may hold firmly to notions of childhood or adulthood that seem right for them, but they have also come to accept that other versions of the life course may be right for other people. But while aging has fallen into that realm of personal preference, it is still seen as the personal responsibility of each person to age well. The late modern period has also seen something of a convergence of the male and female life courses. With so many women entering into higher education and full-time employment, their lives have become more closely synchronized with those of men.

Women typically delay marriage and motherhood, waiting until they feel settled in careers before bearing children. The arrival of the first child need not disrupt women's careers if there is sufficient maternal (or paternal) leave and if good child care is available, as is the case in many European countries, especially Scandinavia. But older differences linger where these child-care supports are missing, as in the United States, where the working woman is faced with many difficulties. While men have become somewhat more involved with household and parenting in the late modern period, it is still rare that they become full-time housekeepers or parents. Even in Scandinavia, fathers have been reluctant to take the full parental leave they are entitled to because they fear losing their place on the career track. Thus men's and women's lives tend to go out of synch when children arrive. The problem is worst in the United States, but gender differences are still evident everywhere, reflected in the startling growth of single parent families across the Western world.

The Future of the Life Course

Since the 1970s, notions of universal human development have been challenged. It is no longer possible to think of all societies as developing through time in the same linear sequence, some ahead, others behind. Modernization theories, which assume a backward "underdeveloped" world which must model itself on supposedly more advanced "developed" Western countries in order to achieve modernity, are now discounted in favor of notions of multiple paths and multiple modernities, although globalization also produces uniformities. In this global age, we have the opportunity to understand societies on their own terms, recognizing spatial differences and thus avoiding the fallacy of organizing everything into dichotomies of traditional versus modern, backward versus advanced, early versus late, infantile versus mature.

In a similar way, it is now possible to see that individual lives do not develop in a uniform linear manner. We accept a greater range of variation in terms of physical, mental, and psychological growth, but equally important we no longer segregate age groups as rigidly as we once did. While it is true that many of the old age-segregated institutions still exist, we can expect them to be challenged in the future. Schools without walls and college internship programs are evidence of how temporal as well as spatial boundaries are eroding. The notion of the old-age home and the segregated retirement community are also being questioned. The suburb, once a ghetto for families with children, is becoming more diverse as well. There are many walls to break down before our society becomes as age-heterogeneous as pre-modern society, but the process of rethinking age segregation has begun in both the United States and Europe.

In the era of the service economy, seniors rub shoulders with teenagers at work as well as in leisure activities. Adults going back to school find themselves sharing classrooms

with younger people. Sports have become a good deal less age segregated as well. Older people are not only allowed but encouraged to remain physically active. As the distinctions between different ages become increasingly blurred, we can expect many of the old rites of passage to change and even disappear. This may already be happening at the boundary between childhood and adolescence, but it is surely the case at the borderland between youth and adulthood. Yet, it would be unwise to announce the demise of such things as the wedding ceremony, for, while this may not take the same uniform character as it did a few decades ago, people are finding a whole raft of new rites to express the meanings of their lives. In addition to the traditional wedding ceremony there are now a variety of rites suitable to cohabiting men and women as well as to gay and lesbian partners. As adulthood is now more a state of becoming, punctuated with frequent changes, a whole series of rituals dealing with mid-life crises (including divorce) have appeared on the scene. This should not surprise us, for it is in those moments of life that are the most ambiguous and uncertain that people have always turned to ritual to reassure them of the meaning of what they are doing. As the life course becomes ever more fluid, it is safe to predict a proliferation of rituals meant to deal with this condition.

We have come to see that what we call the life course is a product of culture rather than nature. Life is not so much a script we follow as one we as individuals and as societies write as we go along. The premodern script was a religious one; the modern script was dictated by the social and medical sciences, but today we are encouraged to craft our own life narratives. This freedom brings with it great responsibilities, however. We need to acknowledge that people not only think *about* age, but think *with* age, giving meaning to lives that would otherwise seem hopelessly confused. We need to listen carefully to the ways other cultures, including those of our own past, talk about aging, for this constitutes an invaluable source of wisdom from which we can draw in facing our own existential dilemmas.

See also: **Age and Development.**

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JOHN R. GILLIS

Lindbergh Kidnapping

The kidnapping of Charles Augustus Lindbergh Jr. on the evening of March 1, 1932, shocked the world and became one of the best known and most notorious crimes in modern history. The child's father, Charles A. Lindbergh, was probably the most famous man in the world at the time—a hero for completing the first solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean on May 22, 1927. Lionized wherever he went and married to the charming, talented and wealthy Anne Morrow in 1929, their tragedy became a measure of the precarious social and economic times in which they lived, and emblematic of the powerful role that childhood played in the modern American imagination.

The baby, who was pictured in papers around the world after he disappeared, was twenty months old at the time of his ABDUCTION. During the six weeks which followed, the state police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), private detectives, and hundreds of thousands of people around the world tried to find the child, for whom a ransom demand of \$50,000 was paid on April 2, 1932. But the child was never recovered alive. On May 13, his partial remains were discovered not far from the house in New Jersey from which he had been taken. The hunt for the child then gave way to a massive hunt for his abductor.

The story of the arrest, trial and execution of Bruno Richard Hauptmann for the kidnapping and murder of the Lindbergh child has become one of the most well-known crimes in American history, not least because of the controversy that still surrounds the final disposition of the case in 1936. The event has often been featured on radio and television programs, and the outcome of the case against Hauptmann continues to generate revisionist interpretations. But the kidnapping and its resolution were important only because the crime itself was so horrifying and considered a direct attack on the substance of American institutions and culture. The audacious disappearance of the “nation’s child” as the baby was called at the time, became a terrible blow to the country’s sense of security in precarious depression times, and a reminder of the threats to law and order in the early 1930s. It was used in the press to remind parents about the importance of their children and to confirm their commitment to family safety and well-being. The crime had major consequences in law and became the basis for the passage of the first federal kidnapping statute (“the Lindbergh Law”) which made kidnapping a capital offense. It was also instrumental in the reorganization and reinvigoration of the FBI. For much of the rest of the twentieth century, the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby would help to define the horrors of child loss for modern parents as it became a touchstone of a media increasingly sensitive to parents’ anxieties about their children.

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PAULA S. FASS

Literacy

Precise knowledge about levels of literacy in different times and different places is notoriously difficult to ascertain, for two major reasons. First, it is not always clear what should count as “literacy”: what level of ability at reading or writing

should we designate as literate? The concept of functional literacy has been developed to deal with this semantic problem: the term *functional literacy* was originally coined by the U.S. Army during World War II, and denoted an ability to understand military operations and to be able to read at a fifth-grade level. Subsequently, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has defined functional literacy in terms of an individual possessing the requisite reading and writing skills to be able to take part in the activities that are a normal part of that individual’s social milieu.

However these definitional problems may be resolved, it is clearly problematic to specify the degree of literacy of a particular period, place, or population. The second problem is that our evidence for the historical distribution of levels of literacy is limited, based in the main on marriage registers and other legal documents. In using this evidence to generate best guesses about literacy levels, we pay special attention to the ability of bride, groom, and witnesses to sign marriage registers, and other individuals to sign other legal documents. Such evidence may lead to an overestimation of literacy levels; individuals may be able to sign but have little else in the way of literacy skills. Conversely, the same evidence may lead to an underestimation of literacy skills; writing requires a productive proficiency that reading does not, and therefore those who cannot sign may be able to read, and yet would be in danger of being classified as illiterate. With these warnings in place, what can we say about the historical character of literacy in the West?

Before the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, education was very closely controlled by the Catholic Church, and was limited to elite groups—men in holy orders. Further, literacy in Latin rather than in vernacular languages was the goal of these elites. However, by the middle of the sixteenth century, while many schools and teachers still maintained links to organized religion, a number of new schools arose due to the efforts of private individuals, parishes, guilds, and the like. This secularization of education meant that literacy was less and less the preserve of elite social groups; the deliberate spread of (first Latin, and then vernacular) literacy throughout the social body played an important role in the maintenance of religious orthodoxy, both Catholic and Protestant, but it also came to be seen as a political tool for state building, for the maintenance of morality, and for equipping the population with valuable skills. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (c. 1469–1536) and Martin Luther (1483–1546) were especially important in drawing attention to such political and governmental possibilities. James Bowen, in *A History of Western Education*, estimates early sixteenth-century literacy rates in England to have been less than 1 percent; yet by the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) he suggests it was getting close to 50 percent. The Reformation, then, was a major spur to education and to literacy, but we must be aware that while the starting point for this education was religious knowledge



Seven Ages of Childhood (1909), illustration by Jessie Willcox Smith. By the early twentieth century, literacy rates in many Western countries were near 100 percent. Reading, especially parents reading to their children, became seen as an integral part of family life. © Blue Lantern Studio/CORBIS.

and morality, it also aimed at other sorts of useful knowledge.

However, the situation was not the same across all of Europe, and Protestant countries generally had better literacy rates than Catholic ones. In France, for example, a government-inspired study of historical rates of literacy published in 1880 showed that for the 1686–1690 period, 75 percent

of the population could not sign their names. As Carlo M. Cipolla shows in *Literacy and Development in the West*, literacy rates for Catholic Europe as a whole were roughly in line with these statistics from France. Protestant Europe fared much better, with literacy rates of maybe 35 to 45 percent. In addition, Cipolla makes it clear that within these statistics we can see great variation by class and geography: the urban bourgeoisie had literacy rates of at least 90 percent, as com-

pared to a rate of 10 percent for rural peasants. Furthermore, literacy rates differed between the sexes: a 1880 government study in France shows that between 1686 and 1690 the female literacy rate (based on ability to sign) was just 14 percent, while the male rate was 36 percent.

In England, the growth in the number of schools and in the literacy rate—during and after the Reformation—went hand in hand with the growth of the book trade. Richard Altick has shown that in the Elizabethan period, despite deliberate attempts to limit quantities, school texts (grammars, primers, and so forth) were allowed a print run of up to twelve thousand copies per year. Popular enthusiasm for reading and writing coexisted with official suspicion that such skills, if they became too widespread, would lead to social discontent and disorder. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the charity school movement in England and Scotland (especially associated with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) concentrated on trying to increase literacy levels among the poor. The aim of these schools was to ensure that literacy skills were sufficient for Bible study, but they also aimed to inculcate in the poor acceptance of their low status in life. These schools were also important actors in the process of nation building, explicitly teaching only in English and striving to eliminate the Gaelic language from Scotland.

From the Reformation until the nineteenth century, popular education and literacy education were virtually synonymous. While the elite had the opportunity to gain other skills and knowledge, schooling for the masses mostly concerned itself with learning to read. Moreover, reading meant reading the Bible. What was at stake was the desire for the general population to become what Ian Hunter has termed socially trained and spiritually guided. Learning to read was a step on the way to the production of a new type of person who was morally developed but also economically productive, and it was primarily through the reading of religious and moral texts that this was achieved.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the state slowly assumed more and more control of the schools, in a period which culminated in the introduction of compulsory education in most of the Western nations (for example, in the United States between 1852 [Massachusetts] and 1918 [Mississippi], in Prussia in 1868, in England in 1870, and in France in 1882). In England, the 1861 Newcastle Report had stopped short of recommending compulsory education, but noted that about 2.5 million children were receiving some schooling, and that literacy rates were 67 percent for men and 51 percent for women. The Newcastle Report was typical of the era: even as the arguments over the rights and wrongs of compulsory education in the context of a liberal state were taking place, state intervention into these matters was increasing, at the very least in terms of collecting statistics and adjudicating on issues and problems.

In the United States in the nineteenth century, the COMMON SCHOOLS pioneered the notion of a free, compulsory, and secular education. Fundamental to this endeavor was the attempt to guarantee an educated populace who could partake in political, social, and economic life. Schooling and civics, then, grew together. Education in literacy was still the core concern in the common schools and in the public schools which succeeded them, but by now schooling was concerning itself with other subjects, including history, geography, arithmetic, and bookkeeping. HORACE MANN (1796–1859) was a crucial figure in the shift toward this compulsory public schooling system in the United States. Mann traveled widely, especially through Europe, and tried to implement the best features of overseas systems in the nascent Massachusetts system. Mann served as secretary of the first ever state board of education, established in Massachusetts in 1837, and lived to see that state implement the first compulsory education system in the United States. While it took some time for compulsory education to be fully implemented for both boys and girls and for all sectors of society, the early years of the twentieth century saw literacy rates in many Western countries approach 100 percent.

See also: **Compulsory School Attendance; Education, Europe; Education, United States.**

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GAVIN KENDALL

Literature. *See* Children's Literature.

Little League. *See* Baseball.

Little Women and Louisa May Alcott

Born November 29, 1832, in Germantown, Pennsylvania, Louisa May Alcott is best known as the author of *Little Women* (1868), a children's novel about the four March sisters, based on the experiences of her own family. Her father, BRONSON ALCOTT, was a well-known transcendentalist who failed in his career as a schoolteacher and afterward made lit-

the money to support his family. Her mother, Abigail May Alcott, took in sewing, did domestic work, and became a charity agent to help make ends meet. “Louy” and her three sisters, on whom the March girls were closely modeled, grew up in poverty but with a rich domestic life. Alcott always felt a strong sense of duty toward her family. She never married, instead devoting herself to supporting her relations through her successful writing career.

Before she began writing, Alcott was the subject of a book of observations by her father. In 1831 Bronson Alcott began a journal in which he recorded the development of his first daughter, Anna. Louisa entered its pages the following fall. Bronson continued his observations for five years, filling 2,500 manuscript pages with details of his daughters’ development. His portrait of Louisa is strikingly similar to her creation, Jo March. Young Louisa was headstrong, physical, and aggressive—a difficult child.

Alcott wrote many novels and short stories for children, including *Flower Fables* (1855), *Good Wives* (1869), *Little Men* (1871), *Eight Cousins* (1875), *Rose in Bloom* (1876), *Jack and Jill* (1880), and *Jo’s Boys* (1886). She also wrote adult fiction, including *Moods* (1865) and gothic thrillers under various pseudonyms. Her children’s fiction differed in tone from much of the literature that appeared before it; her characters were more realistic, and her message was less moralistic and overtly didactic. Although Alcott’s works have been criticized for presenting a sentimentalized depiction of Victorian domesticity, her stories also include characters who challenge societal norms. The tomboy Nan Harding from *Little Men*, who like Jo March and Louisa herself rejects Victorian standards of girlhood, becomes a doctor and never marries. Alcott also challenged the practice of corporal punishment, creating an indelible scene in *Little Men* where the kindly schoolteacher, Mr. Bhaer, punishes a misbehaving student by compelling the youth to beat Mr. Bhaer himself. Alcott’s novels support coeducation, and her fictional Plumfield School even opens its doors to a black student.

Alcott’s conceptions of childhood were shaped by her father and the other transcendentalist writers with whom she was intimate. As a child, Alcott took nature walks with Henry David Thoreau. She borrowed books from Ralph Waldo Emerson and composed her first short stories for his children. Like her mentors, Alcott adopted the romantic belief that children were intuitively wise and good. She believed the purpose of education was to develop children’s consciences and to help them to become self-reliant.

Alcott was a hearty youth who was raised on a strict vegetarian diet and subjected to cold-water baths in the early morning. A short stint nursing Union soldiers during the Civil War, however, ruined her health. Calomel treatments for a case of typhoid fever left her with mercury poisoning that caused muscle aches and hair loss. She died at the age

of fifty-five on March 6, 1888, three days after the death of her father.

See also: **Children’s Literature.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Locke, John (1632–1704)

English thinker John Locke insisted both that children are potentially free and rational beings, and that the realization of these crucial human qualities tends to be thwarted through imposition of the sort of prejudice that perpetuates oppression and superstition. It was, Locke believed, upbringing and education that stymied development of children’s humanity when the older generation, itself enmeshed in prejudice, preferred to maintain the status quo rather than to examine whether their lives qualified as truly human through the rational and free action characteristic of autonomous individuals. Locke argued that when an older generation imposes unquestioned beliefs and ways of action on its youth, the outcome is bondage rather than actualization of freedom.

The problem of the actualization and preservation of human freedom and rationality occupied Locke in all of his major works, from the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), through his four letters *Concerning Toleration* (1689, 1690, 1692, 1704), *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), and the posthumous *Of the Conduct of the Understanding* (1706). Both the promise of and danger to childhood emerged in each of these influential writings on philosophy, politics, religion, and education.

The Tabula Rasa

Locke characterized a newborn child’s mind as a blank sheet of paper, a clean slate, a tabula rasa. Implicit is a doctrine of egalitarianism, well-known from the fourth paragraph of the *Second Treatise of Government*: There is “nothing more evident, than that Creatures of the same species. . . born to all the same advantages of Nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal amongst one another without Subordination or Subjection. . . .” This egalitarianism is one of the aspects of the modern view of human nature, so different from the Platonic or medieval outlooks with their inborn inequalities foundational to nature- or God-ordained hierarchies in society, church, and state. For Locke, there are no natural obstructions that would block development of

children's native potential for acting freely and rationally. True, some possess more agile intellects or stronger wills than others; but all are innately equipped to become persons capable of freely following their own reason's pronouncements, that is, to become autonomous beings.

Egalitarianism is one of two consequences of the doctrine of the tabula rasa. The second is vulnerability. Young children are at risk because through their senses their environment inscribes on their minds all sorts of beliefs and practices. Reason would disapprove of most of these. But even if the inscriptions are rational, the young child's mind is still incapable of discerning them to be so; for all the child knows these so-called truths may be falsehoods. Hence their presence saddles the child with prejudice, and action based on prejudice will tend to be confining instead of liberating. So when he proclaimed all human beings equal from birth, Locke also had in mind the precarious position of children, their equal vulnerability to being habituated to wrong patterns of thought and behavior. Locke viewed prejudice as the root of evil. It is contracted especially through children's forced exposure to myopic parents or teachers and the self-serving powers of church and state. Thus early upbringing and education, guided by prevailing custom rather than by reason, can be disastrous as it rivets to the mind that which has the appearance of truth or goodness but which, once believed or enacted, blocks development of one's humanity.

For Locke, the only natural disposition all children and adults share is that which makes them pursue pleasure and avoid pain. In this pursuit or avoidance they are not naturally inclined to either good or evil. Originally, human beings occupy a position of neutrality: Children are born neither "trailing clouds of glory" (as Wordsworth would have it a century later) nor burdened with original sin (as Augustine proclaimed before the dawn of medieval times). To be human, children must acquire the inclination to act on what is true and good, and each must acquire it for herself or himself. Because there is neither original depravity nor original inclination to knowledge or goodness, the egalitarianism of the tabula rasa has moral import: to be human, each must personally stake her or his claim to truth and goodness. But because they cannot do so during the years of early childhood, this thorough egalitarianism remains coupled with thorough vulnerability. Each generation, itself imposed upon by the one that preceded it, tends to be more than willing to impose on children such principles and practices as will enhance their own power. And so each new generation is vulnerable to the bondage of prejudice, as custom habituates children into compliance with prevailing beliefs and practices.

The Role of Mathematics

How to escape the bondage of prejudice and develop childhood potential? Though central to these acts, children depend for their instigation on sensitive adults for whom life

itself militates against prejudice. Oppressive social, religious, and political structures chafe and irritate these adults, forcing them to examine their legitimacy, which in turn reveals their irrational and hence immoral principles. During such examinations, sensitive persons will introspect and become aware of the workings of their rational minds and recognize that rational procedures are most clearly revealed in mathematics where prejudice—unlike in religion or politics—has no purchase. When such enlightened persons guide children, actualization of childhood potential becomes possible. As Locke writes in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of the *Conduct of the Understanding*, "mathematics . . . should be taught . . . not so much to make them mathematicians, as to make them reasonable creatures," for "having got the way of reasoning, which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge."

Early upbringing guided by the prevailing custom of overprotecting and spoiling children will not equip them with the habit of self-discipline needed to give mathematical studies the focused attention they demand. Hence, in the early parts of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke propounds a regimen that will make for strong and disciplined children. His instructions are very specific: children's winter clothes should be as light as their summer clothes; their shoes should be thin to let in water, and their feet should be washed daily in cold water; they must spend much time in the open air without a hat whether in wind, sun, or rain and little time by the heat of the hearth; they must not overeat, and their diet should be very plain with little sugar, salt, or spices, no wine, and lots of dry brown bread; they should get plenty of sleep on a hard bed, but rise early. With this routine "there will not be so much need of beating children as is generally made use of"; their growing self-discipline will tend to make the rod superfluous. For "the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires where reason does not authorize them," a power "to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an *early practice*" (para. 38).

Mastery in mathematics allows children to recognize and use the procedures of reason, to discern and reject prejudice where it occurs (so cleaning the slate of its irrational inscriptions), and to develop a life in which their own will and reason begin to determine them. It allows children to develop into autonomous, useful individuals who will understand "the natural rights of man," "will seek the true measures of right and wrong," and will apply themselves "to that wherein [they] may be serviceable to [their] country" (para. 186–187).

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe; Enlightenment, The.**

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The Golden Days (1944–1946), Balthus. A contemporary of Nabokov, Balthasar Klossowski, known as Balthus, depicted seemingly sexually aware pubescent girls of the type Nabokov would later describe in *Lolita*. Hirschhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. Gift of the Joseph H. Hirschhorn Foundation, 1966. Photo by Lee Stalsworth.

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Lolita

Lolita began as a novel and has become a code-word for the attractions of sexual girlhood. The novel titled *Lolita* was written by Vladimir Nabokov between 1949 and 1955, and

published in France in 1955 and in the United States in 1958. Nabokov was born in Russia in 1899 and emigrated to the United States in 1940 after living in Europe since the Russian Revolution. He taught at Stanford University, Wellesley College, and Cornell University until the financial success of *Lolita* allowed him to stop teaching and move to Montreux, Switzerland, where he died in 1977. *Lolita* tells the story of Humbert Humbert, a middle-aged man who falls desperately in love with a young girl, Lolita, whom Nabokov famously described as a “nymphet.” Humbert Humbert marries Lolita’s mother in order to get close to her. After Lolita’s mother’s death, Humbert Humbert’s passion is consummated during the course of an epic car trip, which ends in tragedy.

While Nabokov claimed his real subject matter was the esthetics of extreme erotic desire, the ostensibly pedophilic content of his novel rendered it scandalous. The book manuscript was first rejected by four United States publishers, then published, in English, by Maurice Girodias’s Olympia Press in France, and finally in an American edition by Put-

nam in 1958. The novel elicited outraged protests against its content, which did not lead to censorship in the United States, but caused the Olympia Press edition to be banned by the French Ministry of the Interior, at the request of the British Home Office. Having already generated brisk illicit sales, *Lolita* soared to the top of the United States' best-seller lists once it was officially published. Three days after publication, 62,500 copies were in print, and by 1964 the novel had sold 2.5 million copies in the United States alone. By the mid 1980s, *Lolita* had sold about 14 million copies around the world.

Lolita's notoriety was magnified by its translation into film. The famed director Stanley Kubrick created his screen version in 1962, starring James Mason as Humbert Humbert, Sue Lyon (then fifteen years old) as Lolita, Shelley Winters as Lolita's mother Charlotte Haze, and Peter Sellers as Humbert's rival Clare Quilty. The film's screenplay was written by Nabokov himself. The film proved as controversial as the novel had been. After much debate and some editing of the film, it was released, but rated for adults only.

Kubrick's *Lolita* provided an image that resonated as widely as the novel's title. In an early scene, Lolita, reclining on the grass in a two-piece bathing suit, casts a sultry gaze at Humbert Humbert over her sunglasses. This image became conflated with a publicity still for the film showing a close-up of Lolita looking over red heart-shaped sunglasses while sucking on a red lollipop. Merged in the popular imagination, these two images have come to stand for *Lolita*, and, by extension, for the entire issue of whether precocious sexuality is an abusive adult fantasy, or the reality of incipient adolescence.

A sign of *Lolita's* ongoing relevance was the remake of the film by Adrian Lyne in 1997. The new film's screenplay was by Stephen Schiff and starred Jeremy Irons as Humbert Humbert and Dominique Swain as Lolita (with a body double widely announced to be playing Lolita's sex scenes). Though Lyne had proved himself to be a commercially successful director in the past, he had great difficulty finding a U.S. distributor for the film. The problem of SEXUALITY in and with young girls, "nymphets," remains a troubled cultural terrain and the ambiguities of *Lolita* that connect PEDOPHILIA with sexual precocity incorporate and reflect that terrain.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Theories of Childhood.**

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Lord of the Rings and J. R. R. Tolkien

John Ronald Reuel Tolkien amused his four children with bedtime stories, tales, and pictures, and his love of storytelling led to the creation of *The Hobbit*, begun in 1930 and published in 1937. Written for children, the book introduced Middle Earth and its inhabitants, primarily hobbits, dwarves, elves, a wizard, and men. The great Ring of Power central to *The Lord of the Rings* is secondary in *The Hobbit's* story of the conquest of a dragon and the capture of his hoard of gold. A main theme of *The Lord of the Rings*, that of small folk doing great deeds, is presaged in Bilbo Baggins, the hobbit who begrudgingly leaves his comfortable home, confronts challenges and dangers, and acquires the Ring. Upon the success of *The Hobbit*, illustrated by Tolkien, his publishers requested a sequel, and Tolkien began *The Lord of the Rings*.

Although Tolkien is most famous for his *Lord of the Rings*, his prolific writing career began in childhood and was lifelong. His poetry, tales, critical essays, linguistic work, and translations and editions of medieval literature appeared in magazines, scholarly journals, encyclopedias, and other publications. Tolkien's consuming passion, however, was the creation of a myth for England, the *Silmarillion*, which he began in 1917 as "The Book of Lost Tales." Although he worked on it his entire life, it was never completed. It was edited posthumously by Tolkien's son Christopher and was published in 1977.

Tolkien began *The Lord of the Rings* in 1937. A medievalist, he drew on Norse and Old and Middle English literature to populate his imaginary world. Middle Earth, which is imbued with verisimilitude, is home to many types of beings, each with its own culture, history, and language. Tolkien continuously revised his epic tale of confederated free peoples saving their world from subjugation, and the subsequent passing of an age before it was finally published in the mid-1950s. Originally a single work, *The Lord of the Rings* was divided by the publisher into three volumes, now known as the Trilogy: *The Fellowship of the Ring* (1954), *The Two Towers* (1954), and *The Return of the King* (1955). Seemingly a simple tale of good against evil, *The Lord of the Rings* also encompasses the themes of technology versus nature, fate, free will and moral choice, power, mortality, cultural diversity, heroism, and human potential, the complexities of which engage adult readers. Although many people read *The Lord of the Rings* in their youth, they experience it differently upon re-reading the books as adults. Rather than just enjoying the tale of adventure and quest, they also become involved in the larger issues and are more aware of its dark nature.

The Lord of the Rings offers to everyone the escape, recovery, and consolation that Tolkien perceived as an elemental function of the fairy tale, as well as the hope that the most unassuming person can become a hero through bravery, loyalty, and love. Perhaps the story's greatest appeal to all readers is the presence of the magical: not sleight of hand but the shimmering light of the majestic elves, the wisdom and sight beyond mortal vision, and the power of words, all seemingly lost to the modern world. Historical context also plays a role in readers' attraction to *The Lord of the Rings*; for example, the cult-like response in America on college campuses upon the (unauthorized) publication of the books in 1965 coincided with a cultural movement characterized by a desire for peace and empowerment in a time of disillusionment.

The Hobbit and *The Lord of the Rings* have been translated into many languages and media, including radio, audio recordings, and film. Director Peter Jackson made an award-winning movie version of *The Lord of the Rings*, in three segments following the volume order; the first was released in 2001 and the others followed in consecutive years. Reactions were mixed among viewers who were familiar with the books. Some, particularly adolescents, objected to the plot changes, while others felt the films were as faithful as possible, and many praised them for sparking a new interest in the books.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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Love

Parents' attachment to and affection for their children are perhaps the most profound emotional experiences of human existence. Infancy and childhood require an extraordinary level of parental involvement and typically call for the parent or caretaker to sacrifice resources, comfort, and even safety in the interests of the child. Contemporary evolutionary theory views affection for children and parental attachment as biologically motivated behavior, fundamental to the survival of the species. Some psychological theories also place the experience of parental love and attachment at the center of emotional development. As children develop, other important emotional relationships grow out of the experiences of affection and attachment that they had as children.

The Ancient and Medieval World

Culture has inevitably grown up around attachment behavior, investing it with meanings and also shaping the behavior to conform to other human needs. Although examples abound in the Bible and in Greek literature of the love of parents for children, these do not necessarily resemble contemporary standards for love. For instance, in 2 Samuel, King David mourns for his dead, rebellious son, Absalom. But his general, Joab, rebukes David for his sadness, reminding David of the danger his men had incurred to defeat Absalom.

Evidence from Rome depicts an upper class that poured out affection for dead infants and children. Yet the experience of childhood may have been filled with relatively few moments of abiding tenderness. Roman fathers could reject children at birth, allowing them to be exposed and die. Roman medical literature has little to say about childhood illness, and children in Roman letters and memorials were often praised for adult characteristics. This does not indicate a Roman ignorance of stages of child development—children played freely in their early years and received many toys from fond relatives. But upper-class Romans may have cared more for the adult to be than for the child. Roman children began life and continued through childhood within a dense network of relationships in which the biological parents often were not the primary caregivers and may not have been the primary givers of love and affection. As they grew, boys had to learn the Roman values of citizenship and generally received a relatively extensive education under harsh masters. Even so, there is evidence that by the first century B.C.E. parental affection for young children had wider acceptance and that during the early imperial period some Romans came to see the family as their principal source of identity.

Historians in the two decades following PHILIPPE ARIÈS's groundbreaking 1960 work generally applied Ariès's insights to the affectional bonds of medieval and early modern households. According to Ariès parents loved their children, but not so much for themselves as for the contribution these children could bring to the household. High infant and childhood mortality meant that families feared to invest much time, affection, and attention in small children who might not survive. Even names were reused, either family names or the names of dead siblings. WET-NURSING meant mothers had little opportunity to become attached to their infants, and SWADDLING and inattention meant that the very young received little opportunity to bond with mothers. Similarly the lack of privacy foreclosed opportunities for purely family activities. Between ages seven and fourteen both boys and girls could expect to be apprenticed to another family, thus ending family closeness altogether. Childhood ended quickly, and youths became miniature adults, with versions of adult roles and responsibilities. Thus, the household economy completely absorbed the bonds of affection.

More recent historians have stressed continuity rather than a sharp change in child rearing from medieval to early modern times. Evidence exists back to antiquity of the recognition that childhood was a distinctive phase in human development and worthy of special attention. Children's TOYS, evidence of grief for dead infants, and new insights into practices such as wet-nursing all point to a more affectionate family environment. One study of rural France found mothers fussing over young children and grieving at the loss of children through death or separation. Important changes in child raising accompanied economic and intellectual trends from the late Middle Ages. These included extended schooling, the renewed importance of classical models for education, and a newly vital embrace of marriage and family life. These trends tended to reinforce the importance of warmth and affection in the home.

Early Modern and Modern Times

By the eighteenth century the general features of the modern affectionate or sentimental family had become widely disseminated in child-rearing literature and the values of close family ties and affection began to be taken for granted among middle- and upper-class families in western Europe and the British North American colonies. JOHN LOCKE's 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* became a fundamental text of the new family ideal. Locke believed that children were distinct from adults in having few if any concepts, and that the education of children should be central to family life. He urged parents (he wrote to fathers) to use physical punishment as little as possible, but rather to shape behavior through esteem and disgrace. Locke's work became an important point of departure for ENLIGHTENMENT writers who encouraged sentimental relationships within the family.

By the early nineteenth century, the affectionate family, with recognizably contemporary attitudes toward parental love, had taken firm root among the middle classes in western Europe and the northern United States. The economic functions of the family had largely withered away and in their place powerful affectionate bonds had grown up. Even with continuing high INFANT MORTALITY, parents recognized each new child as an individual and as worthy of a unique relationship. Children received new and distinctive names. Mothers nursed their own children and both parents attempted to spend time playing with children and nourishing the bonds of affection. Boys and girls would still have gender-neutral clothing until age seven, but the ages of childhood were valued as intrinsically important. Extended schooling limited, sometimes even replaced, APPRENTICESHIPS for boys, and girls generally remained in the home. Within the larger middle-class homes, private parlors allowed the family to spend time together away from outsiders. The love of family members for one another, and particularly of parents for their children, became the central concern of the family.

Gender, Class, Ethnicity, and Region

The workings of the affectionate family varied by gender, social class, ethnicity, and region. Among the important economic and social changes in the United States and western Europe was the separation of work from the home. Middle-class fathers, as breadwinners, were absent from the home for most of the day, six days a week. This reduced or eliminated many of the relations that fathers would have with their children within a household-based economy such as a farm or artisan's workshop. Fathers still strived to serve the family and still enjoyed their children and gave them warm regard, but their time for this was limited.

The role of the middle-class mother became far more important. During the nineteenth century, motherhood assumed a vitally important role, becoming the epitome of all love and the highest example of devotion. Mothers, especially as they gained assistance from maids and other servants, could devote ever larger periods of time to raising children, a calling that became central to the self-identity of middle-class mothers. Literature was filled with examples of maternal sacrifice and love. Evidence from letters in the nineteenth century, and from surveys in the early twentieth century, show that both male and female children had fonder memories of mothers than of fathers. But boys had eventually to separate from mothers to pursue independent lives. Girls, on the other hand, could grow to womanhood within a realm of motherly affection that was extended through relations to other female relatives, friends of the mother's, and age-contemporary friends who were part of the extended female network.

In the pre-Civil War American South, the sentimental family bound by affection and centered on the rearing of children appeared in a modified form among upper-class white families. Here the fathers may well have taken more of a role in the life of the children, and these families may have given greater scope to affection. But southern parents also demanded that children acquire a sense of family pride and honor, and take on roles that were often more prescriptive than those found in the North. Consequently, these families have been described as warm and affectionate but with careful control of emotional displays.

African-American families in the South prior to the Civil War maintained affectionate ties in spite of the hardships of slavery. Frederick Douglass recalled his mother's visits to him, even though she had to travel many miles at night, after her work. The vulnerability of the slave family to being broken by the sale of its members, and the harsh conditions of slavery, meant that many children developed kinship ties to aunts, uncles, grandparents, and fictive kin within the slave community. These ties spread the child-rearing tasks and also the bonds of affection throughout the community. Even so, after the war one of the most common reasons for the almost universal movement of freed men and women was the desire to find spouses and children and reunite families.

Working-class white families in the nineteenth century had little in common with middle-class families. Children in industrializing America had to work and contribute to the family economy from an early age. Affectionate ties within the family always competed with the material needs of the family. Fathers may have been even more distant than in middle-class families. A primary source of tension within working-class families was the demand for children's wages. In immigrant families, especially those from southern and eastern Europe, traditions of patriarchy meant that fathers preferred sons and the family focus was not on raising and adoring children but on serving fathers and catering to male children. Combined with the pressing demands for the entire family to work, this limited affectionate play and the warmth of family life.

The Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century

The twentieth century brought a range of changes to the affectionate family. With the growing prosperity of the middle class, fathers could budget more time for activities with children. This still left the bulk of child rearing and family chores with mothers, but fathers at least had more opportunities for affectionate play with children. Growing prosperity also meant that successful working-class families began to resemble middle-class families, with their affectionate ties. Mandatory school laws and the limited success of CHILD LABOR laws meant that more working-class children were experiencing extended childhoods similar to those of children of the middle class.

A peer culture also developed among adolescent youth in the twentieth century. With extended schooling, and with the popularity of SUMMER CAMPS, many more children found themselves with age peers for much more time. Some conflicts grew out of this development, with adolescent children convinced that parents had little understanding of and affection for them. Mothers found it more difficult to continue the long tradition of female bonds among girls and young women.

Motherhood and mother love also came in for criticism. By the 1920s, social scientists and journalists began to attack mother love as a dangerous, even suffocating, emotional attachment. While maternal affection continued to characterize home life, at least middle-class mothers often found themselves fearing that their desire to coddle or praise or worry over children might have long-term harmful effects. After World War II this trend was partially reversed, with the renewed cultural emphasis upon the affectionate family, but suspicion of mother love continued as a motif in American culture throughout the twentieth century.

As indicated by biological and psychological theories that place parental affection for children at the center of human evolutionary survival and emotional development, love of children has become transcendent in contemporary America. Child-centeredness is taken for granted, with the only de-

bate being around the proper means of aiding children in their development. At the same time, late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century Americans recognize the possibilities for abuse disguised as love for children. Revelations of the sexual exploitation of children in child-care facilities and religious institutions, and the recognition of dysfunctional family life as an important social issue, have made the proper form of love, care, and affection for children a pressing issue. Because of its importance in contemporary culture, love for children will continue at the center of vital debates on social and moral issues.

Love by Children

The history of children's love is obviously more obscure than that of parental love. As sentimental love became more highly emphasized, it was usually assumed that children would respond in kind. But not all children proved as loving as their parents hoped. One feature of ADOLESCENCE often involved a period in which active affection was less forthcoming, which could be confusing to child and parent alike. Sociologists have speculated that a longer-term result of the growing emphasis on love for children involved a need for children (perhaps particularly girls) to fall in love in order ultimately to separate themselves from their parents (particularly their mothers). The ramifications of the history of love and childhood deserve further attention.

See also: **Emotional Life; Fathering and Fatherhood; Mothering and Motherhood.**

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Lycée

Created as state schools in France in 1802, the *lycées* educated the future French elite for more than a century. They were intended for boys only, recruited pupils mainly from higher classes, and offered a general education, extended to all secondary classes, with no immediate occupational application. Today's *lycées* are restricted to the last three years of secondary education and to some higher education classes, but their curriculum has been extended to technical and VOCATIONAL EDUCATION and they welcome almost all boys and girls. This transformation has been accompanied by deep changes in the *lycées'* organization, education, and pedagogical practices.

The Classical Lycée

Napoleon Bonaparte created the *lycées* in order to put the education of future officers, administrators, engineers, and professionals under state control. They took the place of the *écoles centrales* of 1795, which had failed to fill the gap caused by the suppression of universities and the collapse of the old *collèges* during the French Revolution. The creators of the *lycée* were inspired by the model of the *collèges*, including the presence of religious education and practices. The *lycées* were closed boarding schools with a military-type discipline, welcoming scholarship students as well as paying boarders and day pupils.

Whereas the *écoles centrales* had an encyclopedic curriculum, the birth of the *lycées* marked a return to the humanistic model of education, which meant classical studies and the domination of Latin. The first curriculum, however, left a lot of room to science education, which was carried on afterwards because the *lycées* prepared some of their pupils for the entry examination to the *École polytechnique* and other schools of scientific higher education. Up to the 1880s, pedagogical methods were based on memorization and imitation, and involved a lot of written exercises, whose handing out and correction occupied a large part of teachers' courses. The pupils therefore had considerable personal work to perform, which boarders did under the supervision of tutors, who supervised boarders at all times, except during classes.

The Lycées' Modernization

The humanistic model was questioned as early as the first half of the nineteenth century when the curriculum started becoming specialized. In the bigger *lycées*, physics, history and geography, living languages, art, gymnastics, and natural science gradually became subjects in their own rights with specialized teachers, despite the attempt by minister Hippolyte Fortoul (1851–1856) to break with the return to ency-

clopedism. A special education intended for pupils in need of more modern and practical courses developed beside classical studies. From 1880, republican authorities backed up the cause of the modernization of the curriculum and pedagogy. The role of Latin was reduced, despite fierce resistance from supporters of the classics, and new pedagogical methods requiring observation, experimentation, and personal reflection on the part of the pupils gradually imposed themselves. The 1902 reform put modern education at the same level as classical studies, and replaced the traditional two-hour classes with modern one-hour courses.

These changes created anxiety for many teachers. They regarded their new role—which implied a more direct contact with the pupils—as a threatening confusion between teaching and tutoring functions, and a fall in the status to the teaching profession. This unrest persisted throughout the twentieth century. In fact, the status and working conditions of tutors improved considerably after 1880. They were better educated and the decline in the number of boarders led the authorities to reform their task. Generally, whereas the teachers who had tenure, holders of the *agrégation*, reached their best social position ever around 1900, the lot of all the teaching profession improved massively, even in the *collèges communaux* (municipal secondary schools). The bigger *collèges communaux* were gradually converted into *lycées*, so the number of *lycées* for boys rose from 36 in 1820 to 110 in 1900 (when there were 39 *lycées* for girls) receiving about 32 percent of secondary education pupils (*collèges communaux* received 21 percent; and private secondary schools received 47 percent).

Lycées for girls, created in 1880, developed a secondary education distinct from that of boys until 1924. GIRLS' SCHOOLS did not teach Latin, which led the way to a remarkable development of the teaching of French literature. Girls' secondary education did not include the *baccalauréat*, the final examination on which the admission to higher education depended, but many girls managed to take it nevertheless.

From the Education of the Elite to Mass Education

Public secondary education became entirely free in 1934, but the *lycées* actually switched from the education of the elite to mass education after World War II. Post-elementary schooling rapidly spread to all social classes, and all types of post-elementary schools, like the higher primary schools (1941), the primary higher courses, the technical schools and the schools for apprentices (1959), gradually merged into a sole second *degré* derived from secondary schools thanks to institutional reforms. From 1963, the *lycées* lost their first four classes, which were converted into new lower secondary schools called *collèges*. *Collèges* were unified in 1975 (*le collège unique*) as was the first grade of the *lycées* a few years later.

Since then, the specialization in technical or vocational education has been assigned to the last two classes of the *ly-*

cées. General and technical education have both led on to the *baccalauréat*, as well as vocational education since 1985. But the equality between all secondary courses is more formal than real. The specialization in vocational or technical education has often been considered a failure. The abilities by which pupils are judged did not change much after the beginning of the twentieth century, and the way these abilities were measured favored pupils from higher social and cultural backgrounds. The extinction of tutoring, in the 1960s, probably made things worse.

Therefore, the *lycées*' democratization was not completed by the end of the twentieth century. The proportion of French pupils reaching the *baccalauréat* level soared up to three quarters by the mid 1990s, which represented a great leap forward in a few decades. But, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the probability of reaching the best courses was still strongly connected with pupils' social background, and girls, though generally more successful than boys academically, were a minority in courses like science which led to the best higher studies.

See also: **Education, Europe; Gymnasium Schooling; High School.**

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PHILIPPE SAVOIE

M

Madonna, Orthodox

At the council of Ephesus, in 431 C.E., the Church confirmed that Mary, the mother of Jesus, could bear the title *Theotokos*, meaning “Bearer of God.” In doing this, the Church encouraged the emergence of a public cult of the Virgin. In the course of the fifth century a number of churches dedicated to the Virgin were built in Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. During the sixth and seventh centuries the feasts of the Annunciation, Purification, and the Nativity and Dormition (or “falling asleep”) of Mary were established. In the seventh century the Virgin came to be perceived as the supernatural protector of the city and its head: the emperor in Constantinople, the pope in Rome.

The political power vested in the figure of the Virgin found a visual expression in the formation of the *Maria Regina* image that emerged in the second half of the sixth century and became prominent in the eighth century, especially in Rome. The *Maria Regina* representation shows the Virgin dressed as a Byzantine empress with a crown, pearl necklaces, and a silk sash or *loros*. She sits on a gem-encrusted throne and supports the child Jesus on her lap. Both figures are displayed in a directly frontal attitude, addressing the viewer with their gaze. In the *Maria Regina* images the imperially dressed figure of Mary functions metaphorically as a “living throne” to the divine figure of Christ. However, these hierarchic images, manifesting the presence of supernatural power on earth, do not explore the maternal and filial link between mother and child.

Only during the period of Iconoclasm (730–843) was a new emphasis placed on the relationship between the Virgin and Child; the neutral term *Theotokos* was gradually supplanted by the appellation *Meter Theou*, or “Mother of God.” This new title emphasized the maternal link between Mary and Christ. The emotionally intense love between the mother and child that developed in the ninth-century texts was not immediately manifested in the visual culture, however.

Only by the late tenth century did new emotionally evocative images of the mother and child appear, such as that in Tokali Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey. These images show the child Jesus lovingly placing his arm around his mother’s neck, while the Virgin inclines her head, pressing her cheek to that of her son. With one arm she cradles Christ, while with the other she gestures towards him, addressing the prayers of the viewer to Christ (the icon of the Vladimir Virgin in Moscow is an example).

These representations place an equally strong emphasis on the unfaltering love of the child, who actively reaches out to his mother, embraces her by the neck, and brings his lips close to her face. By depicting Christ’s love, these images present the source of Mary’s power, for it is because Christ loves his mother beyond measure that he would grant his blessing to her pleas on behalf of humanity. The images of the playful and loving child Jesus thus explain that the salvation of humankind rests in Christ’s unfaltering love for his mother.

Along with the affection of the child, these images also convey the idea of motherly sacrifice. The Virgin beseeches Christ, but she also presents and offers him to the viewer. Her raised, gesturing hand symbolizes this act of offering. Her grip is loosened, allowing the viewer into the image to be part of the mother-and-child embrace. Thus, the Byzantine icons of Mary and Christ present an image of a double sacrifice: the mother offering her son, and the Son offering his life for the salvation of humanity.

The best pictorial expression of these ideas is revealed in one of the most powerful icons in the Byzantine and Orthodox world: the Hodegetria. By the twelfth century this icon was perceived as the supernatural protector of the capital (Constantinople), the emperor, and the empire. The panel displayed the image of the Virgin and child on the front side, and the Crucifixion on the back. The obverse side presents an image of the incarnation of the Logos (word) in the form

of the Christ child carried in his mother's arm. He receives the pleas of Mary on behalf of humanity and responds with a blessing. The Crucifixion on the reverse side displays the fulfillment of the promise in Christ's sacrifice. Christ's body sags lifelessly from the cross, and Mary's hands are empty, one pressed to her chest as a sign of her loss and suffering and the other still raised in a gesture of intercession. The Virgin's sacrifice is here poignantly expressed: the sacrifice of her motherly love and the death of her child is the price offered for the salvation of humanity.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Madonna, Religious; Madonna, Secular.**

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BISSERA V. PENTCHEVA

Madonna, Religious

The term *Madonna*, which comes from the Italian for "our lady," is a title of respect for the Virgin Mary commonly applied to works of art, especially those images that feature mother and infant, known familiarly as Madonna and Child. The Virgin Mary appears so frequently in Christian art that many are surprised to learn how rarely she is mentioned in the four Gospels. Her artistic identity is a compilation of scripture, tradition, faith, and interpretation. Particularly significant is the Protevangelium (or Infancy Gospel) of James, a mid-second-century apocryphal manuscript that describes Mary's childhood and Jesus' early life, neither of which is narrated in the Bible.

Traditions continued to evolve over the centuries, reflecting liturgical practice, popular belief, and scriptural exegesis. Collections of popular tales can be found in the thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* (Golden legend) by Jacobus de Voragine, and in the nineteenth-century *Legends of the Madonna* by Anna Jameson. Nor were developments confined to the Middle Ages. The decades of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (known as the Counter-Reformation or post-Tridentine period) following the division of the Western Church into Protestant and Catholic denomina-

tions, saw the rise or reform of many aspects of Marian devotion, as well as renewed demand in Catholic regions for works of art featuring the Madonna. Two important elements of Marian doctrine, the Immaculate Conception (referring to Mary's birth free of the stain of original sin) and her Assumption into heaven, were only defined as dogma (required truth faith) by the Catholic Church as recently as 1858 and 1950, respectively, although the feast days of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption date respectively from the thirteenth and seventh centuries.

It is not uncommon for the Madonna to be depicted without her child, in scenes that narrate events before Jesus' birth—such as the Immaculate Conception, the Annunciation (when Gabriel brings news that Mary will bear the son of God), and the Visitation (when Mary's miraculous pregnancy is recognized by her cousin Elizabeth)—or events that take place after his death, such as Pentecost (the descent of the Holy Spirit onto Mary and the apostles) or the Assumption of the Virgin. At times, the Madonna may be shown alone, outside of a narrative context, especially in a devotional image (a figure intended to evoke prayers and elicit veneration for the individual represented). For example, cult statues of Mary need not include her child, if honoring her role as intercessor in heaven on behalf of those who address prayers to her. However, because Mary's significance in Christianity is linked directly to her role as Jesus' mother, it is more common to find her represented as the young mother of an extraordinary infant than as a solitary woman.

Origins of Marian Art

Images of the Madonna and Child have not always been characterized by the warm, loving exchanges characteristic of familiar works of art. Initially the two protagonists displayed a regal and formal bearing many today characterize as distant and austere. The earliest known depiction of Mary comes from the Catacomb of Priscilla, a late-second-century or early-third-century underground burial site in Rome. The wall painting depicts a woman nursing a baby, seated beside a bearded man who stands pointing to the sky. Scholars identify this man as either Isaiah or Balaam, two Hebrew prophets whose writings were interpreted to prefigure Jesus' birth.

In early Christian art Mary was portrayed as an orant (figure in prayer), a mother, or enthroned in the manner of an empress, borrowing from Greco-Roman conventions of prestige. As a new religion, it was prudent for Christianity to use an artistic vocabulary already in place and understood by the public to express unfamiliar ideas. Images that conveyed Mary's high status encouraged viewers to hold her in equal or higher regard than secular rulers. Pagan audiences in late antiquity never would have confused the Madonna with their fertility goddesses, who wore elaborate costumes, not the simple veil of an ordinary woman; nor did Mary embody their destructive powers. Pagan goddesses kept apart

from humans, but Mary was accessible. Through her, Christians could approach her imposing son and his austere father, much as mothers and wives of the remote and all-powerful Roman emperors served as intercessors for their subjects.

Marian depictions became more frequent in the fifth century, after her status was elevated by the Council of Ephesus in 431 C.E., which honored Mary with the title *Theotokos*, a Greek term meaning “God-bearer.” The first church to be dedicated to her, the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (St. Mary the Great), was consecrated in 432 C.E., and not long after copies of the *Hodegetria* icon (Greek for “she who leads the way”) were circulated widely throughout the Roman Empire, showing Mary as a solemn, regal mother holding the infant Jesus in her left arm and pointing to him with her right, while her son held up his hand in blessing. This Byzantine format was repeated for centuries in Western art.

Gradually, a more loving, less formal relationship unfolded between mother and child. Mary’s head inclined more toward her son, while the infant began to twist in his mother’s arms, their cheeks touching or gazes meeting. The somber child became a squirming baby, and Mary a tender mother. The throne and crown that had initially been incorporated to portray Mary in the guise of an empress became identified in medieval art as aspects of her role as Queen of Heaven and *Sede sapientia* (seat of wisdom). By the late thirteenth century, greater naturalism began to replace the rigid postures that had been employed earlier to convey prestige and respect, and artists strove to portray the strong maternal bond between mother and child. In Gothic paintings, the isolation of figures against a gold ground retained a sense of formality, but the adaptation of descriptive backgrounds in the Renaissance concluded this transition.

Emergence of the Mothering Madonna

Aesthetic trends toward more representational art in the late-medieval and early-modern period coincided with a corresponding philosophical shift that viewed humanity as a metaphor for the cosmos, and the natural world as a mirror of the divine. Religious thought, influenced by the teachings of the newly founded Franciscan order, likewise began to focus more on Jesus’ humanity than his divinity. Christianity holds that, as the son of God, Jesus was both fully divine and fully human, with his mother, the Virgin Mary, contributing his human nature. Whereas divinity had been expressed through images of a regal Queen and an adult Savior, the doctrinal emphasis on humanity was best illustrated through images of a maternal Madonna and Child.

Developments in religious practice also supported this change. *Devotio moderna*, a late medieval form of worship popular in Northern Europe, emphasized personal identification with Mary’s grief and Jesus’ suffering. Its practitioners used works of art as tools to inspire meditation and prayer. The presentation of the Christ child as a baby in his mother’s



The image of *Maria lactans*, the nursing Madonna, which became common during the fifteenth century, emphasized the human relationship between the Virgin Mary and her child. *The Virgin and Child before a Firescreen* (c. 1440), follower of Robert Campin. The Art Archive/National Gallery London/Eileen Tweedy.

arms not only reminded worshipers of Jesus’ human birth, but also helped foster a feeling of connection, through their own experiences of childhood or parental nurturing. At a time of high INFANT MORTALITY, such scenes evoked both sorrow and sympathy. Thus, theology, philosophy, and popular custom all found confirmation in these images of an infant God in his mother’s arms.

Sentiment versus Scripture

The Madonna and Child pairing appealed greatly to Renaissance artists, writers, and preachers. Mary was increasingly portrayed as the compassionate, protective mother of a gifted, precocious child. Though the Madonna retained her customary red dress and blue mantle (red symbolizing passion and true love, blue heaven and spiritual love), her son was now shown naked or scantily clothed, fully revealing his male genitalia. Leo Steinberg, in his influential book *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, argues against the tendency to dismiss this as a natural display of maternal pride or casual reflection of contemporary child-care. He links the frequently exposed infant genitalia to the Renaissance emphasis on the doctrine of the incarnation—God’s presence on earth in human form—translated artisti-



Our Lady of Guadalupe (c. late 17th century) is the most significant image of the Madonna created in the New World. Her likeness, first created in colonial Mexico, has been adopted as a source of Hispanic pride throughout the Western Hemisphere. The Art Archive/Pinacoteca Virreinel Mexico City/Dagli Orti.

cally into a young boy who embodied the Gospel phrase, “the Word made Flesh.” Mary’s role as instrument of the incarnation was celebrated in Nativity scenes and in devotional images of *Maria lactans*, the nursing Madonna, a form that emerged in the mid-fourteenth century and gained popularity in the fifteenth century.

Clergy praised images of the Virgin breast-feeding her son and urged women to follow her example, rather than send children out to wet nurses. Jean de Gerson (1363–1429) of Paris preached that mother’s milk was not only natural infant’s food but also the beginning of a Christian education. Nevertheless, during the Reformation, Protestants objected to scenes of Mary nursing her child on religious grounds, claiming these works asserted Mary’s power over Jesus because they showed his dependency on her for nourishment. The Puritan minister William Crashaw (1572–1626) called it degrading to depict Jesus as a small baby subservient to a woman. Such imagery, he complained, would not let Christ

grow up into a miracle-working male, equal in size and stature to God the Father.

Many Protestants felt that the Roman Church gave Mary too much prominence; the most radical accused the Church of Mariolatry—a form of idolatry based on exaggerated importance of Mary’s role in Christianity. Though many believers probably did esteem Mary too highly, this was due more to the popular appeal of the Madonna as an ever-loving, ever-forgiving mother than to a deliberate effort on the part of the Church to diminish Christ’s stature. In Catholic teaching, only God is entitled to worship; the Madonna, as a saint, may be venerated (paid homage) and asked to intercede on behalf of the faithful, but not worshipped. From its inception, the Church had taken pains to distinguish the use of art in worship from the worship of idols, defining religious art as a tool for teaching the illiterate, a means of honoring the saintly, and a way to remember the salvation story. Prayers were to be addressed not to a statue or painting, but to the personage represented by it, with the works of art serving to aid the inner eye to mentally re-create sacred experience.

Non-Western Adaptations

Missionaries to non-Western lands brought works of art along on their journeys. Jesuits in seventeenth-century JAPAN set up *Namban* painting academies to produce European-style paintings in local techniques and with Asian features. The Madonna and Child was by far the image most requested by newly converted clients. To explain the Virgin Mary to native audiences, Europeans compared her to Amaterasu, the Shinto sun goddess, because of an artistic resemblance to the Madonna. Despite visual similarities, Amaterasu was not an appropriate match, for her powers were natural, not moral. The Japanese Buddhist goddess of compassion, Kannon (known as Kuan Yin in China), would have been a better equivalent had missionaries based their comparison on doctrine rather than visual appearance.

In AFRICA, mother-child figures were already a familiar part of ritual art, which helped facilitate the transfer of Christian meanings onto traditional forms. Hybrid items such as Kongo crosses attest to the assimilation of native and imposed religious traditions, as well as the acceptance of Christianity by African converts. Nigerian-American poet Ifeanyi Menkiti has written about how Africans venerate the Madonna as an active patron and advocate, rather than a passive vessel for the incarnation, a perspective influenced by the dynamic roles of indigenous female deities.

Conversion was an official goal of European colonizers in the Hispanic new world, where clergy accompanied soldiers on missions of exploration. Unlike Protestant colonists in Anglo-settled North America, Spanish colonizers viewed natives as souls to be saved rather than as savages to be eradicated, resulting in a higher number of coerced conversions but a greater survival rate among the indigenous population.

There was also a degree of covert cultural survival as well, as native religious traditions were adapted and subsumed into Christian ones.

The most significant new-world Madonna is Our Lady of Guadalupe, the name given to the 1531 apparition of the Virgin Mary to a Nahuatl Indian convert in Tepeyac, just outside of Mexico City. Many identify Our Lady of Guadalupe as the Christianization of an Aztec goddess whose ancient temple lay on the hill of Tepeyac, citing the similarity between the names *Guadalupe* and *Coatlicue*, the Aztec goddess of earth and death (though today she is associated with the mother goddess *Tonantzin*). Few realize, however, that Our Lady of Guadalupe was also the name of a wonder-working black Madonna from Spain whose cult clergy had tried to promote in Mexico, only to find natives associated the miraculous powers of blackness with male deities rather than female. Hence, to conform to popular belief and win over the indigenous population, a black Madonna was lightened rather than a Caucasian Madonna darkened. Despite this history, Our Lady of Guadalupe, known affectionately as *la Morenita* (little brown one), has been adopted as an emblem of cultural and religious affiliation and as a symbol of Hispanic pride, for her perceived mixed-race skin tone. Her strong devotion among Americans in the twenty-first century is testimony to the enduring influence of the Madonna as a cultural and religious figure.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Madonna, Orthodox; Madonna, Secular.**

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MELISSA R. KATZ

Madonna, Secular

For centuries, the Virgin Mary has been the most visible woman in history. She has been the subject of countless works of art, music, literature, and theology, and many great architectural monuments have been erected in her name. In



Adoration (c. 1897), Gertrude Käsebier. Käsebier was one of a number of artists at the turn of the twentieth century who produced romanticized images of mothers and children. *Adoration* draws upon a long tradition of Madonna and Child imagery but lacks any overt religious symbolism, in accordance with the preferences of an increasingly secular American audience. Courtesy George Eastman House.

our own century, she remains the woman whose face has appeared most frequently on the cover of *Time* magazine, an ambiguous comment on women's achievement, recognition, and historical visibility. As both a religious and cultural figure, she represents an ideal paradigm, one whose characteristics have been defined largely by men to be practiced by women. Mary's chastity, modesty, humility, and obedience have been held up as a model to Christian and non-Christian women alike, yet the aspect that most distinguishes her—perpetual virginity before, during, and after giving birth—renders it impossible for any living woman to meet this standard of perfection.

Biology as Destiny

Perhaps nowhere has Mary's influence on secular culture been greater than in defining the mother-child relationship. This is due no doubt to the extensive depiction of the image known familiarly as Madonna and Child in Christian art, where Mary is portrayed as a lovely and loving young mother to the infant Jesus. While primarily a visual image circulated in paintings, sculpture, and printed form, the theme of Madonna and Child has been the subject of religious dramas,

poetry, sermons, and musical compositions. The predominant representation of Mary as a nurturing parent has helped to foster a collective identification of womanhood with motherhood.

Conversely, societal dependence on women for reproduction of the species has encouraged people to view the Madonna primarily through her biological role as mother rather than her theologically valid status as virgin. Cloistered nuns identified not only with Mary's virginity, but also with her motherhood—defining themselves as spiritual mothers sharing in the care and rearing of the Christ child. The destiny of women not bound for convents was marriage, the purpose of which, as understood by church and society, was to produce children. The production of children—whether to work in the fields, perform trades, inherit wealth, or nurse aging parents—was essential to society's well-being, and it was in this realm that women's contributions were perceived.

Childless women were considered cursed, and infertility was grounds for divorce. Barren women prayed to the Madonna to help them conceive, just as pregnant women asked her for a safe delivery, and mothers for the continued health of a child. Mary's gentle, forgiving persona made her more approachable and less intimidating to both sexes, but her maternal experience forged an especial bond with women, who could draw upon their experiences of pregnancy, birth, and nurturing to deepen their spiritual empathy with the Virgin Mary.

Depictions of the Madonna as a gentle, caring mother gave comfort and a sense of purpose to women who were fulfilling their Christian and civic duty through motherhood. Madonna and Child imagery also reinforced patriarchal values that confined women to the domestic sphere, projecting a model of appropriate female behavior that was as much social as religious. This interweaving of religious and secular spheres gave rise to the expression Secular Madonna to indicate a strong projection of values and expectations onto ordinary women, based on the selfless love of the Virgin Mary.

The Angel of the House

In reality, the Secular Madonna was based less on the Biblical figure of Mary than on male fantasies of female submission. The characteristics of the Secular Madonna included ceaseless sacrifice for the welfare of others, ungrudging service to the needs of all around her, self-denial to the point of erasure, constant devotion to home and family, and a docile, uncomplaining disposition. This indulged the child's natural narcissism and desire to be the center of the mother's existence, if not the entire home's. Needless to say, the true Secular Madonna hardly existed outside of FAIRY TALES, fiction, and artworks, but that did not stop her impact from being felt by flesh-and-blood women. Though present from the time of Patient Griselda—the submissive victim of spousal abuse in Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's "Clerk's Tale" in the *Canterbury Tales*—the Secular Madonna



The North-West Passage (1874), by John Everett Millais exemplifies the image of the Secular Madonna as an ideal of female submission. The young woman at the feet of her much-older husband is a picture of uncomplaining devotion, willing to follow wherever he might lead her. The Art Archive/Tate Gallery London/Eileen Tweedy.

reached her zenith of cultural influence in the nineteenth century, when she was bolstered by the idealism of the Romantic movement and the earnestness of the Victorian era. Her children were sentimentalized as innocent creatures whose moral and civic development rested on their mother's guidance, and whose defects and deviations stemmed from faulty parenting.

Visual and literary portraits of female goodness as based in maternal solicitude and sacrifice furthered transmission of Western cultural messages. From innocent peasants to long-suffering maidens to angelic wives, artists portrayed women as paragons of virtue, more ethereal than earthly. Nor was the fantasy restricted to male artists; the Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron produced dozens of images of models representing the Virgin Mary and portraits of women exemplifying her ideal of universal goodness and maternal devotion. Though little-known today, Coventry Pat-

more's immensely popular and influential poem *The Angel of the House* glorified the status of wife and mother. Published in installments from 1854 to 1863, it followed the progress of the wedded bliss of its heroine, Honoria, based on Patmore's first wife Emily Andrews, who bore six children and died young in 1862.

Equally telling were the fates assigned to women who failed to embody the attributes of the Secular Madonna. Any sign of carnality was treated as a harbinger of evil, with punishment befalling both the woman and her child, either socially, through poverty and ostracism, or symbolically, through illness or deformity. Works about seduced maidens such as Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891), in which Tess's illegitimate baby dies, and Augustus Egg's *Past and Present* (1858), a triptych depicting an unfaithful wife who ends up a homeless suicide, portrayed the dire consequences for women who strayed from the path of perfection.

Not surprisingly, a double-standard operated for male philanderers, with no similar restrictions placed on their behavior nor such stern repercussions.

Then, as now, standards for women were set so high as to engender levels of stress that affected sensitive children, or frustrations that led to suppressed resentment or outright rejection of the children themselves. Just as the Virgin Mary's miraculous purity, freedom from sin and sex, and perpetual virginity make it impossible for any living woman to match her ideal, so today's generation of women—told by the media that fulfillment lies in balancing marriage, child rearing, community involvement, and a successful career, all while retaining a desirable weight—are doomed from the start to fall short of their goals.

The New World Madonna

Less virulent than the British form though no less sentimental, the American concept of the Secular Madonna was no less effective in shaping global attitudes toward women, regardless of ethnicity or religious affiliation. This variant was rooted in the image of mother and child, often to the exclusion of the father, as attested to by the works of MARY CASSELL, whose success as an artist was due largely to her talented treatment of suitable female subjects. Men were restricted to the role of family provider, their nurturing instincts eclipsed by the mother's, and regarded as suspect. (The stern father was a remnant of pre-Enlightenment notions of PARENTING, when child rearing centered on DISCIPLINE and correction.)

Coinciding with the era of European colonization of Asia, Africa, and the Americas, the notion of the Secular Madonna spread worldwide and became a social force whose influence was felt independently of race, religion, or nationality. Immigrants to the New World assimilated sex roles as well as social mores, while missionaries encouraged non-Western societies to adopt Western conventions of gender as well as creed. Rarely was the influence mutual. Traditional African societies regarded motherhood as a domestic duty that benefited the entire community, valuing women's contributions more than Western societies. In Asian gerontocracies, mothers were expected to sacrifice their welfare for their children's, and adult children to fulfill responsibilities for their parents. Western values rejected such a quid pro quo—maternal sacrifice was an end in itself, unrewarded by filial obligations.

Scenes of idyllic childhood are found in the works of American women artists such as photographer Gertrude Käsebier, illustrator BESSIE PEASE GUTMANN, and author Laura Ingalls Wilder. Children, too, were romanticized as angelic creatures, innocent, sweet-smelling, and as bound to their mother as she was to them. Despite their lack of haloes, a spiritual bond was believed to exist between mothers and offspring, much as Mary's relation to Jesus had transcended the limits of biology. Indeed, in a period of animosity toward

Catholics—who primarily made up the lower-class immigrant population of the mid-nineteenth century—the lack of haloes and other ostentatious symbols of religion made such images more palatable to a primarily Protestant middle-class audience in a proudly secular nation.

The broad appeal of Madonna imagery detached from overt signs of religion has fostered its endurance to the present day, often in subtle ways that go unrecognized by mainstream audiences. Its firm adoption by the media, particularly as a marketing strategy, furthers the message not only that women are primarily mothers and caregivers but also that their physical, emotional, and psychological well-being is expressed through family nurturing. From commercials that encourage guilt on the part of mothers who fail to give enough (of themselves, as well as of the product in question) to television programs and films that feature gender stereotypes only superficially modernized for the new millennium (both benign, as in *The Simpsons* cartoon series, and insidious, as in the film *Fatal Attraction*), we are saturated with expectations of female behavior derived from a 2,000-year-old Jewish maiden named Mary.

This generational transmission, however secularized, is due in part to the intrinsic role played by children in defining the Secular Madonna, perpetuating the fantasy of a perfect (and perfectly) loving mother. As long as children are encouraged to see themselves as central to the mother's existence, and mothers are conditioned to place family needs above their own, future generations will continue to accept the notion of a woman's natural inclination to selfless love. Both mothers and offspring are complicit in the acceptance and perpetuation of the myth of the Secular Madonna, with its uneasy mix of historical desires, biological roles, psychological needs, and deeply rooted cultural expectations for both men and women.

See also: **Gendering; Madonna, Orthodox; Madonna, Religious; Mothering and Motherhood; Victorian Art.**

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MELISSA R. KATZ

Magnet Schools

Magnet schools, sometimes referred to as alternative schools or schools of choice, are public schools that provide an alternative to mandatory school assignment and busing by offering parents a choice among several school options with specialized curricular themes or instructional methods. The term *magnet* gained popularity in the 1970s when policy makers were designing desegregation plans in an effort to make them more attractive to parents, educators, and students. Magnet schools were established to promote racial diversity, improve scholastic standards, and provide a range of programs to satisfy individual talents and interests.

Since 1976, when federal courts accepted magnet schools as a method of desegregation (*Morgan v. Kerrigan*), their number has increased dramatically. By the 1991–1992 school year, Corrine Yu and William Taylor found that more than 1.2 million students were enrolled in magnet schools in 230 school districts. During the 1999–2000 school year there were more than 1,372 magnet schools across the United States. In some states, such as Illinois, a National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) study found that 12 percent of all students attend magnet schools.

Magnet schools are typically established in urban school districts with large student enrollments (over ten thousand). According to the U.S. Department of Education, 53 percent of large urban school districts include magnet school programs as part of their desegregation plans, as compared to only 10 percent of suburban districts. For example, NCES reports that in the City of Chicago Public School District, 45 percent of all public schools are magnets, serving 48 percent of the student body. Over half of all magnet programs are located in low socioeconomic districts. Although they can involve all grade levels, Yu and Taylor and Roger Levine found that more than half of the nation's magnet programs serve elementary school students, and only 20 percent of magnets serve the high school level. The most common type of magnet school is one that emphasizes a particular subject area, such as math and science, computers and technology, or a foreign language. Other programs offer a unique instructional approach, such as Montessori or Paideia.

Magnet school programs are popular, as measured by the fact that over 75 percent of all districts with magnets have a greater demand for student slots than they can fill; Rolf Blank, Roger Levine, and Lauri Steel found that half of these districts maintain long waiting lists. With this level of demand, most districts manage the admissions process using a lottery format. Others rely upon a first-come, first-served arrangement. Only about one-third of all magnet programs use a selective admissions policy; these usually involve either a minimum test score requirement or in a performing arts magnet, performance in an audition.

In many instances, districts have supported magnet schools with a considerable investment of resources. On average, expenditures per student are 10 percent higher in districts with magnets; almost three-fourths of magnet programs have additional staffing allowances as well. Some magnet programs are funded through state desegregation funds. Most are funded under three-year grants through the federal Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MSAP), which began awarding grants in 1985. These funds are made available to districts that are either implementing magnet programs voluntarily or that are acting on court-ordered desegregation. The MSAP plays a critical role in magnet school creation and expansion efforts nationwide. Currently, the program provides about \$100 million each year to support magnet school programs; between 1985 and 1998, some 379 MSAP grants (\$750 million) were awarded to 171 school districts in 35 states and the District of Columbia, according to Phyllis DuBois and her colleagues. In December 2001, the U.S. Department of Education awarded \$37.2 million in MSAP grants to 24 school districts.

Magnet Schools and School Improvement

Research results are mixed as to the effectiveness of magnet schools. Adam Gamoran's 1996 study on student achievement compared students in magnet schools with those in Catholic schools, nonreligious private schools, and public comprehensive schools and found some advantages for magnet school students in achievement in reading and history. Similarly, Robert Crain found that career magnet schools in New York City helped raise students' reading scores. Other researchers, including Patricia Bauch, Ellen Goldring, and Claire Smrekar, have found that magnet schools provide more opportunities for parental involvement and effective communication between home and schools. In fact, studies by Mary Driscoll and Valerie Martinez, Kenneth Godwin, and Frank Kemerer have shown that parents who exercise choice report higher levels of satisfaction with their schools than do those who don't choose their children's schools. Mary Haywood Metz's studies of specific magnet schools indicate they tend to be more innovative in terms of distinctive curricula and unique student-teacher relationships. However, larger-scale studies using national data contradict these findings. According to Lauren Sosniak and Carolyn Ethington's 1992 study, magnet and nonmagnet schools use similar

curricula and modes of instruction. Smrekar and Goldring found that magnet schools do seem to afford teachers more autonomy and involvement in decision making, as choice advocates predict.

Magnet Schools and Racial Balance

Several large urban school districts in the nation stand at the crossroads of sweeping changes in the use of magnet schools as tools for racial desegregation. In a series of major rulings in 1999 (*Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, *Eisenberg v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, *Tuttle v. Arlington County School Board*, *Wessman v. Gittens*), federal courts repudiated school district efforts to maintain race-conscious admission policies in order to promote and ensure racial diversity through magnet schools. Under the precedent established in a 1995 Supreme Court ruling (in *Adarand v. Peña*, a case that involved a federal program that awarded a percentage of construction contracts to minority owned construction companies), race conscious programs that involve promoting diversity through strategies construed to involve “racial balancing” are constitutionally suspect and are subject to “strict scrutiny.”

This elevated constitutional bar includes a two-pronged test that compels districts to prove that their racial classification scheme “furthers a compelling state interest” and is “narrowly tailored” (*Adarand v. Peña*). Consequently, unless school districts are currently under court order to remedy the effects of past racial discrimination in their systems, magnet school admissions policies must be race neutral. This standard of racial neutrality applies to school districts declared “unitary,” where a federal court has ruled that a district has complied in good faith with desegregation decrees to eliminate dual school systems that discriminate between children on the basis of race. In order to gain a grant of “unitary status,” districts must provide proof that they have acted “in good faith” to eliminate the vestiges of past racial discrimination in public education programs. More and more large urban school districts, including Dade County in Florida, are seeking and securing unitary status in federal court.

See also: Charter Schools; Homeschooling; Private and Independent Schools; School Choice; School Desegregation; School Vouchers.

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CLAIRE E. SMREKAR

Manners

There has not been a great deal of scholarship on manners and childhood (historians of manners have focused more on

class and gender relations), but a historical trajectory can nevertheless be traced in the numerous discussions of proper conduct that have circulated in the West since the Middle Ages. The path has been mostly continuous, despite each generation's sense that manners have changed—usually for the worse—for the succeeding generation. This continuity reflects basic biological and developmental constraints on the construction of childhood. It also upholds historians' recent revision of the notion advanced in the 1960s and 1970s that views of childhood have changed dramatically over time, from medieval and early modern "miniature adults," for example, to Victorian innocents. While changes in the larger society and culture have affected PARENTING styles and rules for youth, expectations for proper behavior in children have changed little. The stability of manners for children reminds us of the stubborn reality of their physical and mental immaturity. Children are not born with proper behavior; they need to be taught the rules. Above all, they need to be taught self-control. And children's physical and intellectual weakness relative to adults has led to continuous demands that

they defer to their elders. Thus, although the story of manners and inequality has changed along with the larger social order, the social inferiority of children has a long history. There appears to have been only one exceptional period: that of the post-World War II baby boom. But this exception only proves the rule, as recent decades show a reversion to tradition.

While this entry focuses on the history of manners for children as manifested in America, many of the patterns are more general. Indeed, differences in manners between America and western European societies are often overstated. Whether acknowledged or not (and in some periods Americans actively denied it), Americans have looked to tutelage from Europe for most of their history. Continuity and the pan-Western applicability of manners for children are seen first in one of the earliest manners books for children printed in America, Eleazar Moody's *The School of Good Manners*. While compiled by Moody, a Boston schoolmaster, in 1715, much of this work was adapted from a 1595 English version of a French courtesy work of the 1560s. There were

at least five other English editions in the seventeenth century before Moody's American adaptation. And Moody's work was published over and over again—in at least thirty-four editions between 1715 and 1846. The book also appeared under other titles.

The Seventeenth Century to the Civil War

The many different editions of this work give us a sense of the prevailing rules for proper behavior in children from the seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. Above all, they were to defer to their elders, especially their parents. They were to show their reverence in various ways, such as bowing whenever they encountered adults and refraining from interrupting them. They needed to master their bodies by standing up straight, avoiding any fidgeting, and restraining their tongues. Moody and his imitators spent a good many words instructing children in table manners. Among other things, they advised children to come to table with their hands and face washed and their hair combed. They were to wait for all to be seated before sitting themselves. They were not to express any likes or dislikes concerning the food. They were to wait for others to begin eating, and then eat slowly and carefully. They were to sit up straight, and keep their elbows off the table.

The continuity in manners for children indicated by the persistence of these rules conflicts with the notion that the eighteenth century saw great change in the status of children. The ideas of JOHN LOCKE and JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU are supposed to have revolutionized parent-child relations. These ENLIGHTENMENT ideas did change the advice given to parents on how to behave with children. Parents were urged to be a bit more loving in their demeanor than they had been in the past. This change was subtle, for discussions of proper parental behavior in seventeenth-century America (mostly from the pens of New England Puritans) had not been starkly authoritarian. Still, this evolution in proper parental behavior may have modified the tenor of children's relations with adults. More important in changing the context for children was the liberation of youth from their formerly shared inferior status. Lumped together with children in the seventeenth century, from the mid-eighteenth century on youth were increasingly asked to behave like adults. This development yielded tangible results for children in the nineteenth century. Antebellum conduct works described a middle-class world of adults in which youth were accepted on equal footing, but from which children were banished. While youth were given the same advice as adults on how to make and receive parlor visits, for example, children were best left at home. Parents were even discouraged from allowing their children to make an appearance when they entertained. With middle-class housing growing increasingly substantial and differentiated in the nineteenth century, instructions to keep the children's nursery or playroom "back stage" became explicit. To be sure, nineteenth-century art and literature often portrayed mid-

dle-class children as angelic innocents. But these portrayals do not appear in manners advice, unless one interprets children's banishment from society as a means of protecting their innocence.

The Post-Civil War Era

While children were not taught how to behave in adult society, they still needed to learn the old rules in order to keep their place, whether at home or at school. The fact that Moody was a schoolmaster is reflective of another important continuity in the history of manners for children: from the seventeenth century to the present, parental admonition has been thought to require reinforcement in the classroom. Early nineteenth-century schoolbooks included chapters on manners and politeness, often copied from Moody's compilation. These were surely more influential in the northern states, where common schooling was more widespread. But their influence spread along with both settlement and schooling to the West. In the post-Civil War era, some new states actually passed laws providing for the instruction of manners in schools. And a 1911 survey of public schools suggested that the majority were teaching manners. In more recent decades, a whole industry has sprung up providing audiovisual materials for the teaching of etiquette in schools. To be sure, the context for this instruction changes. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the perceived need for manners in the curriculum was undoubtedly a by-product of fears generated by the cresting tide of European immigration. In the early twenty-first century we are more likely to look to schools to carry out business left unfinished by harried single parents or two-career couples. The changing social and cultural context makes the need seem urgent and new, but the reality is that Americans have always looked to schools to help teach children manners.

The post-Civil War era did see some significant changes in American manners. Antebellum authors had pretended to be departing from European ways in prescribing a code of behavior more fitting for a republic, although in fact there were few differences in the rules they gave from those prevailing in Great Britain, whether for children or adults. After the Civil War, the authors stopped attempting to appear so democratic, and indeed, as befitted this rapidly industrializing society with its growth of inequality, they grew unabashed in their pursuit of European or "aristocratic" ways. New etiquette writers inscribed these changes in new works. But they did not write new advice for children. While Moody's work was not reprinted after mid-century, continuity is reflected in the incredible longevity of a contemporaneous work, *Youth's Behavior*, better known as "George Washington's Rules of Civility." As a youth, Washington had copied out one hundred and ten maxims from this book, which, like Moody's, was a seventeenth-century English version of a late-sixteenth-century French work. While it did not have as great a circulation as Moody in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it had even greater staying

power. *Youth's Behavior* differed from Moody in important ways, but offered similar advice on deference to superiors, control of the body (especially speech), and proper behavior at table. These rules continued to be cited well into the twentieth century. Samuel Goodrich, author of the popular Peter Parley series, quoted extracts in his 1844 work *What to Do and How to Do It*. Sarah Josepha Hale quoted nearly thirty of the precepts in *Happy Homes and Good Society* (1867). Amy Vanderbilt recommended them as late as 1952.

The Early Twentieth Century

There were many new works for children published in the twentieth century, but these, too, display a remarkable continuity of expectations. Gelett Burgess revived an old practice of setting rules to rhyme in his popular *Goops and How to Be Them* (1900). Burgess began with table manners, and gave all the ancient injunctions about not talking while eating or eating too fast. He reiterated the old advice to respect elders, joking “When you’re old, and get to be, Thirty-four or forty-three; Don’t you hope that you will see, Children all respect you?” Gelett’s work is stamped with a certain late-Victorian fastidiousness. It devoted separate pages to the need for cleanliness, neatness, tidiness, orderliness, and punctuality. It begged children to refrain from “Disfiguration” (drawing on fences and walls), and playing in Sunday clothes. This combination of traditional rules with a new push for cleanliness and order persisted in the 1920s. It is seen in Margaret Bailey’s *The Value of Good Manners* (1922), where she named cleanliness and tidiness as the first requirements for well-mannered children. And she held out for deference to elders, disagreeing with those who would suggest that it was passé. She thus gave rules that are found in Moody: when adults entered the room, for example, children were to rise and offer their seats.

Even authors who thought they were coming up with something new were actually giving old advice. Lillian Eichler (1924) and Margery Wilson (1937) both claimed to be offering “the new etiquette,” but their advice was strikingly traditional. Eichler stated, “The new etiquette does not attempt to stifle the child’s personality. But it does attempt to stifle the bad habits . . . [of] rudeness, disobedience, untidiness, bad table manners, and lack of courtesy” to parents and elders. While her pleas that children should not be repressed sounded new, her specific injunctions for children were old. As had authors before her, she stressed the importance of table manners, and gave the same basic instructions to “eat slowly and carefully, and keep the mouth shut while chewing.” The nineteenth-century banishment of children from adult social life persisted as well, with her claim that children should not be included in formal dinners. Moody could have penned her advice for informal dinners, where she claimed that children “must not seat themselves until all the elders have been seated. They must come to the table with hands and nails scrupulously clean, hair brushed, clothes neat. They must not show greediness at table, dis-

pleasure because of some dish they do not like, or delight because of some dish of which they are particularly fond. They must not begin to eat before the others or leave the table before the elders have finished dining.” Margery Wilson gave the same advice, and added precepts on correct speaking and greeting of adult guests that also echoed Moody.

There were some new notes sounded in advice to parents in these early-twentieth-century works. More often than in the past parents were reminded that they taught manners best by setting an example for their children, and that they should respect their children’s rights. But what parents were encouraged to teach their children had changed little. At the same time that books of manners kept to the old standards, however, it is likely that changes in other social areas, especially in popular culture, began to have an effect on the actual behavior of children and youth. New, less formal signals about carriage and POSTURE, dress and language, and other matters began to stream out of movies, magazines, and school peer culture by the 1920s. While these changes had a greater impact on youth, soon new child-rearing manuals would also begin to emphasize greater informality in parent-child relations.

The Postwar Period

In advice books to parents, a revolution in manners for children is first evident following World War II. After something of a hiatus during the Depression and war years of the 1930s and 1940s, etiquette works began to pour forth again in the late 1940s and 1950s. The reigning arbiter of manners in this period was Amy Vanderbilt, whose *Complete Book of Etiquette* appeared in at least ten editions between 1952 and 1970 alone. One notices a change right away in Vanderbilt’s discussion of table manners. She is silent on the age-old admonition that children should be taught not to express their dislike of various foods, instead telling parents not to dictate what a child should eat. Instead of teaching children to be silent until addressed, she recommended encouraging children to converse at table, so long as they did not monopolize the conversation. Compared to the past, her expectations of children are surprisingly relaxed: if a child made a scene at the dinner table, she simply recommended gently removing him, for his own comfort, and urged parents not to expect too much of their children in terms of manners. In places Vanderbilt suggests that adults conform to children’s lack of manners, as in her suggestion that because children like eating with their fingers, parents should give them plenty of opportunities to do so with snacks and picnics and in fact should join in, rather than give lectures on manners. Vanderbilt assured parents that manners could not be taught through “constant nagging,” but rather children would naturally want to know how to behave properly. She suggested, moreover, that there would be something wrong with a child who was perfectly behaved. Some experts have dubbed this new approach an “informality” of manners.

Where did this change come from? Many observers of postwar child rearing have pointed to an author who was even more ubiquitous than Amy Vanderbilt: DR. SPOCK. In addition to numerous English editions between 1945 and 1960 (and at least six editions since), his *Baby and Child Care* was published in twenty-four languages, including Croatian, Tamil, Armenian, and Urdu. While not as starkly child-centered as Vanderbilt, Spock's suggestions were similar. One of his brief sections on manners, for example, bore the reassuring header "Good Manners Come Naturally." He maintained that if parents were considerate of each other, their children would simply "absorb" good manners. He did think parents needed to do some actual teaching of manners, but rather than the old emphasis on the necessity of showing respect for elders, he claimed parents needed to teach manners because they owed it to their children to make them likeable by others. In all, however, he recommended a relaxed stance, regarding what formerly would have been seen as unacceptable behavior as a phase of development. He described how six to eleven year olds typically displayed bad manners—in their speech, at table, and in their comportment. But rather than advising parents to combat this development, he lauded it as an essential part of growing up. He assured parents that good manners would soon resurface on their own.

By the end of the baby boom, the pendulum began to swing back to tradition. This is evident in *Eleanor Roosevelt's Common Sense Book of Etiquette* (1962). Like other twentieth-century writers, she urged parents to respect their children's individuality and to show them courteous behavior, but she was equally emphatic that parents had an obvious duty to teach their children manners. While parental example was the most effective, kind instruction would also be necessary. Roosevelt's advice in specific situations was likewise a mix of postwar relaxation and a revival of older patterns. She opined, for example, that children should be encouraged to speak freely and have their dislikes respected at table, but maintained that children should show respect for their elders and learn table manners. Echoing Moody, she claimed that children should rise when elders entered the room and not sit down until the adults were seated. They were never to come to table without clean hands and face and combed hair.

After the Baby Boom

Roosevelt's ideas gave a glimpse of things to come when books addressing manners for children began to pour from the presses in the 1980s. But the immediate impact of the postwar relaxation in the teaching of manners to children was a marked hiatus in the production of instructions as the BABY BOOM GENERATION came of age. Their parents had been advised not to worry too much about manners, so the rising generation was without much lore to pass on. Very few works addressing manners for children appeared in the decade from the late 1960s through the 1970s. Virtually the only manners for children materials produced in this decade

were some film strips for use in schools and a couple of episodes of a television show for children, *Mr. Roger's Neighborhood*. The dearth of books discussing manners for children in the late 1960s and early 1970s is not surprising given the cultural revolution taking place in the West at that time with the feminist and youth movements. But a long-term view shows two things. First, the anti-manners sixties and seventies were produced by child-rearing trends in the postwar decades, and second, the experiment could not last. As the boomers became parents and confronted their own uncivilized progeny, they began to look for help.

Manners writers in the 1980s and 1990s reflect the perplexities of their readers in their tone and format. Two of the most popular writers, Judith Martin (a.k.a. Miss Manners) and Mary Mitchell (a.k.a. Ms. Demeanor), both adopt the question and answer format of their newspaper columns in their books, as if to suggest that today's audience is in urgent need of answers to real and pressing etiquette problems. They both also employ humor to a degree not witnessed in earlier etiquette books. Perhaps this is to deflect the self-consciousness of anti-ritual baby boomers in their quest for social certainty. That the boomers have a serious desire to teach their children manners despite their own deficiencies is shown by the rise of a new industry of manners schools and camps. PARENTS MAGAZINE—a doctor's office staple—has also published a steady stream of articles on how to teach manners to children. Even colleges are helping parents apply the finishing touches with special "dine and act fine" etiquette-lesson dinners for prospective job applicants.

What are children taught by all these agencies of manners instruction? By and large, the traditional rules. The only new spin is a nod, for the first time, to the multicultural character of American society. This usually takes the form of repeated acknowledgements that European-American standards for behavior are not the only standards present in American society, let alone the world. But this has not led to any lesser adherence to the old standards. Thus, after a typical twentieth-century nod to the idea that parents should not expect their children to be polite if they themselves are rude, Miss Manners launches into the old admonitions. Children should be encouraged to listen to rather than talk much before adults. They should address adults formally with proper titles unless invited to do otherwise. Family dinners should be employed to teach children table manners. Children should wait until their parents begin eating, should refrain from expressing their dislikes or playing with their food, should use their utensils and napkins properly, and should not leave the table without permission.

Mary Mitchell soft-pedals on deference to elders, advising children to feel free to initiate conversation with adults, and claiming that parents deserve respect because they are human beings and parents, not because they are older. But she, too, coaches parents in traditional table manners, re-

minding them, among other things, to teach children to sit up straight and refrain from eating too fast or talking with their mouths full. Elizabeth James and Carol Barkin's *Social Smarts: Manners for Today's Kids* (1996) is similar to Mitchell's work in acknowledging cultural differences while dispensing traditional European-American table manners rules, but is more traditional than Mitchell on respect for elders. Busy parents at the turn of the twenty-first century can also supplement their own instruction with that of their child's favorite cartoon characters, as manners are now taught in books and videos by the Berenstain Bears, Clifford (the Big Red Dog), Winnie the Pooh, Barney, and the Muppets. And parents can rest assured that these works teach the tried and true rules for children: polite address and posture, table manners, cleanliness. While the baby boom generation is ambivalent about the need for respect for elders, life with their own children has taught them that manners do not in fact "come naturally."

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Hygiene; Theories of Childhood.**

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C. DALLETT HEMPHILL

Mann, Horace (1796–1859)

A prominent statesman, Horace Mann is best remembered as a pre-Civil War educational reformer who was instrumental in the creation of the Massachusetts system of public education. A statue of Mann stands before that state's capitol today as evidence of his importance. Mann was also a successful lawyer, a member of both the Massachusetts General Court and the U.S. Congress, the president of a fledgling college, and a humanitarian reformer.

Mann was born in Franklin, Massachusetts, and he grew up in a poor and puritanical environment. He received the typical schooling of the time, consisting of brief periods in the district school under ill-equipped teachers, but he seems to have devoured the town library's collection. He was admitted to nearby Brown College in 1816 at the age of twenty (which was older than customary) as a sophomore. He graduated as valedictorian of his class and returned to the college a year later to serve several terms as a tutor. He read law intermittently with a local barrister, attended the Litchfield (Connecticut) Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1823. Four years later, in 1827, he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature from Dedham, where he had set up his practice, commencing a thirty-year career devoted, as he put it, to the "benefit of mankind." In 1830 he married Charlotte Messer, the daughter of Asa Messer, president of Brown and Mann's early mentor. After his wife's death two years later Mann resigned his seat and moved from Dedham to Boston to continue to practice law. He was elected to the state senate in 1834 as a representative of Boston.

Although he had been born in modest circumstances, Mann became a member of the Massachusetts establishment. His second wife, whom he married in 1843, was Mary Peabody, sister of Elizabeth Peabody, an inveterate reformer. Mann had initially stood for office as a National Republican, and he later became a Whig. In the legislature his stances were those of a moralistic reformer. His maiden address was a defense of religious freedom, while his next argued that the support of railroads would lead to prosperity, which in turn would lead to the intellectual and moral betterment of the populace. He was an ardent supporter of the temperance movement, was instrumental in the establish-

ment of the first state institution for the mentally ill, and was a moderate abolitionist. It was for his efforts on the behalf of common schools, however, that he is most remembered today.

Massachusetts had, as early as 1647, mandated the support of schooling by local communities, but by the nineteenth century the state's schools, dependent on local sources, were in a sorry state. Inspired by reports of educational reform in Europe and a growing national movement, and prodded by eminent citizens such as Edmund Dwight, James G. Carter, Josiah Quincy, Charles Brooks, and the governor, Edward Everett, the legislature passed a bill on April 20, 1837, authorizing the creation of a state board of education. Mann accepted the secretaryship a month later, vowing that from that moment to "let the next generation be my client." For the next twelve years he served that client with dedication.

The board, in actual fact, had virtually no power; its role was the collection and dissemination of information about the state of the schools. Mann lectured widely on educational topics to citizens and teachers, and he utilized his twelve annual reports to publicize and advance his cause. His first report, in 1837, served to introduce the reformist agenda, including the need for good schoolhouses, competent teachers, committed school boards, and widespread public support. His twelfth and final report, in 1848, was by far the most thoughtful, and it provided his valedictory—an anthem in support of public education. Other reports addressed issues such as language instruction, teacher training, music and health education, compulsory attendance, the necessity of school libraries (as well as free public ones), and the economic benefits of better schools. In his seventh report (1843), Mann summarized his observations of schools in Europe, lauding especially the Pestalozzian techniques he had seen demonstrated in the schools of Prussia, but the angered response of an association of Boston schoolmasters led to a lengthy and acrimonious exchange.

To Mann, good, publicly financed COMMON SCHOOLS would never succeed without an informed and concerned citizen body and without good teachers. Local authorities had to rekindle their commitment under the supervision and urging of the central government. Good teachers had to be trained in the newest pedagogical techniques that emphasized motivation and encouragement, rather than DISCIPLINE, and recognized the individuality of each child. The curriculum had to be designed for every child in the commonwealth, and it should encompass all that was necessary for the creation of upright, responsible citizens. Mann believed that schools were vested with intellectual, political, and, most importantly, moral authority—the morality of the liberal, nonsectarian, Protestant elite of the day.

In 1839 the first public normal school (for training teachers) was opened in Lexington, Massachusetts, and two others

soon followed. However, partisan politics threatened the board's existence when the democratic governor, preaching economy, advocated returning control of the schools to the localities. But the board survived, and Mann continued as its secretary until he resigned in 1848, when he was appointed to John Quincy Adams's seat in Congress. He was elected in his own right later the same year, and was re-elected as a Free Soil advocate. He served in Congress until 1852, the year in which he was defeated in the race for the governorship of Massachusetts.

Although he had given scant attention to higher education previously, Mann was intrigued, during a lecture tour through the West, at the descriptions of a projected nonsectarian, coeducational college in Ohio, and in 1853 he accepted the presidency of the not-yet-completed Antioch College in Yellow Springs. Despite near financial disaster, faculty opposition, and an innovative honor code, the college survived, and the first class of sixteen students (including three women) graduated in 1857. Mann declined offers to become the head of other institutions of higher learning and remained at Antioch until his death in August, 1859. His final address to that year's graduating class was both a challenge to them and a summary of his life: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

See also: Compulsory School Attendance; Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich; Urban School Systems, The Rise of.

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EDITH NYE MACMULLEN

Mann, Sally (b. 1951)

Sally Mann's photographs of her three children, produced between approximately 1984 and 1996, opened up new and influential possibilities for the visual representation of childhood. Rejecting sentimentality, Mann's camera captured scenes tinged with SEXUALITY, danger, and ferocity. Mann's work first came to wide public attention in 1992 with the publication of *Immediate Family*, a book of sixty photographs of Mann's children, Emmett, Jessie, and Virginia, taken in and around the family home in rural Virginia. Some critics saw suggestions of abuse and exploitation in the pictures; others argued that Mann was revealing a more honest vision of childhood. Mann's work was frequently cited in the heated debates on CHILD PORNOGRAPHY of the 1990s, yet, unlike other photographers such as Robert Mapplethorpe, Mann

was never threatened with prosecution. In fact, after the publication of *Immediate Family*, Mann was awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

A consummate technician, Mann photographed her children with a large-format camera. Her black-and-white prints are pristine and richly tonal. While her photographs contained suggestions of spontaneity, many were carefully staged. Mann's work consciously quoted earlier, iconic photographs of children by artists such as Edward Weston, Charles Dodgson (LEWIS CARROLL), and Julia Margaret Cameron. This strategy inserted her photographs within an exalted historical context, while at the same time highlighting Mann's own innovations. In *Fallen Child* (1989), the naked body of Mann's youngest daughter, Virginia, cuts a luminous swath across a grassy lawn. Virginia lies face down, her arms tucked underneath her. Tendrils of curly blond hair splay out around her head like a halo, making reference to Cameron's photographs of children dressed as angels. The camera is positioned over Virginia's prone body, as if the viewer has stumbled across her. She is both a child, perhaps an injured one, and an angel fallen to earth. What at first appear to be tiny dark scratches on Virginia's back are in fact grass clippings. Before our eyes, she becomes a child, engrossed in the game of rolling on freshly cut grass. One can read *Fallen Child* as an art-historical joke, a statement on CHILD ABUSE or loss of innocence, or a meticulously crafted formal composition.

Mann was born in Lexington, Virginia, in 1951. She received a B.A. from Hollins College, as well as a master's degree in writing from the same institution. From 1971 through 1973 Mann studied photography at the Praestegaard Film School in Denmark. She also studied at the Aegean School of Fine Arts and the Ansel Adams Yosemite Workshop. Mann has received grants for the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Her photographs are in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Whitney Museum of Art, among others. Mann lives and works in Lexington, Virginia.

See also: **Images of Childhood; Victorian Art.**

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A. CASSANDRA ALBINSON

Masturbation

In the early seventeenth-century French court, the infant Louis XIII, according to the royal physician's diary, was constantly displaying and touching his penis, a habit courtiers seem to have found amusing. Nearly two centuries later, in 1793, one of the indictments brought against Marie Antoinette by the Revolutionary Tribunal was that she had encouraged the dauphin to masturbate. A major change in attitudes emerged during the first decades of the eighteenth century: previously, "self-abuse" was considered just one among the sins of lust.

Concern and Control

An anonymous text entitled *Onania, or, the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All its Frightful Consequences in Both Sexes consider'd with Spiritual and Physical Advice to those, Who Have Already Injur'd Themselves by This Abominable Practice. And Seasonable Admonition to the Youth of the Nation, (of both Sexes) and Those Whose Tuition They Are Under, Whether Parents, Guardians, Masters, or Mistresses*, first published in London sometime during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, became a best-seller throughout Europe. While laying emphasis on the extreme sinfulness of self-pollution, *Onania* also alleged seriously deleterious effects on health, claiming it caused specific genital ailments and undermined the whole system, causing fits, consumption, and infertility (in both sexes). This new emphasis on adverse physical effects was not unconnected with the patent remedy the pamphlet promoted. Masturbation thus first became a concern in connection with relatively mature individuals, with disposable income available to purchase both *Onania* and the remedy, though anxieties over youth were also present. Some historians have argued that the rise of masturbation paranoia reflected anxieties within Protestant culture, cut off from old sources of moral authority, but masturbation fears were at least as prevalent in Catholic nations, possibly reflecting anxieties generated by political, social, and economic change.

The theme was taken up by numerous authors in the same world of commercial quackery, and then became the subject of a work by the highly respected Swiss physician Samuel Tissot, first published in Latin in 1758, and two years later in French as *L'Onanisme, ou Dissertation physique sur les maladies produit par la masturbation*. Tissot located the adverse effects in contemporary theories of physiology and bodily economy, suggesting that a small amount of seminal fluid was equivalent to a many times greater quantity of blood, and that the expenditure of nervous energy destabilized the bodily mechanism. However, he did not propose a patent remedy but lifestyle practices which would become standards: cold baths, exercise, regular evacuation of the bowels, sleep only in moderation (no lying in bed), and conscious effort to keep the thoughts pure.

These efforts to control a practice considered potentially lethal soon affected child-rearing practices, with the prophy-

lactic inculcation of good habits and the prevention of those tending to lead to masturbation. It is debatable whether concerns over childhood masturbation arose from increasing interest in the moral and physical welfare of children and more interventionist child-rearing practices, or whether these practices were the outcome of a belief that greater surveillance of children was necessary to prevent the development of “secret habits.” Probably the two phenomena were self-reinforcing—increased surveillance might reveal previously unsuspected practices, leading to even closer attention. There was also a growing tradition of stories about children inducted into masturbation by servants and nursemaids.

The masturbatory hypothesis provided an explanatory model for many conditions for which the medical profession of the day could find no other diagnosis and for which they could do nothing. By the early nineteenth century self-abuse was beginning to be blamed not only for physical and nervous ailments, but also for mental disorder. By the mid-century, in Britain and North America in particular, a particular form of “masturbatory insanity” was identified. This was strongly associated with ADOLESCENCE, and in some cases may have been *dementia praecox*.

The major focus of masturbation anxieties in the nineteenth century was the male in adolescence and young adulthood. There were sporadic manifestations of concern over females but compared to the pervasive antimasturbation rhetoric directed at men and its policing by medical and pedagogic authorities, these were the exception. Particularly for middle- and upper-class youth it was hard to avoid learning of the evils of self-abuse, whether from school sermons or quack literature and the horrifying waxworks in anatomical museums. A number of devices were manufactured and sold for the control of masturbation and nocturnal emissions. It is not however clear to what extent these were applied to children by concerned adult guardians, rather than being employed by worried postpubertal males. This awareness of the dangers of masturbation ratcheted up a further degree in the later nineteenth century. A range of well-meaning organizations and individuals disseminated tracts warning against the dangers of self-abuse and also against succumbing to the horror stories of quacks, associating this with advocacy for cultivating a type of manhood fit for national and imperial purposes. This torrent of warnings about a practice which early investigations already suggested was almost universal among adolescent boys could have serious psychological effects.

A Loosening of Controls

By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, it was being argued by many medical authorities that (except in “excess”) masturbation was less harmful than the common fears about the damage that the practice might have caused. However, older views still circulated in such works as the 1908 *Scouting for Boys* by Boy Scout found-

er ROBERT BADEN-POWELL. And well into the late twentieth century, manuals of advice to young people, while reassuring them that masturbation was not harmful, nonetheless recommended that they should try to refrain from it. It was also presented as a problem in CHILD-REARING ADVICE LITERATURE, though with the rise of increasingly humane ideas preventive measures were recommended rather than punitive approaches. Nonetheless, relatively late in the twentieth century and well into the “permissive era,” people still reported traumas caused by parents or nurses threatening to “cut it off if you don’t stop that!” and students reportedly attributed various ailments to masturbation.

Masturbation is still an uncomfortable subject. Questions on individual, rather than mutual, masturbation were omitted from the British Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour Survey of the early 1990s. Joycelyn Elders was dismissed from her post as U.S. Surgeon General in 1994 because she recommended including discussion of masturbation (as safe a sex practice as one could wish) in school sex education programs. This continuing ambivalence doubtless still affects children and young people.

See also: **Infancy of Louis XIII; Sexuality.**

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LESLEY A. HALL

Mead, Margaret (1901–1978)

Margaret Mead was born into an academic family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 16, 1901. She attended

Barnard College and received her doctorate in cultural anthropology, working with Ruth Benedict and Franz Boas at Columbia University. Mead spent her entire professional career as a curator at the Museum of Natural History in New York City. Between 1924 and 1936, she did fieldwork in eight different cultures and wrote extensively about most of them for the rest of her life. From the start of World War II, Mead directed most of her work toward public affairs. Mead died in New York City on November 15, 1978.

While studying cultural anthropology with Boas, Mead went to Samoa to document the influence of culture on ADOLESCENCE. *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) became a classic for its news that adolescence is more a cultural preoccupation than a biological imperative:

The adolescent girl in Samoa differed from her sister who had not reached puberty in one chief respect, that in the older girl certain bodily changes were present in the older girl which were absent in the younger girl. There were no other great differences (p. 196).

Mead also reported that the young women of Samoa suffered much less constraint and neurosis in matters related to sex. Mead's book, with its open discussion of the SEXUALITY of adolescent girls and its conscious inversion of contemporary morals, became a major text of the mid-twentieth century. *Coming of age* would never be the same again.

Mead used much the same argument to take a stand on the gender issues of her time. She wrote that "we know of no culture that has said, articulately, that there is no difference between men and women except in the way they contribute to the creation of the next generation" (1949, p. 8). For Mead, there are biological differences between males and females, but how these differences make a difference is greatly dependent on the cultural environment in which they are staged, interpreted, and made consequential.

In subsequent fieldwork, Mead studied younger children in New Guinea and toddlers in Bali. In each case, she delivered a cultural analysis of the child-rearing process by documenting "those sequences in child-other behavior which carry the greatest communication weight and so are crucial for the development of each culturally regular character structure" (Mead and Macgregor, p. 27). Documented differences in crucial "sequences in child-other behavior" from other cultures challenged Western categories of child development, gender, and desire. Whether in popular magazines or on television shows, Mead used human variation to disrupt heartfelt American biases about what was natural and inherent.

Mead wrote more than twenty books, some technical, most not. As the public face of anthropology, she celebrated a comparative method based on intense fieldwork. For Mead, anthropology was a clearinghouse for moral affairs.

She tried every available device for eliciting, recording, and representing patterns of interaction and interpretation among the people she studied. With Gregory Bateson, she pioneered the photographic documentation of life and learning in different cultures. Culture and character could be filmed because they are relentlessly worked on by persons teaching and learning together. From Bali, Mead offers a nice image:

Where the American mother attempts to get the child to parrot simple courtesy phrases, the Balinese mother simply recites them, glibly, in the first person, and the child finally slips into speech, as into an old garment, worn before, but fitted on by another hand. (Bateson and Mead, p. 13)

People fit into each other as into garments, with give-and-take leading to fragile but consistent outcomes. In nine photographs covering two minutes of a mother/son interaction, Bateson and Mead show how the Balinese practice "awayness," a give-and-take in which participants arrange ways to be together, but unengaged, to be in each other's presence—even touching—but unavailable. In her notes on the photographs, Mead points to a communicatively weighty sequence in child-other behavior in a "culturally regular character structure" marked by awayness: the mother calls the child to her, stimulates the child (photos 1–2), then attends elsewhere (photos 3–8), until both mother and child look out on the world, bored and away (photo 9).

Mead remains a source of celebration and controversy. Soon after her death, Derrick Freeman (1983) claimed the young Mead had been fooled by her Samoan informants: in Freeman's view she was naïve and driven to confirm Boas's position that culture, not biology, was primary in the organization of behavior. Where Mead saw sexual license, Freeman counted rape; where Mead saw generosity and detachment, Freeman found jealousy and aggression; where Mead saw cooperation, Freeman found hierarchy and ambivalence. The ensuing Freeman/Mead controversy has been resolved strongly in her favor. Lowell Holmes worked in Mead's village decades after she left Samoa and stated:

Despite the greater possibilities for error in a pioneering scientific study, her tender age (twenty-three), and her inexperience, I find that the validity of her Samoan research is remarkably high. . . . I confirm Mead's conclusion that it was undoubtedly easier to come of age in Samoa than in the United States in 1925.

Late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century controversy attacks Mead less for the quality of her science than for her commitment to a science tied to Western colonialism and imperialism. Nonetheless, leading anthropologists, such as Clifford Geertz and James Boon, continue to praise her

work, her methods, and her fierce effort to use anthropology to confront social problems from a new perspective.

See also: **Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood.**

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RAY McDERMOTT

Measles. *See* Contagious Diseases; Epidemics; Vaccination.

Media, Childhood and the

By the time children reach the age of eighteen, they have spent more time with various forms of media than at school. This has been the case in industrialized countries since the 1950s, and the fact is often cited in debates on children and media. The popularity of the citation testifies to the central position the media hold both in children's lives and in adult perceptions.

The Dual Nature of Media

Modern media developed in tandem with modern childhood from the eighteenth century on. The media—from inexpensive magazines and “dime novels,” to film and RADIO, and on to TELEVISION, computer media, and cell phones—are at once a set of concrete technologies and a set of symbolic, meaning-making processes. Most media are commodities that need to be bought in order to be used; they are used mainly outside of work and school; and they require a modi-

cum of leisure time and money. As technologies, media serve to differentiate children according to access and application. But media also serve, for children, as a way to connect to other people, periods, and places, because they communicate messages that may transcend time and space. So media at once serve to divide and to unite children.

Media communicate information and entertainment by means of signs: letters, talk and sound, still and moving images, and mixtures of these. As such, media are not only a neutral window to the world, they are also and at the same time a shaping of the world through factual and fictional accounts. All signs need interpretation in order to make sense. Learning to understand letters and talk requires training, and in the case of reading the training is often of a formalized kind that historically develops with schooling. Conversely, the ability to decipher images and sound are integral parts of children's perceptual capacities from infancy, even if it takes experience with media to recognize, for example, genre characteristics. These differences play into children's abilities to make use of media, and, more importantly, they play into adults' reactions and their abilities to regulate these uses.

The historical relations between childhood and media thus develop in two interlaced dimensions, namely children's concrete and often divergent uses of a variety of media, and adult reactions to and debates about this development. These debates are public forums that form the institutional and normative framework within and against which actual content and uses are set. Hence the historical development of public debate on childhood and media is fundamental to an understanding of how the relations between actual children and single media evolve.

Media Debates

Every time a new mass medium has entered the social scene since the eighteenth century, it has become the focus of public debates on social and cultural norms. These debates serve to highlight, negotiate, and possibly revise these very norms. Participants in these debates are mostly middle class, often professionally engaged in education or cultural politics or personally involved in ethical or religious causes. Early on, the objects of debate were mostly defined in terms of class (the lower classes, the mob, the mass). But from the late nineteenth century on, they increasingly became defined in terms of age as more and more children entered what may be defined as a modern concept of childhood, in which economic production is severed from reproduction, including upbringing.

Public debate on media in general, and media and children in particular, follows strikingly similar routes throughout history. The North American media scholar Joli Jensen, in her 1990 book *Redeeming Modernity: Contradictions in Media Criticism* calls these routes the discourses of optimism and pessimism, respectively. It is significant that the dis-



Media—from mass-produced broadsides to computers and cell phones—has been a part of modern childhood since the eighteenth century. © Ed Bock/CORBIS.

course of optimism, voiced by proponents of the new medium in question, is primarily linked to aspects of the new medium that may be associated with rationality, while the discourse of pessimism, voiced by critics of the very same medium, is linked to aspects that equally readily may be associated with emotionality. The new medium becomes a metaphor for discussing and debating wider sociocultural issues in relation to childhood and, by implication, to adult life.

Print Goes to Town

A little time to oneself, a bit of private spending money or parents' provision of the medium at hand are the preconditions for children to use media. Other preconditions may include the ability to read, since print media are the earliest and were for a long time the most popular media available to children.

The first medium to reach a juvenile audience was not aimed at the young. Ballads, broadsides, and chapbooks with emotionally charged and politically subversive tales, printed on coarse paper with crude woodcuts, had a wide readership in the eighteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 created widespread fears of social insurrection, and religious groups and educationalists in countries such as Germany, Britain, and the United States warned against the perceived

threats posed by these popular fictions. In Britain, cheap "repositorary tracts" were published by Evangelical groups as an antidote to the commercial fare. Decked out as sheep in wolves' clothing to look like chapbooks, they were often given away as prizes to poor children in the newly established SUNDAY SCHOOLS and other places of moral reform.

This early media development highlights three important aspects of public debate on childhood and media. First, modern media is universal in the sense that it has the ability to deliver all kinds of information and entertainment to large numbers of people very quickly. Much of children's media fare was not aimed at the young, and that is still the case. Second, the wider issues that modern media raise highlight struggles for power in the sense that the debates focus on the regulation of groups other than the ones involved in the debate. Children have often been among the first to adopt new media whose application challenges the received cultural standards, and adults, through their discussions, lay claim to and seek to redefine cultural norms and sociocultural competencies. Third, the attempts to counteract bad media content with good hinges on a view of children as more vulnerable and hence more malleable than adults. The debates set up and help sustain a division between juvenile and adult

perception, which much popular media fare seems to undermine. All three aspects tend to focus upon issues of violence or crime, which are linked to boys, and issues of sex, which are primarily linked to girls.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the combined forces of industrialization and urbanization created the basis for a wider juvenile readership. In most industrialized countries, children's books were aimed at middle-class readers of both sexes, while inexpensive serialized novels and magazines were brought out on a weekly or fortnightly basis from the 1830s on, catering to working-class and lower-middle-class boys with their crime, mystery, and adventure stories. Their heyday was before World War I. Investigations carried out in Britain in the 1830s demonstrated that three-quarters of working-class homes possessed books, and LITERACY was sought after by many children. By the late nineteenth century, the magazine market had been diversified to include very young readers and middle- and working-class girls.

Popular print media for children continued to cause controversy through the first half of the twentieth century, with the most explicit debate carried out in the early 1950s when so-called horror comics were introduced. Their most vicious critic was the American psychiatrist Frederic Wertham, the title of whose 1953 book, *Seduction of the Innocent*, summed up the prevalent view. Still, from the 1900s on, widespread anxiety over children's popular reading was beginning to be balanced by other, more optimistic, voices. Some teachers and librarians praised the beneficial effects of reading as a solitary experience of introspection and elevation of taste, much to be preferred to a new medium which was then beginning to vie for the attention of the young.

Public Pleasures

The major media that have reached young audiences since the beginning of the twentieth century are auditory or audiovisual in nature, from film, radio, records, and CDs on to television, videos, and the computer. Unlike popular literature, these media do not share their means of expression with media approved as art (e.g., the book) or information (e.g., the serious newspaper). Unlike popular literature, these media allow children to develop abilities to listen, watch, and move rhythmically beyond the confines of formal training.

From its inception in 1896, film was a true mass medium, and children and young people made up a sizeable part, and at times a majority, of its audience. In Britain immediately after World War I, juveniles accounted for about 30 percent of the cinema audiences, and in 1939 the renowned sociologist Seebom Rowntree, in his comprehensive study of the city of York, stated that more than half of the cinema audiences were children and young people. In the United States, studies in the early 1930s showed that children and adolescents made up 30 percent of American cinema audiences and that early elementary school-age children saw a MOVIE twice a month, whereas adolescents saw one once a week on average.

Unlike reading, movie-going is a social event, and cinemas are public places whose attractions are visibly publicized on posters and billboards—characteristics that quickly made them objects of the debate over the regulation of juveniles' use of public space. This debate was most intensely focused on adolescents, many of whom lived in cramped conditions and found in cinemas an attractive space for romance that was not necessarily confined to the screen.

For younger children, cinema clubs and special screenings were set up between the world wars in many towns and cities, a practice that combined the monitoring of viewing through special programs with commercial promotion through product tie-ins. For example, in the United States the DISNEY company in 1931 started hugely popular Mickey Mouse cinema clubs, where young members not only enjoyed a weekly Mickey Mouse cartoon and feature film, but also joined in reciting the club creed and singing "The Star-Spangled Banner," as well as participating in contests whose prizes were Disney toys. This fusion of public and commercial regulation was widely accepted and must be understood in the context of the prevalent views on media at the time.

Film and Media Effects Theory

After World War I, many Germans entertained the opinion that they had lost the war not on the battle field but in the press, and both in Europe and North America propaganda became a focus of intense professional interest between the wars. This interest was based on the widely held assumption that the media had direct and measurable effects on people—effects that could be turned to both beneficial and harmful ends.

In the history of childhood and media, this assumption combined with the view of children as malleable creatures, which had developed in the late eighteenth century. To this combination was added the fact that film is an audiovisual medium, which makes it more prone to being judged by its resemblance to external reality than are print media. So the question of film's impact on children became focused upon the issue of imitation: Would children emulate sex or violence in real life if they were exposed to sex and violence on the screen? Moreover, realism became a norm by which other media expressions were judged. The assumption of direct media effects merged with realism as an aesthetic norm. From this, debates ensued about whether children would be better served by fact than by fiction. Answers to this question played into the ways in which public debate tends to validate rational aspects of the media, aspects that readily lend themselves to informational genres. In contrast, the emotional aspects—aspects that are associated with fictional accounts—are downgraded.

Proponents of film applied the norm of realism in arguing for its educational potential. Film was called "the working-man's [*sic*] university," a "theater of democracy" and "the Esperanto of the eye" — all indications that film was for everyone and required no formal training.

In both Britain and the United States, the 1920s and 1930s saw major investigations into children and film, investigations that were framed by the effects tradition which a now-burgeoning media research field helped institutionalize. In Britain, the first enquiry was set up in 1917 by the National Council of Public Morals. Its 1925 report, *The Cinema in Education*, did not validate the accusations leveled against film for its debauching effects. In fact, it put the blame for juvenile DELINQUENCY on social conditions.

In many European countries in the 1930s, the debates on film and childhood were increasingly inflected by nationalist, even racist, overtones as Hollywood gained superiority over European film companies. In Britain, perhaps the most extreme example of this is *The Devil's Camera*, written in 1932 by two journalists, R. G. Burnett and E. D. Martell, who accused mainly Jewish financiers in Hollywood of undermining British strength and stamina in the young. In Germany, the dual development of rapid modernization and inflation after World War I impoverished the academic and administrative middle classes as well as many self-employed people. As the cultural elite lost its social stronghold, its opposition to new cultural artifacts intensified. A well-known film critic, Herbert Jhering, writing in 1926 equated American film with a mental militarism that seduced the masses—a curious historical irony given the contemporary strengthening of the Nazi movement.

Europe had a strong tradition, begun in the nineteenth century, of public regulation and reform for the public good, which made many adults turn to educational films as an antidote to the perceived ill-effects of the commercial output, and public funding of special films for children continues to be a mainstay of cultural policy in several European countries. Not so in the United States, where pressure groups furthered self-regulation measures by the industry.

In 1928, the Reverend William H. Short and his Motion Picture Research Council commissioned a series of studies to be financed by the philanthropic Payne Study and Experiment Fund. Their resulting eight volumes, published in 1933 and 1934, are among the most detailed investigations of movie-going and the main findings corroborate the findings of their British colleagues. In addition, the studies show that films were important to the young not so much because children directly emulated their content but because films created interpretive frameworks for understanding their personal problems and aspirations.

Religious groups especially continued to campaign against the medium of the popular film, and in 1934 the Hays Code, which was written by an influential Republican, William Harrison Hays, was made mandatory. It was the film industry's self-imposed code of conduct, monitored by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, and was aimed at scenes of perceived indecency and violence. The Hays Code thus gave credence to the propaganda un-

derlying the effects theory, not the more nuanced results of empirical research.

The division between European public regulation and industrial regulation in the United States continued when television gained ground in the 1950s.

Media Domestication

Unlike film, television in Europe and the United States developed in the privacy of the home. And unlike reading, watching it was a family affair well into the 1970s in the United States and the 1980s in Europe, when multiple sets became the norm. In other parts of the world, television has remained a collective and often public affair, demonstrating that contexts of use depend on wider social traditions and options—including access to electricity.

With the advent of television, an audiovisual medium became an everyday experience in the lives of the very young to an unprecedented degree. The day's flow of programs were divided into slots, graded according to gender and generation, and serving to regulate children's daily routines as no medium had done before. Most TV networks developed children's sections that produced both informational and entertaining programming. Cartoons became an absolute and longstanding favorite with children until they reached ADOLESCENCE.

In the United States, television, like film, developed as a commercial enterprise within broadcasting networks, with public broadcasting playing a negligible role in program development and viewing. In Europe, television, like radio, evolved as a public-service medium—an institution that catered to the public good, independent of both the state and the commercial media industry. John Reith, the legendary first director of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), professed that the aim of public service should be to “inform, educate and entertain” all groups of society, including children, with programming that had a decisive focus on the first two aspects well into the 1970s. Children's sections, along with the news and drama sections, remained the main pillars in public-service broadcasting until the late 1980s, when the combined forces of statutory deregulation, computer media, and intensified global media commodification served to inaugurate new alliances between public and private media sectors.

From the early days of television, institutional differences meant that most European children were addressed as future citizens, whereas American children were addressed as future or even present consumers. These differences played into public debate and research priorities. The notion of citizenship is closely bound up with nineteenth-century ideals of public communication and reform based on print media, and so television's ability to reach children even before they went to school or were able to read had many European educators, politicians, and parents question the relations between books and television: was viewing ousting reading as a pastime?

This displacement thesis, where one form of leisure eclipses another, became a central element in media investigations, and its importance was reinforced by the subsequent introduction of a spate of new media technologies through the 1980s (videos, Walkmans, satellite television) and 1990s (computers, Gameboys, Discmans, cell phones), making comparison with, and possibly displacing, older media technologies an immediate cause of debate. In 1958, the British psychologist Hilde Himmelweit and her colleagues published *Television and the Child*, whose main results demonstrated that television, being a novelty, to some extent displaced reading and “doing nothing,” but that the displacement was most pronounced for activities serving similar functions. With its social-psychological approach, the study pioneered a new trend in media studies, which asked what individual children did with media rather than what media did to children.

This uses-and-gratifications approach resonated with media scholars in North America, where it remains the main research tradition. In tune with postwar views on children as consumers, it focused on individual needs and active choice, thereby stressing children’s independence as long as this independence was exerted within the commercial domain. A study published in 1961 by Wilbur Schramm and his colleagues, *Television in the Lives of Our Children*, largely corroborated Himmelweit’s findings and framed future discussions on children and television in terms of parental guidance and safe scheduling. In the 1980s, these discussions gained new impetus from, but were not radically challenged by, the introduction of video recorders, which facilitated children’s viewing of a wider range of films.

Transgressing Boundaries

Both Himmelweit and Schramm, as well as later studies, showed that most of children’s television viewing did not consist of children’s programs. Still the most prevalent medium in children’s lives, television acts as a leveler of age, gender, and ethnic boundaries. With television, the relationship of childhood and media has come full circle: the medium reaches nearly everyone, just as the earliest print media did. The main themes in the debate about that relationship has also come full circle in that media culture now reaches all children and does so both in public and private spaces: are children to be protected from or educated by the media? Are media a cause of cultural optimism or pessimism?

The media situation at the beginning of the twenty-first century in many ways radicalizes earlier concerns and contradictions. The introduction of satellite television and computer media in the 1980s and especially the exponential growth of the Internet in the 1990s brought a new urgency to old questions about children’s autonomy as independent beings or their protection as vulnerable minors in relation to their exposure to media violence and sex. The different routes pursued by European and North American broadcast-

ers in addressing children were undermined by a commercial computer and Internet industry of potentially global reach, and it threw into relief the dilemmas involved in addressing children as future citizens, as beings in need of protection, or as present consumers in charge of the joy stick, the remote control, and the parental purse.

The development toward global and commodified media production equally threw into relief the historical changes in the debates on childhood and media. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the debates addressed specific media output, focusing on its ill effects, often in shrill voices that bordered on panic, making the discourse of pessimism the most clearly heard. Since then, the debates have become more diffuse and short-lived, mixing the discourse of pessimism with a discourse of optimism, which has focused on media as resources and children as possessing rights.

This has made the dilemmas no less complex: should media be defined as commodities or a public good? What are CHILDREN’S RIGHTS in regard to media? Commercial media producers lay claim to a definition of children as mediawise, rational consumers who should be able to buy whatever media output producers make available. Public-service interests stress the 1989 UN CONVENTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD, which stipulates the child’s rights to privacy (article 16), freedom of expression, and access to a diversity of media (articles 13 and 17), which it defines as part of the public domain.

The early debates were played out against, and played into, a sociocultural context in which the boundaries of gender and generation were as well defined as the hierarchies of culture and taste, making the stakes easy to define, oppose, and defend. Later debates operate within, and lay claim to, sociocultural contexts where it is no longer feasible to uphold such hierarchies—not least because of media culture itself, which has become more complex and differentiated. From the late 1990s on, media producers began incorporating prospective opposition into their marketing strategies. This is seen, for example, in the promotion of controversial music groups whose “explicit lyrics” are highlighted and in advertisements for television concepts such as the reality show *Big Brother* that focus on the special attractions allegedly found in a blurring of public and private boundaries.

The development of mobile media, through which children may reach and be reached by images, sound, and print at nearly all times and places, operates within a socio-cultural context where discourses of pessimism and optimism, protection and rights, citizenship and consumerism, are the important stakes. No longer confined to the intimate sphere of the home or the regulations of broadcasting and film censorship, the mobile media generation of children faces a future in which they have to tackle old, adult concerns under radically new circumstances.

See also: **Advertising; Comic Books; Consumer Culture; Theories of Childhood.**

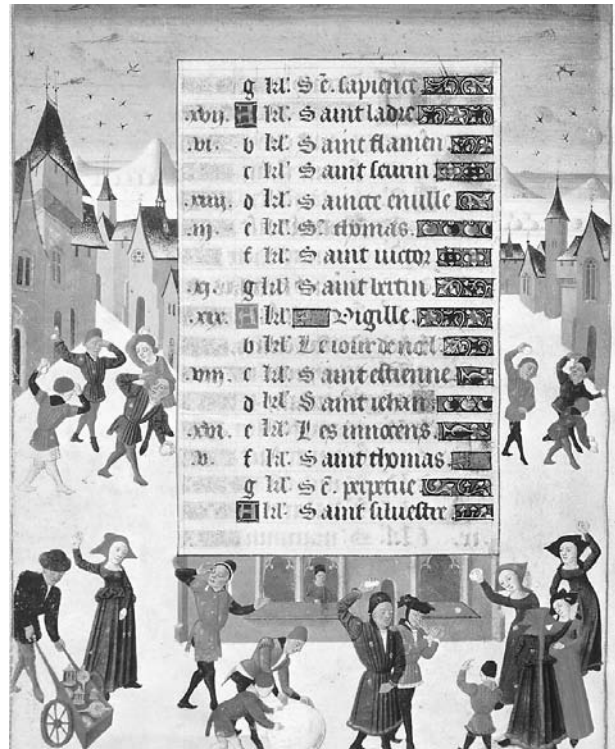
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KIRSTEN DROTNER

Medieval and Renaissance Europe

The narratives of traditional political history written by historians from the north and west of Europe confidently set the boundaries of the beginning of the medieval period at the fall of Rome in 476 C.E. and ended the period of the Renaissance either in 1492, with Christopher Columbus's voy-



Children appear, throwing snowballs, in the margins of a fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript, "The Hours of Adelaide of Savoy." The Art Archive/Musée Condé Chantilly/Dagli Orti (A).

age to the Americas, or in 1527 with another sack of Rome, this time by the troops of Charles V, the Holy Roman emperor. At both extremes, a narrow geographic focus also made the precision of these dates seem more convincing than it really is. At the beginning of the period, the focus on the north and west of Christendom, where medieval civilization eventually flourished about 1000 C.E., for the most part led historians to neglect the geography of the Roman Empire itself, wrapped as it was around the Mediterranean Sea. Thus the continuing vitality of the Byzantine Empire, so Roman that its inhabitants styled themselves *Romanoi*, never gained as much attention as it deserved. Political and military history also exaggerated the cultural conflict between ISLAM and the Christian West, even as Islamic civilization appropriated the fruits of Greek science and philosophy and retransmitted them to the Latin West toward the end of the eleventh century.

At the other chronological extreme, the sack of Rome appeared to mark the end of the independence of Renaissance Italian city-states, even though the struggle between the Papacy and secular powers throughout the High and late Middle Ages made the entire Italian peninsula so vulnerable to invasion and constant warfare that political independence failed to have much meaning. As Renaissance humanism came to be seen as the center of the movement known as the

Renaissance, the geographical boundaries of Renaissance culture came to be understood as extending across the Alps into France, Germany, and England, as well as to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Spain. The Renaissance is now considered to end at about 1600, with some literary historians willing to extend the chronological boundary as late as the 1640s to encompass the English poet John Milton (1608–1674) and the English Civil War (1642–1648).

Periodization of the History of Childhood

For the purposes of the history of childhood, the more important debates concerning chronological definitions have centered around what distinction, if any, can appropriately be made between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The American historian Charles Homer Haskins, in *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927), sought to claim for the twelfth century the cultural achievements traditionally attributed to the Renaissance: individualism, love for classical antiquity, and the origins of science. In the 1970s, this attack on the originality of the Italian Renaissance was flanked by an attack from feminists, led by Joan Kelly-Gadol's article "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" (1977), and from social and economic historians, who noted that daily lives as experienced in the premodern economy and society remained established in identifiable cyclical patterns that stayed virtually unchanged from the urban revival of the eleventh century until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the mid-eighteenth century.

Such attempts to diminish the status of the Italian Renaissance as an important period for the fashioning of the modern age, though exaggerated, certainly had the beneficial effect of forcing Renaissance scholars to define more carefully what was distinctive about this period. What has resulted is a much more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between medieval and Renaissance learning, a relationship that involved a shift in emphasis from the scientific disciplines of the seven liberal arts (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music) to the humanistic disciplines (grammar, rhetoric, and logic). In particular, the content of humanistic instruction placed an emphasis on the skills and subjects required for active participation in urban politics and society: history, poetry, and moral philosophy.

Between the works of Haskins and Kelly-Gadol appeared PHILIPPE ARIÈS's monumental *Centuries of Childhood* (1962). Ariès accepted the traditional boundaries between Middle Ages and Renaissance, but argued that the Renaissance ushered in a new attention to children and their education, an attention that curtailed the freedom of children themselves. Using examples from medieval paintings that he saw on weekends as part of his itinerant government job, Ariès argued that the Middle Ages had no separate conception of childhood: that children were depicted as little adults. As in art, so in life, Ariès believed: children were expected to assume adult roles quite precociously, and little or no attention was paid to the special needs of children until the educational revolution of humanism in sixteenth-century France began to regiment and DISCIPLINE the moral lives of children. Indeed, high INFANT MORTALITY, in Ariès's view, blunted any real parental affection when emotional investment in children came at such a high personal cost. Although that view is no longer prevalent among historians, much of the history of childhood in the Middle Ages and Renaissance is still being written as though Ariès's very provocative ideas still frame the entire debate.

Defining the Stages of Childhood

The chronological boundaries and terms for the stages of children's lives in the European past were quite different from those that prevail in the early twenty-first century. In the early seventh century the writer Isidore of Seville divided childhood into two equal periods of seven years each, a basic division and terminology that legal sources largely repeated. The first seven years was defined by the child's inability to speak, with *speak* meaning, in this case, the child's ability to express thought with grammatical correctness. This expressivity marked the beginning of the age of reason around the age of seven. Most importantly, it marked the age at which schooling began, just as the age of fourteen marked the end of formal schooling and the beginning of ADOLESCENCE, a period that formally ended at the age of twenty-eight. At fourteen a child formally entered the adult world and could contract matrimonial obligations. Criminal culpability began somewhere in the middle of this period of *pueritia*, or

childhood, which was marked by the increasing ability to distinguish right from wrong. Although the exact age at which this was considered to occur juridically varied from one set of town statutes to another, in general the law prescribed half the adult penalty for crimes committed by children between the ages of ten and fourteen, with the full adult penalties applying once the child reached fourteen years of age. The death penalty for children under fourteen was rare, but not unknown. This aside, however, the actual use of these definitions and terms for various stages of childhood varied by writer, by location, and by period.

Sources of Evidence

Ariès's use of evidence from art history underscores a fundamental problem faced by all historians of medieval childhood: a lack of sources, or at least a lack of the traditional sources such as family and personal diaries. Family and personal diaries begin to emerge in the fourteenth century, especially in Italy, and some historians have seen in the relative lack of reference in such works to the lives and upbringing of children a lack of interest in children as individuals even in the early Renaissance. More recently, however, it has become clear that even for the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, these sources are not personal or family diaries in the modern sense, but family account books that chronicle the life of the family as an economic unit and as a claim to political office and high social status.

Thus for the entire period of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe, historians have relied on inference from archeological evidence, literary evidence, and evidence from institutions such as monasteries and hospitals, plus a few autobiographical accounts, in order to reconstruct the realities of medieval and Renaissance childhood. If describing "normal" childhood in a stable family setting is the historian's goal, the set of sources available produces very frustrating results, because historians come across children in court documents, ORPHANAGE records, and literary accounts of ABANDONMENT, so that children in the context of household and family play a less significant role in the evidence than they might have in reality. Even sermons and other literature from the Church fathers refer to children in the Biblical context—the abandonment of Moses and the Slaughter of the Innocents are favorite themes, as are the stories of miracles involving the healing of sick children. Similarly, medieval preaching about children, as well as images in late medieval art, dwelt on the miraculous intervention of saints to prevent children from accidental injury or death.

Continuities in Medieval and Renaissance Childhood

Differences in geography and time aside, certain common features of medieval and Renaissance childhood provide a sense of continuity across the premodern era, stretching from antiquity to the nineteenth century. According to prevailing beliefs, conceiving a child required both the right timing and the right setting in order to produce the desired

result. In this, the imagination of the mother, or the visual images with which the couple was surrounded, played an important role in determining the physical characteristics as well as the character of the child. Similarly, food ingested by the mother, according to popular and medical belief, influenced the outcome of the child. During the Renaissance, *deschi da parto*, or birth trays, as well as various ceramics presented as gifts to the child's parents, repeated heroic themes as well as other messages meant to influence the upbringing by parents and mental absorption by the child.

For the period after the child's birth, virtually all authorities recommended maternal breast-feeding. Those same authorities conceded the infrequency of maternal breast-feeding by emphasizing the importance of choosing a wet nurse whose character would be transmitted through breast milk to the child. Following Ariès, some historians have argued that WET-NURSING was a form of emotional distancing from the cruel realities of high infant mortality. More recently, however, issues of family strategy have become more prominent in the historical literature, suggesting that because breast-feeding inhibited fertility, mothers sent children out to wet-nurse in order to reduce the amount of time between pregnancies and to maximize a woman's potential for childbearing.

In Mediterranean societies in particular, family strategies also revolved around male preference, so that wet nurses were somewhat more likely to neglect female infants than male infants. The polyptychs, or censuses, of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, an abbey near Paris, in the Carolingian era (768–814) show more males than females, with the difference in gender ratios most pronounced for the smallest landholdings. During the Renaissance, this disparity in treatment by gender is evident in the mortality records of FOUNDLING hospitals, a disparity that began to disappear only in the eighteenth century. Medical anthropologists have argued that male preference is a consistent feature of environmentally stressed societies, in which parents pay more attention to male children precisely because of their greater biological vulnerability during the first year of life.

Infanticide, Abandonment, Institutions

High infant mortality, infanticide, and abandonment also represented continuities in the history of childhood during this period, although historians sharply disagree about how widespread the latter two practices were. Infant mortality in premodern societies seems to have ranged from approximately 17 percent among elites in the best of economic conditions to 50 percent among the poor and in charitable institutions—still considerably less than the infant mortality rates of 80 to 90 percent common in foundling hospitals in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. In precarious economic circumstances, and during epidemics, both infant and child mortality reached appallingly high levels.

Infanticide and abandonment were clearly related to one another, not in the sense that they were necessarily equiva-

lent, but in the sense that parents justified (and sometimes rationalized) abandonment as the only humane alternative to starvation. As early as the mid-fourth century, orphanages and foundling hospitals were established in the Byzantine Empire, deliberately imitating Roman law. Indeed, Roman law established in Byzantium an elaborate system of guardianship for vulnerable children, in which abandonment to an institution was the last resort after networks of kinship and clients had been exhausted. Later Byzantine emperors and ecclesiastical patriarchs established and supported foundling hospitals for the abandoned children of prostitutes, although these institutions were specifically designated as orphanages at their inception. A number of Byzantine orphanages became renowned for their musical training, a tradition either reinvented or rediscovered in Renaissance Italian foundling homes as well.

In this respect, early medieval Byzantium, a relatively urbanized society compared to the more rural north and west of Europe, had a greater variety of alternatives and institutions for abandoned children. The north and west of Europe, at least from about 500 to 1000 C.E., was prey to invasion, famine, and widespread rural poverty. For an age in which both adults and children were at risk, there is nonetheless archeological evidence that parents struggled to keep alive even their sickly and deformed children, crafting makeshift clay feeding bottles for children unable to take the breast. Nor did high infant mortality necessarily weaken the bond between parents and infants. In fourteenth-century France, records from the Inquisition suggest the agony of a mother who could not bear to abandon her infant to join the heretical Cathar movement, and who ultimately had to order that the child be taken out of the room.

The closest analogue in early medieval western Europe to orphanages and foundling hospitals was oblation, the practice of giving children, especially male children, over to the monastic life. Although genuine religious motivations were at the heart of this practice, it is also quite clear that for some parents, having an older child reared and educated in the monastic setting arose from considerations of economic necessity and family strategy as well. As was true for charitable institutions in the later Middle Ages, monasteries adopted the terminology of family to construct a form of fictive kinship and familial closeness in monasteries and convents as well.

As medieval society in the Latin West became more urbanized in the eleventh century, structures and forms of abandonment changed as well. Although western Europe would not develop foundling homes until the early fifteenth century, large general hospitals as well as more specialized institutions took in orphans and foundlings in addition to their other patients and pilgrims. A series of frescoes in the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, Italy, depicts the various forms of assistance that this large general hospital provided for abandoned children.

Just as was true for medieval convents and monasteries, the vocabulary and organization of hospitals for children sought to replicate what families normally did. Thus both general and specialized hospitals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance sent infants out to wet nurses both in city and countryside. In late medieval Italy, for example, entire towns in remote mountainous areas developed microeconomies of wet-nursing. As families did, these hospitals sent boys out to be schooled and apprenticed to a trade. Girls were taught to weave and sew, tended to remain inmates of these hospitals much longer, and often left the hospital with a dowry intended for the convent or for marriage. Over the course of the sixteenth century, many institutions required girls to keep track of their production of cloth, for which their dowries received partial credit, with the remainder going to underwrite the institution's expenses. Both boys and girls might be available for informal adoptions that usually involved working as servants for the families in which they were placed.

Affection and Exploitation

The high levels of infant and child mortality, as well as high levels of abandonment, have led some historians (often, in the Ariès tradition) to argue that the emotional lives of children were highly restricted at best and that parents lacked affection for children. Most historians of childhood would now agree that medieval and Renaissance parents displayed the same range of emotion toward children that one finds in the present: CHILD ABUSE and exploitation then, as now, were present but not necessarily representative. Rituals of BAPTISM and godparenthood, as Louis Haas showed in *The Renaissance Man and His Children* (1998), welcomed the infant into both the immediate family and into larger networks of kin, neighborhood, and community. Humanist pedagogy during the Renaissance, first in Italy and then in the north, emphasized the role of families as ministates in which children trained for adult roles in public life. Consequently, the training of children became the basis for the revival of classical visions of discipline and the early modern state both in the Catholic and PROTESTANT REFORMATIONS.

Yet the boundaries concerning appropriate social and sexual behavior were certainly drawn differently from those of contemporary times. In Renaissance Florence, for example, as shown in Michael Rocke's *Forbidden Friendships* (1996), the activities of the Officials of the Night revealed an extremely widespread network of same-sex encounters between older men and younger boys—encounters that often reflected nonsexual networks of patronage, clientage, and assistance. Sexual encounters between adult men and teenage boys were tolerated with greater latitude than encounters between two adult males. It was just such issues that Catholic and Protestant reformers sought to address by melding religious and political discipline. Precisely at this point in the middle of the sixteenth century one may begin to discern modern outlines of childhood.

In continuing the educational innovations of the Renaissance, the Catholic and Protestant Reformations did not address economic exploitation, which continued to be a matter of survival for rural families; consequently, children within the family took on important economic roles. Barbara A. Hanawalt's examination of coroners' records from medieval England, in both *The Ties That Bound* (1986) and *Growing Up in Medieval London* (1993), showed high rates of accidental death, especially by drowning and by falling into fires. Similar dangers awaited laboring children and apprentices in medieval London. Indeed, to some extent, the new charitable initiatives of early modern Europe fostered the economic exploitation of institutionalized children as de facto wards of the early modern state. Even regular APPRENTICESHIPS often subjected young adolescents not only to hard work but also to very strict discipline.

The deaths of children in this period, however, were never taken lightly. Although Italian Renaissance diaries often record the deaths of children rather laconically, this has more to do with the function of diaries as accounts of family finances and family prestige, than with any lack of affection for children. Even in the case of tax records, in which during certain times large numbers of female children appear to have gone missing, the gaps are accounted for by the deliberate falsification of these records by taxpayers in order to make their daughters appear younger and therefore more marriageable. Personal correspondence from the period shows that parents placed a high value on the lives of their children and felt an extreme sense of loss for them when EPIDEMICS and other calamities took their lives. Moralists instructed parents to bring up and educate children according to the children's individual characteristics and abilities.

If in many respects medieval and Renaissance childhoods resemble those of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the cultural context of medieval and Renaissance childhood was so strikingly different that the superficial similarities are often misleading. What appears initially as a lack of attention to children has more to do with the nature of the sources, as well as with the integration of children at a very young age into functioning communities of honor, SEXUALITY, extended family, neighborhood, and work. The economic functioning of family life and child rearing did not completely submerge affection. In the case of inheritance practices, rigid rules concerning INHERITANCE often worked to the long-term protection and advantage of children. At the same time individual families often had to tread a very fine line when bonds of affection and the family's economic, social, and political survival pulled in opposite directions.

See also: **Early Modern Europe; Enlightenment, The.**

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PHILIP GAVITT

Megan's Law(s)

Megan's Law is a generic term for a statute providing for community notification of the whereabouts of convicted sex offenders following their release from prison. Such a statute is generally coupled with a law requiring the registration of released sex offenders. The girl whose name became synonymous with this legislation, seven-year-old Megan Kanka, was raped and killed in 1994 by Jesse Timmendequas, a twice-convicted sex offender who had moved in across the street from her home in suburban Hamilton, New Jersey. That Timmendequas had been diagnosed as a "repetitive-compulsive sexual offender" and incarcerated in New Jersey's treatment center for sex offenders at Avenel gave shape to the outrage provoked by his crime. If Americans still saw sex offenders as "sick," they no longer believed that experts could treat and rehabilitate them. That loss of faith diminished the concern with the childhood origins of sex offending, with how to prevent men from becoming offenders, that had emerged in the 1930s. Evidence that offenders had themselves been victims as children was in the 1990s increasingly dismissed as the "abuse excuse." If experts and courts could not protect children from sex offenders, then that task fell to the community, almost inevitably represented as composed of parents. This argument rested on the untested notion that if his neighbors had known about Timmendequas, they could have prevented his crime, and it involved a radical move to public participation in the task of surveillance previously given to police departments or other public agencies.

Campaigns for community notification laws relied on the political and symbolic power of the innocent child. Attaching the name and the image of a child victim, either Megan Kanka or a local child, to the law tapped emotions already aroused by a broader anxiety about the "disappearance" of a sheltered, innocent childhood, and made opposition, and even reflection, politically difficult. This was influenced in part by the widespread fear and alarm that had been increasingly attached to "stranger" ABDUCTIONS since the 1970s. Rallying around the innocent child, a grassroots movement succeeded in having community notification and/or sex-offender registration laws adopted by all fifty states, and by the federal government, by 2002.

Despite widespread adoption, Megan's laws remained highly controversial. Critics argued that the laws were punitive rather than regulatory, and therefore contravened constitutional protections against cruel and unusual punishment and ex post facto laws, as well as violating offenders' right to privacy. In practice, critics claimed, the laws encouraged vigilantism, and made the rehabilitation of offenders virtually impossible. Megan's laws were also charged with diverting attention from the majority of sex crimes, those committed within families. From that perspective, the laws were part of a backlash against the focus on INCEST and CHILD ABUSE that feminists had helped promote since the 1960s. In February

2002, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to decide whether Alaska's notification law amounted to extra punishment in violation of the Constitution's ban on ex post facto laws. The Court upheld the law in March 2003.

See also: **Law, Children and the; Pedophilia; Sexuality.**

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STEPHEN ROBERTSON

Menarche

Menarche, the onset of menstruation, marks an important physical, psychological, and social transition in the lives of young women. The physical transition is preceded by bodily changes in which the breasts develop, body weight increases, and overall body shape changes, resulting in fuller hips. The psychological transition is less well charted, but the fact that a girl's first period marks the beginning of her ability to bear children suggests that it is a meaningful event. The social transition, and the rituals that surround it, vary across cultures and through time. Sexual maturation is of great social moment, since all societies have an interest in reproduction.

Historians have explored the meaning of these transitions in the past, but conclusions are limited by paucity of sources. The historian Vern Bullough's overview suggests that classical writers found menarche to occur between the ages of twelve and fourteen, while medieval authorities put the onset on menstruation at fourteen. Nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century studies sometimes put the age slightly later, between fifteen and sixteen.

During the twentieth century the age of girls at menarche declined in the West. The median age at menarche in North America, estimated to be around 15.5 years in 1850, decreased by three to four months each decade after 1850, but has remained relatively stable since the 1970s when it reached 12.5 years. Similar trends have occurred in other Western countries and are attributed to rising standards of living, improved nutrition, higher levels of female LITERACY, and less hard labor for girls. A declining age at menarche was also evident in China during the closing decades of the century.

Contemporary studies indicate the continued variability of the age of menarche. Agta women foragers of Cagayan province, Luzon, in the Philippines, typically experience menarche at 17, Haitian women experience it at 15.37 years, while in the United States the mean age is now 12.3 years. Such studies also point to the differences between rural and urban groups, indicating that physical labor may lead to later onset of menarche.

Using medical texts, letters, and diaries, American and British historians have sought to understand the psychological import of sexual maturation. Nineteenth-century American physicians regarded menarche as a “crisis point” in the development of middle-class girls. The historian Joan Jacobs Brumberg has charted the growing emphasis on HYGIENE, rather than fertility, in twentieth-century understandings of menarche. By studying oral histories, twentieth-century historians have noted that in the past mothers often found it difficult to communicate with their daughters about the meaning of menarche. Girls were often unprepared for menstrual bleeding when it first occurred, and they were consequently fearful. Since the mid-twentieth century, sanitary product companies have sought to provide information, and they have become an increasingly important source of education about bodily maturation for girls.

The social transition brought about by menarche has been subject to scrutiny by anthropologists who seek to delineate the cultural practices—from community celebrations to seclusion and genital cutting—that accompany the advent of menarche across cultural groups. But however the advent of menarche is marked, it is commonly understood as the time when a girl becomes a woman, and is therefore subject to new codes of behavior. Menarche could thus be a time of ambivalence for the individual, a time when the freedom of childhood is relinquished for the benefits of maturity. Historically, the emphasis in many cultures on a woman’s virginity prior to marriage meant the imposition of strict social controls over young women between the time of menarche and the advent of marriage.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Girlhood; Puberty; Rites of Passage; Sex Education; Sexuality.**

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BARBARA BROOKES

Mental Hygiene

Mental hygiene, the public-health perspective within psychiatry, was influential from 1910 until about 1960. Since World War II, mental hygiene ideas became increasingly incorporated into mainstream psychiatry, in particular through the community health movement of the 1960s. The mental hygiene, or mental health, movement thereafter ceased to exist as a separate movement.

Instead of focusing on the treatment of MENTAL ILLNESS, mental hygienists emphasized early intervention, prevention, and the promotion of mental health. Mental hygienists were interested in children because they were convinced that mental illness and mental disorder were to an important extent related to early childhood experiences. Their interest in prevention made them focus their public-health education activities on reaching parents to inform them about the latest scientific insights in child development and child rearing. Mental hygienists also viewed the educational system as a suitable location for preventive activity and became involved in programs for teacher education and educational reform.

Origins of the Mental Hygiene Movement

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was founded in New York in 1909 by a number of leading psychiatrists and Clifford W. Beers (1876–1943), who had been institutionalized in several mental hospitals after a nervous breakdown. He described his experiences and the deplorable conditions in mental hospitals in his autobiography *A Mind That Found Itself* (1913). The National Committee aimed to improve conditions in mental hospitals, stimulate research in psychiatry, improve the quality of psychiatric education, develop measures preventing mental illness, and popularize psychiatric and psychological perspectives. Although mental hygiene originated within psychiatry, mental hygiene ideas also inspired social workers, teachers, psychologists, sociologists, and members of other professions. Consequently the mental hygiene movement became interdisciplinary in nature.

The basic ideas of mental hygiene were derived from the dynamic psychiatry of Adolf Meyer (1866–1950). According to Meyer, mental illness and mental disorder were the outcome of the dynamic interaction of individuals with their environments. Inspired by evolutionary theory and the philosophy of pragmatism, Meyer interpreted these conditions as inadequate responses to the challenges of everyday life or as forms of maladjustment. Investigating an individual’s life history enabled psychiatrists to trace the origins of maladjustment and to intervene therapeutically. In Meyer’s views, the treatment of early forms of maladjustment could prevent more serious problems later on. His ideas also contained suggestions for preventive measures.

During the 1920s, SIGMUND FREUD’s psychoanalytic ideas became increasingly influential in the United States.

Psychoanalysis emphasized the importance of early childhood experiences and their impact on mental health later in life. Mental hygienists became convinced that preventive intervention was best directed at growing children and those individuals who had the most extensive contact with them: parents and teachers. Initially mental hygienists emphasized the importance of therapeutic intervention in the emotional problems of young children. They later also emphasized the importance of fostering mental health in all growing children.

Starting in the 1920s, mental hygienists promoted a therapeutic perspective toward the everyday problems of children. The National Committee was instrumental in the establishment of CHILD GUIDANCE clinics. Initially these clinics were associated with JUVENILE COURTS. They were modeled upon the clinic of WILLIAM HEALY (1869–1963), who had been the first director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in Chicago, which was associated with the juvenile court there. In 1917 he became the director of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston. According to Healy, juvenile delinquents needed to be investigated individually by a team consisting of a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a social worker in order to ascertain the child's abilities, home background, emotional life, motivations, and intelligence. On this basis an individualized treatment plan could be developed and implemented. During the 1930s child guidance clinics came to focus less on diagnosing and treating juvenile delinquents and more on the therapeutic treatment of the emotional problems of children from middle-class families. Child guidance clinics increasingly treated parents and children who came for help on their own initiative.

During the 1920s academic research on children became increasingly respectable and well organized as a consequence of the funding provided by the LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL, a large philanthropic organization that supported research in child development at several academic institutions. The aim was to investigate the development of normal children and to popularize the findings of this research. Inspired by this research, a number of leading mental hygienists argued that preventive activity should no longer be focused on detecting early signs of maladjustment but instead on tracing aberrations in normal child development. Consequently preventive activity was potentially directed at all children instead of only those children who were troublesome to parents and teachers. During the 1930s a few leading mental hygienists developed educational programs aimed at fostering mental health in schoolchildren.

Mental Hygiene and the Educational System

Mental hygienists viewed the educational system as a promising venue for preventive activities because it could potentially reach all children. During the 1930s they successfully influenced teacher education programs to include developmental psychology. Initially they wanted to raise awareness

among teachers about the ramifications of educational practices—particularly methods of maintaining control and punishment for transgressions—for mental health. A number of educational reformers became interested in mental hygiene to provide a rationale for educational reform by claiming that the curriculum needed to be organized in conformity with insights in child development. In addition, many Progressive educators viewed the school as the place where children were trained for adjustment; they viewed the school as the preparation for life. The life adjustment movement in education claimed that the school should train the whole child and not just his or her intellect. Educational reformers criticized the traditional academic curriculum for its emphasis on mental discipline and rote learning, which they saw as irrelevant for most children. They advocated instead a variety of educational initiatives such as vocational training and project learning. The influence of these ideas on education was profound: the development of the personality became one of the central goals of education.

The influence of mental hygiene ideas after World War II was illustrated by the pervasive interest of parents, especially mothers, in child-rearing literature. Critics have argued that this literature made mothers unnecessarily worried about the well-being of their children, and the influence of mental hygiene ideas on education was countered at times by an emphasis on the teaching of basic academic skills. In the 1990s the influence of psychiatric and psychological ideas on educational practice has been criticized as one of the causes of educational decline in North America.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Delinquency; Hygiene.**

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HANS POLS

Mental Illness

Mental illness is a series of disorders and diseases that affect the intellectual, emotional, and psychological makeup of individuals. Causation is wide ranging (from organic and genetic maladies to environmental triggers; from poor nutrition and poverty to psychological trauma) but many times unknown. Because of the myriad of disorders under the label of mental illness, a generalized “cure” has not been developed. Measures to ameliorate the effects of the spectrum of disorders include therapy of various forms, counseling, and pharmacological interventions.

Mental illness does not exist in a social vacuum, independent of the context of time and place. Its assumed etiology (causes) and manifestations are reflections of the social setting in which it exists. The twentieth century saw a large increase in the number of individuals exhibiting symptoms of mental illness. Whether this resulted from better reporting methods, shifting levels of category description, or a generalized increase in the number of individuals afflicted is still open to debate. It is apparent, however, that children at the turn of the twenty-first century were suffering from an epidemic of mental illness. More children in the United States in 2003 suffered from psychiatric illness than from AIDS, leukemia, and diabetes combined. The solutions proposed to the problems caused by mental illness in children reflect the underlying assumptions of society. That these solutions have changed over time similarly reflect that American society itself has reshaped its intellectual presuppositions throughout history.

Religious Causes in Colonial America

Traditionally, emotional and psychological problems in children were viewed through the prism of religion. Children experiencing visions, hearing voices, or enduring seizures were seen as individuals touched by either God or Satan. Etiology was considered as otherworldly; therefore, alleviation of the disorder would come through supplication to the Deity. This was in the form of prayer, Scripture reading, and personal admission of sin and guilt.

The Salem, Massachusetts, witchcraft crisis of 1692 provides the most familiar example of how childhood mental illness was perceived and dealt with during the colonial American era. Dozens of young women were involved in a wide-ranging frenzy of accusations of witchcraft, punctuated by visions, spells, physical maladies, and the belief that Satan was actively working to control individuals in and around Salem Village. Historians have argued over the “actual” cause of these happenings, positing economic, cultural, psychological, and medical explanations. What is known, however, is that contemporaries had only one explanation—the young women participating in the naming of witches were not mentally ill in the modern sense of the term: they were victims in the ongoing battle between God and Satan for the

souls of mankind. Cotton Mather, the influential Puritan clergyman, expressed this belief most clearly in his book *Wonders of the Invisible World*, published in 1692. Mather and other Puritan leaders saw young women, because of their age and dependent condition, as especially susceptible to the hallucinations and physical assaults caused by this cosmic battle. Prayer for the afflicted, as well as punishment for those bewitched by Satan himself, were seen as cures for the physical and mental ailments of the girls involved in the witchcraft hysteria.

Shift to Social Causes in the Eighteenth Century

By the eighteenth century, the hysterical outbursts associated with witchcraft and Satanic possession subsided, lending credence to the belief that social, rather than religious, causes led to the maladies. Incidences of childhood mental disorders were not as visible, or seemingly as prevalent, during this period. Childhood was viewed as a time of unrequited joy, when children did not face the problems and toil of adult life. Adults exhibiting overt signs of mental disorder were treated in differing ways depending on their class and status in society. Upper-class individuals who showed signs of mental problems were usually cared for within the family and labeled as strange or eccentric. Members of the lower class who gave signs of mental disorder often were not able to take care of themselves or their families and were “warned out” of communities or placed in poorhouses, with other undifferentiated categories of dependent individuals. Separate institutions for the mentally ill were developed in the late colonial or early national period throughout the United States and treated their patients (often called inmates) with a combination of primitive medical care (such as purging or bleeding), forced work to give the mind discipline, and moral care based on the treatment plans developed by the French physician Philippe Pinel (1745–1826). Few children, however, were admitted to these new institutions (often called asylums, as their founders saw them as refuges from the problems of an increasingly complex society). Children appeared more often as the victims of familial mental disorder, as wards forced to depend on private and religious philanthropies or the state to raise them.

Gendered Differentiation in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century saw an increasingly gendered differentiation in the maladies that comprised the spectrum of mental disorder. The Industrial Revolution that swept over western Europe and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century was both a cause and consequence of the emerging separation of the sexes by occupation and position. Dubbed the notion of “separate spheres,” this vision of society was one in which men worked outside the home as providers and women ran the household as protectors of the domestic sphere. Changing perceptions of women’s emotional, intellectual, and sexual makeup accompanied this paradigm shift. Seen as needing male protection to survive, women

were classified into a larger category of dependent individuals, a category that also included children. By the middle of the nineteenth century, women and young girls were exhibiting a series of mental maladies that doctors and social critics tied to the specific problems of female anatomy and emotionalism. Running the emotional gamut from depressive melancholia to hyperemotional hysteria, these disorders could be acute or chronic, incapacitating or simply bothersome. Attempts at cures ranged from bed rest, asylum stays, and dietary changes to medical interventions such as water treatments and purgatives. Most regimens were not successful, but many women recovered to live what seemed to be “normal” lives.

These disorders were inordinately centered in young women of the upper and middle classes who were among the first of their sex to achieve higher levels of formal education, an education that may have been in strong conflict with the prevailing assumptions of female dependency. By the last quarter of the century, medical doctors had developed a name for these emotional illnesses—*neurasthenia*, or a weakness of the nervous system. Popularized by the American neurologist George Beard and the American physiologist S. Weir Mitchell, the term became a catchall category for the mental problems associated with feminized nervous energy. That young upper-class males also began to be diagnosed with the disease (for example, the American psychologist and philosopher William James was incapacitated for almost a year with nervous problems) led doctors to decry the feminization of American culture. A strident dose of “the strenuous life” was recommended to cure “weak” young males of this malady.

Neurasthenia was not seen as a problem among young people from the working class. The emotional problems these people exhibited were thought to arise from their inferior intellectual makeups or their genetic background. With the advent of massive streams of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the composition of the American working class took on an increasingly foreign character. Medical doctors (almost exclusively from white American backgrounds) viewed foreigners as inferior and unable to handle the problems associated with complex modern societies. The lack of assimilation into mainstream American society, the petty crime that many young immigrant males seemingly engaged in, and the perceived inability of young immigrant women to rise to standards of appropriate feminine behavior all contributed to notions of immigrant inferiority. The increasingly foreign composition of state institutions for those with mental problems seemed to validate that belief. These mental problems among immigrants were not thought to be curable, as they were believed to be manifestations of inherited, and therefore, unchangeable traits.

Twentieth Century: Competition among Social, Psychological, and Medical Paradigms

By 1900, childhood and ADOLESCENCE were clearly viewed as separate stages of life, with their own problems and possibilities. The development of separate public institutions designed around the needs of children became a key component of Progressive-era changes during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Historians debate whether JUVENILE COURTS and specialized facilities for young offenders that arose during this period were instruments of social reform or social control. What is not at issue, however, is the notion that children were to be treated differently because they had different needs and concerns. Because of this seminal shift, historian Theresa R. Richardson, following the lead of reformer ELLEN KEY, has called the twentieth century “THE CENTURY OF THE CHILD.”

With this transition, doctors began to examine the issue of childhood diseases as a separate category of analysis. The mental disorders of children were not immune from this alteration. Simultaneously, the development of psychology as a discrete discipline saw the bifurcation of the understanding of what caused and what constituted mental disorders. The neurasthenic problems were increasingly viewed as emotional or intellectual problems, rather than somatic illnesses (those affecting the body). They could be cured or alleviated through therapy and counseling, not medical intervention. The more serious mental illnesses, often labeled around the catchall phrase of insanity, still remained the purview of medical doctors, who were marginalized as employees of large state institutions. Insanity appeared incurable, but by the 1920s and 1930s doctors experimented with such invasive techniques as electroshock therapy and lobotomy surgery with decidedly mixed results. Finally, problems that had been categorized as mental disorders, particularly those associated with young boys such as theft and truancy, were increasingly viewed as social, rather than medical, disorders. As such, they became issues for social workers and JUVENILE JUSTICE officials, rather than psychologists or medical doctors.

The social, psychological, and medical paradigms competed for control over the issues of mental disorder in general, and childhood mental illness more specifically, throughout the twentieth century. By approximately 1975, the success of the medical model in establishing hegemony over the field of what became known as mental illness was a seminal moment. The medicalization of problems in adjusting to social situations led to a reliance on both over-the-counter and prescription pharmaceuticals to solve disorders previously assumed to be social in nature. New advances in genetics revealed the importance of biological characteristics in the development of such disorders as drug addiction and alcoholism. Finally, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* of the American Psychiatric Association drastically increased the type and number of mental disor-

ders from 112 in the first edition, published in 1952, to 374 in the fourth edition, published in 1994. Many of these newly defined disorders deal specifically with mental illnesses of childhood. As the twenty-first century began, childhood mental illness was defined as a major social problem. Solutions and cures appeared difficult to come by, as contentious arguments continued over the efficacy of medical interventions and the true nature of childhood mental disorders.

Exacerbating the issues surrounding the medicalization of childhood mental disorders are concerns over both the increasing number of children exhibiting these illnesses and of the class, racial, and gendered nature of these problems. Whereas some disorders, such as conduct disorders and oppositional defiance, occur overwhelmingly in young males, others, especially eating disorders such as ANOREXIA and bulimia, are mainly female in character. The epidemics of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and autism similarly show significant male components, whereas anxiety disorders occur largely in females. Physicians and researchers search for stronger connections between genetics and disorders such as childhood schizophrenia, while rates of teen SUICIDE continue to increase. Teen violence—despite high-profile cases such as the Columbine High School shootings in middle-class, white, suburban Littleton, Colorado, in 1999—is overwhelmingly centered in poor, minority, urban neighborhoods. Physicians report that minority youths receive approximately one-third the support given to white youths suffering from similar mental health problems. National Institutes of Health reports show that in 2001, one out of ten children and adolescents suffered from a mental disorder severe enough to cause some level of impairment, yet only about 20 percent of those affected received needed treatment. The issue of mental illness in children will remain a pervasive national concern to Americans well into the twenty-first century, as citizens debate the nature of these disorders and their relationship to broader social trends.

See also: **Child Psychology.**

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STEVEN NOLL

Middle East

Children under the age of fifteen constitute the majority of the population today in most Middle Eastern countries. This burgeoning population is challenging many long-accepted assumptions about children's needs, development, and future. In this entry we will outline the old cultural ideal of childhood and then turn to the new conditions which bring this ideal into question.

Childhood and family patterns have, until recently, been similar across religious and ethnic lines: the extended family was the fundamental unit of the society; the patrilineal model was basic to that family ideal; and childhood was seen as a time, not of play, but of learning and training for the duties and responsibilities of adulthood. Some significant differences also obtained: the ban on divorce among Christians, for instance, in contrast to Jews and Muslims, meant that the world of the child, as well as of the adult, was not always the same. But overall, similarities were greater than differences.

In the predominantly agrarian societies of the past, the primary social unit across the Middle East was the extended family, which might range in size from twenty to two hundred people, related on both sides of the marital connection, and which operated together for survival. Within this kin group, each child received identity, affection, discipline, role models, and economic and social support, ideally from birth to death. In exchange the family required conformity and loyalty from all members, beginning in early childhood. The crucial test of allegiance came at the time of marriage, when the son or daughter either acceded to or rebelled against the wishes of the family. Marriage in this system was not officially perceived as an emotional attachment between individuals (though this might develop later) but as an economic and social contract between two family groups, which was to benefit both. Although marriage was a crucial step in tying individual members to the group, it was the birth of children that conferred full adult status on both the man and the woman. Only after the birth of children were the newly married man and woman considered full members of their particular family and adult members of the wider society. Such attitudes toward marriage and children are found in Christian and Jewish groups, but within ISLAM they are intensified. "When a man has children he has fulfilled half of his religion, so let him fear God for the remaining half," states one of the *hadith*, or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. Children have always been valued in Middle Eastern traditions, not only for economic and political but also for religious reasons.

The Jewish, Christian, and Muslim family systems are patrilineal; that is, in the reckoning of one's descent, kin-group membership passes through the male line on the father's side. A girl is a member of her father's family, but unlike her brother, she cannot pass that membership on to her children. In the Islamic tradition, male and female descen-

dants of the same father inherit from him, and continue to carry his name throughout their lives. A daughter never takes her husband's surname for example, but retains, like a son, the name of the father. The patrilineal system is hierarchically organized, with the oldest male ideally holding publicly accepted authority over his descendants, and acting as the primary economic provider of the group. He remained head of the group and controller of its economic resources, including the labor of its members, as long as he lived. Without issue, and particularly male issue, the kin group as traditionally constituted could not continue. Children were on the lowest rung of the group in terms of power. But their presence was crucial, for they were the generational link to the family unit, the key to its continuation, and the living person that tied the present to the past and to the future. Hence great pressure was placed on newly married couples to produce children, particularly sons, who could carry the name and take over the burden of supporting the family. Daughters were also important, to help mothers and grandmothers and as potential brides for men within the larger kin group, but sons were of primary importance.

Specific instructions about the care and training of the child are found in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim texts. Many ethnographies document attitudes toward small babies—great indulgence, on-demand breast-feeding, and affectionate behavior from mothers, fathers, older siblings, and relatives. This pattern included early toilet training, often before the age of one year, and either long-term breast-feeding or abrupt weaning, the latter taking place when the next child was born. Weaning marked the end of parental indulgence and the beginning of socialization into specific gender roles. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have said, “Be gentle to your children the first seven years, and in the following seven be firm.” Jewish attitudes might be summarized as “The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a child left to himself causes shame to his mother” (Prov. 29:15). DISCIPLINE began long before the age of seven. Girls as young as four or five were expected to share responsibility for a younger sibling; small boys would be given responsibilities such as caring for animals in rural areas; in urban areas, the boy would be asked to run errands or help in the family business. Such expectations are still common.

Socialization for other societal norms of behavior began almost as soon as the child was conscious of others. These included respect for food, for religion, for the kin group, hospitality to guests, and above all, respect for and obedience to the authority of the father. According to the Egyptian sociologist Hamed Ammar, a Muslim, a good child is one who is a *muaddab*, polite and disciplined, and conforming to the values of the group. The goal of child rearing was to instill and develop reason, which was seen to be necessary for successful adult life. Jewish and Christian families had similar expectations. The child's period of socialization was also marked by ritual events, such as ceremonies surrounding

birth and NAMING; CIRCUMCISION for all boys and some girls; and successful completion of religious schooling, whether Judaic, Christian, or Muslim. Religious socialization took place in the home for both boys and girls and also in local religious schools. Although circumcision of boys was more or less universal, circumcision of girls was not. Female circumcision has no religious justification in Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, but is a traditional cultural practice found mainly along the Nile, among both Christian and Muslim groups. Girls in North Africa had a different RITE OF PASSAGE, an ear-piercing ceremony, held when the child was four or five years old.

The cultural ideals of the past meant, in sum, the primacy of the group over its individual members; the importance of children, especially sons, to continue and maintain the group; and the dominance of the father. Religious ideology reinforced this ideal. It began to be questioned at the end of the eighteenth century, with invasions by European powers, colonial rule, and then resistance and revolution followed by independence and the emergence in the mid-twentieth century of modern nation states.

The nineteenth and early twentieth century were periods of political and economic upheaval. European colonial rulers denigrated traditional patterns: language, traditional technology, folklore, modes of subsistence, religion (Islam, the majority religion in the area, was seen as “the stagnant hand of the past”), and social structure. However, Western influence did not, as had been expected, disrupt the patrilineal model of family or the perception of childhood as a time of learning and preparation for adulthood. Rather, as colonialism became stronger and men found their authority diminished, the family became the last refuge where traditions of child rearing, socialization for male and female gender roles, and parental authority could still operate. The only exception was the institution of the kibbutz, or collective farm, in the area which would become the state of ISRAEL in 1948. Early Jewish immigrants had, as early as the 1920s, set up kibbutzim as conscious alternatives to the old patriarchal system that operated in the European countries where the immigrants had grown up. The kibbutz was organized so that not only economic activities were collective, but so also were child rearing, PARENTING, and schooling. The experiment continues in Israel today, though less than 5 percent of the population now live and work on kibbutzim.

In the modern nation-states of the contemporary Middle East, several important factors may eventually affect the traditional family system, and therefore the traditional view of childhood. The patriarchal system remains firmly in place, though movements continue for increased equality for women. Such movements, however, are focused not on destroying the family, but on giving more equality to men and women within the family. The introduction of universal free public education, mostly secular in nature, has resulted in an

impressive climb in LITERACY rates (80 percent in Kuwait; 90 percent in Israel; 60 percent in Egypt; 90 percent in Jordan; 70 percent in Iraq). A middle class is rapidly developing in almost all countries, and the majority of people now live in cities, not rural areas. But unemployment plus spiraling inflation has led millions of men to migrate for work outside their countries and millions of women to work outside the home. Fathers are thus absent for crucial years in their children's lives, and mothers, too, are away for most of the day. Parental authority is thus no longer omnipresent. On the other hand, children are still being socialized for female and male roles. The high cost of living has led to children staying longer in their parents' residence, often contributing to family income. Young people are being forced to delay marriage, largely for economic reasons, which in turn is bringing down national birth rates. TELEVISION is everywhere, putting children and teenagers in touch with the outside world. All of these factors may lead to future change in the concept of childhood and the practices of child rearing for both boys and girls, but this has yet to be documented.

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ELIZABETH WARNOCK FERNEA

Midwifery. *See* Obstetrics and Midwifery.

Milne, A. A. *See* Children's Literature.

Montessori, Maria (1870–1952)

Maria Montessori was born in Chiaravalle, Italy, on August 31, 1870. She was one of the most famous figures in the diverse and frequently contradictory formation known as the Progressive education movement. As was the case in other fields at the time, it was a male-dominated movement and Montessori was its most prominent woman leader. A first-wave feminist who, when young, had spoken at women's conferences, she overcame many social obstacles to become an internationally renowned public figure. Among the potential barriers to her success was the fact that she was a sin-

gle parent. Throughout her life she managed to conceal from the general public the fact that she had a son. She was driven by an unshakable belief in the correctness of her educational opinions and beliefs and was highly skilled in communicating them to international audiences. The strength of her convictions about the efficacy of her methods, while adding to her persuasiveness, paradoxically undermined her ambition to see her practices widely adopted. This failure was also partly due to the necessity to generate income from her method and apparatus in order to live. Unable to sanction any version or representation of her methods other than those over which she had complete control, the movement she inspired repeatedly split when she disowned it.

Although Montessori's impact was perhaps greatest in the field of early childhood education, where PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION was at its most coherent, as she outlined in her *The Advanced Montessori Method* (1917), she hoped that her method would be implemented in schools for older children. Like other child-centered educators, such as JOHANN PESTALOZZI, FRIEDRICH FROEBEL, and JOHN DEWEY, she made a unique contribution to the formulation of the general principles and practices that currently inform the field of early childhood education.

In 1896 Montessori became the first woman graduate of a medical school in Italy. In 1897 she joined the staff of the psychiatric clinic attached to the University of Rome and as part of her work she visited mental asylums and came into contact with children who at that time were referred to as "feebleminded." This encounter led her to an examination of the work of the French physicians Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard and Édouard Séguin who, earlier in the nineteenth century, had written about children with physical and mental disabilities. Having formed the opinion that the problems encountered by such children required a pedagogical rather than a medical solution, Montessori then embarked on a study of the work of the Romantic educationalists Pestalozzi, Froebel, and JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, as well as other less well known educational theorists. In addition, she studied anthropology, particularly the versions taught by Cesare Lombroso and Giuseppe Sergi. From this mix of study and experience she concluded that, given the right scientific approach, the children of the poor, including the disabled, were all educable and that by this means social reform could be achieved.

For two years, from 1900 to 1902, she held a position at the Orthophrenic School, an institute responsible for the training of teachers in schools for physically and mentally disabled children. During this time, she developed her own apparatus based on that of Itard and Seguin to assist children's learning. From 1904 until 1908 she lectured at the University of Rome in anthropology and education. Her lectures were published in a book entitled *Pedagogical Anthropology* (1913). While the content of this book is dated it contains

ample evidence of Montessori's social reforming impulses, and her commitment to "scientific pedagogy" and social regeneration. Overall, her work is characterized by a combination of positivism and spirituality or even mysticism, mixed with Roman Catholicism, feminism, and theosophy.

During this period, the focus of her work changed from a concern with the physical condition of individuals to their social condition. In this respect the trajectory of her thinking was similar to that of social reforming women in many countries such as Kate Douglas Wiggin of the free KINDERGARTEN movement in the United States and Margaret McMullan, the pioneer of nursery schools in England.

Montessori's involvement in attempts at social reform intensified in 1907 when her *Casa dei Bambini* (Children's House) was opened in a model dwelling in a slum in the San Lorenzo district of Rome. There she was able to experiment with the educational methods and apparatus that she had developed with children with disabilities. Many visitors to the *Casa dei Bambini*, and to the other schools she opened subsequently, were astonished by the success of her approach.

In 1912, an English edition of her book on her work at the *Casa dei Bambini* was published. Entitled *The Montessori Method*, this book made her internationally famous. In it she outlined the origin of her pedagogical apparatus which was used for sense training and which, she claimed made possible, "the method of *observation* and *liberty*." Observation by the teacher, individualism, and autoeducation were the watchwords of the Montessori method. The latter meant that by means of carefully graded apparatus the children would educate themselves in a prepared environment with little help from a teacher.

By 1913, the year of her first trip to the United States, Montessori's fame had spread widely and both the educational and mainstream press were full of reports of her work. From then until the end of the 1920s, Montessori occupied a prominent place in education debate and policy. Although many schools adopted some of her ideas, few implemented them in their entirety. During this period Montessori travelled widely and provided training courses for teachers in many countries.

In 1924, she accepted government support for her methods in Italy from the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. Ten years later when she refused to concede further to the demands made by Mussolini, he ordered that all the Montessori schools in Italy be closed. The same fate befell her schools in Germany, Austria and Spain as Nazi and fascist governments came to power. As the threat of war intensified, Montessori began to devote her efforts to a campaign for world peace.

During World War II, Montessori was stranded in India when the British authorities in India interned her son,

Mario, as an enemy alien. They had gone there at the invitation of the Theosophical Society just as the war broke out. When the war ended, Montessori resumed her work of training teachers, lecturing and publication. Her later books, which include *The Absorbent Mind*, consist mainly of notes of her lectures. Montessori died in 1952 near The Hague in the Netherlands. Her ideas still attract followers in education and the *Association Montessori Internationale* (AMI), founded in 1929 continues to promote them.

See also: Age and Development; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe.

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KEVIN J. BREHONY

Mortality. *See* Grief, Death, Funerals; Infant Mortality.

Mortara Abduction

On the evening of June 23, 1858, in Bologna, papal police broke into the home of a six-year-old Jewish child, Edgardo Mortara, and snatched him from his distraught and bewildered parents. According to Inquisition authorities in Rome, the family's Catholic housekeeper testified that she had had Edgardo secretly baptized when he fell ill at the age of one. The kidnapers had the law on their side, for the abduction of Edgardo, which was the most infamous example of several such cases in nineteenth-century Italy, was sanctioned by canon law, which maintained that a child once baptized was forbidden to be reared in a Jewish home. Edgardo was spirited away to the Catechumens and his Catholicization began immediately. Frantic efforts to have the child released came to naught; his parents were repeatedly told, however, that they could be reunited with their son provided they themselves converted. Despite the storm of international protest, both popular and diplomatic, Pius IX refused to relent and in fact raised Edgardo as his own "son." Pio Edgardo Mortara joined the priesthood in 1873. A celebrated preacher, he failed, despite consistent efforts, to induce his parents to convert. Mortara died in a Belgian abbey on March 11, 1940.

Beyond the immediate family tragedy occasioned by the kidnapping, the event had profound historical implications. Men such as Count Camillo Cavour, the architect of Italian unification, and Napoleon III of France, both of whom sought to destroy the temporal authority of the Papal States, used the affair to agitate against Rome. Protestants across Europe and the United States were incensed by the injustice and mobilized against the obscurantism of the Catholic Church. Both the failure of world Jewry's protests to free the boy and the abduction itself only underscored Jewish vulnerability. The Mortara Affair made Jews aware of the need for a central body to represent their interests. In 1860 in Paris they founded the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Universal Jewish Alliance). Its motto, taken from the Talmud, was "All Israel is responsible for one another." The organization actively sought to combat discrimination against Jews wherever it occurred. When Pius IX was elected pope in 1846, liberal Catholic circles had hoped that Pius would lead a liberalizing trend and reverse the conservative thrust of his predecessor, Gregory IX. Pius's first two years fulfilled their expectations but the political upheavals of 1848 saw him reverse policy, and his thirty-two-year-long pontificate, the longest in Church history, waged a relentless battle against the forces of modernity. The Mortara Affair is emblematic of this stance, as was Pius's issuance of the Syllabus of Errors in 1864, which, among other things, condemned freedom of speech and religious tolerance. In September 2000, Pope John Paul II beatified Pius IX.

The kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara was not the act of an all-powerful church. Rather, it was a last-gasp effort to assert its shrinking temporal authority. While Edgardo was

lost to his family and community, the long-term effect of the abduction was to diminish the power of the Papacy, for it galvanized those forces promoting liberalism, nationalism, Italian unification, and anticlericalism. In 1870 Italian troops entered Rome and the temporal power of the popes, which had lasted for a thousand years, came to an end.

See also: **Abduction; Catholicism; Judaism.**

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JOHN M. EFRON

Mothering and Motherhood

It is common sense that all mothers love and care for their children. Or at least it is comforting to believe this is true in all times and places. Yet news broadcasts flash crimes such as teenage mothers abandoning infants in restrooms, mothers burning cigarettes into their children's flesh, mothers starving their children to death, and the like. Although this short entry cannot consider motherhood and mothering (the tasks of caring for children) in all times and places, it offers evidence from several eras and continents to suggest historical and cultural variations in motherhood and mothering. In other words, operating on the premise that both motherhood and mothering are socially constructed, this entry looks at how both ideas about what a mother is and should be and ideas about how mothers should care for their children have varied over time and space. It focuses primarily on agricultural and industrial societies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Some references for continents not covered in the text appear in the bibliography.)

Motherhood

For analytic purposes, it is possible to distinguish several types of motherhood based on social recognition and function—birth motherhood, social motherhood, and care-giving motherhood. First, the birth mother is the person who physically gives birth to the child. Since the development of new reproductive technologies, the concept of birth mother has become more complicated, for if another person donated the egg, the child in the womb may not be the biological offspring of the birth mother. Second, in some societies the social mother, the person who is married to the head of a household or listed on a registration form, is recognized by the people of the community as a child's mother, even though she might not be the birth mother. Third, the aspect of motherhood involving child-rearing tasks such as feeding, bathing, dressing, watching over, TOILET TRAINING, and teaching basic MANNERS to a child may be called care-giving motherhood. Of course persons other than the mother can perform child-rearing tasks. In the United States in the early 2000s, many but not all people expect that the birth mother,



Sistine Madonna (1513), Raphael. In Western art and culture, the Madonna has served as a powerful image of ideal motherhood, one of selfless love and devotion. The Art Archive/Gemaldegalerie Dresden/The Art Archive.

social mother, and care-giving mother be the same person, but this has not necessarily been the case in all times and places.

In some cases, the birth mother is known as a surrogate mother, a woman who carries or gives birth to a child, with society then recognizing the social mother as the child's mother. New procedures allow the implanting of a woman's fertilized egg in the womb of another woman who carries and gives birth to the baby. Surrogate mothers, however, have existed in societies without advanced medical technologies. Set in Korea in a past era when ADOPTION was frowned on and when carrying on the father's lineage was the highest family goal, the film *The Surrogate Mother* (1986) describes the secretive life of a lower-class birth mother during her hidden pregnancy. After the child is brought to the home of the wealthy but barren social mother, the birth mother is driven out of the community in secret at night, to be forgotten and never to see her child again. And all the while, helped by her servants, the social mother fakes pregnancy by stuffing pillows under the high-waisted native Korean dresses and agonizes that the deception might be uncovered.

In U.S. society today, it is generally expected that the birth mother will serve as the care-giving mother of an infant. In many societies past and present, however, it is thought normal or socially acceptable for persons other than the biological mother to be the primary caregiver for infants and older children. Other possible main caretakers for children, besides the birth or social mother, include grandmothers, SIBLINGS, wet nurses, governesses, foster mothers, live-in or commuting BABY-SITTERS, or even apprentices or grandfathers. In JAPAN from the nineteenth to early twentieth century, live-in baby-sitters (*komori*) carried tended infants or babies on their backs all day and slept by them at night, freeing farm mothers to participate in agricultural labor. They brought infants to the mother to nurse. Commuting baby-sitters did the same but did not sleep with their charges at night. Boy apprentices sometimes carried babies on their backs all day.

Mothering

In examining motherhood, the complexity and cross-cultural variability of the tasks of mothering become visible. Mothering takes many years of labor providing physical care to a growing child. A bare minimum of care includes feeding, clothing, and guarding the safety of infants and children, but beyond these mothering usually includes keeping children clean and healthy and efforts to educate or socialize children to earn a living and to fit into the family, the community, and religious and other institutions as well as the larger society and nation.

Although only the woman who carries a child during pregnancy can give birth and often only the woman who is registered as a child's mother is recognized as the mother by society, as mentioned, the tasks of care-giving motherhood—feeding, bathing, watching over, sleeping by, and training a child—can be and are done by persons other than the birth or social mother. In other words, when broadly defined as carrying out such tasks, “mothering” can be performed by nonmothers.

Ideas about motherhood and mothering do not exist in a vacuum. Ideas about what a mother is, how mothers should think, and what mothers should do are influenced by ideas about attitudes and behavior toward children and expectations concerning other possible caregivers and socializers. Other caregivers may include fathers, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, GRANDPARENTS, GODPARENTS, neighbors, and others in kin or residential groups, communities, and the larger society. They may also include institutions such as boarding schools, ORPHANAGES, day-care centers, KINDERGARTENS, schools, and reformatories. Also, activities besides caring for infants and children can have an impact on notions of motherhood and mothering. In particular, economic activities—farm, handicraft, and service work in agricultural societies, and manufacturing, clerical, technical, research, and service work in industrial societies—may demand large amounts of time that compete with minding children.

When the family is a unit of production and women's labor is crucial to its survival, there may be low expectations for mothers to devote themselves to care-giving motherhood or the tasks of mothering—the physical care, minding, and socialization of children. That is, although proximity of domestic (or reproductive) labor such as child rearing and housekeeping to public or social (or productive) labor such as farming, petty manufacturing, trading, or retailing in household enterprises might seem to ease mothers' participation in both types of labor, in fact the long hours of labor required for farming, secondary employments, cooking, washing, and other necessary tasks can severely limit the time that adult women can spend on CHILD CARE. While the birth mother is indispensable to the continuity of family, community, people, or nation, and while the social or political order generally requires children to have a social mother then and now, neither the state nor society can require a woman to be a care-giving mother if her family circumstances do not allow it. When others assume daily child-care tasks, this frees women from the burdens of care-giving motherhood to perform other vital activities. In this way, in agricultural communities care-giving motherhood or mothering activities might not be central to women's lives or ideals of womanhood, at least for certain classes or social groups.

As the workplace separates from the home in industrial societies, mothers' participation in productive and reproductive labor becomes more problematic. Yet as the work of mothering becomes more difficult for wage-earning women in industrial societies, new ideals of female domesticity can emerge and spread among nonworking, middle-class women, such as expectations of closer mother-child bonds, mothers devoting more time to children and child rearing, and higher standards of children's cleanliness, socialization, nutrition, education, and leisure. The next sections present a few concrete examples of motherhood and mothering in agricultural and industrial societies in varied eras and places.

Motherhood and Mothering in Agricultural Societies

In agricultural societies, much of the labor producing a family's subsistence is expended on the land—whether as unpaid labor on the family's owned or rented fields or as farm labor for wages in someone else's fields. When fields are cultivated primarily by family members, especially when household size is small, a mother's farm work is often indispensable. In this case, however, expectations that a mother will serve as the sole or even the primary caregiver for infants may be absent.

Although trade and manufacturing increased steadily over time, until the late nineteenth century, the United States was predominantly an agricultural nation. According to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, author of the 1980 book, *Good Wives*, in northern New England in the colonial period (1650–1750) there was very high regard for birth mother-

hood as the genesis not only of children but also of grandchildren and more distant descendants in a time of high INFANT MORTALITY. The patriarchal social order, which valued strictness and obedience, tended to frown on women as care-giving mothers, regarding motherly love and indulgence as fostering disrespectful children. Tenderness and affection expressed toward infants gave way to DISCIPLINE, obedience, and religious training as children grew older. Also, Ulrich argued that mothers tended not to “focus intense care and concern” (p. 157) on a single child in their own household, although they were willing to help keep an eye on their neighbors' offspring. In the preindustrial United States, there existed other variations in conceptions of motherhood and mothering that were influenced by regional, religious, ethnic, economic, and other factors.

In stem families, households containing one couple of each generation, in Japanese villages from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, authority over children, especially over the heir to the headship and property, belonged to the older generation. (This was also the case in urban enterprise households.) In households of poor and average means, so great was the need for mothers' labor at agriculture and handicrafts that child care was generally left to anyone but the biological mother. Therefore, older children, grandmothers, grandfathers, child baby-sitters, or apprentices—that is, household members who could contribute less to the family livelihood—tended babies and children. Care-giving motherhood was less important than advancing the family enterprise, and adoption of kin or nonkin to continue the family line reduced the importance of birth motherhood in early modern and modern Japan.

Interestingly, within one nation or even one community, cultures of rural mothering might diverge. According to a 1991 article by David L. Ransel, two distinct cultures of mothering coexisted side by side in villages in the Volga region of late-nineteenth-century rural Russia, with very different consequences for infant survival. Tatar (Muslim) customs included household and personal cleanliness and breast-feeding on demand for one to three years as well as a peak of births occurring in the winter, and these customs produced far lower infant mortality than Russian customs. For ethnic Russians, despite their custom of breast-feeding, the introduction of solid foods from birth spread germs from foodstuffs and adult bodies to infants, and the peak of births in the summer months coincided with more favorable conditions for the incidence and spread of foodborne and other diseases. Also, Tatar customs seem to have valued motherhood more and allowed women more rest after childbirth, whereas ethnic Russian customs placed greater emphasis on mothers' labor contributions or productivity and their immediate return to agricultural and household labor following childbirth.

People living in highly industrialized societies tend to overlook the fact that many contemporary societies are pre-

dominantly agricultural. That is, although industry exists in most countries today, a bare or overwhelming majority of the population may earn a living from farming. In some contemporary societies, expectations of child care are lower because of women's extensive participation in agriculture or handicrafts; in other societies, women are burdened by dual expectations that they will contribute to family livelihood and carry the main burdens of child care and housework.

In late-twentieth-century CHINA, despite regional and ethnic differences in women's economic participation in the north and south, family continuity through birth of a son to carry on the family name remained a cherished goal. In ethnic Chinese households, the senior generation had authority over child rearing, with the birth mother typically caring for the children under her mother-in-law's supervision, or with both women serving as care-giving mothers. For a time, in a rush for economic development, the People's Republic of China developed rural child-care facilities and communal kitchens to aid mothers' domestic and public participation, although these facilities have diminished with the turn to privatized farm and workshop production since the 1980s. Although family reforms have been in place since the 1950s, there is still a tendency for the mother to defer to the authority of coresident in-laws, especially her mother-in-law, in the upbringing of children. Child care also tends to fall on the senior generation for practical reasons, in particular to free mothers to engage in income-earning activities in order to increase family wealth. With a one-child policy in effect to reduce Chinese population growth, mothers, other care-givers, and kin now tend to indulge and to lavish attention on children, collectively nicknamed "Little Emperors." As in China, birth motherhood in INDIA is virtually imperative for family continuity, which is linked to south Asian customs, including religious traditions and the need for a son. Yet emphasis on motherhood as necessary for family continuity may be declining, especially in urban areas, as alternatives to relying on children for support in old age develop and as occupation, status, and wealth rather than maintaining an eternal line of descent become overriding goals for individuals.

Motherhood and Mothering in Industrial Societies

Several changes associated with the rise of industrial societies had a definite impact on the attitudes and practices of motherhood and mothering. First, the low wages, very long working hours, and unhealthy working conditions in early factories had negative effects on poor and working-class mothers' capacity to take care of their children. Second, the separation of home and workplace with the rise of large-scale industries made it more difficult for those engaging in wage work to participate in child rearing and other forms of household labor. Third, besides an impact on mothering, the separation of home and workplace encouraged greater emphasis on female domesticity, especially for the middle class. Middle-class mothers were expected to stay at home rather than engage in wage-earning activities and to devote them-

selves above all to caring for children and the household. Fourth, middle-class social ideals were often projected onto groups whose economic and cultural conditions did not suit such expectations. Fifth, depressed rural economic conditions or hopes for better employment led peasants to migrate to cities where they entered domestic service, became hawkers or day laborers, or took on other casual, nonindustrial work. In this way, urbanization had a dynamic effect that was partially independent from industrialization (mass production using power-driven machinery). Because urbanization and industrialization tended to occur in urban areas, the examples in this section are mainly drawn from cities. They reveal that despite rising expectations, in the industrial era motherhood and mothering cannot always operate in ways that secure children's survival. The examples illustrate some of the conditions and dynamics shaping motherhood and mothering in early and late industrial societies, but they should not be seen as providing systematic, or even representative, coverage. Similar and divergent examples may be found for other localities, nations, and regions.

For early Russian factory owners, motherhood and the labor of mothering were a low priority. Female factory workers with children therefore made do as best they could. In St. Petersburg in 1912, only one-quarter of working mothers could feed their infants at work, and they breast-fed "in corridors, on stairways, beside the factory buildings" (Glickman, pp. 127–128). Parents working in factories normally could not provide any care for their children. Some busy mothers, however, hired live-in caregivers, usually older women, for their infants. Several families might share a baby-sitter, who provided care in a very small space.

In nineteenth-century France, social stigma and the near impossibility of earning a living led single, especially unwed, mothers to abandon illegitimate children. In the nineteenth century, failure to accommodate motherhood in factories led working-class mothers to place their infants with hired wet nurses. Poor conditions, however, often led to children's deaths. French countermeasures to promote care-giving motherhood included encouraging mothers to breast-feed infants, pregnancy and maternity leaves, and milk depots.

As examples from the United States, France, and Japan reveal, however, the separation of home and workplace and the rise of industrialization also affected middle-class motherhood and mothering. New or altered ideals of womanhood emerged, although regional, class, and ethnic differences led to diversity of ideals and practices. New elements infusing notions of motherhood included expectations of attentive, nurturing, and loving care and the socialization of children from infancy to youth, typically with somewhat reduced emphasis on labor at the household trade, income earning to support the household, or servant or household management. Due to complex interactions of religious or cultural and economic changes, particularly separation of the home

and workplace, the measure of womanhood tended to become motherhood or mothering rather than productivity, economic contribution, or industry at the family trade.

The research of Bonnie G. Smith suggests that in northern France, transition to domestic as opposed to productive womanhood took place in the early eighteenth century. In Japan, too, industrious birth motherhood gave way to a more sentimental care-giving motherhood. In the United States, with the decline of multigenerational families and the lessening of fathers' control over land distribution, ideals of motherhood shifted from an emphasis on women as child-bearers (birth motherhood) and anxiety about motherly indulgence to a strong endorsement of women as solicitous care-giving mothers. Tenderness was now permissible not just toward infants but was expected toward older children as well. As workplace was separated from home, the home became defined as women's and children's place. And because children went out to school, the home became above all women's domain. As capitalist competition increased, it became a haven in a heartless world. Society now held that mothers should care for children themselves; it was considered negligent to abandon one's offspring to the care of another, whether servant, grandparent, or other relative.

It can be argued, however, that one or perhaps two more shifts in U.S. motherhood have taken place since the end of the nineteenth century. In her 1975 book, *Women's Proper Place*, Sheila Rothman indicated that in the Progressive era, mothers' responsibilities expanded from the home to the world. The greedy, cruel world of the marketplace and men needed the gentler, nurturing touch of women, thus the mission of care-giving motherhood reached into the public world to reform society and politics. While it remains to be seen whether these ideals were embraced outside the urban middle classes, they tend to confirm the notion of an earlier shift to care-giving motherhood and female domesticity with a modern twist.

Around the third decade of the twentieth century, another change in the ideals of womanhood also had an impact on notions of motherhood and mothering in the United States. With the rise of a companionate ideal of the husband-wife relationship in the 1920s, women were cautioned against lavishing too much attention on their children and told to transfer their affection to their husbands. Too much fuss over children improperly weakened spousal bonds. In addition, rather than trusting their own instincts, women were encouraged to follow medical, psychological, and educational experts. Nevertheless, these changes should not be overstated; the expectation of a strong bond of sentiment between mother and child continued through the twentieth century.

In many late or advanced industrial societies, the construction of women's identities around consumption, leisure, and self-fulfillment rather than marriage, domestic life, or

productivity may be undermining motherhood as women's highest goal and mothering as women's highest social task. This shift may of course vary by class, region, religion, ethnicity or race, or other factors. In part, this shift can be seen in falling birthrates. According to Emiko Ochiai's 1997 book, *The Japanese Family System in Transition*, total fertility rates in 1994 were below the 2.1 replacement rate of a married couple: 1.25 in United Kingdom, 1.4 in Germany, 1.5 in Japan, 1.65 in France, and 2.0 in Sweden, and 2.07 in the United States. Other quantitative evidence such as rising ages at first marriage and first birth, falling percentages of women marrying, and increasing female labor force participation rates also suggest a turn away from marriage and motherhood as women's primary or inevitable destiny. Qualitative evidence also suggests a turn away from motherhood as a woman's central reason for existence. Rejection of mothering as confining, unglamorous drudgery or low-status work may replace acceptance of motherhood as a woman's highest calling.

See also: **Family Patterns; Fathering and Fatherhood; Madonna, Secular; Parenting; Surrogacy; Wet-Nursing.**

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KATHLEEN UNO

Movies

Children have always enjoyed good stories and adventures. They are entertained, they learn how to understand and gain insight into the life to which they one day will have to adjust, and in the most serious sense, stories and FAIRY TALES help them to survive. Children have listened to the often very

cruel tales of the Brothers Grimm; they have laughed, cried, and shuddered around the campfires; they have read books; and they have held their ears to their RADIO receivers. Today moving images are among their favorite storytellers, and generally, children have had an inquisitive, nonproblematical relationship to film as yet another useful, splendid source of entertainment, knowledge, and insight. However for many adults—parents, pedagogues, and the authorities—this is not the case. We might even go so far as to say that an important approach to understanding the subject "children and the movies" is paved with fear.

There is almost always widespread trepidation about anything new, and such trepidation very much affected film as well. Ever since the birth of film at the end of the nineteenth century there has been widespread concern as to the effects of this emotionally powerful medium on SLEEP and peace of mind, morals, and morality. Children were not the only ones in danger, either. Anybody might be corrupted by witnessing infidelity, murder, and common-or-garden-variety sinfulness displayed on the silver screen! So the agenda of adult discussions on the subject of children and film has often consisted of damage control. Initially this resulted in prohibition and later in censorship, particularly of films containing scenes showing explicit violence and sex. It is worth noting that early discussions of film censorship were not only about shielding children from powerful, violent experiences but very much about the existence of certain matters that were not for adult eyes either. The medium was so powerful, with its rather-too-close resemblance to real life, that it just had to be controlled.

Most countries in Europe introduced film censorship before World War I when film was a phenomenon barely two decades old. In Europe controls were usually administered by the state. Seldom left up to people with any knowledge of film, censorship was delegated to lawyers or people with influential political or religious connections. In more recent times teachers and psychologists have taken over the role of film censor to enable them to decide what is harmful to children. In the United States the film industry chose to submit to self-censorship in order to avoid state or local organs. The MPPDA (the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America) was set up in 1922 and its politically experienced leader, former postmaster general Will H. Hays, persuaded the industry to accept a production code. From 1934 onward it was mandatory and its attitude to crime, alcohol, drugs, religion, violence, and sex determined what might, or rather might not, be shown on film. It was a moral straitjacket that was loosened in the 1950s, but with only a few adjustments the Production Code applied until 1968.

People have talked from the beginning of the brutalizing effect of the film medium, a debate repeated in the 1950s when the deleterious effects of cartoon strips and COMIC BOOKS were on the agenda in the United States and Europe,

and in the 1980s when it was argued that violent content of videotapes that corrupted youth. But no clear, unequivocal evidence has ever been found of a direct link between violent movies and violent actions in real life. However, a Danish study on the subject concluded that children whose social skills are underdeveloped can become aggressive by watching violence on the screen. The dramatic expansion of the television and video market in the 1990s has rendered censorship practically impossible and so there is now a widespread tendency to replace prohibition with consumer guidelines like those in use in the United States, where a ratings system has been in operation since 1968. Ratings systems typically apply categories such as General Audience or Parental Guidance and impose different age limits, varying from country to country. In general, however, film censorship has evolved from political and moral censorship for adults to exclusively considering suitability for children. Adult censorship is now only found in a small number of countries.

Irrespective of fear and censorship, children have always loved watching films. They have laughed till the tears ran down their cheeks at Charlie Chaplin and Laurel and Hardy, they have wept over Lassie and Bambi, they have shuddered and hidden their faces when the witch appeared in Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, and they have "whooped" and yelled when watching adventures and Westerns. A number of films not produced expressly for children have ended up being cherished by children—as was the case with books by Jules Verne, James Fenimore Cooper, Captain Marryat, and Edgar Rice Burroughs, originally penned for adults, which ended up in the nursery. Children have always adopted their very own film treasures, for example, *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), *The Crimson Pirate* (1952), *Star Wars* (1977), and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981).

The term *children's films*, that is, films specifically produced for audiences of children, really took shape after World War II. In Britain the production company Rank embarked on the production of children's films and by 1951 this led to the establishment of the Children's Film Foundation. Film as an art form for children was not in focus; what was discussed was what children's films must *not* contain. Films for children were meant to be edifying, pedagogically responsible productions, contributing to their upbringing and education. So they were not to depict war and violence (an attitude which should of course be regarded in the light of the recently concluded world war) and they were not to depict the consumption of alcohol. Marriage was sacrosanct and inviolable, respect had to be paid to the church and monarchy, and the authorities were always good and just, if occasionally strict. Sex was not discussed at all, because it was quite unthinkable.

Children's films from the Children's Film Foundation soon became watered down into cheaply produced films all

much of a muchness, an hour in length in order to fit special children's matinees. They introduced the two most enduring genres of children's film: the children's detective story in which hale and hearty youngsters behave like little grown-ups, foiling and catching slightly stupid, absolutely harmless criminals. They have a wonderful time in an anonymous community completely detached from reality, with no divisions or genuine conflicts. The other genre is animal films, in which children cast their affections on hordes of mice, rats, moles, beautiful horses, birds with broken wings, lame deer, and bunnies, dogs, and cats. (Children's detective stories and animal stories are also popular genres in literature.) It is interesting to observe how tenacious these views of children's films remained throughout the second half of the twentieth century, even though a number of children's films did try to break out of these restrictive moral limits, often with little success in terms of reaching their target group. Before the Iron Curtain rusted away, many children's films were made in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as an instrument for inculcating the correct ideological stance; but Czechoslovakia in particular managed to rise above time and place and created a powerful tradition of puppet films for children.

The trouble with so-called children's films is that pedagogical correctness and benevolence often weigh more than narrative pleasure and film as an art form. Nobody has ever really managed to decide whether they should be films that children appreciate, films both children and adults appreciate, or films that adults do not necessarily want to see but which they would very much like children to enjoy! The older children become, the more they explore on their own, and adults may think what they like of children's tastes in film and culture (if they ever find out what they are) but these tastes represent independent choices and are one of the ways in which children grow up. Films are quite simply an easy, accessible road to a glimpse behind various closed doors into the world that lies ahead.

As a consequence, the children's films that adults deem politically correct for children do not necessarily seem to be the films in circulation in the children's own, often clandestine, culture. Nevertheless, most good films for children have a number of characteristic features. They have a child in the leading role, and this child has a mission to fulfill. The mission may be tough but the child succeeds, because the message is that a child's actions *do* make a difference. Children's films, such as Albert Lamorisse's French classic *The Red Balloon* (1956) and *Spirit: Stallion of the Cimmaron* (2002) by DreamWorks, share a faith in the triumph of good despite all the odds, and a belief that the world will go on. Young cinemagoers must not be left disillusioned or paralyzed into inaction. For the most part children's films (films targeted specifically to children) are now made in Scandinavian countries and in Canada where there are state subsidies, while commercial cinema operates with the concept of fami-

ly films (films intended for all age groups), in many countries is usually synonymous with Disney products and their imitators.

See also: **Children's Literature; Media, Childhood and.**

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ULRICH BREUNING

Multiple Births

Throughout history there have been strongly held cultural and religious beliefs about twins. Attitudes to them varied widely from fear, or hostility, to worship and belief in their supernatural powers (e.g., to induce fertility). Misconceptions about the biology of twins have also been rife. In mid-seventeenth-century Europe it was still thought that boy and girl twins could not coexist in the womb because of the *horror incestus*, that two children meant two fathers, and that infertility was inevitable in the female of a boy-girl pair.

Sir Francis Galton (1876) first recognized the potential of twins in research on the effects of heredity and environment on human development. Essential to this research was the new understanding of the two distinct types of twins—monozygotic (MZ) who, arising from the splitting of one fertilized egg, have the same genetic makeup and dizygotic (DZ) twins who share only half of their genes, arising from two separately fertilized ova. (Zygosity was initially, and unreliably, determined by comparing the physical features of twins but DNA analysis later became the preferred method.)

The DZ, but not the MZ, twinning rate varies in different ethnic groups. Since the 1950s all developed countries have seen the same trends. Following a decline between 1950 and the late 1970s, there was a steady increase in DZ twinning after 1980, due largely to the increasing use of infertility treatments such as ovulation stimulating drugs or multiple embryo transfers following IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (IVF). Clomiphene was introduced in the 1960s and injectable gonadotrophins a decade later. The first IVF baby was delivered in 1978 in the United Kingdom, in 1980 in Australia, and in 1981 in the United States. The first IVF twins were born in 1981. There has been a much more rapid rise in the number of higher multiple births with triplet rates increasing three to six fold since the mid 1980s. Triplet rates in some IVF units rose to over 6 percent of pregnancies. At the

beginning of the twenty-first century triplet rates started to decline in a few countries as infertility clinics become more aware of the potential hazards of multiple births. Nevertheless, the twinning rate continued to increase, except in the few countries that adopted a policy of single embryo transfer following IVF. Ovulation induction continued to result in large higher multiple pregnancies with the largest birth by 2003 being of nonoplets (9) and the largest set of surviving children, septuplets (7).

MZ twinning rates are quite different: they were constant worldwide at 3.5 per 1000 births until the 1990s when an unexplained, slight rise was detected. The causes of MZ twinning are unknown but six to twelve times the expected number are found amongst twins and triplets resulting from ovulation inducing forms of treatment for infertility, whether or not these are accompanied by IVF.

By the 2000s, a set of six multiple birth children had reached adulthood in good health and with normal development. However, in general, the degree of prematurity and low birthweight, with all the associated neonatal complications, mortality and long term morbidity, increases with the number of fetuses. Many previously infertile couples face the painful choice of a multifetal pregnancy reduction to twins or continuing a pregnancy which carries a high risk of death or disability for some or all of their children.

See also: **Conception and Birth; Fertility Drugs.**

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ELIZABETH BRYAN

Music Education

In nineteenth-century Europe and North America, school music lessons were mostly designed to foster musical literacy by teaching children to sing at sight using different versions of "sol-fa" (based upon syllables) as an introduction to staff notation. Two key pioneers were Lowell Mason (1792–1872) under whose influence music was introduced into the schools of Boston as an integral subject in the curriculum in 1838, and John Hullah (1812–1884) who conducted a Singing School for Schoolmasters in London for the first time in 1841.

With the development of recording and broadcasting in the early years of the twentieth century, the notion of attentive listening gained a higher profile with the rise of the Music Appreciation movement and the work of Stewart MacPherson (1865–1941) and Francis Elliott Clarke (1860–1958). At about the same time the percussion or rhythm band became a regular feature of music in schools, characterized by a rather formal and prescriptive approach. In contrast was the work of Satis Coleman who experimented with creative music for children at the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University. Simple instruments made by the children themselves were utilized alongside singing, movement, and spontaneous creative improvisation.

The trend towards hands-on, participatory approaches to the teaching of music is exemplified in the work of three key figures: Emile Jaques-Dalcroze (1865–1950), Carl Orff (1895–1982) and Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967). Jaques-Dalcroze devised his system of eurhythmics in Switzerland, and presented his first training course for teachers in 1909. He integrated movement, improvisation, and solfège (the “fixed-doh” system) into music education. Dalcroze’s ideas influenced Orff who co-founded a school with Dorothee Günther in Munich in 1924 where music teaching went hand in hand with movement teaching. Musically, students were encouraged to improvise and compose their own music, and to invent a number of unsophisticated musical instruments. The first edition of *Orff-Schulwerk* was published in 1935 and demonstrated Orff’s conviction that through speech-rhythms and chants, songs and movements, children were able to discover and demonstrate musical concepts. Meanwhile in Hungary, it was Kodály’s aim to build a music culture in schools using national and folk songs. There were

three basic elements to his concept of initial musical training: sung folk tunes; movable sol-fa ; and simultaneous clapping and singing, or singing in parts.

In practice, the ideas and methods outlined are adapted, combined, and synthesized by present-day music teachers, whether they are working, for example, within the National Standards for Music Education in the USA (1994), or the National Curriculum in the UK (1992). But the adoption of these ideas should not be regarded as somehow natural or immutable, but rather the result of dialogue, and sometimes conflict, between those who hold widely differing conceptions concerning music and its meaning in children’s lives, and how the musical experiences offered to children in schools can reinforce the fundamental aims—the fostering of musical literacy, performance skills, and musical values, along with the cultivation of attentive listening and creative expression—of a general music education.

See also: Education, Europe; Education, United States.

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GORDON COX

N

Naming

A name grants a person identity. Yet giving a name to a child is more than just an act of designation or an official registration: names are not superficial phenomena, but are an expression of cultural identity deeply imbedded in sociocultural contexts. Naming is therefore regarded as the social birth of a human being and is frequently carried out in the form of a ritual integration; one example of this is the Christian BAPTISM. In addition to official first names, there are also many informal names, such as nicknames, sobriquets, and pet names.

Identities and a Myriad of Sociocultural References

What is specific to the current culture of naming and trends of the recent past first becomes understandable through a look at historical practices. At the same time, a historical investigation of names can make the past itself accessible, because names reflect important aspects of everyday life, of world views, and of people's social relationships within the family, extended family, and beyond. The practice of naming and the repertoire of names differ in various historical periods and according to cultural and language areas and ethnic and religious affiliation. Even the number of names given to a child is culture-specific, such as the establishment of the middle name during the nineteenth century in the United States. Multiple names are often a sign of social distinction. A concrete name can represent personal memories, general ideas of the past and wishes for the future, social ties or personal preferences, or it can signal conformity or a certain image. To this extent, there is a broad range of orientations that can guide the selection of a name. The following account will concentrate on several relevant criteria for the selection of first names.

Naming results, to a certain extent, in a social placement; with it, parents assume a certain position in their social surroundings for themselves and for their child. Gender-specific differences in naming are manifested at different le-

vels, starting with suitability. For example, so-called *theophorous* names—names containing a reference to a divine name—are reserved for men in Judaism and Islam and for women in Christianity.

Naming after Ancestors and Saints

An initial classification of names can be established in terms of whether names are new creations or naming is done in honor of other bearers of the name, which is equally characteristic for the East and the West. The significance of naming in honor of someone else develops in periods and societies in which religious affiliation, ties to family, or both have a high value and cohesiveness. This system of naming in honor of someone else has been superseded by increasing secularization and individualization, which began to have a broader impact over the course of the nineteenth century with regional differentiations. Leitmotifs constitute individuality, the wish for more uncommon names, so that the child might step out from ancestral tradition and from the social surroundings. They also represent the wish—inseparably linked to this—for the so-called “free” choice of names. Naming in honor of someone else, on the other hand, is known as a “bounded” choice of names and has the opposite effect: it is a means of integrating the newborn into the family organization or the religious community. This means that the name has a strongly integrative function. In areas characterized as Catholic or Protestant, a tendency that was dominant throughout the modern era was to name children after ancestors and saints, which represents a form of reverence in addition to other aspects. Yet these two reference systems must not necessarily be regarded as competing or alternative systems. They can also be parallel references, particularly with regard to important saints.

A large number of saints' names came into circulation as the veneration of saints intensified in the High Middle Ages. The various helping and protective functions that were attributed to the saints became more important in everyday life, and the names of saints were disseminated through calen-

dars, pictures in churches, legends, pilgrimages, and the cult of relics. In addition, saints' names came into everyday use in many different ways, such as in designating certain days for the veneration of particular saints. The older form of naming a child after someone in the family or after the ruler was supplemented by the idea of placing the child under the special protection of a certain saint, or patron saint, by giving the child that saint's name. Other factors, such as proximity to a calendar date and local and group-specific traditions, also influenced this choice.

In 1566, several years after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), saints' names were recommended for Catholic naming and then prescribed in the Roman Ritual in 1614. This restriction resulted in a high concentration of a few names and widespread instances of identical names, a process that had already begun in the High Middle Ages and that did not undergo a greater differentiation until the nineteenth century. The name Maria or Mary assumed a special position in Catholic areas, reaching an unrivaled peak in the modern era. The process of linking saints and names was accompanied by the propagation of celebrating the feast days of saints as name days. This included everyone with the same name and was celebrated collectively in some places. In certain regions, the name day was more important than an individual's BIRTHDAY as late as the mid-twentieth century. This was the case in strictly Catholic and Orthodox societies, but also in Finland, where the name day calendar is even updated in keeping with changes in the repertoire of names.

A new component of naming that arose in the wake of the Counter-Reformation was the increased spiritual importance of the office of GODPARENT. The greater role of the godparent was expressed, in part, by naming the child after the godparent. The criteria for choosing godparents reveal information about social relations and forms of organization in a society, depending on which generation they come from, whether or not they are close relatives, whether or not the parents and godparents are social equals, and whether or not there are several godparents for one child. Through godparent patronage, new social relationships, alliances, and networks are created, or existing ones are reinforced; the relationships involved may be reciprocal or one-sided.

In Protestant regions, naming a child after non-biblical saints gradually decreased as a result of the Reformation, whose proponents objected to the exaggerated veneration of saints. Reformed Protestants most frequently followed the maxim of giving only biblical names. Names from the Old Testament—such as Abraham or Isaac, for example—thus came into use again in this context, especially in Puritan England and America, where biblical names constituted over 90 percent of the given names in the seventeenth century. People there additionally attempted to transpose biblical names into their own language in keeping with the original literal meanings.

Prescripts and Regulations

Another distinguishing characteristic of naming, which has already been alluded to, is the standardization of naming. On the one hand, there are cultures in which naming is not regulated either by religion or by the state, and thus it is left up to the parents entirely; on the other hand, there are cultures with normative specifications for naming. Names in the former cultures are naturally less uniform. In the latter cultures standardizations consist of limiting the choices through prescripts determining which names are acceptable at all. The non-acceptance of certain names results from historical religious regulations against blasphemy; contemporary legal restrictions, on the other hand, primarily focus on the well-being of the child and are intended as protection against ridiculous, offensive, or unreasonable names. The extent to which unusual names—or names that stand out from the conventional repertoire of names in a social environment—may be accepted or rejected by the bearers of the name themselves, regarded with pride, hate, or indifference, depends on the personal situation and the social environment. In some restrictive societies of Western Europe, children born out of wedlock were given very specific names that stigmatized them as such. (For example, in the 1830s and 1840s in France, priests often gave the name Philomene—after Saint Philomena, who was associated with virginity—to illegitimate girls, thereby marking their status.)

In conjunction with naming a child after members of the same family, in some regions there were also relatively strict rules for naming within the family, depending on BIRTH ORDER and the sex of the child. For example, the first son, to whom the regulations tended to apply most strictly, had to be named after the paternal grandfather, the first daughter after the paternal grandmother, the second son after the maternal grandfather, the second daughter after the maternal grandmother, and so forth. Conversely, in societies that worshipped ancestors, a practice associated with Confucianism, it was forbidden to name a child after a family member still living. In the Catholic faith a child given the name of a saint was christened on the feast day of that saint. However, a kind of taboo applied to naming a child after a saint whose feast day had already passed in the calendar year. Nevertheless, it could be seen as a kind of obligation to name a child after a recently deceased sibling or relative.

In the context of migration and naturalization, but also in bicultural marriages and relationships, different logics and paradigms of naming can result in legal regulatory difficulties and lead to tensions between personal identities and conformity if the different systems are not compatible. With regards to the conditions for changing first names later in life, the procedures are widely divergent in different countries and cultures. In comparison with many European countries, Anglo-American naming procedures are relatively liberal. A name change can signal a break or a new phase of life, whether it is a self-created nickname or one that is granted as a new

official name, for example, when entering a convent. A practice of this kind is also familiar in Japan: there, especially in the early modern era, people changed their names usually between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five to demonstrate transition and taking over property. Finally, names also function as incantations—a magical identification between a name and the bearer of the name can be made in either a positive or a negative sense.

Individualization and Secularization

Just as the concrete practices of naming only gradually changed during the upheaval of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, naming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is marked by synchronicities and mixed forms of elements of continuity and transformation rather than radical breaks with earlier notions. Instead of naming children after family members, godparents, and saints, parents began naming their children after figures from novels, opera heroes, actors and actresses, musicians, singers, athletes, friends or acquaintances, and monarchs and other illustrious personalities from public life. At the same time, however, a name of this kind can still be linked with individually defined wishes based on older patterns. The central difference is that the meaning of the individual name is no longer connoted in a collectively recognizable way but is instead highly individualized. The delay in individualization and secularization in naming was due, at least in part, to the fact that the Catholic Church, even in the first decades of the twentieth century, often refused to accept new names for which there was no corresponding saint or made giving these names more difficult.

In other ways as well, the gradual shift from using grandparents, parents, godparents, and saints as naming models requires further examination. Important personal references, such as the names of grandparents, are not entirely dropped but frequently made second or third names. The practice of naming sons after family members occurs more frequently and is upheld longer than with daughters in all social groups and in different European cultural regions. This phenomenon is especially characteristic when the continuity of the male line, often in relation to inheritance, is presumed to have a certain significance. A greater need for continuity through names can also be related to migration and the living situation in the country of immigration: a higher residential concentration of Jewish immigrants in comparison with Italian immigrants might result in a strong concentration of traditional names. Subsequent to wars, there is also a stronger tendency to name children after fallen family members.

Despite the irreversible effects of individualization and secularization, changes in naming practices are not linear processes that are directly parallel to changes in society. In addition, it happens that names and types of names that have been out of fashion for decades are rediscovered.

Name Fashions

Since this break in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which resulted in a massive decrease in exemplary names that had previously been central, tendencies and fashions have alternated with increasing rapidity. Politically motivated names have repeatedly played an important role, especially in nationally charged periods and in conjunction with language purism aspirations. Restrictive prescriptions and registrar interventions are documented for the Nazi era, as well as naming practices marked by fanaticism. Political statements also have been made programmatically in the form of names in keeping with revolutionary actions, as expressions of certain non-conformist attitudes or sympathies. The French Revolution of 1789, for instance, led to a trend in liberal-secularized naming practices in France and in particular, the increased usage of names derived from the ancient Roman tradition; the subsequent boom of the name Jules exemplifies this.

An increase in the repertoire of names may be noted as a more recent tendency at a general level; this phenomenon is due primarily to the use of variants of names and the internationalization of the spectrum of names based on the free and individual choice of names. Whereas 80 to 90 percent of the boys and girls born in the eighteenth century made do with only a few names, 80 percent of the children born in Munich in 1995, for example, were given a name that otherwise occurred at most only four times. At the same time, regional and language-specific characteristics are taken into consideration in annually published statistics of the most popular names, indicating an increasing concentration on certain types and patterns of first names. While this may seem paradoxical in terms of individualization, it documents the presence of a certain spirit of the times behind the individual choice.

The “free” choice of names also leads to the increasing importance of the aesthetic component. For this reason, some speak of “preference names” that have replaced “tradition names”: the sound, the pronunciation of the name, or the way it harmonizes with the last name have become more important than the name’s origin and meaning. Sounds in common—number of syllables, abundance of vowels, soft consonants—can thus also form name groups.

The social experiences of the parents with their own names or with the bearers of other names also have a more or less conscious effect on the choice of names. The mass media, too, play an important role, specifically as both a reactive and an influencing instance: names chosen for main characters, titles of television series, and feature films intended to reach a broad audience are already in fashion or at least popular. At the same time, however, they can also trigger or strengthen trends on their part. One prominent example that is frequently cited is the film *Home Alone*, which was followed by a significant increase in usage of the name Kevin,

the film's main character, in name statistics. Demographic changes must also be taken into account as well: the decrease in the number of children is accompanied by a "staging of childhood" (that is, the orchestrating of childhood as if it were an opera or a play), and this begins with naming. Changes in gender relations have also influenced names, as in English-speaking countries the names given to girls especially have become more androgynous.

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MARGARETH LANZINGER
TRANSLATION BY AILEEN DERIEG

Nancy Drew. *See* Carolyn Keene; Series Books.

National Child Labor Committee

In 1902 an Episcopalian minister, the Reverend Edgar Gardner Murphy, founded the Alabama Child Labor Committee. The next year representatives of thirty-two New York City settlement houses formed the New York Child Labor Committee. These groups collaborated on August 15, 1904, to establish the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), which was incorporated in 1907 with a board that included prominent Progressive reformers such as JANE ADDAMS, Florence Kelley, Edward T. Devine, and Lillian Wald. From that point on, the NCLC led the national child labor reform movement.

Children had always worked in America. In 1790, Rhode Island's Samuel Slater hired nine children ages seven through twelve to work in the nation's first factory. According to the 1870 U.S. Census, about one in every eight children in America worked for wages. In 1900 this ratio was one in six, and the proportion continued to grow through 1910. While children working in agriculture seemed consistent with America's past history, to many Americans youngsters laboring for meager wages in industry seemed brutal and cruel.

From 1908 through 1921, the NCLC sought to mine such sympathies. It paid the photographer LEWIS HINE to take pictures of child laborers that would pull at the nation's heartstrings. At the same time the NCLC organized state-centered campaigns. Alexander McKelway acted as the NCLC's chief investigator for the southern United States, and Owen Lovejoy oversaw the organization's efforts in the northern states. The NCLC also called for the establishment of a federal children's bureau that would investigate and report on the circumstances of all American children. President William Howard Taft signed the act establishing the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU on April 9, 1912. In a symbolic gesture, he handed the signature pen to the NCLC's Alexander McKelway. Over the next three decades the NCLC worked closely with the U.S. Children's Bureau to promote child labor reforms at both the state and federal levels.

The effort faced strong opposition from manufacturers and newspaper editors. In addition, many working-class parents saw little advantage to keeping their children in school instead of the workplace. Despite such resistance, in 1916 the NCLC convinced Congress to pass the Keating-Owen Act. This legislation used the federal government's authority over interstate commerce to regulate child labor. Just before the act was to go into effect, however, the U.S. Supreme Court praised the law's intent, but declared its method unconstitutional (*HAMMER V. DAGENHART*, 1918). The NCLC then switched its strategy to passage of a federal constitu-

tional amendment. In 1924, Congress agreed, but by 1932 only six states had voted for ratification, while twenty-four had rejected the measure.

From 1910 to 1930 passage of various local and state compulsory school attendance laws contributed to a decline in the percentage of wage-earning children, despite the federal amendment's dismal progress. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION temporarily reversed this downward trend. Pressured by child welfare advocates and labor unions, Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration included child labor regulations in the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which set up the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA was shortlived, however, for the U.S. Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional on May 27, 1935, thereby leaving the United States again without federal restrictions on child labor.

Nevertheless, the NCLC continued to lobby for ratification of the 1924 Child Labor Amendment. Sensing a new attitude in the Supreme Court, advocates included child labor regulations in the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. This New Deal legislation prohibited the employment of those under fourteen years of age and placed restrictions on young workers ages fourteen through seventeen. In February 1941, in the case of *United States v. Darby*, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed its earlier stance by upholding the right of Congress to regulate child labor through the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. The NCLC understood, however, that even with this support the 1938 law did not protect all children. Since the 1930s the group has continued to lobby to prevent the exploitation of children in the workplace in the United States and around the world.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Work and Poverty.**

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KRISTE LINDENMEYER

Native American Children

The original native American Indians are believed to be Asians who, twenty thousand years ago, hiked across the

tireless plain that is now the Bering Strait in search of food on the hoof and eventually moved into the diverse environments of North America. Thus it is customary to divide the Indians of North America not into ethnic groups but rather into culture areas, each of which includes nations that, in response to the regional environment, adopted substantially the same ways of life.

Pre-European Cultures

When the European invaders began arriving in the sixteenth century, farming was the dominant activity on the eastern part of the continent in the culture areas of the northeast (from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes and from lower Canada to Illinois and North Carolina) and the southeast (from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River). Hunting predominated elsewhere, save for some coastal areas where fishing prevailed and parts of the dry Southwest where gathering was more important. Where farming was more intensive, settlement was more sedentary. Yet even in the farming areas, though men aided women in clearing the land, it was the women and children who did the agricultural labor—cultivating, weeding, and harvesting corn, beans, and squash; hunting and picking wild berries, fruits, and nuts—while men (and sometimes younger women) were on the hunt in the spring, early summer, and fall. In the hunting regions, where the game was larger and journeys after it longer, the Indians remained nomadic. These native economies, seemingly primitive, supported a population of five to ten million in what is now the United States and Canada.

The Eastern Woodland Indians. The natives of the culture areas in North America first affected by the European presence, those of the northeast and southeast, are customarily referred to as the Eastern Woodland Indians. They spoke different languages, and their places of residence varied in size from several thousand inhabitants to a few score of souls. Politically, organization ranged from democratic and libertarian to hierarchical and authoritarian. But within all the Eastern Woodland tribes there were clans, each claiming a single ancestor. Most tribes were matrilineal, probably because women carried on the predominant economic activity of farming. And the tribes had similar ways of regarding and rearing children. The importance of the child, unborn and born, was evident. Male missionaries and traders who visited the Indians, though barred from witnessing the delivery of the newborn, gave testimony that prospective mothers enjoyed good health during pregnancy and a painless delivery, after which they quickly reentered normal life.

The newborn child was also immediately prepared for the world. Most Indians immersed children at birth, the water temperature notwithstanding; some circumcised the boys. Other customary rituals included ear piercing, hanging wampum or other ornaments around the baby's neck, and feeding the little one oil or grease. There was a 50 percent child mortality rate due to the rigors of Indian life and the



A young Native American boy and his French father travel down the Missouri River to trade furs. *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* (c. 1845), George Caleb Bingham. © Geoffrey Clements/CORBIS.

recurrent smallpox EPIDEMICS as a result of contact with Europeans. Children were born at approximately four-year intervals due to protracted breast feeding, prohibitions on sexual relations while nursing, abortions, and even infanticide. All these factors stabilized the size of the population. Families were small by European standards; three or four children appears to have been the average.

It was common to name a child at birth, possibly from a supply of names available to the clan, or in response to an event or the appearance of the child, or after an animate or inanimate object (an eagle, the wind). Boys took on nicknames that captured their exploits (as did men), which probably put pressure on them for further achievements. Huron males apparently changed names as they moved through life stages, to combat illness, and in response to dreams. (Most Huron believed they had two souls, one of which remained with the body unless it was reborn as a child, explaining why some children resembled their dead ancestors.) Finally, the name of a recently deceased person would be passed on to another member of the tribe so the name was not lost. But it was impolite to call a person by his or her own name; instead one used a term that expressed the relationship of the

speaker to the person addressed, my sister's son, for example. Even if there was no family affinity, terms such as brother or nephew could still be used.

European observers, hardened to INFANT MORTALITY, were impressed by the fondness shown toward and good care taken of Indian children by their mothers. This quality was nowhere better demonstrated than in the feeding of the infant. Unlike European upper-class parents, Indians did not put their children out to be nursed. If the mother happened to die before the child was weaned the father might fill his mouth with water in which corn had been boiled and pass the liquid on to the infant. Nursing went on for several years. During this time the child stayed close to its mother, usually transported on a cradleboard tied to the mother's back. As the child grew and was allowed to crawl it was carried without a board, again on the back of the mother, who grasped it by one leg and the opposite arm. Weaned at approximately three years, the young Indian who had been so carefully attended was suddenly left to his or her own devices, unconfined and now learning from the example of elders. Still, young children must have remained under the watchful eyes of their parents and, probably, the entire village community.

Children were considered to be specially linked to the spiritual world, and in general were indulged rather than punished. Nothing shocked the Europeans more than the absence of physical punishment as a means to DISCIPLINE Indian children. Sometimes they were chastised by having a little water thrown in their faces, and there were reports of Creek parents occasionally scratching disobedient children and, along with the Chickasaws, allowing young ones to be beaten by someone outside the household. Nevertheless, corporal punishment was very much the exception rather than the rule, although ridicule or fear of the supernatural might be used to produce obedience. Surely the example of parents, especially warrior-fathers, shunning corporal punishment must have contributed to children, especially sons, mimicking the restraint shown by their elders. Indeed, in a milieu which placed a premium on withstanding pain and suffering without flinching, corporal punishment—a blatant manifestation of feeling—had no place. The development of self-restraint and stoicism, initiated in childhood, was closely linked to the cultivation of autonomy, highly prized in adulthood.

The aim of these native American parents was to train male hunter-warriors, who would be required to act individualistically yet always conform to the demands of a communal, conservative, homogeneous society. Scantly clad in winter, boys hardened their bodies as they did their minds; their elders expected of them self-control and absence of “womanly” emotion. Females were instructed as planter-gatherers, who must possess wilderness survival skills as keen as those of the males. Children were expected to adopt the clearly defined gender roles assigned to them. Education of the young was primarily but not exclusively imparted by the example of elders. Religious and moral training came from the parents, seconded by the whole community. A related but different means of instruction was storytelling. This oral literature was entertaining but, more important, conveyed cultural beliefs and practices. Often the leading characters of legend and myth were children or youths, making it clear that the young were targets of these stories.

The test of childhood training would be in adulthood, and the transit from one stage of life to the other was well-defined. For girls there were sometimes rituals surrounding the onset of menstruation. For boys, whose passage through PUBERTY was less biologically evident, there were more elaborate ceremonies: the *buskinaw*, a rigorous physical trial, and the vision quest, a spiritual journey. Both involved isolation as well as sensory deprivation and stimulation; their purpose was to begin life on a new course, though without forfeiting the training of childhood, and to locate through visions the spirits which dominated the young person's life. Sometimes the tribal adults gave the young man a new name, the meaning of which might shame, exalt, or even assign a personality to the recipient.



The endurance of native American customs after European contact varied by region. The Eastern Woodland custom of carrying children in cradleboards, illustrated in this 1940 photograph from Tower Rice Camp, Minnesota, persisted in some areas into the twentieth century. © CORBIS.

And so the line between childhood and adulthood was clearly drawn. Eastern Woodland Indians would draw upon the lessons instilled in the early years to govern the behavior of the later ones. Sex after puberty was considered normal. Marriage partners might be tentatively chosen by parents, and a young man could be expected to consult the parents of his intended. Yet there was no coercion: both young men and young women had a choice when it came to marrying and deciding whether to remain wed.

The Plains and Pueblo Indians. Tribal organization, intertribal relations, and child rearing among the Plains Indians resembled that of the Eastern Woodland Indians. However, most of the Plains tribes, being hunters rather than farmers, were on the move rather than settled. Fathers were frequently absent, leaving mothers with additional chores. Hence, grandparents ordinarily filled the void left by otherwise-occupied parents.

The experience of childhood among the sixteenth-century Pueblo Indians of southwestern North America, whose culture dated back centuries to the by-then-extinct Anasazi, was both similar to and different from that of their

distant cousins on the Atlantic coast and the Plains. The Pueblo Indians led lives governed by ritual. The umbilical cord of the newborn was buried inside the house (female) or in a cornfield (male), making clear the sexual division of space and labor. The boy's penis was sprinkled with water, while the girl's vulva was covered with a seed-filled gourd, just as in the natural (adult) world clouds (men) poured their rain on seeds (women), causing them to germinate. On the fourth day the medicine man presented the infant to the rising sun, named it, gave it an ear of corn (representing the Corn Mothers who gave life) and, if it was a male, a flint arrowhead (to create thunder and lightning). A female remained attached to her place of birth, while a male changed houses, living with his mother as a boy and moving at adolescence into a kiva to learn male lore.

Gender was not the only social division among the Pueblo Indians—age also mattered. Children were considered to be indebted to their parents, who had to pay the religious elders for their birth rituals, and there continued a dyadic relationship between givers and receivers, seniors and juniors. None were more senior or more powerful than the kachina, or spirit forces. All adolescents were initiated into the kachina cult, and quickly learned what dire punishment awaited those who did not respect generational reciprocity. With menstruation girls entered womanhood through initiation into clan-based groups, while boys had to kill an enemy before induction into the warrior fellowship through a physical ordeal reminiscent of the Eastern Woodland *buskinaw*.

With the Spanish conquest and the imposition of Christianity in the seventeenth century, Pueblo Indian society was fundamentally altered. The Franciscan priests set about their goal of conversion by upsetting the age relationship, attempting to turn sons from their natural to their spiritual fathers, beginning with BAPTISM. Parents were humiliated by casting adults in the roles of devils in religious dramas, fathers were emasculated by violating the gender division of labor, and children were courted with gifts, as the Franciscans played upon the Indian belief that favors must be reciprocated. Gifts of livestock and lessons in animal husbandry not only yielded baptisms and pious lives; they also undermined the authority of the Indian hunt chiefs. The friars also offered Indian youth the nurturing benefits associated with mothers. Only those Indians who strongly resisted Christianity, among them the Hopi, remained matrilineal societies.

The Nineteenth Century and Beyond

In the mid-nineteenth century the western half of the United States was inhabited by almost a quarter million Indians: Eastern Woodland Indians (including Winnebago, Cherokee, and Chippewa) who had been forced to resettle; Plains Indians (Sioux, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Crow, Arapaho, Pawnee, Kiowa, Apache, Comanche); Pueblo Indians of the southwest (Hopi, Zuni, Navajo), and the Indians of Califor-

nia and the Pacific Northwest. Advancing European-American settlement, including plans for a transcontinental railroad, and intermittent Indian-white warfare led to the creation of reservations in the late 1860s. Continuing conflict was resolved in the next decades through the United States government's policy of forced assimilation. Indian children were required to attend white schools, often far from home; by 1900 there were twenty-five off-reservation boarding schools, supplemented by reservation boarding schools and day schools, public schools (attended by both Indian and white students), and mission schools. In all cases the Indian child was expected to forsake his or her own culture for the European American.

The Hopi managed to remain remote from European-American culture into the mid-twentieth century. The cradleboard remained, as did long-term nursing on demand. Mainstream medicine was rejected (and infant mortality was high); punishment (when administered, by the maternal uncle) was notably absent while rewards persisted; children grew up always in the presence of others. Girls were taught domestic chores by mothers, and boys, taught by fathers, learned farming; some games remained that were reminiscent of the warrior past. Initiation rites continued as a way of introducing youth to the Hopi world. Children were forced to go to school, but they did not internalize what they were taught, since their elders had conditioned them to believe in basic Hopi values. Thus, the Hopi maintained a strong cultural link with the past.

Usually, however, the contact between native American Indians and European Americans had a much greater impact on the former; a traditional group usually could not survive in the face of a more aggressive, more powerful, and far more intolerant society. The Delawares, for example, an Eastern Woodland tribe, went through a cultural decline from the early sixteenth into the mid-twentieth century, by which time they had lost their original identity, lost their lands east of the Mississippi, and moved into Indian Territory in Oklahoma. There they lived in frame houses, wore European clothes, accepted dependence on the federal government, sent their children to missionary (later government) schools, changed the basis of their kinship system, and became hardly distinguishable from poor rural whites.

The Winnebagos, also an Eastern Woodland tribe, were less dramatically affected. Forced to cede land to the government, they were able to remain in Wisconsin and, although they sent their children to missionary schools, the youngsters did not leave their parents' homes. But by the third decade of the twentieth century babies were being born in hospitals, and many methods of child rearing changed to a less indulgent regime, including even corporal punishment. Brothers and sisters quarreled, in adolescence the sexes mixed, and masculine tasks disappeared (as males were more affected by cultural change than females). English was taught

in the home, and the dress, housing, and transportation of the dominant culture was appropriated. In the mid-twentieth century psychoanalyst ERIK ERIKSON visited the Dakota Sioux, a Plains Indian tribe, where he found that children received traditional training at home but faced the demands of European-American society in school. Yet they neither rebelled openly nor showed signs of inner conflict. Rather, students were apathetic or passively resistant, and they viewed the world as dangerous and hostile.

World War II proved disruptive to Native Americans: men joined the armed services and women as well as men took defense jobs. City living was nontraditional, as was some of the work done by rural women in the absence of manpower. But disruption also heightened cultural awareness and even inspired a return to practices long abandoned, such as war chants and prayers for victory, as well as traditional dances. After the war the government began implementing its so-called termination policy: doing away with tribal governments and the trust protection for Indian territories while granting land to individual Indians who would now pay taxes and obey the laws of the states they inhabited. As a corollary to termination, Indians were encouraged to relocate in cities, and by 1958 about one hundred thousand had done so, most without federal assistance.

Relocation was a failed attempt at assimilation; it resulted in continuing ghettoization and poverty. The deplorable living conditions of native Americans described by anthropologist Lewis Merriam in 1928, though they may have been temporarily improved due to rising incomes during World War II, were reconfirmed by reports from California in 1966 and University of Michigan anthropologist Joseph G. Jorgenson in 1971, and again by the census of 1990. Perhaps the most serious problem of all, alcohol, was confronted when the Indian Health Service (IHS) was created in 1954. Though underfunded, IHS has addressed itself to the endemic (and epidemic) matter of fetal alcohol syndrome. Why Indians have been particularly vulnerable to alcohol abuse is unclear, but they died of it at five times the rate of other Americans in the 1990s.

Alcoholism and suicide, poverty and unemployment: these realities more closely describe the life context of Native Americans than of any other group in the United States today. Although the federal government has been paying more attention to the needs of Indian children, as evidenced by such legislation as the Indian Education Act (1972), the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975), the Indian Health Care Improvement Act (1976), the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act (1978), and the Indian Child Welfare Act (1978)—and there is no denying the impact of this attention—nevertheless the situation for Indian children today is often grim.

See also: **American Indian Schools; Canada.**

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JOSEPH E. ILLICK

Neill, A. S. (1883–1973)

Alexander Sutherland Neill was born in Scotland on October 17, 1883, the son of a village schoolteacher. He spent his childhood in a modest home with a stern father and many sisters and brothers in an atmosphere of modified but ever-present Calvinism. In his youth he worked as a student-teacher, went to the university and to England where he joined the Progressives in their critique of schooling and education. He published his first books, *A Dominie's Log* (1915), *A Dominie Dismissed* (1917), *A Dominie in Doubt* (1920), and *A Dominie Abroad* (1923), about the everyday experiences of a Scottish teacher who was permissive and loving and therefore constantly got into trouble. For some years he ran the journal of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, the *New Era*, together with the theosophist Beatrice Ensor. He stayed for some years in Austria and Germany working with followers of Progressive education and Freudianism.

Upon his return to England in 1924 Neill founded Summerhill, a so-called free boarding school that housed sixty children between the ages of five and sixteen. *Free* referred to the children's freedom to do what they pleased as long as they did not interfere with the freedom of others. Lessons were optional and the everyday life of the school was run according to a long list of rules set by the school assembly, where adults' and children's votes were weighed equally. Neill was the headmaster of the school until his death in 1973. He wrote several books on his experience, including *The Problem Child* (1926), *The Problem Parent* (1932), *The Problem Teacher* (1939), *The Free Child* (1953), *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Education* (1960), and *Freedom, not License* (1966).

Neill believed that schooling dominated children and caused repression and trauma. He shared the Progressive view regarding the importance of respecting and following the interests of the individual child. Later in his life this understanding was merged with a simplified version of the early Freudian concept of libido: the child was by nature good, had infinite life energy, and should have the opportunity for self-government. The teacher's work was to find out where children's interests lay and help them to live them out. Children would then, because of their nature, move toward good, and a new civilization would be born. The free child was a self-regulating individual—a Reichian term—and not an uncontrolled one. The first priority at Summerhill was to allow emotional release, and the second was the organization of the teaching and learning process and the acquisition of knowledge.

Neill was mainly inspired by Homer Lane, Wilhelm Reich, SIGMUND FREUD, and Jesus Christ, whom he saw as an example of perfect humanity, giving love and not expecting anything in return. Neill's message was more simple, more substantial, and more radical than the majority of Progressive educators. He emphasized his message repeatedly in a number of books written in a conversational style combined with examples from the everyday life of the school, although they lacked any systematic analyses of the ongoing educational processes. His books and the school became very popular after 1960, a success probably as much due to Neill's warmth, enthusiasm, and humor as to the antiauthoritarian ideology of the 1960s that was reflected in the principles of the school. His books have been, in times and places of authoritarian discipline, a constant inspiration for more permissive schooling.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Education, Europe.**

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ELLEN NØRGAARD

New York Children's Aid Society

The New York Children's Aid Society (CAS) was founded in 1853 by CHARLES LORING BRACE, a Connecticut-born minister who had moved to New York City in 1848. Brace was shocked by the thousands of vagrant children he saw on the city's streets, and by the city's practice of incarcerating them in juvenile and adult prisons. He argued that vagrant children were not criminals and that no institution could care for them as effectively as a family home—an assertion that has become one of the primary principals of modern child welfare.

Soon after its founding, the CAS established a series of industrial schools, which provided academic and job education to children whose ragged clothing or need to work meant they could not attend public schools. In 1854, the Society opened its Newsboys' Lodging House, the nation's first youth shelter. Brace wanted to preserve residents' indepen-

dence, so he made them pay a nominal fee, which got them not just a bed for the night, but food, a bath, clothes, and a host of other services. By far the most influential and controversial of CAS programs was its Emigration Plan, which, between 1854 and 1929, placed 105,000 poor city children with farm families in all of the lower forty-eight states (except Arizona). Beginning, essentially, as a job placement service, the Emigration Plan became the inspiration for modern foster care.

Brace's work was widely imitated throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, many other wholly independent organizations (most notably in Boston, Philadelphia, and Canada) even named themselves after the CAS. But as time passed, Brace was subjected to increasingly virulent criticism. In the 1860s the Catholic Church asserted that his main goal, especially through the Emigration Plan, was to convert Catholic children to Protestantism. While it was true that a large percentage of Catholic children sent to the country did end up converting, this was mainly because the American countryside was overwhelmingly Protestant. After Brace's death, in 1890, the CAS banned the placement of Catholic children under the age of fourteen via the Emigration Plan.

Beginning in the 1870s, the CAS was criticized by child welfare advocates who held that Brace was wrong to believe that taking poor children out of their families and neighborhoods was the best way to "save" them. Family preservation, mothers' pensions (which were the direct forerunner of Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]), and community service programs were held by these critics to be far more helpful and humane.

Other critics charged that there was not enough CAS oversight of the children it placed in rural homes. The CAS responded to such criticisms and new government regulations by placing children ever closer to New York City and increasing screening and supervision of placements. While no longer as influential as it once was, the CAS is still one of the New York City's most respected private FOSTER CARE, ADOPTION, and child welfare agencies. It is now most distinguished for its neighborhood building efforts, such as a block redevelopment program in Harlem, and its eight "Community Schools," public schools through which the society provides family and medical services in addition to a regular public school education.

See also: **Child Saving; Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States; Orphan Trains; Social Welfare; Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.**

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STEPHEN O'CONNOR

New Zealand

In 1991 the American scholar Mary Gordon observed, in her comprehensive historiographical review published in *Children in Comparative and Historical Perspective*, that much work remained to be done on the history of childhood in AUSTRALIA and New Zealand. Some significant advances have been made since then. Educational and welfare scholars have explored the impact of past social policy on children's lives, while contemporary concerns over child health, abuse, and poverty are fostering research in these areas, particularly in the field of children's rights. Yet there is still no local equivalent to the history of Australian childhood written by Jan Kociumbas. Nor, despite the obvious potential for comparison, are there New Zealand works that parallel such Canadian and U.S. childhood studies as those produced by Neil Sutherland, Elliott West, and Harvey Graff. The challenge for any substantial history of New Zealand childhood is that it should be a worthwhile contribution to the international literature while at the same time providing New Zealand readers—young adults especially—with some youth-centered perspectives on their country's past.

Early History

Childhood experience in New Zealand falls loosely into four distinctive phases. *Firstcomers* covers the period from c. 1200 through the 1700s, during which the first migrants from Hawaiiki (eastern Polynesia) established, and their descendants developed, the communities from which contemporary Maori trace their tribal origins. That *tamariki*, or indigenous children, were loved, instructed, disciplined, and mourned is apparent from traditional proverbs, songs, and prayers. Mobility, adaptability, and intertribal conflict were commonplace. Life expectancy was short; living was a labor-intensive process. There was no prolonged period of dependency.

Newcomers characterizes a second period, from the 1770s through the 1850s, when the arrival of European explorers, adventurers, evangelists, and settlers initiated the experience of cultural encounter for youngsters in both societies. *Tamariki* were exposed to new smells and sounds, commodities and values—and diseases against which they and their kin had no immunity. Where Maori and Pakeha, or non-Maori, lived in close proximity, as in shore-based whaling settlements or mission stations, the children of each culture could grow up with some knowledge of the other's language and customs. From the 1840s, as the patterns that had evolved over centuries changed within the lifetime of a single generation, Maori became a steadily diminishing minority within

their own land. Relatively few of the immigrants' children had meaningful contact with Maori. It would be *tamariki*, not Pakeha youth, who developed a bicultural awareness.

The Colonial Period

Young colonials reflects a period marked by conflict, internal and external, from the 1860s through the 1940s. These were years of prosperity and development, but with periods of disruption, dispossession, and depression. The varying effects of these periods on the colony's children crossed cultural, regional, and class divides. The New Zealand Wars of the 1860s were a conflict of sovereignty, not race; the legislative consequences of confiscation and land alienation were devastating for the tribal communities involved. The wars reflected both Maori resistance to the insatiable immigrant demand for land and the failure of the Crown to uphold guarantees of indigenous sovereignty as agreed in the colony's founding charter, the Treaty of Waitangi, signed between the Crown's representatives and Maori chiefs in 1840. The subsequent unfair confiscation of land from tribes

deemed to have been rebellious, together with the continuing land alienation through the legislative process of a Native Land Court, impoverished the tribal communities involved and severely affected the diet, health, and living conditions of their children.

The well-being of Pakeha youngsters was also affected during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Gold rushes during the 1860s prompted state legislation to provide for neglected children, particularly those whose fathers failed to provide for their maintenance, while a colony-wide recession in the 1880s put additional pressure on many migrant families, especially on those for whom the dream of owning a small farm was largely dependent on child labor. And whereas Maori children were raised within extended *whanau*, or family networks on which they could depend for support, immigrants had to create such connections. At times the bonds proved too fragile and death or desertion led to children becoming dependent on institutional care. The lives of the colonial-born of both societies were also being shaped by

a wider constitutional context as colonial politicians fashioned a new Britain of the south, and in so doing gave legislative expression to the dominant cultural values.

State education and health and welfare measures applied to all children, regardless of ethnicity: legalized apartheid has never been part of the New Zealand childhood experience. Yet legislation promoting economic development continued to undermine the communal principles of tribal life and failed to redress impoverishment. Maori children developed a clear understanding of the negative impacts of colonial rule upon their lives; Pakeha youngsters remained largely ignorant of the circumstances, culture, or language of the people whose assistance and cooperation, through food supplies, labor, and initial land sales, for example, had been so fundamental to the colony's establishment. They grew up knowing themselves to be British. The cultural differences of the small enclaves of other European migrants were scarcely acknowledged except when the xenophobia of 1914 through 1918 made ethnicity an issue. Both Maori and Pakeha fought in World War I; the injury and death rates were high and the legacies long term as youth absorbed without question the stories of heroism and sacrifice. There was also no initial shortage of volunteers for World War II.

Recent History

Emergent New Zealanders highlights the issues of identity that characterized much public discussion during the second half of the twentieth century, from the 1950s through 2000. Britain's entry into the Common Market, coupled with high rates of Maori urbanization and Polynesian immigration, challenged Pakeha to acknowledge and reconsider their monoculturalism. Globalization, television, the Internet, and the pervasive influence of American culture have all contributed to changing lifestyles for young New Zealanders, but the greater transformation has been internal. Multicultural immigration policies and the consequences of economic restructuring during the 1980s that diminished the role of the state in favor of market-led competition have contributed to greater social inequality within the country. Children and youth are bearing the brunt of these changes. High levels of youth suicide, sexually transmitted diseases, teenage pregnancy, single parenthood, alcohol and drug abuse, and criminal offending are matters of widespread public concern, as is the increasing awareness of violence against children.

Thousands of New Zealand youth still grow up healthy, happy, and emotionally secure, actively pursuing sporting and cultural interests and planning a future of worthwhile employment and travel overseas. But hundreds do not, and the correlation between poverty, ethnicity, ill health, low educational achievement, and abuse is increasingly obvious. New Zealanders have long cherished the belief that theirs is a great country in which to bring up children. More detailed research into both past and present childhood experience may suggest the need for some modification of that view.

See also: **Comparative History of Childhood.**

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JEANINE GRAHAM

Nursery Schools

The history of nursery schools is intimately related to the history of mass schooling. Provision of nursery schools and other institutions for the education and care of young children (generally under the age of six) came relatively late in the development of school systems. Not until it was accepted that early childhood was a highly significant stage in human development and one during which the contours of the later stages were formed was there much interest in making formal arrangements for the education of the young. Just how young was dependent on the age set for starting school, which varied from country to country, as school systems developed with the coming of industrialization and urbanization. Schools for children under the compulsory age for school attendance were motivated by a combination of a desire for moral regulation, social control, and CHILD SAVING. Demand for the provision of care for young children increased as women, many of whom were mothers, were increasingly drawn into the labor market.

The Early Infant Schools and Kindergartens

In England, the first country in the world to undergo the industrial revolution, large numbers of working-class children below the age set for school attendance and as young as one year old were being sent to school. This was either a school organized for older children or an infant school, the first of which was opened by the utopian socialist reformer Robert Owen (1771–1858) in Scotland in 1816. The infant schools that followed were promoted by infant school societies. They lacked a uniform purpose, curriculum or pedagogy, but preparation for the subjects taught in elementary schools

came to predominate. A similar process took place in other industrializing countries, such as France, where the first pre-schools had been opened by Jean-Frédéric Oberlin (1740–1826). There, schools for young children were called *salles d'asile*, literally, “rooms of the asylum,” or refuges for working-class children.

The realization that young children in infant schools needed specialized treatment adapted to their age did not take hold until the ideas and practices of JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI (1745–1827) attracted the attention of a small number of educational reformers in England. Schools run on Pestalozzian lines attempted to recognize the specific requirements of young children rather than treating them as being no different than older pupils. In 1836, the Pestalozzian Home and Colonial Infant School Society began training teachers for infant schools in its college in London. Not only did this school emphasize the need to educate young children differently but it also introduced the idea that the care and education of children in their early years was a skilled task, which should not be left to anyone prepared to work for the very low wages that were commonly paid to the “motherly” girls who looked after young children. This was made difficult when forms of various CHILD CARE, from wet nurses to dame schools, abounded and teachers received no training.

Further impetus for the idea that the education of young children should be different from that provided for older ones was provided by the international spread of the KINDERGARTEN and the theories of its founder, FRIEDRICH FROEBEL (1782–1852). The first kindergarten in England was opened in 1851 and was followed by the opening of one in the United States in 1856. While the kindergarten was a school, Froebel’s educational vision encompassed both home and kindergarten. The school and the home were meant to be complementary in their organization of the play materials and activities by means of which young children from their first year on could become educated. But the conditions of the existing schools that were provided for the laboring poor in England created many obstacles to the adoption of the kindergarten. Among these were large classes, untrained teachers, and the pressure of examinations in the higher grades, which percolated down to the lower ones. Similarly, when the kindergarten entered the public school system in the United States, much that was distinctive was lost due to the bureaucratic nature of the school system and particularly the need to prepare children for the more formal approaches of the elementary schools.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the free kindergarten movement in the United States, and similar initiatives in England and other countries, began to stress the role of the kindergarten in the rescue of the children of the urban poor. More social workers than teachers, the women who organized the free kindergartens gradually rejected Froebel’s

formal system, with its detailed directions on how to use his apparatus or “gifts” and “occupations,” in favor of a wider conception of play combined with domestic tasks. Legitimation for this new approach came from the theories of the psychologist G. STANLEY HALL (1844–1924) and the philosopher JOHN DEWEY (1859–1952).

The Nursery School

In England, Margaret McMillan (1860–1931), a Christian Socialist, went further and substituted sense training and a focus on the health of the young child for the Froebelian emphasis on play and self-activity. Margaret McMillan is regarded as the originator of the nursery school concept, although when state support became available for nursery schools after 1918 the majority of the recognized nursery schools were former free kindergartens. Together with her sister Rachel, Margaret McMillan opened an open-air nursery school in a deprived part of London in 1913. At the same time, in Italy, MARIA MONTESSORI (1870–1952), was working along similar lines to produce her educational method aimed at the rescue of the children of the urban poor through an emphasis on health and sense training by means of her specially devised apparatuses, such as solid insets, sandpaper letters, and blocks that could be made into a long stair. The high rates of INFANT MORTALITY and disease both provided a major stimulus to the advocates of the nursery school.

In the United States, the first nursery schools for children under five were privately financed and often sponsored by and affiliated to universities. They were characterized by their use of CHILD STUDY and psychological theories about children and their families, such as those of SIGMUND FREUD (1856–1958) and later JEAN PIAGET (1896–1980). As such, they formed part of a broader development of the professionalizing field of child welfare. Unlike the ones in the United Kingdom, they catered mainly to upper- and middle-class children whose mothers were not undertaking paid labor. In the 1920s, the cooperative nursery school that involved parents in its running was developed in the United States. This marked a departure from the European model of the nursery school, which previously had been dominant.

The adoption of the nursery school by public education systems throughout most of the twentieth century was constrained by their cost and by the view that the best place for most children below school age was with their mothers in their homes. Exceptions to this were made for the children of the urban poor and in times of national emergency as in the GREAT DEPRESSION and World War II, but provision of nursery schooling trailed behind that of day-care centers and other forms of child-minding that lacked the educational rationale of nursery schools.

In the United States in the 1960s, War on Poverty programs such as Project HEAD START and the Ypsilanti, Michigan, Perry Preschool Project stimulated the growth of nur-

sery schools as a means to combat social inequalities. In recent decades, public and private provision of preschools has increased dramatically in many countries, as the number of women entering the labor market has steadily grown. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the general trend is for the nursery school, which provides a play-based, developmentally appropriate curriculum, to be eclipsed by classes and institutions designed solely to prepare children for school.

A broad pattern may be observed in the history of nursery schools. When they were privately funded they were able to adopt play methods more widely than when they were publicly funded, but there were too few of them to meet the demand. Public funding of nursery schools, on the other hand, while it enabled more children to attend them, has almost always led to their subordination to the demands of the schools for older children.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of.**

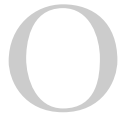
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KEVIN J. BREHONY



Obstetrics and Midwifery

Obstetrics and midwifery are two distinct but overlapping fields of medical knowledge and practice which focus on the care of the pregnant and parturient (laboring) woman. Obstetrics focuses on the problems and difficulties of pregnancy and labor; midwifery emphasizes the normalcy of pregnancy while acknowledging the vulnerability associated with the reproductive process. Midwifery arose from the social and physical support women traditionally have given to one another, while obstetrics developed gradually as a combination of the medical traditions practiced in ancient Greece and Rome and the rise of modern anatomical research and surgery developed in premodern Europe. Obstetrics had its greatest impact at the end of the eighteenth century as the fundamentals of parturition, including its anatomy, physiology, and pathology, were recognized and as large numbers of male medical practitioners began to deliver babies. Anesthesia and antisepsis advanced nineteenth-century obstetrics, but it was not until the third decade of the twentieth century with the advent of sulfa drugs that infections related to medical intervention during childbirth ceased to be the leading cause of maternal death. In the twenty-first century, obstetrics is increasingly technological in its orientation and is focused on the pathology of pregnancy while midwifery continues to maintain its emphasis on the normalcy of pregnancy and the importance of providing pregnant and parturient women with practical and emotional support.

Antiquity and the Medieval and Early Modern Period

In ancient Greece and Rome, birth was usually an all-female event which affirmed the parturient's status as mother of the patriarchal family, especially when she produced a male child. Laboring women prayed to Asclepias and Artemis for support. Midwives came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, and they enjoyed varying amounts of prestige according to their training. In Greece, male and some female healers who were trained in empirically based knowledge derived from Hippocratic medicine enjoyed high social status,

attended births, and sometimes worked together during both normal and problem deliveries. A midwife untrained in Hippocratic medicine relied on a variety of folk nostrums as well as on charms and amulets.

In situations where a baby's abnormal birth position slowed its delivery, the birth attendant turned the infant *in utero* or shook the bed to attempt to reposition the fetus externally. A dead baby who failed to be delivered would be dismembered in the womb with sharp instruments and removed with a "squeezer." A retained placenta was delivered by means of counterweights, which pulled it out by force. Pain relievers and sedatives were employed only for excessive maternal suffering due to birth complications; pain associated with normal labor was seen as productive and as a part of the birthing process.

Soranus, a second-century Greek physician practicing in Rome, published a gynecological treatise in which he discussed obstetrical theory and proposed protocols for normal and abnormal births. He introduced a procedure called *podalic version*, which was a method of delivering a baby that presents in the transverse position by reaching for the leg within the womb and pulling the infant out feet first. Soranus also described the use of a birthing stool and listed the duties and skills of the midwife. Sometimes he advised using a forceps to assist with difficult births.

Historians speculate that the infant and mortality rates in antiquity were probably similar to premodern rates, even though women in classical Greece married before the age of twenty while the average age of marriage for premodern women was twenty-five. Later marriage correlated to a lower overall risk to mother and baby. Puerperal fever caused some maternal deaths, while malaria and tuberculosis constituted special risks, especially due to the lack of modern HYGIENE and efficacious drugs.

During the medieval and Renaissance periods, childbirth was a home-centered social event involving the collaboration

of the birthing mother, her female relatives, and a midwife. Birth was a RITE OF PASSAGE for the woman that affirmed her fertility and new status as a mother. In spite of the biblical injunction that “in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children” (Genesis 3:16) midwives administered narcotic or pain-relieving herbs and wine. Catholic mothers also sought solace in praying to St. Margaret, the patron saint of pregnant women, while Protestant women prayed directly to their Lord without the intercession of saints.

To hasten delivery, a midwife massaged the mother’s belly and genitalia with oil. Bloodletting at an ankle vein also might be administered. During labor, the pregnant woman moved constantly about the lying-in room, trying to find a comfortable position from which to give birth. Birth stools were common, especially in Germany. For abnormal deliveries, the skilled midwife had several options: she could burst the amniotic sac to induce labor, she could tie cloth to an impacted fetus and pull, or she could reposition the infant internally or externally using manipulation or abdominal massage. In instances of breech presentations, stillbirths, twins, or other problems caused by the mother’s pelvic deformities, a surgeon was called in as a last resort. Sometimes he would have to dismember and extract the fetus with crochet hooks and knives to save the life of the mother.

From the late thirteenth to the late eighteenth century, a midwife’s social background, occupational status, and skill level varied within and among countries. Her workload, pay, and range of tasks also varied. Popular and learned images of the midwife ranged from ignorant and unskilled to skilled and respectable. The modern notion of the midwife as witch had very little basis in reality. Court records document that midwives were rarely accused of witchcraft. In fact, ecclesiastical and municipal authorities entrusted midwives with a variety of medical and legal responsibilities. With increasing frequency, the midwife was called upon to testify as an expert witness in cases of contested pregnancy, infanticide, virginity, and rape; to mediate domestic squabbles; and to attest to religious conformity, illegitimate birth, or infanticide.

Religious concerns motivated the first official regulation of midwives in 1277 (at the Trier Synod). Midwives were enjoined to learn how to perform an emergency BAPTISM when there was no time to call in a priest. Beginning in the sixteenth century, municipal authorities regulated midwives under the aegis of the emerging male medical hierarchy. A midwife’s morals, religiosity, and sometimes her skill were evaluated. In England and the United States, however, midwives received only sporadic regulation.

Studies by Roger Schofield, B. M. Wilmott Dobbie, and Irvine Loudon estimate that maternal mortality rates between 1400 and 1800 were between 1 and 3 percent. Most often, women died in childbirth due to protracted labor caused by a narrow or deformed pelvis, fetal malpresentation, postpartum hemorrhage, or puerperal fevers. The

health risk was renewed at each pregnancy. Since a woman averaged five pregnancies, 10 percent of these women died during or soon after childbirth.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the systematic study of human anatomy, the recovery of ancient medical knowledge, and a renewed interest among male medical practitioners in human reproduction encouraged the growth of obstetrics and obstetrical innovation. The advent of printing technology facilitated the spread of knowledge. The French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) reintroduced podalic version in 1550. Other talented surgeons, as well as a few midwives, published obstetrical texts that included protocols for normal and abnormal labor and deliveries. Indeed, the French paved the way for the English surgeons and surgeon-apothecaries of the next century to become birth attendants for the aristocracy.

In the eighteenth century in England and Scotland, surgeons and physicians refined their methods for recognizing and managing normal and abnormal labor and delivery, both with and without instruments. Accurate illustrations of the gravid uterus were described for the first time. Scottish surgeon William Smellie (1697–1763) made the use of forceps during delivery a viable option; in 1752 he introduced a new and improved instrument that avoided the uterine and vaginal mutilation which an earlier prototype had often caused. In spite of these advances, however, pregnant women remained reluctant to call a surgeon because of his traditional association with death; moreover, husbands and moralists expressed concerns that a male presence during labor could easily compromise a woman’s virtue. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, men attended 50 percent of all deliveries in many parts of England. The tendency was similar in France, and it became increasingly true in the United States as well.

The founding of maternity hospitals for poor women contributed to the eventual predominance of obstetrics as a medical specialty. Hospitals provided an endless supply of patients on which males could practice birthing techniques for normal and abnormal deliveries. In addition, famous surgeon *accoucheurs* and physicians set up private lecture courses for an all-male clientele on obstetrics, surgery, and dissection. A “hands-on” learning approach improved the students’ skill and confidence.

The rise of obstetrics had a mixed effect on midwifery. Some midwives clung to their traditional ways. Others embraced the new science and sought retraining. National policies also shaped the contours of midwifery practice. While American and British midwives were rarely regulated and essentially were excluded from the hospitals and proprietary schools that employed the new techniques, instruments, and obstetrical knowledge, European midwives were re-educated and regulated under the auspices of local and national authorities. In France, for example, the fear of depopulation in-

duced King Louis XV in 1759 to sponsor Madame du Cou-dray to educate rural midwives. Utilizing obstetrical mannequins and an illustrated manual, she trained an estimated ten thousand peasant women to deliver babies using advanced life-saving methods.

The Modern Period

Women's search for a painless childbirth experience created a decisive turning point in the history of obstetrics. The discovery of drugs such as ether, morphine, and chloroform between 1792 and 1834, and scopolamine in 1902, made pain manageable. The movement for "twilight sleep," or labor under anesthesia, began in Germany in the early twentieth century and soon spread to England and America. Upper- and middle-class women abandoned their midwives in order to be anesthetized with scopolamine and other drugs during childbirth. The potential danger that accompanied the use of anesthesia required a physician in attendance in a hospital setting. Women's erratic behavior under the anesthesia compelled their attendants to tether them to the hospital bed. Moreover, the mothers' delirious state made them totally unaware of the birth process. In addition, many infants of anesthetized mothers suffered from neonatal depression. By 1900, in the United States and Britain 50 percent of physician-assisted births involved the use of chloroform or ether in a hospital. A 1997 report by British researcher Irvine Loudon found that hospital deliveries rose from 24 percent of all births in 1932 to over 54 percent in 1946. No longer seen as interlopers in an all-female life cycle event, male physicians began to exercise more control over the prenatal and birth processes.

Following the pain management revolution, a newly emerging group of physicians who called themselves *obstetricians* instituted protocols for hospital birth that became routine in the United States and in many other Western countries. Anesthesia, forceps delivery, shaving the pregnant woman's pubic area, administering an enema and refusal of any food or drink for the mother prior to labor, episiotomy, lithotomy position for birth, and administering pitocin or other drugs to induce and control labor all became routine. Fetal monitoring, scanning, and IV infusions for the mother also became standard practice by the end of the twentieth century, as did cesarean section and birth induction, especially in the United States.

Ironically, as the obstetrical revolution gathered momentum between 1900 and 1930, maternal mortality rates increased. These deaths were almost always the result of "childbed" or puerperal fever, an infection of the female genital tract caused by the bacterium *Streptococcus pyogenes*. While the appearance of maternity hospitals in the eighteenth century already had raised the problem of puerperal fever to epidemic proportions, the fever proved fatal in hospitals as well as in many home deliveries, even after the acceptance of the germ theory of disease in the late nineteenth

century. Consequently, Loudon reports in his 1997 book that the risk of dying in childbirth in 1863 and 1934 were virtually identical. The high death rate was the result of lax antiseptic practices and poorly trained birth attendants who engaged in unnecessary and dangerous obstetrical interventions, especially forceps deliveries. This fact became evident when national differences were taken into account. In his 1992 published report, Loudon found that in 1935 the rate of obstetrical interference in Holland was 1 percent and in New York 20 percent. When interference occurred, the death rate due to sepsis (infection) was 40 per 10,000 births, while the rate for spontaneous deliveries was 4 per 10,000. Maternal mortality rates did not decrease until the virulence of the streptococcus bacterium decreased and until the introduction of sulfa drugs after 1935. Maternal mortality rates continued to fall after World War II with the development of safe blood transfusions, treatments for toxemia, and the introduction of ergometrine, a drug which prevents hemorrhaging after childbirth.

Cesarean Section

The rationale for birth by cesarean section initially was religious. The operation was performed when the mother appeared to be dying in order to ensure that the fetus could be baptized. During the nineteenth century cesarean section gained wider acceptance as antiseptics, anesthesia, aseptic surgery, and new kinds of uterine sutures greatly improved the survival rates of mother and child. The discovery of a purified form of penicillin in 1940 further reduced infection, uterine rupture, and other pathology.

In the United States, successful cesarean section techniques resulted in a steep increase in that form of delivery. Jane Sewell found that in 1970 the U.S. cesarean rate was about 5 percent; by 1988 the rate had reached nearly 25 percent. Judith Pence Rooks found that in 1990, the cesarean birth rate in the United States was about double that of many European countries. Efforts to reduce this rate in America because of maternal health risks have succeeded somewhat. In 1994 the rate fell to 21 percent from a high of 23 percent in 1992. The reduction has been attributed to a reduced number of same-patient cesarean sections after repeated challenges to the statement "once a cesarean section always a cesarean section."

Premature Birth

The invention of the incubator in France in the 1880s constituted a major advance in the field of what is now called neonatology. The first hospital specializing in the care of premature infants opened in Chicago in 1923. Since home birth was still the norm, parents were reluctant to have their child stay in a hospital to undergo experimental treatments. This changed dramatically during the 1960s when major advances in assisted breathing technology, improved nursery equipment, new surgical techniques, innovative INFANT FEEDING methods, and new therapeutic drugs made neona-

tology a viable subspecialty within PEDIATRICS. Since the 1960s medical advances have increased substantially the survival rates of premature and low-weight-for-gestational-age infants.

Prenatal Care

Routine prenatal care is a relatively recent phenomenon. Its effectiveness in ensuring the health of mother and child varies by country and within the United States by class and ethnicity. In Europe, where all citizens are protected by a national health care system, prenatal care is standard and usually performed by midwives. Women from all races and ethnic backgrounds tend to avail themselves of these services, develop few health problems, and experience premature delivery infrequently. Due to the lack of universal health care in the United States, however, the availability and usage of prenatal clinics vary tremendously. Healthy, educated, middle-class women who have planned pregnancies are more apt to visit their physicians or midwives and to follow their advice. Women who are disadvantaged and lack access to prenatal care and/or are ambivalent about having children tend to have a higher rate of preterm deliveries and other health-related problems. Cultural and social reasons inhibit such women from taking advantage of prenatal services even when they are free and accessible. African-American women deliver low-birth-weight babies at a rate twice as high as white women. Some studies on prenatal care in the United States reinforce the advisability and efficacy of the European model for prenatal care: low-income, high-risk, and/or African-American women who have access to nurse-midwifery care at prenatal clinics as opposed to standard prenatal care from obstetricians have better birth outcomes.

Infant Mortality

INFANT MORTALITY rates reflect the overall welfare and sanitary conditions of the population. In premodern Europe, one out of every four or five children died during their first year of life, and almost one child in two failed to survive to the age of ten. Social class has remained a key factor in determining infant mortality rates; according to experts, this is unlikely to change. In contrast to maternal mortality rates, infant mortality declined throughout the Western world from the early twentieth century until the mid-1930s. This trend suggests that there is no close link between maternal and infant mortality

Midwifery from 1900 to the Present

Between 1900 and 1930, the rise of obstetrics and the medicalization of birthing challenged the identity and autonomy of European midwives. These challenges occurred amid falling birth rates, obstetrician shortages, challenges from public health care workers, and economic crises. Midwives responded in a variety of ways. Swedish midwives acquired the training and right to use forceps, while midwives in other European countries acquired new medical skills to help them compete with physicians. By contrast, during the same peri-

od, American midwives' lack of organization, political power, and economic resources made it extremely difficult for them to defend themselves against the medical profession. Physicians labeled them as incompetent and ignorant in spite of many contemporary studies that contradicted these charges. A few notable exceptions included the continued practice of some immigrant midwives in the North and the founding of the Maternity Center Association in New York (1918) and the Frontier Nursing Service in Kentucky (1925) which trained nurses to become midwives for the poor. In almost all other instances, obstetric nursing practiced by registered nurses in hospitals under the supervision of physicians replaced midwifery until the rise of the alternative birth movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, obstetrics and its perception of pregnancy and childbirth as potentially pathological and dangerous continues to dominate Western culture. Midwives who work in hospital settings also have been influenced by this view, although by and large they are trained to view birth as a normal and healthy process. While midwives play a much larger role in the care of pregnant mothers in Europe than in America, the medicalized model of birth has gradually permeated those countries as well.

The midwifery model of pregnancy and childbirth as a normal and healthy process plays a much larger role in Sweden and the Netherlands than the rest of Europe, however. In the latter nation, one out of every three births takes place in the home. The safety and cost-effectiveness of national health care insurance combined with support of a home-birth tradition has allowed the Dutch midwife to enjoy greater autonomy vis-à-vis the medical profession than midwives in almost any country. The Dutch infant mortality rate in 1992 was the tenth-lowest rate in the world, at 6.3 deaths per thousand births, while the United States ranked twenty-second. Swedish midwives stand out as well, since they administer 80 percent of prenatal care and more than 80 percent of family planning services in Sweden. Midwives in Sweden attend all normal births in public hospitals and Swedish women tend to have fewer interventions in hospitals than American women. Midwives in the Netherlands and Sweden owe a great deal of their success to supportive government policies.

American midwives made a comeback in the late twentieth century after their earlier decline. A consumer and feminist revolt against over-medicalized birthing led to a resurgence of interest in self-taught or apprentice-trained midwives for home births, called "lay" or "direct-entry" midwives. Despite gaining legal recognition in some states, direct-entry midwives remain on the medical fringe.

Certified nurse-midwives who also are registered nurses with postgraduate training in midwifery have enjoyed greater acceptance. Middle-class and feminist women who demanded a more natural birth experience in a "safe" but

“homey” hospital environment created the alternative birth movement, in which nurse-midwives played an important role. Shortages of physicians in the 1970s also encouraged the federal government to support nurse practitioners and nurse-midwives to staff the newly-funded family planning centers for the poor. At the beginning of the third millennium, certified nurse-midwives enjoyed almost universal legal recognition throughout the United States. Data demonstrate that their expertise results in equal or better outcomes for low-risk pregnancies. Between 1980 and 1995, U.S. policy makers considered nurse-midwives as a potential low-cost solution to lowering the nation’s persistently high infant mortality rate, in part linked to the inability to pay for obstetrical care of many poor, high-risk pregnant women.

Obstetrics plays a life-saving and life-affirming role for many women and children who face various kinds of medical complications and emergencies. However, its emphasis on pathology has overshadowed other customs and practices related to pregnancy and childbirth. While a medicalized birth is a rite of passage, it reinforces the rational and scientific values of Western medicine, relying excessively on technology and on the authority of the physician. Critics of technologically dependent and depersonalized obstetrical approaches to pregnancy and childbirth point to the massive amount of data obtained from clinical trials and cross-cultural studies. These data support the view that many aspects of the low-technology, “natural,” and health-promoting model implicit in midwifery is not only more cost-effective, but also can offer equal or better outcomes for low-risk mothers and their offspring. Moreover, the midwifery approach to childbirth provides the pregnant woman with a variety of ways to support her own emotional and physical health as well as that of her child.

See also: **Conception and Birth.**

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ALISON KLAIMONT LINGO

Oliver Twist

The eponymous child hero of Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* became a crucial cultural icon of Victorian childhood. Indeed, Dickens published the novel serially from 1837 to 1839, coinciding with the commencement of Queen Victoria’s long reign in 1837. The novel follows the nine-year-old

orphaned child Oliver Twist from the provincial workhouse ORPHANAGE where boys are brutally mistreated to the metropolis of London where, under the tutelage of the master criminal Fagin, boys like Oliver are initiated into the criminal underworld. In dramatizing the harshness of the workhouse the novel contributed to an increasing public awareness and growing outrage at the miserable conditions to which children were sometimes subjected in such institutions.

The central dramatic concern of the novel, however, is Oliver's struggle to preserve his spiritual innocence within the criminal context of Fagin's gang. Dickens clearly articulates the Victorian tenet of childhood's innocence, which was synthesized from a variety of earlier ideological strands including Christian theology, the enlightened ideals of JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, and the Romantic intimations of William Wordsworth. Dickens, in *Oliver Twist* and in his later novels as well, discovered a melodramatic formula for capturing the hearts of the Victorian public by representing a child whose innocence is menaced by an evil world.

Fagin trains the boys to pick pockets, and Oliver is eventually expected to participate in burglary. Yet he desperately objects to such conduct: "Oh! pray have mercy on me, and do not make me steal. For the love of all the bright Angels that rest in Heaven, have mercy upon me!" (p. 154). Dickens suggests that a child like Oliver dreads compromising his innocence for fear of succumbing to utter corruption. In Fagin's world, children are criminally exploited, perhaps even sexually exploited—though Dickens is not explicit about this—by vicious and unscrupulous adults. Dickens was, however, well aware of the irony that it was legal institutions like the workhouse that by their brutality actually drove children like Oliver Twist into the illegal machinations of exploitative criminals.

Oliver is finally redeemed by his own resistance to evil and ends the novel under the kindly adoptive care of bourgeois patrons, but only after it has been recognized that the boy has successfully preserved his embattled innocence. In one scene a respectable doctor and a beneficent young lady observe Oliver asleep and speculate about his possibly criminal history:

"Vice," sighed the surgeon, replacing the curtain, "takes up her abode in many temples; and who can say that a fair outside shall not enshrine her?"

"But at so early an age!" urged Rose.

"My dear young lady," rejoined the surgeon, mournfully shaking his head; "crime, like death, is not confined to the old and withered alone. The youngest and fairest are too often its chosen victims." (p. 197)

In the Victorian ideology of childhood, the child was conceived as naturally innocent but also profoundly susceptible

to the forces of moral, criminal, and sexual corruption. Indeed the Victorian cult of the innocence of childhood, in which Dickens was certainly some sort of high priest, was all the more intense inasmuch as innocence was seen as terrifyingly precarious.

Though Oliver survives with his innocence intact to the end of the novel, Dickens in later works would wring even more sentimental effect from the early deaths of children in their utmost innocence, notably Paul Dombey in *Dombey and Son* and Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop*. In the twentieth century *Oliver Twist* would continue to exercise its sentimental spell, translated into new forms including the silent movie of 1922 with the child star Jackie Coogan, the classic film version of 1948 directed by David Lean, and the stage musical *Oliver!* of 1960, which, when made into a film in 1968, won the Oscar for best picture. Both of the novel's central concerns—the institutional mistreatment of children and the criminal exploitation of children—remain matters of tremendous social concern all over the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Dickens's *Oliver Twist* played a pioneering part in formulating that concern at the threshold of the Victorian age.

See also: **Child Abuse; Child Labor in the West; Theories of Childhood.**

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LARRY WOLFF

Open Air School Movement

The open air school movement was created to prevent the development of tuberculosis in children. It required the establishment of schools that combine medical surveillance with pedagogy adapted to students with pre-tuberculosis. The new institution was established by doctors researching new prophylactic methods, and educators interested in an open air educational experience.

In 1904, Dr. Bernhard Bendix and pedagogue Hermann Neufert founded the first school of this kind: the *Waldeschule* of Charlottenburg, near Berlin, Germany. Classes were conducted in the woods to offer open-air therapy to young city dwellers with pre-tuberculosis. The experiment, conducted by the International Congresses of Hygiene, was immediately attempted throughout Europe and North America: in Bel-

gium in 1904, in Switzerland, England, Italy, and France in 1907, in the United States in 1908, in Hungary in 1910, and in Sweden in 1914. The schools were called “schools of the woods” or “open air schools.” Often they were remote from cities, set up in tents, prefabricated barracks, or repurposed structures, and were run during the summer. Some of the more noteworthy experiments were the School in the Sun, in Cergnat, Switzerland and the school of Uffculme near Birmingham, England. The School of the Sun used heliotherapy (1910)—doctor Auguste Rollier sent the children up to the mountains every morning equipped with portable equipment. The school of Uffculme, noted for its architecture, allowed each class to occupy its own independent pavilion (1911).

After World War I the movement became organized. The first International Congress took place in Paris in 1922, at the initiative of The League for Open Air Education created in France in 1906, and of its president, Gaston Lemo-nier. There were four more congresses: in Belgium in 1931; in Germany in 1936; marked by the involvement of German doctor Karl Triebold; in Italy in 1949; and in Switzerland in 1956. National committees were created. Jean Duperthuis, a close associate of Adolphe Ferrière (1879–1960), the well-known pedagogue and theorist of New Education, created the International Bureau of Open Air Schools to collect information on how these schools worked. Testimonies described an educational experience inspired by New Education, with much physical exercise, regular medical checkups, and a closely monitored diet, but there has been little formal study of the majority of these schools.

According to the ideas of the open air school, the architecture had to provide wide access to the outdoors, with large bay windows and a heating system that would permit working with the windows open. The most remarkable of these schools were in Amsterdam, Holland by architect Jan Duiker (1929–1930), in Suresnes, France by Eugène Beau-doin and Marcel Lods (1931–1935), and Copenhagen, Denmark by Kai Gottlob (1935–1938).

Later, the movement had an influence on the evolution of education, HYGIENE, and architecture. School buildings, for example, adopted the concept of classes open to the outdoors, as in Bale, Switzerland (1938–1939, architect Hermann Baur), Impington, England (1939, Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry), and in Los Angeles (1935, Richard Neutra). This influence is the major contribution of the open air schools movement, although the introduction of antibiotics, which increasingly provided a cure for tuberculosis, seemed to make them obsolete after World War II.

See also: **Children’s Spaces; School Buildings and Architecture.**

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ANNE-MARIE CHÂTELET

Opie, Iona and Peter

Iona Opie (b. 1923) and Peter Mason Opie (1918–1982) were British collectors, publishers, and archivists of children’s folklore. Peter Opie was president of the anthropology section of the British Association in 1962–1963 and of the British Folklore Society in 1963–1964. The husband-and-wife team began their research together in 1944. Their first major work was *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951; 2nd edition, 1997), a collection of more than five hundred rhymes, songs, nonsense jingles, and lullabies. For each item the known facts about origin, variants, non-English equivalents, and earlier publication are stated. In the introduction, the Opies outline a suggestion for a general categorization of children’s rhymes. This volume stands out as one of the standard collections of English-language children’s rhymes.

The path-breaking *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (1959) efficiently refuted the idea that the growing impact of mass media and the entertainment industry would inevitably extinguish children’s own, genuine traditions. Leaving the parent-guarded nurseries behind, this unexpurgated collection of jokes, riddles, rhymes, rituals, beliefs, and secret spells provides a vivid testimony of multitudinous children’s traditions thriving in streets and school yards. The material is grouped into categories and presented together with folkloristic and historical comments, as well as international comparisons.

Unlike many of their predecessors, the Opies collected schoolchildren’s lore directly from six- to fourteen-year-olds and not from adults reminiscing about their own childhood traditions. Their method of work foreshadowed a paradigm shift in folklore research in the 1960s that emphasized the study of contemporary folklore and fieldwork among representatives of a culture rather than text analyses of archival material. They conducted large-scale surveys during the 1950s and 1960s, with contributions from 135 state schools throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, and tape-recorded children in playgrounds all over Britain during the 1970s. The mass of information collected provided material for a further three books, all on children’s games: *Children’s Games in Street and Playground* (1969), *The Singing Game* (1985), and *Children’s Games with Things* (1997), the last two of which Iona Opie produced after her husband’s death, as well as publishing her own playground observations as *The People in the Playground* (1993). Aside from their work on children’s folklore the Opies also dealt with FAIRY TALES, most notably in *The Classic Fairy Tales* (1974). The Opies’ in-

spiring example contributed to the emergence of children's folklore as a thriving field of research within folklore studies.

The Opie Collection of Children's Literature, housed in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, was originated by the Opies as a private research library in 1944. Upon Peter Opie's death in 1982, Iona Opie decided to place the collection, then amounting to twenty thousand titles, in a public institution. The transfer to the Bodleian library was made possible by a national fund-raising campaign (led by Prince Charles) and by Opie's donation of half the collection. The largest single category is made up of twelve thousand bound volumes of children's stories and nursery rhymes. Other substantial categories include primers, alphabets and other instruction books, chapbooks, comics, and children's magazines. Some eight hundred of the titles were published before 1800, including among other rare books a 1706 edition of *The Arabian Nights* and an early printing of *Robinson Crusoe*. The collection is accessible to the public in microfiche form.

See also: **Children's Literature; Theories of Childhood; Theories of Play.**

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ULF PALMENFELT

Organized Recreation and Youth Groups

Efforts to organize children's play have predominantly arisen within the last century. It was not until the early twentieth century that children's use of their free time became an issue for anyone but the child. Throughout much of history, children's PLAY was essentially a time for aimless frivolity, left over after the pressing demands of survival had been met. Sweeping societal changes in the late nineteenth century focused attention on what children were doing in their free time and how they were doing it. This scrutiny led adults to believe that it was important for them to organize children's play and to provide structured opportunities and resources.

From Free Play to Organized Recreation

By the last half of the nineteenth century, industrialization brought about sweeping changes in Europe and the United States. As the industrial labor force organized into craft unions, working conditions improved, levels of pay increased, and hours of work were cut back. Children, who had worked long, hard hours in factories, mines, and big-city sweatshops, were freed of this burden through CHILD LABOR

legislation. Increasing numbers of children and youth now had significant periods of unoccupied free time available, and they were lured by the attraction of adults' recreations, including drinking, gambling, and boisterous lawbreaking. The misuse of free time by children came to be viewed as a widespread social problem and the provision and regulation of wholesome play activities became an instrument of social reform. A number of reformers sought to develop agencies and institutions to solve the emerging social problems created by this new era in which children now had too much unsupervised play time. Public demands for increased structured play opportunities and supervision became more frequent and vociferous. The PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT grew out of the public concern, especially in large cities, that children needed a protected, stimulating, and safe place to play. Increasingly, organized recreation programs were promoted by churches, law enforcement agencies, and civic associations in an attempt to help children resist street play and commercialized forms of play such as amusement arcades. By the 1880s and 1890s, church leaders widely encouraged "sanctified amusement and recreation" as alternatives to the undesirable play forms they were witnessing. Settlement houses also provided a variety of organized occasions and facilities for supervised play. Similarly, various ethnic associations organized athletic and gymnastic clubs such as the German Turnverein and Jewish SUMMER CAMPS.

The idea that city governments should organize and provide recreation programs, services, and facilities became widely accepted, and more and more states passed laws authorizing local governments to operate structured recreation programs. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, a number of important nonprofit organizations serving youth were formed. The National Association of Boys' Clubs was founded in 1906, the BOY SCOUTS and the Camp Fire Girls in 1910, and the GIRL SCOUTS in 1912. By the end of the 1920s, these organizations had become widely established in American life and were serving substantial numbers of children and youth. A number of urban school boards initiated structured after-school and VACATION play programs as early as the 1890s, and this trend continued throughout the twentieth century. Education for the "worthy use of leisure" was vigorously supported as an important goal for secondary schools throughout the United States. Between 1910 and 1930, thousands of school systems established extensive programs of extracurricular activities, particularly in SPORTS and hobbies.

Government Plays a Role: The Institutionalization of Organized Recreation

From the end of World War II to the turn of the twenty-first century, recreation programs evolved from a relatively minor area of government and nonprofit agency responsibility to an enormous, complex, profit-seeking enterprise. In the years immediately after World War II there was a dramatic rise in the birth rate, with millions of children and

youth flooding the schools and recreation centers. Within a few years, many of these new families moved from the central cities to homes in surrounding suburban areas. In these suburban communities, recreation for growing families became a significant concern. Most suburbs were quick to establish recreation departments to develop organized programs to serve children of all ages. At the same time, the population within the inner cities changed dramatically. An important development of the 1960s was the expanded role given to organized recreation as an important element in President Johnson's War on Poverty. In the mid-1960s, destructive riots erupted in a number of major American cities, and in many cases they stemmed from the overall lack of recreation facilities and programs in inner-city neighborhoods as compared to wealthier sections of the city. In an effort to prevent further rioting, many of the antipoverty programs of the mid- and late 1960s placed their emphasis on serving minority groups in urban slums through organized recreation programs. A new wave of legislation, including the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1964, and the Model Cities Program of 1967 provided funding for locally directed organized recreation programs to be conducted in depressed urban neighborhoods. Hundreds of millions of dollars were granted each year to local governments to provide recreation services aimed primarily at youth, including sports and social programs, cultural programs, and trips.

In addition, thousands of governmental and nonprofit organizations also expanded their organized programs for children and youth in response to these trends. While youth sports programs have existed in the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century, they played a relatively minor role in organized recreation. In the latter half of the twentieth century, organized sports programs for children and youth surged. Founded in 1939, Little League Baseball, with a televised World Series, has grown to be widely recognized. It was incorporated under a bill signed by President Johnson in 1964, and it is the only youth sports organization with a charter granted by the U.S. Congress. An estimated four million children from preschoolers and up participate in a variety of youth sports each year, organized, structured, and governed by a number of agencies, including municipal park and recreation departments, Little League baseball, Biddy Basketball, American Legion Football, Pop Warner football, U.S. Ice Hockey Association, American Youth Soccer Organization, Boys and Girls Clubs, Girls Incorporated, Boy Scouts of America, YMCAs, and YWCAs.

The Shift to Private and Commercial Sectors: Organized Recreation as Big Business

The organized recreation movement faced a serious threat in the 1970s and 1980s as the mounting cost of government led to tax protests and funding cutbacks in states and cities across the United States. In the mid-1970s a number of older industrial cities in the nation's "rust belt" began to suffer

from increased energy costs, welfare and crime problems, and expenses linked to rising infrastructure maintenance costs. Along with some suburban school districts confronted by skyrocketing enrollments and limited tax bases, such communities experienced budget deficits and the need to freeze expenditures. By the end of 1979, statutory provisions had been approved in thirty-six states that either reduced property, income, or sales taxes or put other types of spending limits in place. This resulted in major funding cutbacks for organized recreation services for children and youth.

The demand for organized recreation programs and services for children did not diminish, however, and it was addressed in a dramatically new way. Replacing earlier publicly subsidized recreation programs was a growing sector that provided an entrepreneurial, market-oriented approach to organized recreation. Organized recreation became an industry, and it was made up of a mosaic of thousands of businesses directly or subtly woven into the American economy. It was argued that in order to compete effectively, public recreation agencies had to adopt the philosophy and business-like methods of successful companies. This meant that at every stage of agency operations—from assessing potential target populations and planning programs to pricing, publicizing, and distributing services—sophisticated methods of analysis and marketing had to be used.

As a second type of response to the era of austerity that began in the 1980s, many organized recreation providers resorted to privatization—subcontracting or developing concession arrangements with private organizations—to carry out functions that they could not themselves fulfill as economically or efficiently. This has become a major thrust in American life as the role of government has been challenged. Numerous public departments have contracted with private businesses to operate swimming pools, golf courses, tennis complexes, marinas, community centers, and other facilities under contractual agreements that govern the standards they must meet and the rates they may impose. Organized recreation has now moved from the public sector to the private, as profit-making businesses now provide structured opportunities for children's play and recreation. Many have decried this shift, arguing that the bottom line is no longer the healthy and safe provision of play, but rather how much profit can be gleaned from providing recreation to youth.

See also: **Indoor Games; Street Games; Theories of Play.**

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LYNN A. BARNETT

Orphanages

In the middle of the fourteenth century, religious orders, confraternities, and municipalities established orphanages and FOUNDLING hospitals all over Europe as a response to the plague and to increasing poverty. A Parisian confraternity founded an orphanage, Hôpital du Saint-Esprit-en Grève, in 1366, and in Italy the Florentine Innocenti opened in 1444. Although most orphanages were established in western and southern Europe, a few were also established in eastern and northern Europe. The Church took care of abandoned and illegitimate infants, and from the fifteenth century on foundling hospitals could be found in many German, Italian, and French cities.

Orphanages in the United States

Few orphanages existed in the United States before the nineteenth century. Religious groups usually founded orphanages as a response to wars and epidemics. In 1734, the Ursuline Sisters, a French Catholic order, turned their school in New Orleans into an orphanage to care for children left by an Indian massacre at Natchez. In 1737, the followers of the German missionary AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE established the Salzburger orphanage in Ebenezer, Georgia. A year later, the Anglican reverend George Whitefield established an orphanage in Bethesda, Georgia. By the early nineteenth century, about two dozen more had been built in big cities, and from the 1830s on orphanages opened rapidly in most cities in the country.

Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration contributed to the proliferation of child-care institutions. In pre-industrial America, orphans were indentured to foster families in exchange for their work. But during the nineteenth century, growing towns with struggling immigrants could not rely on indentured service to solve the problem of orphaned and homeless children. Wage laborers experienced periods of unemployment, and often succumbed to illness and accidents, creating large groups of children with no parents or with parents who were unable to care for them. Religion and ethnicity separated the immigrants from the towns' residents. Catholic immigrants feared the influence of Protestant families over their children. Within the Catholic Church, the Germans resented the Irish and preferred to establish German institutions. Later on, other Catholic immigrants (Italians, Poles, French Canadians) also established orphanages to preserve their culture and language. Non-denominational orphanages usually were built by groups of Protestant churches to serve established nonimmigrant communities.

By the mid-nineteenth century education was emphasized over work, and middle-class women, who dedicated their time to nurturing their children and doing charity work, were actively involved in social issues pertaining to children. They played an important part in the antebellum reform movement, from the 1830s to 1860s. The reformers, responding to growing urban poverty and influenced by the transcendentalists, sought to provide shelter and education in the midst of nature for orphaned, neglected, abused, abandoned, and delinquent children. They believed that separating children from adults in almshouses, placing them in institutions in rural areas, structuring their activities, and educating them would turn them into good citizens. For children who had already experienced a life of vice in the city, the reformers established industrial homes, houses of refuge, and reformatories with an emphasis on work and vocational education. The innocent poor—orphanded, abandoned, and neglected children—were educated in orphanages. Some institutions were defined by gender and others had age restrictions. By 1860 orphanages could be found in almost all states of the union. Only a few new states, and small states without urban centers, did not have any orphanages.

Post-Civil War Orphanages

After the Civil War, states became involved in building orphanages for the war orphans, which later included orphans of the Spanish-American War. As industry expanded rapidly and immigration increased, more children lost one or both parents to accidents, illness, and despair. Jewish orphanages and fraternal orphanages were established, as well as county orphanages financed by local governments. African-American and Indian-American communities built orphanages for their children. Philanthropists outside these communities also established orphanages specifically for racial minorities (black, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Indian Americans). A few orphanages accommodated racially mixed populations.

States without public orphanages (New York, California, and Maryland) placed their wards in private institutions and paid for their board. But most private child-care institutions were supported by contributions from individuals, the children's surviving parent or relatives, and their communities, with little or no aid from the state. Boards of trustees, whose members were the respectable and wealthy citizens of the community, ran the orphanages. They usually volunteered their service, considering it a religious and communal obligation. They raised funds, made policies, admitted children, and hired and supervised the superintendent and staff. During the nineteenth century, the superintendents were educators or religious leaders who viewed their work as a vocation. Many stayed in their positions for decades, shaping their institutions' policies, maintaining contacts with their communities, and providing stability and continuity of care.

By the Progressive Era (1890–1920), the superintendents of orphanages were graduates of the evolving discipline of social work, specializing in the new field of CHILD CARE. Orphanages at the end of the nineteenth century were considered the best method of care for dependent children; their popularity increased and single poor parents often regarded them as places they could leave their children temporarily until circumstances improved, or as places where their children could get a good education. Many orphanages became crowded, and some restricted admission to only full and half-orphan children. The majority of children in orphanages in the late nineteenth century had at least one parent living. Those who had both parents living had been placed by the court, by a welfare agency on account of abuse and neglect, or by parents who were unable or unwilling to take care of them. Parents often used the courts to secure admission to institutions by declaring their children delinquent or incorrigible.

Many orphanages did not admit young children. Few orphanages had nurseries. Big cities had foundling hospitals, but single working mothers often used baby farms for their newborns. In baby farms, foster mothers nursed the babies, waited for them to die, or sold them for adoption. The death rates in all infant institutions were staggering, either because the abandoned children arrived at the hospital already starved and sick from exposure to the elements or because CONTAGIOUS DISEASES such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, and whooping cough caused high mortality rates, especially among infants. FOUNDLINGS who survived early childhood and were not adopted were transferred to orphanages. Unlike infant institutions, the mortality rates in orphanages were low, despite epidemics and diseases. Children in orphanages generally enjoyed far better medical care, nutrition, hygiene, and fresh air than were available in the neighborhoods from which they had come.

Late nineteenth-century reformers viewed children as a key for reforming and redeeming the republic. These “child savers” fought against child labor and for compulsory education, playgrounds, and libraries in poor urban neighborhoods. Orphanages played an important role in that reform. By the early twentieth century, many orphanages had playgrounds, libraries, athletic facilities, musical training, recreation, and vocational education. Children were either schooled inside the orphanage or attended neighborhood public schools. Talented students attended high schools and were encouraged to obtain a college education.

Orphanages differed in the kind of population they housed, based on the children’s ethnicity, religion, class, and gender, and sometimes on academic ability. But although there was no single model of the Progressive orphanage, they all strove to give their children an edge in life through education.

The Attack on Orphanages

By the late nineteenth century, some reformers began to attack orphanages for being overly regimented and sheltering their children too long. Influenced by social Darwinism, Amos Warner, the prominent social welfare researcher, argued in *American Charities* (1875) that clustering children with similar backgrounds bred pauperism, and that institutionalized children were not prepared adequately for life struggles. He advocated dispersing the children into families. Beginning in 1854, American reformer CHARLES LORING BRACE had been sending dependent children from New York to live with and work in families in the Midwest. These PLACING-OUT operations, carried out by the NEW YORK CHILDREN’S AID SOCIETY and copied in other cities, were later known as the ORPHANS’ TRAINS. Children’s Aid Societies continued the tradition of indenture and were the precursor to FOSTER CARE. Some children were adopted and some were exploited. Many lost contact with their natural families and were barely supervised by the agency after they were placed. By contrast, orphanages rarely sought to break up families; most encouraged connections with families and kept siblings together. The majority of children returned to their families once circumstances changed. Parents, and especially immigrant parents, preferred orphanages to giving their children to Children’s Aid societies.

Progressive-era reformers intensified their criticism of orphanages, blaming them for obliterating individuality. In 1909, at a White House conference called by President Theodore Roosevelt to discuss children’s welfare, two hundred social workers declared that the best method of caring for dependent children was at home or in an alternative family. Institutions, they said, should be considered the last resort. For children who needed an alternative home, they suggested placements in screened, unpaid foster homes under the supervision of social workers. The children were expected to attend school and work for their board.

Orphanages responded to the criticisms by striving to create homelike institutions. They broke the large congregate bedrooms into small units, built cottages in which small groups of children lived with a home mother, relaxed the discipline, added more recreation and enrichment programs, and cultivated children’s individual talents. Orphanages that could not modernize were closed or consolidated. The remaining institutions attempted to be boarding schools for dependent children.

Post-World War I Orphanages

From the 1920s on, charities started to close their institutions, creating foster care agencies adhering to the social work preference for foster care over institutionalization. Catholic Charities resisted the trend and was slow to change. The 1910s pension laws for widows and their children allowed many single mothers to keep their children at home, and the restrictions on immigration in the early 1920s re-

duced the number of dependent children. But during the 1930s, orphanages became crowded again. The Depression years depleted the institutions' resources and forced them to place out children in foster families. The 1935 Aid for Dependent Children legislation made it possible for more families to care for children whom they might otherwise have had to place in orphanages. By then, many orphanages had shifted their mission to caring for children with mental, emotional, and physical problems. Social workers preferred to put healthy children in foster families and pay for their board. Disabled children were left in institutions. By the 1950s, most states had taken responsibility for the care of their dependent children, foster care had developed special care for disabled children, and orphanages had become residential treatment centers and temporary shelters until foster families were located.

The anti-institution movement of the 1960s closed most of the remaining orphanages. Federal Aid for Families with Dependent Children legislation (AFDC), which began in the 1960s, aimed at preserving biological families and preventing children from being placed out.

But the number of children in foster care did not diminish, and by the 1980s foster care was in crisis. The system faced a shortage of foster parents, inadequate supervision, high staff turnover, and children who were moved from one placement to another. In some cases there was also abuse, neglect, and death of children in foster homes. In 1994, Congressman Newt Gingrich, suggested a return to orphanages. His remarks reopened a century-old debate. Opponents looked at research done on residential treatments from the 1950s on and pointed to problems that arose when troubled children were concentrated in one place. Supporters emphasized the permanency, family preservation, and educational benefits that the Progressive Era's orphanages had provided. During the 1980s, historians and graduates of orphanages discovered that orphanages were discarded with little research and that the century-old debate was largely based on fiction and movies. The combination of their research and personal accounts cast institutions in a much more positive light than that in which they had previously been depicted. Some states and private philanthropists started building residential academies for preteens and teenagers who were not likely to be adopted or find placements. Others responded to the renewed debate and the continuing crisis in foster care by terminating parental rights in order to release children for adoption, by establishing permanent foster care units, and by enhancing services for families in crisis.

See also: **Abandonment; Baby Farming; Child Saving; Dependent Children; Orphans; White House Conferences on Children.**

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NURITH ZMORA

Orphans

In the past, numerous children were orphaned. In societies where people married early and had many children, and a high death rate was common in the adult population, many children lost one of their parents, and some both, before coming of age.

Orphans suffered from a higher death rate than other children did. They often had to live outside of standard households, either because they were placed in a foster fami-

ly or, as was more often the case, because they were placed as servants or apprentices at an earlier age than was common. Charitable societies first, then towns or nations, organized to improve these children's living conditions and to make it easier for them to become integrated into society.

How Many Orphans Were There?

The number of orphaned children in a society is connected to the political and economic environment (war, famine, epidemic) and to the demographic situation. As the death rate declined from the seventeenth century onwards, as people began to marry later in many Western countries, and as people died at an older age on average, children lost their parents later and the number of underage orphans decreased.

Starting in early modern times, orphans can be precisely numbered. Estimates concerning some French, English, or Spanish villages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicate that at least one-third of the children lost one of their parents during childhood. In nineteenth-century Milan, one child out of two had lost at least one parent by age twenty. In nineteenth-century China, almost one-third of boys had lost one parent or both by age fifteen. In early modern times, the younger children were, the greater chance they stood of losing their mothers rather than their fathers, because many women died in childbirth. In western Europe, a woman's risks of dying within the sixty days following childbirth declined from 1 percent in the seventeenth century to 0.5 percent in 1900. After age twelve, children's risk of losing their fathers increased due to the higher death rate among the male population. In nineteenth-century Venice, at age five, 5.4 percent of children had lost their fathers, 6 percent their mothers, and 1 percent both. At age fifteen, 22 percent had lost their father, 15 percent their mother, and 6 percent both parents.

Weakened Children

All studies indicate a higher death rate among orphans than among other children. In addition to emotional and psychological trauma, the impact on their living conditions was serious. Among the working class, the father's death generally resulted in the household's fall into destitution.

Most of the time, children were worse off if they lost their mothers; this phenomenon was recognized in nineteenth-century Europe, China, and Japan. For example, in Linköping, Sweden, in the nineteenth century, 60 percent of the children who had lost their mothers before their first birthdays died before age fifteen, as opposed to 30 percent of those who had lost their fathers, and 25 percent of those who still had both parents. The consequences of the mother's death could sometimes be mitigated by the father's prompt remarriage.

The child's age at the time of the parent's death was also a factor: the younger the child was when the father or mother died, the higher the mortality risk. In 1915 Baltimore, the

death rate among children who had lost their mothers before their second month of life was 526 out of 1000. In addition, orphans' survival seems to have been linked to their sex because the child's sex influenced the intervention of family or outside help. Girls were more prepared than boys to take over cleaning and cooking and they could take better care of themselves even at a young age. Therefore, more help was usually offered to boys, but the survival of boys and girls depended on familial arrangements. A few surveys also mention the role played by religion. For example, in nineteenth-century Venice the death rate among children in general and orphans in particular was twice as low among Jews. This seems to have been connected to various factors, including personal HYGIENE, attitudes towards illness and medicine, and the efficiency of the community's institutions in the event of a parent's death.

Orphans and the Household

When a child's father or mother dies, the household's survival is endangered and several possibilities can be considered: (1) the household may survive, deprived of the deceased parent; (2) the household may be altered by the departure of some of the children or the arrival of a newcomer (aunt, mother-in-law, etc) who is willing to help the surviving parent; (3) the household may be recomposed by the arrival of a stepfather or stepmother, sometimes accompanied by his or her children, if the surviving parent remarries; or (4) the household may be scattered, with the orphans being separated from their surviving parent. From the sixteenth century onward in European societies widowers generally remarried more often and more quickly than widows. Therefore, the recomposed household in which orphans were brought up included a stepmother more often than a stepfather. A few surveys hint that orphans, more often than other children, may have been the victims of sexual abuse especially from their stepfathers or stepmothers, but the sources offer little of substance.

When the father died, the widow could become head of the household, but this role could also be transferred to an orphan, generally a boy in his late teens. In preindustrial Japan, orphan boys could succeed their fathers as head of the household as early as age sixteen, but these orphans had to take on an adult's responsibilities precociously. In countries where this was possible, the orphans sometimes benefited from an early emancipation.

In the event of the father's death, it was sometimes difficult for a widow who did not remarry to keep many of her children with her. Consequently orphans left home precociously more often than other children. GRANDPARENTS seem to have played a very limited part in the accommodation of young orphans, probably because they were so seldom still alive. Orphans were often placed as servants or apprentices. However, family solidarity seems to have resulted in orphans being placed whenever possible as servants or apprentices with relatives.

From Family to Collective Support

During the Middle Ages and well into the seventeenth century, because little material support was available from charitable societies, orphans from modest backgrounds were sometimes doomed to live in destitution. Novelists have dwelt on the portrait of the homeless boy reduced to begging or DELINQUENCY, or the homeless girl forced into prostitution. But institutions were gradually organized to look after them. In many European countries, boards of guardians were set up; these were generally composed of the orphan's relatives and they were responsible for the orphan's education and for the safekeeping of his or her property.

One of the first people appealed to for care of the orphaned child was the godfather or godmother. However, the GODPARENT's role as guardian seemed to decline after the end of the Middle Ages in western Europe, although it probably remained strong in eastern and southern Europe. In France, the revolution instituted the civil BAPTISM, in which the godfather and godmother publicly and solemnly pledged to provide for the child's needs until he or she came of age should the parents die or become unable to look after him or her.

Orphans could also be adopted, a practice already documented in ancient Greece. In early modern times, the godfather and godmother were the first to be appealed to, which is why they had to be chosen from among relatively young people from a good background. In France, famous people such as Montaigne, Corneille, and Voltaire are known to have adopted their orphaned godchildren.

The orphan could also be adopted by a hospital or a charitable society. In Europe, this mainly occurred from the sixteenth century onwards. In western Europe, there is evidence of some orphans who had been entrusted to hospitals being adopted by middle-class people unrelated to them. This seems to have remained in practice until the eighteenth century, notably in Germany. In Venice, the first ORPHANAGE was created in 1811 as part of a campaign meant to reduce begging. Before that, vagrant orphans would be locked up with tramps and people with disabilities in the main hospitals, which were more like detention centers than treatment centers. To be accepted in Venice's orphanage, an orphan had to be seven to twelve years old, legitimate, born and living in Venice, in good health, and fit for work. Because the orphanage had limited accommodation, other orphans, particularly those who were very young, ill, illegitimate, or immigrants, were rejected. Though they could get some help from other charitable societies, which occasionally provided clothes, food, or shelter, they had to rely mainly on their relatives and connections.

In modern Europe illegitimate children had a high risk of being abandoned. For illegitimate orphans the only hope for survival was to be taken in by a hospital or charitable institution. Most orphaned illegitimate children, like thou-

sands of abandoned children, were placed in a caretaker's home and lost contact with their families. Others were confined to workhouses where they had to work to pay for the help they received.

In the nineteenth century, states became more and more active in providing for orphans, particularly by financing and controlling the running of orphanages. The particular case of war orphans must be mentioned—those whose fathers were killed in action or were crippled for life. For example, after World War I France created a special status for war orphans, who were called *Pupilles de la Nation*. Adopted by the state, these orphans benefited from material and moral support that could extend beyond their legal majority.

Fortunately, the living conditions of orphans improved during the twentieth century, at least in developed countries. Because adult mortality among parents of minor children is low, orphans are less numerous and most orphanages have shut down. Surviving parents often receive support from insurance and public funds; the welfare state will attempt to provide education and care if both parents have died and relatives are unable to care for the child; and adoption of orphans by childless couples (which was not allowed by law in the nineteenth century in many countries) has become frequent since the last half of the twentieth century.

See also: Abandonment; Adoption in the United States; Foundlings; Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States; Stepparents in the United States.

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GUY BRUNET

Orphan Trains

The term *orphan trains* refers to the mid-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century method of placing destitute, urban children in the homes of largely rural families. Mid- and late-nineteenth-century reformers were increasingly concerned with the accumulating social ills of an advancing industrial society, including child poverty. Growing numbers of mostly immigrant, poor children filled the streets of nineteenth-century urban America. For instance, in 1849 approximately 3,000 HOMELESS CHILDREN lived and sometimes worked on the sidewalks of New York City. CHARLES LORING BRACE was one of the most well-known of the reformers to respond to the plight of these children. In 1853 Brace established his famed Protestant child welfare organization, the Children's Aid Society (CAS) of New York, that provided an alternative to the almshouses, ORPHANAGES, and jails where destitute and vagrant children were typically housed. Initially, the voluntary CAS developed shelter and lodging centers for urban youth, provided vocational and religious instruction, and looked to place children in family homes within the city. Yet these solutions alone were not alone sufficient and the CAS soon began its experiment with its "Emigration Plan," which later became known as the orphan trains. The trains challenged the conventional practice of institutionalizing dependent children, and their advocates argued that children were best cared for in family settings. Most scholars consider the trains the origin of modern FOSTER CARE.

Children who rode the orphan trains were usually sent in groups out to rural America where local residents greeted them and took them home via an informal auction. The term ORPHAN is actually a misnomer, as less than half of the children who rode the trains were actually orphans and approximately 25 percent had two living parents. Brace believed that country living and training could prevent the development of negative habits and vices characteristic of the evil city. This partially reflected the period's romanticization of rural

America and the West. The system deeply resembled earlier indentureship practices, although Brace and the CAS rejected this term. In contrast to indentureship, the CAS or the natural parent remained the guardian of the placed children and children were theoretically able to leave if problems arose. Like indentured children, those who rode the orphan trains were expected to work in their new family homes, which mirrored other informal nineteenth-century fostering arrangements. Many of the boys performed farm labor and many of the girls engaged in domestic work. Yet the new families were also expected to treat the children like "one of their own" and provide love as well as shelter.

Brace enjoyed great fame for his PLACING-OUT system, but he was far from alone in his practice. Agencies such as the Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute of Boston actually developed a rural placing-out system before the CAS did and many other groups followed in Brace's footsteps, some even as far away as Western Europe. The New York Foundling Hospital, a Catholic organization, was one of the largest American agencies to employ a like system. Catholic agencies were highly critical of the CAS and accused the agency of placing Catholic children in Protestant homes in an effort at conversion. NY Foundling was successful at finding Catholic homes for Catholic children, but its task was more difficult given that fewer Catholic families lived in rural areas.

Along with religion, the racism of the period shaped the fate of children riding the orphan trains. As author Stephen O'Connor argues, the CAS and other orphan train programs generally neglected the African-American community, although the nationally known Colored Orphan Asylum developed a similar program and placed their wards with African-American farmers close to New York. There are instances of the CAS placing African-American children, but these were generally children who could "pass" for white and many of them encountered racism within their host families. A national scandal erupted when NY Foundling placed white Catholic children of European descent with Mexican families in Arizona. The children were forcibly removed from their placements by a group of local Anglo men, the incident almost erupted into violence, and NY Foundling endured highly negative press as a result.

Thus, while the orphan trains enjoyed significant support, they were not without their critics. In addition to sectarian rivalries, others challenged the quality and outcomes of the orphan train placements. The CAS often boasted of astronomically high "success rates" by noting the significant accomplishment of some of its children. Although it is difficult to evaluate the orphan trains as the agencies engaged in little systematic research, historians suggest that many children served through the programs found loving families and went on to distinguished careers. For instance, John Brady, the governor of Alaska, was a CAS ward. Yet historians also

recognize that many children were exploited and abused. Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century critics argued that orphan train programs and the CAS in particular provided little oversight of their placements. CAS agents rarely visited homes after the children were placed, partially due to a lack of funds and logistical complications. Although agents claimed to maintain communication through writing, it was not uncommon for the agencies to lose all contact after initial placement. Critics also argued that the foster families were rarely well screened and agency representatives briefly interviewed the families—if at all—and collected only the most superficial information about them. While CAS and other agencies became more careful about family screening and oversight, this did not appease detractors and by 1900 several midwestern states adopted legislation limiting and regulating the placement of children. In the Progressive Era a new generation of children's advocates suggested that dependent children should remain with their families of origin whenever possible, striking a deep blow to the placing out philosophy. Although the trains continued to run through

the first decades of the twentieth century, they served relatively few children in these later years. The last CAS orphan train ran its route in 1929. By then, the orphan trains had served more than 200,000 children. Like the child welfare system of the late twentieth century, the orphan trains leave a mixed legacy and speak to the complexities of assisting children in need.

See also: **Aid to Dependent Children; Apprenticeship; Dependent Children; New York Children's Aid Society; White House Conferences on Children.**

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Laura Curran

P

Pacifier

The oral behaviors of infancy, thumb sucking, and the sucking of pacifiers (or *dummies*, as they are called in British Commonwealth countries), have been noted for centuries. It appears that mothers have always been aware that sucking provides comfort, sleep, and pleasure to babies. Sucking rags were described in the sixteenth century. These were later replaced with teething rings and corals, and increasingly with the rubber pacifier after 1900. A number of fifteenth-century Italian paintings depict thumb sucking, and thumb sucking and blanket attachment are the characteristics of the Linus character in the contemporary cartoon *Peanuts*. For most of this time, such oral behaviors have been seen as distinctive of infancy and a source of comfort and pleasure for both the child and parent. But this benign view changed in the late nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century. Members of the medical profession began to exhibit marked hostility to these infantile habits and in 1926 they influenced the French Chamber of Deputies to carry a motion prohibiting the sale of the *sucette* (pacifier).

This change in attitude was associated with two beliefs: one, that this type of infantile sucking was a threat to the health and development of babies and posed a risk of both infection and damage to the teeth and jaws, and two, that sucking provided the infant with a pleasure that was inherently sexual. These ideas were formed against a background of a medical and societal interest in child behavior and its implications for specifically hereditary degeneration, but also for a possible general societal degeneration manifested by poverty, declining industries, and, in the United Kingdom, poor performance in the Boer War (1899–1902). The analysis of child behavior was in turn influenced by theories of INFANT SEXUALITY and its implications for the moral development of the child and the subsequent adult.

These oral behaviors are unique to infancy and had previously been judged to be normal in that context, but this

changed with the new emphasis on potential consequences for the adult whom the child would become. Such common habits could now be defined as abnormal in order to prevent future pathology. Popular belief therefore made a transition from seeing sucking as a comfort and a sign of health to a medical problem, which had to be corrected to produce normal adults.

Thus in the late nineteenth century thumb sucking and associated oral behaviors emerged in the literature of the diseases of children as pathology: a pathology of ugly dental malformation and worrying infant sexual behavior. The issue was first mentioned in 1878 by an American physician, Thomas Chandler, as a cause of mouth and tooth deformities. Other authors subsequently associated such facial deformities with negative moral development. A German pediatrician, S. Lindner, introduced a sexual element, associating it with MASTURBATION. His writings were cited by SIGMUND FREUD, who identified thumb sucking as the classic example of his idea of infant autoeroticism and as a manifestation of infant sexuality. In pediatric texts, masturbation and thumb sucking became grouped together first under injurious habits of infancy and subsequently within functional neurological diseases. A number of aspects were repeatedly emphasized: the dangers for future neurological development; the pleasure a child derived from it, and the laxity shown toward it by parents, nurses, and some physicians. The medical profession was urged to reeducate parents and make them see the habit for the danger physicians believed it posed.

These attitudes persisted in the first third of the twentieth century. Treatment was directed at breaking the habit through destruction of the pacifier and diversion techniques for thumb sucking, including cotton mittens and sleeves pinned or sewed down over the hand. Over the remaining part of the century, however, the attitude gradually changed so that sucking behavior was seen increasingly as a common and harmless activity of infancy and early childhood. Indeed it was often identified as a necessary part of development and

the thumb or pacifier a transitional object, a psychoanalytical concept relating to the transition from inner reality to external life. At the same time, residual ambivalent attitudes can still be detected in medical and child-rearing texts. In essence, the representation of such infant behaviors has at any one time reflected the prevailing view of child rearing, child sexuality, and child development.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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JONATHAN GILLIS

Parades

Any nation, city, village, or religious or ethnic group must articulate its sense of community. Since antiquity, processions, pageants, and parades have been one important way of making communal bonds visible, and children have always played a significant though changing role in these celebrations, in which communities say who they are and where they are going.

Ancient and Medieval Celebrations

In his *Laws*, PLATO states that nothing is of more benefit to the state than the mutual acquaintance of its citizens. As manifested by the frieze around the temple of Parthenon, Athens demonstrated its unity in the procession of the great Panathenaen festival. The Greek word for procession, *pompē*, was taken over by the Romans as *pompa*, which can still be found in some form in most European languages, as for example in "pomp and circumstance."

Originally the processions were religious. But their form has survived for centuries, easily metamorphosing from religious processions into royal entries, popular festivals, and, since the beginning of the twentieth century, commercial events such as the American parade.

In ancient as well as modern parades the city very often functions as a theatrical setting. The drama begins with the arrival of the parade into this scene along the major thoroughfares. The protagonist is welcomed by people waving with palm leaves, flags, or similar props. The protagonist is followed by long lines of people and "floats" that make the lavishly decorated streets come alive. Along the streets and at the destination of the parade, children stand praising and chanting.

History shows, however, that communities on a smaller scale are also in need of parading their collective memory or their collective longings. If urban parades often reflect the politics of those in power or the aspirations of those out of power, parades in villages and thinly populated areas either express local conditions or serve to establish a feeling of community among people who do not get together on a daily basis.

Parades are characterized by sociability, participation, and sometimes a temporary abolition of the existing order. But they also often teach moral lessons. Integral to all processions are the moral lessons told by the tableaux displayed on the floats. These lessons may be primarily religious, but they may also be military, political, nostalgic, utopian; efforts are made to give these lessons a spectacular shape. In the early Middle Ages, for example, around 800, a meeting between the Pope and the emperor Karl the Great was celebrated by an entry into Rome, where they were received by a complete and concrete enumeration of all the classes of this society—clerics, political rulers, the military, the people, and lastly the schoolchildren. Medieval carnival celebrations, on the other hand, turned the world upside down and sometimes placed children first in the procession, electing "boy bishops." In the later Middle Ages, the growing importance of the burghers (middle-class citizens) was reflected in the processions.

The early modern age (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries) saw a growing gap between popular culture and elite cultures, but in spite of political efforts to eradicate popular culture, processions continued to be an important part of city life. If the city was torn by religious, political, or economic tensions, this might be reflected in rival parades.

Parades in America

Still, however, processions remained primarily a tool for shaping a sense of community, as seen in the development of the American parade. In small town America the family is at the center of the parade. Everybody takes part in the procession, and if the parade features religious or patriotic symbols this of course makes the children feel the links between family, church, and nation. But these parades may also offer a playful comment on everyday life, as in the New Orleans Parade during Mardi Gras, where African Americans dress up in stupendous feather costumes as American Indians, staging a kind of racial theater. Thus in a parade the child participant not only experiences the reality of metaphors such as "joining your neighbor," "marching together," and "standing side by side" but also learns that social identities and relations may change.

In the rapidly growing cities of nineteenth-century America this ritualized, collective movement took a distinctive form. Inspired by military parades, these celebrations provided a tool for asserting diverse social identities. Holidays such as Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday, and

more local anniversaries were celebrated by different nationalities, occupations, and organizations. Whether national, ethnic, occupational, or moral (for example, the temperance movement), each social identity would form a marching unit within the parade. In contrast to most European processions, these parades did not have a plot or a goal such as arriving at a temple or handing over the keys of the city; participants simply wanted to proclaim their social identities to spectators along the streets.

The display of these identities often demonstrated the power of American society to synthesize its various components, but could also demonstrate uncompromising differences. After an 1876 Centennial parade in New York City, the *New York Tribune* noted “incongruous” units were assembled in the parade, including German bands, Irish temperance societies, Spanish, French, and Italian associations, trade unions, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In later years, as more and more parades became ethnic rituals rather than broad civic celebrations, the potential for conflict—both among different ethnic groups and with authorities—increased. Carnival and control form the two poles of the history of parades. In modern New York City the Irish are still allowed to parade down Fifth Avenue on Saint Patrick’s Day, but for many other ethnic groups it has become increasingly difficult to be allowed to use the prominent parts of the city. It is doubtful whether parades kept under close surveillance by the police have the same appeal to children as those in which the child enjoys the experience of being part of an enlarged, playful family.

Rise of Commercialism in Parades

At the turn of the twentieth century, politicians and merchants saw a common interest in basing parades on the identity of the consumer. The parade would show the commitment of the city to the “democratizing” commercial culture, and children would embody this democracy, which paid no heed to social, ethnic, or religious distinctions. The religious sinner, the nationalist, and the worker were replaced by the consumer, particularly the child consumer.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Thanksgiving Day had been celebrated in New York City by so-called ragamuffin parades, probably originating in European carnival traditions. Here, scarcity was the point of departure, with masquerading children begging for money. During the first decades of the twentieth century, however, abundance became the point of departure, with the great department stores arranging spectacular parades. In 1924 Macy’s started its gigantic Thanksgiving Day parade, and during the Depression of the 1930s this parade, with its enormous floating balloons of comic figures such as Felix the Cat and the Katzenjammer Kids became immensely popular, attracting an audience of over 1 million along the parade route.

Commercial parades reflected a new attention to children as a special group. Department stores allied themselves with



Thanksgiving parades date back to the nineteenth century. The most well-known, Macy’s Thanksgiving parade, was founded in 1924 and continues to be popular at the start of the twenty-first century. © Gail Mooney/CORBIS.

psychologists and other experts in order to capitalize on this attention and to counter the still prevalent belief that “spoiling” children with too many TOYS would make them sinful. Thus when Macy’s organized an extensive exposition of toys in 1928, they enlisted the help of child experts such as Sidonie Gruenberg, president of the Child Study Association, who argued that children are beyond good and bad, and that though their instincts must be channeled, they have a right to imaginative PLAY and should not suffer from “repressive penalties imposed by an arbitrary puritanism which suggests every desire and impulse of being Satanic.”

The parades turned Gruenberg’s suggestions into reality, and department stores profited from the close connection between commercial culture and Santa Claus. But at present the idea of a parade as a free space for imaginative play seems to be counteracted by the reduction of children to spectators being held under close surveillance by armed police.

See also: **Consumer Culture; Theme Parks; Vacations; Zoos.**

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MARTIN ZERLANG

Parenting

Anxiety is the hallmark of modern parenthood. Early-twenty-first century parents agonize incessantly about their children's physical health, personality development, psychological well-being, and academic performance. From birth, parenthood is colored by apprehension. Contemporary parents worry about SUDDEN INFANT DEATH SYNDROME, stranger ABDUCTIONS, and physical and sexual abuse, as well as more mundane problems, such as SLEEP disorders and HYPERACTIVITY.

Parental anxiety about children's well-being is not a new development, but parents' concerns have taken dramatically different forms over time. Until the mid-nineteenth century, parents were primarily concerned about their children's health, religious piety, and moral development. In the late nineteenth century, parents became increasingly attentive to their children's emotional and psychological well-being, and during the twentieth century, parental anxieties dwelt on children's personality development, gender identity, and their ability to interact with peers. Today, much more than in the past, guilt-ridden, uncertain parents worry that their children not suffer from boredom, low self-esteem, or excessive school pressures.

Shifting Assumptions about Parenting

In the early twenty-first century, we consider early childhood life's formative stage, and believe that children's experiences during the first two or three years of life mold their personality, lay the foundation for future cognitive and psychological development, and leave a lasting imprint on their EMOTIONAL LIFE. We also assume that children's development proceeds through a series of physiological, psychological, social, and cognitive stages; that even very young children have a capacity to learn; that PLAY serves valuable developmental functions; and that growing up requires children to separate emotionally and psychologically from their

parents. These assumptions differ markedly from those held two or three centuries previously. Before the mid-eighteenth century, most adults betrayed surprisingly little interest in the very first years of life and AUTOBIOGRAPHIES revealed little nostalgia for childhood. Also adults were far less age-conscious than they have since become, and tended to dismiss children's play as trivial and insignificant.

The basic assumptions that underlie parenting are cultural constructs that arise at particular points in history. Parenting has evolved through a series of successive and overlapping phases, from a seventeenth-century view of children as "adults-in-training" to the early-nineteenth-century emphasis on character formation; the late-nineteenth century notion of SCIENTIFIC CHILD REARING, stressing regularity and systematization; the mid-twentieth-century focus on fulfilling children's emotional and psychological needs; and the late-twentieth-century stress on maximizing children's intellectual and social development.

Childhood in Colonial America

Diversity has always been a hallmark of American parenting. At no time was this more readily apparent than during the colonial era. Parenting took quite different forms among Native Americans, enslaved African Americans, and European colonists of various regions and religious backgrounds.

European observers were shocked by the differences between their child-rearing customs and those of the Indian peoples of the Eastern woodlands. There were certain superficial similarities. Native peoples, like Europeans, surrounded pregnancy with rituals to ensure the newborn's health, and practiced rites following a childbirth that Europeans regarded as perversions of baptism and CIRCUMCISION (such as rubbing an infant in bear's fat and piercing the newborn's tongue, nose, or ears). The differences in child rearing were especially striking. Girls were not expected to spin, weave, or knit, as they were in Europe, and boys were not expected to farm. Nor were children subjected to corporal punishment, since this was believed to produce timidity and submissiveness.

Maturation among Indians was much more enmeshed in religious and communal rituals than among Europeans. For boys, there were ceremonies to mark one's first tooth, killing of one's first large game, and a vision quest, in which boys went alone into the wilderness to find a guardian spirit. Many girls were secluded at the time of first menstruation. Among certain Southeastern tribes, there was a ceremony called *buskimaw* through which boys and girls shed their childish identity and assumed adult status.

English colonists regarded children as "adults-in-training." They recognized that children differed from adults in their mental, moral, and physical capabilities, and drew a distinction between childhood, an intermediate stage they called youth, and adulthood. But they did not rigidly

segregate children by age. Size and physical strength were more important than chronological age in defining a young person's roles and responsibilities. Parents wanted children to speak, read, reason, and contribute to their family's economic well-being as soon as possible.

Infancy was regarded as a state of deficiency. Unable to speak or stand, infants lacked two essential attributes of full humanity. Parents discouraged infants from crawling, and placed them in "walking stools," similar to modern walkers. To ensure proper adult posture, young girls wore leather corsets and parents placed rods along the spines of very young children of both sexes. The colonists rarely swaddled their infants, and not surprisingly some youngsters fell into fireplaces or wells.

Colonial America's varied religious cultures exerted a profound influence on child rearing. The New England Puritans encouraged children to exhibit religious piety and to conquer their sinful nature. To encourage children to reflect on their morality, the Puritans spoke frequently about death. They also took children to hangings so that they would contemplate the consequences of sin. To encourage youthful piety, Puritan parents held daily household prayers; read books, such as James Janeway's *Token for Children*, offering examples of early conversion; and expected even young children to attend Sabbath services. One of the Puritans' most important legacies was the notion that parents were responsible not only for their children's physical well-being, but also for their choice of vocation and the state of their soul.

In the Middle Colonies (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), a very different pattern of parenting arose. Quaker households, in particular, were much less authoritarian and patriarchal than the Puritans'. They were also more isolated since fewer families took in other families' children as servants as Puritans did. Instead of emphasizing sinfulness, Quaker parents sought to gently nurture each child's "Light Within," the spark of divinity that they believed was implanted in each child's soul, through "holy conversation." Quaker parents, unlike those in New England, emphasized early independence, providing their children with land at a relatively early age.

In the Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia, a sharply skewed sex ratio and a high death rate produced patterns of parenting very different from those in the Middle Colonies or New England. Marriages in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake were brief, and orphanhood and step-parenthood were common. Fathers, who could not expect to see their children reach adulthood, granted their children economic independence at an early age. The seventeenth-century Chesapeake included large numbers of teenage indentured servants who were under very strict DISCIPLINE and frequently suffered corporal punishment.

Eighteenth-Century Ferment

During the eighteenth century, the world of childhood underwent dramatic shifts. Fewer first children were named for parents, who also abandoned the custom of NAMING later-born children for recently deceased SIBLINGS. Children also received middle names, suggesting a greater recognition of each child's individuality. Representations of childhood changed. Stiffly posed portraits depicting children as miniature adults gave way to more romantic depictions of childhood, showing young people playing or reading. Meanwhile, such educational toys as globes, jigsaw puzzles, and board games, appeared, as did children's books, with wide margins, large type, and pictures. Animal stories, morality tales, and science books sought to entertain as well as instruct.

Eighteenth-century child-rearing tracts suggest a shift in parental attitudes. Alongside an earlier emphasis on instilling religious piety, there was a growing stress on implanting virtue and a capacity for self-government by teaching "the Government of themselves, their Passions and Appetites." Many manuals embraced JOHN LOCKE's argument that "a Love of Credit, and an Apprehension of Shame and Disgrace" was much more effective in shaping children's behavior than physical beatings. Yet the eighteenth century also saw a growing obsession with MASTURBATION, following the publication in 1710 of *Onania: Or the Heinous Sin of Self Pollution*. As childhood became associated with asexual innocence, behavior that ran counter to this ideal was rigorously repressed.

Contrasting conceptions of childhood coexisted in eighteenth-century America. These included the Lockean notion of the child as a tabula rasa, or blank slate whose character could be shaped for good or bad; a Romantic association of childhood with purity, imagination, and organic wholeness; and an evangelical conception of children as potentially sinful creatures who needed to be sheltered from the evil influences of the outside world and whose willfulness must be broken in infancy. These views of childhood tended to be associated with distinct social groups. The evangelical emphasis on submission to authority and early conversion was most often found among rural Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian families. The southern gentry and northern merchants were especially likely to shower children with affection, since day-to-day discipline was in the hands of servants or slaves. Meanwhile, the middling orders, especially upwardly mobile farm, shopkeeping, and artisan families, emphasized self-control and internalized discipline.

The American Revolution accelerated antipatriarchal currents already underway. An emphasis on order and restraint gave way to a Romantic insistence on the importance of personal feeling and affection. Fewer parents expected children to bow or doff their hats in their presence or stand during meals. Instead of addressing parents as "sir" and "madam," children called them "papa" and "mama." By the

end of the eighteenth century, furniture specifically designed for children, painted in pastel colors and decorated with pictures of animals or figures from nursery rhymes, began to be widely produced, reflecting the popular notion of childhood as a time of innocence and playfulness.

According to the ideal of “republican motherhood” that flourished in the late eighteenth century, mothers were responsible for implanting the republican virtues of civility and self-restraint in their sons and ensuring that America’s republican experiment would not follow the path of the Greek and Roman Republics. To ensure that women could fulfill this responsibility late eighteenth century saw a surge in female academies and a marked increase in female literacy.

By the early nineteenth century, mothers in the rapidly expanding Northeastern middle class increasingly embraced an amalgam of earlier child-rearing ideas. From John Locke, they absorbed the notion that children were highly malleable creatures and that a republican form of government required parents to instill a capacity for self-government in their children. From JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU and the Romantic poets middle-class parents acquired the idea of childhood as a special stage of life, intimately connected with nature and purer and morally superior to adulthood. From the evangelicals, the middle class adopted the idea that the primary task of parenthood was to implant proper moral character in children and to insulate children from the corruptions of the adult world.

Parenting in Nineteenth-Century America

Early-nineteenth-century travelers reported that American children were far more independent and much less rigorously disciplined than their European counterparts. A British visitor, Frederick Marryat, offered a particularly shocking example. After a youngster disobeyed his father’s command, the man described his son as “a sturdy republican,” while “smiling at the boy’s resolute disobedience.”

Yet as early as the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a new kind of urban middle-class family, much more emotionally intense than in the past, was emerging. These families were much smaller than their colonial counterparts, as parents rapidly reduced the birth rate from an average seven to ten children in 1800 to five children in 1850 and three in 1900. These families were also more sharply divided along generational lines, as child rearing was increasingly concentrated in the early years of marriage. They were also more mother-centered, as fathers left home to go to work and mothers assumed nearly exclusive responsibility for child rearing. Meanwhile, middle-class children remained within their parents’ home longer than in the past. Instead of shifting back and forth between the home and work experiences outside the home, the young remained at home into their late teens or early twenties.

As socialization within the home was prolonged and intensified, child rearing became an increasingly self-conscious

activity—a development underscored by a proliferation of advice manuals, mothers’ magazines, and maternal societies, where pious mothers discussed methods for properly raising and disciplining children. The advice, which increasingly came from secular authorities rather than ministers, emphasized several themes. One was the crucial significance of the early years. As the Rev. Horace Bushnell wrote in 1843, “Let every Christian father and mother understand, when the child is three years old, that they have done more than half of what they will do for his character.” Another key theme was the critical importance of mothering. As Lydia Maria Child put it in 1832, her “every look, every movement, every expression does something toward forming the character of the little heir to immortal life.” The goals and methods of child rearing were conceived of in new terms. Mothers were to nurture children—especially sons—who were resourceful and self-directed; they were to do so by internalizing a capacity for inner discipline and self-control not through physical punishment, but through various forms of maternal influence, including maternal example, appeals to a child’s conscience, and threats to withdraw love.

Class, Ethnic, and Regional Diversity

At the same time that the northeastern middle class embraced the idea of intensive mothering and a sheltered childhood, very different patterns prevailed among slave, farm, frontier, mining, and urban working-class families. Their children actively contributed to their family’s well-being by hunting and fishing, assisting in parents’ work activities, tending gardens or livestock, toiling in mines or mills, scavenging or participating in street trades, and caring for younger siblings.

Parenting under SLAVERY was especially difficult. As a result of poor nutrition and heavy labor during pregnancy, half of all slave newborns weighed five-and-a-half pounds or less, or what we would consider dangerously underweight, and fewer than two out of three slave children reached the age of ten. Nearly half of the former slaves interviewed by the Works Progress Administration were raised apart from their father, either because he resided on another plantation, their mother was unmarried or widowed, or their father was a white man. By the time they reached the age of sixteen, fully a third of those interviewed had been sold or transferred to another owner.

Childhood represented a battlefield in which parents and masters competed over who would exercise primary authority over children. One of enslaved children’s harshest memories was discovering that their parents were helpless to protect them from abuse. Still, slave parents managed to convey a sense of pride to their children and to educate them about how to maneuver through the complexities of slavery. Through their naming patterns, transmission of craft skills, religious customs, music, and folklore, slave parents gave their children the will and skills necessary to endure slavery

and sustained a sense of history, morality, and distinctive identity.

Urban working-class and immigrant families depended for subsistence on a cooperative family economy in which all family members, including children, were expected to contribute to the family's material support. During the nineteenth century, as much as twenty percent of many working-class families' income was earned by children under the age of fifteen. Key decisions—regarding emigration, school attendance, and the timing of entry into the workforce and marriage—were based on family needs rather than individual choices, and working-class and immigrant parents frequently invoked their authority to ensure that children handed over their unopened paychecks.

Rural families also depended heavily on their children. On the western frontier, parents encouraged children to act independently and to assume essential family responsibilities at an early age. Even very young children were expected to perform essential tasks such as cutting hay; herding cattle and sheep; burning brush; gathering eggs; churning butter; and assisting with plowing, planting, and harvesting. In rural areas schooling tended to be sporadic and intermittent.

Turn-of-the-Century Parenting

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed far-reaching improvements in children's health, as physicians successfully treated digestive problems such as diarrhea, dysentery, and worms; respiratory problems such as consumption, croup, pneumonia, and whooping cough; and such diseases as scarlet fever and infections. The pasteurization of milk was particularly important in reducing child mortality. These medical successes encouraged well-educated parents to embrace the notion that child rearing itself should be more scientific. During the 1880s and 1890s, the CHILD STUDY movement, spearheaded by the psychologist G. STANLEY HALL, collected information from mothers and teachers and promoted greater awareness of the stages of childhood development (including ADOLESCENCE, a term that he popularized) and increased sensitivity to children's fears, insecurities, and anxieties.

The belief that scientific principles had not been properly applied to child rearing produced new kinds of child-rearing manuals, of which the most influential was Dr. Luther Emmett Holt's *The Care and Feeding of Children*, first published in 1894. Holt emphasized rigid scheduling of feeding, bathing, sleeping, and bowel movements and advised mothers to guard vigilantly against germs and undue stimulation of infants. At a time when a well-adjusted adult was viewed as a creature of habit and self-control, he stressed the importance of imposing regular habits on infants. He discouraged mothers from kissing their babies, and told them to ignore their crying and to break such habits as thumb-sucking. Upper-class and upper-middle-class mothers, like Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK's mother, were much more likely to adopt Holt's ad-

vice than were working-class mothers. The behaviorist psychologist JOHN B. WATSON—who, in the 1920s, told mothers to “never hug and kiss” their children or “let them sit in your lap”—claimed Holt as his inspiration.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the field of CHILD PSYCHOLOGY exerted a growing influence on middle-class parenting. It provided a new language to describe children's emotional problems, such as sibling rivalry, phobias, maladjustment, and inferiority and Oedipus complexes; it also offered new insights into forms of parenting (based on such variables as demandingness or permissiveness), the stages and milestones of children's development, and the characteristics of children at particular ages (such as the “terrible twos,” which was identified by ARNOLD GESELL, Frances L. Ilg, and Louise Bates Ames). The growing prosperity of the 1920s made the earlier emphasis on regularity and rigid self-control seem outmoded. A well-adjusted adult was now regarded as a more easygoing figure, capable of enjoying leisure. Rejecting the mechanistic and behaviorist notion that children's behavior could be molded by scientific control, popular dispensers of advice favored a more relaxed approach to child rearing, emphasizing the importance of meeting babies' emotional needs. The title of a 1936 book by pediatrician C. Anderson Aldrich—*Babies Are Human Beings*—summed up the new attitude.

CHILD-GUIDANCE clinics, founded in the late 1910s to treat juvenile DELINQUENCY, attracted an expanding clientele of middle-class parents, concerned about eating and sleeping disorders, nail biting, bed-wetting, phobias, sibling rivalry, and temper tantrums, and by problems involving school failure, running away, disobedience, and rebellious behavior. Yet many parents failed to address children's informational needs regarding SEXUALITY, especially girls' need for information about menstruation, and increasingly favored having schools assume this responsibility. As early as 1922, half of all schools offered some instruction in “social hygiene,” an early form of SEX EDUCATION.

The Depression, World War II, and the Baby Boom

The GREAT DEPRESSION imposed severe strains on the nation's parents. It not only threw breadwinners out of jobs and impoverished families, it also forced many families to share living quarters and put off having children. More than 200,000 vagrant children wandered the country. Many fathers were overwhelmed by guilt because they were unable to support their families, and unemployment significantly lowered their status within the family. The father's diminished stature was mirrored by a great increase in the money-saving and -earning roles of mothers.

Wartime upheavals caused by World War II also had a profound impact on parenting. The war produced a sudden upsurge in the marriage and birth rate; spurred an unprecedented tide of family separation and migration; and thrust millions of mothers into the workforce. The war also accel-

erated a trend toward more affectionate child rearing, as mothers took the position that it was normal and healthy to embrace their children. At the same time, the war temporarily reduced opposition to CHILD LABOR, both paid and volunteer work—such as gathering scrap materials or tending victory gardens—since work might reduce juvenile delinquency, which appeared to be a mounting problem.

World War II produced intense concerns about “faulty” mothering, especially maternal overprotectiveness and its mirror opposite, maternal neglect. Americans were shocked by the number of men, more than 5 million, rejected for military service on the basis of physical or psychological deficiencies. Philip Wylie, author of the 1942 best-seller *A Generation of Vipers*, blamed such problems on the combination of a dominant, overly protective mother and a passive or absent father. There was also a tendency to blame juvenile delinquency, latchkey children, illegitimacy, truancy, and runaways not on unsettled wartime conditions, but on neglectful mothers. An important wartime legacy, based on JOHN BOWLBY’s studies of British children separated from their parents during the war, was a heightened stress on the significance of maternal attachment in developing feelings of security and competence in children.

No families were more deeply affected by the war than Japanese Americans. In the spring of 1942, 120,000—two-thirds of them U.S. citizens—were relocated from homes on the West Coast to detention camps located in barren and forbidding parts of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Toilets, showers, and dining facilities were communal, precluding family privacy. The internment camps inverted traditional family roles and loosened parental controls.

Severe problems of family adjustment followed the war. Many returning GIs found it difficult to communicate with children, while many wives and children found the men excessively strict, nervous, or intolerant. Estrangement and problems with alcohol were not infrequent as families tried to readjust after the war. The next decade witnessed a sharp reaction to the psychological stresses of wartime. Americans married at a younger age and had more children than in preceding generations. Responding to the postwar housing shortage, millions moved to new single-family homes in the suburbs. Many war-weary parents, scornful of the child-rearing homilies of their parents and grandparents, embraced the advice of Dr. Benjamin Spock, who rejected the idea of rigid feeding, bathing, and sleeping schedules, and told parents to pick up their babies and enjoy them.

Nevertheless, class and ethnic differences in parenting practices remained widespread. Allison Davis and Robert Havighurst found that middle-class parents began training children in achievement, initiative, personal responsibility, and cleanliness earlier than working-class parents, who placed a higher premium on obedience and relied more on

corporal punishment; and that African-American parents had a more relaxed attitude toward INFANT FEEDING and weaning than their white counterparts.

Postwar parenting was characterized by an undercurrent of anxiety, sparked partly by concern over children’s physical and mental health. The early 1950s was the last period when large numbers of children were left crippled by POLIO or meningitis. Psychologists such as Theodore Lidz, Irving Bieber, and ERIK ERIKSON linked schizophrenia, homosexuality, and identity diffusion to mothers who displaced their frustrations and needs for independence onto their children. A major concern was that many boys, raised almost exclusively by women, failed to develop an appropriate sex role identity. In retrospect, it seems clear that an underlying source of anxiety lay in the fact that mothers were raising their children with an exclusivity and in an isolation unparalleled in American history.

During the 1960s, there was a growing sense that something had gone wrong in American parenting. Books with titles like *Suburbia’s Coddled Kids* criticized permissive child rearing and parents who let their children bully them. Meanwhile, maverick social critics, including Edgar Z. Friedenberg and Paul Goodman, argued that middle-class parents were failing their children by conveying mixed messages, stressing independence and accomplishment but giving their offspring few avenues of achievement or autonomy. At a time when Americans were worrying about gaps of all kinds—such as the so-called missile gap and the “credibility” gap—the generation gap was the most distressing of all. This gap was easily exaggerated and romanticized, and social scientists demonstrated that there was little divergence of ideas between the young and their parents on most moral and social issues, and that the biggest division was among youth themselves, especially between white middle-class and white working-class adolescents. Nevertheless, many families witnessed bitter clashes over dress, language, music, sexual morality, and, especially, politics.

Trends in Parenting since 1970

Since the early 1970s, parental anxieties greatly increased both in scope and intensity. Many parents sought to protect children from every imaginable harm by baby-proofing their homes, using car seats, and requiring bicycle helmets. Meanwhile, as more mothers joined the labor force, parents arranged more structured, supervised activities for their children. Unstructured play and outdoor activities for children three to eleven declined nearly 40 percent between the early 1980s and late 1990s.

A variety of factors contributed to this surge in anxiety. One factor was demographic. At the end of the twentieth century most children had one sibling or none. As parents had fewer children, they invested more emotion in each child, and many lived in fear that their offspring would underperform academically, athletically, or socially. An in-

crease in professional expertise about children, coupled with a proliferation of research and advocacy organizations, media outlets, and government agencies responsible for children's health and safety made parents increasingly aware of threats to children's well-being and of ways to maximize their children's physical, social, and intellectual development. Unlike postwar parents, who wanted to produce normal children who fit in, middle-class parents now wanted to give their child a competitive edge.

Excessive efforts to overload children with activities led experts such as David Elkind to decry a tendency toward "hyper-parenting" as ambitious middle-class parents attempted to provide their children with every possible opportunity by filling up their afterschool time with lessons, enrichment activities, and sports. These experts feared that overscheduling and overprogramming placed excessive pressure on children and deprived them of the opportunity for free play and hanging out.

Shocking news reports intensified parental fears, including the revelation in 1973 of the serial murders of twenty-seven juveniles by Elmer Wayne Henley and Dean Corll, and the poisoning of eight-year-old Timothy O'Bryan by cyanide-laced Halloween candy in 1974. These incidents were followed by highly publicized claims that young people's well-being was rapidly declining. During the mid-1970s there was alarm about an epidemic of teenage pregnancy. This was followed by a panic over stranger abductions of children, triggered by the mysterious disappearance of Etan Patz in New York City in 1979 and the abduction and murder of Adam Walsh in 1981 in Florida. Other panics followed, involving the sexual abuse of children in day care centers; violent YOUTH GANGS and juvenile "superpredators"; youthful substance abuse; and declining student performance on standardized tests.

These panics were highly exaggerated. The teenage pregnancy rate had peaked in 1957 and was declining, not rising. A federal investigation disclosed that few missing children were abducted by strangers; the overwhelming majority were taken by noncustodial parents or were runaways. No cases of multiple caretaker sexual abuse in day-care centers were substantiated. Although youth violence did rise in the late 1980s and early 1990s (in tandem with violence by adults), the rate fell sharply in the mid- and late 1990s until it declined to levels unseen since the mid-1960s. Similarly, rates of drug, alcohol, and tobacco use by juveniles dropped until they were lower than those reported in the 1970s. Finally, the reported decline in student performance on standardized tests reflected an increase in the range of students taking the tests, not deteriorating student achievement.

Nevertheless, these panics produced a nagging, if inaccurate, sense that recent shifts in family life—especially the increasing divorce rate and the growing number of single parent households and working mothers—had disastrous

consequences for children's well-being. They also left an imprint on public policy, as many municipalities instituted curfews for juveniles; many schools introduced dress codes, random drug tests for student athletes, and "abstinence-only" sex education programs; and states raised the drinking age, adopted graduated driver's licenses, and made it easier to try juveniles offenders as adults in the court system. Other efforts to restore parental authority and discipline included the establishment of a rating system for CDs and video games; installation of v-chips in TVs to allow parents to restrict children's television viewing; and enactment in some states of laws requiring parental notification when minors sought abortions.

In evaluating recent changes in parenting, there is a tendency to exaggerate evidence of decline and ignore the genuine gains that have occurred. There is no evidence to suggest that most parents are less engaged in childcare than in the past or that adults have become "anti-child." While fewer parents participate in PTAs, many more take an active role in soccer leagues and Little League. While parents are having fewer children, they are investing more time and resources in those they do have. Contemporary parents are much more aware of the children's developmental needs and of the dangers of abuse, and most fathers are more engaged in child rearing than their fathers were.

Rising divorce rates and increasing numbers of working mothers have not had the negative psychological consequences that some have claimed. Research suggests that children suffer more when their parents stay together but have high levels of conflict than when they divorce. Also, working mothers are less likely to be depressed than stay-at-home mothers, and provide valuable role models, especially for their daughters.

There can be no doubt that contemporary parenting is more stressful than it was in the early postwar era. Today's parents are beset by severe time pressures and work-related stress, and fewer have supportive kin or neighbors to help out in a pinch. Their children are growing up in a violent, sex-saturated environment, where the allure of drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, and consumer products is widespread. Many of the vacant lots and other "free" spaces where earlier generations were able to play without adult supervision have disappeared. The result has been a hovering, emotionally intense style of parenting and a more highly organized form of child rearing, which may have made it more difficult for children to forge an independent existence and assert their growing maturity and competence.

See also: **Baby Boom Generation; Child Care; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Fathering and Fatherhood; Mothering and Motherhood; Same-Sex Parenting; Theories of Childhood.**

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STEVEN MINTZ

Parents Magazine

Founded in 1926 in New York City, *Parents Magazine* became the key vehicle for transmitting the message of parent

education in the twentieth century. This mass-circulation monthly, initially called *Children, The Magazine for Parents*, popularized scientific knowledge on child development to help parents rear their children. Over the course of the twentieth century, it reached into millions of homes.

The magazine reflected and shaped the booming parent education movement of the 1920s. Experts in child health, psychology, and education translated research studies into popular terms and offered practical suggestions. Official cooperation came from four universities and a distinguished board of advisory editors. Extensive advertising promoted such items as ready-made baby food, preparatory schools, and summer camps. The magazine's motto, "on rearing children from crib to college," suggested the middle-class expectations readers held for their children.

The founder and publisher for over fifty years was George J. Hecht, a businessman and social service worker who had earned an economics degree from Cornell, then worked for Creel's Committee on Public Information during World War I. Hecht believed that even educated, middle-class parents needed access to knowledge and assistance in raising their children. He received funding for his venture from the LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL Foundation, a chief benefactor of the parent education movement.

Hecht recruited Clara Savage Littledale to serve as editor of the new magazine, a position she held for thirty years until her death in 1956. Littledale was a graduate of Smith College, a journalist, and the mother of two children. To make the latest findings in child development research available to parents, Littledale published articles on such topics as infant care, DISCIPLINE, character building, and SEX EDUCATION. Yet she was wary of parents relying too much on expert advice rather than their own common sense. She balanced research material with pieces based on humor, sentiment, and everyday experience, and included tips that readers sent in. She urged parents to relax and to enjoy their children—a message that presaged by at least a decade BENJAMIN SPOCK's *Baby and Child Care*.

In its attention to expertise and research, *Parents Magazine* reflected the privatized and professional orientation of parent education that took hold in the 1920s. But the reformist impulse shaped the magazine as well. Hecht and Littledale, who had both come of age in the Progressive Era, exhorted parents to look beyond the concerns of their own families and to support legislation on behalf of children and families. The magazine thus linked the private realm of child rearing with larger public concerns.

The popularity of *Parents Magazine* was immediate and enduring. Within a year of its founding, the magazine was selling 100,000 copies a month. Circulation reached 400,000 subscribers at ten years and almost a million by the maga-

zine's twentieth anniversary in 1946. By then, the publishing company had created a series of childcare books and children's magazines. The magazine achieved acclaim as the most popular educational periodical in the world. It has continued to be popular, with over two million subscribers in 2002.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Parenting.**

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DIANA SELIG

Parent–Teacher Associations

As long as children have been attending school, parents and teachers have shared in their education. Both have participated in decisions about what would be taught, who would do the teaching, and how it would be done. Their relationship was informal and unstructured in the United States until mothers' clubs and parent–teacher associations began to appear in the 1880s. Gradually, these local organizations became a national movement in American education. Renamed in 1924, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers (NCPT) had convened for the first time as the National Congress of Mothers twenty-seven years before. Because African Americans were not welcome in the NCPT, they formed their own organization in 1926; the two remained separate for forty-four years. What is now known simply as the National PTA has almost 6.5 million members in twenty-six thousand local chapters. Countless others belong to home and school associations and parent–teacher organizations that are not affiliated.

From the beginning parents joined such organizations to meet one another, educate themselves, and perform school and community service. While men were welcome to attend meetings and become members, parent–teacher associations were (and still are) organizations primarily for women. They attracted mostly white, middle-class mothers who wanted to be more involved in their communities. Taking their talents outside the home, they applied them at their children's schools. Through the PTA they expected to exercise influence, if not authority, in education.

Before 1890 most educators held parents at arms length. Because their own lack of training and experience made it easy for them to be treated with disrespect, teachers did not reach out to parents. But at the end of the nineteenth century

many began to realize that it was better to have parents for allies than adversaries. The best way to do that, they thought, was through parent–teacher organizations. School administrators gave PTAs a place to meet, attended their meetings, and collaborated with them on projects like fundraising, schoolhouse repairs, and parent education. Mothers responded by joining up. In 1928 membership in the NCPT stood at 1.25 million, and it climbed dramatically over the next thirty years, reaching almost nine million by the early 1950s.

But soon thereafter PTAs began to lose ground. Overcrowded classrooms, teacher strikes, and the civil rights movement changed the way many parents felt about public schools. Having promised time and again that public education would solve personal and social problems, educators now found themselves caught in the grip of rising but unfulfilled expectations. Beginning in the 1970s federal and state legislation guaranteed students with disabilities access to public schools and mandated parental involvement in these children's individual educational plan (IEP), convincing many parents that they did not have to defer to professionals. In a world shaped by developments like these, PTAs began to appear anachronistic—a relic from the past that was part of the problem, not the solution. Parent councils, community school boards, and charter schools seemed to offer parents more power. While parent–teacher organizations continue to play a significant role in American education, they are not as respected or admired as they used to be.

See also: **Education, United States; Parenting; Progressive Education; Urban School Systems, The Rise of.**

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WILLIAM W. CUTLER III

Parochial Schools

Parochial schools belong to the complex expectations about the education of children in a pluralistic American society. In the United States the line between parental and state authority over education has long been at issue, and Americans have tenaciously clung to the conviction that schooling has a profound influence upon democracy and national unity.

Parochial Education through the Nineteenth Century

Catholics followed the same patchwork approach to education that Protestants adopted in colonial and early-nineteenth-century America. The large majority of boys and

girls learned the fundamentals and religion in parish schools supported by parishioners' donations, clergy's services, and parents' small fees. Academies taught by nuns or laywomen offered the "refinements" to daughters of wealthier Catholics in cities. The first opened in New Orleans in 1727. Men's colleges for boys as young as eight and as old as twenty-four were operated by clerics; with Georgetown as the early model, the fourteen established by 1830 often combined prep school, college, and seminary under one roof.

The flood of Catholic immigrants from Ireland and Germany gave new immediacy and shape to parochial education in the 1840s. Catholics scrambled to provide ethnic parishes with schools and to find sister-teachers who spoke the parents' language and could instruct in lessons of the old world and new. Urban middle and upper classes began to set their children apart by expanding Catholic school opportunities; fifty-six new Catholic secondary schools for girls opened in the decade of the 1840s. At this same time, Protestant American reformers were placing new emphasis on education as the means to transmit democratic values. Following the lead of HORACE MANN of Massachusetts, other educators began to develop free tax-funded schools, usually Protestant-controlled and undergirded by readings from the Protestants' King James Bible. Parish and public schools went up within the same few blocks while bricks and mortar drained scarce dollars. Education became a lightning rod for mid-century ethnic and religious tensions once matters of faith were wrapped up in matters of money.

Nativists like the Know Nothing party exploited Protestant fears that a foreign, authoritarian pope would control Catholic schools to the detriment of democracy. Catholics countered that their taxes went to public schools where hostile teachers used the Protestant rather than Catholic Bible and could not transmit parents' language or cultural heritage. This was not what they expected from the freedoms America promised. New York City's Bishop John Hughes ignited the "school wars" in 1840 when he rallied Catholics to petition for tax support of parochial schools. For over a decade, similar efforts disrupted many northern and mid-western communities. Catholics failed to win a share of tax revenues but persevered on their separate course, with some parents and dioceses more willing or able to support parochial education. Boston and the New England region lagged behind New York, where nearly 20 percent of all children attending school were in parochial schools; in Detroit, Catholic schools accounted for nearly 40 percent of total enrollment. A proliferation of parish schools took form according to local circumstances, quality of sister-teachers, and parents' preferences; Irish nuns for Irish children, German nuns for Germans. Catholic publishers printed textbooks for religious education and conscientious nuns insisted upon additional books and lessons equal to the best of the public schools.

When the American bishops met in 1884 for the Third Plenary Council, parochial education was a cornerstone of their discussion and underscored their disagreement. "Americanists" wanted schools planted within the American culture. "Pluralists" argued for ethnic schools and opposed any form of public control. Debate raged for the next fifteen years. The disparate array of parish schools, Catholic boys' prep schools, and convent boarding schools continued to defy any bishop's ambition for an orderly system despite Protestants' belief that Catholic schools followed papal dictates.

When Catholic immigrants from central and southern Europe surged into America's industrial centers between the 1890s and 1920s, the model of ethnic parish schools was in place. Polish pupils of diverse ages crowded parish elementary schools taught by newly developed congregations of Polish-American nuns using textbooks written for them in Polish. Second- and third-generation immigrants distanced themselves in new middle-class parishes boasting high schools; their children studied Greek, Latin, and chemistry with college-educated nuns and priests.

Twentieth Century

Ambitions for an American melting pot and "100 percent Americanism" promoted renewed attacks on parochial schools after World War I. In several states ballot proposals aimed to require public school attendance. The 1925 Supreme Court ruling *PIERCE V. SOCIETY OF SISTERS* affirmed parents' right to select nonpublic schools. Catholics, meanwhile, embraced external accreditation standards to validate their schools. By the mid-1960s, 12 percent of all elementary-age children attended parochial schools.

Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, parochial education adapted to new realities inside and outside the Catholic church. Upward mobility, a shrinking pool of teachers from religious congregations, and changing attitudes about public schools led some schools to close and others to open or expand. The historical controversy about the place of nonpublic, church-related schooling in a democratic America continues. Parochial schools remain also, justifiably regarded as the single most impressive accomplishment of America's Catholic immigrants.

See also: **Catholicism; Education, United States; Private and Independent Schools; Sunday School.**

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JOELLEN MCNERGNEY VINYARD

Pediatrics

The care of children is as old as our species, but the discipline of pediatrics emerged barely a century ago. In this progression, the history the field of pediatrics follows the general pattern of the history of medicine: the timeless traditions of informal health care in the home; the roots of modern medicine in ancient Greece, Rome, and the Arab world; the gradual emergence of science in the 1600s; the provision of health care by medical professionals working in ever-larger institutions during the 1800s; and the recent faith that technically sophisticated medicine will cure disease and improve health. What distinguishes pediatrics from other branches of medicine is the notion that children are our future, and consequently that their health and well-being are a matter of broad social concern. Since antiquity, political and medical leaders have argued that healthy children are necessary to the well-being of the state. Each nation-state's response to such arguments has affected both the health of children and how societies have organized pediatric health services.

Ancient and Medieval Medical Writings

Although many observers in ancient and medieval eras may have viewed children as merely small adults, most medical writers focused on the special health concerns of children. The first few years of life, for example, were thought to require special care, especially during times when teeth were emerging. Hippocrates (c. 460–377 B.C.E.) wrote a small treatise, "On Dentition," on the subject of teeth, and noted how children differ from adults in various ways in his "Aphorisms." Spring and full summer are the best seasons for children, Hippocrates suggested, while late summer and early fall are the healthiest seasons for adults. Soranus of Ephesus (2nd century C.E.) completed a more detailed work on children's diseases, which included explanations on how to feed, bathe, and swaddle an infant. Rhazes (c. 865–932), who studied and taught in Baghdad, was one of the first medical scholars to write an entire treatise on children.

Home and Foundling Asylums

These scholarly efforts had little affect on the vast majority of children. Most health care was delivered by family members in the home. When a child became more ill than the family could handle, they may have turned to local untrained specialists, usually religious leaders or women in the community with reputations for expertise in medical matters. There were no special medical services or providers for children. In 787 Archbishop Datheus opened one of the first

TABLE 1

Discovery dates of selected bacteria, antibiotics, vaccines

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| Bacteria | | |
| 1882 | tuberculosis | Robert Koch |
| 1883 | cholera | Robert Koch |
| 1884 | pneumonia | Albert Fraenkel |
| 1894 | plague | Alexandre Yersin, Shibanuro Kitasato |
| 1905 | syphilis | Fritz Schaudinn |
| Antibiotics | | |
| 1910 | salvarsan | Paul Ehrlich |
| 1929 | penicillin | Alexander Fleming |
| 1935 | sulfa drugs | Gerhard Domagk |
| Vaccines | | |
| 1923 | diphtheria toxoid | A. T. Glenny, Barbara Hopkins, Gaston Ramon |
| 1955 | polio vaccine | Jonas Salk, Albert Sabin |
| 1962 | measles vaccine | John Franklin Enders |

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

foundling asylums at Milan. Over the next thousand years, religious leaders opened many more places of refuge for abandoned or orphaned babies. Such institutions provided little or no medical treatment, however, and most infants and children died soon after being taken in.

Renaissance Medical Writings

With the invention of movable type in the 1400s, medical works became more accessible to scholars, at least to those who read Latin. The first medical book to be printed was a pediatrics treatise by the Italian Paolo Bagellardo (c. 1425–1495). It was based on Greek and Arab works, though it included some of his own experience, such as medicines that could be used to soothe a crying baby. In 1545 Thomas Phaer wrote the first English-language work on pediatrics. The *Boke of Children* included a long section on dentition: teething caused swelling of gums and jaw, crying, fever, cramps, palsies, etc. He advocated washing the child in camomile and applying oil of roses, fresh butter with barley flour or honey, or frankincense and licorice mixed in a fine powder. In their content and reliance on centuries-old Greek, Roman, and Arab sources, Bagellardo's and Phaer's books were typical of pediatric medical works prior to 1600.

Rise of Empiricism

In the 1600s, scholars eschewed traditional theories and supernatural accounts, and began to value their own observations of the natural world. The so-called scientific revolution was heralded by the empiricism of Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605). By the late 1600s the concept of a scientific *fact*, as distinct from theory, emerged as the basis for creating reliable knowledge about the natural world. In medicine, this meant more realistic studies of anatomy and physiology, including William Harvey's (1578–1657) experimental demonstration of the

TABLE 2

| Selected pediatric institutions | |
|--|---|
| Outpatient facilities | |
| 1761 | Lying-in Hospital of Stockholm, Sweden |
| 1769 | Dispensary for the Infant Poor, London |
| 1787 | Dispensary for Children, Vienna |
| Hospitals | |
| 1802 | Hospital des Enfants Malades, Paris |
| 1852 | Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street, London |
| 1855 | Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania |
| Professional associations | |
| 1880 | American Medical Association, Section on Pediatrics |
| 1883 | Gesellschaft der Naturforscher und Aerzte, Pediatric Section, Germany |
| 1885 | Russian Pediatric Society |
| 1888 | American Pediatric Society |
| Pediatric journals | |
| 1834 | <i>Analekten uber kinderkrankheiten</i> , Germany |
| 1841 | <i>Clinique des hopitaux des enfants</i> , France |
| 1883 | <i>Archivio di patologia infantile</i> , Italy |
| 1895 | <i>Pediatrics</i> , United States |
| Professorships | |
| 1845 | T. T. Berg, Karolin Medico-Chirurgical Institute |
| 1860 | Abraham Jacobi, New York Medical College, United States |
| 1888 | Thomas Rotch, Harvard Medical College, United States |

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

circulation of blood through the body. In clinical medicine, classification and description of disease became central topics for medical scholars. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689), for example, developed a sophisticated system for categorizing diseases, and his description of the movement disorder that accompanies rheumatic fever (Sydenham's chorea) is a model of clinical observation. To treat such fevers, Sydenham subscribed to the medical therapeutics espoused since ancient times: he would drain seven ounces of blood, then purge with senna, black-cherry water, and laudanum.

Heroic Therapeutics

While the seventeenth-century clinical observations of Sydenham and others would still be familiar today, the blood-letting and purging regimens now appear barbaric. However, such therapeutics fit squarely with contemporary concepts of health and disease; they were rational responses to widely accepted theories of disease causation. Medical scholars and the general public agreed that the balance of various body humors (e.g., blood, bile, phlegm) was the key to maintaining health. Specific diseases were thought to occur when the humors were out of balance. If the blood ran high during fevers, then cutting open a vein or applying leeches was a logical response. With generally high mortality rates, most people were resigned to the frequent deaths of children and young adults. Physicians gained notoriety not for their ability to cure but for how accurately they predicted outcomes and how heroically they tried to rebalance the humors through bleeding and purging. When a patient survived such interventions, the therapy was deemed successful

and the physician could take credit for his therapy; when the patient died, then the intervention was said to have occurred too late or to have been applied too gently. God's will was often invoked. Pre-nineteenth-century therapeutics was dramatic, and when someone died no one could argue that the doctor had not tried to intervene.

Vaccination

The most famous therapeutic intervention of the 1700s was a conceptual anomaly. Inoculation against smallpox had been practiced in India and parts of the Arab world for centuries, but it never fit the model of disease and cure implied by the balance of body humors. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) brought the practice to the West when she had her son inoculated with material from a smallpox victim in Constantinople in 1718. She championed the idea of inoculation before physicians and royalty as a way to lessen the burden of smallpox: nearly every child contracted signs and symptoms of the disease and many were permanently scarred by the skin lesions. Some estimated that as many as 30 percent of all children died from smallpox. In the 1790s, Edward Jenner (1749–1823) noted that young women who milked cows and became infected with cowpox did not get smallpox. Since the consequences of contracting cowpox were less severe than those of inoculation with smallpox, vaccination with cowpox became common practice. Indeed, it was made compulsory in Bavaria in 1807 and in Denmark in 1810.

Rise of Hospitals

Modern therapeutics owes less to Jenner and Montague than to the hospitals of Paris, which became the center of medical research in the late 1700s. With large numbers of patients confined to institutions, French scholars such as Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Louis (1787–1872) were able to follow the natural course of specific diseases. Louis used clinical statistics to correlate the signs and symptoms of specific diseases with particular abnormalities found inside the body. He relied on the work of Xavier Bichat (1771–1802) and others who had previously matched clinical symptoms with pathological findings on autopsy. For example, a yellowish discoloration of the skin and eyes predicted an abnormal liver; microscopic analysis of liver tissues revealed disrupted cells and scarring. By routinely applying new technologies such as the stethoscope, the microscope, and statistical reasoning to hospitalized patients, French scholars created the basis for modern clinical medicine. Perhaps most importantly, they noted that medical interventions of the past two millennia—bleeding and purging—did not seem to improve survival.

Germ Theory

When French medicine overturned centuries of faith in body humors as the cause of disease, physicians were left to pursue many different strategies to explain disease and heal their patients. Medical sects such as homeopathy, osteopathy, and hydrotherapy (water cure) flourished through the late 1800s, offering stiff competition to practitioners of "reg-

ular” medicine. Germ theory was just one of many plausible explanations for disease causation until the work of Robert Koch (1843–1910) and Louis Pasteur (1822–1895). In dozens of now-famous experiments, they demonstrated that specific germs (bacteria) caused specific diseases. Although Koch, Pasteur, and their many colleagues worked differently, in general the process was the same: the microbiologist obtained fluids from animals or people with a particular disease, isolated bacteria present in such body fluids, created techniques for growing the bacteria, then injected these bacteria into healthy subjects to recreate the signs and symptoms of the disease. Germ theory not only provided a way of understanding the etiology and patterns of many infectious diseases, but it also suggested therapies such as antibiotics and vaccines. The history of pediatric science in the twentieth century reads like a list of victories over specific infections (see Table 1), whether through the discovery of penicillin by Sir Alexander Fleming (1881–1955) or the disappearance of POLIO in the Western Hemisphere with the vaccines introduced by Jonas Salk (1914–1995) and Albert Sabin (1906–1993).

Emergence of the Field of Pediatrics

Although there had been pockets of scholarly focus on children for centuries, the field of pediatrics did not take shape until the mid-1800s. In part, the emergence of pediatrics as a medical specialty was merely one example of a broader trend in institutional medicine. Before 1800, physicians in most parts of the world claimed broad expertise for various diseases, populations, and therapeutic techniques. Surgery and DENTISTRY were considered the only legitimate areas of specialization; doctors who claimed to be experts in specific fields were likely to be viewed as quacks. As medical knowledge expanded in the 1800s, many medical scholars found intellectual justification for focusing on particular areas of the body such as the brain (psychiatry, neurology) or on particular surgical techniques (orthopedics, ophthalmology). Even if they continued a general medical practice, groups of physicians gathered around shared interests at medical meetings, created specialty journals, and began to control medical school curricula and clinical teaching. In the mid-1800s, pediatrics was closely associated with obstetrics, but by the early 1900s, pediatrics had its own hospitals, journals, professional associations, and medical school professorships (see Table 2).

The Economics of Specialization

Given the intellectual plausibility of medical specialization, many physicians were also motivated by the economic advantages. Before 1900, medicine was not necessarily a lucrative profession. Indeed, in many parts of the world, only those physicians who tended to rich families found economic or social security in the practice of medicine. With the growth of concentrated populations in cities, a medical practice devoted exclusively to a medical specialty became economically viable. Specialization was one strategy for compet-

ing for the limited number of families who could afford to pay for medical care. A young physician could distinguish himself from his peers by affiliating with the specialty practice of a hospital, clinic, or medical school. In pediatrics, formal training programs have existed for more than a hundred years in Europe and North America. To certify pediatricians, each nation has developed its own criteria for training after graduation from medical school; most also require successful completion of a standardized written or oral examination. The American Board of Pediatrics, for example, was founded in 1933 to certify pediatricians in the United States.

Changing Emotional Reasons Underwriting Pediatrics

For physicians in the 1800s, the emergence of pediatrics may have seemed to be a logical response to economic pressures and to evidence from developmental biology and clinical medicine that distinguished children’s bodies from those of adults. However, pediatrics emerged as a specialty in the context of a broader appreciation for the emotional value of children: no longer a mere economic asset of the father, each child was considered to be a priceless human being who deserved some protection by society. Although this new view of children emerged at different times in different places, by 1900 most nations had instituted laws providing education to children, protecting them against physical abuse from their fathers, and outlawing excessive or dangerous labor before a certain age. To some degree, the field of pediatrics owes its genesis to the new view of children as special and distinct from adults, along with a growing belief that children’s deaths could and should be prevented.

Pediatric Specialists or General Medical Care

Specialization in pediatrics has deepened our scientific understanding of children and improved the training of physicians and nurses. The practice of pediatrics by specialists, however, has had little direct impact on most families. It is only in the last two hundred years or so that the average family might have access to a trained medical professional such as a physician, let alone a specialist. In many parts of the world medical care is still difficult to find, and pediatric specialty care an unusual luxury. Indeed, the specific configuration of the field of pediatrics in each nation depends more on social, political, and economic factors than on the intellectual content of pediatric medicine. In most nations children receive medical care from physicians or nurse practitioners with training in general medicine. Physicians with specialty training in pediatrics are consulted when a child or adolescent has a medical issue that goes beyond the expertise of the general practitioner. Even in industrialized nations, rural families and those living in poverty remain less likely to see a pediatric specialist.

Pediatrics in the United States

The United States is unique in that pediatrics has become a primary care specialty. In 1910 there were approximately one hundred physicians who confined their practice to pedi-

iatrics; by 1935 there were several thousand. The American Academy of Pediatrics' membership in 2000 was more than fifty thousand pediatricians, which means one pediatrician for every fifteen hundred children. This allows most children to visit a physician with specialty training in pediatrics for routine check-ups and mild illnesses. Other children are cared for by family medicine practitioners and pediatric nurse practitioners, but nearly all children in the United States have access to pediatric subspecialists. These are physicians who obtain two to three years of additional training after general pediatrics to gain expertise in areas such as pediatric cardiology, neonatology, and pediatric gastroenterology. Pediatric subspecialists may be found in academic centers in many other nations, but few families outside the United States would expect to be routinely referred to such practitioners.

Women and Pediatrics

Women have long had an important role in the field of pediatrics, especially in the United States. Many without medical training, such as Julia Lathrop (1858–1932), the first director of the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, held leadership positions in government and philanthropic organizations designed to improve the health and well-being of children. Within the field of medicine, women physicians accounted for 20 percent of practitioners in some U.S. cities in the early 1900s. They directed hospitals, medical schools, and city health departments. Because many women felt a special obligation to provide medical care to women and children, they often specialized in obstetrics and pediatrics; many took academic positions and some gained national prominence in pediatrics. Following the reforms in medical education in the early 1900s, the number of women physicians fell to approximately 5 percent of all doctors. As their numbers have increased since 1970, however, women have again moved toward pediatrics as a field of specialization. In the year 2000 approximately half of all pediatricians in the United States were women, and they represent about two-thirds of pediatricians-in-training.

Social Implications of Child Health

The science of pediatrics has rarely been divorced from the social implications of child health. Since antiquity, scholars and political leaders have assumed that healthy children were essential to the well-being of the state. Medical authorities have generally agreed, and they have consistently viewed the proper upbringing and education of children as within the province of medicine. Persian medical scholar Avicenna (980–1037) wrote that all the study and work of physicians should focus on forming and molding the character of the child. Medical writers over the centuries have echoed his remarks, and in the twenty-first century pediatricians frequently use their status as the experts in child health to suggest the most effective ways of raising and educating children. On the other hand, the importance of child health has also led philosophers and political writers to enter medi-

cal matters. Thus the Greek scholar Plutarch (c. 46–120) wrote *The Education of Children* to teach ruling-class families how to properly mold their children such that the future strength of the state might be secured. Among his many medical suggestions, he implored mothers to breast-feed because it makes a “bond of good feeling.” Political leaders through the centuries have continued to approach the health of children as a social issue, whether through the extremes of EUGENICS programs aimed to secure the racial health of the state or through the emptiness of campaign slogans designed to emphasize a politician's commitment to the future.

Infant Mortality and the Fate of Nation-States

The history of the INFANT MORTALITY rate is a good example of how the field of pediatrics combines science and social policy. As early as 1761, British physician William Buchan (1729–1805) noted that one half of the human race dies in infancy, with ominous consequences for the health of the state. In the 1800s, improvement in health statistics led to increased attention to the death rate of infants throughout Europe. Such deaths were seen not as mere medical failings but as indictments of the economic, political, and moral well-being of the nation. Theophile Roussel (1816–1903), the French physician and politician, was perhaps the most vocal of national leaders. He is credited with the *loi Roussel*, a set of laws that protected infants sent out to nurse (1874), protected abused and abandoned children (1889), and organized medical charity (1893).

Throughout Europe in the late 1800s, governments instituted programs to protect pregnant women (e.g., paid maternity leave) because they believed that healthy infants were crucial to the future economic and political well-being of the state. In 1892 Paris physician Pierre Budin (1846–1907) started the first infant consultations, when mothers would bring their well babies to be weighed and examined. Such well-child care was duplicated throughout Europe and the United States in hopes that advice and clean milk might prevent infant deaths. Such preventive health visits remain central to the practice of pediatrics, even as the infant mortality rate has dropped from three hundred deaths out of every one thousand births to less than ten per thousand in many parts of the world. The result—the regular check-up—is a huge change in the experience of children and parents alike in the more affluent groups and regions.

Emerging and Persisting Child Health Problems

Viewed as a medical discipline, pediatrics has shifted in response to each generation's understanding of which diseases seemed most important among children. While Hippocrates focused on climate and special vulnerable periods for children, later scholars wrote about the most common infectious diseases, from smallpox in the 1700s to infantile diarrhea in the late 1800s. The dramatic decrease in infectious diseases in developed nations over the last century has led pediatricians to focus on rare chronic illnesses and behavioral and

developmental conditions. The mapping of the human genome promises new ways to eliminate disabilities and prevent chronic illness in the twenty-first century.

Some of this success has been shared by all the children in the world—the eradication of smallpox in 1970 is the crowning achievement of a public health system applying a specific therapy to a specific disease. Millions of children in Africa and Asia continue to die from measles, tuberculosis, and infant diarrhea, however, demonstrating that antibiotics, vaccines, and modern hospitals only go so far. Even as the incidence of AIDS decreases in the West, more and more African and Asian babies are born infected with HIV in the early twenty-first century. In these nations, pediatricians and public health officers continue to focus on nutrition, sanitation, and maternal education as the most effective ways to reduce mortality from common infectious diseases.

Pediatrics and Social Activism

Abraham Jacobi (1830–1919) is generally considered to be the “father” of modern pediatrics. A German physician who was once arrested for participating in the revolution of 1848, Jacobi moved to New York, where he built a career of scientific discovery, clinical practice, and tireless advocacy on behalf of children. He argued that the health and well-being of children required appropriately trained medical practitioners as well as social and economic investment in their lives and neighborhoods. His words have been remembered by pediatricians, scholars, and political leaders for over a hundred years, and perhaps best embody the science and social activism that characterizes the field of pediatrics: “It is not enough, however, to work at the individual bedside in the hospital. In the near or dim future, the pediatrician is to sit in and control school boards, health departments, and legislatures. He is the legitimate advisor to the judge and the jury, and a seat for the physician in the councils of the republic is what the people have a right to demand” (quoted in Burke).

See also: **Children’s Hospitals; Contagious Diseases; Epidemics; Obstetrics and Midwifery.**

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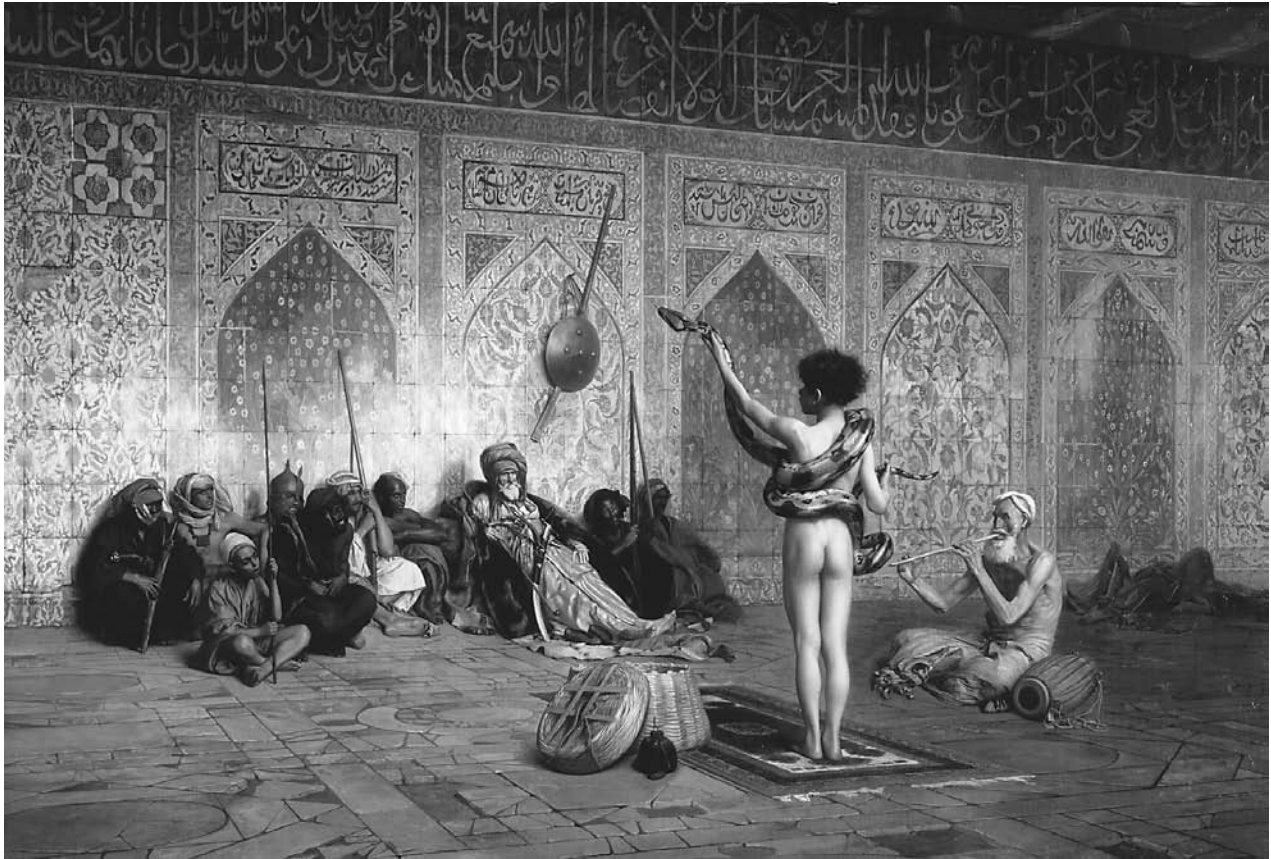
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JEFFREY P. BROSCO

Pedophilia

The word *pedophilia* originates from the Greek words *paidos*, meaning child, and *philia*, meaning love. A pedophile is characterized by sexual attraction to and maybe love for children. The first scientist to use the concept was the German sexologist and physician Richard Krafft-Ebing. In his monograph *Psychopathia Sexualis*, published in 1886, he defined pedophilia as a psychosexual perversion, open to cure. This was in sharp contrast to the prevailing religious and moral judgment on sexual relations between adults and children. To Krafft-Ebing, pedophilia could be caused by senility or other mental deficiencies. Around 1906, his British counterpart Havelock Ellis presented pedophilia as an extreme version of normal masculine sexuality. Currently, pedophilia is understood as a divergence of personality, caused by psychological damage in early childhood. This concept was rarely used in English before the 1950s.

It is generally believed that pedophiles vary as much as any other group of human beings. The majority consists of men, who seek contact with children, mainly boys, in early puberty. Some wish to stimulate the child, some seek mutual



The Snake Charmer (c. 1870), Jean-Léon Gérôme. By displacing the scene onto a foreign landscape, nineteenth-century European artists could hint at an erotic view of children that would be unacceptable using Western subjects. © Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

stimulation, and others want to have intercourse with the child. A minority, who get most of the press coverage, are fascinated by sadistic elements in their relation to children, as was the case among a group of pedophiles in Holland and Belgium who were discovered during the 1990s in a widely publicized case.

Until relatively recently, pedophiles had fairly easy access to children, who were left largely unattended by parents. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, growing attention to the phenomenon has made it more difficult for pedophiles to act out their sexual urges. This is why easy access to CHILD PORNOGRAPHY and chat rooms on the Internet play such a prominent role in stimulating the fantasies of pedophiles and, probably, alleviating the desire for more aggressive behavior.

The first British and American surveys of sexual CHILD ABUSE date from the 1920s. More substantial surveys were conducted from the 1950s on, with the Kinsey Reports taking the lead. A comparative study of Anglo-American surveys covering the years 1940 through 1990 showed no noticeable change in the prevalence of abuse of girls younger than

fourteen. Between 10 and 12 percent are thought to have been sexually abused. There are no comparable figures for boys. The surveys of the 1990s produced highly contradictory data, which vary depending on differences in study populations and design. The number of college students who claim to have been sexually abused as children varies from 15 to 30 percent. Of these, only five or six percent mention that they have experienced intercourse during childhood. Scandinavian surveys show a similar picture. Official crime statistics indicate a much lower incidence of child sexual abuse, which suggests a large number of unreported instances, especially for severe crimes in family settings. To what degree the sexual abuse is caused by pedophiles—in the figure of the “dirty old man”—and not by relatives or other persons known to the child is impossible to discern from the existing statistical sources. But all research suggests that the most severe sexual abuses of children are related to incestuous relations within the family.

The Cultural History of Pedophilia

Despite the lack of statistics, other sources indicate that sexual relations between adults and children have always existed. Attitudes toward this have changed over the course of

history, and these relations have been condemned since late antiquity. Despite this we can find examples of prominent figures, including Saint Augustine (354–430), Muhammad (570–632), and Gandhi (1869–1948), who publicly enjoyed the company of young children and may have had sexual relations with them.

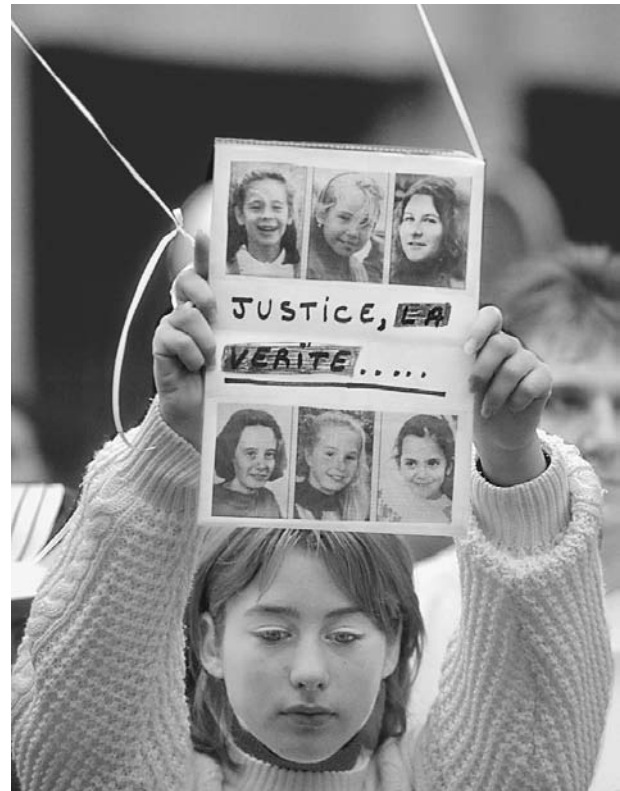
In the strictly hierarchical society of classical Greece, sexual relations between an adult man and a boy were seen as contributing to the boy's education. In late antiquity this view was questioned by, among others, the poet Ovid and the philosopher Plutarch. They argued that such a relationship was not fulfilling for the adult, since the boy, due to his inferior social status, was not allowed to express his own desire. This devaluated the joy of his adult partner and so men were better served by having sexual relations with women.

With the rise of Christianity, approved sexuality came to be located within heterosexual marriage, with procreation as its sole purpose. This was reflected in medieval legislation that established minimum marriage ages and prohibitions against INCEST and homosexual relations. With the ENLIGHTENMENT and the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, morality was no longer the responsibility solely of the Church. The gatekeeper of public and private morals was to be the state, and nineteenth-century penal legislation built upon this base, adding sections on sexual offenses.

The penal code did not prevent adults from having sexual relations with children. The most severe sexual abuse can be detected in legal sources, from rape to sexually related child murder. Between 1830 and 1890, two-thirds of all documented sexual offenses in London had children as victims. Nineteenth-century institutional and educational sources show a less dramatic picture, with some ambiguity about the line between physical and sexual abuse of children by teachers or priests.

Discourse on the sexual abuse of children was renewed in France and England around 1850 as a result of the rise of the middle-class family, with its romantic concept of the child, as well as the establishment of the new scientific professions of psychiatry and forensic medicine. Two French physicians, Adolphe Toulmouche and Ambrose Tardieu, undertook the first forensic medical studies of child victims of sexual abuse.

But it was not until the publication of a series of articles entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in the British newspaper the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885 that sexual abuse of children became a topic for public discussion. The articles, written by the journalist W. T. Stead, dealt with CHILD PROSTITUTION. They had an enormous effect on a public that cultivated the image of the innocent girl-child as encountered in *Alice in Wonderland* and in the many contemporary photos and paintings of naked children. About a quarter of a million people marched in the streets of London demanding a higher AGE OF CONSENT for sexual acts. This



In 1996, a mass protest was held in Brussels, Belgium, in response to the perceived mishandling by the police of the Marc Dutroux case. Dutroux had abducted, sexually abused, and killed several young girls in the 1990s; his crimes went undetected for years, even though informants had warned the police of his activities a number of times. © BISSON BERNARD/CORBIS SYGMA.

demand was echoed all over the Western world, and at the outbreak of World War I the age of consent had been raised in most countries from ten or twelve to fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen.

The people responsible for bringing sexual child abuse to the public's attention were not physicians. Despite the occurrence of sexually transmitted VENEREAL DISEASES among children, both at ORPHANAGES and in families, physicians tended to profess belief in the so-called innocent explanation: that the children had caught the diseases after sharing sheets, sponges, or towels. The physicians were motivated not only by fear of losing customers if they interfered in the domain of the family. The epidemiology of venereal diseases was not completely known. Furthermore, it was not yet possible in their society to speak about children and SEXUALITY within the context of the innocent child. To the nineteenth-century child savers, the subject could not be mentioned without evoking the image of the masturbating boy and the precocious working-class girl.

In this situation, the subject was left to the women's movement, the philanthropic societies, and individual child

savers. Due to their work, a new image—that of the sexually innocent child who was easy prey for sexually depraved adult men—was introduced into the culture.

Even though children were considered sexually innocent, however, they were not always trusted in court. The skepticism facing the child witness was great, and it was supported by new scientific studies of child witnesses and by a Freudian understanding of children's sexuality. This new knowledge could also be used to acquit the child of bad intentions, since it framed childhood sexuality as by its very nature innocent.

The moral panic about sexual child abuse at the end of the nineteenth century was followed by a series of media panics during the twentieth century. With a foundation in sexology, forensic medicine, and EUGENICS, the image of the sexual psychopath dominated the discourse of the 1930s through 1950s. This interpretation was gradually replaced by psychoanalysis, the sexual revolution, and an understanding of and belief in resocializing sexual criminals. In the late 1960s the picture changed again with the development of the women's movement and movements concerned with the rights of various groups. This period climaxed with the first accusations against preschool teachers. Among the first cases was the McMartin Preschool in California. The case opened in 1983. Seventeen years later all the accused were acquitted.

During the 1970s through 1990s, revelations of the existence of child pornography as well as pedophile chat groups on the Internet, in addition to a series of sensational child murders in the United States and Europe, resulted in a new moral panic, which led to an insistence on stronger punishments for child sexual abuse and a demand for national registers of sexual offenders. The first world conference on sexual child abuse, held in Stockholm in the summer of 1996, supported these. In the United States, thirty-five states implemented the so-called MEGAN'S LAWS during the years 1994 through 1996. These laws contain a community notification provision. Forty-nine states have introduced state registers. In the early twenty-first century a reaction to what came to be seen as a witch-hunt against pedophiles became visible. It produced a growing awareness of the legal rights of the accused.

The Serial Pedophile of the 1990s

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, pedophilia as well as sexual child abuse are no longer private matters, as they were a century before. They are public matters that keep a collection of professionals, from physicians, psychiatrists, and psychologists to lawyers busy. They also sell well in the media. Whereas sexual abuse within the family has been known and publicly condemned for generations, the twentieth century has seen a growing awareness of sexual child abuse in public settings, from preschools to the Catholic Church. Public awareness has shifted its focus from the adult to the child, and concern is not only for girls but, since the 1930s, has grown to include boys as well.

The growing discussion of pedophilia and the sexual abuse of children has been seen as characteristic of the cultural and mental changes of the twentieth century. Researchers seem to agree that the increased number of cases has not, by itself, been the driving force behind the discussion. Here the agreement stops, and a variety of different explanations are to be found in the existing literature. They range from pointing out the responsibility of the scientific professions as well as the media to explaining the public debate about pedophilia as an element in disciplining heterosexual normality. The question of continuity and change has also been introduced. When 250,000 people marched in the streets of Brussels, Belgium, in the summer of 1996, was this a repetition of the London march of 1885 against the white slave trade and a demand for a higher age of consent? Or was it the harbinger of a radical new phase, since the child in contemporary society could be considered the last remaining, irrevocable, unexchangeable primary reflection of adult dreams of a long-lost world of purity and stability. The strong reactions to sexual child abuse are in reality an exhibition of adult insecurity at being confronted with a late-modern, reflexive society, where human relations are constantly changing. A final statement in this debate over the rationality of the pedophilia discourse comes from the American literary critic James Kincaid. He has advocated the provocative thesis that the contemporary concept of the child, which praises innocence and asexuality, inevitably produces its own erotic counterpart. In our longing for children, the erotic desires are banned and projected onto the pedophile. In other words, the focus on pedophilia fulfils an existential need.

The above-mentioned studies focus on the discourse on pedophilia and sexual abuse of children. Analysis of legal practices has revealed gendered, racial, and social biases as well as concealment, ambivalences, and distortions when the many words had to be turned into action. Knowledge of the reality of sexual child abuse has been based on studies of court records. They reveal that girls historically have been thought to be the most vulnerable group, especially girls from lower social strata and of non-white descent. They also reveal that the sexual abuse of children often continued unpunished for many years because, on the one hand, children were not trusted as witnesses in such cases, and, on the other, mothers were often blamed for not having been watchful enough. Studies of court materials have also revealed how difficult it can be to untangle the accusation of child abuse—especially sexual child abuse—from social and racial prejudices of the juridical system.

See also: **Child Saving; Lolita.**

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NING DE CONINCK-SMITH

Perpetua, Saint

Among the few preserved texts from antiquity written by women, the visions recorded by the Roman *matrona*, or formally married woman of elevated social status, Vibia Perpetua while awaiting execution for lèse-majesté (harming the ruler) are among the most widely studied. This is not surprising, for Perpetua's visions form part of a larger account that details her execution in the then-customary manner: she was savaged by a wild cow as part of an elaborate public spectacle (a form or gladiatorial games known as *ad bestias*) staged on March 7, 203 C.E., in her hometown of Carthage, in North Africa, for the birthday of the emperor's son Geta.

Perpetua's crime had been adherence to Christianity, at the time outlawed as a dangerous superstition that, among other crimes, denied the emperor's divine character. Her death made her, in Christian eyes, a martyr. Perpetua is one of the earliest female martyrs known, and she was a remarkable woman. Then around twenty years old, Perpetua was the nursing mother of a newborn. She was accompanied, even in death, by her slave Felicitas, herself highly pregnant. Both Perpetua's visions as well as the account of the two women's death highlight their maternal status. Perpetua speaks of her aching breasts and is tormented over her son's fate, and Felicitas' pregnancy causes her great concern.

Public executions of women in the context of gladiatorial games were very rare in antiquity, those of high-status women were even rarer, and pregnancy was virtually an excluding factor. Later accounts document that "martyrdoms" of pregnant women had become illegal, and Perpetua's story emphasizes the authorities' attempts to prevent her execution; the judge asked Perpetua repeatedly to have pity on her child and recant. Indeed, the framing narrative highlights the audience's reaction to Perpetua's leaking breasts and Felicitas' pregnancy—compassion, pity, and outrage directed against the authorities. In fact, the mere presence of a *matrona* in the arena was a shocking sight: the reversal of all norms that defined and maintained society. Perpetua's own account, as well as the framing narrative, leave no doubt that

this was the point of the exercise. By admitting her Christianity, Perpetua explicitly defied her father and his powerful tutelage (called *patria potestas*) and hence his role as *paterfamilias*, of an elite household, the cornerstones of Roman society. Her insistence on being executed, against the will of the authorities, meant abandoning her son to almost certain death, since he would be without her milk—so unthinkable an act that a miracle had to occur to prevent it (in the framing narrative, the child no longer required milk).

Perpetua's husband is never mentioned (Felicitas' companion is, but there was no formal marriage for slaves). Further, the manner of Perpetua's death, nearly naked and in public, classified her as a prostitute, the antithesis of a *matrona*. For the early Christian audience of this text, all these factors symbolized the destruction of the Roman Empire and its power in favor of the apocalyptically desired "heavenly kingdom." But even this audience could take only so much disruption: The narrator reestablishes (and elevates) Perpetua's status as married mother by calling the deceased *matrona Christi*, and elevates Felicitas by freeing her posthumously. This authorial act is significant: both women, as martyrs and mothers, became exemplars of the highest order for subsequent generations of Christians until the early fifth century. By then Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire, and in the hands of Bishop Augustine, who wrote several sermons celebrating both women, the highborn Perpetua loses her motherhood to become a chaste virgin. Her slave Felicitas is now married and gives birth before her public death. Thus in Augustine's reinterpretation both women are still martyrs but no longer explicitly martyr-mothers—far less threatening to the social fabric their religion now upheld.

See also: **Ancient Greece and Rome; Christian Thought, Early.**

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SUSANNA ELM

Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1746–1827)

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi was a writer, political and social reformer, and educator. Born and educated in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1765 he ended his university studies abruptly due to his active engagement in the radical republican youth movement aiming towards the restoration of republican val-

ues and morals. Influenced by the ancient Roman ideal of the citizen as “landed man” and inspired by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU’s *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) and the fifth book of *Émile* (1762), Pestalozzi apprenticed himself to a farmer (1767–1768). In 1769 Pestalozzi married Anna Schult-hess, of a wealthy burgher family. Overhasty purchase of a large tract of land in Birr in the Swiss canton of Aargau (under the control of Bern), debts on his Neuhof estate, and the agricultural crisis in Europe in 1771–1772 led Pestalozzi into great financial difficulties. He attempted to avert financial disaster by employing children of the poor in a proto-industrial enterprise at Neuhof, promising parents education of their children. However, he had overestimated the children’s productivity and was soon forced to raise funds through public appeals to charity. But the monies collected were not sufficient, and the institution closed in 1780. Nevertheless, Pestalozzi’s public reflections on the meaning and purpose of education of the poor led to his career as a commentator on politics, education, and economics. His novel *Lienhard und Gertrud*, published in 1781, enjoyed great literary success; three further volumes had a lesser reception.

It was during this phase of his work that Pestalozzi first used the term *childhood*. Although Pestalozzi revised his understanding of childhood many times, his idea of childhood as a period of transformation remained constant throughout his long life. In *Lienhard und Gertrud*, the predominant idea is a sensualistic view of childhood as the life phase when the young child is shaped by external conditions.

Pestalozzi’s efforts and experiences at proto-industry forced him to revise his agrarian-oriented republicanism. After 1782 he came into contact with the Berliner ENLIGHTENMENT, which led him to political reflections upon natural law and the theories of the social contract. For Pestalozzi, who remained under the influence of republican ideals, the life of the family, which would be a largely independent economic unit, would allow for family socialization and thus the instilling of virtues. Here Pestalozzi equates childhood with the human being in a natural state but in contrast to Rousseau, the connotation is a negative one: in a passage in the fourth volume of *Lienhard und Gertrud* (1787) entitled “the philosophy of my book,” Pestalozzi wrote, “By nature, and when people grow up left to their own devices, they are lethargic, ignorant, careless, thoughtless, foolish, gullible, timorous, greedy without bounds, . . . crooked, sly, insidious, distrustful, violent, foolhardy, vindictive, and prone to acts of atrocity” (p. 330). It therefore follows that stringent socialization to the constraints of societal life through work and the workplace must precede religious moral training.

The development of the human race and the development of the individual were seen to take a parallel course. Pestalozzi thus interpreted childhood as an unspoiled, natural state, in which—following Rousseau—needs and faculties, or powers, are in perfect equilibrium. However, Pesta-

lozzi did not believe that this natural state could be maintained, for in the life of an individual it existed only at the moment of birth. Through life’s experiences, the needs of young persons growing up were greater than their ability to satisfy them. It was thus unavoidable that the person became “depraved.” In an ideal political system, education could bring the person to recreate the self, to develop into a “moral” being. Pestalozzi maintained that “the circumstances make the man,” but in an extension based on Christianity, he found that human beings had within themselves the power to influence those circumstances according to their own will and to create ideal contexts. This faculty, or “self-power,” was seen as highly individual and independent of natural and societal determinants. Human beings achieved morality (in a religious sense) dependent upon two conditions: politics and education. Pestalozzi made it his own principle to follow the noble principle of Jesus Christ: to first make the inner person pure in order to make the outside pure. This religiously inspired theory of education was based on the principle of the family, to which the school should also acquiesce.

Philipp Albert Stapfer, Minister of Arts and Sciences of the Helvetic Republic, believed that Pestalozzi would be the ideal person to help him enact various school reforms. His hope was based on a belief that Pestalozzi had developed a completely unique method of teaching children to read. Paradoxically, Pestalozzi became a national educator just at the time when he had lost faith in the restoration of the republic, and he was given responsibility for a modern school system just as he had wanted to subordinate schooling to education within the family.

From this time in his life onwards, Pestalozzi was to head a number of educational institutions. His efforts at education theory centered upon the development of a comprehensive method of elementary education that would promote the natural acquisition of basic learning in all disciplines and, at the same time, go hand in hand with the unfolding of the child’s moral-religious as well as physical propensities. A first draft of his main principles of education was presented in 1801 in his book *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt* (How Gertrude teaches her children). The underlying concept was that human nature is made up of mechanically structured innate predispositions and self-powers, whereby the innate teleological structured predispositions are too weak to develop on their own. According to this view, Pestalozzi equated childhood with the need for (Pestalozzi’s) object lesson books, the only lesson books that succeeded in drawing out and evolving children’s God-given inherent propensities.

After 1802, Pestalozzi began to develop a more organic perspective of mankind. He did not follow the contemporary discussion of the Romantic period in Germany, which in 1800—inspired by Rousseau—equated childhood with a state of holiness and propagated the historical-philosophical

progression of Paradise, The Fall, and Redemption. Pestalozzi saw in the child a natural innocence, but even the holy in the child could not develop without the necessity of education. In this apolitical view, it is the mother who takes on the central role in the process of societal regeneration; in her religious mission, she becomes first of all the natural “intermediary between the child and the world” before she deflects the child’s love of herself towards God. It is this sacred educational function that allows the child to maintain itself as an independent and religious person in the face of a corrupted world.

For Pestalozzi, children have divine predispositions, which must be fostered. Pestalozzi believed that he himself had discovered the correct method of education. He made frequent references to his own very difficult biography full of privation in his writings. In this connection Pestalozzi saw himself as an educational Jesus Christ.

Following great personal difficulties and the death of Pestalozzi’s wife in 1815, his third institute at Yverdon slowly fell apart, and in 1825, Pestalozzi returned to Neuhof in Birr at the age of 79. He died two years later, largely forgotten by the world. It was only through the efforts of teachers, who were becoming organized in the nineteenth century, and through a need in Switzerland (torn religiously and politically) for a guiding, unifying figure that the tireless reformer came to be remembered and honored. It was as an educator that Pestalozzi became the most important national figure in Switzerland, providing sense and a purpose to the whole nation. However, his books were little read, and his pedagogical concepts of the “method” were not put into practice.

See also: **Basedow, Johann Bernhard; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Education, Europe; Salzmann, Christian Gotthilf**

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DANIEL TRÖHLER

Peter Pan and J. M. Barrie

The children’s drama *Peter Pan*, by J. M. (James Matthew) Barrie, first presented on the London stage in 1904 and then in the form of a novel in 1911, created a literary character who has potently played upon children’s imaginations through the entire twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century. Barrie offered to the adult public a particular vision of childhood from the Edwardian threshold of the twentieth century: Peter Pan, the child hero who never

grows up and therefore must remain radically elusive and inassimilable to the adult world.

The story tells of Peter’s visit to the nursery of the Darling children—Wendy, Michael, and John—and his seductive invitation to them to escape from home and parents by flying to the magical island of the Neverland, where a colony of lost boys pursue boyish adventures involving fairies and pirates. In particular they do battle against Peter Pan’s arch-enemy, the pirate Captain Hook, whom Peter heroically vanquishes before returning the Darling children to their home in London so that they may eventually grow up. The part of Peter Pan onstage has been traditionally assigned to an adult actress impersonating a young boy.

If the nineteenth century fostered a Victorian cult of childhood’s innocence, preserved according to rigorous forms of domestic propriety, the drama of *Peter Pan* in 1904 represented a literal escape from Victorian childhood as the Darling children flew right out the window. It was reenacted every year at Christmas time. Though the character of Peter evolved from Victorian fairy stories, and he was always accompanied by the fairy Tinker Bell, the drama reached the stage in an age of early modernism, and its vision of children’s minds is in many ways curiously modern. The novel of 1911 presents Mrs. Darling, the children’s mother, sorting through their minds like chests of drawers while they sleep: “When you wake up in the morning, the naughtiness and evil passions with which you went to bed have been folded up small and placed at the bottom of your mind; and on the top, beautifully aired, are spread out your prettier thoughts, ready for you to put on.” Barrie goes so far as to suggest that one might try to make a “map” of a child’s mind, a “rather confusing” map, on which one might find the Neverland (pp. 5–7). Such whimsy was not altogether remote from the contemporary spirit of SIGMUND FREUD, who was also making maps of the mind, who also recognized that the mind had folded elements at the bottom, and who, especially, discerned “evil passions” or amoral impulses in children. Barrie was whimsical but not necessarily sentimental about children. The aptness of his insight was confirmed by the returning troops of children who came to the play every Christmas season to watch the Darling children cheerfully abandon home and parents.

Indeed, with the recurrence of the Christmas theater seasons, new generations of children attended the drama while the children of past seasons did what all children (except Peter Pan) do: grow up. The sentiment of the drama and the novel were peculiarly pitched at adults: reminding them that the insides of their children’s minds would always be alien, and at the same time that their children would inevitably grow up and cease to be children. Rather than carrying on the Victorian cult of childhood, *Peter Pan* played to a new breed of ambivalent nostalgia for childhood. At the conclusion of the story, Wendy is an adult and Peter Pan returns

to carry off her child to the Neverland. “And thus it will go on,” comments Barrie, with his concluding flourish, “so long as children are gay and innocent and heartless” (p. 192). The joint attribution of innocence and heartlessness gave *Peter Pan* its own peculiar post-Victorian twist before a public of ever-aging, and always renewed, generations of children.

After Barrie’s death in 1937, the rights to Peter Pan passed, by the author’s beneficent bequest, to the children’s hospital of Great Ormond Street in London, further enhancing the already mythological quality of the story. There was a silent film of 1924, still in Barrie’s lifetime. Walt Disney put his own animated American mark on the legend with the movie *Peter Pan* in 1953, and a Peter Pan ride for children, aloft, remains part of the experience of Disney World in the twenty-first century. Broadway weighed in with *Peter Pan* in 1954, starring Mary Martin, singing and flying, as the boy who never grew up. Steven Spielberg, the cinematic master of American fantasy, created his own version of the story in 1991, with a slight shift in emphasis, under the title *Hook*. In the meantime, scholarship and biography also made important contributions to interpreting *Peter Pan*. The biographer Andrew Birkin’s *J. M. Barrie and the Lost Boys*, published in 1979, explored Barrie’s close personal relationship with the five little boys of the Llewellyn Davies family and suggested the possibility of pedophile fantasy as one of the ingredients that went into the making of the children’s classic. In 1984 the literary critic Jacqueline Rose published *The Case of Peter Pan, or, The Impossibility of Children’s Fiction*, arguing that the work’s cultural sway came from its bundling of the sexual and political contradictions inherent in the adult enterprise of representing children.

A crucial aspect of the history of childhood ever since the Renaissance has been an increasing cultural attention to the fundamental differences between children and adults. The literary legend of Peter Pan, still potent a century after its creation, finds its sentimental force in the aching consciousness of that difference. When Peter returns for Wendy, years later, she confesses what he is too childishly self-absorbed to recognize: “I am old, Peter. I am ever so much more than twenty. I grew up long ago.” When he offers to teach her to fly again, with a sprinkling of fairy dust, she replies, “O Peter, don’t waste the fairy dust on me” (p. 189). Invoking the Victorian theatrical nonsense of fairy dust, Barrie conjured with remarkable modernity the abyss that separates adults from children.

See also: **Children’s Literature; Theories of Childhood.**

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LARRY WOLFF

Pets

The association of childhood with pet-keeping is easy to see in contemporary culture. Children’s intimacy with pets is a stock image of life in suburban America, a theme deployed throughout the world by global capitalism, intensifying the message of childhood as timeless, happy, and safe, fixed both within nature and in a protective, snapshot moment. It is a kinship acknowledged in calendars, stories, stuffed animals, commercials, and mail-order catalogues.

How did this relationship come about? Tess Cosslett suggests in “Child’s Place in Nature” that for nineteenth-century people, the link between children and animals was clear and unmediated. When a child encounters an object in nature, French philosopher and historian Hippolyte Taine argued, “animal or tree, she immediately meets it as a person and wants to know its thoughts and words; that is what she cares about; by a spontaneous induction she imagines it like herself, like us; she humanizes it” (quoted in Cosslett, p. 481). Cosslett shows how these views found expression in CHILDREN’S LITERATURE. In the story “Inferior Animals” by Margaret Gatty, author of *Parables from Nature* and other books about nature for children, for example, we are directed to “see the little child as she babbles to her cat on the rug, and would fain be friends” (p. 482). Children were like “primitive peoples,” Taine explained. In Old Norse poetry and in the folk tales of medieval Wales, for example, “animals have also the gift of speech.”

Children are feminized by the pronouns employed by Taine and Gatty, closer to nature than to men. Gatty mourned the “necessary unlearning” of our childhood instinct for intercommunication with the animals, a theme which the stories in the *Jungle Book* by RUDYARD KIPLING also address. Mowgli’s trajectory from wild child—half animal, half human (“I am two Mowglis,” he sings)—to adult is, Cosslett explains, “part of growing up and leaving the childhood space of play and ambivalence between human and animal natures” (p. 487). Children feel an affinity for nature, one that adults, males, and modern people, have lost. In children’s literature, in the fantasy interactions of child and beast, that infantile closeness is recaptured. “Perhaps the child can reclaim as fiction what the adult has to lose as primitive superstition,” Cosslett suggests, explaining this nineteenth-century point of view (p. 481). “Only children, or child-like men . . . have any chance of breaking through the charm which holds nature thus as it were frozen around us, like a petrified magic city,” German romantic writer Novalis explained (quoted by Cosslett, p. 483).

Research by cognitive scientists into how children perceive the relationship between themselves and other animals belies the “natural” connection assumed by these nineteenth-century thinkers. Gregg Solomon and Deborah Zaitchik show in a 2000 essay, “Les enfants et la pensée animale” (Children and animal thought), that children intuitively recognize themselves as humans to be “ontologically unique,” essentially different from other animals: “Consequently, they are reluctant about attributing such essentially human characteristics as the ability to pretend or imagine to other animals” (p. 166). Their research shows how tenacious is the idea of difference—of the separateness of species, of the alienation of human and beast—among young children. Indeed, they show how hard it is to unlearn intuitive ideas about the radical difference between humans and other animals, and how culturally specific that process of unlearning is. A study cited by Solomon and Zaitchik compared two groups of children living in the same Midwestern town. One group was made up of the children of fundamentalist Christians, the other excluded them. The young children of both groups were essentialist in their thinking about species, that is, they believed people were—in essential, defining ways—completely different. Adolescents and adults differed, however. The nonfundamentalists had overcome that so-called bias, while fundamentalists remained locked into the beliefs of their childhood. At the very least, Solomon and Zaitchik conclude, these studies suggest the critical role cultures may play in modifying early notions of the human–animal divide.

The work of anthropologist Rita Astuti on the Vezo of Madagascar is instructive along these lines. In “Les gens ressemblent-ils aux poulet?” (Do people resemble chickens?), Astuti describes Vezo children torturing animals. As a form of PLAY, they tear the legs off crabs, stab the eyes and wounds of captured sea turtles, and hunt and gratuitously hurt birds, butterflies, grasshoppers, lizards, frogs, and all manner of creatures. Only adults treat animals with respect. Vezo behavior changes when individuals are old enough to understand the restrictions of taboo, which recognizes the moral kinship between humans and certain privileged animals. Thus it is adults who have created an imagined connection between childhood and animal life.

Children and pets are often paired in popular culture, but not because of any natural or indisputable affinity on the part of children for animals. It may be cultural habit alone that prompts Nicholas Orme in *Medieval Children* to state that “children bonded with animals, too, as they do today, because of animals’ comparable size, their different activities, and the apparent friendliness of many of them” (p. 68). Much of the evidence of bonding, however, is slight. We read in Orme of a girl “knocked in the water by a pig” she was feeding, and another drowned while washing the skull of a bird she may have been tending. In addition, a few “household animals” are named in fifteenth-century schoolbooks. The fact that these were named suggests an emotion-



Miss Anna Ward with Her Dog (1787), Joshua Reynolds. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the pairing of children and animals signified the instinctual affinity of children for nature, an affinity that overcivilized adults had long lost. © Kimbell Art Museum/CORBIS.

al connection. These include a hen, a cock, and, possibly, a dog named Whitefoot. Some royal children hunted with hawks and hounds, “animals cared for by others,” Orme notes, “but which the child could fancy to be its own.” Steven Ozment notes a few incidents like these in *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe*, including children playing with tame birds and pretending to be horses and goats (pp. 71–72).

More typical of human–animal relationships in the Middle Ages is cruelty to animals on the part of children. Thomas More mentions that boys loved to play cock-stele. The cock-stele, Orme explains, “was a stick to throw at a cockerel in the cruel sport of burying the bird in the ground and aiming sticks and arrows at its head” (p. 179). Boys, and possibly girls, too, Orme suggests, organized cock-fights on Shrove Tuesday, a day “particularly important in the children’s calendar[,] . . . a public holiday and one when children had their own activity: cock-fighting” (p. 185). Another favorite pastime was raiding birds’ nests—breaking eggs and killing baby birds—an activity which along with cock-fighting helped to galvanize the European animal-protection movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The dog is at once the child's pet and an emblem of her status as a Christian child, educable, trainable, tied by "leading bands" to the values of her home. In another example, the girl in Jacob Ochtervelt's *Family Portrait* (1663), is training her small spaniel to sit up on his back paws, begging in a familiar way for a cookie or treat. Her father sits behind them, facing us, with his hand on a page of his Bible, while her mother stands, pointing a finger at the dog. These paintings evince a "tradition in which the instruction of children is reinforced by the visual analogue of training dogs in obedience," a tradition within which kittens or cats, in contrast, signal opposite qualities, and "function as symbols of fecklessness or unteachability" (p. 547).

Pets seem to amplify the message that children are meant to broadcast in Dutch life. They form part of a system of signs that tells viewers that a home is ordered, as in Pieter de Hooch interiors, or disordered, as in Jan Steen's *The Dissolute Household* (1668), where the prettified dog (it seems to be wearing a bow) scrounges for food on platters dropped on the floor as the children steal from their drunken mother. Whether, or to what extent, children and pets were bound together in social life is hard to tell. That they have linked meanings within the cultural universe of the Dutch is less in doubt.

We find a similar figurative quality assigned to pets in the nineteenth-century practice of pet-keeping. Pet-care books, which begin to be published in the 1850s for a middle-class audience, speak to the sanctity of the home and the role of dogs in guarding that domain both from strangers and from the pressures of modern life. Dogs, especially, come to form part of the emotional furniture of the bourgeois home, as Pierre Auguste Renoir implied in his portrait of *Madame Georges Charpentier et ses enfants* (1878). There, one Charpentier child sits on the shaggy Newfoundland while another is perched on the sofa, the dog as much a component and defining feature of the home as the children themselves.

What is surprising about nineteenth-century pet-keeping practice is the extent to which it is defined as an adult activity. Harriet Ritvo's work on the development of dog breeds shows how grounded in adult needs for status dog breeding institutions were. And although children figure in dog-care books, it is only at a remove, metaphorically, as in the stories of BEATRIX POTTER. Far from being directed to children or children's needs, much of the literature on pet-keeping describes pets as replacement children, or imitation children, or better children. According to Kathleen Kete's *The Beast in the Boudoir*, dogs lived "in an eternal childhood, a minority without end" (p. 82).

Like children, pets demanded attention, training, food, and sometimes clothing. But in return, it was promised, they were faithful to the grave. Pets took the "place of dead or departed children, of daughters who have been seduced, of spouses who have been ungrateful" (Kete, pp. 35–36). They

Keith Thomas in *Man and the Natural World* and Erica Fudge in *Perceiving Animals* have shown the importance of Puritan and humanist thought in recasting European's relationship to animals—from one of simple dominance to stewardship and even kinship. It makes sense, then, that the pairing of children and pets enters the historical record during the Dutch Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The United Provinces was a stronghold of both humanist and Calvinist cultures, and a haven for the English Puritans. In Dutch paintings of the time we find dogs and cats within the home, playing with children, participants in and witnesses to family life. We can interpret the place of pets within Dutch culture as part of the transformation in European attitudes toward animals, but, more particularly, as we shall see below, as an expression of beliefs about family life.

What does this evidence tell us? Historian Simon Schama in *The Embarrassment of Riches* shows us that in paintings of Dutch domesticity, "we are not merely glimpsing snapshots from the family album, but scenes from the interior of the Dutch mental world" (p. 495). In Jacob Gerritszoon Cuypp's *Portrait of a Child*, for instance, a "chubby-cheeked" little girl is shown holding the leash of an even smaller dog, perhaps a puppy, as Schama argues, and holding an oversized pretzel.

were buried in pet cemeteries with tombstones, as if marking human loss, then replaced. They found a place within an adult culture marked by the loneliness of modern life. The importance of pets as replacement children continues in contemporary America. For example, suburban towns might have both a pet bakery and an upscale shop for canine and feline toys and clothes, often directly across the street from an equally upscale clothing store for children. For some women a new puppy seems to herald the end of reproduction. The last “child” is canine, a substitution for what the family cannot afford, an outlet for nurturing not yet exhausted.

A custody case reported by Adam Liptak in the *New York Times* on July 12, 2002 (“Man Loses a Best Friend”), describes some of the issues involved in treating pets like children. A divorcing couple in Pennsylvania had agreed that the wife would have custody of their dog, Barney, and the husband would have visiting rights. The law refused to recognize the arrangement made between the couple, however. A state appeals court ruled that although the former husband “appears to treat Barney, a dog, as a child,” legally he had the status of “a table or a lamp.” The status of animals—pets included—is of increasing concern to the practice of law in the United States, where a growing number of law schools offer courses in the subject, and the animal rights movement in general has called into question the boundaries between human and animal.

Research in psychology helps explain why we might treat animals like children. As Kete reported in *The Beast in the Boudoir*, talking to pets is shown to lower blood pressure. People’s “voice tones and facial expressions,” in speaking to pets are the same as those used by “lovers or by mothers with small children” (p. 37). It is for this reason that pets are being used in therapy, especially as tools in the treatment of older people. Psychologically, they *are* replacement people—a transference made more easily by the physical resemblance of pets to children. Both are cuddly and cute, at least in the views of their handlers.

The anthropocentric culture of European America is becoming increasingly anthropomorphic. A tension exists, however, between the blended imagery of pets and children today and the wide range of children’s behavior, both toward animals and people. Earlier pet-keeping cultures were bolder. The feral children of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe—Peter the Wild Boy and Victor the Wild Boy of Aveyron, for example—anti-pets, as it were, allowed for discussion of the “brutish” nature of humans, though ideas about the natural goodness of children and nature also prevailed. Even among the child-happy Dutch, it was the trainability of children, not their innocence, that canines depicted. The animal protection movement in nineteenth-century Britain and France recognized that children, like adults, were prone to abuse animals. The movement was

clear about the dangers this behavior posed to society. “The child is father to the man” was an often-repeated slogan of reformers. William Hogarth’s print *The Four Stages of Cruelty* (1750–1751) illustrated this point in the mid-eighteenth century, showing the juvenile abuser of dogs and the later robber and murderer.

A 2003 article on dog fighting by Shane DuBow makes a point similar to the animal protectionist arguments of an earlier age, though it is an echo now rarely heard: the inner-city children who grow up training pit bulls to rip each other apart will, in their turn, become violent. “You’re going to see a spike in violence” as these children grow up, one police sergeant is quoted as saying. The menace of violence implied in the pairing of child and pit bull is as important, however, as the image of peace and prosperity marketed by the puppies in the clothing catalogues. It is this menace that pet-keeping culture today seeks to efface. Perhaps it hides from us the gap between an ideal conception of the child and the more prosaic and versatile range of human behavior.

Children and pets are twinned in European-American culture as two moons might be, the one occasionally obscuring the other—the child, the pet—each reflecting, and together amplifying, the power of adult needs. The history of that association says little about the actual relationships between children and animals but suggests a continuity across European cultures in the power of childhood to speak to ideas of nature and for animals, real and imagined, to stand in for the human.

See also: **Theories of Childhood; Zoos.**

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KATHLEEN KETE

Photographs of Children

From the moment portrait photography become technically feasible in the 1840s, children have figured among the most popular and compelling of camera subjects. U.S. households spent \$9.1 billion on photography in 1999, and in 1995, 40 percent had a professional portrait photo taken. Yet by the turn of the twenty-first century, photographs of children had also become caught up in issues of child SEXUALITY and child sexual abuse. In Europe and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, photography played a crucial role in reflecting, producing, and disseminating a Romantic ideal of children as innocent, vulnerable, emotionally priceless beings in need of special nurturance and protection from adult forms of work and social interchange. The contentiousness that surrounds photographic representations of children in the twenty-first century is symptomatic of the breakdown of this long-held Romantic ideal and the emergence of a post-Romantic child whose qualities and status remain radically in doubt.

Portraits

Popular commercial culture embraced portrait photography as a powerful new instrument in the formation and extension of the bourgeois liberal subject, that sovereign individual born of ENLIGHTENMENT values who is possessed of a psychologically complex sense of self and is entitled to certain inalienable human rights. For the first time in human history, a popular, affordable, and accessible medium of heretofore unimaginable verisimilitude recorded the visual presence of children neither rich nor famous enough to command the painter's attention. The children depicted in the early daguerreotypes (1839–1850s) make their appearance predominantly as members of a nuclear, middle-class

family. Often they pose with one or both parents, but frequently they appear singly or in sibling groups, their likenesses preserved in one-of-a-kind images placed in ornate, hand-held cases. These early photographs often possess a solemn aspect due to the long exposure times required and to the social formality of the occasion. The making of post-mortem photographs of deceased infants and children was a common ritual aspect of mourning and loss throughout the nineteenth century.

While child and family portraiture remained a mainstay of commercial photography, the advent of George Eastman's Kodak Company in the 1880s transformed the popular culture of photographic imagery. By adapting a number of advances in photographic technology (e.g., flexible roll film, more light-sensitive emulsions, simpler and smaller cameras, assembly-line photo processing) and by implementing an ambitious marketing strategy, the Kodak company convinced a U.S. and European middle class to take up photography as an essential attribute of family life. The amateur snapshot became as familiar and ritualistic as the BIRTHDAYS, holidays, graduations, weddings, reunions, and VACATION travels it served to commemorate. No childhood now goes undocumented. While the aesthetic and/or commercial value of this plenitude of self-generated familial imagery may be negligible, it constitutes a vast, collective visual unconscious informing our deepest understandings of self in relation to family history and the social order.

Fine Art Photography

While the family snapshot has served conventionally to construct and affirm a narrative of family well-being, the history of photography includes a distinguished tradition of artist-photographers from Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879) and LEWIS CARROLL (1832–1898) to Gertrude Kasebier (1852–1934) and SALLY MANN (b. 1951) for whom children have served as powerful iconographic figures. In these images the empirical fact of the subject's historical presence in front of the camera becomes enmeshed with literary references and aesthetic programs inherited from painting and printmaking. So, for example, the young members of Cameron's extended upper-class Victorian household embodied ideals of angelic transcendence from Renaissance painting while Carroll's images of his prepubescent friends represented his personal efforts to forge relationships based on play and fantasy that evaded conventional strictures segregating children from adults.

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the first decades of the twentieth, child nudity as portrayed in art photographs signaled a complex amalgam of associations composed of prelapsarian sexual innocence, family sentiment, nostalgia, and spiritual rejuvenation. This limited and socially acceptable range of meanings was secured by a fine-arts tradition inherited from the Renaissance in which nude forms, both male and female, constituted the outward, physi-



Self-Portrait with Hydroglider (1904), Jacques-Henri Lartigue. Lartigue's pride in a particularly favored toy is evident in this turn of the twentieth century photograph. The ease of using cameras has allowed children to be photographers as well as the subjects of photographs, giving viewers an image of childhood from the child's point of view. Photograph J. H. Lartigue. © Ministère de la Culture-France/AAJHL.

cal embodiment of abstract, philosophical, and aesthetic ideals. By the latter half of the twentieth century, however, the production and circulation of images of naked children by artist-photographers such as Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), Jock Sturges (b. 1947), and Sally Mann had become the focus of public controversy, state and federal legislation, and legal prosecution. In these post-Freudian proceedings, allegations of CHILD PORNOGRAPHY and child sexual abuse are countered by free-speech arguments often accompanied by sophisticated postmodern theories of representation that insist upon the fictive, unstable, and ideological nature of photographic realism.

Social Documentary

Beginning with the novels of Charles Dickens and Lord Shaftesbury's speeches in the 1830s and 1840s, the child has figured prominently in the rhetoric and politics of social reform as unconscionable victim of social injustice and symbolic hope of a better future. In the 1870s, Dr. Thomas John Barnardo (1845–1905) commissioned a series of "before and

after" albumen prints to illustrate the success of his CHILD-SAVING evangelical missionary activities in London. Photographs have been deployed ever since to solicit political and financial support from a reform-minded public. In the United States, Jacob Riis (1849–1914), a journalist and early advocate of slum clearance, used camera images of the New York tenement districts in order to illustrate and dramatize for a middle-class audience the systemic social problems arising from industrial capitalism's exploitation of immigrant wage labor. While children figure poignantly as innocent victims of slum conditions in many of these images, it is only with the five thousand photographs taken by LEWIS HINE (1874–1940) for the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE between 1907 and 1918 that the image of the working-class child takes center stage as the object of Progressive reform.

Documentary photography as a consciously articulated, professional genre, came into being in the 1930s in response to the social and economic upheavals of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Dorothea Lange (1895–1965) and Walker Evans



Dutch-born artist Inez van Lamsweerde has used computer manipulation of digital photographs—giving her girl models the tight grins of adult males—to represent the blurring of the lines between childhood and adulthood (*Final Fantasy, Ursula* [1993]). © Inez van Lamsweerde and Vinoodh Matadin.

(1903–1975) are only the best known of a talented group of photographers who worked under the auspices of the New Deal to record the plight of rural America in order to justify the federal programs aimed at providing assistance. A subsequent generation of photojournalists, spawned by a burgeoning picture press, included W. Eugene Smith (1918–1978), Roy DeCarava (b. 1919), and HELEN LEVITT (b. 1913). Almost invariably, they depicted children as immensely appealing beings whose unguarded happiness or unwarranted sufferings stood in dramatic contrast to the harsh and knowing circumstances of adult life. This liberal-humanist viewpoint became a foil for a subsequent generation of photographers, including Robert Frank (b. 1924), Diane Arbus (1923–1971), Ralph Eugene Meatyard (1925–1972), and Emmet Gowin (b. 1941), who tended to portray children as more directly implicated in the more awkward, confusing, conflicted, unsavory, materialistic, erotic, or emotionally disturbing aspects of American social life. It remained for such photographers as Mary Ellen Mark (b. 1941), Larry Clark (b. 1943), Chris Killip (b. 1946), Sebastião Salgado (b. 1944), Nan Goldin (b. 1953), and Lauren Greenfield (b. 1966) to create difficult bodies of work portraying runaway, refugee, alienated, precocious, and delinquent youths as symptomatic of a social landscape

in which the Romantic child figures only negatively as a lost possibility or grand illusion.

Beginning in the 1970s, photography came to be understood by an increasing number of artists as a medium that could be manipulated, re-contextualized, and thereby turned back against itself in order to highlight the complexity and instability of representation. Photographs of children that play with and against realist conventions have proven particularly useful to such postmodern artists as Jeff Wall (b. 1946), Christian Boltanski (b. 1944), Nancy Burson (b. 1948), and Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953) in disrupting prevailing assumptions concerning photographic transparency and documentary truth.

Related Topics

Commercial photography. Photographs of children have figured ubiquitously as catalysts for consumer desire since the coming of age of advertising and photo-reproduction technologies in the 1920s. In keeping with advertising photography's unrivaled capacity to imbue constructions of fantasy with the immediacy of "the real," icons of romantic innocence, familial bliss, and physical perfection saturate popular culture as the promise of happiness attendant upon

the consumption of goods and services—everything from automobile tires to health insurance. No matter how sophisticated and critical viewers, including very young ones, have become about the discrepancies between magazine fictions and lived experience, these images greatly influence common understandings and expectations as to who children are and how they fit into the adult world. Likewise, advertising imagery, in its ongoing search for new and more effective ways to solicit the viewer's attention, continues to make use of long-standing collective confusion, ambivalence, and repression regarding the erotic appeal of the child body.

Fetal imagery. Photographs of the human fetus (in conjunction with sonograms and related medical imaging technology) have had a powerful influence on conceptions of childhood by conferring personhood upon ever more immature stages of embryonic development. Lennart Nilsson's (b. 1922) color photographs, first published in *Life* magazine (April 30, 1965), vividly portrayed the fetus as a cosmic "star child" floating free from the mother's body, thereby providing a powerful ideological construct for the anti-abortion movement in which virtually all prenatal existence is redefined and reimaged as "the life of the unborn child."

Child as photographer. Children, by definition, lack the power to define themselves and their world. Yet photography, given its mechanical ease and its independence from language, holds out the promise of transparency and immediacy in communicating a child's vision or point of view. In the history of photography, the work of Jacques-Henri Lartigue (1894–1986) has long been celebrated as an aristocratic boy's-eye-view of the French belle époque. In the United States, WENDY EWALD (b. 1951) has worked with Southern rural working-class young people, encouraging them to use photography as a tool of personal expression and cultural empowerment.

Family history. Photography's ability to arrest and preserve the temporal moment even as it signals its irremediable passage has always operated with a particular, sentimental force with regard to the portrayal of childhood, understood as a transitory, future-oriented state of innocence and dependence that must give way to worldly knowledge and adult responsibilities. Photographs of childhood offer a formidable epistemological challenge and can often serve as catalysts for the exploration of the intersections between individual life stories and more collective and distanced forms of social history.

See also: **Images of Childhood.**

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Alice Liddell as the *Beggar Maid* (c. 1859), Lewis Carroll. Girlhood was a source of inspiration for Lewis Carroll, as it was for a number of Victorian artists. Whether or not Carroll was aware of the sexual overtones in his portraits of his young friends—immediately apparent to twenty-first-century viewers—has been a subject of intense debate among scholars. © Bettman/CORBIS.

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GEORGE DIMOCK

Physical Education

Physical education (sometimes referred to as GYMNASTICS or physical training) has a long tradition. National interests, cultural values, and much more have affected the attention it has received. In the *Republic* PLATO set forth two branches of education: *music* (that over which the Muses preside) for the mind; *gymnastics* for the body. Balanced development of the two—as well as harmonious development of the body—was the desired goal. Physical education has also retained strong connections with classical ideas regarding HYGIENE and preventative medicine. Since the late 1800s, efforts have been made to incorporate knowledge from physiology, psychology, and other disciplines into its practice.

In the eighteenth century a remarkable number of treatises were written in which exercise appropriate to children's age and sex was declared an essential part of their education. JOHN LOCKE's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), which opens with the dictum *mens sana in corpore sano*, was frequently cited. Physician Jean Charles Desessertz's *Traité de l'Éducation Corporelle des Enfants en Bas Âge* (1760), who some suggest influenced JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, would have boys engage in activities like running, jumping, shuffleboard, swimming, and fencing. Desessertz and the Comtesse de Genlis (*Leçons d'Une Gouvernante à ses Éléves*, 1791) were among many who declared that girls should receive much more exercise than their education typically provided. JOHANN BASEDOW's Philanthropium (1774) set aside three hours a day for recreation. JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH GUTSMUTHS (called by some the grandfather of modern physical education) had a major impact on developments in the nineteenth century.

During the 1800s formalized programs of calisthenics and gymnastics, each with its particular motives and style, developed in various European countries. The usual form of exercise in the state-aided schools of England was gymnastics/calisthenics. Games-playing (with its presumed poten-

tial for developing character) dominated at public schools like Harrow and Rugby and the grammar schools that sought to emulate them. In 1826, the same year that gymnastics (Turnen) was introduced at the Round Hill School, the *American Journal of Education* included an article titled "Physical Education" that declared: "The time we hope is near, when there will be no literary institution unprovided with proper means of healthful exercise and innocent recreation." Antebellum health reformers repeatedly urged parents and teachers to attend to the laws of growth, health, and exercise. The *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* and numerous educational publications did likewise. Catharine Beecher's popular *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families* (1856) included chapters on the circulatory and other systems of the body and described (with illustrations) school-room exercises for girls and boys.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century "physical training" was dominated by biomedical interests. Nine of the first ten presidents of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (1885) were physicians. In his opening remarks at the 1889 Boston Conference on Physical Training U.S. Commissioner of Education William T. Harris referred to the importance of exercise and commented on its benefits. The conference was devoted mostly to discussing the several gymnastic systems (such as the German, Swedish, and American systems) then in vogue; sport was barely mentioned.

In the twentieth century games, SPORTS, and dance increasingly replaced formal gymnastic/calisthenic systems as the focus of the curriculum. Young people found games more appealing, and INTERSCHOLASTIC ATHLETICS (for boys) were gaining prominence. Most important from a pedagogical standpoint, proponents of PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION were emphasizing the importance of PLAY and games in psychosocial as well as physical development. *The Pedagogical Seminary*, which G. STANLEY HALL initiated in 1893, published many articles like LUTHER GULICK's "Psychological, Pedagogical, and Religious Aspects of Group Games." As did numerous other leaders of the emerging field of physical education, Gulick made important contributions to the YMCA, the Playground Association of America (1906), and other organizations that worked with children. In 1903 he established the New York City Public School Athletic League, which served as a model for similar organizations across the country. The focus of these was *educational athletics*, that is, sports for large numbers of boys and girls organized around developmental principles, not highly competitive athletics for the few.

Although they may seem similar, physical education and interscholastic/intercollegiate athletics differ in their goals and other significant ways. (The distinction was set down by Plato more than two thousand years ago.) Articles published in the *American Physical Education Review* (later called the *Re-*

search Quarterly for Exercise and Sport) in the early 1900s reflect the nature of concerns that have been repeated since then. By 1920, education *through* the physical was rapidly replacing education *of* the physical as the dominant ideology in physical education. Through the contributions of individuals like Dr. Thomas Denison Wood, physical education retained connections with health education, which emerged as a separate field following World War I. Thomas Storey, the nation's first State Director of Physical Education (New York in 1916), was among many who believed that the goals of school hygiene and physical education (which put textbook information into practice) were identical as the object of both was health. Similar views were expanded upon in *School Program in Physical Education* (1922), prepared for the N.E.A.'s Commission on the Revision of Elementary Education. *Physical Education in the Elementary School* (1951), published by the California State Department of Education, is an example of other extensive works that have provided teachers with information and described hundreds of games, rhythmic, and other activities adjusted for grades one through eight.

In the late 1800s research focused upon posture and studying physical growth by means of anthropometric measures. During the 1920s attention was directed to measuring physical efficiency (such as strength and coordination). *Motor Performance During Adolescence* (1940), published by the Society for Research in Child Development, launched important work in motor development. Following the enactment in 1975 of PL-142, physical educators produced important studies involving children with disabilities. After the 1970s the volume of research relevant to physical activity, children, and youth expanded enormously across several disciplines. Studies of children's anxiety in sport that appear in publications like the *Journal of Sport Psychology* may reflect growing tendencies for some youngsters to participate in highly organized competitive programs.

During the 1960s the daily high school physical education requirements that most states had enacted declined, in part due to the initiation of more elective subjects, which required flexible scheduling. The Presidents Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, created in 1955, reported in 1976 that fewer than forty percent of public school students participated in daily lessons. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's "Guidelines for School and Community Programs" (1997) point out that in spite of extensive evidence from PEDIATRICS, epidemiology, physiology, and other fields confirming its importance, large numbers of children and adolescents do not engage in regular physical activity. Other countries are reporting similar findings. The inactivity brought about by the attraction of TELEVISION and other electronic media is one reason for the decline. In addition, the attraction of high performance sports, in which relatively few children and youth participate, has drawn attention away (unintentionally) from the broad-based curricular

and after-school intramural programs that physical educators once insisted form the basis of the schools' offerings.

See also: **Baseball; Basketball; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Playground Movement; Title IX and Girls' Sports.**

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ROBERTA PARK

Piaget, Jean (1896-1980)

Born on August 9, 1896, in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Jean Piaget grew up among passionate intellectuals in a basically Protestant environment. At a very early age, he became interested in issues connected with natural science, philosophy, logic, metaphysics, and theology. After studying science and being awarded his doctorate in zoology in 1919 with a thesis on molluscs, he moved to psychology with the hope of developing new ways to study empirically the old philosophical question "What is knowledge?" To achieve this, he started exploring the world of childhood. He studied in Zurich and at ALFRED BINET's laboratory in Paris. In 1921, he was called to direct research at the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute at the University of Geneva by Edouard Claparède and his former teacher Pierre Bovet. He was a professor of philosophy at the University of Neuchâtel from 1925 to 1929 before becoming a professor of the history of scientific thought at the University of Geneva, where he remained until his death in 1980.

Piaget played an important part in the thinking of the active school movements, and became involved in the foundation of the International Bureau of Education, of which he

was the first director. His research inquiries during that period (1920–1936) bear on logic in the child’s thought and moral judgment, and on the originality of child development in a non-adult-centered perspective. From 1936 onward, he began collaborating with other researchers, notably Bärbel Inhelder and Alina Szeminska, who contributed to the enrichment of his critical interview method and to the gathering of a very rich collection of empirical data on children’s cognitive development in the main areas of thinking. Piaget developed a theoretical model characterized by its focus on the child’s own activity in a search for equilibrium and by an attempt to formalize the structures underlying the cognitive functioning of observed children at given ages. He described four main developmental stages: sensori-motor, preoperationals, concrete operations, and formal operations.

From 1952 to 1963, Piaget also taught psychology, including the psychology of childhood, at the Sorbonne in Paris. During that time, his research moved to encompass a wider understanding of knowledge development. In 1955 he founded the International Center for Genetic Epistemology, an interdisciplinary meeting point where he could discuss, with specialists from all over the world, his main preoccupation: “How is knowledge possible?” He compared ideas and facts, the philosophy of science and the observation of children, working out the fundamental principles of genetic epistemology. He pursued his empirical research on the genesis of knowledge with collaborators who inventively multiplied the tasks to be presented to children, and he offered a general constructivist theory explaining the order in which, according to his observations, phenomena are understood. According to Piaget, the first stage of development is *objectal*; that is, the young child concentrates on the supposed properties of objects and does not distinguish him- or herself from these objects. The next stage is *interobjectal* (the child is able to connect self, objects, and phenomena) and at the final stage, the child is able to think hypothetically and to go beyond the present appearance of objects, actions, and phenomena.

Jean Piaget was wary of any attempt to imprison the child’s autonomous thinking with ready-made answers that would call on memory and docility rather than on intelligence and critical reflection. Piaget illustrated how knowledge is possible because learners actively strive for mastery and understanding. He offered evidence for a constructivist understanding of intelligence, that is, a view of cognitive development as not merely the fruit of biological maturation, or of simple cumulative self-experience, or of the direct interiorization of cultural transmissions, but an interplay of all of these different factors. Piaget’s findings have become the basis for much research in teaching, cognitive psychology, remedial education, and socialization and have penetrated so deep into almost all higher education programs in education and psychology that they have become accepted as simply common sense for many.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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Pierce v. Society of Sisters

In *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a 1922 Oregon law that compelled children aged eight to sixteen to attend not just a school, but the *public* schools. The Oregon compulsory public education law was sponsored by the Ku Klux Klan, Federated Patriotic Societies, the Masons, and smaller groups that appealed to white supremacist, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and nativist beliefs. Drawing on popular anxieties, the reformers argued that private schools allowed un-American elements to persist, and that compelling attendance to public schools was the only way to assimilate these diverse masses to white American Protestant culture. This method was not unique to Oregon, but had emerged from the ideals of the COMMON SCHOOL movement of the mid-nineteenth century. The reform movement was able to win in Oregon partly because it gained support from the educational establishment of the state, including the *Oregon Teacher’s Monthly* and a large proportion of public school teachers. In addition, Governor Walter Pierce had won his office through the support of the Ku Klux Klan, and he actively supported the law.

The bill helped align civil libertarians, Lutherans, Catholics, Adventists, Jews, and African Americans first against passage, and then against the constitutionality of the law. It seems likely that the KKK and their allies pushed the reform in Oregon because they held an overwhelming native white majority in the state, but there were also initiatives in other states awaiting the outcome of the court battle. The operators of two private schools, the Society of the Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus and Mary and the Hill Military Academy, filed complaints, gained an injunction against the law from a lower court, and won in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1925. The decision rested on two basic principles of American law. First, the state cannot seize private property, or

grant monopolies that will destroy livelihoods, unless it can show that a compelling public interest requires the action. Therefore, the state does not possess the power to put all the private schools out of business. Second, juvenile law must balance the will of the majority and parental authority.

Pierce is significant because it helped limit the power of the state to socialize children at a moment when this power was advancing. Writing for a unanimous court, Justice James C. McReynolds penned what has become an often-quoted phrase, "The child is not the mere creature of the state." It should be noted that *Pierce* was not decided on the basis of the rights of the child, but the rights of property owners and parents. It supported previous rulings such as *Meyer v. Nebraska* that had granted the state considerable power to exercise its interest to "foster a homogeneous people with American ideals." This assimilationist justification for public schooling still has standing in educational policy, but it has been challenged periodically since the 1940s.

See also: Children's Rights; Education, United States; Law, Children and the; Parochial Schools.

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PATRICK J. RYAN

Piggy Bank

Objects in which to collect coins have been found in Greek and Roman excavations. They were simple containers of clay or wood, usually pots and jars with slots, shaped by hand or turned on the wheel. To gain access to the contents of the bank, the owner would either have had to break it or slide the coins carefully out through the slot with the aid of a knife. The shapes of these banks changed little before the eighteenth century, when glazed earthenware (delftware) was introduced.

Piggy banks date from about the seventeenth century, when they were made of pottery. There is some debate about why the pig became a symbol of thrift. It is possible that it derives from *pygg*, the orange clay used to make pots in the Middle Ages. The name *pig* was probably retained after the clay stopped being used. Pigs were also considered to be symbols of good luck in many parts of the world.

In Germany and the Netherlands, piggy banks are given as good luck gifts and New Year presents. In the 1800s, England's Staffordshire potters made money boxes to meet the public's preference for rural scenes, castles, and flower-covered cottages. They were crude and simple but when dec-

orated with glazes they became attractive ornaments, which were often displayed rather than used, although small ones were given to children to use.

American money boxes followed European patterns until the mid-nineteenth century, when they were made extensively of metal. Between 1870 and 1900, hundreds of cast-iron mechanical banks, often representing a topical, patriotic, or amusing scene, were made. Banks shaped like buildings were made to represent real banks. In Britain, pillar box savings banks were introduced in the late nineteenth century, and post office savings books, which could be locked, were issued. It was usual to give a child a savings bank as a birth or christening present. Thrift and the cultivation of wise savings habits were actively encouraged, while any inclination towards frivolous spending was discouraged. In the nineteenth century, working-class children who earned money helped to support their families with their earnings. Children who were better off received pocket money from visiting relatives, which was often supplemented by money paid for running errands and helping with household chores. In the pre-welfare state era before World War II (1939–1945) a firm control over one's finances was vital if one wished to acquire possessions and property of one's own; sometimes even one's survival depended on good financial housekeeping. Banks and building societies gave away money boxes to encourage saving. (This custom endured into the late twentieth century; the most famous of these building society money boxes were the National Westminster Bank's pigs of the 1980s.)

A variety of money boxes in different shapes and materials were available. New technology coupled with gradual improvements in lifestyle and increasing interest in child rearing prompted manufacturers to design more interesting shapes and colors, intended for children. Printed tin plate was often used for their manufacture in the 1920s and 1930s, and plastics were used to produce cheap money boxes after 1945. Many children had some pocket money. Attractive novelties were also made, which could be used as toys or as containers for sweets and cookies. These would often also be used as advertising tools for various companies. Brightly colored miniature vending banks rewarded children with a small treat when they put their money in and also encouraged saving.

Despite all these innovations, temptations, and computerized banking, the piggy bank remains the shape that children associate with special treats and with saving all over the world.

See also: Allowances.

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HALINA PASIERBSKA

Placing Out

In 1607 the British Virginia Company commenced its colonization of the North American coastline with a settlement at Jamestown. Unfortunately, few of the early gentleman adventurers were personally amenable to the colossal physical challenges involved in creating settlements in the wilderness. With some urgency the authorities in London looked for sources of cheap labor, and many convicted felons were reprieved and despatched to Virginia. However, the demand for labor was insatiable and the available prison population proved insufficient. Sir Thomas Smythe, director of the Virginia Company, considered the possibilities of rounding up London “vagrants,” that is, abandoned, illegitimate, and runaway children and teenagers—poor, idle, and normally male—and “placing them out” in the Americas as indentured servants.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, placing out children in the American colonies where labor was needed was popularly associated with either the criminal justice system or common kidnapping. The first hundred “vagrants” were despatched from the London area to Virginia in 1618, their passage arranged by the city fathers. The Privy Council legalized the dispatch of “vagrant and recalcitrant” children to Virginia on January 31, 1620. Two further groups were sent by 1623. The requirements of the colonial labor market were met, partly from the recruiting activities of religious enthusiasts and philanthropists, but mainly by the organized efforts of emigration agents, known as *spirits* in popular parlance. The term had pejorative overtones; the dark underside of normal indentured servant recruitment was kidnapping. It was easier to snatch young people than it was to suborn adults, and some children living near major ports were simply kidnapped for indentured service in the Americas.

Child migration (in English parlance) or placing out (the American usage) had a long and checkered history, almost always surrounded by controversy and scandal. It was, actually, never a single policy pursued continuously; rather it was a complex tangle of competing private schemes, government initiatives, charismatic personalities, muddled priorities, and confused agendas. It was critically affected by the economic, political, and social pressures of particular times. Placing out young people as servants or apprentices was common in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. Service was the norm for plebeian youth until they came of age or married. During the American War of Independence and the long Napoleonic wars, the British army and navy absorbed tens of thousands of teenagers and young men who would previously have found indentured service in the North American colonies.

After the wars, amid great social distress in Britain, two small philanthropic efforts were made to place children abroad. In the years 1830 through 1841, the Children’s Friend Society sent some boys to the Cape Colony in South Africa and to Toronto in CANADA; and in the 1850s, Lord Shaftesbury supported the St. Pancras Board of Guardians sending a small number of teenagers to the British West Indies. In the 1850s, placing out at-risk children from the grim slums of east-coast American cities such as New York, Boston, and Baltimore was begun by the Reverend CHARLES LORING BRACE. The children were despatched in groups by rail on what were called ORPHAN TRAINS, to be fostered by families in the farming states of the Midwest. In the years 1854 to 1932, over 100,000 were placed out in this program.

Placing Out Peaks

Child migration to Canada peaked from the 1870s until the start of World War I and was triggered by desperate economic conditions over the previous few years: the social havoc caused by the 1866 cholera epidemic; the bad harvest of 1867; and widespread unemployment during a cyclic downturn in the economy. It was during this period that Annie Macpherson, Thomas Barnardo, and William Booth (the founder of the Salvation Army) commenced their work among the poorest and most destitute in the East End of London. To them, and to many other religious workers, emigration, including the forced migration of abandoned children, seemed the one certain way for the desperately poor to better themselves. Some eighty thousand children were sent to Canada during those years.

Child migration to the Australian states came toward the end of a long experience with the policy elsewhere. In the early twentieth century, new migration enthusiasts got involved, stressing that children should be trained in colonial orphanages before they were placed with colonial farmers. The dominating figure in this phase was Kingsley Fairbridge, who was offered land south of Perth by the Western Australian government in 1911 to pioneer his farm-school initiative. After an epic struggle Fairbridge and his supporters established their venture securely, and other farm schools followed in New South Wales and Victoria.

With the outbreak of World War I, migration from the British Isles was suspended, and when it recommenced in 1920, the numbers of children sent were never on the same scale. By 1920, powerful interest groups in Canada opposed the entry of unaccompanied juveniles and throughout the following decade child migration to Canada diminished. The Great Depression finally ended the program. As Canada barred the entry of unaccompanied juveniles, the voluntary societies focused their attention increasingly on AUSTRALIA, where, in the buoyant 1920s, governments favored their entry. Barnardo sent 872 children to New South Wales in the 1920s; Fairbridge continued his work and 918 children arrived in Western Australia during this period.

After World War II, nearly five hundred child migrants were brought to Australia, most of them under Catholic auspices and most sent to Western Australia. Thereafter, Fairbridge and Barnardo and many other groups brought in some children, but numbers remained small. Overall, about thirty-five hundred children came to Australia, around half of them to Catholic institutions. In 1950, Maltese child migrants were placed in orphanages in Western Australia. During the next decade some 280 boys arrived under this scheme. However, by this stage the enduring phenomenon in social engineering was becoming anachronistic. Times had changed; the social conditions and attitudes that had led to children being sent abroad were disappearing. Grinding poverty was being reduced and the social services of the welfare state were being extended, and it became the norm to care for children closer to home.

See also: **Apprenticeship; Foster Care; Orphans; Work and Poverty.**

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BARRY M. COLDREY

Plato (427–348 B.C.E.)

Plato was born into an aristocratic Greek family in the fifth century B.C.E. Like all youngsters of his status, he initially intended to go into politics. In his twenties, he came into the circle of Socrates, who was to be the lasting influence on his thought. After the execution of Socrates on accusations of the corruption of youth, Plato abandoned direct involvement in politics and turned to writing and education. All his works are in the form of dialogues, in most of which the main speaker is Socrates (469–399 B.C.E.). In 385 B.C.E. he founded the Academy in Athens, the first known institution of research and higher learning in the Greek world, which he headed until the end of his life. Plato deals with childhood in the context of education. He discusses early education mainly in the *Republic*, written about 385 B.C.E., and in the *Laws*, his last work, on which he was still at work at the end of his life.

The State as an Educational Entity

Plato saw the state primarily as an educational entity. In the *Republic* he discusses the principles of a state that is based on knowledge and reason, personified in the philosopher, and not on mere opinion or desire for power. This state is a strict meritocracy, where the citizen body is divided into the func-

tions (commonly but erroneously called “classes”) of producers, auxiliaries (in charge of internal and external security), and philosophers, the last two jointly referred to as “guardians.” This book is not so much a blueprint for a future state as a standard by which all states are to be measured. The *Republic* is concerned with the education of the guardians, but in the *Laws*, where Plato draws up an actual system of laws for a state conforming as much as possible to that standard, the same education is provided to all citizens, according to their abilities.

Plato devotes much attention to the education of the child as a future citizen. As such, he believes that the child belongs to the state and its education is the responsibility of the state (*Republic*, bk. 2, 376.). Education must be compulsory for all. State funds should pay for gymnasiums and for instructors, officials, and superintendents in charge of education, both cultural and physical (*Laws*, bk. 7, 764, 804, 813).

Plato is not concerned with training children for a trade but rather with giving them an education in virtue, which is to produce “a keen desire to become a perfect citizen who knows how to rule and be ruled” in turn (*Laws*, bk. 1, 643). Reason is man’s true nature, but it has to be nurtured from childhood by irrational means. Education is thus the correct channeling of pains and pleasures (*Laws*, bk. 2, 653), aiming at establishing “a nature in which goodness of character has been well and truly established” so as to breed a familiarity with reason (*Republic*, bk. 3, 398, 401).

Prenatal and infant care. Plato recommends that the care of the soul and body of the child begin even before birth, with walks prescribed for the pregnant woman. The first five years of life see more growth than the next twenty, necessitating frequent and appropriately graduated exercise. Children should be kept well wrapped up for the first two years of life, but they should be taken to the country or on visits. They should be carried until they are old enough to stand on their own feet, which should happen by the age of three, to prevent subjecting their young limbs to too much pressure. The main importance of movement, however, lies in its influence on the early development of a well-balanced soul (*Laws*, bk. 7, 758–759), and the cultivation of the body is mainly for the soul’s sake (*Republic*, bk. 3, 411).

Storytelling and literature. Storytelling is the main tool for the formation of character in Plato’s view, and begins at an earlier age than physical training. Stories should provide models for children to imitate, and as ideas taken in at an early age become indelibly fixed, the creation of fables and legends for children, true or fictional, is to be strictly supervised. Mothers and nurses are not to scare young children with stories of lamentations, monsters, and the horrors of hell, to avoid making cowards of them. That some such stories are enjoyed as good poetry is all the more reason for keeping them away from children (or even grown men) who

should be trained to be free and unafraid of death (*Republic*, bk. 2, 377–383).

Play. Plato believes that a child's character will be formed while he or she plays. One should resort to DISCIPLINE, but not such as to humiliate the child. There should be neither a single-minded pursuit of pleasure nor an absolute avoidance of pain—not for children and not for expectant mothers (*Laws*, bk. 7, 792). Luxury makes a child bad-tempered and irritable; unduly savage repression drives children into subserviency and puts them at odds with the world. Children and adults should not imitate base characters when playing or acting, for fear of forming a habit that will become second nature (*Republic*, bk. 3, 395).

Teachers must provide children with miniature tools of the different trades, so that they can use the children's games to channel their pleasures and desires toward the activities they will engage in when they are adults (*Laws*, bk. 1, 643). Children are to be brought together for games. The sexes are to be separated at the age of six, but girls too should attend lessons in riding, archery, and all other subjects, like boys. Similarly, both boys and girls should engage in dancing (for developing grace) and wrestling (for developing strength and endurance). Plato attached much importance to children's games: "No one in the state has really grasped that children's games affect legislation so crucially as to determine whether the laws that are passed will survive or not." Change, he maintained, except in something evil, is extremely dangerous, even in such a seemingly inconsequential matter as children's games (*Laws*, bk. 7, 795–797).

Physical education. "Physical training may take two or three years, during which nothing else can be done; for weariness and sleep are unfavorable to study. At the same time, these exercises will provide not the least important test of character" (*Republic*, bk. 7, 537). Children who are sturdy enough should go to war as spectators, if one can contrive that they shall do so in safety, so that they can learn, by watching, what they will have to do themselves when they grow up (*Republic*, bk. 5, 466; bk. 7, 537). Girls should be trained in the same way and learn horseback riding, athletics, and fighting in armor, if only to ensure that if it ever proves necessary the women will be able to defend the children and the rest of the population left behind (*Laws*, bk. 7, 804–805, 813).

Reading and writing, music, arithmetic. In Plato's educational system, a child, beginning at the age of ten, will spend three years on reading, writing, and the poets, and another three learning the lyre, and will study elementary mathematics up to the age of seventeen or eighteen, all with as little compulsion as possible, in order to learn "enough to fight a war and run a house and administer a state" (*Republic*, bk. 7, 535–541). Neither child nor father are to be allowed to extend or curtail that period, either out of enthusiasm or distaste. Children must work on their letters until they are able

to read and write, but any whose natural abilities have not developed sufficiently by the end of the prescribed time to make them into quick or polished performers should not be pressed (*Laws*, bk. 7, 810). The child's lessons should take the form of PLAY, and this will also show what they are naturally fit for. Enforced exercise does no harm to the body, but enforced learning will not stay in the mind (*Laws*, bk. 7, 536).

Family Control

In the *Republic* Plato abolishes the family for the guardians, to avoid nepotism and amassing of private wealth (*Republic*, bk. 5, 464). Wives and children are to be held in common by all, and no parent is to know his own child nor any child his parents—"provided it can be done" (*Republic*, bk. 5, 457). In the *Laws* Plato allows family raising for all citizens, with restrictions on child rearing and inheritance (*Laws*, bk. 5, sec. 729). Each family is to have only one heir, to avoid subdivision of the agrarian lots into small parcels. In cases where there is more than one child, the head of the family should marry off the females and the males he must present for adoption to those citizens who have no children of their own—"priority given to personal preferences as far as possible." If too many children are being born, measures should be taken to check the increase in population; and in the opposite case, a high birth-rate can be encouraged and stimulated (*Laws*, bk. 5, 740).

Plato stands at the fountainhead of Western philosophy. He established its themes and posed its problems. Plato's views on education have greatly influenced educational thought to this day and have become the basis of many educational policies. Such diverse thinkers as Montaigne, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, JOHN DEWEY, John Stuart Mill, Nietzsche, and many others owe much to Plato's direct influence. His view of philosophy as an educational activity and of education as the development of reason, the responsibility of which lies squarely with the state, is still a living educational challenge.

See also: **Ancient Greece and Rome; Aristotle.**

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Play

When considering the history of children's play, the very notion of when conceptions of childhood began must be con-



Pieter Bruegel the Elder depicts over ninety different games in *Children's Games* (1560), many of which would still be familiar to children in the twenty-first century, including hide-and-seek, leapfrog, and piggyback rides. © Francis G. Mayer/CORBIS.

sidered. Historian PHILIPPE ARIÈS, in his *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), contended that the idea of childhood did not exist in medieval society. Ariès also argued, however, that there was no clear separation of the world of adults and children prior to and during this period. He did not deny that children played among themselves or with adults. In fact, this entry examines play based on historical and contemporary studies from the fourteenth century through the late twentieth century. Although far from exhaustive, this work covers several distinct periods and highlights common themes in children's play over time.

Play in Medieval London

The best source on children's play in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is Barbara Hanawalt's 1993 book *Growing Up in Medieval London*. Hanawalt maintained that during this period children played ball and tag, ran races, rolled hoops, and engaged in role playing in imaginary parades, Masses, and marriages. Support for Hanawalt's claims came from court and coroner's records of injuries and deaths. For example, one young boy fell to his death when he climbed from a window to retrieve a ball from a gutter. In another case, a seven-year-old boy was climbing and jumping from timbers of wood with two other boys when a timber fell on him and broke his right leg. In her book, Hanawalt dramatizes the

story of eight-year-old Richard Le Mazon. Richard was on his way back to school after his midday meal when he joined his friends to play a popular but risky game—hanging by the hands from a beam that protruded out from the side of London Bridge. The boys competed to see who could swing out the farthest on the beam. Feeling brave, Richard swung far but, having forgotten to remove his school satchel from his back, he lost his grip due to the extra weight and fell to his death in the river.

Richard's death prevented him from participating in the boy-bishop celebration. This celebration was of special importance in the Middle Ages because it was reserved for children and coincided with St. Nicholas Day. St. Nicholas was considered the patron saint of children, and his feast day (December 6) marked the beginning of the Christmas season. The best or most favored scholar from each school would be elected to impersonate the bishop. The rest of the boys formed his clergy. The boys ousted the real bishop and took over for him, presiding over services and preaching the sermon. As Hanawalt notes: "It was one of those medieval, world-turned-topsy-turvy events. The boys, whose life seemed all discipline, were given a taste of power to discipline" (p. 79). The boy bishop and his clergy traveled in style, wearing ceremonial capes, rings, and crosses, and they



Children playing hopscotch at school, England, c. 1990s. Iona and Peter Opie chronicled the playground games and lore of mid-twentieth-century children in exhaustive detail. The Opies' studies showed that children possessed remarkably enduring traditions of games, stories, and expressions all their own. Jennie Woodcock; Reflections Photolibrary/CORBIS.

stopped at parish homes to receive offerings, meals, and gifts.

Hanawalt's work challenges notions that there was no clear conception of childhood at the time. It also shows that even though most children entered the world of adults and work at an early age, this did not mean there was no time for play. The study also, by its omission of specific references to the play of or special celebrations for girls, suggests that girls had far less autonomy and opportunities for play than boys. Girls were less likely to be educated, and their work inside and outside the home was probably more closely supervised.

Play in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America

Reports on the lives of slave children in the pre-Civil War South provide us some idea of how children played at that time, even in very oppressive conditions. Based on a belief that slaves would be more productive workers if they were not brought to the fields until early adolescence, slave children (especially boys) lived rather autonomous lives on the plantation. Lester Alston (1992) and David Wiggins (1985) captured these children's lives in their respective analyses of narratives collected from former slaves as part of the

1936–1938 Federal Writers' Project. According to these accounts, older slave women who were too frail to continue to work in the fields cared for the very young children. At the age of two or three, however, children joined a group of older youth who cared for them while they performed daily chores such as hauling water, fetching wood, tending gardens, and feeding livestock.

There was, however, more to these children's lives than chores and caretaking. They had some freedom to explore the physical world and to play. Older children especially had a good deal of autonomy. Most boys (and some girls) who had more stringent caretaking responsibilities made good use of their time by hunting and fishing during the day with peers and with their fathers at night. Not only were hunting and fishing enjoyable, but those activities also generated feelings of self-worth in the children because of their contributions to the family table.

Slave children engaged in both traditional and improvised play and games. As did the children of medieval London, slave children enjoyed dramatic role-playing. These children especially liked to emulate social events like church

services, funerals, and auctions. One former slave recounted the game of auction, where one child would become the auctioneer and conduct a simulated slave sale. The fact that slave children knew early on that they themselves could be sold and separated from their families displays the power of such play for dealing with fears and anxieties. In another game, "Hiding the Switch," several children would look for a switch hidden by another child. The one who found the switch ran after the others attempting to hit (and some cases actually hitting) them. The relation of this game to the often brutal treatment of adult slaves should be obvious.

Slave children played a number of organized games, such as jump rope and various chasing games. They did not typically play elimination games like dodge ball or tag, however; if they did, they altered the rules. In a 1985 book, American historian David Wiggins links this finding to real fears among these children that members of their families (and eventually they themselves) could be sold or hired out at any time.

Historical studies have also been conducted of children's play with TOYS (especially DOLLS) from the mid-1850s until the turn of the century. According to a 1992 article by Miriam Forman-Brunell, doll play before the Civil War was rare; it often was linked to domestic training, such as teaching girls to sew. In the decades after the Civil War, however, adults encouraged middle- and upper-class girls "to imbue their numerous dolls with affect, to indulge in fantasy, and to display their elaborately dressed dolls at ritual occasions such as tea parties and while visiting" (Forman-Brunell, p. 108). Although girls adopted this attitude to some degree, they did not simply internalize adult values. To the contrary, girls often used their dolls for purposes other than practicing the skills of mothering. Contemporary autobiographical reports describe girls rebelling against holding sedate tea parties by sliding their dolls down banisters atop tea trays and turning tea parties into fights among their dolls. In addition, girls often physically punished their dolls for bad behavior.

Such behavior was seen by adults as the expression of repressed anger. In fact, adults encouraged a form of play that now might be considered horrific or at least in bad taste: the enactment of doll funerals. According to Forman-Brunell, doll funerals were more common than doll weddings among middle-class girls in the 1870s and 1880s. She notes that mourning clothes were packed in the trunks of French lady dolls, and that fathers constructed tiny coffins for their daughters' dolls. Such play was not seen as morbid; rather, it was viewed as helping to develop the comforting skills that often were needed at a time when many relatives and friends died young. The similarity of this type of play to the auctions of slave children is striking.

Girls often went further than enacting imaginary funerals, however; some created harrowing scenes of ritualized executions and gruesome fatal accidents. Again we see that the

adult model for play was appropriated and embellished, not simply internalized.

David Nasaw's *Children of the City*, published in 1985, portrays the work and play of immigrant children in large cities from the late 1890s until about 1920. Nasaw's historical study (relying on records compiled by child reformers, oral histories, and autobiographies) shows that even poor children became active consumers in the booming economy of the period. Immigrant children engaged in many types of work (selling newspapers, candy, and personal items; making deliveries; scavenging; and caretaking) that contributed to the family's economic well-being. Despite this hard work, however, there was still time for play and for the development of a robust peer culture. Boys played ball, tag, and other games after school while they awaited the delivery of newspapers they would hustle for sale throughout the city. Children also took time out from scavenging in the dumps to forge make-believe battles and to play king-of-the-hill. Also children (mainly boys) held back from their parents small sums of their earnings to buy candy and watch movies, shown initially in nickelodeons and later in the first movie houses. Girls had less autonomy to play, since most of them assisted their mothers in the home with housework and the care of younger siblings. However, they were also given small allowances to purchase consumer items.

Play in Contemporary Times

Studies of children's play in the twentieth century moved from reliance on historical and indirect sources to direct observations and ethnographies of play from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Much useful information was gleaned from anthropological and sociological studies of children's play and peer cultures. The most well-known observational studies are IONA AND PETER OPIE's *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (1959) and *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (1969). These works included exhaustive details, in the tradition of descriptive folklore. Later work moved from detailed descriptions to a focus on children's actual engagement in play from a cross-cultural perspective. Much of this work was reviewed and evaluated in Helen Schwartzman's 1978 groundbreaking book *Transformations: The Anthropology of Children's Play*.

More recently, research on children's play has been tied theoretically and empirically to the notion of children's peer culture. In his 1997 book *The Sociology of Childhood* William Corsaro defines peer culture as "a stable set of activities or routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers" (1997, p. 95). Play is at the heart of peer culture.

Recent technological advances have enabled researchers to acquire audiovisual recordings of the fantasy play of three- to five-year-old children for intensive microanalysis. In preschools, spontaneous fantasy often develops around sandboxes or tables and in building and construction areas. The

expectations children bring into these areas are not well defined. They know they will play with certain objects (toy animals, blocks, cars, and so on), but they seldom enter the areas with specific plans of action. The play emerges in the process of verbal negotiation; shared knowledge of the adult world, although referred to occasionally, is not relied upon continually to structure the activity.

In spontaneous fantasy, children use a number of identifiable communicative strategies which include: paralinguistic cues such as voice, intonation, and pitch; repetition; descriptions of actions; semantic linking of turns at talk; and gestures and movement of objects to structure the play as it unfolds. The play involves underlying themes important in children's lives and present in FAIRY TALES and children's films: danger and rescue, lost and found, and death and rebirth. The children do not simply produce copies of fairy tales or films, however, but they embellish existing stories and create new ones through highly creative improvisation. In fact, three- to five-year-old children are more skilled at creating, sharing, and enjoying fantasy play than are most older children and adults.

Children continue to enjoy and engage in dramatic role play. Children frequently display power, discipline, and authority in these games, as they gain a sense of control compared to their everyday lives when they are continually in a subordinate position to adults. Comparative studies of role play across cultures and social class groups show that children project to their future lives as adults; in the process, they adopt orientations that contribute to social perpetuation of class, race, and gender inequalities.

Children also produce spontaneous games with rules in order to identify and avoid monsters or threatening agents. Such play is attractive to children because it creates tension and fear, but it allows them always to be in control and to escape to safety. In fact, in such play, threatening agents are taunted and mocked as children gain control of real ambiguities and underlying fears in their lives.

In these various types of play, much has been made of the gender separation that begins when children are around six years of age and reaches its peak in the early years of elementary school. Such separation surely does occur; it is likely a reflection of differences in play preferences by gender and the organizational structure of the social institutions (especially schools) where children spend a great deal of their time. Some scholars have gone so far as to argue that there is a separate peer culture for boys and girls leading to clear gender differences in personality and social interactive styles. Others, however, relying on comparative studies of children of various races and classes, as well as analysis of children's actual play, have found that the gender relations, personality, and interactive style are much more complex. In most cases, gender separation is not nearly as complete as was often depicted in the past.

Finally, it is clear that children's play has been affected by what has been termed the "institutionalization of childhood": children's lives are increasingly scheduled and structured with less time available for spontaneous play. Also, with fewer siblings, children's increased time spent playing alone with the computer or video games suggests that advanced technology and the media more generally discourage collective play and dilute the creativity of children's peer cultures. Studies are needed to examine these trends more closely to estimate their effects and the possible consequences on the nature of children's play.

See also: **Indoor Games; Playground Movement; Street Games; Theories of Play.**

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Playground Movement

In the summer of 1885 the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association (MEHA) placed a pile of sand in the yard of the Parmenter Street Chapel, a mission in Boston's North End. The pile was called a sand garden, and its purpose was to provide a supervised PLAY area for the immigrant children in the immediate vicinity. At first, an average of fifteen children came three mornings a week. They dug in the sand, made sand pies, sang songs, and had parades. The supervisors took the opportunity to instill desirable moral conduct during play.

The sand yard became such a popular magnet for the neighborhood kids that the following summer MEHA opened three more sand gardens. In 1887 the program expanded to eleven locations—one in a school yard. The Boston School Board gave MEHA permission to use vacant school yards during the summer as supervised play areas for very young children. MEHA changed the sand garden name to *playground* and began transferring the responsibility for operations to the school board and park commission. School yards and park playgrounds expanded their programs to include activities for older children.

The playground idea spread to other cities through the public media and communications between settlement house workers. In 1887 the New York State Legislature authorized the purchase of property in lower New York City (immigrant ghetto areas) for small parks. In 1888 Philadelphia formed the Small Parks Association to develop playgrounds, and in 1892 the Boston Park Commission made plans for playgrounds in the midst of dense populations citywide. JANE ADDAMS, of Chicago's Hull-House, designed a model playground in 1894 to advance a higher social morality among the participants in her settlement house activities.

In 1900, fourteen U.S. cities were sponsoring playgrounds. By 1906, the year the Playground Association of America (PAA) was formed in Washington, D.C., a movement was evident, with twenty-five cities having playground operations. By 1910, there were fifty-five cities with playground programs. Also by 1910, 113 colleges and universities were offering classes in "The Normal Course in Play," a recreation leadership curriculum developed by the PAA in 1909. These classes identified the personnel and types of programs needed to operate playgrounds effectively.

The playground idea became a movement because it was an effective instrument to attract children into a fun environment so as to teach them lessons in manners, morals, and sportsmanship. Playgrounds also were designed to be safe havens in which children could temporarily escape, through play, the dire circumstances of their urban environments. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s playgrounds, supervised and guided by rules and regulations, continued to be the responsibility of public school boards and parks and recreation departments.

Play was an effective means for facilitating learning. Many municipalities and reform-oriented agencies began using organized play as the nucleus for other youth sport and service programs aimed at developing character and fitness. The Public School Athletic League, Police Athletic League, and the youth services of the Young Men's Christian Association were such programs.

World War II devastated many urban areas in Western Europe and children in these areas began creating their own play space in bombed out areas in their neighborhoods, using whatever materials and equipment could be found. These pocket play areas sparked in the United States the idea of adventure playgrounds where children could use their imagination in creating their own play environments. The playground leader's role changed from supervisor to enabler, encouraging children to act on their own ideas of play.

Today, playgrounds are a multibillion dollar business, and design, construction, and operations are too diverse for any general description to be meaningful. The National Program for Playground Safety offers up-to-date information on all aspects of contemporary playgrounds.

See also: **Children's Spaces; Progressive Education; Sandbox; Social Settlements; Theories of Play.**

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Police, Children and the

The police have often played ambiguous roles in the lives of children, acting both as agents of crime control and as unof-

ficial providers of social welfare services. On the one hand, police have treated children and youths as potential criminals, seeking to regulate their behavior by intimidating them, arresting them, detaining them, referring them to courts, and sometimes using force on them. On the other hand, police have also treated children and youths as vulnerable urchins in need of protection. Police officers throughout the years have found lost children, safeguarded them from traffic, referred them to social agencies, and organized recreation for them.

Before the Police

Children and youths have always misbehaved and committed crimes, but in the early modern world, juvenile conduct was governed by families or by others acting in their stead rather than external agencies. In France, Italy, and other European countries between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, youths themselves sometimes regulated the behavior of others by parading publicly at night, mocking, harassing, and occasionally assaulting people who had violated moral or social norms. More commonly, parents or other adult authorities managed youthful misconduct. At the colleges and academies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, teachers did their best to manage student duels and mutinies against school authority. Most often in urban Europe, a system of APPRENTICESHIP governed youth. Masters fed, housed, and taught trades to their sons and other young men, and in return these youths accepted their masters' moral authority for as long as they remained in that household. And in both England and the American colonies, authorities depended directly on families to correct wrongdoing. In seventeenth-century Massachusetts, magistrates regularly returned young offenders to their families for court-mandated whippings or punishments.

In the eighteenth century, these familial and household controls began to break down. Migration brought increased poverty to the cities of Europe and America, while the apprenticeship system deteriorated as an increasingly commercial and manufacturing-oriented economy made older trades less viable. Commentators noted a rising number of poor and vagrant children and youths visible in the streets of urban centers such as London and Philadelphia, and worried that they were turning to petty theft to survive. By the early nineteenth century, traditional mechanisms of control no longer seemed adequate to restrain a rising tide of crime and disorder in European and American cities. In response, public agencies—both state authorities and private philanthropies—assumed responsibility for regulating misconduct. States created penitentiaries for adult criminals, but nineteenth-century reformers assumed a special responsibility for wayward young offenders and thus established separate Houses of Refuge for youths, first in New York in 1825 and subsequently in Boston in 1826 and in Philadelphia in 1828. The creation of the modern police in American cities in the mid-nineteenth century represents part of a larger process of building a criminal justice system.

The Nineteenth Century

Police departments are innovations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. London's Metropolitan Police, considered the first modern police department, was founded in 1829. Boston established the first police force in the United States in 1838. New York followed suit in 1845 and Chicago in 1855. According to historian Wilbur R. Miller, modern police organizations were defined by their efforts to prevent crime rather than to detect it after the fact, to establish a centralized administration, to conduct full-time day and night patrols, and to wear visible symbols of authority such as badges and uniforms.

In the nineteenth-century United States, police forces were primarily urban institutions, oriented more toward service than toward crime control. Police officers—all male, and usually working-class whites drawn from the same first- and second-generation immigrant neighborhoods that they policed—performed their jobs mainly by walking beats. Our most detailed understanding of what patrolmen actually did comes from the 1895 diary of one Boston officer, Stillman Wakeman. Rather than devoting his time to enforcing the law or making arrests, Wakeman more regularly mediated neighborhood disputes. In particular, he dealt with youth when local home owners and storekeepers complained to him about boys breaking windows, setting fires, and committing petty thefts. Wakeman gauged his response according to the circumstances. Sometimes he made boys cease misbehaving; at others he forced them to apologize to their victims; only in the most extreme cases did he arrest the boys and bring them to court.

When police interacted with younger children, they mainly provided social services. Policemen aided children hurt in accidents involving wagons, trains, and public transportation by investigating what caused the incidents and ensuring that injured children received medical aid. Police also recovered lost children. In large and impersonal late-nineteenth-century cities, families could easily lose track of young children whom they allowed to play unsupervised and often turned to the police for help. Every year, urban police departments recovered and returned home hundreds of children, generally under age ten.

Police monitored older children in ways that combined social service and law enforcement functions. Beginning in 1883, for example, the Detroit police assigned men to serve as truant officers to enforce Michigan's compulsory education law. The stated purpose for this work was to prevent boys lacking "proper control" from drifting into crime. Likewise, urban police supervised boys working in street trades. In the 1890s, police officials in Pittsburgh expressed concern that street employment—particularly work as messengers—forced boys to frequent pool halls and brothels, and exposed them to gambling, drinking, and vice. Similarly, police officials worried that girls engaged in street trades

(such as selling newspapers) had taken the first step toward prostitution. In short, police sought to exercise control over street arabs because they regarded them as both potential victims of degradation and as potential perpetrators of crime.

Police often enforced the law in an extralegal, discretionary manner, with adolescents as well as with adults. Nineteenth-century police used violence as a means of control, even against youth. Making arrests required that police subdue suspects and transport them to the station, so officers sometimes preferred to simplify matters and punish offenders themselves. In particular, police used violence to reprimand youth, believing that it deterred teenagers from future crime. As late as the 1920s, Chicago policemen boasted that they routinely corrected young offenders by physically abusing them and letting them go.

At the turn of the century, urban police also acquired a reputation for arresting youth arbitrarily. In an 1884 study of Chicago law enforcement, future Illinois governor John Peter Altgeld reported that police detained hundreds of boys each year for sleeping in public, mainly to deter future mischief. Even so, children constituted a small portion of total arrests. In 1890s Detroit, for example, David Wolcott (2003) reports that boys and girls under age seventeen represented less than one in ten total arrests. Like urban populations as a whole, youths arrested were typically the children of working-class and immigrant parents. They were arrested for a mix of minor property crimes and offenses defined by their status as juveniles (such as truancy or curfew violations). When police did arrest children and youth, however, they sought to protect them by keeping them out of courts or jails, instead turning them over to their parents or social service agencies far more often than they did adults.

The Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, police underwent a long-term process of professionalization that reshaped their interactions with children and youth. In the 1910s, police administrators such as Richard Sylvester in Washington, DC, and August Vollmer in Berkeley, California, began to encourage greater centralization, more officer training, greater specialization, recruitment of better-educated officers, and a new orientation toward legal norms. More generally, they sought to shift the function of urban police away from providing social services (such as finding lost children) in favor of more efficient crime control.

The creation of JUVENILE COURTS—first in Chicago in 1899 and subsequently in most major cities by 1910—changed the legal and institutional context in which police dealt with children. Early advocates of juvenile courts such as Chicago activists Julia Lathrop and Timothy Hurley based their arguments in part on criticism of urban police. They maintained that police and courts detained children in jails together with adults, tried them before unsympathetic magistrates, and unnecessarily exposed them to danger and

corruption. Juvenile courts were designed to remove children from the criminal justice system and instead offer individualized treatment, either via probation or in reform schools. One purpose of juvenile courts was to reduce the influence that police exercised over youth.

In fact, the new juvenile courts did not fully remove the police from the emerging JUVENILE JUSTICE system. Police remained the primary source of complaints, arrests, and referrals to juvenile courts. Most big-city police departments designated specialized juvenile bureaus to investigate complaints about children and to work closely with juvenile courts. These officers determined which cases required hearings and which cases police could decide on their own. Essentially, they screened juvenile court caseloads (usually with the court officials' approval). In the early twentieth century, police juvenile bureaus resolved a majority of complaints without court hearings. Additionally, police exercised authority over youth by deciding whether to detain young offenders following arrests but prior to court hearings. Even in jurisdictions such as Los Angeles, where juvenile courts were legally in charge of detention decisions, police juvenile bureaus made recommendations that were almost always implemented.

Police departments also developed innovations aimed at addressing the distinctive needs of female juvenile offenders. Departments hired female officers whose primary duty was to safeguard girls from the perceived threat of urban vice. The first policewoman was appointed in Portland, Oregon, in 1905, but the 1910 appointment of social worker Alice Stebbins Wells to the Los Angeles Police Department began a national movement for women police. Wells and policewomen like her, hired at the insistence of women's civic organizations, sought to appropriate police authority to expose immorality, to regulate commercial amusements, and to rescue girls whom they viewed as sexually vulnerable. Most big-city police departments hired policewomen by 1920, but until the 1970s usually defined their roles merely as supervising teenage girls and young children, thus marginalizing women within policing.

In the 1920s and 1930s, however, a number of departments did seek to professionalize the traditional connection between social services and crime control by establishing new "crime prevention" programs for youth. Berkeley's Vollmer proposed that authorities should intervene aggressively into the lives of "predelinquent" youth. Police, Vollmer argued in 1919, should not only enforce laws, but also act as social workers in order to prevent children from becoming delinquents and criminals. By monitoring everyday behavior, police could identify troubled youth and refer them to treatment agencies. To implement these ideas, Vollmer established a "coordinating council" of police, court officials, educators, and social workers to share information about at-risk youth and to determine the most efficient means of in-

tervention. These plans achieved their fullest implementation in Los Angeles in the 1930s, where the police established large-scale recreation and mentoring programs and participated in a county-wide coordinating council. Similarly, the New York Police Department established its well-known Police Athletic League in 1932 to organize SPORTS and activities. These crime prevention programs were directed mainly at boys, seeking to establish masculine bonds between police and youth.

In the 1930s, police also emphasized fighting crime among youth. In light of highly publicized crime sprees by well-known bandits and strong rhetoric from law enforcement officials such as FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, public concerns over serious crime surged in the Depression-era United States. In response, police priorities de-emphasized providing social services in favor of arresting and punishing offenders, even if they were juveniles. In addition, as African Americans migrated to northern industrial cities and Hispanics migrated to the urban West, police increasingly blamed these groups for crime and delinquency, and increasingly targeted them for arrest. In 1930s Los Angeles, police shifted from arresting juveniles mainly for minor property crimes and status offenses to arresting them for felonies. In addition, they disproportionately arrested African Americans and Hispanics, rounding up groups of young men or pulling over youths in automobiles on the suspicion that the vehicle had been stolen.

In the decades following World War II, the social service and crime control functions of policing youth coexisted in an uneasy balance. Police departments maintained separate juvenile divisions and continued to offer character-building programs, mainly for boys. Filtering young offenders out of juvenile courts and referring them to social service agencies had become a standard duty for police within the juvenile justice system. Participant-observer studies such as those of Donald Black and Albert Reiss and of Robert Lundman found that, in the postwar decades, complaints about mischief and petty theft remained the main cause of police interaction with youth, much as they had in the 1890s. At the same time, juvenile crimes began to be perceived as more like those of adults. In the postwar decades, both boys and girls increasingly participated in gangs, took DRUGS, and committed violent offenses. Although police continued to incorporate social service functions into their work with children, the demands of crime control more and more determined the nature of police interactions with youth in the latter half of the twentieth century.

See also: **Delinquency; Guns; Law, Children and the; School Shootings and School Violence; Street Arabs and Street Urchins; Teen Drinking; Youth Gangs.**

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DAVID WOLCOTT

Polio

Poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, is a virus disease affecting the central nervous system. The infection passes from person to person by the fecal-oral route. Throughout most of human history the polio virus was ubiquitous and infected almost all children as soon as they were weaned from breast milk to a mixed diet, but infection caused symptoms in only a small minority. Infants exposed to the polio virus when they were first weaned retained some residual maternal immunity, or else the virus was less virulent before the early twentieth century when the disease began occurring in EPIDEMICS of paralytic poliomyelitis. For either or both of these reasons, the infection usually passed unnoticed since it caused neither symptoms nor signs.

Early History

Poliomyelitis occurs when the virus invades the nervous system and attacks nerves that activate muscle movement, but

in many cases infection with the polio virus causes no signs or symptoms at all. The symptoms include fever, headache, and muscle pains, rapidly followed by the onset of localized muscle paralysis, which is permanent. Depending on which nerves are attacked—that is, which muscles are paralyzed—the outcome varies from mild weakness of part of an arm or leg to death if nerves in the brain stem that control muscles required for breathing and swallowing are paralyzed. Until about the 1920s polio was a disease of infants and young children, but older children, adolescents, and adults occasionally got it too. When a limb was paralyzed in childhood, the muscles wasted away and the limb did not continue to develop at the same rate as that on the unaffected side, leading to a shriveled arm or leg or some worse deformity, depending upon the severity of the disease.

We know that poliomyelitis has existed for thousands of years. A stone carving from Egypt, dated about 1500 B.C.E., shows a youth with the deformed shrunken leg that is characteristic of polio and has virtually no other possible cause. The old name for the disease, infantile paralysis, recalls the time when it was primarily a disease of infants and very young children and its outcome was paralysis of the affected muscles. Both the little crippled boy who could not follow the Pied Piper of Hamelin and Tiny Tim in Charles Dickens' classic *A Christmas Carol*, were probably victims of infantile paralysis. Because of its fecal-oral transmission route and because of ecological factors such as the prevalence of flies to carry fecal contamination to food in summer, poliomyelitis was always predominantly a summertime disease.

Polio Epidemics

When standards of domestic HYGIENE and environmental sanitation began to improve in the rich nations of Europe and North America after the sanitary reforms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, infants often escaped infection and the disease began to have a greater impact on older children, adolescents, and young adults, and began to occur in epidemics. Repeated epidemics affecting significant numbers of children, adolescents, and young adults became commonplace in North America, Europe, and Australia early in the twentieth century.

These epidemics had dramatic effects on family life and society at a time when INFANT MORTALITY and family size were declining. The life and health of every child seemed more precious to most people than perhaps it had in the days when it was an accepted fact of life that a great many newborn infants did not survive. And it was almost as bad for parents to see their children struck down by a disease that left them crippled as to see them die. Parents sometimes took extraordinary precautions to protect their children. Polio was known to be due to an infectious pathogen but until the 1950s it was not known how this pathogen was transmitted. In the large epidemics of the 1930s and 1940s, schools, cinemas, public swimming pools, and sports arenas were closed,

perhaps reinforcing a mood of mass anxiety bordering on hysteria that the size and true impact of these epidemics did not justify. The epidemics were in fact numerically small in comparison to the great epidemics of cholera, typhus, and smallpox of the nineteenth century.

The Medical Response

The medical response was more rational. Special hospital facilities were developed to deal with the care of children and young adults with paralyzed respiratory muscles. Modern intensive-care nursing and specialized intensive care units evolved from the early treatment of severe epidemic poliomyelitis, which was still often called infantile paralysis. Cecil Drinker (1887–1956), an American physiologist, invented a respirator commonly known as an iron lung, in which children with paralyzed respiratory muscles were nursed, often for many months or even years, and their breathing was maintained by means of a pistonlike device that kept air pressure below atmospheric level, expanding the chest as air was sucked into the lungs. The machines, the intensive nursing care that was required with them, the prolonged aftercare with skilled physiotherapy, and appliances to assist paralyzed people to get about, were costly. When Franklin Delano Roosevelt was struck down with severe polio in 1921, the disease and its expensive treatment and aftercare acquired a high public profile. The charitable foundation March of Dimes, founded in 1935, was born in a wave of massive public sympathy for the young victims of infantile paralysis. Unlike other charitable foundations of that time, the March of Dimes relied on innumerable small donations rather than a few large ones, and in this way it was able to raise enough money not only to pay for many of the expensive treatment facilities but also to invest in research.

Research focused partly on improved treatment and rehabilitation methods, but it was much more important to find a way to prevent the disease. This required discovery of the causative organism, epidemiological studies to elucidate the way polio was spread, and development of ways to prevent the spread and immunize infants and children. All these advances were among the achievements of medical science in the first half of the twentieth century. The virus responsible for the infection was discovered in 1908 by the Austrian microbiologist Karl Landsteiner (1868–1943) and the discovery was confirmed in 1910 by Simon Flexner (1863–1946) at the Rockefeller Institute in New York. These discoveries, in the early years of virology, were based on inference as much as on direct observation.

Development of a vaccine to protect against infection could not begin until ways to cultivate the virus artificially were developed. Before this happened, several therapeutic innovations emerged, sometimes with unhappy consequences. Vaccine trials in 1935, using convalescent human serum, may actually have enhanced the risk of paralytic polio and may also have transmitted other virus diseases such as

hepatitis. Sister Elizabeth Kenny, an Australian nurse, advocated movement and massage of affected limbs, in contrast to the then-orthodox procedures of immobilization for prolonged periods. Her ideas were theoretically sound but in practice sometimes did more harm than good.

The first important breakthrough on the way to developing polio vaccines was the work by John Enders (1897–1985) and colleagues, who successfully grew the polio virus in tissue cultures in 1949. Jonas Salk (1914–1995) used tissue cultures of polio virus to produce the first successful vaccine that could provide immunological protection against poliomyelitis. The Salk vaccine was tested in the early 1950s and licensed for general use in 1955. The Salk vaccine had to be given by injection and was sensitive to temperature extremes. Albert Sabin (1906–1993) developed a vaccine that used live attenuated polio virus, which could be orally administered as a drop of vaccine on the tongue (or on a sugar lump) and was better able to withstand tropical temperatures; the Sabin vaccine came into general use around 1960 and superseded the Salk vaccine, despite the small (and mostly theoretical) risk that the live virus vaccine might mutate under some circumstances into a more virulent strain that could cause paralytic poliomyelitis.

The use of polio vaccines has virtually eliminated poliomyelitis from much of the world. The disease was declared eradicated from the western hemisphere in 1994. It remains a risk in low-income countries in Africa and Asia and among small groups of people such as members of certain religious sects who for reasons connected with their faith refuse to accept vaccination against poliomyelitis and other diseases.

See also: **Contagious Diseases; Vaccination.**

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JOHN M. LAST

Posture

The modern history of children's posture involves an important episode of intense concern, followed by an equally interesting relaxation. Around 1900 American parents were told to devote a great deal of attention to the posture training of their children, but roughly fifty years later the campaign was receding dramatically. Posture history in other societies remains to be traced, but the beginnings of modern posture

standards in Western Europe emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as part of the growing concern about precise MANNERS and body discipline in the middle and upper classes. Children, and particularly boys, were urged to hold themselves erect. While most boys did not serve in the military, growing attention to formal military training may have played a role in the wider posture concern.

Books about manners dealing with children's posture spread to North America by the 1760s and 1770s. Middle-class Americans such as John Adams began to write about their concern for proper carriage of the body, so that social relationships would not be troubled by slouching or twitching. These new posture standards became a regular part of child-rearing advice through the nineteenth century, as a means to help children grow up to be respectable. Proper posture began to denote self-discipline. Doctors supported the movement, arguing that good posture was essential for proper health. At the same time, there is no indication that many people worried greatly about posture training, except perhaps in urging children to sit up straight at the dinner table. Rigid furniture and stiff clothing for formal occasions, including corseting of young women, helped maintain posture without too much effort.

This situation changed at the end of the nineteenth century, as a flurry of posture advice emerged. Doctors stepped up their campaign, arguing that a number of modern conditions, including cramped school desks, were leading to widespread physical deformity. More important still was the emergence of posture testing and training in the schools, backed by a growing body of physical education instructors. An American Posture League was formed early in the twentieth century, staffed mainly by the physical education group. Posture kits allowed teachers to evaluate children's posture. A number of school districts set up active posture programs, involving thousands of children. Children identified with bad posture were sent to a variety of remedial lessons, and in severe cases physical devices were imposed to straighten the body. More informally, habits such as walking with a book on the head gained in popularity as a means of acquiring attractive posture. The posture movement spread to American colleges in the 1920s, particularly for women. Schools like Vassar actively tested the posture of all entrants, often photographing them, and mandatory courses included posture training.

Several factors propelled this striking new concern. First, clothing and furniture became looser and more relaxed, and the posture programs were deliberately set in this context, seeking more generally to compensate for the growing indulgence of modern life. Second, the professional self-interest of doctors and physical education instructors supported what was a sincere but obviously advantageous interest in convincing parents and children that most young people suffered from posture defects. Third, the posture

program served as an expression of anxiety about a number of more general features of modern society, including compulsory schooling and the lures of consumerism. Posture standards were now imposed quite widely, and not just for the respectable middle classes, though elite colleges developed a special concern. The democratization of standards was juxtaposed with concerns about immigrants and the need to use school programs to help bring their children into line.

By the 1940s the posture movement was past its peak. National associations disappeared. School programs were dropped or diluted. By the 1960s, doctors began to attack the old posture anxieties as false and misleading; few children had posture problems, according to the new wisdom, and those that did could be helped through medical treatments. Posture interests did not fade entirely, however. Interview manuals of college students still included reminders about good posture, and conservatives continued to lament the slouching of modern young people as part of their claims that character standards were deteriorating. In general, however, presenting oneself in a relaxed, informal mode replaced stiff posture as the expression of choice for American young people.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature.**

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PETER N. STEARNS

Potter, Beatrix (1866–1943)

Helen Beatrix Potter was born in South Kensington, London, on July 28, 1866. She was the first child of Rupert Potter, a barrister, and Helen Leech Potter. To avoid confusion with her mother, young Helen Beatrix was called Beatrix, or often, just B. Beatrix's parents were quite wealthy and absorbed themselves in the social life of London, while Beatrix lived a quiet life at home under the guardianship of a governess. Beatrix was left to find her own amusement. She spent her time tending to her many PETS, while also studying and drawing them.

During summers, Beatrix traveled with her parents to their country home. The plants and animals fascinated her, and she found it difficult to return to London after the freedom offered by the countryside. Influenced by the preserva-

tionist views of family friend Hardwicke Rawnsley, Beatrix's love for the beauty of nature and its animals continued to grow deeper. In her mid-teens Beatrix began keeping a journal. She wrote it in a simple code that remained undeciphered for over eighty years. As the years passed, her journal increasingly revealed that Beatrix was emerging from her cloistered, lonely childhood. She never neglected her animals and her paintings, however. Rawnsley continued to encourage her drawing, and Beatrix made a series of greeting cards and began work on a book. He encouraged her to publish. After failing to find a publisher, Potter privately published 250 copies in 1901. Only after these copies sold did Frederick Warne publish *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* in 1902.

Over the next decade, Beatrix wrote and illustrated more than twenty books for children, including such favorites as *The Tale of Benjamin Bunny* (1904), *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908), and *The Tale of Mr. Tod* (1912). Many of her stories take place in the actual country locations where Beatrix spent time during her childhood. Several qualities of Beatrix Potter's books set her apart from other children's authors and illustrators. Her integration of story and illustration remains unmatched in CHILDREN'S LITERATURE. Her recognition of the beauty of animals, and her ability to convey it truthfully set her illustrations apart from the grotesque, caricature-like images typical of most animal stories for young children during the Victorian era. Potter was acutely aware of the fact that it was unnecessary to make her animal characters humorous or exaggerated in order to tell her story. Her books also reveal her love of the countryside and her appreciation of its natural beauty. They are marked by an absence of sentimentality and reflect the realities of nature with subtly ironic humor. Lastly, Beatrix Potter's books were innovative in their unique size. They were small enough for a child to hold and were easily transportable. Unlike the typically large and elaborate children's books of the period, Potter's were clearly for children, rather than for parents to read to children. Also, each book cost only a shilling, and thus children from all backgrounds could enjoy the world of Beatrix Potter.

In 1913 Beatrix Potter married William Heelis, a solicitor. With her marriage began the next stage of her life. Her creative period came to an end, aside from the publication of miscellaneous sketches and notes that lacked the charm and poetry of her earlier works. Beatrix and William Heelis lived a simple yet happy and comfortable life. She spent much of her time hill-farming and acting as president of the Herdwick Sheepbreeders' Association. Beatrix also focused her efforts toward acquiring as much Lake District property as possible for the National Trust. Beatrix Potter died on December 22, 1943, at the age of seventy-seven. To this day her works are widely read, and she is remembered as one of the most beloved children's authors and artists of all time.

See also: **Victorian Art.**

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VICTORIA SEARS

Pram

The pram, a baby carriage for infants and toddlers, is mainly a Western and urban phenomenon that developed in the 1800s. Before 1800 babies were seldom carried outside of the home. When transporting babies was necessary, they were swaddled in clothing or, among the upper classes, carried by nannies. Between 1650 and 1800, a few examples of children's carts, copies of the adult equipage or cart, are known to have existed in the aristocracy. The famous English architect William Kent presumably designed an abundantly decorated baby carriage for the children of the Third Duke of Devonshire in 1733.

The first prams normally were made of wicker—not unlike a cradle mounted on (often three) wheels. The child sat in the carriage, but in the mid-1800s prams were altered so

that they could be pushed and not pulled and the child could lie down to sleep. From the 1860s through the 1870s use of the pram was widespread in bourgeois families across Europe and Northern America, as prams and promenade carriages became status symbols. In the 1920s the pram became common in all social groups. Single mothers were given prams by charitable organizations or social institutions.

The production of early prams involved the collaboration of a wicker worker, a smith, and an upholsterer or saddler, but soon pram production was overtaken by carriage builders who specialized in the manufacture of complicated wheels. Later, prams were produced in particular factories. In the 1880s multiple folding prams were introduced in the United States, Germany, Denmark, and Holland. Manufacturers in England and Germany made a number of improvements to the pram, including suspension, brakes, massive rubber tires, and, after World War II, plastic handles, fiberglass exteriors, and power steering.

The general design of prams has varied greatly over the years, running the gamut from the horse-drawn carriage to automobiles. From 1870 to 1920 prams had exceptionally high wheels, but in the 1920s and even more so in the 1930s the body of the pram was made deeper and the wheels smaller, which made the pram more steady and secure. At the same time the design was streamlined and made more functional. After World War II, the pram, inspired by American and English automobile fashion, again was made higher. The stroller or push chair dates from the 1920s, but it did not become widespread until the 1950s and 1960s due to increased mobility.

The use of prams reflects broad cultural changes concerning HYGIENE, urbanization, social development, and changing views of childhood, parenthood, and gender. With the introduction of pavement in urban and suburban areas in the mid-1800s, the pram became a practical means of transportation. Yet transportation was not the only purpose for prams, for in the 1880s light and fresh air were considered important in the nursing and care of young children, and doctors recommended that all parents use prams. The general economic welfare after World War II made prams more available to middle-class families, and the pram and stroller industry grew. The pram provided women—both mothers and nannies—with greater mobility. They were liberated from home and enjoyed a wider radius of action.

In the 1970s, discussion arose about child care and physical proximity, specifically whether young children are better off sleeping in a pram or being carried. Most children continue to be carried by their mothers, older sisters, or other persons in the family or community, and baby slings are common in Europe and in the United States. In Western countries a wide range of prams and strollers for special use have appeared in recent years as a result of the changing needs of parents. For example, baby joggers designed for

both men and women enable them to simultaneously care for their child and maintain their health. The baby carriage industry is now concerned with accessories—beds, swings, buggies, doll’s prams, high chairs, and other FURNITURE—corresponding with the twenty-first century’s conception of childhood and the various materialistic possibilities in a very differentiated world.

See also: **Children’s Spaces.**

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LENE FLORIS

Premature Birth. See *Obstetrics and Midwifery.*

Private and Independent Schools

There are private schools in most countries of the world, although many of them are religious schools. Most have curricula that parallel those of state-controlled schools, and are under some form of government regulation, although their private status allows them greater flexibility in programs and personnel. Unlike most public schools, the parents of private-school students must pay for their schooling, a fact that makes them less accessible to low-income families. Families tend to choose private schools based on their belief that their children will obtain a better education or be educated in a better or safer environment than in public schools, or because the private school has a more sympathetic educational philosophy.

In colonial America, there was much blurring between private and public education, with many variations. In general, however, most schooling was designed to provide students with a minimum of essential skills, often under APPRENTICESHIP arrangements. Secondary education was uncommon, although some towns had Latin GRAMMAR SCHOOLS. From the Revolution to the Civil War, the country saw a rise in the presence of academies that provided secondary education, often associated with the religious fervor of the Great Awakening. The curriculum varied, with both classical and more modern and practical curricula available. There was originally little age grading, and there were few schools for girls. Initially, all were day schools without boarding facilities; if students were not staying with their own families, they boarded with families in the town. Schools such as Phillips Academy in Andover and Phillips Exeter Academy (founded in 1778 and 1781, respectively) did not build dormitories until the late 1820s. However,

once students began to live within the school, the schools began to plan activities for every moment, partly as they had assumed the role of *in loco parentis*, and partly to keep their charges from any potential harm.

Private schools for girls had a separate history. Since education beyond the rudiments was seen as unnecessary for most girls, it was varied and sporadic during the colonial era and the early Republic. Much of what was available took the form of finishing schools, which emphasized social graces as much as learning. Three pioneering women, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and Emma Willard, provided curricula that differed greatly from this pattern during the 1820s and 1830s. The schools they founded were boarding schools that emphasized science, mathematics, history, and literature. The older conception of education designed to provide “feminine” virtues did not disappear, however, and was important in the founding of new schools for girls in the mid-nineteenth century. However, as WOMEN’S COLLEGES increased in numbers and more colleges became coeducational, the curriculum of even these schools became primarily academic.

Day schools have an extremely varied history, particularly among primary schools, which are generally smaller and less costly to operate than secondary schools and therefore can be established more simply. In colonial times and the early Republic these schools often provided basic education, with the idea that the family and the church would provide the rest. Later, more private schools emphasized secondary education, as tax-supported public schools offered primary education for large segments of the society. One special type, the country day school, emerged for many of the same reasons that boarding schools were placed in rural settings: avoidance of the perceived physical and spiritual hazards of the city. These schools had curricula much like the boarding schools, but the students returned to their families each evening. Although the day schools followed the main trends in American education, their private status allowed them to follow a wide range of philosophies: the Waldorf schools, for example, emphasized the arts and manual skills as paths to the development of the child, while Ethical Culture schools favored an experimental approach to education.

However, as was true for most schools, one of the key influences from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century was the Progressive school movement, which broadened the programs of the school to reflect the needs of a citizen in a complex society and included concern for vocations, health, and family life. The emotional development of the child was considered to be very important. Private day schools today include a bewildering variety of orientations and purposes, from community schools to Montessori schools to nongraded schools, among many others. One consequence, of course, is that families who can afford it have a great variety of choices in the education of their children.

The history of private schools is entwined with current research controversies about the effects and social consequences of schooling. These controversies concern the effectiveness of schools on the learning of students, the social effects of private education (and the consequences for the social perspectives of their students), and the role of private schools in the formation and continuance of social and economic elites. First, because private schools charge tuition, they tend to limit their enrollments to students whose parents can afford them. This fact leads to schools that emphasize high achievement on standardized tests of vocabulary, reading, and mathematics as a measure of their value. However, international comparisons suggest that private schools' academic results are due more to family expectations and encouragement than to the special educational power of the schools.

A second concern is the overall effect of schools whose students come chiefly from the more affluent segments of society. The concern is that schooling where students from a narrow strata of society interact will lead to a similarly narrow range of social and economic options. Beginning with E. Digby Baltzell and C. Wright Mills, a series of writers have contended that elite boarding schools provide an environment that prepares students not only for college but for the vicissitudes of corporate and political life. Based on the fact that disproportionate numbers of CEOs and high government officials attended these schools, they argue that one of their key purposes is "preparing for power." Concentrated in the northeastern part of the United States, such schools offer rigorous academic programs, often using college-level texts. The days and nights are carefully scheduled, with an emphasis on SPORTS, mandatory study hours, and a wide range of extracurricular activities, particularly music. High culture is emphasized in campus art collections and guest speakers. Classes are usually small and emphasize discussion and writing. The schools claim that they develop "character," which is reflected in class discussions and school codes of conduct. Almost all activities are done in groups in the presence of others with great efforts to treat all students the same.

However, many researchers have noted the psychological costs of these "total environments" to the students' need for privacy and uncontrolled self-expression. Analyses of the student cultures in these schools further suggests high levels of competitiveness. Despite the stressful aspects of student life, these schools are unusually successful in placing their students in prestigious colleges. More importantly, these schools have been seen as models for other schools by some researchers, who note a community and culture of learning that values academic achievement, sets goals for students, and provides personal attention. Arthur Powell believes their practices provide lessons that other schools may use to good effect with average students. Other researchers have argued that these schools are successful because of their academic

content, and the fact that some wealthy families send their children to the school is secondary.

Comparisons with European schools are difficult because of the wide variety of educational systems. However, British educational history is roughly analogous to that of the United States, with most private schools being boarding or day schools, along with a large number of church-related schools and a historically "elite" set of schools. In recent years, both countries have witnessed a proliferation of private day schools. The British elite boarding schools have been described as being "total" environments with strong student cultures. These schools are also seen as providing the basis for elitist values among their students, who later implement these values in positions of power.

See also: **Girls' Schools; Latin School; Parochial Schools; Public Schools: Britain; Progressive Education.**

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LEONARD L. BAIRD

Progressive Education

Progressive education was a far-flung array of ideas and practices designed to enliven teaching and learning. As with other amorphous constructs, the meaning of Progressivism varied from person to person, place to place, and era to era. At its most diffuse, the word was synonymous with "new" or "good" education. Even so, there were several core ideas in this heterogeneous and influential movement that took shape in the late nineteenth century, spread rapidly and widely in the early twentieth century, and receded by the 1950s.

Progressive versus Traditional Education

Nearly all Progressives knew what they opposed and thus identified themselves by what they were not. Traditional education was the enemy. Students were required to memorize endless facts and formulas from a dreary academic curriculum remote from their own youthful interests. Most teachers

defined good pedagogy as drill and practice; their job was to hear recitations, not lead discussions. Classroom life was austere. Teachers established unilaterally the rules and regulations, and they punished misconduct harshly. Administrators deferred to school boards often enmeshed in factionalism and political patronage.

In contrast to that unflattering sketch of traditional education, Progressives juxtaposed their vision of a more pleasant and practical education. They often said that education should be “child centered” rather than grounded on the authority of a ponderous textbook or a stern teacher. Children were not willful, obstreperous creatures that had to be tamed; they were by nature curious and creative, with a wide range of worthwhile interests. A broader curriculum and a humane pedagogy would honor those interests.

Education of the “whole child” steadily expanded the scope of the school curriculum during the first half of the twentieth century. For the very young, opportunities multiplied for music, art, drama, and recreation. For the early adolescent, there were JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS for the unique needs of that stage of life. For older teens, the HIGH SCHOOL offered more “tracks,” or programs of study such as vocational, commercial, academic, and general. At all levels of schooling there was growth in extracurricular activities as clubs and teams proliferated. Another area of rapid expansion was health care and social services for the physical and emotional needs of the whole child.

Instructional methods and materials also changed. Progressives envisioned teachers as facilitators who should encourage student participation and activity through discussions and group projects. Learning could be fun: games, field trips, and films blurred the lines between work and PLAY. Teachers should be kind and patient, not strict and aloof. The good classroom would be a democratic community where rules were fair, everyone had a say, and all felt comfortable and successful. As a result, fewer students would fail or drop out, an important consideration in light of soaring school enrollments throughout the first two thirds of the twentieth century. The enlarged and diverse student body would get more from education and like it better, the Progressives believed.

Aside from burgeoning enrollments, why did those ideas and practices take hold in the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Progressive educators addressed three of the most important developments in American life. First, a broader curriculum could match the shifting needs of employers in an age when the demand for semiskilled and clerical labor surged. With more students in new vocational and commercial tracks, the fit between graduates’ preparation and the needs of the labor market improved. Second, the massive and unprecedented immigration from Europe filled urban schools with students who seemed to need nonacademic training more than Shakespeare or trigonometry in

order to become loyal, virtuous, and productive citizens. Third, Progressive education drew strength from more expansive notions of the scope of governmental intervention, which included fostering the well-being of children. Heightened concern for the vulnerabilities of youth spurred successful crusades for CHILD LABOR laws, JUVENILE COURTS, public playgrounds, mothers’ pensions, and other methods to rescue youth from the perils of life in a rapidly changing society. The Progressives’ advocacy of a kinder and broader schooling matched the spirit and scale of child-saving interventions elsewhere in America.

Most Progressives also saw themselves as scientific. In the 1880s and 1890s they deplored the haphazard management of many urban schools. Elected officials often based decisions on partisan considerations; many policies were either wasteful or corrupt. Progressives urged the appointment of well-trained managers to oversee the rapidly expanding schools. Expertise, rationality, standardization, and predictability were the traits valued in a good administrator. Not every school system by the early twentieth century was a sleek bureaucracy, but that was the ideal within the profession, notwithstanding the preference of many for local control and freedom from state regulations.

A similar quest for certainty marked the Progressives’ support of INTELLIGENCE TESTING. Measuring the innate mental abilities of youngsters seemed a rigorous and fair way to assign students to particular courses and tracks. Grouping children by ability seemed more democratic to the Progressives than holding all children to the same standards. Within a decade of the first large-scale use of IQ tests in World War I, school districts throughout the nation used them. Not every Progressive championed IQ tests, to be sure, but even the skeptics favored “child study,” detailed and continuous scrutiny of the social, emotional, and intellectual growth of the young.

Controversies and Influence

Not everyone admired and adopted Progressive practices. The changes were greatest in elementary schools, in PRIVATE SCHOOLS, and in wealthier communities. In those enclaves the Progressive notions of the care and training of the young matched parents’ views of how to rear their children. Elsewhere the impact was modest, with educators taking bits and pieces in addition to, not in place of, their old routines. Progressive education could easily exhaust teachers who took its tenets seriously. For instance, the constraints of teaching 150 students in a high school without plentiful supplemental materials made it hard to be a facilitator of projects suited to the individual needs and interests of each student.

The ultimate purpose of the broader curriculum, gentler pedagogy, and scientific outlook was a point of dispute among Progressives. One prominent faction boldly called for the “reconstruction” of American society to empower the disenfranchised, strengthen government, and regulate cor-

porations. On the political left, the reconstructionists embraced the New Deal reforms of the 1930s, and some leaders even admired socialist and communist regimes. In contrast, a larger faction rallied under the banners of “efficiency” and “adjustment.” The goal of education was to equip youth to fit, not challenge, society as it was. A useful education prepared a graduate to earn a living, vote intelligently, shop wisely, and in other ways conform to the demands of adult life. What both factions shared was the conviction that schooling mattered enormously and that educators held the future of the race in their hands.

In addition to internal schisms, Progressives encountered stinging criticisms of their ideas. Whenever their praise of the goodness of children sounded too rapturous, they were mocked as sentimental and soft, willing to coddle rather than discipline the young. If their political preferences drifted too far to the left, they were condemned as subversive and anti-American. Should their innovations require higher tax rates, frugal voters might spurn Progressive education as superfluous “fads and frills.” Above all, critics doubted if Progressive schools were academically rigorous. Students who enjoyed school and felt good about themselves might never learn chemistry and calculus, many parents feared. Those anxieties intensified as college enrollment became, after World War II, not just a wish but an expectation for middle-class youth. Progressivism might be appropriate in elementary schools, but there were enduring doubts that it would prepare a talented teenager for admission to and success in a first-rate college.

The most influential theorist of Progressivism, the philosopher JOHN DEWEY, regretted the anti-intellectual misinterpretations of his ideas. He never doubted the importance of a challenging academic curriculum. Dewey envisioned Progressive pedagogy as a means to, not an avoidance of, intellectual exertion. The curiosity of children and the flexibility of teachers should enhance, not diminish, the life of the mind. But Dewey’s prose was frequently so convoluted that his admirers misconstrued his ideas. The most egregious misrepresentations downplayed the wit and will of average-ability students. Pseudo-Progressives claimed that most students either could not, would not, or need not undertake serious academic work.

In the late 1940s, the most prominent educational reform, called “Life Adjustment,” displayed the dangers of misreading Dewey. The Adjusters believed that the majority of high school graduates acquired neither the know-how nor the social skills they would later use far more than French or algebra. What every teenager needed, they argued, were lessons in practical matters such as FRIENDSHIPS, hobbies, and family life. Instead of urging more students to attend college or acquire vocational skills, the adjusters envisioned a curriculum full of practical pointers on how to get along with others.

As a formal movement, Life Adjustment disappeared by the mid-1950s. Articulate critics lampooned it as pretentious, pernicious, and vapid. In their opinion, it was ridiculous and dangerous to give the mundane aspects of life a place, let alone center stage, in a school’s curriculum. Furthermore, most parents were unwilling to let teachers and students disengage from academic work for the purpose of discussing social and personal concerns. Those topics belonged at the family dinner table, not in the classroom.

The underlying ideas of Progressivism outlived the Life Adjustment debacle. Many parents and teachers remained loyal to its vision of more practical and pleasant education. School curricular and extracurricular offerings, as well as social services, continued to expand in the 1960s and 1970s. Groups previously ill-served, especially racial minorities and SPECIAL EDUCATION students, had more opportunities. Teaching methods never reverted to the old rigidities of the nineteenth century. Administrators were still wedded to the norm of dispassionate expertise. Whenever the central ideas of the Progressives were put forth cautiously and presented without overselling, the odds of success were good.

See also: **Child Saving; Education, United States; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.**

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ROBERT L. HAMPEL

Proms

The high school prom is an iconic event in contemporary American society, often heralded as one of the most impor-

tant coming-of-age rites for adolescents today. Part of school institutions, repositories for the formation of youth cultures, and shaped by an expanding commodity culture, the meaning of the American prom is ever changing.

The expansion of schooling in the early twentieth century, stemming from rapid urbanization and industrialization, played a key role in the American prom's development. Prior to the late nineteenth century only the wealthy attended school beyond elementary levels. With a steady increase of student enrollment, public schools emerged as major socializing agents in U.S. society. School dances, clubs, and student government increasingly became a part of young Americans' lives as the role of school changed. As a growing number of young people began attending college in the 1920s, the university emerged as a meaningful site for leisure and learning. By the 1920s the traditional academic concerns of the university lost ground as youth-centered social activities such as the college junior prom captured the attentions of a changing young America.

High school proms did not gain in popularity until the 1930s. Their popularity stems largely from the changes in how youth had been defined culturally as a distinct age group. Though scholars had treated youth as a cohort having distinctive habits and traits since the mid-nineteenth century, by the 1930s the idea of the adolescent was firmly entrenched in both popular cultural lore and scholarly work. At the threshold of adulthood, adolescence signified a tumultuous stage in the life course, one characterized by uncertainty and angst. Consequently, adolescents were thought to need moral and social guidance. Well-structured, adult-supervised social activities served as perfect opportunities to socialize youth to the practices and values of a middle-class adult world.

By the 1940s the leisure lives of adolescents were tied less to family and were increasingly bound to a rapidly expanding commodity culture. The emergence of a teen leisure market led to a mounting concern among (middle-class) adults about youth SEXUALITY, DELINQUENCY, and complacency. The earlier concern for adolescents' moral development, combined with the fact that young people's lives were increasingly consumed by activities outside of the home, gave rise to more concerted efforts to manage and often overtly regulate youth activities and spaces. By the mid-twentieth century high school proms, along with teen canteens and sock hops, were a mainstay of middle-class American cultural life.

The prom's popularity receded in the 1960s and early 1970s as a growing number of American youth participated in the antiwar, civil rights, and free speech movements. Many youth refused to attend the prom as an act of symbolic resistance to middle-class Anglo conformity, adult authority, and the status quo. With shifts in the political culture of the 1980s and early 1990s, combined with concerted efforts by

marketers to carve out and expand youth markets, proms once again gained in popularity and were radically transformed by the pull of consumerism such that limousines, expensive dresses, and luxury hotels became important to the experience of the prom for many American youth. Yet proms of today, like those of the past, serve as events where youth struggle to create and reshape American history. In 1981 a gay high school student sued his Rhode Island high school to attend the prom with another gay student. In 1994 the students of an Alabama school organized an alternative protest prom after the principal canceled the prom in an effort to forestall interracial dating among the school's student body. In 1995 high schoolers in California attended the first gay prom.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; High School; Youth Culture.**

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AMY L. BEST

Property. *See* Inheritance and Property.

Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Reformation began in Germany in 1517, following Martin Luther's attempt to provoke discussion about reforming the Catholic Church. It rapidly blossomed into an international struggle, resulting in the permanent destruction of Catholic unity in Europe and the creation of many new Christian denominations and sects. By the early 1520s, once it was clear that the break with the Catholic Church was permanent, the reformers faced the challenge of creating stable new churches that could endure the religious conflict of the sixteenth century.

Children were a critical component in the response to this challenge. The reformers were anxious to ensure that the children of their churches would be properly and completely nurtured and educated in the newly defined Christian faith. Protestant reformers saw the family as the fundamental unit for fostering both religious belief and social stability;

therefore, they directed more attention to children and families than had the late-medieval Catholic Church. As envisioned by the reformers, the ideal family was a patriarchy in which fathers held ultimate responsibility and authority, but within which mothers were also held accountable for the nurture and education of their offspring. The reformers viewed children as tainted with original sin, like all human beings, yet educable and in need of careful oversight to protect them from the temptations and vices of the world. They insisted on the duty of both fathers and mothers to teach their children Christian beliefs and practices and to discipline them with love and restraint, always with the support of the church community. Another significant contribution was the insistence on the importance of basic education and the attempt to spread literacy so that reformed Christians would be able to read the Bible for themselves.

Protestant Children and Church Ritual

Most reformers, including Martin Luther (1483–1546) in Germany and John Calvin (1509–1564) in Geneva, kept the rite of infant BAPTISM as a sacrament in their churches. The more “radical” or Anabaptist reformers, such as Menno Simons (1496–1561) in the Netherlands and northern Germany, rejected infant baptism and asserted that a person had to proclaim his or her faith and *choose* to be baptized as an adolescent or adult. While Luther and Calvin maintained the practice of infant baptism, they each altered the Catholic interpretation of what occurred during the sacrament, indicating a changed understanding of the nature of children. Medieval Catholics believed that the sacrament of baptism washed away the original sin that weighed upon the soul of a newborn child. In contrast, the Protestant reformers emphasized the burden that original sin placed on all human beings, including baptized children. There was no exact Protestant consensus on the effects of baptism, but generally they held that it was not an act of purification that automatically protected the child from future harm, but rather a sign of God’s grace and covenant with the child, the parents, and the wider church community. The baptismal ceremony also marked the commitment of parents and community to raise the child in the Christian faith. Children were considered to be particularly susceptible to the distractions and vices of the world, and adolescents even more so. For this reason they required careful supervision and loving discipline to help them learn piety and Christian responsibility.

Another change that occurred with the Protestant Reformation was the delay of CONFIRMATION until adolescence. While confirmation was no longer understood to be a sacrament, Protestant churches still marked a child’s profession of faith and official entrance into the church with some ceremony. In medieval Catholicism, children received confirmation sometime between the moment of baptism and age seven. The reformers held that such an act required that the child have achieved some level of spiritual maturity, which they generally believed coincided approximately with physi-

cal maturity. In delaying confirmation until ADOLESCENCE (in the most extreme cases until the age of eighteen), the reformers were pushing back the age of discretion, thereby extending the time during which children were not held fully responsible for their actions.

Education

Both the delay of confirmation, in the case of Luther and Calvin, and the delay of baptism, in the case of the Anabaptists, made the proper education of children imperative. A main premise of the Protestant Reformation was that individual Christians could communicate directly with God through prayer and study of the Scripture. The reformers sought to foster this relationship by providing catechisms and establishing schools to teach both boys and girls to read. Luther and Calvin each, in their efforts to aid in the training of children, produced catechisms that could be used by parents and ministers to teach children and adults in need of religious instruction. Such catechisms were written in the form of questions and responses about the basic tenets of the Christian faith. They were printed in the vernacular (for example, German or English, rather than Latin), in simple language, and could be expeditiously published and distributed across a region with the aid of the printing press, which had been in use in Europe since the 1450s.

Both boys and girls were expected to learn such catechisms at home, at church, and even at school. Girls’ schools and coeducational schools were both established during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but schools for boys appeared more rapidly. Girls were more often expected to receive their education at home, focusing on the catechism in order to learn pious behavior. Scholars continue to debate the effectiveness of these efforts at education and indoctrination in different parts of Europe. It is generally agreed that, while the reformers’ efforts at education did not succeed as perfectly or completely as they hoped, literacy rates across sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe improved more quickly in Protestant areas than in Catholic areas. Ultimately, the schools created during the Reformation became a part of the standard European educational systems.

Discipline and Obligation

Luther, Calvin, and Simons all insisted upon the obligation of children to respect, obey, and assist their parents. Parents had a corresponding duty to love, nurture, and discipline their children, both for the protection of the children and in the interest of creating a stable community. It is noteworthy that this obligation extended to illegitimate children as well. While Catholic authorities were more willing to expend resources on caring for abandoned children in the interest of protecting the honor of unwed mothers, Protestant officials went to great lengths to ensure that parents took responsibility for raising their children born out of wedlock.

“Godly” parents were expected to nurture their children physically and spiritually; this included a strict but compas-

sionate discipline. Corporal punishment, including beating, was acceptable in moderation in order to help children learn to resist the many vices that the world pressed upon them. But extreme abuse, neglect, and overindulgence were all seen as threats to children. To combat these various extremes, the reformers emphasized the notion that nurturing their children according to Protestant teachings was one way that Christian parents served God. Calvin wrote, "Unless men regard their children as the gift of God, they are careless and reluctant in providing for their support" (quoted in Pitkin, p. 171). In the case of Anabaptists, children depended upon their parents not for Christian instruction that built upon their baptism, but rather for the education in the Christian faith that would one day enable them to choose to be baptized. While the issue of infant baptism was a significant division between Anabaptists and other Protestants, in practice they took similar steps to raise their children as both faithful Christians and responsible citizens. Simons advised Anabaptist parents regarding their children, "If they transgress, reprove them sharply. If they are childish, bear them patiently. If they are of teachable age, instruct them in a Christian fashion. Dedicate them to the Lord from youth" (quoted in Miller, p. 208).

The Protestant Influence

Reformers' thoughts on child care were made popular by numerous books on child rearing. Church and state authorities attempted to reinforce these ideas through such instruments as the consistories, or morals courts, established in Reformed ("Calvinist") communities. But despite these efforts, it is important to remember that the reformers' views were not consistently put into practice by all Protestant parents. Indeed, it is likely that few parents—fathers or mothers—lived up to the reformers' mandate to instruct their children fully in Protestant theology and beliefs. While reformers sometimes criticized parents for disciplining their children too harshly, a more frequent complaint was that parents were indulging their children, and thus neglecting their spiritual and moral welfare. Another area of dispute involved selecting GODPARENTS for a newborn child. Calvin and the Genevan reformers insisted that parents should choose godparents only from among the Reformed community, so that they might serve as spiritual mentors for children. But, maintaining earlier traditions, some parents insisted upon inviting relatives from Catholic towns to be godparents. Finally, the belief that baptism cleansed a child of original sin and was a prerequisite for salvation persisted among some Protestants, despite the reformers' teachings to the contrary. Practices such as "reviving" dead infants in order to baptize them continued throughout the early modern period.

Nonetheless, the Protestant Reformation had significant and lasting effects on the treatment of and attitudes toward children in early modern Europe. Where the reformers clashed with parents regarding their children, it was because both parents and church officials had strong opinions about

the best way to raise a child to become a responsible citizen, a faithful Christian, and a dutiful son or daughter. The Protestant reformers began efforts at widespread education that would come to the forefront once again during the ENLIGHTENMENT of the eighteenth century. They emphasized the notion that childhood was a period of nurture, discipline, and learning. And they reiterated frequently the mutual obligation that parents and children had toward one another.

See also: **Catholicism; Islam; Judaism.**

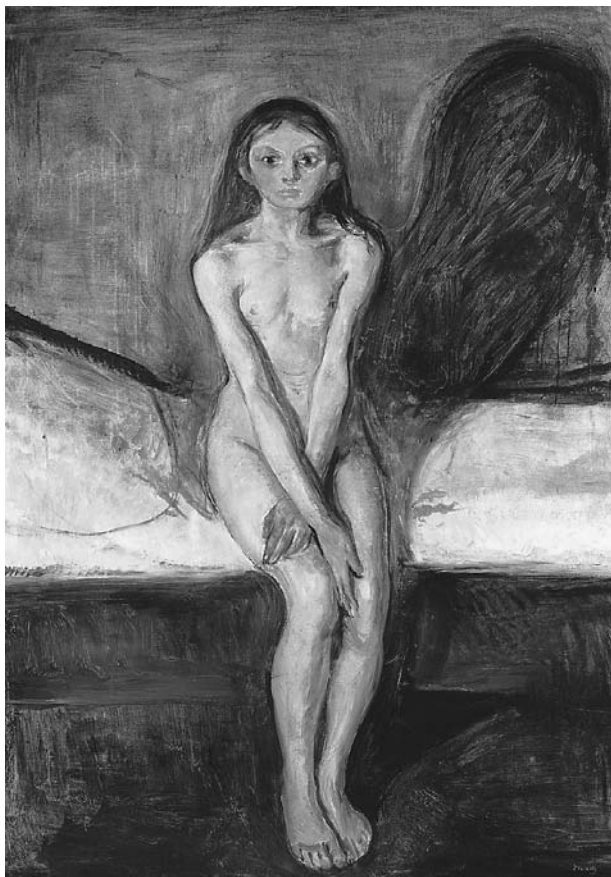
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KAREN E. SPIERLING

Puberty

Puberty is the experience of sexual maturation for girls and boys; it encompasses certain hormonal, physical, and physio-



Puberty (1894–1895), Edvard Munch. The ambiguous expression on the face of Munch's young model leaves it unclear whether she welcomes or dreads the changes that await her. © 2003 The Munch Museum/The Munch-Ellington Group/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. The Art Archive/Nasjonale Galleriet Oslo/Album/ Joseph Martin.

logical changes that manifest themselves in the lives of young people in all times and places. During puberty, boys and girls experience a rise in hormone levels and undergo an increase in height, known as the *growth spurt*. The secondary sex characteristics appear and boys and girls develop the potential for reproduction. Within these broad parameters, however, the way the biological process of puberty has been experienced by young people has varied considerably across cultures and historical time periods. One of the most notable changes in the experience of puberty in industrialized countries has been the decline in the average age of MENARCHE, or first menstruation, due to improvements in health care and nutrition. Along with changes in the biological process itself, puberty has been conceptualized differently in different times and places. Such varying views of and expectations for puberty have significantly influenced the ways young people have experienced the process of sexual maturation.

In the West, meanings and experiences of puberty have taken shape in relationship to meanings and experiences of

the stage of life known as ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH. Ancient and medieval views of puberty recognized it as a period of heightened sexual interest, which was associated both with personal vitality and social benefit and, particularly under the rising influence of Christianity, with immorality and social danger. In the turbulent social climate of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, Puritan moral theologians concerned with the threat posed to the social order by disgruntled urban apprentices decisively linked the sensuality of male youth with sin, temptation, and disruptive behavior and called upon the family, the school, and the church to act as disciplining agents. Colonial New Englanders, in contrast, were more confident about the hold their orderly, hierarchical, and patriarchal society had over youth, and so displayed much less anxiety about puberty, at least during the first generations of settlement. Beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, a confluence of demographic and economic changes, most notably population growth, geographical mobility, and commercial development, began to undermine the stability of many New England families and towns. Some, but not all, of the adult controls over the lives of youth were loosened. The result was a rising conflict in age relations and a new attention by religious authorities to the potentially perilous manifestations of youthful SEXUALITY.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the emphasis on authoritatively controlling youth during their period of sexual maturation was supplemented by ENLIGHTENMENT views that sanctioned some degree of social and sexual independence, for boys in particular. Ideally, boys would learn to control their powerful passions from within and emerge from their youth as autonomous individuals. Not invested with the same capacity for self-determination, girls were increasingly regarded as pure and passionless, and any expression of female sexual desire was deemed deviant. At the same time, a Romantic sensibility came to associate the volatility of puberty less with danger and destruction than with vigor, creativity, and the awakening of love and compassion. The seminal text here was JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU's *Émile* (1762), which posited that the difficulties puberty seemed to pose were more the artifact of society than nature and were best managed by an educational regimen that allowed for the gradual development of the body, mind, and heart.

During the nineteenth century, scientific theories dominated discussions about puberty, establishing it as the primary determinant of sexual difference, as well as a marker of race and class hierarchy. Physicians and evolutionary theorists maintained that male and female development were largely similar during childhood. The biological changes that occurred with the maturation of the reproductive organs established the ineradicable differences between male and female bodies, minds, behaviors, and social roles and responsibilities. Maintaining such differences among men and women of the white middle class was thought to be essential

to preserve social order and ensure the ongoing progress of Western civilization. With the exception of anxieties about the physically and morally depleting effects of MASTURBATION, male puberty was not discussed by scientific authorities with any great specificity. According to the developmental theory of this period, nature intended the growth of the white middle-class male to proceed along a gradual, steady course and endowed such “civilized” boys with the capability of managing the benignly vitalizing physical changes wrought by the onset of puberty. The “civilized” girl, in contrast, was described in medical and evolutionary discourse as being rendered completely vulnerable and passive in the face of the much more volatile, complex, and consequential changes her body experienced during the process of sexual maturation. Female puberty indicated not the onset of sexual desire, but the future capacity for maternity. Any expenditure by the girl of physical, mental, or emotional energy was thought to further compromise an already taxing process, thereby threatening her health, her mental stability, and her ability to fulfill her essential function as reproducer of the “civilized” white race later in her life. While not all doctors regarded female puberty as inherently dangerous, many prominent physicians advanced such a notion as the primary justification for limiting girls’ activities during their youth, most especially their access to institutions of higher education, to which women aspired by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-century scientific discourse, under the influence of an evolutionary schema applied to social science, also attended to the timing of puberty as evidence for the existence of natural gender, racial, and class hierarchies. It was widely noted that the white middle-class girl grew more rapidly and reached puberty earlier than her “civilized” brother. Once her body stopped growing, the explanation went, her intellectual and moral development ceased as well, thereby determining her inferior status in relation to the more slowly, but ultimately more fully, maturing boy. Likewise, girls and boys who lived in or were descended from peoples living in tropical regions of the world or who were members of the working class were thought to complete the process of pubertal growth sooner than their “civilized” counterparts (due to the effects of warm climates and a greater tendency to sexual licentiousness), and so were biologically incapable of advancing to the highest stages of evolutionary development. Even so, while all girls and nonwhite and lower-class boys were deemed naturally precocious, and hence developmentally inferior to “civilized” boys, the *sexual* precocity of the “civilized” girl was restricted, since it was her purity that served as the hallmark of her racial and class superiority. Advice to white middle-class parents abounded about protecting their girls from a whole range of dangerous activities that could excite the sexual passions, including masturbation, reading novels, eating meat or sweets, and, of course, engaging in any sort of physical encounter with men. At the end of the century, campaigns to end the white slave trade and

raise the AGE OF CONSENT emerged in further defense of female purity. The sexual precocity of nonwhite and working-class girls was more likely to be expected, though no more tolerated, and the late nineteenth century also saw the foundation of numerous organizations and institutions intending to reform and/or punish the transgressive sexual behaviors of female youth.

In 1904 the pioneering developmental psychologist G. STANLEY HALL published his seminal text *Adolescence*, which reaffirmed puberty as the originator of sexual differentiation, while also significantly modifying some of the gendered assumptions about the process of sexual maturation. Undermining earlier claims as to the steadiness of male growth, Hall maintained that the biological changes that occurred at puberty universally gave rise to “storm and stress” in the developing adolescent, rendering boys and girls alike somatically vulnerable, emotionally volatile, and socially awkward. Conversely, he enthused about the pubertal awakening of sexual desire in girls as well as boys. However, Hall sanctioned female desire only in so far as it was productive of male pleasure and reserved most of his zealous characterization of the sex instinct for the role it played in furthering the noble purpose of racial regeneration. Moreover, despite his recognition of certain shared qualities of the pubertal experience, Hall depicted the girl as growing into her biological and emotional self at puberty, with the sensibilities and functions then established determining her personality and role for the rest of her life. For his part, the boy’s capacity for autonomy and rationality would ultimately enable him to outgrow the physical and psychological vulnerabilities wrought by puberty, so that he could assume his rightful position of leadership in the ongoing quest for social progress.

In the twentieth century, puberty was reinterpreted through the lenses of several new approaches to the study of human development. Psychoanalytic theory pushed the initial experience of sexual desire and the onset of sexual difference back from puberty to infancy and the Oedipal complex of early childhood, respectively. While SIGMUND FREUD deemed the prepubertal stages of psychosexual development to be the most consequential for the health of the personality, he also retained earlier notions of the diminished sexual and psychological capacity of girls. His daughter, psychoanalyst ANNA FREUD, reasserted the significance of puberty, arguing that the emergence of the genital drive gave rise to significant psychological conflicts during adolescence. Challenging the biological determinism that had characterized much of the theorizing about puberty and adolescence, cultural anthropologist MARGARET MEAD’s widely read *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) made use of cross-cultural comparison to assert that the difficulties of adolescence were not the result of biological puberty, but of the complex demands placed on youth by modern civilization. Mead also emphasized that the process of sexual maturation did not limit the development of the Western girl in any way. Begin-

ning in the 1920s, the rise of the science of endocrinology provided a new biological framework for conceptualizing puberty. However, in seeking to understand the role of the hormones in shaping pubertal development, researchers increasingly attended to the interaction between biological and social factors in shaping the psychology and behavior of the adolescent, as well as the causes and manifestations of sexual difference. In addition to scientific authority, puberty in the twentieth century was also mediated by the ascendancy of the CONSUMER CULTURE. For girls, especially, the buying of sanitary products, bras, and other beauty items encouraging conformity to dominant cultural standards of femininity have shaped, without ever fully determining, the meaning and experience of the process of sexual maturation.

See also: **Adolescent Medicine; Age and Development; Boyhood; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Girlhood.**

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CRISTA DELUZIO

Public Schools: Britain

The British public school can be characterized by institutional independence, an emphasis on the ideal of a "liberal" curriculum, and a fee-paying student body that frequently boards at the school. Although there are no formal criteria governing an institution's status as a public school in Britain, a general qualification is representation in the Headmasters' Conference, the coalition founded in 1869 under the stew-

ardship of Edward Thring of Uppingham. However, the increasing membership of this organization, which rose from an initial thirty-seven schools to stabilize around two hundred by 1937, masks the predominance of a much smaller group of prestigious institutions that make up the core of the public school system. This elite group is defined either as the "Great Nine" (Winchester [founded in 1382], Eton [1440], St. Paul's [1509], Shrewsbury [1552], Westminster [originally conceived in 1179 and refounded in 1560], Merchant Taylors' [1561], Rugby [1567], Harrow [1572], and Charterhouse [1611]) or the wider coterie of around sixty schools that acknowledged each other's comparable status through regular SPORTS meetings. Although the earliest of the public schools were originally intended to provide clerical training for the poor, the increasing demands for fees meant that the schools quickly became the sole preserve of the wealthy and attendance became a rite of passage for the elite of British society. Although boarding is not unknown in continental Europe, in their social prestige, organizational culture, and emphasis on the development of gentlemanly qualities, the public schools are unique to Great Britain.

The coalescence of long-established institutions, endowed GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, and a significant number of new Victorian schools into a uniform system with a common ethos was a product of the later nineteenth century. The eighteenth and early nineteenth century had seen public schools accused of brutality, inefficiency, and corruption, both financial and moral. A series of high profile student rebellions, particularly during the period of the French Revolutionary, had further tarnished the reputation of the established schools. However, under the influence of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1842, the public schools were recast as agents of moral and spiritual development and their role as the cultivators of Christian gentlemen was affirmed. Although schools guarded their individual traditions and idiosyncrasies, those institutional features set in place by Arnold and his imitators: pupil prefectures, the house system, organized games, the cult of the amateur, and a renewed sense of importance vested in the study of the classics, had become typical by the end of the nineteenth century.

Children's life at public school was shaped by the schools' preoccupation with the formation of their "character." Although Arnold had emphasized the achievement of manliness through waging an unending war against sin, from the later Victorian period this evangelical conception had given way to an emphasis on the secular virtues of determination, self-control, and a sense of duty. For the pupils this translated into a cult of athleticism and the celebration of games as the mainspring of those qualities of fair play, unselfishness, and *esprit de corps* deemed the foundation of gentlemanly conduct. In the classroom, study was similarly geared toward the cultivation of moral and behavioral attributes fitting for the social elite rather than scholarship for its own sake. Much

of the pressure exerted on the late Victorian public school to expand its curriculum beyond the dominant core of the classics was based on a subjects' perceived capacity to aid the process of character formation. Stern discipline, reinforced by the generous use of corporal punishment, the devolving of disciplinary power onto prefects, and the practice of fagging, whereby younger pupils were required to perform services for older boys, were justified in these terms: that they taught boys those habits of obedience, self-command, and authority necessary for a future role in public life and the administration of empire.

For some, these conventions resulted in unhappy experiences in which floggings and bullying exacerbated the already harsh conditions of the schools. Although to criticize one's school was considered dishonorable and "bad form," accounts of the hardships engendered by the public school regime are not hard to find. In the early 1800s, in an Eton governed by the formidable Dr. Keate, famed for flogging eighty pupils in one session, the poet Shelley was a victim of ferocious bullying, partly occasioned by his refusal to submit to the fagging system. Twenty years later, the English novelist Anthony Trollope might reasonably have expected to escape the severity of prefect discipline at Winchester after his elder brother Tom was elected his "tutor." Instead, as his autobiography recalls, he was daily thrashed with a stick. Nevertheless, for others, the Old School was an object of almost fanatical loyalty. The interpretation of World War I as an extended cricket match, fought for the sake of school as much as country, was common in the letters and diaries of the trenches, and the glorification of the public schools in popular literature for boys bolstered the image of the school as an object of devotion.

Prevailing conceptions of gender were entrenched in the public school and boys were urged to interpret effeminacy as the antithesis of the public school ideal and a menace to national life. Similarly, the developing provision for girls in institutions such as the North London Collegiate School and Cheltenham Ladies' College, despite reproducing ele-

ments of the curricula and organizational culture of the boys' schools, attempted to mediate the cultivation of character with traditional feminine ideals: boys were to be made manly and girls were to be womanly. The spread of coeducation from the early twentieth century was resisted on these grounds, though by this time the public schools faced other diverse challenges. From an egalitarian assault on elitism to accusations of fostering national decline through an anti-industrial ethos, the public school was not without its critics in the twentieth century. However, the institutions proved largely able to navigate change while retaining their independence and many of those characteristics that have distinguished public schools from those of the state sector. The path from the public school to the higher echelons of political and professional life remained well trodden in twentieth-century Britain.

See also: **Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling; Education, Europe; Private and Independent Schools.**

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NATHAN ROBERTS

R

Radio

In the 1930s and 1940s, when radio still was regarded as a new medium, special children's programs were broadcast in order to attract young listeners. As such programs became popular, production increased. Children and teenagers took pleasure in listening to programs specifically aimed at children as well as other programs. By this time, American children aged nine to twelve listened to radio approximately two to three hours a day, especially during the evening. Girls preferred romantic and historical dramatizations and boys listened more to popular and novelty programs, but one study came to the conclusion that the differences mattered less than the similarities. With some variations, comedy and mystery radio plays were preferred above others by both boys and girls of all ages. Thus children enjoyed a variety of programs, including those produced for adults.

As with other electronic media, radio was met with worries from the adult world. In Sweden, as in other countries, it was a common anxiety that too much listening could make children passive and less eager to play. In the 1940s, Swedish teachers expressed worries about being regarded as mere "loudspeakers" by children accustomed to passively listening to radio. However, compared with reactions to other electronic media, radio seems to have incited relatively few "moral panic" attacks. Partly this can be explained by radio's supposed usefulness in education (discussed below).

In the 1950s, when TELEVISION was introduced, researchers in Britain came to the conclusion that television reduced radio listening more than it reduced any other activity. In spite of this, one in three children said that if they had to do without radio they would miss it quite a lot. The study also noticed that children who had been watching television for several years listened a little more often to the radio. This was described as a revival in line with reports of adults' media behavior. While radio plays could not compete with television plays, other types of programs held listeners' interest,

including panel games, discussions, music, and sports commentaries.

Other studies have arrived at the similar conclusion that, with increasing age, children spent more time with radio than with television. TEENAGERS in particular have been found to be regular radio listeners. Researchers have attributed this to the socialization effects of radio, although explanations of what those effects are have varied over time. In the 1970s socialization to political virtues was considered to be an important factor, while in the 1980s, radio was seen as a source for identity formation in a peer group. This change can be related to the shift of content in programs addressed to teenagers. In the 1980s and 1990s teenagers listened more to music than to anything else on radio.

Radio in Education

From the start, in both Europe and America radio was greeted with hopes for its pedagogical value. Radio had the power to bring the world to the classroom, and programs could be presented as textbooks of the air.

In America, commercial and educational stations received licenses starting in the 1920s to produce classroom broadcasting, and eventually national networks also provided educational programs. Even though most programs were in line with traditional school subjects, some attempted to connect this content with progressive ideas about education and democracy. Radio allowed children and teachers to engage in the production of programs, preparing talks on, for example, automobiles, farming, and science. Together with the fact that parents supplied schools with radio receivers, this reflected a certain degree of local engagement in the implementation of radio in schools. However, this is not a perspective that has been emphasized in research. On the contrary, the organization of radio in education in America has been described as top down implementation. One example of this was the fact that superintendents, not teachers, were supposed to answer questionnaires, indicating that teachers were not included in the implementation process.



In July 1937, Amelia Earhart's niece and nephew eagerly follow reports of the search for their missing aunt and her plane. Other children too were exposed to a world far beyond their own homes through the medium of radio. © Bettman/CORBIS.

In contrast to America, broadcast systems in Europe were organized as nationwide networks that could be used for the inculcation of national values and virtues. Issues regarding educational as well as social and cultural policy were included in the broadcast organizations—in other words, they became part of welfare policy. In this context, children became a special interest.

In Scandinavian countries and Britain, special departments for educational programs were organized in the late 1920s or early 1930s. In general these programs were in line with the overall curriculum. However, a study on the use of radio in classrooms in Sweden reveals that there were contrasts between the content of ordinary schoolbooks and the content of radio programs. Radio programs emphasized contemporary progressive ideas on education and progressive political notions that were not represented in schoolbooks at that time. Citizenship, a new subject, was also given a particularly radical formulation in the school programs. This

meant that children who listened to educational programs on the radio, discussed the programs, and did assignments on them, encountered views of society that differed from prevailing traditional middle-class representations. Reoccurring subjects included the everyday lives of the working or lower-middle classes as well as the need for health reform and an expanded welfare system.

In Sweden, educational broadcasts addressed children not only as future citizens but also as active contemporary citizens. Children were included in the actual broadcasts, where they were displayed, with references to famous scientific explorers like Sven Hedin, as competent explorers of their own society. Further, these children were enlisted to represent various parts of society in accordance with notions of society proposed by progressive policymakers. Each pupil was supposed to have his or her own program sheet where each program was presented in texts and pictures. The notion was that the material should help children to create “listening

pictures" (*hörbilder*) when listening to programs. This practice was implemented out of a strong belief that a will to change the way people thought had to start with strategies that changed the way they talked.

In contrast to America, and in spite of the centralized organization, in Sweden teachers were included in the implementation of radio in education. They participated continually in surveys where they reported their own and the pupils' responses to programs. Active teachers were invited to annual conferences about the use of radio in classrooms. It was argued by teachers and by the organizers of school broadcasts that elementary schoolteachers were more competent than academics and experts in communicating with pupils and therefore were invited to produce programs.

In Britain, educational radio programs were regarded as an important way to influence individual children and adolescents when they had problems or needed guidance in societal matters. Radio was also used to inculcate new notions of citizenship.

Further Research

Studies of children's radio programs, particularly educational programs, offers an area of research that brings new perspectives to social, cultural, and political history. Such research also expands investigations of children's increased visibility and status as a special group in society, for instance as reflected in the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (1989). Children's programs provide material for inquiries into children's place in society as well as representations of childhood from a historical perspective, particularly during the period from 1920 to 1960, when radio was regarded as the major electronic medium in society. It is also a field well attuned to further developments of theoretical and methodological issues. In addition to actual programs, manuscripts, program sheets, and other documents concerning children's broadcasts, a number of studies measure children's reading and comprehension skills in relation to radio. Such materials could be used to investigate the systems of knowledge and meaning that have affected the child in different decades of the twentieth century.

See also: **Media, Children and the.**

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ANNE-LI LINDGREN

Recovered Memory

Recovered memory, often called repressed memory, emerged as a significant concept in mental health therapy in the early 1980s. The theory postulates that a variety of complaints in adulthood, ranging from eating disorders to marital problems, stem from childhood sexual abuse by a family member, usually of a daughter by her father. This experience is so traumatic that the child represses the memory and from then on has no conscious awareness that the abuse occurred. But at a subconscious level, the repressed memory continues to fester, producing symptoms that disrupt the victim's adult life. Therapeutic treatment consists of memory enhancement techniques to unblock the memories, allowing the patient to confront the source of her problems (an estimated 90 percent of these cases are female) and by doing so, "heal."

The roots of recovered memory theory can be traced to attitudes toward the middle-class family in parts of the feminist movement. Social worker Florence Rush was especially influential, arguing that INCEST was far more common than generally believed and was permitted because it prepared the female to accept a subordinate role in society. The theory provided an explanation for the gap between textbook estimates of incest (one to two for every million women in the United States) and its supposed common occurrence. The theory's most influential advocates include psychiatrists Judith Herman and Lenore Terr and law professor Catherine MacKinnon. But the single most influential book was written by lay people: *The Courage to Heal* by Ellen Bass and Laura Davis, originally published in 1988, which provides checklists of symptoms suggesting past abuse. It has sold close to a million copies.

Both the theory and the therapy are controversial. The theory assumes that memory functions like a camcorder, keeping repressed memories intact in a special part of the brain. But memory experts have demonstrated that memory does not function in this way: forgetting is extensive and memories are continually reconstructed into what memory expert Elizabeth Loftus has called "creative blendings of fact and fiction." There is no scientific evidence that memories of traumas are processed and/or stored differently from other memories. The theory assumes that certain symptom profiles—especially eating disorders—are signposts of child sexual abuse. However, according to American Psychiatric Association guidelines, "no specific unique symptom profile has been identified that necessarily correlated with abuse experiences."

The techniques therapists use to recover memories are equally controversial. The most common are hypnosis, guid-

ed imagery (the therapist helps the patient visualize scenes of childhood abuse), dreamwork, participation in “survivor groups,” massage therapy to uncover “body memories” of abuse in infancy, and injections of sodium Amytal as a truth serum. There is no scientific evidence for the existence of “body memories.” As for hypnosis, in a report issued in 1984, the American Medical Association’s Council on Scientific Affairs stated that contrary to what the public believes, recollections obtained during hypnosis are “generally less reliable than nonhypnotic recall.” According to the Council, hypnosis increases suggestibility, promoting vivid pseudo-memories. Memory researcher Martin Orne has noted that sodium Amytal is even more problematic than hypnosis in producing false memories. Researchers like Loftus, who has performed experiments in which she implanted “memories” in college students, including memories of traumatic events (such as being lost as a child in a shopping mall) believe therapists, wrongly convinced their patients’ problems derive from childhood sexual abuse, implant false memories in their patients.

Recovered memory therapy has wreaked a great deal of damage on patients and their families. Therapists have encouraged patients to confront the perpetrator, typically the father, and sever all ties with their parents (the mother is often viewed as an accomplice), even to sue them in civil or criminal court. It is estimated that roughly 15 percent of patients who recover false memories of sexual abuse eventually go on to recover memories of being forced to participate in Satanic cults in which they engaged in ritual murders and cannibalism. Many of these patients have been wrongly diagnosed as suffering from multiple personality disorders, which supposedly had enabled them to compartmentalize their terrible experiences, and some have been hospitalized for long periods.

Since 1995 a number of factors have led to a waning of recovered memory therapy. The False Memory Syndrome Foundation, established in 1992 by and for accused families, assembled leading U.S. and Canadian memory researchers on its board and widely disseminated their findings. But the most important factor has been malpractice suits against therapists brought by ex-patients, some of which have resulted in multimillion-dollar judgments. As a result, insurance companies have become unwilling to insure therapists practicing recovered memory therapy.

See also: **Child Abuse; Mental Illness.**

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RAEL JEAN ISAAC

Religious Revivals

Since the pioneering work of William J. McLoughlin, historians have tended to isolate four periods when revivals—or mass religious meetings for prayer, preaching, song, and conversion—were especially prominent features of American cultural history. The first, the so-called Great Awakening of 1735 to 1745, featured what Jonathan Edwards called “surprising conversions” across New England and the Middle Colonies. Among the most surprising of these conversions were many among children and youth. Child converts were accorded special status because supporters of the revivals saw in them evidence of the miraculous character of the events, while detractors used the prominence of children in the revivals to dismiss them as irrational “enthusiasm.” Later observers, noting how both the ritual performances of children and the reports on the revivals by elders followed some definable patterns, have emphasized a wide range of potential social and political causes for them. Most explanations imply that the presence of children as public converts signified the appearance of a more malleable conception of the self and life-course in America, at least in contrast to typical Calvinist understandings. That this malleable self was still under severe social strictures, as Philip Greven has pointed out, goes without saying. As converts, however, children asserted themselves as agents in history. They did so under the cover of a transcendent God, and within the boundaries of an ecclesiastical ritual, but their assertion of agency gained attention not least because it was consistent with the need for both producers and consumers in emerging market economies.

The link between markets, revivals, and children and youth is solidified when historians turn to the second period of revivals, which dominated the first half of the nineteenth-century and culminated in a series of “businessmen’s revivals” across the Northeast in 1857 to 1858. Some historians have identified a “Great Revival” in the South from 1800 to 1805, through which Baptists and Methodists gained their enduring foothold in the region, and their predominance in the African-American community. Southern revivals featured charismatic lay leadership over educated clergy, thus providing spiritual (and economic) leadership opportunities to enterprising young men (and, on occasion, young women). At such meetings, which quickly spread North and

West, flashing especially at Cane Ridge in Kentucky, intergenerational events held in the open air were free from the constraints of local social hierarchies, and provided for what anthropologists have called experiences of ecstatic *communitas*, and what has since been called entertainment. The young were quick to capitalize on the spiritual, as well as the social, opportunities, further “democratizing” Christianity in the process, and opening up a social space for the agency of young women, who sometimes joined young boys as child preachers. By the time a series of revivals swept across upstate New York in the 1830s, the most famous evangelist of the day, Charles Grandison Finney, had developed the technique of calling both young men and women to come before him to the “anxious bench” to consider their salvation. Finney also, in company with his wife, Elizabeth, furthered the revivalist emphasis on the malleable self, arguing that revivals were not only the result of a miracle, but also “the right use of the constituted means,” or what has come to be called marketing. Such an emphasis on technique led theologians such as Horace Bushnell, who advocated for less dramatic Christian nurture for children, such as the SUNDAY SCHOOL, to dub revivalism a form of CHILD ABUSE. Nevertheless, entrepreneurial revivalism led directly to new evangelical bible schools and colleges, such as Oberlin, which quickly filled the market niche abandoned by “rationalist” schools like Harvard and Yale. Evangelical schools then provided seedbeds for youthful activism in causes of social reform, notably abolitionism, although white Baptists and Methodists for obvious reasons preferred to promote temperance in the South. By the time of the businessmen’s revivals of 1857 and 1858, young men were especially prominent, although female leaders like Phoebe Palmer also began to assert themselves. Such a public presence of young male converts as a cohort in an urban venue fostered a distinct “boy culture,” according to John Corrigan, which both coincided with and promoted the growth of the earliest YOUTH MINISTRIES in the United States.

A third series of revivals marked the years from 1890 to 1925, now largely in urban areas, and drawing extensively on the existence of cadres of young men devoted to the YMCA’s “muscular Christianity.” The leading evangelists—Dwight L. Moody, Billy Sunday, and Aimee Semple McPherson—developed Finney’s rationalized techniques by holding separate meetings in large tents or “tabernacles” for young men and women, featuring swing-tinged “gospel” music. Such meetings sanctioned both an emerging popular culture for youth and a separate-spheres ideology defined along age-lines. This segregation of youth coincided well with G. STANLEY HALL’s popular identification of ADOLESCENCE as a particular stage of life marked by such attributes as piety and turbulence. Both attributes were amply in evidence in the tabernacle meetings, where sexual energy was sublimated into passionate prayer and turbulence given vent in dramatic conversions and upbeat music. Now, though, the converts were expected to follow conventions of behavior that ac-

corded with carefully cultivated civic values, rather than the spontaneous *communitas* of frontier revivals. The public presence of youthful converts, once the sign of a malleable self, was now becoming a defined market niche. At the same time, some of the social reforms sought by revivalists for the good of youth, namely Prohibition, came to fruition. This “success” ironically led to scorn among cultural elites such as H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis and scrutiny of the links between adolescence and conversion in the emerging social scientific disciplines. In reaction to such reductionism, the anti-intellectual elements in revivalism, always significant in particular communities, came further to the fore as revivalists became allied with the fundamentalist movement, and began to feel like a besieged minority.

A fourth period of revivals can be traced to the founding of Youth for Christ during World War II, led by Billy Graham, with fruition in the so-called new Christian right, represented by leaders such as James Dobson, and in movements like the “Promise Keepers.” Such movements owe much to the links between Christian conversion, commerce, and cultural change, now also associated with nationalist politics. At the same time, however, contemporary revivalism no longer promotes a malleable life course. Now, revivalists seek to contain children and youth, rendering them subject to various state, church, and family projects (such as HOMESCHOOLING), all marketed through the most current technologies.

See also: **Protestant Reformation.**

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JON PAHL

Renaissance. *See* Medieval and Renaissance Europe.

Retardation

Mental retardation is a construct with many interpretations. In some periods of history, mental retardation has been referred to as a disease. In other periods it has been thought of as a disability. Often mental retardation has been represented as social deviance. Most modern professionals in the United States adopt the definition published in 1992 by the American Association for Mental Retardation (AAMR). This definition describes mental retardation as neither a disease nor a disability but a functional state with limitations in both intelligence and adaptive skills. People classified as mentally retarded obtain an Intelligence Quotient (IQ) below seventy when tested with an appropriate standardized instrument. They demonstrate difficulties with adaptive skills, and their problems develop before the age of eighteen. The prevalence of mental retardation has been estimated to be under 3 percent of the general population. The majority of individuals with mental retardation need minimal supports and their disability may go undetected in tolerant environments. Some people require more extensive support, including assistance from family members and professionals. The causes of mental retardation are about evenly divided between organic and nonorganic problems. Organic causes are attributed to prenatal difficulties such as metabolic and genetic disorders, perinatal distress including prematurity and birth injury, and childhood diseases and traumas. Nonorganic causes are associated with environmental deprivation. In many cases the etiology is unknown. Treatment usually requires a multidisciplinary approach to provide a variety of supports that people with mental retardation need in order to function adequately in their homes, schools, places of work, and communities.

Although the AAMR definition is widely accepted in the twenty-first century, traditional interpretations of deviance, disability, and disease lie deeply imbedded in Western culture. These interpretations, usually disparaging, have influenced the ways societies have thought about and responded to people with mental retardation. Their roots lie in philosophical debates, religious beliefs, scientific discoveries, and social developments of the past. The historical record reveals the various meanings associated with mental retardation and its analogous conditions, including idiocy, foolishness, feeble-mindedness, and mental deficiency. A review of this history depicts the many ways that mental retardation has been and continues to be defined.

The origins of the construct of mental retardation appear in the writings of Greek and Roman philosophers reflecting on the nature of the intellect. Both PLATO and ARISTOTLE associated human value with the ability to reason. They dif-

ferentiated mankind from other living beings by the quality of the intellect. People who lacked the capacity to reason were considered barely human and therefore socially inferior. Writings attributed to Hippocrates in the late fifth century B.C.E. adopted a physiological explanation. This work localized the intellect in the brain and explained the intellect's function with humoral theories. In the most intelligent individuals properties of heat and moisture balanced. Those who lacked intelligence were thought to possess an excess of moisture and a deficit of warmth. Variations in the speed of the elements also affected the intellect. In their medical treatises, the Hippocratic writers defined healthy states and illness, and introduced the concept of the mean which would serve as a basis in the future identification of people with mental retardation. The Galenists, writing in Rome in the late second century, adopted the Hippocratic theories of the intellect, systematized them, and elaborated on the humoral interpretation. Galen's understanding of the nature of the intellect was adopted by many scientists and philosophers well into the eighteenth century.

The laws of ancient Rome contributed to Western legal systems the concept of clemency for criminals who acted without intention. Linking incompetence with infancy, Romans established the law that punishment for crimes depended on the understanding and intent of the criminal. The principle is central in Western legal systems, although in the United States the problem of competence and mental retardation in criminal cases remains a contentious issue at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Another legal precedent with economic and political implications appeared in medieval England: in the thirteenth century the English king claimed the property of people who were then called idiots who were unable to manage their personal affairs. The intention was to provide guardianship for people thought to be idiots while also enriching the coffers of the king. The law differentiated idiocy from madness and instituted rudimentary assessments to determine competence. In the early modern period English and American colonial laws provided guardianship and welfare relief for people with mental retardation who were without family support. Tests of competence were developed to assess the eligibility of welfare beneficiaries and people convicted of capital crimes. Those tests, and the laws in general, extended assistance to some needy people while they also reinforced images of dependency, incompetence, and infantilism.

In the ancient world most people attributed the mysteries they witnessed to pagan gods, and in medieval Europe they ascribed them to the supernatural powers of witches, devils, and magic. Yet Western views were gradually transformed by the infusion of beliefs and practices of the monotheistic religions JUDAISM, Christianity, and ISLAM. All three religions contributed to the modern social ethic as it concerns mental retardation. This ethic was essentially optimistic, for it recognized intrinsic value in humans created in the image

of God. It established principles of justice and affirmed charity on behalf of disadvantaged people. In Christian societies, idiocy, as it was known, provided evidence of God's creativity and a manifestation of the diversity of his universe. Furthermore, idiocy could be construed by Christians as a condition of blessed simplicity and innocence. Despite such magnanimity, however, religious belief also served to reinforce images of idiots as childish, dependent individuals, worthy recipients of beneficence, yet helpless and hopelessly afflicted. Indeed, both Catholics and Protestants banned people thought to be idiots from the sacraments, thereby denying salvation. Such contradictory portrayals of mental retardation have persisted throughout the years and are still evident in the twenty-first century.

The work of the English anatomist Thomas Willis (1621–1675) represented the first modern scientific account of idiocy. Willis adopted the view that idiocy constituted a structural defect in the brain that might be inborn or caused by serious illness or injury. He theorized that the condition could be related to the smallness of the brain, and he distinguished between two types of idiots, one more capable than the other. Willis was probably the first to define idiocy as a disease, to speculate on its causes, and to suggest treatments. Like most physicians of his time, however, Willis believed that in most cases idiocy was permanent and incurable.

Physicians continued to explore the functions of the brain throughout the 1800s. Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828), for example, concluded that the development of specific regions of the brain accounted for variations of intellect. Influenced by Gall's ideas, other physicians developed the system of phrenology, which associated intelligence with the structure of the head. By the 1870s, phrenology was no longer practiced, although for many years it was commonly believed that brain size was related to the intellect. Other theories drew parallels between intelligence and morality. In his 1866 book *Mongols*, John Langdon Down concluded that congenital idiocy represented atavism, a degeneracy of the race. Soon after the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Francis Galton (1822–1911) proposed methods to improve society by selectively breeding the human species. He named this system EUGENICS, a method of social control with profound implications for humanity in the twentieth century. Frustrated with attempts to prove the correlation between intelligence and the structure of the head, ALFRED BINET (1857–1911) set about to develop an alternative system to measure the intellect. With his student Theodore Simon (1873–1961), Binet produced in 1905 the first test of intelligence to identify children with learning difficulties.

Other scientists in nineteenth century Europe were interested in classification systems in order to differentiate idiocy from madness and to define levels of idiocy based on capability. Their purpose, in part, was to separate those people who

were considered more suitable for treatment from those considered incurable. The French physician Édouard Séguin (1812–1880) went further than others and developed his own system of classification which included four types of idiocy. Unlike his colleagues, Séguin adopted more optimistic views of people considered least capable. He protested conditions at the Bicêtre, Paris's notorious mental institution, and introduced treatment programs for idiots who were considered unable to profit from instruction. In 1848 he emigrated to the United States, where he continued his work establishing educational programs based on a physiological method.

Séguin's optimistic approach did not last, however, and by the middle of the nineteenth century idiocy acquired once again the meaning of permanent and incurable disability. In the United States schools originally intended for educating children with mental retardation were gradually converted to custodial facilities with the admission of more seriously disabled people and failures in rehabilitation. By the 1920s the eugenics movement had aroused the public's fear of people with mental retardation, who were denounced as morally degenerate. Institutional settings grew in power and size in order to accommodate the growing numbers of individuals with mental retardation who were rejected by society. Although most people continued to be cared for by family members at home with minimal public support, the social abandonment of thousands of people in large public institutions into the 1970s signified an era of pervasive dehumanization and hopelessness.

In response to the failure of public programs in the United States, parents whose children were mentally retarded organized in the mid-1900s to advocate on their behalf. Encouraged by the civil rights movement of the 1960s, parents and their professional allies sought educational opportunities, medical treatment, community living situations, and basic human rights. The concept of normalization coincided with the deinstitutionalization movement in the 1970s to promote services for people with mental retardation in local communities. At the same time, achievements in medicine produced methods for the amelioration and prevention of physiological problems. Responsive politicians and a favorable economy provided the impetus for legislation that established programs and provided services. In addition, successful challenges in courts of law contributed to expanded policies and programs on behalf of people with mental retardation. In particular, all children, including those who previously had been excluded from schools due to their disability, were granted the right to be educated at public expense. Early in the twenty-first century most children with mental retardation are educated in public schools with their peers, although many with severe disabilities are still consigned to segregated settings. Remaining issues for people with mental retardation include meaningful participation in all aspects of community living, social integration, equal opportunities in

school and work, justice in the courts of law, and self-determination.

See also: **Birth Defects; Education, Europe; Education, United States; Intelligence Testing; Special Education.**

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PARNEL WICKHAM

Rites of Passage

Rites of passage are found in all societies in all periods, but they differ not only from culture to culture but over time within a particular culture. They change as societies change and, while they are often perceived as traditional, they are by no means timeless. Rites of passage are at least as common in modern as in premodern societies. In the case of Western cultures, they have increased over time. Rites of passage are highly scripted dramatic performances initiated on the occasion of a change in the life of an individual that affects relationships within a group or between groups. These are as

much directed to changing perceptions as changing behavior. The rite itself has a tripartite structure, which begins with the separation of the main actor from his or her former status. This is usually accomplished by a change of clothing, locale, or behavior. Then follows a liminal moment when the individual is thought to be in a transitional state. The rite is completed when the central actor is reintegrated into society in his or her new role or identity. The most obvious contemporary example of a rite of passage is the big white wedding in which the female is separated from unmarried women as a group by her dress and deportment, then is cloistered as "bride" for a period of time before being reintegrated into society as a married woman. The white wedding is a highly dramatic performance which alters the relationship not only of the bride to the groom, but of the couple to their peers, family, and community.

While rites of passage may appear to be the product of tradition and seem to represent consensus about the way things ought to be done in a particular society, they are in fact ways of coping with the ambiguities, uncertainties, and conflicts inherent in any social order. When life flows smoothly and there are no contradictions, there is no need for these cultural interventions. But in all societies there are certain moments in the life of the individual and the group which seem to require something more, something that will mediate the apparent contradictions and restore a sense of order. Rituals allow this to happen smoothly and unthinkingly. "Ritual inevitably carries a basic message of order, continuity, and predictability. New events are connected to preceding ones, incorporated into a stream of precedents so that they are recognized as growing out of tradition and experience. By stating enduring and underlying patterns, ritual connects past, present, and future, abrogating history and time," writes Barbara Myerhoff (p. 306). Rites of passage do not so much change things as give meaning to changes that are occurring.

In the Western world rites of passage have changed dramatically since the onset of modernity in the eighteenth century. Premodern rites were collective and communal performances, coping with ambiguities and tensions in the preindustrial social order. At that time lives were perceived spatially rather than temporally. Society understood itself as a static hierarchy—as a great chain of being—in which people moved up and down rather than forward and backward through time. In preindustrial society senior did not necessarily mean older. In that world very young men and women could attain very high rank.

Premodern Western rites of passage were not keyed to age as such. Instead, they marked changes in status within a larger community. The first and almost universal rite of passage was BAPTISM, symbolic of membership in the Christian community. It usually happened within a few days of birth, but in some denominations was postponed until a much later

point in life. BIRTHDAYS as such were rarely celebrated before the nineteenth century. For some young people the ceremonies associated with entry into a religious calling constituted their ultimate rite of passage. The rites of apprentices, journeymen, and masters were equally dramatic performances. Village youth groups also had their rites of passage, but the most elaborate ceremony was the wedding, which in both town and country marked the biggest single change of status. Only those who could sustain a household were allowed to marry in this manner. The very public performance of wedding, which involved the entire community and not just the families involved, acknowledged the change in public status and power involved. It was less about personal than collective transformation.

By contrast, modern rites of passage are more personal and familial. They are less concerned with adjustments in the order of society than with the changing age identities of individuals. Rites of passage have become much more age-specific as numerical age itself becomes more important in assigning status. But because age is as much a cultural construct as a natural fact, some events, like MENARCHE and PUBERTY, which one might expect to draw considerable ritual attention, do not necessarily do so. On the other hand, birth dates, which do not indicate any great change, are now the occasion of sometimes elaborate ceremonies. In this secular era, it is birth, not baptism, which is life's first rite of passage.

Transitions from infancy to BOYHOOD were marked by BREECHING in the early modern period, and in the nineteenth century such ceremonies as FIRST COMMUNION, CONFIRMATION, and BAR MITZVAH came to be the standard passages to adolescence. In the twentieth century the transition from adolescence to young adulthood was marked for men by elaborate graduation and enlistment ceremonies, while elite women had their debutante balls and various coming-out parties. Today, these ceremonies are overshadowed by such landmarks as getting a driver's license and having one's first legal drink, but ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH remain a time of intense ritualization; and so too does young adulthood, that long drawn-out affair marked variously by graduation from university, the first "real" job, leaving home, getting married, getting a mortgage, and having children. Never has the life course been so full of ritualized events that have become modern rites of passage, almost all of which are celebrated within the confines of family and friends.

The development of modern rites of passage in the modern world has followed a certain pattern. Elaborate ceremonies appeared first among the upper classes and were later appropriated by lower classes and various ethnic groups. It is worth noting that they multiplied first among males and spread later to women. In the Jewish religion the modern bar mitzvah for boys developed long before it was felt necessary to have a similar ceremony (bat mitzvah) for girls. The reasons for this class and gender pattern have to do with the

greater degree of uncertainty and ambiguity experienced initially by males in modern capitalist society. Elite men were the first to be expected to forge their own way as individuals, while elite women's lives as daughters and wives were more predictable and continuous, at least until marriage, when their one great rite of passage, the white wedding, dealt with the uncertainties generated by that event.

Today's rites of passage are less exclusive, though class, ethnic, and gender variation is very evident. Every group now has its own version of the standard rites of passage. African-American families make much of their young people's graduations. Latino female coming-of-age parties rival the old debutante balls in expense and significance. Bat mitzvahs have attained a parity with bar mitzvahs, and the white wedding is now universal in Western societies, exported worldwide as the modern way to be married in Japan, Mexico, and many parts of Africa. Today gay and lesbian people also have their own rites of passage, including commitment ceremonies. But, while there are more and more varied rites of passage today than ever before, they are less inclusive of the community and more family oriented.

Western society has become extraordinarily child-centered, and virtually every stage of childhood is given ritual treatment. The reason for this lies in the increasingly uncertain and conflicted nature of growing up in modern society. In this era of the "hurried child," when there is such pressure on children to meet certain norms, rites of passage are one of the ways adults try to reassure themselves that there are still "enduring and underlying patterns" and that childhood itself has not yet been lost. Rites assure us that our children have a proper childhood and that we are good parents and grandparents after all. In today's highly ritualized family life, to miss a birthday or graduation is regarded as neglect or worse. One could even go so far as to say that the modern family is a group of people sharing a set of rituals. Everywhere we turn, especially where there is tension and unpredictability, there are rites of passage. This is not to say that ritual always works as intended. It can also be its own source of tension and controversy. This is one reason why rites of passage are always mutating. They are one of the most prominent but also one of the most protean features of modern life, deserving much more attention by historians and other cultural observers.

See also: **Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood.**

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In the 1950s Elvis Presley's music and "suggestive" dancing was the subject of considerable controversy. Critics saw him as a dangerous influence on American teenagers, particularly if those teenagers were white, Northern, and middle class. © Bettman/CORBIS.

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JOHN R. GILLIS

Rock and Roll

Beginning around 1955, rock and roll, a music of outlandish performers, amplified guitars, and aggressive lyrics, replaced jazz and pop standards in commercial prominence. It is often discussed as the charged collision of two racially separate genres: African-American rhythm and blues (R&B) and white country music. Yet it is more accurately viewed as a different hybrid. These outsider musical styles, and the often working-class, Southern, and/or black performers who championed them, were embraced by TEENAGERS who were often middle class, Northern, and white and who had

emerged in the affluence of that decade as an economic force to be reckoned with. As controversy raged about Elvis Presley's gyrating hips and the "leerics" of hit songs, a music industry veteran argued that the music had only become controversial because "the [white] pop kids started buying the R&B disks and playing them at home" (Martin and Segrave, p. 17).

Youth Culture

The union of YOUTH CULTURE and popular music has periodically sent shockwaves through American society ever since: variants include hippies, teenyboppers, punks, metalheads, rappers, and ravers. As the U.S. model of consumerism has spread worldwide, phenomena akin to rock and roll have cropped up time and again—from subcultures like the English mods and skinheads and the French *yeb yeb*s to the emergent sounds of Jamaican reggae, South African *mbaqanga*, Balkan turbofolk, and Algerian *rai*. Music, and the styles of clothing, language, and behavior so closely linked to it, has provided adolescents with the essential basis for a common sense of identity.

Yet rock and roll has evolved with every decade, and so have the youth phenomena associated with it. The teenagers of the 1950s were categorized as juvenile delinquents (the boys) or insipid sock hoppers screaming for manufactured idols on the television show *American Bandstand* (the girls); either way, a decadent, selfish breed compared to the generation that had withstood the Depression and fought World War II. Sociologists, and the media that followed their lead, looked at rock and rollers as deviants or as innocents manipulated by mass culture. In retrospect, however, rock had a radicalizing effect on these children, listening to brand-new transistor radios in their bedrooms and learning to identify with musicians from society's most marginal groups—the heavily pompadoured Little Richard, for instance, who sang in a falsetto taken from the Southern drag-queen club circuit.

By the 1960s, the subterranean energies that had fueled rock and roll's rise were bubbling over. The children of the BABY BOOM, that demographic bulge lasting from 1946 to 1964, were hitting their teenage years. Rock and roll, formerly a genre devoted to fun and loudness, had now become rock, a more serious Anglo-American art form with cultivated links to politicized folk music and the hippie generation's notion of youth as a self-consciously oppositional counter-culture. New heroes like Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones, essentially akin to the boomers in background, inspired them to pick up electric guitars, grow their hair long, and experiment with sex and DRUGS. Woodstock, a three-day antiwar festival that drew hundreds of thousands to upstate New York in 1969, epitomized how sixties rock offered a mass cultural vision of authenticity and community.

Yet soon after, as the Stones played a different festival in Altamont, California, a young black attendee was murdered

by Hell's Angels bikers who had foolishly been hired to protect the stage. Rock had lost its innocence, and as the music's popularity grew in the 1970s and 1980s it became a far more standardized industry. Young female teenyboppers were encouraged by TEEN MAGAZINES and AM radio to consume air-brushed pinups like Donny Osmond and the Bay City Rollers. Boys read *Rolling Stone*, listened to FM radio, and learned about arena rock, the cartoonishly heavy metal sounds of bands like Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. The music's cross-racial alliances faded as black and Latin disco and funk separated from white singer-songwriter earnestness. MTV, a cable network relying on music videos for its programming, appeared in 1981, linking rock to television around the clock. The youth market was bigger than ever. Stars like Michael Jackson, Madonna, Prince, and Bruce Springsteen enjoyed global popularity. It was now possible to find kids in virtually every location on earth obsessed with the same musical icons.

Divisions

As rock aged, however, cracks unsurprisingly started to appear in its dominance over youth culture. Punk, a movement from within rock that began in the mid-1970s, gradually became the music's oppositional wing, inspiring an audience that still looked to rock to behave as the antithesis of manufactured pop music. From the Sex Pistols in 1977 to Nirvana in 1991, often called "the year punk broke," a generation of college students used punk much as an early generation had used folk music, positioning themselves outside a corrupted mainstream. Alternative rock, a commercial variant of punk that briefly held sway in the 1990s, was epitomized by the Lollapalooza festivals, a post-baby boomer Woodstock of sorts. Then it splintered, a victim of its own anticorporate mainstream contradictions.

But rock was now simply one established genre among many competing for the younger demographic. Rappers replaced rock stars as icons of youth rebellion: although Eminem was white, most of the other major performers were African American, including Public Enemy, N.W.A, Notorious B.I.G., and Tupac Shakur. Country music, including Garth Brooks, Shania Twain, and the Dixie Chicks, courted suburban youth with a slicked-up twang. A new breed of boy bands like N'Sync and the Backstreet Boys, revived the teenybopper for the MTV era. Dance beats appealed to a subculture of ravers, whose consumption of the party drug Ecstasy terrified parents who had grown up experimenting with marijuana to the sounds of rock. Nerds more inspired by their computers and video games than by the radio downloaded songs on MP3, much to the chagrin of the music industry, which saw album sales plummet at the turn of the century.

Globally, local music inspired by rock and its affiliated sounds but taking a particularly homegrown slant, has steadily rolled back the dominance of American music. Rappers

can be found in Wales, Senegal, and South Korea; an alternative rock scene exists in Singapore; Japanese reggae bands have created a vibrant scene out of the Jamaican sounds of dancehall. The story gets steadily more complicated, but certain basic patterns never change: emotional affiliation across lines of identity; the tension between the pop marketplace and subcultures driven by a notion of personal authenticity; and the endless ability of new cohorts of young people to cobble together new blends of sound and style.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Media, Childhood and the.**

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ERIC WEISBARD

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born in Geneva, Switzerland, and grew up motherless. He received no systematic education; instead his father provided him with various kinds of lectures. Sent to an engraver to learn a profession, Rousseau ran away in 1728 to Turin and later France. In France he pursued his self-education, supported by a noblewoman. Rousseau was a man of many professions and many failures. He acquired his first public recognition as a musicologist and composer. In his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (Discourse on the sciences and the arts [1750/1751]) he criticized the conviction of the ENLIGHTENMENT that knowledge and science would bring progress to mankind. In 1755 he published his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Discourse on the origin and the foundations of inequality among men). Because of his wayward opinions, difficult character, and a supposed persecution complex, Rousseau more and more came into conflict with other intellectuals, among them his friend Denis Diderot, his lifelong enemy Voltaire, his later defender David Hume, and even French musicians. In 1761 Rousseau's novel *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (Julie, or the New Heloise) was a best-seller in Paris and made him popular all over Europe. A year later *Du contrat social* (The Social Contract) was published, and a

year later *Émile, ou Traité de l'éducation* (*Émile*, or A Treatise on Education) appeared. Both works were banned and burned in public, both in Catholic France and in Calvinist Geneva. To make things worse, Voltaire accused Rousseau of severe neglect of his wife and children in the pamphlet *Sentiments de citoyen* (*Sentiments of a citizen* [1764]). Rousseau wrote several apologies, including *Lettres écrites de la montagne* (*Letters written from the mountain* [1764]). Condemnation of Rousseau's publications, especially of *Émile*, forced him to flee to Switzerland in 1762 and to England in 1766, where Hume gave him shelter. Rousseau returned to France the following year under a false name—Jean-Joseph Renou. In the last years of his life he wrote his *Les Confessions* and two other autobiographical works: *Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques. Dialogues* (*Rousseau, judge of Jean-Jacques. Dialogues* [1775]) and *Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (*The reveries of a solitary walker* [1776]). He died July 2, 1778 in Ermenonville, France.

Ideas

Today Rousseau is considered one of the pivotal figures in the history of education and of childhood. More specifically, he is credited with the discovery of the distinctive character of the unique viewpoint of the child; the modern practice of educating in accordance with nature; the recognition of the child as a valuable person; and the cult of emotion—that is, that emotion is central in life and for learning—and the importance of the child's internal motivation. This image of the romantic Rousseau led to the conviction that Rousseau is one of the founding fathers of anti-authoritarian education. This interpretation is supported by the first three books of *Émile*. Here, indeed, the child grows up as an isolated individual with an uncorrupted nature and without any intervention by the educator. The educator safeguards the child from social influences (negative education), for nature is good and perfect, whereas society can only bear evil. Rousseau describes the developmental stages of the child's inner nature and the way the child learns from the external nature (natural education, or education “by things”).

However, this picture is incomplete and presents a rather superficial comprehension of Rousseau's work. The central problem of Rousseau is that man is not only an individual, but that he is also condemned to live in society. Man's original and benevolent nature (natural state) is an intellectual experiment, a theoretical construction, not a reality. Central to Rousseau's philosophy is how man can cope with the break between nature and society, between individuality and sociality, between humankind and citizenship, and remain happy. *Émile* has to learn to function in society. This is the theme of the two last books of *Émile*, which deal mainly with the problem of *Émile*'s relationship with another character, Sophie. Through negative education, the educator earns the confidence of the child; this trust is used to urge the child toward the goal of virtuousness.

In accordance with this social education are Rousseau's proposals for the organization of public education in Corsica and Poland. According to Rousseau, the gap between individual and public education is bridged by moral education: the education of virtue. The key feature of this education is self-limitation: if man wants to approach the (imaginary) happiness of the natural order, then he has to limit his desires (*vouloir*) to his power and ability (*pouvoir*). However, virtuousness is always threatened by the social condition of man. It is not surprising that Rousseau planned to write another novel in which the fate of Sophie and *Émile* would be described as a continuous and vain battle for virtuousness. The struggle for virtue is also the main theme of Rousseau's other educational novel—*Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*. Contrary to *Émile*, the protagonist here is a girl and the educational setting is the family.

Influence

The impact of Rousseau on educational theory cannot be underestimated. Rousseau romanticized the idea of childhood. Indeed, according to Rousseau, the main educational question should not be how to bring the child as fast as possible to adulthood, but rather how to do justice to the specificity of childhood. The characteristics of childhood, according to Rousseau, are the features of “natural man.” Just like man in the original condition, the child is not yet corrupted by society. As such, childhood is linked with the promise of a perfect world and the possibility to make mankind better. Rousseau therefore argued that the child be kept away from society as long as possible, so that the child can develop according to his or her own needs and in accordance with nature.

This image of the child as inherently good has inspired a number of romantic educational theories. For example, FRIEDRICH FROEBEL's founding of the KINDERGARTEN system is a practical translation of Rousseau's idea of education. Kindergarten is an isolated and safe place where children, as young as possible, can develop without being disturbed by adults. In this natural condition the educator is only stimulating the child by things, which in turn stimulate the child's innate possibilities. Rousseau inspired also the English romantic poet William Wordsworth and the American transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, who refers explicitly to Rousseau in his educational writings, established a school (Yasnaya Polyana School) for peasant children on his estate between 1859 and 1862.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Rousseau's idea of childhood was revisited through many educational experiments labeled as *éducation nouvelle* in France and *reformpädagogik* in Germany. The Swedish social reformer ELLEN KEY, whose *Barnets årbundrade* (1900; CENTURY OF THE CHILD, 1909) is about the natural rights of the child, forever linked Rousseau with

the art of education. In the second half of the twentieth century the anti-authoritarian movement and its pedagogy claimed to be the real inheritors of the ideas of Rousseau by stressing the idea of the original goodness of the child, as exemplified by A. S. NEILL's *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (1960).

This reception, however, is mostly one-sided and historically problematic. In the first place, contrary to the romantics (e.g., Froebel, Wordsworth), Rousseau was very much opposed to imagination as a key feature of childhood and education. According to Rousseau, imagination is a social dynamic that causes unhappiness and as such is not an element of the natural state of man and childhood. In the second place, there are a number of individuals who have put forth educational theories—including the German philosophers Immanuel Kant and JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERBART and the Swiss educational reformer JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI—that do not cultivate a romantic image of the child even though these individuals claim to be inheritors of Rousseau's ideas. Instead of cultivating the idea of the original goodness of the child, they are inspired by Rousseau's insight that children have to become adults and have to function in a society, and that the educator has to make use of the child's naïveté to impose moral principles and social skills.

Currently in educational historiography, Rousseau is recognized for exploring and rejecting several educational ideas. What is more, there is a growing awareness that in Rousseau's philosophy several contradictory traditions of educational thought come together. Given that Rousseau used the

ideas of PLATO, Quintilian, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE-FÉNELON, JOHN LOCKE, and many others, his own contradictions are understandable.

See also: Education, Europe; Theories of Childhood; Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia.

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HANS VAN CROMBRUGGE

Rowling, J. K. *See* Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling.

Runaways. *See* Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States.

Russia. *See* Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia.

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Salzmann, Christian Gotthilf (1744–1811)

Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, a German theologian, education reformer, and writer, was born in Sömmerda, Germany, in 1744, and died in Schnepfenthal, Germany, in 1811. Salzmann began his pedagogical literary activity while he was still a vicar, but in 1780 went to Dessau to become employed by JOHANN B. BASEDOW in his famous school, the Philanthropinum, and helped develop the school's pedagogy (known as *philanthropinism*). Philanthropinism was characterized by an ideal of a loving relationship of trust between children and adults and by the idea that the education should take place joyfully and playfully, complying with the course of nature in the education of the child (influenced by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU) and its followers were known as Philanthropinists. In 1784, Salzmann resigned from the Philanthropinum to start his own boarding school in Schnepfenthal. He believed that the school should take the form of a family, and the educator should first and foremost set a good example for his students. Salzmann put much weight on the unfolding of the powers of observation and the abilities of the children to use their intellect as well as the development of their morality. For him it was a fundamental educational principle to start with what was closest to the child, and thus move from the visible to the nonvisible, from things near to things farther away, and from the concrete to the abstract. Finally, PHYSICAL EDUCATION was seen as very important, and Salzmann upheld a focus on health, GYMNASTICS, and manual work (woodwork, gardening, etc.) in his teaching.

Together with Basedow, J. H. Campe, and Fr. E. von Rochow, Salzmann was one of the most important thinkers among the Philanthropinists, and his significance to the pedagogical debate of his day and to the pedagogical practice went far beyond the German-speaking countries. His influence was partly due to his writings, and partly due to his school in Schnepfenthal, which was visited by many teachers

and tutors who studied his pedagogy. He also strongly influenced the well-known physical education reformer at Schnepfenthal, JOHANN GUTSMUTHS.

Salzmann's many works in the educational field can be divided into at least two groups: education manuals and pedagogical novels. In his education manuals, Salzmann speaks ironically of the common mistakes in the education of the time which only implants bad qualities in the children, gives instructions on how to provide what he considered a suitable education, and points out the necessity of educating the educator. In his pedagogical novels, Salzmann's pedagogical ideals are couched in lively stories about the way of life and condition of life in the different classes of the old social order. Thus, the novel *Carl von Carlsberg* mainly portrays the conditions of life among the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, while books like *Conrad Kiefer* describe the sensible or rational education of peasant children. Finally, Salzmann was deeply concerned about the dangers of MASTURBATION which he saw as one of the great diseases of civilization leading to physical as well as MENTAL ILLNESSES.

See also: Education, Europe.

SIGNE MELLEMGAAARD

Same-Sex Parenting

For as long as people have understood themselves as gay, gay people have parented their children. In the past, however, homosexual parents often shielded themselves and their children from scrutiny by publicly concealing their sexual orientation. By the end of the twentieth century, an estimated six to ten million gay and lesbian parents in the United States were raising six to fourteen million children, often in openly recognized gay families. Most of these children were born to heterosexually married parents, one or both of whom later came out as gay or lesbian. Some were born to single gay

men or lesbians. An increasing number, however, were born to same-sex couples living together in long-term partnerships. The sharp rise in same-sex couples having children in the late twentieth century was celebrated as a “gayby boom,” yet these couples faced many challenges to creating and protecting their families.

By 1995, studies of children raised in same-sex families were fueled by growing interest in parenting by gays and lesbians, increasing attention to the phenomenon of same-sex parenting in the culture at large, and a burst of custody cases involving gay and lesbian parents. Until the late 1990s, most psychological and sociological research of these children aimed to counteract assumptions made by courts about the unfitness of gay parents. The studies concluded that children raised by gays or lesbians do just as well in school and are as psychologically well-adjusted as children raised in comparable heterosexual families. One study by Charlotte Patterson (1994), however, departed from this trend by identifying two major differences: greater symptoms of stress and a greater sense of well-being among the four- to nine-year-old children of lesbian mothers. Patterson concludes, then, that although children raised from birth by lesbians showed signs of anxiety about their difference from their peers, the substantial support that they received at home buttressed them from outside criticism and shored up their self-esteem more generally. Researchers have noted that data on children raised by gay fathers is especially sparse. Scholars have encouraged, but rarely completed, studies that do more than dispel myths about risks to children and that explore the diversity of gay families themselves.

For many years, social and legal stigma bred shame and fear among same-sex parents and their sons and daughters. Before the rise of the American Gay Liberation Movement in 1969, only six child custody cases involving a gay or lesbian parent dared to challenge the universal assumption that only heterosexuals were fit to raise children. As sociologist Judith Stacey points out, however, the courts’ denial of parental rights to these pioneers made their cause visible. In the midst of the vigorously anti-family ideology of the early gay liberation, feminist, and lesbian-feminist movements in the United States, gay and lesbian parents initiated over fifty custody suits in the 1970s. Joined by a growing number of “out” lesbians conceiving outside of marriage, previously married gay and lesbian parents, in the words of Judith Stacey, “level[ed] a public challenge against the reigning cultural presumption that the two terms—gay and parent—are antithetical” (p. 110).

Unfortunately, parents seeking custody of their children were often unsuccessful. In 1995, for example, the Virginia Supreme Court ruled that Sharon Bottoms was an unfit parent because she came out as a lesbian after having a child; as a result, she lost custody of her five-year-old son, Tyler. In 1996, the state appeals court of Florida ruled that John

Ward, a convicted murderer, was a more fit parent than his lesbian ex-wife, Mary. By the early twenty-first century, U.S. courts in most states adopted a “nexus approach” to evaluating parental fitness, requiring that the party suing for custody demonstrate a link between the gay parent’s sexual orientation and harm to the child rather than assuming it outright. Nevertheless, child custody and visitation cases involve a great deal of judicial discretion and vary considerably from state to state.

Despite the obstacles, increasing numbers of same-sex couples began bringing children into their lives. Thousands of lesbian women, including several celebrities, around the country, especially in tolerant regions such as the San Francisco Bay Area, have conceived children through donor insemination (DI). Performed at home or by medical professionals, DI is the most common way that lesbian women choose to become mothers. Many women use anonymous sperm from sperm banks (though many doctors and banks still discriminate against unmarried women) for its convenience and/or in order to decrease the chance that the donor will assert himself as the father of his offspring. Other single lesbians and female couples choose to conceive using sperm from a “known donor,” avoiding institutional discrimination and/or preferring the opportunity to foster a relationship of some kind between their children and the donor.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, rising numbers of lesbians and (especially) gay men began pursuing other avenues through which to have children, including SURROGACY, foster parenting, and ADOPTION. Traditional surrogacy, when a woman agrees to bear a child for another person using the father’s sperm and her own or a donated egg, allows one member of a gay male couple to form a biological relationship with the resulting child. Similarly, gestational surrogacy, when one woman carries a child conceived using her female partner’s egg and donor sperm, links both partners of a female couple to the biology of their son or daughter. In tolerant areas, alternatively, many gays and lesbians create families through foster parenting. Though Florida and New Hampshire prohibited gays and lesbians from adopting children (including their foster children), international adoption became especially common in the 1990s. In addition to “stranger adoption,” same-sex parents rely heavily on “second-parent” or “step-parent” adoption, when one member of a couple shares the legal parentage of his or her partner’s biological child with the existing legal parent. According to Lambda Legal Defense, as of 1997, courts in twenty-one states had approved second-parent adoptions by same-sex couples. Without access to this process, non-biological parents have no legal right to custody of their children.

Gay and lesbian parental rights in Europe vary by country but usually by 2003 fell short of those afforded in the United States. Only the Netherlands provided same-sex couples all

of the protections afforded by civil marriage, including adoption and custody rights. Although Denmark, Norway, Greenland, Sweden, and Iceland created a new marital status for gay and lesbian people in the 1980s and 1990s, Lambda Legal Defense explains that these “registered partnerships” generally do not allow their beneficiaries to adopt either nonrelated or even each other’s children. In the early 2000s, other European countries afforded neither marital nor parental rights to their gay and lesbian citizens.

Since the 1980s, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people have created dozens of local and national organizations to support and advocate for same-sex parents and their children. For example, The Sperm Bank of California, founded in 1982 as the nation’s only nonprofit sperm bank in order to serve lesbian and bisexual women, reported in 2001 that over one thousand children had been born through their services. California is also home to Maia Midwifery, established in 1994 to facilitate the creation of lesbian families. Other organizations, such as COLAGE (Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere), focus on the children of same-sex parents. The National Center for Lesbian Rights has defended lesbian parental rights in court and has educated women about protecting their families from legal assault. Reflecting the emphasis on gay families within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender civil rights movement, national organizations such as the Equal Rights Campaign added gay-parenting rights to their agendas.

In addition to resources available through organizations, popular books about conception, pregnancy, and child rearing for gay male and (especially) lesbian parents multiplied in the 1990s and early 2000s. On top of practical and legal advice, this literature offers humor, personal reflection, and opinions about topics such as gender-conscious parenting, the role of nonbiological parents, and family formation by transgender people.

See also: Divorce and Custody; Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation; Parenting.

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AMANDA H. LITTAUER

Sandbox

The precise genesis of sand PLAY and the original rationale for it are not known, but it is a quite natural evolution from the kinds of informal play with earth that children all over the world seem to engage in during early childhood. Sand was a cheap and hygienic solution to early educational theorists’ suggestions of the value of free play with materials. The earliest references to children’s sand play appear in accounts of playgrounds in mid-nineteenth-century Germany. The educational ideas in this part of the world were greatly influenced by the writings of FRIEDRICH FROEBEL, who introduced the concept of the KINDERGARTEN, or children’s garden. His writing stresses the importance of free play and children’s contact with nature, and in his plan of a model kindergarten he encouraged the design of a garden. This offered opportunities for children to contact natural materials, including perhaps sand, but he did not specifically include a sand area in his design. The first known use of sand for play provision is the heaps of sand called *sand bergs* piled in the public parks of Berlin in 1850. The kindergarten movement in Germany went on to include sandboxes in their design in the latter half of the century, and in 1889 an issue of the newspaper of the Pestalozzi/Froebel children’s houses described how to build a sandbox.

The idea was brought to the United States in 1885 after the physician Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska saw a sand berg in a Berlin public park. The first “sand gardens,” very large sandboxes, were built in Boston. In his 1922 book on the growth of the national playground movement, the sand garden is described by the sociologist Lee Rainwater as the first stage of public playground design. The idea caught on quickly in the United States, and by 1889 there were twenty-one of them in Boston and one in New York City. They were created mostly in poor neighborhoods, often alongside settlement houses for servicing the children of immigrants, and were managed by women. One was built in 1892 in Chicago at the famous community settlement house called Hull-House. The idea of public sand play places grew rapidly in Europe and the United States in the early part of the twentieth century and later spread to the other industrialized countries.

In 1887 G. STANLEY HALL, the pioneer of CHILD STUDY in the United States, wrote *The Story of a Sand-Pile*, wherein he dwelled upon its great values for learning through symbolic and social play. He observed that boys in particular were active in this play and continued to be so until about fifteen years of age. While children today rarely play with

this medium after the early childhood years, it does seem to offer opportunities for a wider age range of children than any other material except water, with which it is generally coupled. Authors of early childhood education subsequently wrote consistently about the developmental benefits of sand play, and sandboxes became basic to the design of kindergartens. But sand play provision declined in public spaces in the later twentieth century due to growing concerns over its supposed toxicity due to animal feces and a decreased willingness of municipal agencies to carry out the necessary occasional maintenance.

From the earliest photographs of sandboxes in the United States and Europe we can see that they had wheelbarrows, rakes, buckets and spades, and molds of animal and other shapes. Today implements are usually limited to smaller tools, and these are made of plastic rather than metal.

See also: **Playground Movement; Theories of Play.**

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ROGER A. HART

SAT and College Entrance Exams

The founding of the College Entrance Examination Board (later renamed the College Board) in 1900 culminated two decades of attempts to standardize the college admissions process. CEEB encouraged colleges to accept additional HIGH SCHOOL subjects, and replaced idiosyncratic entrance requirements and exams with uniform ones. But contemporary critics noted these tests measured subject mastery, and did not predict college performance—a need at colleges seeking to limit enrollments after World War I.

In contrast, the psychological or intelligence tests, designed by E. L. Thorndike of Columbia University, and administered to the armed forces during World War I, seemed to predict success in college. After the war, several colleges added these exams to their admissions requirements. The predictive power of intelligence tests, claimed advocates, permitted burgeoning high schools greater curricular latitude to address the needs of the majority of students who would not attend college. Admissions officers at colleges wishing to favor students from "old stock" nationality and ethnic groups seized upon the association between intelligence test scores on one hand and race and ethnicity on the other posited by Princeton's Carl Campbell Brigham in *A Study of American Intelligence* (1923). But Brigham, who be-

came the key designer of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, disavowed this association after CEEB began to offer this psychological exam in 1926. Meritocrats later embraced the SAT as likely to unearth "diamonds in the rough." Initially dominated by verbal questions, the SAT separated math and verbal scores into two separate exams in 1931—the first of several format changes.

Neither CEEB's first subject-based entrance exams nor the SAT took the academic world by storm. Most colleges continued to base admissions decisions on high school transcripts and the principal's recommendation until after World War II. The number of students taking the SAT remained under 10,000 through the 1930s; the proportion of colleges requiring the SAT or equivalent exams for admission increased from less than one percent to 15 percent between 1932 and 1944. CEEB began to offer a Junior (later Preliminary) SAT during the 1930s; it dropped its traditional essay entrance exams in 1942.

The SAT competed with objective achievement examinations administered by the Cooperative Test Service of the American Council on Education, and with exams offered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1947, CEEB, ACE, and the Carnegie Foundation turned all exam-related activities over to the newly founded Educational Testing Service, which offered the SAT and the achievement exams (later called the SAT II, and administered in 23 subject areas by 2003). In 1955, CEEB also assumed responsibility for Advanced Placement exams—developed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, a Ford Foundation affiliate—that assessed mastery of college-level work completed in high school.

CEEB and ETS had a clear field until 1959, when E. F. Lindquist and Ted McCarrel, both of the University of Iowa, founded the American College Testing Services (later ACT, Inc.). The ACT Assessment—often seen as more aligned with the high school curriculum—examined student knowledge in English, math, reading, and science reasoning. This exam proved especially popular where College Board influence was weak.

Expanded demand for college among the large baby boomer cohort, and a corresponding increase in selectivity at many colleges contributed to the rapid growth of the SAT and ACT, beginning in the 1960s. The University of California adopted the SAT in 1968, thereby nationalizing the exam. In the 2000–2001 school year, 1.3 million high school seniors took the SAT (now SAT I). About one million students took the ACT exam during the 2000–2001 school year, as the test remained popular in the Midwest.

By the 1970s, the SAT and ACT tests often were *the* decisive admissions criteria, despite sponsor insistence that colleges consider multiple factors. The SAT raised several controversial issues for selective colleges. Was the modest

predictivity the SAT added to the significant correlation between high school and freshman college grades worth the trouble of preparing for and taking the test? Could the many high schools devoting significant time to SAT preparation make better use of this time? What explained the decline in SAT scores between the 1960s and 1980s? The increased popularity of the SAT, a College Board commission noted in *On Further Examination* (1977), explained some, but not all, of the decline. Could coaching improve SAT scores? The College Board claimed it could not, but a thriving coaching industry disagreed. Was the SAT *biased* against certain racial and cultural groups? Group scores for African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans were consistently lower than the scores of whites and Asian Americans. What, precisely, did the SAT measure—intelligence, achievement, or merely membership in the white middle class? Criticism that aptitude remained a synonym for intelligence led the College Board to rename the exam twice in the 1990s: first to Scholastic Assessment Test, then to SAT. The College Board recentered SAT scores in 1995 to account for demographic changes occurring after prior norms were established.

In 2001, University of California president Richard C. Atkinson charged that the SAT I contributed less than the SAT II to predicting freshman grades at his university, adding that any entrance exam should help strengthen the high school curriculum. The College Board satisfied its largest customer by promising a revamped examination in 2005 that replaced the analogy section—antonyms had been eliminated already—with additional critical reading passages. The new SAT would also include a twenty-five-minute essay question. The math section would eliminate quantitative comparisons, and add questions based on Algebra II courses.

The intense debate over the SAT continues. A predictive exam, argue the SAT's supporters, allows talented students to overcome curricular and financial disparities between high schools, while compensating for grade inflation. Critics note the correlation between SAT scores and socioeconomic status, and the stress experienced in preparing for and taking the exam. The 2005 reforms, in any event, moved the SAT I towards assessing subject mastery—the goal CEEB was originally established to address.

See also: **Intelligence Testing; IQ.**

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HAROLD S. WECHSLER

School Buildings and Architecture

EUROPE

Anne-Marie Châtelet

UNITED STATES

Marta Gutman

EUROPE

Public schools in Europe notably increased in the nineteenth century. The establishment of democracy and the right to vote demanded that every citizen know how to read and write. Most of European states therefore devoted a large part of their effort to educating boys, and later girls. This went hand in hand with the secularization of education, with lay teachers replacing religious, placing church and school in a conflict that has left visible traces in some villages, where structures of each type face each other.

The construction of school buildings began mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, once the educational system was in place and governments could ensure their financing. Until then classes took place in a rectory or in a teacher's home. Discussions about school architecture began early, triggered by the new English educational method known as *mutual education*. Designed to handle the large number of children in growing industrial towns, the method trained more advanced students to become tutors, allowing a single teacher to educate hundreds of children. Mutual education required specific arrangements and furnishings that Joseph Lancaster, one of the promoters of this method, described in his pioneering work *Hints and Directions for Building, Fitting Up, and Arranging School Rooms* (1809). He launched a debate, which quickly spread to France, about the layout of a classroom based on the number of students and arrangement of furniture. Experiences in each country were showcased at the World Fairs which, starting with London's in 1862, devoted an area to the material aspects of teaching. Issues of HYGIENE were prominent, especially in regard to lighting, heating, and classroom furnishing.

Two types of structure were completed. Rural schools, with only one or two classrooms, showed modest and economic architecture, while urban schools, often vast and majestic, were criticized for being "school palaces." The urban schools were typically two or three floors high. Long central

hallways featured high ceilinged classrooms on either side, making for buildings with depths greater than twenty meters. These dimensions, along with the jobs to be performed in the schools and the rules of hygiene to be enforced, were all defined by municipal or state laws that were ratified between 1860 and 1880, depending on the country. The schools were an affirmation of both the democratic ideal and the strength of the new institution. The most famous schools were among the last to have been built, and reflect the emergence of Art Nouveau: am Elizabethplatz in Munich (1900–1901, architect Theodor Fischer), the school on the rue Rouelle in Paris (Louis Bonnier, 1908–1911), and Letten in Zurich (Adolf and Heinrich Bram, 1912–1915). The schools were the pride of their towns, which often subsidized them and entrusted their construction to municipal architects. Some of their architects, passionate about the subject, published panoramic surveys of European school building architecture, including Edward Robert Robson (1835–1917), Felix Narjoux (1867–1934), and the Austrian Karl Hintrager (1859–?).

The growing concern with tuberculosis triggered a first wave of criticism. International congresses on school hygiene, the first of which was held in Nuremberg in 1904, exposed the mediocre ventilation and sanitary installations in school buildings, as well as the lack of any medical surveillance. Doctors asked that light and air flow in, embracing the goals of the architects of the modern movement, who, in Le Corbusier's words, were calling for "a new spirit," a house "like a receptacle for light and sun." Windows were enlarged, sometimes to the point of becoming sliding doors, rooftops were converted into terraces for heliotherapy, and concerns about ventilation led to recommendations for diminished thickness of the buildings. The hallways were to have classrooms on only one side. The first pavilion school was built in 1907 in Staffordshire, England. Later, some architects even proposed single-floor buildings, so that every classroom could open to the outdoors, like the Friedrich-Ebert Schule by Ernst May in Frankfurt (1929–1930). This permitted open-air classes, the development of group activities, and the improvement of the students' sense of initiative and autonomy, as advocated by the New Education movement. The general evolution of regulations guaranteed a significant improvement in hygiene in these buildings. The architecture had multiple aspects, evidenced by the schools built by Willem Marinus Dudock in Hilversum, Holland between 1920 and 1931; Fritz Schumacher in Hamburg, Germany between 1909 and 1933; Bohuslav Fuchs in Brno, Czech Republic between 1924 and 1928.

World War II interrupted this evolution of which Alfred Roth, author of noted works on school architecture, published a synthesis in 1950. At the beginning of the fifties, the destruction caused by the war and the emergence of a baby boom led to new construction to meet growing needs. England perfected a system of light-steel school structures that

worked particularly well with single-home development plans, as evidenced by the many schools built in Hertfordshire. Jean Prouve developed similar structures in France (the collapsible school of Villejuif, 1957, for example) but no general system of prefabrication would ever be adopted for all schools. With the exception of some countries where buildings remained dense and elevated, as in France or in Spain, the individual home model dominated, particularly in Germany, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland. It was interpreted in many different ways: terraced pavilions at the Munkegaard School at Gentoft, Denmark (Arne Jacobsen, 1954–1956), combined pavilions at the Asilo d'Ivrea, Italy (Mario Ridolfi and W. Frankl, 1955–1965), superimposed pavilions at the Riva San Vitale School in Switzerland (Aurelio Galfetti, Flora Ruchat, and Ivo Trumpy, 1962–1964). The desire to provide diverse activities to children and to encourage their autonomy transformed the school into a small village equipped with many communal spaces and rooms, for example Hans Sharoun's 1951 project for Darmstadt, completed at Marl, West Germany, in 1960. These schools were sometimes open to parents and often to the community. There are also cases, as in the small villages of the Grisons region in Switzerland, where the gymnasium is also a communal space, as in Mastrils, by Dieter Jungling and Andreas Hagmann (1991–1995). Monumental school buildings have disappeared practically everywhere, giving way to simplicity and openness. Today, schools are expected to be a living space for the students and a gathering place for the community.

See also: **Children's Spaces; Open Air School Movement.**

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ANNE-MARIE CHÂTELET

UNITED STATES

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, children have been educated in a variety of architectural settings in the United States, ranging from church basements and the parlors of private homes to purpose-built school buildings. Historians have considered the design of schools and recognized the importance of spaces to children, teachers, and the state, yet a comprehensive critical history of school buildings in the United States remains to be written. From one-room schools to multistory complexes, educational settings have represented power, order, and democratic aspirations to children and their families; at the same time, resources for education have been distributed unevenly to students throughout the nation's history.

With church-run ACADEMIES in place and HOMESCHOOLING common after the American Revolution, it took several

decades for nonsectarian public education to take hold in the new nation, despite the enthusiastic backing of Thomas Jefferson and the gift of land from the Congress to the states for the purpose. As the nation expanded after the turn of the nineteenth century, one-room, ungraded public schools dotted the landscape, usually sited on low-cost plots of land, known colloquially as “waste grounds,” at the edges of growing communities. Most often one-room schools were plain, gabled boxes, built of wood, brick, or sod. Layouts recalled the designs of small churches, with rows of benches facing the teacher’s desk, which sat on a raised platform. High windows, inserted on the sides of buildings, prevented children from looking outdoors. Although steeple-like clock towers graced the most ornate examples, poor construction, inadequate equipment, and rudimentary sanitary facilities in most schools contributed to calls for reform.

Elsewhere in the new nation, especially in rapidly growing cities along the eastern seaboard, the frugal bankers, businessmen, and politicians who made up public school committees invested in multiroom masonry and wood-frame school buildings during the first decades of the nineteenth century. They expected didactic settings to impart the values of discipline, economy, health, and citizenship to poor children in need of free (or charity) schooling. In the monitorial system of education, worked out by Joseph Lancaster in England, one teacher supervised hundreds of pupils in a large common hall, assisted by older children (the monitors for whom the schools were named). Introduced in New York City in 1806, the system soon structured spaces in schools large and small in the United States, but many students and their families disliked its rigid teaching methods. As interest in a graded system of instruction developed in this period, urban school districts hired ushers to assist master teachers; students recited lessons to these assistants in separate rooms attached to large lecture halls. Frequently, independent masters opened autonomous reading and writing schools inside the same grammar school building, with each school placed on a separate floor.

In the 1830s, when HORACE MANN issued a call for universal education for all American children, he joined Henry Barnard and other reformers to argue that new COMMON SCHOOLS ought to be the building blocks of a democracy. As these critics endorsed centralization and a standard, graded system of instruction, based on Prussian models, they urged taxpayers to replace deteriorating wood-frame buildings with sturdier construction. Architects proposed ideal designs, notably one-room school buildings in the form of octagons (Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis, 1842) and diamonds (Charles P. Dwyer, 1856), but these proposals were not widely used. In 1847, John D. Philbrick, an eminent New England teacher and school administrator, gave more practical physical substance to demands for improvement with a design for the new Quincy Grammar School in Boston, Massachusetts. The first three floors of the four-

story, centrally heated, masonry block structure held the classrooms (four per floor, opening onto a shared hallway), and a meeting hall filled the top floor. Each classroom of about eight hundred square feet contained a sink and a closet, and all pupils sat in desks that were bolted to the floor in straight lines. With fifty-five students in each room, the design suited drill-and-recite instruction, and school boards embraced the scheme, dubbed the “egg crate plan,” due to the rigid pattern of desks, fixed in straight lines within each classroom.

Nonetheless, poverty and prejudice constrained the use of the schools as a tool for building a more democratic nation. Gender divided the space in schools, where boys and girls used separate entries and sat in rows segregated by sex; working-class families could not afford to send children to school; Irish Catholic immigrants resented Protestant influences on pedagogy; and African Americans encountered racial segregation in the North and exclusion in the South. Schools were also plagued by crowded rooms; poor ventilation, heating, lighting, and sanitation; rigid seats; and scarce play space.

As school districts consolidated after the Civil War, imposing, multistory buildings differentiated by student age group set the standard for new construction. In these buildings, later called “cells and bells” schools, students walked down central corridors capped with tall ceilings to reach self-contained, graded classrooms of about the same size as those in the Quincy School. The order in the space complemented the discipline in instruction in primary schools and the new public high schools, which rapidly replaced private academies across the urbanizing nation. Gilded Age architects who specialized in school design used pattern books to endorse eclectic exterior decoration, which turned buildings into emblems of state munificence and local pride as well as instruments of social control. Standardization became the rule of the day, endorsed by architects, state authorities, and schools of education alike. In cities, crenellated massing (the E- and H-shaped plans were typical) brought light and air into big buildings, even on crowded sites. The pattern also accommodated bulky specialized spaces such as the auditorium, library, and gymnasium that became common after 1900. Outside urban areas, one-room schools, many poorly equipped, remained common, with 200,000 such schools in use in 1920.

After the turn of the twentieth century, when state legislatures passed laws restricting CHILD LABOR and compelling education through eighth grade, public schools structured the encounter of most children with the public world. As the philosopher JOHN DEWEY made the case for child-centered education and businessmen demanded educated, skilled workers, social reformers pressed for modern buildings. Influenced by calls for health, hygiene, and orderly city planning, they convinced districts to build OPEN AIR SCHOOLS

(schools with outdoor classrooms and/or classrooms accessible to the open air), vacation schools (the term used in the Progressive Era to describe summer schools), JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, and supervised playgrounds. Some new buildings, for example, the Hillside Home School in Spring Green, Wisconsin, a Progressive boarding school designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1901, and the addition to the Corona Avenue Public Elementary School in Los Angeles, California, designed by Richard Neutra in 1935, offered examples of the humanity possible in modern design. However, most new schools looked like factories, as architects (who were often public employees) reacted to building codes, national standards, and demands for efficient, economic solutions. The term *school plant* aptly describes the massive, masonry-clad, steel and concrete frame buildings erected in industrial cities and suburbs. In the South, philanthropists Julius Rosenwald and Pierre S. du Pont subsidized new public schools for AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN. Usually built of wood and domestic in scale, the schools accommodated programs put in place elsewhere during the Progressive Era: manual training and industrial education were required subjects in Rosenwald schools. Fresh air, natural light, coat closets, and moveable seats were found in the classrooms, and the larger schools contained community rooms, another feature typical of Progressive school architecture.

Prompted by the open-air movement which began in the early twentieth century, California architects experimented in the 1910s and 1920s with low-slung courtyard buildings, seeking to give students light, air, and access to open space from each classroom. In 1940, Lawrence Bradford Perkins and Philip Will, principals of Perkins and Will, together with Eliel and Eero Saarinen, took up the cause in the Crow Island Elementary School in Winnetka, Illinois. The one-story brick structure, divided into administrative and teaching wings, gave life to the concept of child-centered education and became an archetype for informal postwar school design. In 1960, when the same team designed another landmark, the University of Chicago Laboratory High School, they integrated new technologies, building materials, and the open plan into a sleek, urban block. After World War II, one- and two-story schools spread out across the suburbanizing American landscape, sited to encourage development and serve as social centers for new communities. Unfortunately, as the school-age population swelled, many districts elected to replace older structures with mediocre buildings, including sizeable, sprawling HIGH SCHOOLS, and used prefabricated assembly systems to reduce costs.

In the course of the twentieth century, the recognition that separate is inherently unequal opened school doors to African-American students and directly affected building design when the federal government instructed districts to give equal space to girls' athletics and accommodate children with disabilities. In addition, starting in the 1960s and continuing to the early twenty-first century, an interest in coop-

erative and self-directed learning prompted districts to replace lecture-style seating with tables and workstations, and the desire for smaller schools persuaded some to adopt what historian Jeffrey Lackney calls the *house plan*, which featured clusters of classrooms, offices, and resource spaces. Even so, limited budgets constrained architectural experimentation and building repair as the century drew to a close. Prefabricated classrooms set the standard for new construction in many suburban school yards; the physical decline of older school buildings persisted, most notably in city centers and minority communities; and some middle-class families retreated to private education. At the dawn of a new century, the effects of inequality continued to thread through and differentiate the landscapes of education in the United States as poverty, racial bias, and the reluctance of taxpayers to invest in infrastructure confounded hopes for constructing public architecture, including public schools, suited to and common to all children.

See also: **Children's Spaces; Compulsory School Attendance; Hygiene; Progressive Education; Urban School Systems, The Rise of.**

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MARTA GUTMAN

School Choice

The phrase *school choice* covers a wide variety of political, policy, and practical student enrollment options available to educators who manage the public school K–12 systems throughout the United States. Traditionally, American elementary and secondary education has been organized along the principle of students attending their local neighborhood public school with the option that students can attend private schools at their family's or their own expense. Public sector school choice developed in the late twentieth century with the advent of MAGNET SCHOOLS, schools with special curricula, schools for children with special needs, and schools requiring entrance examinations.

Criticisms of public education intensified after the 1980s because critics believed that public education failed to provide a rigorous educational environment for too many of students. These critics pointed to the relative poor performance of many American students on standardized tests when their scores are compared to the scores of their international peers. Many argued that public education ought to be deregulated and become more competitive, because competition promotes accountability, standards, and transparency. Deregulation challenges the traditional concept of the COMMON SCHOOL as locally based and as such, is a controversial policy alternative. Those opposing deregulation argued that as a policy option, deregulation was less likely to produce increased student learning than smaller class size, improved curricula and professional development for teachers and principals.

There are basically three types of school choice: intra- and inter-district public school choice; CHARTER SCHOOLS; and SCHOOL VOUCHERS. The first option, intra- and inter-district public school choice, allows students to attend public schools other than their neighborhood schools, either within a school district or across district lines. Public school options are widely available in most states and do not provoke political controversy. The second option, charter schools, involves public schools that are specially chartered by the state or a chartering agency and are freed from many of the regulations that affect regular public schools. There were approximately 2,400 charter schools in the United States by 2003, scattered across thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia. There is wide political support for charter schools, while at the same time, many charter schools struggled because of resource limitations. The third option, voucher, is a mechanism by which public monies are transferred to private schools by giving to parents a voucher that may be redeemed at a private school of their choice. By 2003 publicly funded voucher plans existed in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Florida. Of all the school choice options, vouchers are the most controversial because they transfer public money to private schools and because they can be used to support religious education. However, in 2002, a U.S. Supreme Court decision

ruled that it was constitutional for public monies to be spent on private schools even if the schools are religious in nature.

Deregulation of public education, especially in the form of charters and vouchers, raises a number of policy issues. Will school choice plans lead to more equitable access or will school choice plans further stratify education? Is school choice related to improved student learning? What evidence is there that school choice leads to more innovative educational opportunities? How economical are school choice programs, especially in an era of declining resources?

In the early twenty-first century, scholars and researchers studied school choice systematically, but there was little consensus about answering the questions raised above. There has been some evidence that while some students benefit from attending a school of their choice, from a systems perspective; school choice tends to favor the middle class, thus leading to increasing educational stratification. The evidence concerning school choice and student achievement was mixed with little convincing data upon which to draw a firm conclusion. There also has been some evidence that public school choice and charter schools have allowed for educational innovation although these innovations have not yet transformed the traditional nature of public education. The economics of school choice have been hotly debated, but it is clear that many charter schools have failed because of the lack of financial support.

See also: Education, United States; Private and Independent Schools.

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PETER W. COOKSON JR.

School Desegregation

Ever since Benjamin Roberts, an African-American printer, sued the Boston School Committee in the mid-nineteenth century for the unlawful exclusion of his daughter from the city's white elementary schools, the struggle for racial equality in education has been closely bound up with the demand for school desegregation. Not until the post-World War II era, however, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) legal campaign, the growth of black political power, and the rise of the civil rights movement prompted government action to address the demands of those denied equal educational opportunity, did desegregation move from the periphery to the center of

educational policy. From the time of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing state-mandated segregation in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* through the 1970s, no other educational issue provoked as much conflict or so preoccupied students, parents, and public officials responsible for making educational policy.

The results of this struggle for desegregated schools have been ambiguous. From one perspective, the fight for desegregated schools accomplished much that it set out to do. At the time the Court handed down its decision in *Brown*, seventeen southern and border states as well as the District of Columbia had laws requiring separate schools for blacks and whites, and segregation was widespread in the North even though several northern states had provisions prohibiting it in local schools. A decade after *Brown*, this system of racial apartheid in the South was still intact, while in the North, increasingly vocal protests had won only minor concessions from school officials who argued that segregation resulted from housing patterns and not their own actions. But, largely because of the Johnson administration's enforcement of strict guidelines prohibiting the distribution of federal funds to segregated schools, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals' insistence that school districts comply with these guidelines, and a series of Supreme Court decisions that banned freedom of choice plans and approved busing, southern schools desegregated rapidly between 1964 and 1972, as did many school districts in the North and West. Whereas 64 percent of African Americans nationwide attended schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment in 1968, the percentage had dropped to 33 percent by 1980 and was even lower in the South.

By almost any historical standard, this constituted an extraordinary achievement. But because compliance was left in the hands of local school officials, it typically occurred on terms advantageous to whites. Faced with federal pressure to desegregate, southern school districts complied by closing black schools, demoting African-American principals, and dismissing African-American teachers. At the same time, as African Americans began to go to school with whites, southern school officials sought to assuage white fears that interracial contact would increase and academic standards would deteriorate by disproportionately placing black students in the least desirable academic programs, a practice that was widespread in the North as well. As a result, even though desegregation offered African Americans access to educational resources previously denied them, many began to question its benefits.

Desegregation reached its legal high water mark in 1973 when, in *Keyes v. Denver School Board No. 1*, the Supreme Court extended desegregation requirements to northern and western cities and included Latinos as well as African Americans in desegregation plans. But this victory also turned out to be a partial one. Although the Court's decision ended the

practice whereby cities had sent Mexican-American and African-Americans to school together and called it desegregation, it did little to end urban segregation. Because suburbanization and white flight increasingly left so few white students in most big city school systems, few could accomplish any meaningful desegregation within their own borders.

One way advocates proposed to remedy this was through mandatory metropolitan-wide desegregation. By the early 1970s, however, governmental support for such strong measures had begun to wane. Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter all opposed busing, as did a majority of Congress. They passed legislation barring the use of federal funds for busing to overcome racial imbalance and considered an amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibiting the reassignment of students to schools outside their immediate neighborhood. In 1974 in *Milliken v. Bradley*, a reconstructed Supreme Court with four Nixon appointees began what was to become a long retreat from its demand that violating school districts take aggressive action to overcome segregation and reversed a lower court ruling that ordered urban-suburban desegregation in Detroit. Without compelling evidence that suburban boundaries had been drawn with discriminatory intent, a five to four majority of the Court argued, local autonomy should take precedence over the right of African-American and Latino students to a desegregated education.

Because school districts in many large metropolitan areas in the South are countywide, this decision did not resegregate southern schools. Outside the South, however, especially in the Northeast and Midwest, where school district boundaries correspond to urban/suburban political jurisdictions, *Milliken* effectively excluded white suburbs from the requirements of desegregation. Subsequently, desegregation plans in northern and midwestern cities focused instead on voluntary city-suburban transfers and special magnet programs designed to hold white students in the city or to entice them from the suburbs to attend urban schools. These plans offered some African-American and Latino students an alternative to segregated, inner-city schools, but, since they did not require much of whites, they did little to alter the racial composition of urban schools or of those in surrounding communities.

Despite the limitations of these programs, additional action to promote desegregated schools attracted little support. Instead, beginning in the 1980s, equal opportunity was increasingly redefined to mean greater choice in schooling, and proposals such as SCHOOL VOUCHERS and CHARTER SCHOOLS were promoted as the best way to expand educational opportunities for low income and minority students. In some case, these proposals, which were initiated primarily by white policymakers who favored market-based solutions to social problems, also won support from a growing number of African-American and Latino parents who were disillusioned

sioned by the slow pace of desegregation and who viewed SCHOOL CHOICE as a way to escape deteriorating inner-city schools.

In this climate, segregation persisted or got worse between 1980 and 2000, though patterns varied by group and region. For African Americans, the South remained the most desegregated region of the country. But after a series of Supreme Court decisions between 1991 and 1995 that allowed districts to return to neighborhood schools before desegregation requirements had been fully met, the proportion of African Americans in schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment in the South began to rise again, though black segregation remained most intense in big cities in the Northeast and Midwest. Latino segregation was also greatest in urban schools in the Northeast, where the majority of Latinos were from Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. As the migration of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants to cities in other regions of the country increased after 1970, however, Latino segregation also intensified in the South and West. In 1996 35 percent of Latino students nationwide were in schools with 90 to 100 percent enrollment, compared to 23 percent of Latino students in 1968.

Some observers at the turn of the twenty-first century seized on this evidence to pronounce desegregation a failure and urge that it be abandoned. But the lesson that history teaches is more complex. In essence, the struggle for desegregated schools sought to make the benefits of education equally available to all citizens. By ending Jim Crow in southern education and winning recognition for the right of Latinos as well as African Americans to a desegregated education, it accomplished a good deal toward the realization of that goal. What was equally clear, however, was that without governmental support for complementary changes in the distribution of power, control, and resources, desegregation based on equality of academic and social status in the classroom would remain an illusory goal.

See also: **African-American Children and Youth; Law, Children and the; Magnet Schools.**

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HARVEY KANTOR

School Shootings and School Violence

When Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold walked into Columbine High School in Colorado on April 20, 1999, and killed twelve students and one teacher, the United States reacted with horror and disbelief that such a thing could happen in American schools. The nature of violence in schools seemed to change overnight from isolated acts of disaffected students or gang power struggles to premeditated acts of terrorism. But violence in schools did not emerge as a phenomenon of the late twentieth century. School violence is as old as schools.

From at least the seventeenth century, schoolchildren in Europe were armed. Primarily of the aristocracy and nobility, they routinely wore swords and carried guns to school. In the early eighteenth century, the King of France was forced to dispatch troops to the University of Paris to disarm violent students. In England, there were student mutinies and rebellions throughout the eighteenth century at such well-respected schools as Rugby and Eton, prestigious private schools, where pupils set fire to their books and desks, requiring army troops to disband them. By the late eighteenth century, the most prevalent and popular form of school misrule was *barring out the master*. This practice originated in England when students would demand a holiday or other treat. If the master refused, students would bar him from entering the school, damaging school furniture, barricading windows and doors, and robbing neighbors in marauding sorties to gain provisions to sustain the siege.

In the United States, this practice of misrule was more benign. Taking over the schoolhouse and barring the master from entrance was a time-honored tradition in many nineteenth-century rural schools, but in most cases, barrings-out were confined to symbolic subversion of authority and to symbolic violence. Typical of this symbolic violence was a barring-out in Tennessee, in which students barricaded themselves inside the schoolhouse and denied the master entrance until their demands—for two bushels of apples and five pounds of candy—were met. Presenting no resistance whatsoever, the master ordered two of the smaller boys to

run to town and get two bushels of apples and ten pounds of candy. Staying long enough to distribute the candy and apples, he then wished them a Merry Christmas and went home. Real violence was a mistake, an unintended consequence that occurred when the master refused to acquiesce and met resistance with force, as in the 1830s case of a Tennessee school in which the teacher was stabbed and dropped into a well (he lived) and the schoolhouse burned down.

There was nothing symbolic about another common form of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century school violence in the United States. Attacks on teachers by older male students were a familiar part of nineteenth-century school practice. Teachers in these often rural schools literally fought to prove their right to their positions and often resorted to extreme uses of corporal punishment to maintain them. Unlike the carnivalesque aspects of barrings-out, violent attacks were a direct challenge to the schoolmaster's authority. While the application of physical domination was one way in which male teachers established their clear and unchallenged authority, women teachers also experienced physical and psychological intimidation that required courage and determination to withstand. In many instances, parents did not interfere in the pupils' attempts to run the teacher out of town and did not punish them when they did.

By the early twentieth century, the institutionalization of schools had transformed the autonomous nature of many of these rural and local school districts into a more centralized and bureaucratized structure that made acts of violence against either the master or the schoolhouse ill-advised. Parental sentiment, which in the nineteenth century had condoned and even encouraged such behaviors, had now changed. The disruption of authority was no longer seen as a boisterous acting out of ADOLESCENCE, but as a decidedly illegal activity.

The twentieth century saw both the type and the focus of school violence change. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the master or the school itself was the target of violence, with the students often acting in concert as the perpetrators. By the twentieth century, student-on-student violence had become the norm. Parents began to fear for the safety of their children as violence escalated from sticks and fists in the 1920s to bricks, bats, and chains in the 1940s, knives in the 1960s, and guns in the 1980s and 1990s. The intensification of the means of violence reflected greater social changes. Gang violence rocked schools in the 1960s and 1970s. Schools were considered gang turf and the violence resulted from issues of crime as well as control. Vandalism and schoolboy fights gave way to assault, armed robbery, rape, and murder.

The late 1990s saw another transformation of the nature of school violence. While the majority of earlier incidences took place in urban and inner-city schools, this new wave of violence took place in suburban, largely white, middle-class

neighborhoods. Individual disaffected students sought to purge their particular demons by shooting schoolmates and teachers in calculated acts of violence. Between October 1997 and May 1998 there were five school shootings in which children as young as eleven shot and killed fourteen students and teachers and wounded twenty-nine others. The Columbine shootings in 1999 sparked a flurry of other shootings. From April 1999 through March of 2001, nine additional school shootings occurred. Six people, ranging in age from a six-year-old girl to a thirty-five-year-old teacher, were killed, including one student shooter. Twenty-four were wounded. These incidents have caused the court system in the United States to rethink juvenile crime. Thirteen-year old Nathaniel Brazill, who shot and killed his teacher in May 2000, was tried as an adult, found guilty of second-degree murder, and sentenced to twenty-eight years in prison.

The nature of violence in higher education has also evolved over the years in the United States. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when college students were primarily the children of wealthy or influential Americans, a common type of violence derived from perceived affronts to individual honor, often resulting in duels. Students periodically rebelled against the authority of their faculty at such diverse schools as Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and North Carolina. Barrings-out were a "standing frolic" at Princeton, among others, into the 1850s. Misrule in twentieth-century colleges included freshman hazing, which in some cases were brutal physical trials that led to loss of life. Some acts of violence took on a more sexual meaning, ranging from the relatively benign panty-raid to the criminal act of date-rape.

See also: Charivari; Delinquency; Discipline; Education, Europe; Education, United States; Violence Against Children; Youth Gangs.

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JAN PRICE GREENOUGH

School Vouchers

In the United States a school voucher is a subsidy that grants limited purchasing power to a student to choose among a re-

stricted set of private schools. In the traditional school funding configuration, public funds for public schools flow from national and state governments and local communities, directly to school districts. A family wishing to send its child to a private school must do so with its own funds. A large-scale voucher plan would change that arrangement: in a voucher plan, families that wish to enroll their children in private school could have the tuition partially or completely covered by tax-levied dollars.

The idea of school vouchers is as old as the American Revolution. The American revolutionary Thomas Paine advocated a voucher system because he felt that compulsory education violated individual conscience. He was following the perspective of John Stuart Mill, who believed that state-sponsored education was a contrivance for molding people to be exactly like one another. During the 1960s, educational activists such as Ted Sizer advocated vouchers to enable urban children to escape their local public schools.

In the 1990s, the voucher movement gained new momentum, which led to voucher pilot sites in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Florida. In 2001, the Rand Corporation published a research report by Brian Gill, Michael Timpane, and Dominic I. Brewer evaluating the effects of choice on several outcomes: student achievement, parental satisfaction, access, integration, and civic socialization. The report determined that small, experimental, privately funded vouchers may show modest benefits after a year or two for African-American students but that there is no evidence of benefit for children of other racial groups. Parental satisfaction is high among choice parents, although the number of families involved in the study was quite small.

Some voucher programs targeted specifically at low-income, low-achieving minority students have provided access for some students. In general, however, most choice programs have not extended access opportunities to the poor, and in fact voucher-like tuition tax benefits favor middle- and upper-income families. Likewise in highly segregated communities voucher programs may modestly increase racial integration, but evidence from abroad suggests that most choice programs result in increasing the degree of educational stratification, not decreasing it. In terms of civic socialization, there is little distinction to be made between private and public schools.

To a large degree, the debate over school vouchers has less to do with empirical outcomes than with deep-seated beliefs about liberty, community, and the role of individual preference in creating a good society. The intensity and tone of the debate depends in great part upon the more general spirit of the times; that is, to the degree that market competition is seen as the way to a productive and just society, vouchers will appeal to a substantial minority of citizens. To the degree that government is seen as the protector of democracy, vouchers will appeal to a smaller group of citizens,

many of whom resist government schooling as a matter of principal. Debate over vouchers also involves questions about separation between church and state, since religious schools could become voucher recipients. At the start of the twenty-first century, the debate over school vouchers was re-fueled by a U.S. Supreme Court decision that lowered the legal wall between church and state.

See also: **Charter Schools; Education, United States; Magnet Schools; Parochial Schools; Private and Independent Schools; School Choice.**

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PETER W. COOKSON JR.

Scientific Child Rearing

The origins of scientific child rearing in the United States are diverse and may be traced back as far as the seventeenth century, when poet and mother of seven children Anne Bradstreet theorized: "Diverse children have their different natures; some are like flesh which nothing but salt will keep from putrefaction, some again like tender fruits that are best preserved with sugar. . . . Those parents are wise that can fit their nurture according to their nature." Bradstreet's comparison of the techniques of food preservation to disciplining children was only one of many scientific analogies that would inform thinking about child rearing. Her conception of the mother as a scientist of child nurture would have salience in the centuries to come, even as it vied with the idea that mothers must rely on experts to raise their children.

Seventeenth-century philosopher and physician JOHN LOCKE offered another analogy for child rearing when he

conceived of the child's mind as a *tabula rasa*, or blank slate, for parent's to write upon. His influential *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) articulated his vision of parenting as a systematic and consequential enterprise. In *Émile* (1762), JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU also shed philosophical and scientific light on childhood. Unlike Locke, who was primarily concerned with discerning how best to prepare children for adulthood, Rousseau urged parents and educators to preserve and nurture the "natural" child. In succeeding centuries, scientific child rearing literature would veer between emphases on socialization versus development. However, scientific child rearing has traditionally been the province of middle-class parents, who have had the time, leisure, financial resources, and inclinations to utilize expert advice in parenting.

The idea of child rearing as a scientific enterprise made increasing headway in the nineteenth century. The focus on specialized techniques of child rearing was at least partially a consequence of economic and demographic changes, which contributed to smaller family sizes and intensified nurturing. In 1800, the average family raised seven children to adulthood; by 1900, that number had shrunk to three or four. With fewer children and productive responsibilities in the home, child rearing became a focal point of women's work in the home. In a society where one's fortunes could rise and fall in a lifetime, parents sought to inculcate children with the habits and virtues that would allow them to maintain or improve their economic position and social status. While philosophy and religion initially provided the theoretical rationales for informing parents about the best means of rearing children, science and medicine began to make inroads on this discourse by the close of the century.

The advent of the field of PEDIATRICS in the nineteenth century was central to the evolution of scientific child rearing. Physicians acquired greater influence over family life throughout the century, but it was not until 1887 that the American Pediatric Society was established, and the idea of well baby health care took hold. Pediatricians orchestrated campaigns to alleviate INFANT MORTALITY, initiated regularly scheduled well baby examinations, and pronounced themselves as authorities on INFANT FEEDING. During the World War I era, child health activists sponsored infant welfare clinics, better baby contests, and milk stations. In both rural and urban areas mothers congregated at settlement houses, county fairs, and government offices to have their babies weighed, measured, and receive milk. In these venues, mothers learned that there were scientific rationales for psychological as well as for physical care. Physicians and nurses offered advice about feeding, clothing, and how to respond to a crying infant. However, there was variability in the extent to which mothers accepted scientific authority over their mothering practices. Poor mothers, especially, were often receptive to suggestions concerning sanitation and nutrition,

while remaining skeptical about the idea that science should determine their techniques of nurture and DISCIPLINE.

CHILD PSYCHOLOGY accompanied pediatrics into the twentieth century as both an academic enterprise and source of knowledge for popular consumption. Pioneer psychologist G. STANLEY HALL championed CHILD STUDY as a vital subject of research in the late nineteenth century. He enlisted mothers and teachers to gather data on children's habits and development as a means of reforming education and parenting. Hall's message that children's discipline and education should be normative and shape their educations and upbringing became, he himself claimed "almost like a new gospel."

Hall was practically a patron saint to the National Congress of Mothers, forerunner to the PTA, which was founded in 1897. This national organization of mothers' groups was the most prominent advocate for scientific motherhood. In 1896, African-American women founded the National Association of Colored Women, which similarly promoted the concept of "better motherhood." The National Association of Colored Parents and Teachers was formed in 1926 for African-American segregated school districts. These various women's organizations differed in their definitions of parent education, but all agreed on the centrality of science in improving the conditions of childhood.

In 1909, the first WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN was held, uniting scientists, reformers, and educators to craft public policy on childhood. The conference led to the establishment of the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU (1912), which gathered data on infant and maternal health problems and issued a series of bulletins relating to children's physical and emotional care. The Bureau maintained a voluminous correspondence with mothers from both rural and urban settings about many aspects of childcare and nurture and helped to advance the idea that government should play a role in parenting.

By the 1920s, scientific child rearing had become an obsession for the American middle class. A slew of publications warned that faulty child rearing could lead to criminality and psychological disease. Many argued that the radically transformed conditions of the modern era were such that neither the maternal instinct nor tradition could be relied upon to raise children. In *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928) JOHN BROADUS WATSON portrayed children as human "machines" whose behavior could be programmed by maternal technicians. Watson chided mothers for their indulgence, warned about the dangers of "too much mother love," and prescribed strictly regimented feeding schedules for infants. While influential throughout the 1920s and 1930s, behaviorist ideas of child rearing were eclipsed by more child-centered philosophies of parenting as World War II approached. However, Watson's perception that twentieth-century children were "spoiled" by indulgent parents and re-

quired more objective handling would be a recurring refrain as the century progressed.

Child-centered parenting received a boost from the research of pediatrician and psychologist ARNOLD GESELL during the 1930s and 1940s. Gesell produced and popularized developmental norms that detailed the physical, behavioral, and temperamental characteristics of children of different ages. While these norms enabled parents and physicians to identify developmental delays and disorders, they could also be rigidly applied and exacerbate anxiety about children whose walking or talking was slightly behind schedule. In terms of discipline, Gesell's norms advanced child-centered disciplinary strategies, by redefining behaviors such as temper tantrums as normal consequences of the process of development, rather than undesirable habits that needed to be extinguished.

BENJAMIN SPOCK's *Baby and Child Care*, first published in 1946, was heralded as a watershed in advice literature to parents. The paperback was inexpensive, widely distributed to parents at hospitals and doctor's offices, and covered a range of topics from diaper rash to dawdling. The post-World War II era was characterized both by large families and geographical mobility, leaving many mothers far from relatives and friends who could offer timely advice. The book was more often used for midnight medical emergencies than for psychological advice. Yet the idea that an expert such as Spock was a more valid source of information than friends or relatives increasingly permeated the experience of motherhood.

Spock's baby book distilled a number of concepts that would be influential throughout the Cold War era. Whereas earlier scientific child-rearing literature sought to eradicate the notion that motherhood was based on instinct, Spock described motherhood as natural and instinctual. A student of psychoanalysis, he sought to reassure mothers of their competence and alleviate their anxieties, believing that negative emotions could cause psychological damage to children.

Research on war ORPHANS and institutionalized children during the 1940s and 1950s dramatically underscored the significance of the mother-child bond. Scientists ANNA FREUD, Dorothy Burlingham, and JOHN BOWLBY offered compelling evidence that children who were deprived of individual caregivers during the early years suffered emotional and cognitive damage. This research had positive implications for public policy relating to dependent children, but it stigmatized working mothers and women who were discontented with full-time motherhood. Instead of suffering from "too much mother love," children without access to their mothers on a twenty-four hour basis were thought to be victims of maternal neglect and rejection.

By the 1950s, scientific child-rearing advice had come full circle. From a rejection of the maternal instinct in the 1920s

to a vindication of motherhood in the 1950s, science did not yield a clear and coherent message to parents in the twentieth century. Fortunately, parents, and mothers in particular, have tended to utilize scientific child-rearing advice selectively, picking and choosing from among the diverse messages being delivered to them. Yet the idea that the science of childhood should influence child rearing continued to influence parenting and public policy throughout the century. Research on attachment, the infant brain, and day care and divorce informed pediatric practices, parent education, and public policy, making science a primary frame of reference for parenthood in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Parenting.**

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JULIA GRANT

Scottsboro Boys

On April 9, 1931, a white judge in northern Alabama summarily sentenced nine black male youths to death after local all-white juries had convicted the young black men of raping two white women on March 25, principally on the women's testimony. In vain the young men insisted upon their innocence. A long-term and ultimately successful struggle to save the youths' lives and, in time, to exonerate them led to one of the most dramatic and revealing civil rights struggles in U.S. history.

A stalwart defense effort led initially by the International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal wing of the Communist Party, combined with international as well as domestic support campaigns to keep the young men's cause alive. On one hand, the word-of-mouth reportage and extensive newspaper coverage played upon the intertwined psychosexual and interracial aspects of the alleged crime. On the other, the youths' defense teams and innumerable supporters consistently emphasized how those very same aspects combined to render a fair trial virtually impossible in the white supremacist social order of the Jim Crow South.

Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Ozie Powell, Willie Roberson, Charley Weems, Eugene Williams, and Andrew Wright found that as black male youths in the Jim Crow South, neither innocence nor adolescence protected them. Leroy Wright, a thirteen year old and a ninth accused youth, was never sentenced to life imprisonment due to his young age. Nevertheless, the inflammatory allegation of having raped white women, especially in such a high-profile case, haunted forever all of their lives.

In the April 1933 retrial of Haywood Patterson, Defense Attorney Samuel Leibowitz demonstrated that Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, the alleged victims, had fabricated the rape charge as a way to avoid being charged with vagrancy and prostitution. At that same retrial, Ruby Bates went so far as to recant her testimony against all the defendants and to speak out on behalf of the innocence of Patterson and the other Scottsboro Boys. White male juries in Alabama, however, refused to accept Bates's retraction and new story, and continued in their legal persecution of the Scottsboro Boys. As a result, a series of defense appeals kept the cause alive. In *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), the Supreme Court ordered new trials for all eight defendants, ruling that in capital cases defendants merited a real, as against a *pro forma*, defense. In *Norris v. Alabama* (1935), the highest court overturned the convictions of Norris and Patterson and demanded that the state court retry the case because of the systematic exclusion of blacks from the juries.

The saga of the Scottsboro Boys demonstrated the deep-seated, racist, white fear of the alleged black male rapist, in this case in the guise of youth. It likewise illustrated the power of this fear to override evidence and reason in the de-

termination of guilt and innocence. Indeed, the issue was neither guilt nor innocence; rather, it was the maintenance of white supremacy and the repression of black freedom. Nevertheless, the concerted and inspiring efforts to undo the wrongs against the Scottsboro Boys contributed significantly to the ongoing African-American Freedom Struggle and the interrelated struggle to defeat Jim Crow.

See also: **African-American Children and Youth; Juvenile Justice; Law, Children and the.**

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WALDO E. MARTIN JR.

Self-Esteem

The roots of the self-esteem movement go back to the later nineteenth century, where they intertwined with larger notions of children's vulnerability and the need for adult protection and support. Most of the psychologists associated with the CHILD STUDY movement specifically discussed the concept of self-esteem as a key component in successful child rearing. Progressive-era educators used the idea as well in seeking a supportive school environment. But it was only in the 1960s that this long-established belief of experts won popular and institutional backing as a way to reconcile academic commitment with parental concerns for childhood frailty and for the special value of their own children.

The 1880s through 1930s

JOHN DEWEY and William James were among the early psychologist proponents of the importance of the self. Dewey discussed "intuition of self" in his seminal 1886 work, *Psychology*, using knowledge of self as the talisman for knowledge gains in general. Selfhood was, in this view, essential to freedom. But it was James who, in 1892, first used the term *self-esteem* with an explicit scientific definition. A key task in socializing children, in James's view, involved helping them gain the capacity to develop "self" and, with it, the capacity to adapt to different social settings with appropriate projections of self. Self-esteem, more specifically, involved the kind of perceptions that, properly honed, were crucial to achievement and success.

The popularization of psychology and the growing notion that children often needed expert help brought concerns about self-esteem to greater attention during the 1920s and 1930s. If children needed a sense of self to operate successfully, but if children were also vulnerable, it was certainly possible that special measures might be necessary to assure that the mechanism (the self) was in working order.

The 1950s to the Present

During the 1950s and 1960s the connection between self-esteem and supportive school programs was fully forged. A clear symptom, as well as a cause of further awareness, was a growing spate of expert studies on the subject. Stanley Coopersmith, in 1967, identified the link between self-esteem and frailty, noting the “indications that in children domination, rejection, and severe punishment result in lowered self-esteem. Under such conditions they have fewer experiences of love and success and tend to become generally more submissive and withdrawn (though occasionally veering to the opposite extreme of aggression and domination)” (p. 45).

While experts debated the precise correlatives of self-esteem—in their eyes, the subject was extremely complicated—three points shone through. First and most obviously, self-esteem was vitally important to a well-adjusted, high-functioning child or adult. This conclusion was amply prepared for by previous generations of scientific writing. Second, self-esteem was crucially affected by what parents did to children. Levels of DISCIPLINE, family affection, and marital stability all registered in a child’s emerging concept of self-worth. And finally, self-esteem played a crucial role in school success. As Coopersmith put it, “Ability and academic performance are significantly associated with feelings of personal worth.”

The self-esteem movement served as an adjustment between school commitments and worries about overburdening children. It also arose at a time of significant rethinking about the preconditions of adult success, with the rise of service-sector jobs that depended on people skills, that is, the skills needed in salesmanship or in maneuvering in management bureaucracies. In addition, the movement also reflected a reduction in confidence in the middle-class home environment, which was linked to the rising divorce rate, and also very practical problems in dealing with the surge in population due to the baby boom, as children suffered from crowded classrooms.

As early as 1950, enhanced discussions of self-confidence and the need for explicit parental support were becoming standard segments in the childrearing manuals. Thus in 1952, Sidonie Gruenberg wrote, “To value his own good opinion, a child has to feel that he is a worthwhile person. He has to have confidence in himself as an individual. This confidence is hard for children to develop and there are many experiences that may shake it” (p. 192). The approach was in interesting contrast to Gruenberg’s voluminous writings in the 1930s, where the subject received little explicit comment. Now, however, she gave extensive attention to the need for parents to display pride in their children, with a particular plea that children be encouraged through the mistakes they made. “We must not let the mistakes and failures shatter our faith in the child. . . . He needs real and lasting

self-respect if he is to develop” both integrity and a durable capacity to achieve (p. 193). Self-esteem, clearly, began in the home, and a more flexible approach to discipline was urged on parents.

The application of self-esteem concepts in the schools from the 1960s onward involved a number of specific programs and a more general reorientation. Programs typically focused on the importance of providing children a wide range of activities so that they could gain a sense of achievement or mastery, whatever their strictly academic talents. Thus many schools enhanced standard lessons with new opportunities for self-expression. History or literature courses added often-elaborate role-playing exercises to reading and discussion. By playing a historical character, children might demonstrate skills that would not come to light if they were merely called upon to recite facts about the same character. It was also crucial that most of these additional exercises were not graded, again in the interests of encouraging a sense of competence at all levels. Another set of self-esteem exercises involved a growing emphasis on “service learning.” Here, students could directly contribute to the community while also building an opportunity to display an individual capacity to perform. Thus the Challenge Program in California involved high school students in tutoring grade-schoolers, in working in a historical society, or in participating in environmental efforts. The rationale was central to the self-esteem approach: through these nonacademic activities, students would “have a reason to enjoy and a recipe for personal success.”

The approach was fascinating in its effort to provide alternatives to academic competence and competitiveness, and even more fascinating in its assumptions that school must be leavened by nonacademic exercises. Proponents argued that when involved students were compared with control groups participation in the self-esteem programs reduced discipline problems in the schools and improved academic performance. It was less clear why overall American academic achievement levels continued to falter (for example, compared to other nations that did not stress self-esteem) despite the growing utilization of self-esteem activities.

Self-esteem arguments also entered into recommendations for teacher behavior. Thus teachers were urged to add positive comments on all student work, in addition to (and perhaps instead of) critical observations. Some education authorities argued essentially that rewarding good behavior was far more useful, given self-esteem needs, than castigating bad. The portfolio movement also included some self-esteem justifications as well, although it had a number of other justifications. Instead of grading students through conventional tests alone, portfolio programs allowed them to offer a collection of different kinds of expression in the subject area, from art to computer graphics, so that various learning styles could be accommodated with equal access to

self-esteem. And self-esteem concerns had a further impact on the concept of grading, probably contributing substantially to grade inflation.

Self-esteem notions and activities were often criticized, and movements to develop more rigorous testing procedures in the 1990s represented something of a counterattack. Through most of the final third of the twentieth century, however, self-esteem ideas strongly influenced many teachers, and even some athletic coaches, while helping to reconcile parents to the demands of schooling by providing some buffer between strict academics and the psychological development of their children.

See also: **Child Psychology; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Emotional Life.**

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PETER N. STEARNS

Sendak, Maurice (b. 1928)

Maurice Sendak, one of the greatest twentieth-century writers and illustrators of children's books, as well as a gifted opera and ballet set and costume designer, was born in "a land called Brooklyn," on June 10, 1928, the son of Polish-Jewish immigrants. After a mediocre high school career and some part-time art training, he took a job in 1948 as a window dresser at the F.A.O. Schwartz toy store. The book buyer there introduced him in 1950 to the children's book editor at Harper and Brothers, a meeting that resulted in eighty books in more than a dozen languages selling more than seven million copies.

Sendak illustrated some fifty books by other authors during the 1950s and early 1960s while also doing storyboards for advertising firms and covers for adult fiction. *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963), the first book he both wrote and illustrated, established his reputation as an artist and writer of extraordinary psychological power. In the story Max's mother exiles him to his bedroom without supper for chasing the family dog. (Dogs are a recurring creature in Sendak's works.) "I'll eat you up," Max responds before encountering and taming the fantasy monsters of his rage—his old country

Jewish relatives Sendak once remarked—and coming to peace with himself. The book stirred enormous controversy because its illustrations were said to be too frightening and its hero's anger too explicit. "It is my involvement with this inescapable fact of childhood—the awful vulnerability of children and their struggle to make themselves King of all Wild Things—that gives my work whatever power and passion it may have" Sendak said in accepting the Caldecott Medal in 1964.

In the Night Kitchen (1970), offensive to some because of the full frontal nudity of its protagonist Mickey, and the last of what might be seen as a trilogy, *Outside Over There* (1981), in which a young girl saves her baby sister from goblins who have stolen her from a peaceful landscape dominated by the figure of Mozart, engage the same "inescapable facts." Sendak's first book after more than ten years, *We Are All in the Dumps with Jack and Guy: Two Nursery Rhymes with Pictures* (1993), is about a band of homeless children. Living in boxes under a bridge in a nightmare city, wrapped in *New York Times* real estate pages, and surrounded by emblems of AIDS, they save a baby from rats. The infant sleeps in Jack's arms. It is the *Where the Wild Things Are* of a rawer age.

Sendak is a passionate music lover—especially of Mozart—who began working in the theater in 1979. His opera projects, most explicitly *Hansel and Gretel* but also *The Magic Flute* and *Idomeneo*, engage in the same themes as his books: children triumphing over danger, fear and love of parents, and food and eating. He also has illustrated adult literature, most notably a 1995 edition of Herman Melville's *Pierre*. Sendak received the National Medal of the Arts from President Bill Clinton in 1996.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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THOMAS LAQUEUR

Series Books

Series books are considered to be any number of similarly plotted novels involving the same characters, settings, or genre expectations. They are marketed according to the familiarity of recurring titles or authors. Stressing repeatability of action and character type over complex development, they are generally of two types—either the same sort of plot resolves within each title, or a much lengthier plot is carried over a large number of books. Typical of the latter is the de-

velopment of a single character over several adventures and years, such as Laura Ingalls Wilder's lengthy Little House series (1932–1971). Many critics believe that the first series books arose in the early to mid-1800s, as entertaining fiction for children began to deviate from the gloom of religious primers and as various characters gained popularity. Jacob Abbott's Rollo series, beginning in 1835, is among the first. Early series books starred extremely pious children, such as the syrupy Elsie in Martha Finley's Elsie Dinsmore series (1867–1909), or ORPHANS—morally upright, hard-working protagonists who overcome adversity and are rewarded for their pluck. Horatio Alger's Ragged Dick, serialized between 1868 and 1870, remains among the most famous and influential examples of the latter type.

Dime novels at the turn of the nineteenth century became some of the most popular fiction of the time. Edward Stratemeyer (1862–1930) became an extensive developer of series titles when he founded a publishing syndicate around 1905. Employing a team of ghostwriters working under pseudonyms, Stratemeyer outlined and sometimes authored over a thousand novels, creating nearly seventy different series, from the Rover Boys (1899–1926) to the Bobbsey Twins (1904–1992). From 1900 through the middle of the century, Stratemeyer's fiction dominated the bookshelves, as he produced novels on sports, travel, adventure, Westerns, and especially mysteries. Nancy Drew (1930–) and The Hardy Boys (1927–), thrilling mysteries featuring extremely bright and fortuitous young detectives, remain Stratemeyer's two most successful creations. Books featuring technology—boats, cars, radios, detecting equipment—included the Tom Swift series (1910–1941), which is about a young scientific genius and his fantastic inventions. By World War II, war series became especially popular, painting volunteerism in romantic strokes. The Cherry Aimes books (1943–1968) by Helen Wells, about a young nurse who works in various settings, and Margaret Sutton's terrific Judy Bolton series (1932–1967) also developed the female protagonist in new directions.

After the heyday of World War II, several different genres rose to prominence, overtaking the success of earlier titles. Mysteries flourished through series such as Gertrude Chandler Warner's The Boxcar Children (1942–) and Donald J. Sobol's Encyclopedia Brown books (1963–), which contained logic puzzles, with answers to the mysteries found in the back of the book. The 1980s saw the increasing popularity of high school serials such as Francine Pascal's Sweet Valley High (1983–) and Caroline B. Cooney's Cheerleader series (1985–1987), while the younger market exploded with Anne Martin's prolific Baby-Sitter's Club (1986–). Similarly popular, and heavily marketed toward younger girls, were a succession of animal series such as Bonnie Bryant's The Saddle Club (1988–). R. L. Stine meanwhile repopularized the horror genre through such series as Goosebumps (1992–) and Fear Street (1989–1991), terror stories in vari-

ous incarnations featuring young protagonists encountering a plethora of horror clichés. Multicultural trends culminated not only in the very popular American Girl books (1986–) by Pleasant Company, marketed with a collectable line of dolls, but also in the historical memoir tradition, with such books as Scholastic's Dear America series (1996–). By the turn of the century, CONSUMER CULTURE and chain bookstores profoundly influenced series books, linking fiction with marketing more directly than at any time before.

Because of marketing demands, most series books attempt to achieve a tone of familiarity and predictability, drawing on readers' expectations by recreating recognizable worlds of codified plot devices. By doing so, series books often employ rigid patterns in order to carefully balance a feeling of easy security with rich excitement. They are sometimes weighed down by the narrative devices necessary for marketing. These include the need to provide exposition for new readers, often found in asides in early chapters, and advertisements for other titles, enticingly placed on the last few pages. But these narrative specificities do not discount the profound value of these books. The body of fiction characterized as series books includes some of the most popular and significant artifacts of literature for young people and remains deeply pleasurable for those who remember reading them.

See also: Carolyn Keene; Children's Literature; Harry Potter and J. K. Rowling.

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CHRIS MCGEE

Sex Education

The idea that schools and the state have a responsibility to teach young people about sex is a peculiarly modern one. The rise of sex education to a regular place in the school curriculum in the United States and Western Europe is not, however, simply a story of modern enlightenment breaking through a heritage of repression and ignorance. Rather, the movements for sex education can be understood from several related angles: as part of larger struggles in the modern era

over who determines the sexual morality of the coming generation; as part of the persistent tendency to view ADOLESCENCE—especially adolescent SEXUALITY—as uniquely dangerous; and as part of the broader historical tendency for more and more realms of personal life to come under rational control. Sex education has always been shaped by its historical context.

It is worth noting that formal sex education has never held a monopoly on sexual information. Much to the distress of sex educators, young people do not simply memorize their school lessons and apply them perfectly. They have always cobbled together their own understanding of their (and others') bodies out of their personal experiences and an accidental agglomeration of "official" sex education, parental teaching, playground mythology, popular culture, and even pornography.

Early History

Prior to the twentieth century, sex education was even more haphazard. Most Americans and Europeans lived in the countryside, where chance observation of animal behavior provided young people with at least a measure of information about reproductive sexuality. Beyond that, education was mixed. Given the expectation that girls would remain chaste until their wedding night, sex education for them did not seem pressing until the eve of matrimony, when their mothers were supposed to sit them down and explain sex and reproduction; contrary expectations for boys often meant that a young man's male relatives or co-workers would take him to a brothel to initiate him into the mysteries of sex.

In the 1830s, however, various health reformers and ministers in the United States and in England began to publish a flood of pamphlets and books to inform and fortify the young man who left home for school or a job. These works were typically great stews of theological, nutritional, and philosophical information, but all aimed to help readers control their sexual urges until they could be safely expressed in marriage. More particularly, these early sex educators tended to be obsessed with the dangers of MASTURBATION. For example, the health reformer Sylvester Graham's 1834 *Lecture to Young Men* and the Reverend John Todd's 1845 *The Young Man. Hints Addressed to the Young Men of the United States* followed works by the English physician William Acton in warning that the "solitary vice" (i.e., masturbation) could and probably would lead to a physical and mental breakdown—even death. The literature seldom addressed women, as society generally considered them to be at all times under the protection of their parents and then their husbands, while young men were more mobile. In France, the sex education literature that began appearing in the 1880s, was usually addressed to bourgeois mothers, and focused chiefly on their duty to instruct their daughters on the dual need to be chaste until marriage but prepared for sexual contact after matrimony. Despite these small steps toward

education, later reformers complained that a "conspiracy of silence" about sexual matters existed into the early years of the twentieth century.

Origins of a Movement

The formal movement for sex education commenced in the early twentieth century. Oddly, early reformers seldom said anything about needing to compensate for the loss of barnyard knowledge when families grew up in the city rather than on a farm. In other societies undergoing rapid urbanization, such as China at the dawn of the twenty-first century, newspapers regularly reported on young city couples who wanted children for years but never picked up the essential information on animal breeding that would have suggested how to become pregnant. American reformers, like their counterparts in England at roughly the same time, were more focused on the related dangers of medical and moral decline. First, physicians were growing alarmed about the impact of syphilis and gonorrhea—the "venereal diseases"—among all classes of citizens, and among women as well as men. Investigators had come to recognize that these sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) annually caused thousands of cases of pelvic inflammation, sterility, infant blindness, and even insanity. Second, physicians and their allies associated this "epidemic" with what many Americans considered the immorality of life in the city. Native-born Americans in particular believed that a moral crisis loomed in cities such as Chicago and New York as immigrants and migrants from the countryside crowded together in dismal tenements and children grew up without the "ennobling influence" of life on the farm. Equally alarming, in an era in which prostitution was a fairly open secret in the red light districts of most urban areas, doctors became convinced that the majority of STDs were transmitted through men visiting prostitutes. This meshing together of moral and medical concepts was to remain characteristic of American and, to a lesser extent, European sex education.

Sex education became a significant part of the response to these twin anxieties. Founded in 1914 by the New York physician Prince Morrow and the religious crusader Anna Garlin Spencer, the American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA) quickly took the lead in recommending reforms to accomplish the twin goals of medical and moral improvement. After leading police crackdowns on prostitution and presenting a series of sex education lectures to adults, ASHA and related societies proposed a program in "sex instruction" for high-school-age youth. ASHA's leaders hoped they could reach young people with proper "scientific" facts about sex before they were "corrupted" by harmful misinformation, such as the widely held belief that young men suffered from a "medical necessity" to have sex. If citizens only knew the medical dangers of sexual immorality, reformers believed, then they would rationally decide not to experiment with prostitution or promiscuity.

Although the English movement for sex education grew out of similar anxieties, and was led by a similar combination

of medical and moral authorities, the French movement differed in certain essential respects. France officially tolerated and regulated prostitution, for example, so it never became a focus of educators' efforts. Instead, French sex educators were more concerned about preparing young middle-class women for the sexual aspects of marriage and reproduction. They generally ignored working-class females, believing they were already immoral by nature. French authorities occasionally supported sex education for men to combat the scourges of STDs, but after the carnage of World War I, French educators also linked sex education to the need for French families to bear more children to repopulate the state.

Moving into the Schools

Sex educators in the United States sometimes experimented with working through parents, churches, and public lectures, but they quickly turned to the public schools. In the early twentieth century, public school attendance was exploding as compulsory education laws and the changing structure of the economy pressured more students into the classroom and kept them there longer. At the same time, observers were becoming more conscious of youth as a period of life separate from adulthood, with its own particular needs and dangers, and this new conception of the adolescent was widely popularized by the publication of G. STANLEY HALL's essential *Adolescence* in 1904. Trapped between the sexual awakening of PUBERTY and the "legitimate" sexual outlet of marriage, adolescents seemed particularly to need careful guidance, and the public schools could step in to give it to them where parents seemed to be failing. Not coincidentally, moving their mission to the classroom promised to give sex educators a captive audience.

Reflecting their own uneasiness with sexuality, the early sex educators constructed a program whose central mission was to quash curiosity about sex. Initially, the sex education program consisted of an outside physician delivering a short series of lectures outlining the fundamentals of the reproductive system, the destructive power of syphilis and gonorrhea, and the moral and medical dangers caused by sex before or outside of marriage. Boys and girls sat in separate classrooms, and their lessons reflected a strong sense of difference between the sexes. Besides hearing the medical warnings about sexually transmitted diseases, boys learned that they had a moral responsibility to their mothers and future wives to remain chaste. Girls were instructed much more deliberately in raw fear—especially in the high likelihood of contracting syphilis from a male. So vivid were the warnings that some instructors in the first decades of the twentieth century actually worried that their female students might never marry. Because they sought to ennoble sexuality by making it synonymous with reproduction, early sex educators seldom dwelled on the threat of TEEN PREGNANCY.

Despite the educators' moralistic tone, sex education met immediate opposition. When Chicago became the first

major city to implement sex education for high schools in 1913, the Catholic Church in particular led a powerful attack on the program and helped secure the resignation of its sponsor, Ella Flagg Young, the famous superintendent of schools.

The Chicago controversy, as it was called, laid out the themes that were to characterize the politics of sex education in the United States over the next century. Both supporters and opponents agreed that youthful sexuality was a problem. But where supporters felt that "scientific" knowledge about sexuality (or at least reproduction) would lead young people down the path to moral behavior, opponents argued that any suggestion of sexuality, no matter how well intended, would corrupt students' minds.

The federal government first became involved in sex education during World War I, when the Chamberlain-Kahn Act of 1918 first earmarked money to educate soldiers about syphilis and gonorrhea. Over half a million young men had their first experience with sex instruction in the war. ASHA later took many of the materials its consultants had developed for the military, such as the film *Fit to Fight*, and adapted them for public school use by editing out the segments on prophylaxis. Until the 1950s, the federal government remained involved in sex education, mainly through the U.S. Public Health Service, emphasizing the medical and moral dangers of sexually transmitted diseases.

More than Hygiene

In the Jazz Age of the 1920s, sex education made progress into the curriculum both in the United States and in France. American sex education typically took place in high school biology classes, but leaders in the movement also faced for the first time a clear divergence between adult sexual ideals and society's expectations for youth. Up to the early twentieth century, when sexual fulfillment was not considered a public or respectable ideal even for married adults, it was easy for educators to condemn sex in their lessons. But in the 1920s, as more Americans came to believe that sexual fulfillment was a crucial part of marriage, educators faced the dilemma of recognizing that sex was a positive force in marriage while at the same time needing to condemn its expression among the unmarried. Sex educators responded partly by reemphasizing the health dangers of sex outside of marriage, but also by incorporating the new ideals. Greatly concerned over the sexual freedom of the "new youth" in the 1920s and 1930s, sex educators appealed to psychology and sociology for evidence that sexual experimentation before marriage endangered a youth's chances for a fulfilling wedded life.

After the discovery of penicillin's uses in World War II lessened the danger of syphilis, ASHA and its allies focused more directly on the social aspects of sexuality and married life. Known by a variety of names, the new "family life education" represented an expansion of the educators' mission. In-

stead of teaching mostly about sexual prohibitions, family life educators attempted to instruct students in the positive satisfactions to be gained from a properly ordered family life. Lessons on child rearing, money management, wedding planning, DATING, and a wide variety of other daily tasks were intended to bring a new generation of American youth into conformity with white, middle-class norms.

In response particularly to the “sexual revolution” of the 1960s and 1970s, in which rates of premarital sexual activity, pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases climbed steeply, sex educators developed what they called “sexuality education,” to distinguish their approach from the overt moralizing and narrow heterosexual focus of its predecessors. The leaders in sexuality education, such as the Sexuality Information Education Council of the United States (SIECUS, founded in 1964), believed that teaching about sexuality in a value-neutral manner would allow students to reach their own conclusions about sexual behavior and sexual morality. Sexuality education was intended to include information on BIRTH CONTROL methods, teenage pregnancy, masturbation, gender relations, and, eventually, HOMOSEXUALITY. Although value-neutral sexuality education generally avoided the overt moralizing of its predecessors, it nevertheless stacked the deck in favor of traditional morality—abstinence until heterosexual marriage.

Despite its generally traditional message, sexuality education quickly aroused a firestorm of opposition. Beginning in 1968, conservative groups and previously apolitical religious activists mobilized to attack what one pamphlet called “raw sex” in the schoolhouse. Opponents were offended not only by sexuality education’s greater explicitness, but by its refusal to drill students in “proper” sexual morality. Sexuality education seemed to represent a wide variety of liberal attitudes that were beginning to appear in American society, and the struggles over sexuality education helped motivate a new generation of religious conservatives to enter American politics in the 1970s. It was at this point that the American experience began to diverge from the European approach, which had aroused occasional Catholic disapproval but never faced a highly political campaign of opposition.

HIV/AIDS Crisis

In the United States, the debate between opponents and supporters continued to follow the same lines until the pandemic of Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) began in the 1980s. As the magnitude and deadliness of this sexually transmitted illness became known (and as the public became aware that heterosexuals as well as homosexuals were at risk), sex educators found their position bolstered. By the mid-1990s almost every western European nation sponsored fairly explicit educational programs in “safe sex”; in the United States, every state had passed mandates for AIDS education, sometimes combined with sexuality education, sometimes as a stand-

alone program. AIDS provided crucial justification for the more liberal sexuality educators’ inclusion of information on contraception, homosexuality, and premarital sex. At universities and many high schools, students also started “peer-education” groups to offer students a sex education message that was even less hierarchical and judgmental (and sometimes much more explicit). Despite a renewed conservative attack on these programs, sexuality education’s place seemed to have become secure.

As conservative opponents in the United States came to recognize that some form of sex education was going to be almost inevitable, they launched their own movement to replace sexuality education with “abstinence education.” Religious conservatives, in particular, helped add provisions for abstinence education to the 1996 WELFARE REFORM ACT, and the federal government for the first time began to direct tens of millions of dollars to abstinence education programs, most of which were tied to religious groups rather than the more traditional public health organizations. Unlike sexuality education’s value neutrality, abstinence education was directly moralistic and explicitly supported traditional gender and sexual relations. Abstinence education also harked back to the early years of sex education in its strong emphasis on the dangers of sexual activity. Many curricula intentionally omitted or distorted information about protective measures such as condoms or birth-control pills. Again, this contrasted with the European experience, in which sexuality education was firmly under the control of secular medical authorities and faced little religious or political challenge.

International Context

Outside of Western Europe and the United States, sex education remained largely informal until concerns over a population explosion and the AIDS crisis prompted international organizations such as the United Nations to become involved in educating residents in Africa and South Asia particularly about contraception and prophylaxis. Although the religious opposition there has been muted, educators have often met with resistance from governments unwilling to admit that their populations were experiencing problems with AIDS, and from male traditionalists reluctant to allow women greater control over their own sexuality. Political battles in the United States, too, have affected the shape of sex education in the less-developed regions of the world, as American conservatives at the dawn of the twenty-first century attempted to use U.S. funding to shift the content of international sex education programs away from contraception and towards abstinence and a more moralistic approach to sexual relations.

Conclusion

The response to the AIDS crisis once again underlined the general tendency to justify sex education as disaster prevention in response to diseases or other “epidemics,” such as teenage pregnancy. Throughout the history of sex educa-

tion, adults in the West have generally treated adolescent sexuality as existing in a different world from its grown-up version, blaming hormones or the youth culture for recurring crises in adolescent sexual behavior. But youthful sexual behavior has almost always been closely tied to adult patterns of behavior: rising rates of extramarital intercourse among adolescents, for example, only followed the same phenomenon among adults; the same held true for the “epidemic” of pregnancy outside of marriage in the 1970s, as pregnant teenage females followed their adult counterparts in having more children outside of wedlock.

Although it has undoubtedly dispelled much ignorance and anxiety among students, sex education in the United States, at least, has generally failed to deliver on its promise to change adolescent sexual behavior. Sexual behavior is a complex phenomenon, and hours in the classroom have seldom managed to counteract the influence of class, race, family, region, and popular culture. Nevertheless, the history of sex education reveals a great deal about modern conceptions of sexuality, adolescence, and authority.

See also: **AIDS; Hygiene; Venereal Disease.**

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Sexuality

Childhood, in most modern cultures, is defined in large part by its separation from adult sexuality. While many contemporary cultures recognize aspects of sexuality in children, such as the development of sexual curiosity or MASTURBATION practices common among young children, they draw a clear line between such forms of childhood sexuality and children’s exposure to adult sexuality and sexual experience. Prepubescent children, in most modern cultures, are not legitimate objects of adult sexual desire or behavior. Paradoxically,

it is this very separation of childhood and adult sexuality that so closely links childhood to sexuality in modern cultures. Societies attempt to enforce that separation through elaborate systems of laws, institutions, and ideologies. Public debates about the proper role of sex and sexual images in the mass media and public culture often turn on notions of childhood innocence. A whole constellation of social practices have been created because modern societies attempt to protect children from sex and adult sexuality.

PUBERTY, the biological process of maturation into sexual and reproductive maturity, commonly marks the end of childhood. It does not, however, always mark the entry into adulthood or adult sexuality. Most modern societies see the years following puberty as directly linked to sex, but in many ways that direct relationship is more problematic than childhood’s oblique one. While childhood is defined as a period deserving—demanding—protection from adult sexuality, the proper relationship between ADOLESCENCE and sexuality is less clear. Adolescents are clearly sexual, but not clearly adult. Biological and social maturity are not always considered equivalent. How, then, should the sexuality of youth be

regulated or controlled? These are not new problems in human history. Human societies have grappled with the common problems of biological and social maturation for thousands of years. But just as the meaning and experience of childhood has differed dramatically across cultures and through time, so have the social definitions of childhood, youth, and sexuality.

Ancient and Premodern Societies

Writing about the history of sexuality is always a complicated task, as it is difficult to find direct evidence about the meaning and practice of sex in history. We come to knowledge of sex indirectly, through debates about sex, regulations governing sex, representations of sex, prohibitions against sex, or demographic data (which may, for example, reveal something of the frequency of conception outside marriage but little about the acts of sexual intercourse that produced it or the meaning of such acts). The problem of access to historical information about sex and its meaning is compounded when dealing with children, who have largely been defined outside the licit realm of sex and sexuality. This problem is compounded further when writing about societies in the distant past or about premodern, nonliterate so-

cieties. Much of our knowledge, especially of ancient cultures, is drawn from codes of law, especially those concerned with INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY. In the case of nonliterate tribal cultures, it is difficult to know how accurately the practices documented by travelers and, later, anthropologists, reflect actual practices and whether those practices are longstanding traditions or relatively recent developments. However, the works of classicists, historians, and anthropologists offer some insight into the distant past. Most strikingly, they reveal something of the enormous variety of cultural definitions of childhood, and of the relation of children and youth to sex and sexuality, that have existed in human cultures.

A survey of a single continent, AFRICA, offers some sense of the great diversity of cultural practices surrounding childhood, youth, and sexuality in premodern cultures (the discussion in this section is particularly indebted to the informative synthesis provided in A. R. Colón's *A History of Children*). According to documentation from the late nineteenth century, about five thousand distinct tribes remained in sub-Saharan Africa at that time. The meaning and experience of childhood differed from tribe to tribe, and so did traditional attitudes toward youth and sexuality and the practices that regulated them. In many sub-Saharan tribes, though children learned gender-appropriate tasks from an early age, puberty marked a new stage of life and was marked by some sort of initiation ceremony, which might last days or even years. Here, recognition of sexual maturity often combined with entry into adult responsibilities and status. The Kpelle, a tribe in what is present-day Liberia, secluded boys for four years in a period of initiation and instruction, including ritual CIRCUMCISION. Among the Pygmy, a boy was not considered ready for marriage until he had killed an antelope or buffalo. Among the Ngoni, boys celebrated puberty with a cleansing ceremony in the river after the first nocturnal emission. The nomadic Fulani gave boys charge of cattle at age ten, at which time ritual circumcisions were performed. Bedouin boys were also ritually circumcised and, in order to gain the endurance of a camel, were expected to eat a piece of bread that had been smeared with camel dung. The Ganda, who considered children property and rarely raised their own children, did not mark puberty in any way and had no rituals for passage into sexual or social adulthood.

For girls, puberty rites were frequently tied to MENARCHE, or the onset of menstruation. Among the Ngoni in central Africa, as in many other African tribes, girls were placed in isolation huts during menstruation. After her first menstrual flow ended, a girl underwent a cleansing ceremony. With her father's sisters and other women from the village, she was led in a procession from the isolation hut to the river, where she was undressed and placed in the water, facing southeast. Afterwards, she was taken to the dwelling of her aunt and given instruction on proper behavior for her new stage of life. This new status included bimonthly vaginal examinations by elder women from the village who were

charged with verifying and so maintaining the girl's virginity. Other tribes sought to guarantee girls' virginity through genital surgery. Female circumcision was a common initiation rite at puberty, though the procedure sometimes took place in infancy or during childhood. The sunna circumcision, performed by central Ethiopian tribes on infant girls, removed only the prepuce from the clitoris. Pharaonic circumcision was a major operation in which the girl's clitoris, labia minor, and parts of her labia majora were removed. The remaining portion of the labia majora were sewn together, or infibulated, and her legs bound together for up to forty days until her vulva fused closed. Infections of the urinary tract and vagina were common, as were difficulties in menstruation, and the fused vulva created pain during sexual intercourse and complicated eventual childbirth. Pharaonic circumcision or simple infibulation was practiced throughout Africa, though not by all peoples, and continues to this day in approximately twenty-six (or more than half of the total) African nations. About 90 percent of girls in the Sudan still undergo pharaonic circumcision.

As ISLAM and Christianity spread through Africa, these particular religious traditions merged with local tribal customs and influenced understandings of sexuality, childhood, and family. For example, tribes with traditional matrilineal patterns of inheritance switched to patrilineal models, thus shifting the control of property to men and increasing the importance of marriage for women's economic security and protection. Especially in areas influenced by Islam, by the eighteenth century marriages were contracted and performed at increasingly early ages, ranging from age seven in the San region to ten in Madagascar and twelve or fourteen in the Sudan and southeast Africa. Premodern Pacific Island cultures also illustrate the great range that existed in the social regulation of sexuality. Among the Tiwi, for example, girls were married before puberty while boys underwent a ten-year-long period of initiation, beginning at puberty, before they could marry. On Vanatianai, in Melanesia, sexual activity was seen as an appropriate and pleasurable activity for both boys and girls once they entered puberty at about the age of fourteen.

Through most of human history—and still today in many places—children and youth have been exposed to sex very directly. The vast majority of people lived in small dwellings. Privacy was scarce, and concepts of privacy were different from those of contemporary American and western European cultures. Children commonly slept in the same room with their parents; in many places, especially in cold climates, the entire family might share a single bed or its equivalent. In such conditions, children commonly heard and saw adults having sex. And it was not only people who lived closely together in small spaces. Animals were often a source of sexual knowledge. In rural areas and towns alike, children—often responsible for animal care—learned about sex from watching animals copulate and give birth. Just as people in pre-

industrial and premodern societies were more directly exposed to the processes of birth and death, they were more directly exposed to knowledge of sex. Children shared that knowledge. They were not protected from exposure to sex. However, simply because children had knowledge of sex does not mean that they were not protected from adult sexuality and sexual contact. That protection did exist in many cultures. However, while the notion that “childhood” is an invention of modern times has been strongly refuted by many scholars, it is nonetheless important to note that children were not universally seen as deserving of society's protection, whether in the realm of sex or elsewhere, nor was there steady progress toward a protected status. Some ancient societies wrote the protection of children into law (though protections did not necessarily cover all children), while in others ABANDONMENT, infanticide, child slavery, and CHILD PROSTITUTION were common.

Early written records of human civilization, reaching back to the Sumerians, specify to some extent the proper treatment of children. For example, the eighteenth-century B.C.E. Code of Hammurabi forbids men to commit INCEST with their daughters or to “defile” their sons' betrothed. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* gives some sense of the restrictions governing sex with children, including “sexual relations with a boy” in its list of acts that would prevent a man from entering into the next life. The ancient Hebrews also prohibited sodomy with children, considering it a form of idolatry related to the worship of the body. Sodomy with a boy under the age of nine was punished by flagellation, and by stoning if the boy were older than nine years. While these restrictions may have aimed less at the protection of children than the prohibition of certain sexual acts, they stand in significant contrast to other cultures in which children found little or no protection. Along the Mediterranean coast, the Phoenicians, who were active in the first millennium B.C.E., were known for their cruelty to children. Infant and child sacrifice, in which babies and small children were burned alive, was common, and the Phoenicians maintained official “temple boys” or “sacred” prostitutes, who were sodomized by adult men.

Roman child-rearing practices combined signs of great affection for children with a striking lack of protection for them. Abandonment of children was common, and the abandoned child—if it survived—was likely to be enslaved or sold into prostitution. Abandoned male infants intended for prostitution were sometimes castrated in order to prolong their androgynous, boyish appearance. Such practices were prohibited by the emperor Nerva during his brief reign from 96 to 98 C.E. Subsequent emperors Trajan and Hadrian built upon these reforms, with Hadrian enforcing the law against castration of boys and prohibiting the sale of children for sexual purposes. Significantly, he extended these protections to slave children as well as to the freeborn. Regulations of sexuality for children and youth also developed around the

issue of property. Commonly, elite families with inheritable property were much more concerned with controlling the sexual behaviors of their children. Legally recognized marriages and the production of legitimate heirs were proportionally more important to families with property, and such concerns fostered emphasis on the virginity of daughters before marriage. In ancient China, while among the lower classes young people commonly mated around the age of fifteen, the sexual experiences of elite youth were closely monitored, indicating the greater significance of marriage to those with property. In ancient Persia, girls of elite families commonly entered into polygamous marriages at the age of fifteen. Familial control over sexuality and property here was extreme, as incest was not a taboo, and men could marry their own daughters.

In ancient Greece, a girl's virginity was closely linked to family honor, and unmarried girls were counseled to sleep on a bed of withy, or long, flexible twigs, as a way of preventing sexual desire. Marriage marked the passage to adulthood for girls; only through marriage did a girl become an adult woman. Boys, on the other hand, celebrated passage into manhood and citizenship at the age of eighteen or nineteen—a moment marked not by biological sexual maturation but by their relationship to the state. In medieval and early modern western Europe, the regulation and control of youthful sexuality was structured by the demands of economic subsistence and by the increasing power of religious authority. The highest priority, in what were primarily subsistence agricultural societies, was survival. Limiting reproduction (and thus the number of mouths to feed and the number of children among whom to divide resources) was critical, and families and communities regulated sexuality in order to limit fertility. Biology helped; puberty came relatively late, usually between fourteen and sixteen years of age for girls, because of poor nutrition. Combined with short life-spans (life expectancy in early modern England was thirty-five to forty years) and early menopause, women had a much shorter period of potential childbearing than is common today. However, young people did not commonly mate or marry at puberty. The average age at marriage in early modern western Europe was later than in most contemporary societies: approximately twenty-six years old for women and twenty-seven to twenty-nine years old for men.

While children began work at early ages, and were often sent away from home to serve as apprentices in their mid-teens, they did not move directly from childhood to adulthood at puberty or at the beginning of their work lives. Instead, the period of "youth" lasted until the young man and woman were able to marry and set up their own household. Thus, most were in the dependent category of youth for almost half of their lives. It was in part a question of resources—the labor of the young was needed to sustain the family, and it was often only upon the death of the older generation that youth inherited sufficient resources to set up

their own households. However, even among affluent, elite families in which there were ample resources, sexual maturity was not the only criterion for marriage. Marriages did occur at earlier ages among the wealthy, but, for example, when the son of the Countess of Warwick was married at nineteen to a young bride, his mother sent him abroad while his wife remained with her; she felt they were too young and inexperienced to live together. And young men who completed their APPRENTICESHIPS with sufficient means to marry sometimes delayed, for marriage and the responsibility for a household was understood not to be simply a matter of means, but of maturity. Certainly, among the poorest, such controls did not always obtain. But in much of medieval and early modern Europe, the family and the community attempted to control the behaviors of these sexually mature but not "adult" young people.

In that respect, they worked in concert with the church. Christian thought, from the High Middle Ages forward, clearly posed adolescence as a time of sexual danger, requiring spiritual control. As Guibert de Nogent wrote in his autobiography from the beginning of the twelfth century, "Thus, while my young body grew little by little, my soul was also aroused by worldly life, titillated in its own right by sexual desires and lust." Adolescence was a time of temptation for "still-naive" souls, and while theologians focused on human beings' propensity for sin, they saw the period of youth as particularly susceptible to the temptations of the flesh. The church, also, placed increasing emphasis on the virginity of girls and young women, praising virginity as a connection to the Virgin Mary, Christ's mother. Thus, religious tenets, the economic needs of communities and the related intensity of community supervision of young people, and cultural definitions of maturity combined to limit the sexual explorations of youth. Specific customs like BUNDLING, where courting couples lay together fully clad, regulated courtship sexuality, usually—although not always—successfully. Nonetheless, for poorer, rural families without dowries and significant property, premarital virginity was less important, premarital sex more common, and marriage often more an informal but long-term pairing (*animus matrimonii*) than the legal marriage that was important to elite families with property. Poorer rural communities accepted premarital sex with the understanding that pregnancy would yield marriage. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, as many as one-fifth of brides were pregnant when they wed, but only about 3 percent of babies were born outside wedlock.

However, as towns and cities grew and more and more young people left rural areas to serve as apprentices or servants in the growing towns, community control weakened. Young women, especially, were increasingly vulnerable to sexual exploitation, often by their masters or other members of the master's household. It was not simply exploitation, however, for young men and young women alike—many of

them “youth” in their early twenties—took advantage of the greater freedom they found in cities, and apprentices’ masters often allowed a good deal of freedom, sexual and otherwise, to their older apprentices and servants. This freedom had its dangers. If a young woman or girl became pregnant and the man could not or would not marry her, she was likely to be dismissed from her position and prosecuted in court. Livelihood for herself and her baby was uncertain at best. Nevertheless, illegitimacy rates increased in Europe, mainly among young people, in the sixteenth century, and particularly in the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. With the growth of towns and cities, the varying customs of different social classes became more obvious and the church, along with members of the growing bourgeoisie who sought clearly defined marriage and familial relations to facilitate the transfer of property, pushed to foster a single standard of behavior. Premarital virginity for women was increasingly stressed, and the church no longer recognized the informal pairing typical of poor rural populations as a form of marriage.

Court records from western European cities during the High Middle Ages and Renaissance also show the prevalence of sexual “vice” and exploitation. Between about 1300 and 1700 C.E., men commonly participated in an age-structured system of sexual relations in which “beardless youths” between puberty and full sexual maturity (aged fifteen to twenty-two or so) were anally penetrated by men in their mid- to late twenties. Constrained from marrying until quite late because of economic factors, and in cultures that emphasized the virginity of girls from respectable families, men commonly had sexual relationships with boys and also with female prostitutes or with lower-class girls and young women who were vulnerable to exploitation or rape. The homosexual pairings between older and younger males were not permanent sexual relationships or roles. Once the youth’s beard came in fully, he took the “active” sexual role with a younger boy, while his older partner came of age to marry and left behind the practice of sodomy with men. (Some men, of course, continued to practice sodomy beyond the appropriate age, but that was considered something quite different from the age-regulated system of sexual relations.) This age-based system was illegal and not condoned by the Church, but was seemingly very common. In mid-fifteenth-century Florence at least fifteen thousand men were accused of sodomy in the courts, and—demonstrating tolerance for the practice—penalties were not severe: simply a fine, which was often not paid. This age-based system of relations between men and youths disappeared as common practice in northwestern Europe around 1700, but it persisted in other parts of Europe and the Middle East into the early twentieth century.

Industrializing Societies

The growth of industrial societies and the concomitant development of a larger middle class or bourgeoisie shaped the

sexual lives of children and youth in almost diametrically opposite directions. The rise of factories and migration of the rural poor to urban areas led to enormous exploitation and suffering of children and youth. In western Europe, children as young as three years old were put to work in factories. Few protections existed for such children, who worked long and difficult hours and often lacked sufficient food, clothing, or shelter. These children and youths were increasingly vulnerable to forms of sexual abuse and exploitation. With large numbers of children living on the streets, many turned to prostitution or other forms of sexual activity for survival. In the United States, where slavery was not ended until 1865, enslaved African-American girls and women frequently were sexually exploited or raped.

At the same time, middle-class children in North America and western Europe were treasured and protected in new ways. Nineteenth-century religious beliefs and social philosophy defined childhood as a time of innocence, and art and literature from the time portrays children with great sentimentality, often as symbols of purity, innocence, and unspoiled religious sentiment. As children became more of an economic liability than an asset, families intentionally had fewer children. The FERTILITY RATE dropped by almost half during the nineteenth century in the United States. The change was most dramatic in urban middle-class and professional families, who devoted more attention to nurturing and educating each individual child. Children were also seen as malleable in their innocence, and mothers increasingly were held responsible for shaping the moral development of their children. In these new urban-industrial societies, that meant fostering self-control, DISCIPLINE, and education as means to economic success—or at least stability. Girls were also inculcated with the virtues of self-control and industry, but with great emphasis on moral purity, which was seen as fundamental to their future roles as wives and mothers. Expectations about sexual behavior, however, differed by race, class, and region. Premarital sex, and even “outside” children that resulted, were much more acceptable to the rural southern poor, both black and white.

Middle-class notions of purity and self-control, not surprisingly, often centered upon sexuality. A growing advice literature combined medical and moral messages to warn about the dangers of masturbation. While such concerns may be traced back to a series of publications in the eighteenth century, including the anonymous *Onania* and S. A. Tissot’s *Onanism*, middle-class North Americans and western Europeans encountered a flood of writing on the subject. This secret vice, it was claimed, could lead to sterility, insanity, idiocy, or a range of lesser effects. Health reformers such as Sylvester Graham offered dietary regimens designed to inhibit masturbation and nocturnal emissions, while others developed mechanical devices. One such device, intended to discourage sexual arousal in young men, encircled the penis with a ring of spikes; another restrained the hands and cov-

ered the genital area with a girdle of cold, wet cloths. Fears about masturbatory practices focused on boys and young men. A smaller and more discreet literature was devoted to girls. Mothers were warned to watch for evidence of masturbation, especially lassitude, in their daughters. But compared to their male peers, young women and girls largely escaped this form of sexual surveillance, in part because girls and women were not believed to be as sexual by nature as were men: purity and passionlessness were held up as female ideals. However, young women were much more closely chaperoned and supervised than young men of the same social class, for sexual virtue and a reputation for sexual modesty was critically important to the marriageability of young middle-class and elite women, and for working-class women of many U.S. immigrant groups who held to their traditional cultures. Paradoxically, assumptions that women were less fully sexual than men would allow for greater sexual freedom in one sphere: relations between women or girls. "Romantic friendships" between young women were relatively common and quite acceptable into the early years of the twentieth century. Crushes, or "smashing," as it was sometimes called, were a major part of social life at WOMEN'S COLLEGES into the early twentieth century. The sexual content of such relationships varied, but young women did find relative freedom to pursue same-sex relationships during this era.

Nineteenth century middle-class ideology emphasized the difference between male and female, not only in adult roles but in prescriptions for childhood activities as well. Nineteenth-century understandings of puberty drew the line between male and female very clearly. By the nineteenth century, Western medical science portrayed menstruation as a debilitating monthly event, suggesting that it posed such a physical crisis, especially during puberty, that any strenuous physical or intellectual activity might ruin a girl's health, possibly rendering her a sterile, sexless being. Thus puberty led to the curtailing of girls' freedom of activity. This happened, on the whole, ever earlier. In the nineteenth century, the average age at first menstruation had dropped to fourteen years for European-American girls and eleven for African-American. While it is important to understand how the medicalization of normal menstruation worked to limit girls' lives, it is also worth pointing out that the process of menstruation was poorly understood, and doctors lacked the ability to accurately diagnose and treat painful disorders such as endometriosis or ovarian cysts. Ideology played the greatest role in limiting women's activities because of the "frailty" of their bodies, but modern medicine and products such as disposable sanitary napkins and tampons also helped to free women from limits imposed by menstruation itself.

Limitation of girls' activities at menarche was not confined to industrial, Western societies. In China, also, the onset of menstruation was treated as a sign of female weakness and of uncleanness. Classical writings on health remained influential in the nineteenth century, including those

of sixteenth-century medical writer Li Shizhen, who wrote of the menstruating woman: "Her evil juices are full of stench and filth, hence the gentleman should keep his distance; as they are not clean, they will harm his male essence and invite disease." Puberty, in late imperial China, was defined more broadly than in Western cultures. It was not simply the biological process that signaled physical reproductive maturity, but rather activation of the "true qi of heaven bestowed at conception" by the individual's parents. While the period of adolescence was not defined through specific rituals, classical works such as the *Book of Ritual* did provide for a period of youth, prescribing the appropriate age of marriage as twenty years for women and thirty years for men. These prescriptions for delayed marriage correspond with the belief that it took many years for the yin and yang of the young people to become "replete." However, age at marriage or mating varied greatly by social class and social circumstance; poor young men might experience greatly prolonged bachelorhood because they lacked resources to marry or maintain a family, while such families also might arrange the marriage of a prepubescent boy in order to gain a daughter-in-law needed for household work.

In Western societies, the problem posed by sexually mature but not "adult" youths was exacerbated by industrialization and urbanization. While middle-class Americans and western Europeans attempted to foster the development of self-control in their own sons, they feared the unsupervised and uncontrolled sexual energies of working-class youth in the growing cities, many of whom lived apart from family or effective community supervision. Some scholars have suggested that the actual physical growth of adolescents—in North America, on average, young men had gained two inches in height and fifteen pounds in weight between 1880 and 1920, due to better nutrition—made them more intimidating. No matter the cause, a great deal of effort was devoted to controlling the sexual energies and impulses of youth, especially of young working-class men. And as rates of premarital pregnancy in the United States rose from about 10 percent in the mid-nineteenth century to 23 percent between about 1880 and 1910, reformers sought to protect young working women from sexual exploitation. Building upon a campaign begun in England with an expose of child prostitution, America's largest women's organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), launched a drive to raise the AGE OF CONSENT, the age at which girls could legally consent to sexual intercourse. Reformers meant to offer girls and young women legal protection against seduction and sexual exploitation: age of consent laws rendered underage girls legally innocent, no matter their behavior, and placed responsibility for illegitimate sexual conduct on men. Under such laws, a man or boy who had sexual intercourse with an underage girl was guilty of rape, whether or not she had freely participated and whether or not he used force or threats.

In the mid-1880s, the median legal age of consent in the United States was ten. Over the following decade, the median legal age of consent rose to fourteen; by 1885 it was sixteen or older in twenty-two states. Resistance to raising the age of consent was strongest in the South, where opponents argued that such laws might “enable negro girls to sue white men” and sought to exempt girls who were not of “previously chaste character,” with the understanding that few black women or girls would be presumed “previously chaste” by white male juries. Georgia did not raise the age of consent from ten to fourteen until 1918. The federal government, on the other hand, in 1899 raised the age of consent in places of federal jurisdiction to twenty-one. The age of consent campaign had mixed consequences. These laws did offer protection to young girls. But the laws were not limited to children. The WCTU waged the campaign in a language of childhood innocence, calling for the protection of “baby girls,” “girl children,” and “infants,” but reformers sought to raise the age of consent to the late teens. By legislating “innocence,” states denied young women (even up to the age of eighteen or twenty-one) the *right* of consent. Court records reveal that some parents used these laws to constrain rebellious daughters by charging their boyfriends with statutory rape in court.

Twentieth Century

The twentieth century was a period of dramatic and rapid change in North American and western European social definitions and experiences of childhood, youth, and sexuality. Fundamental to changing understandings of childhood and sexuality in the twentieth century were SIGMUND FREUD’s writings on infant and childhood sexuality. Published first in 1905 as *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, Freud’s theoretical models were sometimes changed beyond recognition as they passed into public circulation, but were enormously influential. Freud argued that sexuality did not first appear at puberty, but instead defined the stages of development from infancy to the age of six, at which point the child passed into a period of latency that lasted until puberty. According to Freud, the ways in which the child passed through the childhood stages of sexuality (oral, anal, and phallic) would determine in large part their experiences as adults. Acceptance of Freudian theories of child and INFANT SEXUALITY did not undermine the widespread belief that young children should be protected from adult sexuality. Instead, well into the 1960s, explanations for sexual and personal problems in adulthood were sought in the family dynamics of early childhood, and well-educated parents often paid great attention to managing familial relations and childhood sexual development because they understood it to have great consequences for their child’s life course and future sexual adjustment.

The early years of the twentieth century were a time of struggle over youth and sexuality, especially in the United States. Increasingly, young people claimed the right to sexuality, if not to sex itself. Working-class girls and young men

enjoyed the new commercial amusements of the city—dance halls, amusement parks, nickelodeons. Often without money to pay their own way, “charity girls” traded their favors (ranging from flirting to sexual intercourse) for entertainment. By the 1920s, appearances reflected a new sexualized culture. The FLAPPERS of the 1920s shed yards of fabric from their clothing, including most of the undergarments worn by their mothers’ generation. With rouge and lipstick, rolled stockings and bobbed hair, they were frankly sexual. College men copied the sexualized image of movie star Rudolph Valentino. Popular music and dance styles were also more frankly sexual. U.S. college students were mad for jazz, which the *Ladies Home Journal* condemned for its “voodoo rhythms.” In cities throughout the nation, young whites adopted (and adapted) physically expressive dances from working-class black culture, such as the shimmy and the turkey trot.

Over the course of the twentieth century, children and youth in the United States and western Europe spent more time together in age-segregated peer cultures. By the early 1940s in the United States, four out of five boys and five out of six girls attended HIGH SCHOOL. In the peer-oriented confines of high schools and colleges, young people developed elaborate social and sexual practices. DATING emerged as the new style of courtship in that era, especially in the United States, and young people “went out” on dates, thus partially escaping the supervision of parents and community. “Necking” and “petting” (which one mid-twentieth century sociologist described as “includ[ing] literally every caress known to married couples but . . . [not] complete sexual intercourse”) became expected parts of dating, one of the ways in which young people demonstrated their belonging in an emerging YOUTH CULTURE. Not all young women found such freedom: Mexican-American girls, for example, were often closely chaperoned by parents to whom these new “American” customs were unacceptable.

In the years following World War II, the average age at marriage in the United States dropped dramatically. By 1959, fully 47 percent of all brides married before they turned nineteen, and the percentage of girls between the ages of fourteen and seventeen who were married increased one-third between 1940 and 1959. TEENAGERS were having babies: 27 percent of first births were to married teenage girls in 1950; by 1965, that figure had risen to 39 percent. (In 1960, only 16 percent of births to teens were outside marriage; in 1996, 76 percent of births to teens were non-marital.) As American teens married in large numbers, their younger siblings moved toward marriage more quickly. Dating, by the late 1940s, had evolved into a system of “going steady,” monogamous and frequently intense (though usually short term) relationships that almost mimicked the marriages of the steadies’ slightly older peers. Pressure to enter the world of heterosexual dating intensified, as eleven year olds commonly went steady and thirteen year olds who were

not yet paired off might be described as developmentally slow, or “late-daters.” Not unreasonably, parents and other adults charged with monitoring the sexual behavior of youth worried that going steady increased the desire and opportunity for sexual exploration. Girls, especially, found themselves in a difficult position: “reputations” were easily lost, but necking and petting were an expected part of going steady.

The “sexual revolution” of the 1960s and 1970s brought about major changes in the sexual behaviors of young people in North America and western Europe. In France, for example, the average age at first intercourse dropped five years for women and six years for men between 1968 and 1989; by 1989, 90 percent of French teenage girls had sexual intercourse by the age of eighteen. Average age at marriage also increased sharply, so that few married during their teenage years. In the United States one trend is toward a “single standard” for sexual experience: in 1995, almost equivalent percentages of male and female high school seniors reported having had sexual intercourse (67 percent for males; 66 percent for females). Racial differences in sexual experience remained pronounced, however: in 1995, black high school students were more likely to have had sexual intercourse (73 percent) than their Hispanic (58 percent) or non-Hispanic white peers (49 percent). Teen pregnancy rates decreased 17 percent during the 1990s in the United States, but remained at least four times that of France or Japan.

Gay and lesbian youth also found greater acceptance at the end of the twentieth century, compared to the years before 1973 when homosexuality was classified as a mental illness by the American Psychiatric Association. Many schools and colleges have active lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgendered-queer organizations. However, some studies suggest that gay and lesbian teenagers are at relatively high risk for SUICIDE (representing almost 30 percent of teen suicides), and the 1998 murder of twenty-one-year-old college student Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming, is an example of the homophobic violence gay and lesbian teens may confront.

Concerns about the control and regulation of adolescent sexuality in North America and western Europe continue, despite greater acceptance of adolescent sexual experience. Abstinence campaigns have been highly visible in the United States since the 1980s Reagan administration, and conservative groups have argued for premarital chastity on moral grounds. However, concern about the spread of sexually transmitted disease, high rates of unintentional pregnancy, and the social and economic costs of unwed teenage parenthood also motivates debates among governmental agencies, scholars, parents, and social critics.

The liberalizing trajectory of change in North American and western Europe should not obscure the continuing differences among cultures. Arranged marriages remain com-

mon in India, and to a lesser extent in Japan. In Nepal, 7 percent of girls are married before the age of ten, and 40 percent by the age of fifteen. Premarital sex and homosexuality are strictly outlawed by Islamic law. In 2000, a teenage girl in Nigeria was sentenced to 180 lashes for having premarital sex (one hundred lashes were administered); and into the 1990s in Turkey, young women were legally subject to forcible “virginity control” exams. The average age at first sexual intercourse for boys in Jamaica is 12.7, while fewer than 12 percent of female Chinese college students surveyed in 1990 admitted that they had had sexual intercourse. Such differences, often embedded in strong religious or cultural traditions, pose both practical and philosophical difficulties for child advocacy and human rights groups who seek to improve the conditions for young people worldwide.

In the early twenty-first century, the belief that children deserve protection from adult sexuality, and from sexual exploitation and violence, is widespread if not universal. Article 34 of the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD calls upon all nations to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse. In a globalizing world, social definitions of childhood have become more homogenous, as has the experience of youth. However, enormous variety remains in the sexual experiences of youth, and in understandings of the proper relationship between children and youth and sexuality.

See also: **Child Abuse; Female Genital Mutilation; Gendering; Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation; Infant Sexuality; Pedophilia; Teen Pregnancy; Theories of Childhood.**

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BETH BAILEY

Sexual Orientation. See Homosexuality and Sexual Orientation.

Shame. See Guilt and Shame.

Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act

The Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, signed by President Warren G. Harding on November 23, 1921, was the first federal social welfare program created explicitly for women and children. It was a bridge between pre-World War I Progressive reform, especially that which organized women's groups championed, and postwar welfare ideas, as expressed by the "welfare capitalism" of the 1920s, and in later social programs, such as the New Deal. It was also the first major political dividend of the recent success of the woman suffrage movement. Women's organizations protected it as long as they could.

The U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, founded in 1912, conducted major studies that showed that the United States had very high rates of infant and maternal mortality. In 1918 the United States was eleventh in INFANT MORTALITY, and seventeenth in maternal deaths, among industrialized nations. Eighty percent of all pregnant women received no prenatal advice or trained care. Bureau researchers also discovered that poverty and death were closely related. Bureau chief Julia Lathrop championed maternal and infant protection, and, in altered form, Democratic Senator Morris Sheppard

of Texas and Republican Congressman Horace Towner of Iowa reintroduced her bill in the sixty-sixth Congress. In the 1920 elections, with full suffrage for women, the National League of Women Voters pressured the Democratic, Socialist, Prohibition, and Farmer-Labor parties to endorse the measure in their platforms; only the Republican Party's platform ignored it, although its presidential candidate, Warren G. Harding, endorsed the bill. It passed the U.S. Senate by a 63–7 margin in July, and the House, after considerable GOP foot dragging and scattered cries of a Communist conspiracy, by a 279–39 margin. Major opponents were the American Medical Association, such antisuffragist organizations as the Woman Patriots, and politicians in either major party resentful of woman suffrage and of feminism.

In a decade in which the United States Bureau of Public Roads spent two billion dollars a year on highways, the Sheppard-Towner Act hardly seemed extravagant. It authorized \$1,480,000 for fiscal 1921–1922 and \$1,240,000 for the next five years, ending June 30, 1927. Of these sums, \$5000 went to each state without exception, and double that amount went to states offering matching funds. The Children's Bureau distributed the remainder according to population. Administrative expenses were limited. Participating states enacted enabling legislation and implementation plans. The law provided for maternal and infant hygienic information through nurses, centers, conferences, and mass pamphlets. Forty-one states joined in 1922. Only three never did. In 1929 Congressional opponents torpedoed the bill, and President Hoover let it lapse with wan endorsements.

Between 1922 and 1929, the Children's Bureau conducted 183,252 conferences, established 2,978 prenatal care units, visiting nurses made 3,131,996 home visits, and 22,020,489 pamphlets had been passed out. America's infant and maternal death rates fell by 16 percent and 12 percent, respectively, but these were still twice what New Zealand and Great Britain experienced in the same years.

See also: **Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC); Social Welfare.**

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

Shyness

Attitudes toward children's shyness have varied over time. These changes frequently reflect cultural shifts in child-rearing goals, interpersonal relationships, or perspectives on femininity and masculinity. In the United States, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the early part of the

twentieth century, shyness was regarded as an ideal characteristic for white middle- and upper-class girls, one that ultimately protected their chastity and limited their participation in the public sphere. Domestic fiction written for these girls celebrated the virtues of silence and meekness, while pundits warned them against displays of wit or learning. Some girls seem to have taken these lessons to heart, for a number of foreign visitors complained that it was nearly impossible to engage them in conversation; however, other travelers' disparaging remarks about American girls' decidedly unfeminine self-confidence and outspokenness suggest that not all girls embraced the shy ideal.

White middle- and upper-class boys had a different relationship to shyness. While some degree of timidity may have been acceptable in the home, shyness was a liability among other boys. Nineteenth-century boy culture valued boldness, self-assertion, aggression, and conflict, all qualities at odds with shyness. In his interactions with his peers, a boy engaged in games, dares, and pastimes that left little room for fear of others, and instead taught him to impose his will on other boys.

Adults did not display a great deal of concern about boys' shyness until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when fears about the feminization of American society focused attention on the apparent lack of manhood among white middle- and upper-class boys. A new term, *sissy*, was created to label insufficiently manly boys and men, and shyness and timidity were identified as two of his prominent characteristics. To reclaim their masculinity, shy, retiring boys were urged to fight with other boys, join all-male organizations like the BOY SCOUTS, or toughen up their bodies at the YMCA.

Changing Attitudes

By the 1920s, shyness was no longer a valued quality for white middle- and upper-class girls, either. In his influential study *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928), psychologist JOHN B. WATSON argued that the ideal child—girl or boy—was free of shyness and able to meet and play with other children easily and openly. This change in attitude toward girls' shyness was due, in part, to the newly emerging culture of personality. Spurred by a growth in leisure activities and consumerism, the previous century's culture of character, with its emphasis on adult self-control, self-sacrifice, and discipline, was replaced by a culture of personality, the key ingredients of which were the ability to appeal to others and to be noticed for one's appearance, poise, charm, and manners. Personality formation became a new goal of child rearing, and a good personality for white middle- and upper-class girls and boys was considered by child-rearing experts to be one devoid of shyness. By the late 1940s, parents were largely in agreement with experts: interviews revealed that parents considered shyness in all of its shadings, including self-effacement, quietness, and insufficient gregariousness, to be an undesirable personality trait in boys and girls.

In the 1950s, child-rearing professionals writing for a white, middle-class audience continued to sound the alarm about shyness. They warned of dire consequences if children's shyness was left unchecked, including school failure, alcoholism, institutionalization, and suicide. Despite this inflammatory rhetoric, parents were given relatively little advice regarding what to do about their children's shyness. At most, mothers (as the assumed primary caregivers) were counseled to encourage greater independence on the part of their shy children and to provide opportunities for them to be with other children. The rest was up to the child—she or he had to learn to face the fear of other children and to get along with them. Getting along well with other children was particularly important during the 1950s, a period in which sociologist David Riesman characterized Americans as increasingly other directed, that is, concerned with securing others' approval and liking. Shy children risked being rejected by their peer group as too submissive; the ideal personality struck a balance between reserve and sociability.

The 1970s saw the introduction of several new ideas about children's shyness, as well as a slight softening of tone regarding the implications of shyness for white middle-class boys and girls. A number of authors of child-rearing manuals argued that shyness was a phase that many young boys and girls went through, related to anxiety over the new and unfamiliar. As a temporary phase of a child's development, parents had much less to fear from shyness. The experts did not mean, however, that parents could ignore it completely: child-rearing experts continued to offer advice to parents on how to help shy children overcome what they still regarded as a decided interpersonal disadvantage. This advice was more complex than it had been in the 1950s, introducing ideas from behavioral psychology like positive reinforcement and systematic desensitization. Rather than simply provide playmates for their shy children, parents were now required to take a more proactive role in managing their children's shyness.

An Inherited Handicap

Beginning in the mid-1980s and continuing into the mid-1990s, many child-rearing professionals began to argue that shyness, previously considered a learned condition, was, in fact, an inherited trait. Some responded to this new perspective on shyness by emphasizing previously unreported positive aspects of shyness—such as good listening skills and empathy—and encouraging parents to simply accept shy children as they were. Most, however, argued that despite the inborn nature of shyness, shy children could be taught to be more outgoing. The key to this training was for parents not to push shy children to change too quickly, and above all, never to label them as shy, for to do so would encourage the child to accept the label, and all it implied, as fact. This aversion to the shy label suggested that, despite the experts' general tone of acceptance toward what was now, after all, assumed to be a characteristic, like eye color, inherited from

one's parents, children's shyness remained highly stigmatized, a handicap to be overcome with patient effort on the parents' and child's part.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Emotional Life; Gendering; Parenting.**

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Siblings

In Western society, relationships among siblings usually comprise the longest relationships experienced by individuals across the life span. An ascribed as opposed to a voluntary status, siblingship is conferred either by birth or by law (as in the case of step- or adopted siblings). Factors that structure the sibling experience include family size, BIRTH ORDER, and age spacing, as well as class, ethnic and cultural traditions, as well as special circumstances. For example, variations in Native American kinship and lineage systems and the separation of African-American families under SLAVERY influenced the character of sibling relationships. Twinship, which occupies a special place in all known societies, also determines the nature of sibling relationships. With twins or MULTIPLE BIRTHS, the differentiation of siblings by age is blurred, and individual autonomy may be reduced by the social identification of the children as one unit.

Gender shapes individuals' family experiences across cultures too, but it does not necessarily represent the dominant influence in sibling relationships, which are often relatively egalitarian rather than hierarchical. While power or status differences may exist, these are not necessarily defined by gender. In childhood, siblings typically experience intimate



The Artist's Daughters Chasing a Butterfly (c. 1756), Thomas Gainsborough. Evidence suggests that in the eighteenth century, sibling relationships became closer and less competitive than they had been in previous ages. Brothers and sisters came to rely on each other for emotional support and companionship throughout their lives. © National Gallery Collection; By kind permission of the trustees of the National Gallery, London/CORBIS.

daily contact. This changes in adulthood, but a growing body of evidence indicates that their relationships endure over time and distance, and that sibling influence continues to old age. Various studies of sibling interactions in western, industrialized societies in the second half of the twentieth

century suggest that these relationships are powerful and significant, whether they are characterized by harmony or by tension. Cross-cultural data from other societies document the universal importance of sibling relationships in human lives.

Social scientific research has yielded a range of insights about the nature and significance of sibling ties since the middle of the twentieth century, but relatively few scholars have examined this aspect of family life systematically from a social historical perspective. Some of the earliest discussions of sibling themes in Western culture appear in the Old Testament and in classical mythology. These suggest an early cultural recognition of the significance of sibling relationships and of the inherent potential for both harmony and conflict. As with other aspects of the history of childhood, it is difficult to document children's direct experiences of sibling interactions. Moreover the available evidence reflects an almost exclusively elite or middle-class perspective. Some historians suggest that in the context of high child mortality rates, premodern children learned not to invest emotionally in relationships with siblings, but very little direct evidence exists about this aspect of childhood prior to the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-Century Siblings

Traditional INHERITANCE practices and marriage customs appear to have fostered sibling rivalry and conflict in early modern Western society. Primogeniture and the reliance on birth order as the principal criterion for permitting daughters to marry discouraged closeness and generated sibling competition based on gender and age. Although historians are just beginning to examine this area, some research suggests that the decline of these practices in eighteenth-century America, and eventually across the Atlantic, shaped a new climate of cooperation and relative equality in which sisters and brothers played central roles in one another's emotional and social lives throughout the life span.

For example, Lorri Glover argues that siblings in eighteenth-century elite families in South Carolina exercised profound influence over one another. Their relationships differed significantly from the hierarchical relationships in both the patriarchal household and the larger social order of colonial America. During the early colonial period, when high mortality rates and migration patterns frequently disrupted relationships between parents and children in South Carolina, siblings often turned to each other as the most reliable and enduring elements of the family. As demographic instability diminished, the utilitarian relationships gave way to more egalitarian ties based in mutuality. In large families, children saw themselves as close companions; they often knew one another better than they knew their parents. Over the course of the eighteenth century, sisters and brothers grew increasingly interdependent, providing vital practical and emotional support from childhood to old age.

Certainly siblings in South Carolina, and in other regions as well, experienced conflict and discord, but such problems stemmed less from any rivalry based on birth order or gender than from other factors. For example, age gaps sometimes created sibling relationships that resembled those of parents

and children rather than those of peers. As in contemporary society, differences in education, life stage, or personality, along with the intrinsic complexity of interactions in blended families, could also create difficulties. Generally, however, eighteenth-century culture and society supported the development of strong and lasting sibling ties. Sisters and brothers constructed relationships that bypassed many, although not all, of the patriarchal norms that governed eighteenth-century households. As children and as adults, women deferred to fathers and husbands, but they related to brothers as equals and partners in family life.

While the bonds between sisters and brothers challenged the prevailing gender norms, those between sisters anchored eighteenth-century female culture, and often represented the central relationships in women's lives. Adult women were frequently called upon to care for or educate younger sisters. Sisters close in age cherished lifelong intimacy as "best" friends, and young women found separation from a beloved sister painful and distressing, even when such separation resulted from ostensibly happy events such as courtship and marriage.

Nineteenth-Century Siblings

Nineteenth-century sibling relationships in middle-class families reflect the influence of a family culture that stressed the spiritual nature of LOVE; the importance of loving relationships in family life, particularly between mothers and children; and the importance of harmony, cooperation, and affection between siblings. Middle-class Victorian parents emphasized family continuity; they urged children to be loyal to their siblings and to look after younger sisters and brothers in the event of parental death. Thus, although the economic fortunes of individuals were no longer directly linked to their sibling status, the psychological importance of sibling unity increased. In this context, middle-class childhood experience often involved deep love for siblings. JEALOUSY certainly existed, but neither parents nor child-rearing literature described it or defined it as an issue of concern until the end of the century.

Intimate, lifelong relationships with sisters continued to play major roles in the lives of individual women, and in the nineteenth-century female world more generally. Young women frequently experienced severe emotional anguish when courtship and marriage displaced sibling bonds. Like their eighteenth-century counterparts, older children often took charge of younger siblings, and older sisters became surrogate mothers to younger sisters or stepsisters. In families where children received most of their early education at home, siblings served as the primary intellectual and emotional outlets for one another.

The prescriptive literature of this period portrayed the tie between sisters and brothers as a model of pure, Christian love between men and women. However, the brother-sister relationship provided more than a cultural ideal. As the first

peer relationship with the opposite sex for most children, it offered a natural and comfortable context in which boys and girls socialized more easily than they did at school. In this sense, sibling relationships bridged the gap between the nineteenth-century male and female worlds. Parents communicated specific expectations for these interactions: young boys were required to protect and defend their sisters; young girls were required to perform household services for their brothers. These obligations fostered reciprocity and closeness, but they also promoted inequality and gender separation. Nevertheless, issues of power did not preclude genuine love and affection, and like their predecessors, nineteenth-century sisters and brothers played significant roles for each other throughout their lives.

For enslaved AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN, separation from siblings often precluded the sort of intimacy experienced by their white peers. Nevertheless evidence of affective ties between slave and former slave adult siblings can be discerned, as in the frequent practice of naming a child for a parent's sibling who had been sold away from his or her family.

Twentieth-Century Siblings

The turn of the twentieth century ushered in a new period in the history of sibling relationships. Although the birthrate in America had been declining since the first decade of the nineteenth century, small sibling sets of two or three only became common in the middle class around 1890, while rural and working class families tended to remain larger. Smaller family size, along with the Victorian emphasis on maternal-child love, fostered an increase in the intensity of middle-class mothering. In this context, children competed for maternal affection and the arrival of a new baby was much more disruptive than in earlier middle-class families. Moreover, extended high school experiences for twentieth-century adolescents and closer child spacing meant that older siblings had fewer opportunities for involvement in child rearing. These conditions fostered an increase in sibling rivalry and jealousy.

Parents and child-rearing manuals now defined sibling rivalry as a serious issue. It was portrayed as an inevitable occurrence, a threat to children's safety, and an experience that could lead to problems in adulthood. In the past, sibling jealousy over inheritance or marriage prerogatives had created tension between young adults, but now such rivalry was identified with young children. Although adult concern over this issue exaggerated the dimensions of the problem, twentieth-century family conditions did encourage an increase in sibling rivalry.

Family culture from the 1920s through the 1980s discussed sibling relationships more in terms of peaceful coexistence than deep love. Less emphasis on sharing and more emphasis on separate rooms and separate toys fostered a sense of separateness that extended to adulthood. Starting in

the 1960s as more mothers began to work outside the home and children spent time with babysitters, day care providers, and even fathers, intense cultural anxiety over sibling rivalry declined. The growing influence of peer culture at a younger age and more involvement with age peers provided an antidote to sibling jealousy. As the birthrate continued to decline, more single-child families and more space between children also helped to mitigate the problem. Furthermore, by the 1950s it was no longer common for children to assist in caring for younger siblings. Yet new conditions—more blended families and half-siblings, for example—could be conducive to sibling rivalry.

The sense of change in sibling experiences is clear, but some continuities link the twentieth century with earlier periods. Thus, for example, research in the 1950s revealed that adults who grew up in families of six or more children remembered a self-sufficient childhood world of play, a group spirit, and older siblings who disciplined their younger brothers and sisters. These respondents consistently referred to the importance of siblings in adolescence and reported closeness throughout adulthood. They mentioned rivalry less frequently than subjects from small families.

See also: **Emotional Life; Family Patterns.**

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SIDS. *See* Sudden Infant Death Syndrome.

Slavery, United States

The enslaved population in the United States increased significantly from the initial arrival in 1619 of twenty Africans until 1808, when the transatlantic slave trade was legally ended in the United States. For nearly two hundred years the direct importation of Africans fueled the slave population's growth; however, once the direct trade ended reproduction accounted for the continued increase. As a result, in 1860 there were 3,953,760 slaves in the United States. By December 1865, when Congress ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the numbers had escalated to more than four million. More than one-half of the slaves emancipated were under twenty years of age.

Published and unpublished accounts by young Middle Passage survivors often mention their childhood prior to being kidnapped. One child remembered her chores, primarily guarding poultry from hawks. Others wrote about playing with peers when traders raided their villages and captured them. They protested, but it was of no consequence for the traders who hurried the children along to the seacoast where they boarded ships that transported them across the Atlantic to the New World.

Their accounts of the capture, overland trek from the interior to the coast, and voyage from AFRICA to America via the Middle Passage is akin to one rendered by Olaudah Equiano. He was eleven years old in 1756 when kidnappers stole him and his sister from their village in Nigeria. The girl's fate remains unknown, but the intruders sold the boy to overseas traders. They were unable to sell him to sugar planters in Barbados, who perhaps believed he was too young to perform arduous work in the cane fields, so the traders carried the child to Virginia, where a tobacco planter bought him. Olaudah Equiano and Florence Hall were among the more than eleven million Africans of all ages spirited away from their homeland between 1518 and 1850 and brought to the Americas, where they toiled as agricultural laborers, skilled mechanics, miners, or domestic servants. Less than 10 percent of the Africans reached continental North America where their initial legal status was uncertain.

Some Africans in the British colonies of North America were indentured for a specified period, usually four to seven years of service. As a result, the possibilities of gaining freedom were greater than would be the case years later. Between 1630 and 1660, perpetual servitude for blacks became an accepted practice, and the law soon followed suit. In 1662 the Virginia Assembly passed an act declaring that all children born in the colony were "bond or free only according to the condition of the mother." Whether in Virginia or elsewhere in English-speaking North America, free women

bore free children; however, the mulatto offspring of unmarried white women were considered black and subjected to bound apprenticeships until adulthood. Afterwards, they were indeed free. By contrast, the legislation relegated the children of enslaved women, regardless of color, to a life of bondage for generations to come. Among the perpetually bound were "quasi-slaves," people who lived, worked, and behaved as if they were emancipated. "We were free," declared the biracial Cornelia Smith, who came of age in the home of her grandfather, a North Carolina planter, while her mother and half-brother lived across the yard in the slave quarters. "We were just born in slavery, that's all," she explained (Murray, p. 49). For a variety of reasons, Smith, along with an untold number of other slaves in similar circumstances, enjoyed a form of liberty and suffered little or no interference from owners. Only legal documents made them chattel.

Enslaved parents often linked their offspring to kinship circles by NAMING them in honor of real and fictive kin. More often than not girls received a grandmother's name, while a firstborn son frequently carried his father's name. Traditional African day-names, which named children based on the day of their birth, are present in early records, but disappear in the nineteenth century as a reflection of the actual birth day. Instead, day-names became kin names passed from one generation to another as signs of respect for cherished members of immediate and extended families.

If slave children survived long enough to receive a name, the most critical period of their existence followed, when health challenges snuffed out the lives of children up to four years of age at rates more than double that of white children in the major slaveholding states. Aside from nutritional deficiencies, complications from teething and illness from lock-jaw and tetanus were among the life-threatening maladies that endangered slave children. Records of slaveholders include "suffocation" as a cause of death, but contemporary scholars believe SUDDEN INFANT DEATH SYNDROME (SIDS) was responsible, contradicting earlier theories of exhausted mothers accidentally smothering the children who slept alongside of them.

Both parents and planters lamented the deaths of enslaved children, for they were valuable. Parents were vested in their welfare for sentimental reasons, but their owners' investments were economic. Healthy children represented capital assets while sickly ones signaled forbidding pecuniary losses. As a result, it was not unusual for owners to worry about their youthful chattel, especially after the closing of the overseas slave trade in 1808. Comments from slave-owners reflect their concern as those made by Andrew Flinn who wrote, "The children must be particularly attended to for rearing them is not only a duty, but also the most profitable part of plantation business" (Kiple and King, p. 96). In Thomas Jefferson's opinion, "a child raised every 2 years is

of more profit than the crop of the best laboring man” (Cohen, p. 518). Enslaved children were worth little economically at birth but increased in value as they matured enough to enter the work place, where they were subjected to arduous labor and arbitrary power.

There was no set age or season at which slave children began work in fields, homes, or shops, since the needs of owners determined when and where the youngsters worked and what chores they performed. According to Frederick Douglass, who spent his formative years on a Maryland plantation, slaves toiled in all weather. “It was never too hot, or too cold; it could never rain, blow, snow, or hail too hard for us to work in the field” (Douglass, p. 124). Whether laboring inside or outside girls and boys who were too young to assume full work responsibilities assisted adults and performed simple chores. They carried water, swept yards, churned milk, gathered kindling, chased birds away from crops, and attended to children younger than themselves.

Thomas Jefferson gave specific orders for “children till 10 years old to serve as nurses,” meaning child care providers, without gender distinction. “From 10 to 16,” wrote Jefferson, “the boys [were to] make nails, the girls spin” (quoted in Betts, p. 7). According to gender conventions only boys learned the trades of coopers, cobblers, wrights, smiths, and other artisans, while girls were relegated to skills concerned with domesticity. Differences in opportunities meant selected boys had more chances of earning extra money to purchase necessities, luxuries, or freedom than girls. Such gender distinctions in the work place were common, but some owners ignored them. One former slave told Works Progress Administration interviewers in the 1930s that she “split rails like a man,” and another reported that her “Mama plowed wid three horses.” She asked, “Ain’t dat somp’n?” and appeared more intrigued by the number of draft animals used than by the fact that her mother “worked like a man.” The ex-slave commented, “Thought women was ‘sposed to work’ long wid men, I did” (Perdue et al., p. 292). Indeed, many enslaved males and females worked together and shared a mean sort of equality. Both were exploited.

Although Frederick Douglass said “Work, work, work, was scarcely more the order of the day than of the night” (p. 124), and Booker T. Washington claimed he had no recreation, enslaved children had some leisure time and participated in ring, rope, and ball games. Furthermore, there were opportunities for play that reflected events in everyday life, and spontaneous play after work, on Sundays and holidays, or after the lay-by and harvest. Slaves did not spend all of their leisure in play, however, since some managed to carve out enough time for sacred and secular lessons to restore the mind and spirit. It was also on their own time that children learned life lessons from folktales and stories told by their elders at nightfall. But no amount of leisure was sufficient to shield the children from the abuses associated with bondage,

including arduous labor, corporal punishment, sexual exploitation, and family separations. There was little if any direct action children could take that would change their situations unless slavery was abolished. Until that time, parents and others taught children how to work satisfactorily, handle injustices, and pay deference to whites while maintaining their self-respect. This was vital to their well-being. As the children matured and had children of their own, they passed the lessons from one generation to another to ensure that they all survived.

See also: **African-American Children and Youth; Work and Poverty.**

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WILMA KING

Sleep

Sleep is a difficult topic to grapple with historically, and at present the most interesting historical episode involves rela-

tively recent change. Child-rearing manuals in nineteenth-century America did not deal with sleep as a problem, despite or perhaps because of extensive health advice in other categories. Surely, individual parents faced children with unusual sleep difficulties, but a sense of a larger category of issues did not emerge. Snippets of advice, for example in American women's magazines, suggested that relatively short periods of formal sleep were required of children—six to eight hours were often mentioned, which confirms the impression that sleep was not viewed as a source of problems.

Analyzing a lack of concern is a challenging task historically. Several factors help explain why nineteenth-century adults (and probably their counterparts in earlier periods as well) did not pay much attention to children's sleep in general. First, naps were common, for many adults as well as children. Historians have noted how adult sleep patterns before modern times were less rigidly defined than they are now, and children's sleep benefited from a similarly relaxed definition. Where sleep was an issue, for individual children, many parents undoubtedly used opiates or alcohol to help. The absence of much artificial light reduced nighttime stimulation and facilitated getting children off to bed.

Concern about adult sleep began to increase toward the end of the nineteenth century, as part of the attack on stress disorders such as the then-popular disease, neurasthenia, and the general tensions seen in modern life. Growing use of electric lights and the popularization of caffeine drinks added to the emergence of sleep as a problem. Some discussions began to spill over into the treatment of children, but it was not until the 1920s that child-rearing manuals picked up the question of children's sleep as a standard topic. From that point onward, sections of all the major manuals, plus publications like *PARENTS MAGAZINE*, were devoted to sleep. Pediatricians also dispensed sleep advice, and doctors took the lead in recommending increasing amounts of sleep, from infancy onward. Getting children to bed became a major daily ritual for parents and children alike, a regular opportunity for contests between freedom and authority. For their part, child experts, headed by the behaviorists, urged that set bedtimes were a vital part of the socialization of children, as well as the protection for their health. New rituals such as daily bathing, story reading, mass-produced toys like the new *TEDDY BEARS*, or night lights were variously employed.

Why did sleep standards escalate, and why did sleep become a more significant issue? Experts were clearly eager to promote a variety of problems to which they had solutions, and the inclusion of sleep obviously qualified as yet another area where well-meaning parents needed outside help. Growing psychological interest in dreams, and research on the troubled dreams of children, provided an additional scientific basis for sleep concerns. New distractions, such as the radio, plus the noise of modern urban life may have made sleep, in fact, more difficult to achieve than before. School-

ing requirements reduced the opportunity for naps except for the very young. Most children, like most adults, now had to be taught to sleep intensively for a period of time, rather than indulging more on the spur of the moment.

It was also true that children's sleep arrangements had been changing in the United States, from the late nineteenth century onward. Babies were increasingly placed in cribs at a fairly young age, rather than rocked in cradles as their parents worked or relaxed. Learning to sleep alone was an important modern discipline, and cribs allowed parents to put infants in a separate space. As adults had new recreations in the evening, they looked for ways to free themselves from on-the-spot care of sleeping children. Older children graduated from cribs to beds and were not as likely to sleep with other siblings. Birth rate reductions meant that there were fewer siblings, and experts urged that children were better off with their own, separate rooms. These specific changes in sleeping arrangements, aimed at a new level of individuation, may well have created the kinds of new sleep problems to which the child-rearing literature responded.

Specific recommendations about getting children to sleep oscillated during the twentieth century. The strict regimen of the behaviorist approach in the 1920s was modified in the mid-twentieth century by more permissive experts such as DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK. But adult concern about children's sleep persisted at a fairly high level. Many children who learned of sleep as a problem in their own early years may have been encouraged to worry about sleep in new ways even as they grew to adulthood. The implications of the twentieth-century change in approach to children's sleep, at least in the United States, remain a fascinating area of study.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Children's Spaces.**

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PETER N. STEARNS

Smallpox. *See* Contagious Diseases; Epidemics; Vaccination.

Smith, Jessie Willcox (1863–1935)

During her lifetime, illustrator Jessie Willcox Smith's representations of children made her one of the best-known artists

in the United States. From 1917 until 1933, Smith provided the cover illustration for every issue of *Good Housekeeping* magazine. She was known to her friends as “The Mint” because of the huge sums she commanded in the flourishing field of commercial illustration. Smith’s original oil paintings and sketches were also widely exhibited.

Smith was born in Philadelphia in 1863 and did not take up art until she was in her twenties. She had originally trained as a KINDERGARTEN teacher, but in 1885 she enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. After graduation, Smith went to work in the production department of the *Ladies Home Journal*, making advertising illustrations. In 1894, when the illustrator Howard Pyle began teaching at the Drexel Institute, Smith enrolled in his course. It was here that Smith met her lifelong friends and collaborators Elizabeth Shippen Green and Violet Oakley. These three women would live and work together for the next fifteen years. Collectively, they became known as the Ladies of the Red Rose.

Smith, Green, and Oakley were encouraged to produce scenes of childhood and maternity, which appealed to the increasingly powerful female consumer. Smith, in particular, was influenced by the tradition of the English illustrator KATE GREENAWAY, who depicted innocent children in nostalgic settings. Smith’s first real success came with the publication of the *Book of the Child* (1903), which was a compilation of calendar illustrations by Smith and Elizabeth Shippen Green. That same year, Smith was selected to illustrate Robert Lewis Stevenson’s *A Child’s Garden of Verses* (1905). Smith produced more than seven hundred illustrations during her career, and illustrated about sixty books. The most famous is *The Jessie Willcox Smith Mother Goose*, first published in 1914 and still in print in the early twenty-first century. Smith’s favorite works were her illustrations for Charles Kingsley’s *The Water Babies* (1916), which confirmed Smith’s vision of childhood as a time of magic and fantasy.

See also: **Gutmann, Bessie Pease; Images of Childhood; Victorian Art.**

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A. CASSANDRA ALBINSON

Smoking

Tobacco use and cultivation originated in South America and spread northward through the Americas, reaching the

upper Mississippi Valley by 160 C.E. An important part of the Columbian exchange, tobacco took root in western Europe in the late sixteenth century, and then in Africa and the Asian mainland in the seventeenth century. Though Europeans first regarded tobacco as a medicinal herb, they discovered that the real demand was of a recreational nature. By the mid-1600s tobacco had joined alcohol and caffeine as one of the world’s three great social DRUGS and had become an important source of revenue for colonial planters, merchants, and tax collectors.

Early Modern and Modern Tobacco Use

Early modern tobacco rituals varied by geography, class, and local custom. Some users preferred pipes, others chewing tobacco, others snuff. Though governments imposed different regulations and levels of taxation, a few generalizations hold across nations and cultures. Men used tobacco more often than women. Tobacco use typically began in childhood or ADOLESCENCE. The more abundant the local supply, the larger the crop of neophytes and the sooner they started. Children as young as seven smoked in Britain’s Chesapeake colonies, where tobacco pipes were nearly as ubiquitous as tobacco plants.

Tobacco initiation was a social process. It signified coming of age, that a boy was taking on the attributes of a man. Tobacco enhanced standing among male peers. It provided an occasion for relaxation and conviviality. Only later, as tobacco users became dependent on nicotine and suffered withdrawal symptoms in its absence, did the motive for consuming tobacco change. This reversal of effects is the single most consistent pattern running through the history of smoking. Children and adolescents began smoking for social reasons. They continued to smoke, often after they wished they could quit, because they had become addicted.

Knowing that youthful indulgence in tobacco led to a lifelong habit, and knowing that the habit was dirty, dangerous, and unhealthful, many parents, especially those of middle-class standing or pious temperament, discouraged children from using tobacco. Girls’ use was considered particularly unseemly, though boys courted a whipping as well. The writer Samuel Clemens (1835–1910), better known as MARK TWAIN, admitted to smoking at age nine—privately at first, then in public only after his father died two years later. To acquire a supply, he and his friends traded old newspapers to the local tobacconist for cheap cigars.

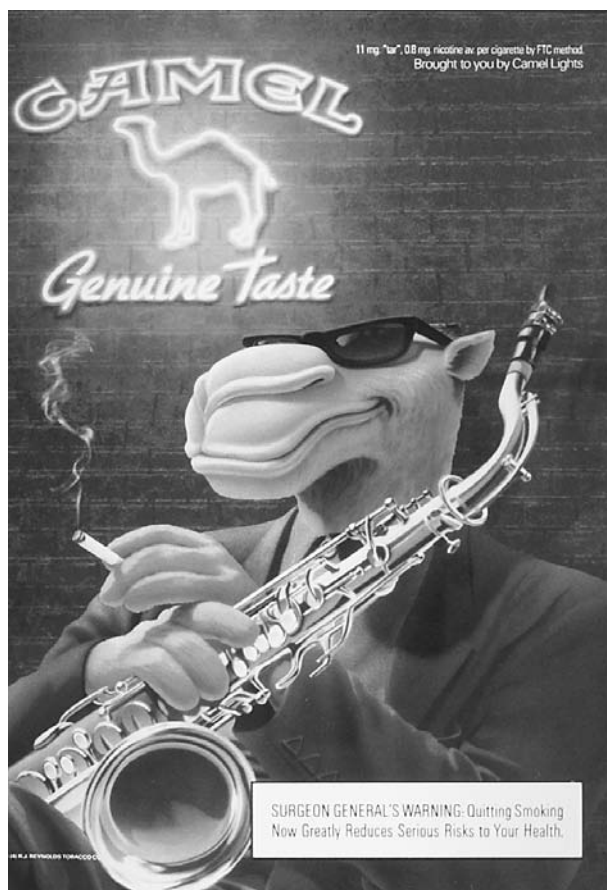
That Clemens smoked, rather than chewed or sniffed, tobacco symbolized a broader nineteenth-century trend. Oral use remained popular in a few places, such as Iceland or Sweden, but elsewhere children’s initiation into tobacco use increasingly meant initiation into smoking. Cigarette smoking was especially dangerous and addictive, because smoke could be inhaled into the lungs, where it delivered a powerful dose of nicotine directly to the bloodstream. At first store-bought cigarettes, hand-rolled specialty products aimed at the car-

riage trade, were too expensive for most children to afford. Then, in the 1880s, James B. Duke (1856–1925) transformed the industry with machine-production techniques. Prices dropped and use expanded. The United States, where per capita cigarette consumption increased tenfold between 1900 and 1917, was the epicenter of the first global cigarette revolution.

City boys were among the most avid consumers of Duke's products, and their insouciant smoking proved a powerful affront to bourgeois morality. Evangelical and progressive reformers attacked cigarettes on moral and health grounds, blaming "the little white slaver" for ruining children's health, encouraging intemperance, and poisoning the race. But such legislative barriers as they managed to erect (fifteen states outlawed some aspect of cigarette manufacture, distribution, or promotion) were soon swept aside. Widespread military use during World War I, Hollywood valorization, and mass advertising, including a successful campaign to recruit female smokers—the fastest growing segment of the market during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s—all helped legitimate cigarettes. Smoking's ordinariness became its best defense. Laws banning sale to minors persisted, though vending machines and mothers' purses provided easy means of circumvention. Youthful smoking became unremarkable, even de rigueur. Those who didn't smoke, the writer John Updike remembered, got nowhere in the Pennsylvania high-school society of the late 1940s. Updike's Irish contemporary and fellow writer Frank McCourt recalled his friends asking him, incredulously, how he could possibly go out with girls if he didn't smoke.

The accumulation of evidence that smoking caused cancer and other deadly diseases, which reached a critical mass in the early 1950s, threatened the prosperity of cigarette companies. They tried to defuse the crisis through public relations, suggesting that the jury was still out on the health question. This was, at best, a delaying tactic. The growing medical data eventually led to declining adult domestic consumption, heavier taxation, and increased regulation—the broad pattern in Western societies during the last third of the twentieth century.

Confronted with decreasing demand in North America and Europe, multinational companies like Philip Morris and British-American Tobacco adopted a two-pronged strategy. First, they recruited teenage smokers to replace the adults who died or quit, using advertising to suggest that smokers were independent, sexually potent, and disdainful of authority—in a word, cool. A social fact, that cigarettes served as accessories of teenage identity (and, for girls, of thinness), became a means of recruiting those who would ultimately come to depend on cigarettes as nicotine-delivery vehicles. Where advertisements were banned, companies devised alternative promotions, such as colorful logo tee shirts, or company-sponsored sporting events aimed at getting brand names and package colors before a youthful audience.



In 1997, the Federal Trade Commission charged R. J. Reynolds with unfair practice, stating that the company was using its Joe Camel ads to market cigarettes directly to children. The Advertising Archive Ltd.

Smoking in the Developing World

Overseas expansion was the second means of acquiring new customers. In the 1970s, cigarette companies began to move more aggressively into developing nations. By the decade's end, smoking was up 33 percent in Africa, 24 percent in Latin American, and 23 percent in Asia. By 2001, of the approximately 1.1 billion people who smoked worldwide, 80 percent lived in the developing world. As in the industrialized nations, these smokers had started young. Most were male, although in a few cultures, such as the Maori—relative newcomers to cigarettes—women outnumbered men among smokers under the age of twenty-four. In China, where smoking remained a largely male pastime, advertisers targeted young women, hoping to enlarge the market, just as their predecessors had in the United States after World War I.

Western cigarettes also displaced traditional means of tobacco consumption. During the 1970s, Bangladeshi smokers put aside their *bookabs* and *bidis* (cheap, hand-rolled cigarettes) for manufactured brands. The change was particularly noticeable among young people, who saw cigarettes as a

way to differentiate themselves from older generations. Advertisers encouraged the impulse, pitching brands like Diplomat (Ghana) or High Society (Nigeria) that connoted worldly success and Western values. Brand consciousness developed at an early age. By century's end 29 percent of South African five-year-olds could recognize specific brands of cigarettes. In Jordan 25 percent of adolescent children aged thirteen to fifteen said company representatives had offered them free cigarettes.

The result was a growing public-health crisis. According to the World Bank, by 1996 developing nations were losing \$66 billion a year to smoking-related illnesses. Because the most serious effects of cigarettes did not begin to appear until twenty years or thirty years later, epidemiologists forecast worse to come. The World Health Organization (WHO) predicted 10 million tobacco-related deaths annually by 2030. Fully 50 percent of those in developing countries who began smoking would die of smoking-related diseases. Half again of that 50 percent would die in middle age, losing years of productive life and wasting the social resources that had been invested in their upbringing and education. In essence, tobacco companies' globalized drive for profit and survival had lured another, even larger generation into the pulmonary minefield. In 2001 alone, between 64,000 and 84,000 young people in the developing world began smoking every day.

Despite the health threat and economic consequences, governments in developing nations did little to challenge the cigarette's spread, typically imposing fewer restrictions on advertising and marketing than did their Western equivalents. As of 2001, forty nations required no warnings on cigarettes. Others permitted warnings in English, rather than the native language. Restrictions on advertising, where enacted, were often indifferently enforced. Few regulations governed the levels of tar in cigarettes, which were often higher than those sold in Western nations.

Alarm over this regulatory vacuum and the lethal, mounting consequences of smoking in developing nations has provoked an increasingly vocal public health response, a situation reminiscent of attempts to negotiate controls on the international narcotic traffic in the early twentieth century (a historical parallel that the industry's critics have not been shy about developing). Several international organizations, including the WHO, have proposed global treaties aimed at curtailing, or at least slowing, sales of cigarettes and other tobacco products. The highest profile effort has been the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), a comprehensive regulatory scheme that includes such provisions as restrictions on tobacco advertising, promotion, and sponsorship that target minors. In May 2003 the World Health Assembly adopted the FCTC; at this writing the treaty awaits ratification by member nations.

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Social Settlements

Social settlements, or settlement houses, are centers for neighborhood social services and social reform activities typically located in densely populated urban areas. During the Progressive Era (1890–1920), educated reformers established settlement houses in low-income communities with the goals of bridging the widening gap between social classes, providing essential neighborhood services, and solving pressing urban social problems. The settlement movement grew in scope and political influence until World War I. Despite waning popularity in the conservative postwar era, the social settlements themselves, and the institutions and policies they built, continue to advocate for children and families well into the twenty-first century.

The social settlement movement began with the 1884 founding of Toynbee Hall in London's East End slums by parish priest Samuel Barnett and his wife, Henrietta. Toynbee Hall established opportunities for British intellectuals to reside in and study the urban problems of London's impoverished Jewish and Irish neighborhoods. Shortly after its founding, American reformers Stanton Coit and Jane Addams went to visit Toynbee Hall. They returned with the mission of bringing the social settlement movement to the United States. Coit proceeded to establish the Neighborhood Guild in 1886 on the Lower East Side of New York City. Addams and her friend Ellen Gates Starr purchased the famed Hull-House on Chicago's West Side in 1889. The settlement movement quickly spread throughout urban centers of the country; by 1910, there were roughly four hundred social settlements nationwide.

The settlement movement was responding to an array of urban social problems stemming from massive immigration and overcrowding, unrestrained capitalism, and the severe economic depression of 1893. Social settlement residents, who were primarily wealthy, white, well-educated women, strove to fulfill a “neighborhood ideal.” They believed that their living in the heart of impoverished immigrant communities would help to solve many of the problems that plagued modern industrial cities, such as disease, alcoholism, prostitution, overcrowding, and harsh working conditions. Many settlement workers were guided by a religious call to service and a quest to fulfill their professional ambitions in an era of restricted choices for women. Settlement workers were optimistic that a blend of residence, research, and reform would offset the major social ills of the modern age.

As part of the era’s CHILD-SAVING movement, social settlement workers appealed to public sympathies by raising concerns about the care and the protection of children. Their responses to the perceived needs of immigrant children and youth ranged from direct neighborhood services to national policy reforms. A typical social settlement provided an array of direct services for young people, such as nurseries, day care, after-school clubs, creative activities, and educational programs. The settlements organized neighborhood activities that emphasized culture and socialization for immigrant youth. Some historians, such as Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn and Anthony Platt, characterize the settlements as seeking to assimilate immigrant youths; others, such as Allen Davis and William Trattner, suggest that the settlements tried to respect and preserve the traditions of immigrant cultures.

The settlement workers had great faith in the promise of fashionable social science techniques. They learned sociological methods such as survey research and carefully crafted numerous studies of urban social problems. Armed with an array of facts and information, they used their data to advocate for progressive policy reforms, such as protective labor legislation for women and children. In some cases their reform efforts led to local improvements; in others, to state and federal workplace legislation.

In addition to advocating for protective child labor legislation, settlement workers regarded public education for all children as the key to social and human progress. They orchestrated several important and long-lasting education initiatives that enriched and expanded the role of public schools in the lives of children and families. These reforms included playgrounds, kindergartens, nursery schools, and school public health and social work services. They also strove to pass compulsory education laws in several U.S. states.

Settlement workers are also well known for their work in JUVENILE COURTS and probation services. Hull-House pioneers Julia Lathrop, JANE ADDAMS, and Grace Abbott helped to establish the first juvenile court in Cook County, Illinois,

in 1899. By 1928, all but two states had institutionalized separate judicial systems to contend with cases of juvenile DELINQUENCY and dependency. Juvenile courts suspended jury trials for children, created separate facilities for incarcerated youth, and developed juvenile probation systems. Although rife with inconsistencies and flaws, the establishment of a separate justice system for children was considered great social progress compared to prior treatment of delinquency and dependency.

Several social settlement women, mainly from Chicago’s Hull-House, rose to prominent national leadership positions dealing with public policy issues concerning children and families. Florence Kelly, who resided at both Addams’s Hull-House and Lillian Wald’s Henry Street Settlement, was appointed secretary of the National Consumers’ League and organized the NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE in 1904. Kelly, along with Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott, all Hull-House residents, organized the first WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN in 1909. In 1912, President Taft appointed Lathrop as the first chief of the U.S. CHILDREN’S BUREAU. Among other major accomplishments, the Children’s Bureau played a key role in crafting sweeping national public welfare reforms for children and families such as Mothers’ Pensions and the SHEPPARD-TOWNER MATERNITY AND INFANCY ACT.

While the settlement movement unequivocally pushed a progressive children’s agenda, its legacy concerning race is less obvious. Some of the settlement leaders were involved in civil rights groups and even helped to found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). However, historians such as Lasch-Quinn argue that the settlements largely ignored the poverty and race discrimination that haunted African Americans. They did not serve African-American families, nor did they work in concert with African-American reformers, who more often than not organized separate settlement houses. Social reformers such as Janie Porter Barrett and Birdye Henrietta Haynes founded settlements that focused on direct services, “moral uplift,” and civil rights work. For African Americans, civil rights were intertwined with solving the problems of the poor.

Many current social welfare policies and services for children and youth can be traced back to the ideas and activities of the social settlements. Several settlement house buildings still exist in the form of neighborhood or family resource centers. These centers continue to provide after-school and other neighborhood activities for children, youth, and families. Moreover, the framework for the late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century U.S. child welfare system is based on the premise of “best interest of the child,” an idea that emerged from this movement. Finally, the social settlements movement left enduring notions of children as a protected class of citizens and of a public responsibility to provide chil-

dren with education, separate institutions, and the promise of quality life opportunities.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Education, United States; Law, Children and the; Social Welfare; Work and Poverty.**

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LAURA S. ABRAMS

Social Welfare

HISTORY

Hamilton Cravens

COMPARATIVE TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

Ning de Coninck-Smith
Bengt Sandin

HISTORY

Modern social welfare and social welfare institutions have undergone three distinct periods of historical development. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, in North America and in western and central Europe, reformers tinkered with a variety of social insurance schemes, mainly pensions for the aged and certain voluntary or market-based remedies. They also organized various institutions designed to care for the mentally ill, promote public health, ward off EPIDEMICS, expand public education, and improve the lot of entrepreneurs, artisans, mechanics, and the poor. These programs influenced only fractions of any nation's population. This was an age of liberal and democratic idealism, and these efforts reflected the spirit of that age. Between the 1870s and the 1920s, in the second period, the United States, together with Great Britain, Imperial Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, and France, had various social insurance schemes that

embraced some groups in their polities, thus reflecting commonly embraced notions of efficiency and hierarchy. The third phase began with the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s, especially with the United States and its broad Social Security program and with most of western and central Europe, which adopted something like an all-embracing social welfare state in the wake of World War II (1939–1945). In the 1990s and early 2000s opponents in Europe and the United States made some politically effective criticisms of the welfare state, thus suggesting that yet another phase of modern social welfare's history may be about to begin, or even that the social welfare experiment may be terminated.

Social Welfare and Nineteenth Century Liberalism

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, three nations—Great Britain, the German-speaking states that Otto von Bismarck unified under Prussian hegemony in 1871, and the United States—did the most with social welfare. These three nations had vigorous public and political histories, large middle classes, considerable industrial development, and laissez-faire market capitalism.

Great Britain. In Great Britain, the Elizabethan Poor Law since the seventeenth century had mandated that each of the kingdom's fifteen thousand parishes was responsible for maintaining the poor, leading to the creation of workhouses where the poor learned to support themselves. The law neither alleviated nor solved the problem. In the early 1800s and into the 1830s, a radical individualistic laissez-faire ideology reigned in Britain, stalling any collective or governmental efforts at regulation and reform. By the early 1830s circumstances had changed. For one thing, laissez-faire ideology now contemplated the competition of interest groups in the economy, in the context of which government could do more. And, leading from this ideological shift, the new entrepreneurs of the early Industrial Revolution wanted the realm's labor force to be mobile, following capital investment wherever it established factories, shops, and stores. Hence Parliament enacted the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The new law freed labor to move about for jobs in a rapidly industrializing economy and dramatically reduced the expense of poor relief.

A major midcentury issue was public health, which encompassed cleanliness, disease, and related issues. As more people worked in factories, health conditions often deteriorated, and voluntary or individualistic solutions were proven ineffectual. Within a few years Edwin Chadwick, who had worked for the enactment of the Poor Law Amendment, took the lead in advocating sanitary surveys in Britain's urban places of work and of residence, insisting that filth, crowding, and disease were all related and that sanitation was good business as well as humane and pleasant. In 1842 came the famous report on the sanitary condition of the working population. Filled with hard-won, reasonably accurate facts and figures, the report argued that filth, the degradation of

the population, and the potential destruction of the economy were related. Creation of a national permanent board of health was politically and ideologically infeasible, but the board of health Parliament created, with Chadwick serving as commissioner, generated much information and knowledge in its five years of operations (1848–1854). Sanitation was now an important factor in economic and political public policy, and in maintaining and advancing the population's vigor, energy, vitality, and even fecundity. It remained important into the next century, when the germ theory of disease redirected public health and sanitary science efforts.

Protection of women and children flowed from the original Poor Law as had protection and liberation of male adult workers. In 1802 the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, an outgrowth of the Crown's responsibilities under the Poor Law for all apprentices, women and children alike, forbade certain gross working conditions, such as poor sanitation, danger from machines, and night work, but only in cotton mills. Not until passage of the Factory Act of 1833 was there effective enforcement of such stipulations. The broader struggle over factory regulation was part of the larger conflict between the nation's two elites, the landowners and the manufacturers. But factory workers also organized themselves to fight for better conditions.

The Factory Act of 1833 protected only children and applied to all textile factories (except lace). But the inspectors appointed under the act were charged with noting the welfare of their charges in all senses. The movement spread to inspection and regulation of working conditions in the mines, where conditions were even worse than in the textile factories. As the reports came out, Victorian Britain was shocked at the potential for disease, accidents, and even immorality between the sexes in the coal mines, leading to the Mines and Collieries Act of 1842, which forbade the employment underground of females and of boys under age thirteen. The political momentum created by this measure helped the movement for the ten-hour day, enacted in 1847, which limited the workweek to fifty-eight hours for all females and for boys thirteen to eighteen years of age; and for another measure, passed in 1850, that stipulated specific working hours and meal times. By the 1870s Great Britain had several more laws that provided more regulations to protect industrial and domestic workers. As yet there was no legislation to prevent occupational diseases, nor was there much in the way of any schemes for social insurance for anyone. All had been accomplished as governmental regulation, meaning inspection of conditions, recommendations to Parliament for action, and precedents for forbidding the worst circumstances of work insofar as the public and its representatives were concerned. In all this, the image of the working child had great symbolic value, as writers such as Charles Dickens knew.

The German states. The German-speaking states in the nineteenth century were also developing the economy and

outlook that led to welfare state actions. It took the German states some time to recover from the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and much longer to become politically unified. Enlightened absolutism ruled these states at the eighteenth century's end, and the German physician Johann Peter Frank's (1745–1821) system of "medical police," in which inspectors of the prince or the king ferreted out unsanitary conditions believed to be unhealthy, held sway into the early nineteenth century, reinforcing legendary German cleanliness—liberal applications of hot water, soap, and lye. The new liberal Germans of the early nineteenth century, however, sought to break away from absolutism, enlightened or not, taking ENLIGHTENMENT rationalism and applying it to the marketplace, while at the same time having to put up with older forms of mercantilism and absolutism in matters of political economy.

There were certain conditions that made a social welfare state conceivable in Germany. From German feudalism came the intertwined notions that the state was obliged to promote social welfare and to exercise social control, ideas that all groups in Germany accepted according to their interests. Even liberal thinkers combined the new ideas of a state based on law with these older notions of the state. Pioneers of German social science insisted that an active state must intervene in industrial society to promote the commonweal. The higher civil service and the professions supported the new liberalism, whereas the commercial classes and industrial bourgeoisie did not, fearing unbridled economic growth and a resulting revolutionary proletariat. Before the 1830s, German liberals championed self-help societies for the workers, thus embracing a *laissez-faire* individualism paralleled in Britain, but such views later turned into adaptations of social welfare to the new industrial conditions in the cities. The tool of state intervention was powerful, authoritarian German bureaucracy. After the Revolution of 1848, the German states seized the initiative and laid down certain benefit and regulation schemes as palliatives for their enhanced state authority. Most important was Prussia's 1854 law turning poor relief into a modern contributory welfare program, which became the original blueprint for the later Bismarckian welfare state.

As factories grew in Germany, and as German science and technology rivaled that of England, Prussia led the other German states to regulate child labor, to enact protective conditions for women, and to provide for certain basic decent conditions of labor for the working classes. At mid-century and later the public sanitation movement swept through the German-speaking lands. Liberalism had penetrated German society and culture to its limit as Bismarck, chancellor to the Prussian king, unified the German states as the German Empire, under Prussian leadership, in 1871.

The United States. Nineteenth-century political and economic liberalism held sway even more powerfully in America

than in Europe. The federal constitution adopted in 1789 made possible an internal customs union within all the states, thus achieving laissez-faire economic liberalism in one dramatic step. This ideal state would permit rational, civilized individuals to pursue commerce and trade with a minimum of interference. Within a generation the American Revolution had swept away mercantilism's remnants, thus bringing about a new individualistic democracy centered on civilized, rational individuals who would pursue the republican virtues with minimal governmental interference. Either volunteers or for-profit private firms took responsibility for most municipal and county public services. When the public health was threatened—as it was by cholera epidemics in 1832—a temporary board of health would be appointed to attend to the emergency, enforcing quarantines, burying bodies, and the like, and would disband once the danger was gone. The federal government could do, and did do, even less, attending to the public lands, to matters of war and diplomacy, to the delivery of the mails, and to advancing the interests of economic groups represented in the federal political system. From the 1830s to the 1870s American assistance to the needy was largely charitable rather than government sponsored. For those needing care and supervision, so-called moral reformers devised many institutions as remedies, such as ORPHANAGES for children without parents, houses of refuge for juvenile offenders, and organizations like the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY and the SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN that sought to protect those who they believed were abused or neglected. All were usually drawn from among the urban poor. But the state governments, at least in the North, did develop mass education schemes. By the 1880s and 1890s, however, there were signs of a shift toward a new model of society and thus of social welfare.

Social Welfare in an Age of Hierarchy, Efficiency, and System

Between the 1870s and the 1920s, the Western world was dominated by a new set of ideas about how to organize human experience. It was an age of science, of expertise, of hierarchy, of orderly systems of nature and of society, of efficiency. How to make society work at peak efficiency was the underlying issue to many Europeans and Americans. Such notions embraced social welfare and its institutions as well. Many of these changes came from new political situations as well as new worldviews. In Scandinavia, for example, it was farmers, not the progressive middle classes or the socialist left, that led the fight for tax-supported universal pensions—in Denmark in 1891 and in Sweden in 1913, after protracted political struggles. In Imperial Germany, it was the “Iron Chancellor,” Bismarck, who pushed for workers' pensions on a contributory, not a tax-based, scheme, hoping to dampen workers' enthusiasm for socialism and revolution and to make them beholden to the conservative Junker class and the Prussian state. This social insurance scheme covered industrial accidents, illness, invalidism, and old age. Its enactment

resulted from many compromises; workers, employers, and the state all contributed to the fund. And the scheme, in various incarnations, has survived into the twenty-first century and has been widely imitated, in Hungary (1891), Austria (1889), Switzerland (1911), and even France (1928). The German states, like many industrialized polities on the continent, had already enacted legislation regulating the labor of children, on the grounds that a healthy adult population was impossible without such measures. In the early twentieth century, societies for infant welfare in such cities as Berlin and Düsseldorf took the lead in educating mothers about child health, functions that local governments later appropriated. From 1873 on there was a national public health bureau, and in the 1900s the public HYGIENE movement spread throughout the Second Reich.

If Bismarck inaugurated a welfare program to counter revolution, the British in the early twentieth century did so in the face of mass poverty brought about by the nation's industrial decline as compared with the United States and Imperial Germany. In the early 1900s, certain British politicians noted the greater efficiency of the German welfare system and its effectiveness in promoting the Reich's economic competitiveness. David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, in particular, led the campaign for what became the National Insurance Act of 1911, which brought unemployment compensation, health and disability insurance, hospital insurance, and even maternity allowances in its wake. In turn these programs upgraded the health prospects of the poor and helped unify the nation politically. Eventually the British system was more generous than the German one, although those who lived under the German system found it very satisfactory. Europe, then, by the early twentieth century, had created a variety of nationally administered and financed welfare schemes to cover unemployment, illness, disability, and old age. In these five decades many of the European nations also imitated the United States in adopting mass public education and mass adult male suffrage.

In this age of system, America did innovate in social welfare. And its differences with its European sister national cultures seemed to derive from the same factors that made the European states different from one another: largely questions of politics, the state, and temporal context. Americans rebuilt the shattered states of the Confederacy and created mass public education, promoted public health and sanitation through the establishment of the U.S. Public Health Service, regulated foods and drugs, and established a large and eventually generous pension program for Civil War veterans (including some Confederate veterans) and their dependents, meaning widows and ORPHANS. This federal program, which conveniently discharged the huge surpluses generated by high protective tariffs, was self-liquidating: when the last veteran died, it did too. But it represented the idea of social insurance of the age: that a group could insure itself against the vagaries of life. It differed in no important

respect from contemporary European schemes. America made an important contribution to welfare ideas thanks to its tradition of middle-class women participating in politics with an agenda for child welfare, education, and morality, just as American men concerned themselves with the welfare of adult male workers. It was the child welfare movement of the period from 1900 to 1920 that advanced social welfare and its institutions in America and, by example, in the Western world. A maternalistic welfare state, still largely rooted in the states and the cities, not the federal government, almost perfectly balanced the British-German patriarchic welfare programs. The American child welfare movement emphasized child health and protection, and new institutions such as the JUVENILE COURT, FOSTER CARE, the children's bureau, and mother's pensions were all defined as ways to increase social efficiency while they also expressed a new consciousness of care. Many of these also reflected deep-seated white prejudice against persons of color and the "new" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

The Welfare State in Depression and World War

In the years between the 1920s and the 1950s, notions that government and the private sector could work together were the watchwords of the age. While the Scandinavian countries had already established fairly comprehensive social welfare states, the United States took steps toward the modern, all-embracing welfare state with the adoption of social security through the Social Security Act of 1935. A large difference between the American and European systems had to do with the lack in the former of a national health scheme, whether national health insurance or nationalized medicine. The reason for this was the rising power and prestige of American doctors in the twentieth century based on their identification with experimental science. Social Security made possible old-age pensions on a tax basis, as a supplement to private pension schemes. Through AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN, later Aid to Families with Dependent Children, child welfare became part of the new federal program of welfare, just as unemployment insurance, disability insurance, and other programs came to constitute the American welfare state. In the 1960s the American welfare state began to expand dramatically in the numbers of its client populations.

During this time, much of the European continent was ravaged by war, and the Marshall Plan, to rebuild Europe, laid the groundwork for political reform and provided the requisite energy and creativity for a much expanded welfare state. The British Labour Party, which gained control of Parliament and the government in the immediate postwar period, enacted legislation that extended the welfare state by nationalizing certain industries and creating the National Health Service (1948), which put most doctors in state employ, and cautiously began to extend public education as well. Following its creation in 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany (or West Germany) soon revived and extended the

Bismarckian welfare state, now with generous pension schemes; first-rate medical care combined with a sophisticated national health scheme; expanded public health, sanitation, and other welfare provisions; and even *Kindergeld* (money for children) to encourage families to have more children and rebuild the national population. Other European nations extended the national welfare state in the post-World War II era, many such as France and Sweden by providing each family with specific allowances to ensure that children not grow up in poverty. In addition, they provided nursery schools, day-care centers, paid vacations, and free higher education.

Wither the Welfare State?

In the closing decades of the twentieth century, there were signs of a revolt against the welfare state, an expensive luxury for the underdeveloped or Third World nations and a costly investment for many of the developed nations. As the populations of the developed nations grew older and less able to contribute to the maintenance of a national welfare state, perhaps the end of the welfare state was in view. In any event, it would appear that modern social welfare and its institutions have always risen and fallen in tandem with the trends in national politics—politics being the art and science of what is possible at any given time.

See also: **Child Labor in the West; Child Saving; Social Welfare: Comparative Twentieth-Century Developments; Work and Poverty.**

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

COMPARATIVE TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

The welfare state in the twentieth century emphasized publicly sponsored care, in contrast to earlier state forms, which left care to the family, the local community, professional associations such as guilds, or in the nineteenth century, if no

other form of help was available, philanthropic societies. Welfare states are, however, not identical. Scandinavian systems, with their predominantly universal benefits and extended involvement in the security and well-being of their citizens, can be said to represent one model. Other models are the liberalist, or Anglo-Saxon, model, which helps only the weakest members of society, and the continental European model, which links social benefits to conditions of work and pay.

This system of classification is not, however, universally accepted. Some researchers have pointed out that these models do not exist in unadulterated forms and that the differences between them produce disparate results if they are compared according to social sector rather than according to whether universal benefits apply. If we look, for instance, at how welfare states care for younger and older members of society, France with its special family allowances and public preschool provision (*écoles maternelles*) resembles Scandinavia more than it does Germany or Holland. In these two countries consideration for motherhood has played an important role in the formation of social and labor policy during the twentieth century. There is, therefore, a relative shortage of day-care institutions but provision for lengthy maternity leave. This illustrates how the construction of welfare states is influenced by and also helps form existing views of childhood and parenthood.

This is also illustrated by studies made by the political scientist Göran Therborn of how welfare states handle CHILDREN'S RIGHTS. He concludes that Scandinavian countries should be regarded as being in the vanguard here, since even at the outbreak of World War I the aim of legislation relating to the family was to protect the interests of the child, including ensuring equal rights for legitimate and illegitimate children. A logical result of this was the extension of the child's legal status, which ensued in the 1970s and 1980s. This involved laws against hitting children and the obligation to take children wishes into consideration in cases of separation and child custody disputes. These developments have ensured a central place for Scandinavian countries in international human rights work and in the forming of the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD. To explain this development, Therborn cites the presence of a weaker patriarchal system, a weaker church, and a more individually oriented welfare model in Scandinavia than was the case in the remainder of Europe.

Despite often being linked to the growth of social democracy, the welfare state in Europe has had broad political backing throughout the twentieth century, even from conservative political regimes. The organization of welfare corresponds, then, as much to the underlying features of a country's political culture as to political ideology. Behind the first experimental schemes for single mothers, children, and the poor at the end of the nineteenth century lay a combination

of consideration for the population's size and quality—noticeable particularly in Germany, but also in France—and a desire to take preventative measures against social unrest at a time when immigration to the large urban centers threatened to topple the social order. The welfare state has also been linked to the development of bourgeois democracies, in that participation in decision-making and the right to vote both presuppose some degree of education and of homogenization of social and cultural differences. The belief that welfare would create greater equality was widespread, and the welfare state and democracy have provided political legitimacy for each other. The interaction between democracy and social welfare has also resulted in the establishment of new methods for the control of the population. Thereby the Janus face of the welfare state—social assistance on one side and control on the other—became visible. As a result, in the building of the welfare state the citizen has changed in status from being the passive object of state care to being a partner to the many experts of the welfare state in everything from health to child rearing, and in this way has acquired increased visibility as an empowered individual. This applies to adults and children alike.

There has also been debate about the extent to which the welfare state was an extension of the philanthropic commitment that developed in the nineteenth century, especially to the poor city dwellers, or whether it was, in fact, a break with the past. In fact, the collaboration between public and private initiatives, especially in areas relating to family and children, played an important part well into the twentieth century. In Catholic countries this involvement, particularly in ecclesiastical circles, has been maintained to this day, as evidenced by concerns for the single mother, child nutrition, and children's homes. As an extension of philanthropic work and founded in the developing commitment by the welfare state to the life of the citizen from the cradle to the grave, a series of new professions arose, including health visitors, preschool teachers, and doctors, dentists, and psychologists specializing in child health. An important aspect of this professionalization was its mutual international inspiration. American health care schemes, for instance, were incorporated into Danish and Finnish reality in the 1940s and 1950s; in the same way Scandinavian countries borrowed heavily from each other, for instance in the 1930s, when declining population was an issue.

The Welfare State and Parenthood

In considering the change in parenthood during the epoch of the welfare state, certain features draw immediate attention. The social content of parenthood has changed due to demographic, social, and cultural changes, and also as a result of changes in the scientific understanding of the relationship between children and parents.

In northern Europe it is no longer a disgrace to be a single mother, or for a child to be born out of wedlock. Equally,

parents wishing to adopt receive the same support as other parents, and artificial insemination is free for heterosexual couples; 40 percent to 50 percent of all children in northern Europe are born to couples who are not married, and 90 percent of all women now have children, while 25 percent were childless 100 years ago. The reasons for this increase in motherhood are that 100 years ago many women were unmarried and that motherhood was not compatible with the professions a woman could work in outside the home, such as teaching and nursing. It may also have been caused by involuntary sterility due to infection. Women at the turn of the twentieth century had an average of four children, compared to two at the start of the twenty-first century, but they became mothers at roughly the same age, between twenty-five and thirty-five. It was only in the 1950s and 1960s—the years when the family headed by a male breadwinner was at its height—that birthing age was lower. The late birthing age at the beginning and end of the twentieth century has two different explanations. Firstly, in agricultural societies starting a family required a degree of financial stability. Secondly, in welfare societies many young women wish to complete their education before starting a family. Together with the increasing number of separations—which affect about 50 percent of all marriages—this reflects the individualization of parenthood. Parenthood is nowadays a project of individual importance to men and women and a right which the state has taken upon itself to guarantee.

In southern Europe, too, changes are on the way. Birth rates changed during the final thirty years of the twentieth century, from being the highest in Europe to being the lowest. In countries such as Italy, Spain, or Greece, 40 percent of all women give birth to no children or to just one child. Those children born, however, are generally born to married couples and face less likelihood of experiencing parental separation compared with children in northern Europe.

The making of parenthood into a science is to a large extent due to the intervention of the welfare state. While philanthropists might previously have regarded mothers as incompetent and fathers as social problems, the broadening of state involvement to include all citizens meant that parents gradually acquired the status of partners in a common project of child rearing based on the newest scientific insights into children and their development. The first step down this road involved child welfare and maternity services, which arose as a result of concern in the period between the wars against INFANT MORTALITY and the falling birthrate. In the sphere of education and day care, a similar development could be seen.

If in the nineteenth century medical science determined what a good childhood was, its role was supplemented by psychology in the twentieth. A modern pattern of child rearing emphasizing the child as a self-sufficient individual has gradually replaced an older, more authoritarian view

founded on a regard for quietness, regularity, and cleanliness. Just as parents were expected to participate with the welfare-state professionals as partners in a common child-rearing project, a similar development took place for children—especially in Scandinavian countries—around 1980. Children were regarded as being competent and as having rights—to physical and psychological integrity among other things. This development has been sanctioned through the statutory prohibition of physical chastisement of children (in Sweden first, in 1979), the establishment of the first child ombudsman (in Norway first, in 1981) and the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989.

The Welfare State and Childhood

If changes in childhood are seen in context of the development of the welfare state during the twentieth century, three features stand out. Childhood has become institutionalized, professionalized, and more homogeneous in the sense that the formerly middle-class concept of childhood as an independent life of PLAY and learning has become the norm, transcending divisions of gender, culture, and social class. The differences between the north and the remainder of Europe, which have been noted in relation to parenthood, are also clearly discernible here.

The universalization of elementary schooling after the 1870s involved marked changes to children's lives. Gradually work took second place to school. The development was supported by legislation against child labor, even though this legislation was primarily directed at factory work and so affected neither children working in agriculture and in various non-factory forms of urban work nor girls' unpaid help in cleaning or minding smaller siblings. At the same time a series of new initiatives focusing on the child's physical and mental health were linked to schooling: school meals, school baths, school medical inspections, holiday camps, school gardens and playgrounds. In this way children from the broad social spectrum gradually came to have a share in a childhood which had previously been the preserve of middle-class children. Children's work has, however, not entirely disappeared; in the poorer areas of southern Europe, the child's economic contribution to the family is still important, while in northern Europe children work to line their own pockets.

In other areas, too, the child's life changed. Infant mortality was markedly reduced after 1900, just as mortality among older children fell. The causes for this were improved living conditions, penicillin, and vaccination. Prolonged life spans enabled parents and grandparents to live for a longer portion of their children's and grandchildren's lives, and toward the turn of the twenty-first century children once again began to have a greater number of siblings, this time in the form of half-sisters and -brothers in the wake of increased divorce and separation.

It was, however, not only the spread of schooling and the gradual disappearance of children's work that altered chil-

dren's lives. Just as important was the increasing tendency since the 1960s for mothers to work outside the home. Where many had previously combined family life with a part-time job—assisting on the farm or in the shop or washing or cleaning in the neighborhood—they were increasingly away from home by day. The child's life became institutionalized, a process that took place in two different ways. In Scandinavia a combination gradually developed comprising relatively short maternity leave, short working hours, and an extended system of day care and KINDERGARTEN for children one year and above. In the rest of Europe, maternity leave generally covers the child's first three years, after which the child begins to go to school for half the day. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that 80 percent of mothers of small children in Sweden and Denmark have full-time jobs, while in southern and mid-Europe they are mainly housewives or have part-time jobs. For single mothers in countries such as Portugal, Italy, and Spain, full-time work is the rule with less comprehensive public care for single-parent families.

Institutionalization allows the ordinary young child and his or her abilities to be visible to the eyes of the professional. While conceptions of the good childhood adopted around 1900 had arisen through studies of poor and sick children, the new, scientifically based norm of the good life for the child was increasingly based on studies of ordinary children. The institutionalizing and professionalizing of childhood resulted, therefore, in new standards, but also in a harmonizing of children's lives across gender, class, and cultural difference as public child-minding gradually became part of daily life for more and more children through the 1980s.

This move toward regimenting childhood has also been supported by a huge investment in training, with a resulting democratization of the system of higher education, which gave children from the countryside, and not least girls, the chance to acquire further education. RADIO, TELEVISION, and most recently the Internet have also contributed to the establishment of a common set of references among children and young people, primarily nationally but also increasingly internationally.

Harmonization is, however, far from synonymous with all children having the same living standards. Data from the European Union show that 9 percent of children and young people live in families that have difficulties making ends meet. Marginalization has a particularly severe impact on children of single parents or children from immigrant families. The worst scenario is in England, where 23 percent of all children live in poor families. England, together with Greece and Ireland, has the highest rate of infant mortality in Europe. Finally it should be mentioned that in the Scandinavian countries children and young people today struggle with problems relating to lifestyle—weight problems, smoking, alcohol, and stress.

Conclusion

The dream of the good childhood has characterized the welfare states of the twentieth century, but the dream has undergone marked alterations. The picture of the child has changed; once an incompetent being with a right to state care and protection, the child is now seen as a competent fellow citizen. This altered understanding of childhood has led to fresh perceptions of parenthood, primarily a broadening of the role to include not just the mother but also the father. Parental competencies should be developed in a dialogue with science and its experts. Ambitions on behalf of parenthood and childhood could scarcely have been higher than at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

It is, however, important to stress that there are considerable differences between the lives of children across the European welfare community. The two decisive but interconnected differences consist of the degree to which the public sector takes the individual or the family as its point of departure and the degree to which childhood is seen as a phase of life in its own right or as a preparation for adult life. The former is the case in the north, while the latter applies to southern and mid-Europe.

See also: **Child Care: Institutional Forms; Social Welfare: History.**

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NING DE CONINCK-SMITH
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Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Attorney and patrician Elbridge Gerry founded the first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC) in

New York City in December 1874. The NYSPCC sparked a movement. Within twenty-five years, over 150 organizations across the nation joined the effort to protect children from abuse. Gerry's involvement in the rescue of an eight-year-old girl, Mary Ellen, from her physically abusive guardians had persuaded him of the need to organize a society to protect children. What made the idea so contagious?

Since the mid-eighteenth century, many Americans had become increasingly sensitive to the pain of others, a development evidenced by their establishment of innumerable volunteer societies to ameliorate suffering. Most famously, these new "humanitarians" struggled for the abolition of slavery. The establishment of SPCCs came very late in the humanitarian revolution, even after the movement to protect animals from abuse. Before the Mary Ellen case, Elbridge Gerry worked as a lawyer for Henry Bergh, founder of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Only after repeated criticisms of his seeming indifference to the plight of children did Bergh instruct Gerry to help a concerned charity worker named Etta Wheeler rescue Mary Ellen.

Humanitarian reformers had expressed concern for children before the 1870s, organizing efforts to end the corporal punishment of school children, creating institutions to care for ORPHANS, and even sending orphans by train to foster families in the West. But reformers were reluctant to interfere in families, which had a recognized right to privacy. By the 1870s, the relative weights of the concern for children and the concern for family privacy had shifted. Mary Ellen's residence with foster parents (her biological parents were dead) may have eased her protectors' willingness to cross that boundary. Differences in class and culture also facilitated the creation of the SPCCs. The organizations were directed by wealthy, conservative, Protestant white men, whereas their clientele were mostly poor, Catholic immigrant families or poor black families. These were powerful distinctions during the late nineteenth century.

Their founders conceived of the SPCCs as law enforcement agencies. Agents were to find abused children—on the street or through tips made by concerned neighbors, relatives, and even the abused children themselves—investigate their families, and prosecute abusers. Many states gave the societies police powers, such as the right to issue warrants, or allowed the police to aid them. Most importantly, "the cruelty" (as SPCC agents were sometimes known in poor neighborhoods) could remove children from their homes.

In the early twentieth century the SPCCs made a radical shift from policing to welfare work. In 1903 the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children elected Grafton Cushing to be the agency's new president. Cushing believed that SPCCs had to prevent abuse by fixing the social problems that underlay it. He hired C. C. Carstens, who had a background in charity work, to lead the MSPCC

along its new path. Carstens shifted the agency's focus from physical abuse to neglect, which he believed stemmed from bad social conditions. Instead of investigating and prosecuting families, his agents were to prevent family breakdown. Many other SPCCs followed Carstens's lead.

The new approach redressed a serious deficiency in the earlier model, but it also created new problems. The social problems identified by agents were sometimes better reflections of their own prejudices than of the objective problems poor families suffered. The agents often confused poverty with malfeasance, or blamed victims for their traumas. Many criticized mothers who worked as neglectful, even if the family depended on her income. Girls who had been molested or raped were labeled sexual delinquents. Women who separated from abusive husbands were faulted for desertion. Carstens himself believed that hereditary "mental feebleness" was the primary source of neglect, and supported the sterilization of people with "mental defects." These judgments carried more than moral weight; they figured into the agents' calculations about who would receive financial aid.

The shift to welfare work also deflected the public's attention from the problem of physical abuse. Many of the welfare functions of the SPCCs were taken over by the federal government during the New Deal. For example, Title IV of the Social Security Act (1935) established the AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN Program, which distributed benefits to female-headed families. Case workers also scrutinized the moral "suitability" of recipient families, much as SPCC agents had done. However the effort to stop physical abuse was forgotten. The brutal treatment of children did not become an important issue again until the 1960s, when the widespread use of x-ray technology revealed to doctors the histories of trauma underlying many childhood injuries.

See also: **Brace, Charles Loring; Child Abuse; Child Saving; Law, Children and the; New York Children's Aid Society; Orphan Trains; Police, Children and the.**

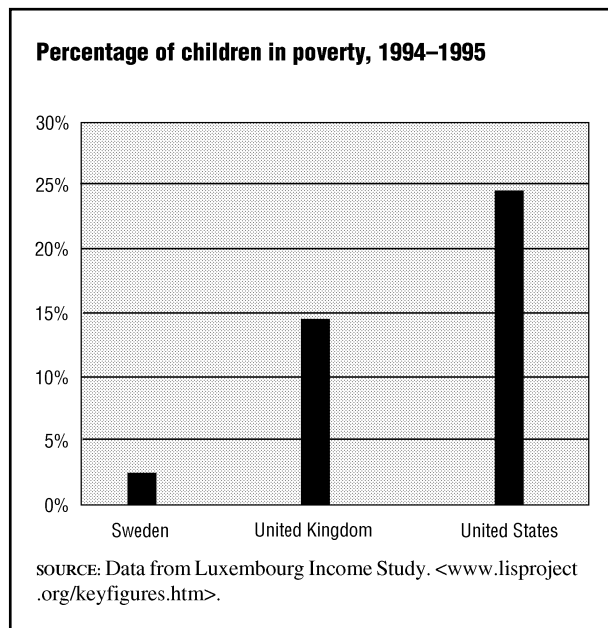
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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood

Prior to the 1980s children were on the margins of sociology (an academic discipline that focuses on social relations and

FIGURE 1

institutions) and anthropology (a neighboring field that emphasizes the study of culture). When children did come into the view of anthropologists, they were primarily studied as learners being inducted into the social and cultural worlds of adults. In the 1930s the anthropologist MARGARET MEAD wrote about cross-cultural variation in child-rearing practices, which, she argued, shape cultural differences in adult personalities. Over the next four decades anthropologists continued this line of inquiry in places as diverse as JAPAN, Samoa, New Guinea, Bali, AFRICA, Russia, and the United States.

Sociologists also have a long tradition of studying children as learners or as adults-in-the-making, using the concept of socialization. Talcott Parsons, an influential sociologist of the 1950s and 1960s, theorized social systems as smoothly functioning wholes. When children are born, he wrote, they are like pebbles thrown into a social pond. First the family and then schools and other institutions shape the growing child, who comes to internalize the values and rules of adult society. Sociologists in this time period focused on children not only as learners but also as threats (research on juvenile DELINQUENCY emerged in the 1950s) and as victims of adults (child physical abuse became a topic in the 1960s, and child sexual abuse in the 1970s).

The New Social Studies of Childhood

In the 1980s, a growing number of European and American scholars called attention to the relative absence of children in the knowledge of the social sciences. They argued that children should be studied in their own right, as full social actors, rather than being framed primarily as adults-in-training or as problems for the adult social order. In an early critique, Enid Schildkrout observed that children rarely en-

tered descriptions of social systems and proposed that they should be understood as children rather than as the next generation of adults. Reversing the familiar equation of children with dependence, Schildkrout asked, “What would happen to the adult world (other than its extinction) if there were no children?” and “In what ways are adults dependent upon children?” Drawing upon fieldwork among the Hausa, a Muslim society in Nigeria, Schildkrout described children’s contributions to sustaining the religious institution of *purdah*, which involves the spatial seclusion of women. Among the Hausa, married men earned income away from their households as butchers and artisans; women earned money by cooking food and embroidering hats and trousers to sell at the local market. Confined to their households by *purdah*, income-earning women depended on children to purchase materials and to deliver and sell the final products at the market. Up until PUBERTY, both girls and boys were free to move between households and the market. These arrangements—with spatially mobile children actively contributing to economic and religious institutions—reverse late-twentieth-century Western assumptions about children’s place, highlighting varied constructions of both childhood and adulthood.

The “new social studies of childhood,” as scholars began to call the movement to pay closer attention to children as social actors with varied lives and experiences, gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. This critical approach to adult-centered frameworks was enhanced by increasing criticisms of knowledge organized around the outlooks and interests of the powerful. Scholarly attention to women and people of color helped inspire calls for research that would bring children more fully into knowledge. Critical examination of age relations, childhood, and categories such as *child* and *adult* was also spurred by a theoretical approach called *social constructionism*, which involves digging beneath categories that are taken for granted to examine the varied ways in which they have been organized and given meaning. A unitary category like *the child* is especially ripe for examination because it encompasses a wide range of ages and capacities, with an ambiguous and often disputed upper boundary.

Sociologists of childhood often credit the French historian PHILIPPE ARIÈS with opening conceptions of age, the child, and childhood for social and historical analysis, beginning in the early 1960s. Viviana Zelizer, a historical sociologist, also highlighted changing views of children and childhood in an influential 1985 book on the transition in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America from the “economically useful child” to the ideal of an “economically useless, but emotionally priceless” child, removed from paid labor and located in the protected spaces of families and schools. Historians of childhood have helped other social scientists gain critical perspective on contemporary Western assumptions about children’s place, including the definition of children by processes of learning and development.

International political and economic changes of the late twentieth century also heightened awareness of the varied lives and circumstances of children. Global economic restructuring strengthened ties among geographically distant nations, with increasing circulation of commodities, labor, information, and images. In many parts of the world, these changes forced children into new conditions of poverty and increased their numbers among refugees and among those who work in highly exploitative conditions. Televised images of children living in situations of war, violence, poverty, and famine have undermined the assumption that children are an innocent and protected group, safely ensconced in families and schools. In the late twentieth century, the global cultural politics of childhood became an area of contention as well as a focus of anthropological and sociological research.

The Cultural Politics of Childhood

The United Nations highlighted the varied, sometimes devastating, circumstances of the world's children when the General Assembly declared 1979 the Year of the Child, followed, in 1989, by the adoption of the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD. By 2003 the Convention had been ratified by every country except Somalia and the United States. This document was developed by representatives of forty-three nations, who wrestled with cultural and political differences as they sought to articulate worldwide moral standards for the treatment of children. The convention is organized around four core principles: nondiscrimination, the best interests of the child, the rights to survival and development, and attention to the views of the child (a principle that recognizes children as somewhat independent of adults). Critics, including many anthropologists, have argued that the UN Convention assumes and imposes Western ideas about childhood, family, and individual rights, and that it is insensitive to other cultural understandings of children and morality. Defenders have responded to these criticisms by noting the widespread effects of global economic and political change and by arguing that ethical action should be forged between the two extremes of universal claims about individual rights and the refusal to judge other cultures (cultural relativism).

A growing body of research on children living in contexts of extreme poverty, forced migration, and war has extended the study of childhoods far beyond the worlds of families, neighborhoods, and schools, situating children within processes of political and economic change. For example, scholars have studied children who live and work on the streets in cities in LATIN AMERICA, Asia, Africa, and EASTERN EUROPE. The term *street children* is often used to describe these children, but researchers and activists have argued that the term is misleading since the circumstances and social relations of these children vary a great deal and many of them continue to sustain ties with their families. Scholars such as Tobias Hecht have charted the economic, social, and politi-

cal forces that draw or push children into living and working on the streets; their social networks and varied relationships with urban environments, including both the opportunities and risks that street life poses for survival; and governmental and other efforts to control and reform this stigmatized group. Some activist researchers have sought access to the perspectives of street children themselves, working with them to change the conditions of their lives. Others have examined the hypervisibility of street children, whose lives have become fodder for journalists, researchers, and even a Michael Jackson video about a *favela*, or slum, in Rio de Janeiro. They have argued that the sensationalizing of extreme poverty obscures the situations of the chronically poor—a large proportion of children and adults in countries like BRAZIL.

The many types of research on street children illustrate three central theoretical approaches in the new social studies of childhood: (1) comparative analysis of the political economy and social structuring of particular childhoods; (2) the study of symbolic or discursive constructions of children and childhoods; and (3) attention to children as social actors and as creators and interpreters of culture. Although these approaches overlap, each draws upon a distinctive set of theoretical tools and research methods.

Comparative Research on the Structuring of Children's Lives

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Jens Qvortrup, a Danish sociologist, coordinated an ambitious comparative study of the living conditions of children in thirteen European countries plus Israel, Canada, and the United States. The researchers relied, in part, on the techniques of demography—that is, the use of statistical methods to study the size, structure, and distribution of particular populations. Defining children as a category spanning the ages of birth through fourteen, the research team compared the age structuring of national populations. They found, for example, that from 1950 to 1990 the proportion of children declined in all sixteen industrialized countries, with the greatest decline in Finland and the least in ISRAEL. They also analyzed comparative information about the size and composition of the households in which children resided, patterns in the employment of children and in children's daily duties at home, the amount of time children spent in school and in organized activities outside of school, the legal and health status of children, and the proportion of social resources, such as income and housing, that were allocated to children in each national economy. Guided by a view of childhood as a position in social structure, this comparative study emphasized relations among legal, political, economic, health, educational, family, and other institutions.

Qvortrup and his colleagues found that available statistical information about children was highly uneven, since parents or households, rather than children themselves, have often been the categories used in the gathering of statistical

information. When demographic information is gathered with children at the center, the picture shifts, sometimes dramatically. For example, Donald Hernandez found that in 1988, 18 percent of U.S. adult parents but 27 percent of children lived in poverty. Thus the distribution of children's economic status differs from that of the parents.

What accounts for national variation in the proportion of children who live in poverty? To shed light on this question, sociologists have examined relationships among families, states, and markets. States assign responsibilities to parents, limit their power, and define the ages at which children can legally engage in wage labor. States also provide resources for children, but to varying degrees. Scandinavian countries, such as Sweden, which assume that the state will cooperate with and support families, have traditions of generous and universal state provisioning for children through paid parental leaves and state-funded child and health care. The United States is at the other end of the continuum, with a privatized family system, which assumes that parents will purchase services such as health and CHILD CARE and that the state will step in only when the family and the market are deemed to have failed, as in federal child-care subsidies to very low-income families. In the United Kingdom, which is in the middle of this continuum, there is movement from a welfare state toward a privatized family system. These different institutional arrangements help account for variation in rates of child poverty.

The Symbolic or Discursive Construction of Childhoods

Research on the social construction of childhood has focused not only on the institutional arrangements that shape children's lives but also on beliefs about the nature of children or particular groups of children, such as infants or girls entering PUBERTY. Anthropologists and sociologists often use the term *discourse* to refer to ideas and images that convey a particular view of the world or, in this case, a particular view of children and childhood. For example, street children in Brazil have been portrayed as threats to the social order (a discourse the police have used to justify arrests), as victims (the discourse of social welfare agencies), and through a discourse of CHILDREN'S RIGHTS used by activists who argue that children should participate in changing the conditions of their lives.

Social scientists who study discursive constructions of children and childhoods have analyzed not only the ways in which meanings are made but also their effects in the world. For example, sociologists and anthropologists often puzzle about the gap between the stated goal of public education in industrialized countries—to open equal opportunity for all children—and the reality that schools, by and large, reproduce social class and racial inequalities. Although teachers may try to use even-handed practices and to focus on children as individuals, assumptions about social class and race are embedded in processes of sorting and tracking. In the

United States, for example, some schools provide special resources for children deemed to be gifted, a discourse that appears to represent an objective and natural difference but that embeds social class and racial assumptions. Ann Ferguson studied the consequential use of another discourse—"bad boys"—in the daily world of a multiracial middle school in California. Assuming that low-income African-American boys were especially prone toward misbehavior, teachers monitored them more closely than other students. To sustain a sense of dignity in the face of this negative control, the boys sometimes engaged in acts that the adults saw as defiance. The spiral of labeling, conflict, and discipline reproduced patterns of inequality.

Children are discursively constructed not only by experts and by the media, but also by corporations that design and sell goods to an expanding child market. Marketing campaigns target groups that are narrowly defined by age and gender, promoting particular conceptions of childhood. For example, in the 1990s corporations began to sell distinctive styles of clothing, such as platform shoes and rock music by groups like Hansen, to a new market segment they called tweens—eight to thirteen year olds ("ten going on sixteen," as they were often described). Market-driven ideas about the pace of growing up enter into negotiations between children, parents, and teachers over issues such as what clothing can be worn to school. Ann Solberg, a Norwegian sociologist, coined the term *social age* to refer to negotiated conceptions of being older or younger, a more flexible construction than chronological age.

Children as Social Actors

The fields of anthropology and sociology share a theoretical interest in the relationship between structure and agency. Karl Marx framed the issue in 1852 when he observed that people make their own history, but under circumstances shaped and transmitted from the past. Structural theories emphasize the external circumstances—economic forces, institutional arrangements, systems of belief—that have shaped the lives of children in particular times and places. These approaches, like the traditional socialization framework, imply that children are relatively passive, and that their lives are molded from the outside. Seeking to modify this image, the new social studies of childhood emphasize children's agency, that is, their capacity to help shape the circumstances in which they live.

The concept of children's agency has been used in varied ways. A flourishing body of research on children's everyday lives emphasizes their capacities as experiencing subjects who are capable of autonomous action and cultural creation. (Researchers who observe or interview children wrestle with questions about the capacity of children to consent to being studied, and about adult power as a barrier to access and understanding.)

William Corsaro has observed preschools in the United States and in Italy, documenting children's use of ideas from

the adult world as they created distinctive peer cultures. He coined the term *interpretive reproduction* to emphasize children's participation in cultural production and change. Marjorie Harness Goodwin, an anthropological linguist, tape-recorded and analyzed the conversations of a mixed-age group of AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN in an urban U.S. neighborhood, showing how they used talk to constitute and disrupt social bonds and to mark social hierarchies. Barrie Thorne did fieldwork with children in U.S. elementary schools, highlighting their marking and negotiation of gender divisions, for example in playground games where boys chase the girls.

Social scientists have also interviewed children about their experiences of and perspectives on varied subjects, such as consumption, daily activities, divorce, and childhood itself. Solberg found that ten-year-old Norwegian children and their employed mothers had quite different perspectives on children taking care of themselves at home after school. The mothers worried that their children came home to an "empty house," but some of the children spoke instead of coming home to a "welcoming house," with independent access to food, television, and the telephone.

There is no doubt that children have agency in the sense of the capacity to experience, interact, and make meaning. But when Marx wrote that people make their own history, he used *agency* in a stronger sense, referring to collective efforts to change existing power arrangements—for example, by challenging patterns of exploitation. Do children exercise this kind of political agency? It partly depends on one's definition of children. In the 1970s and 1980s children as young as twelve were arrested for their participation in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. But infants and three-year-olds are clearly not capable of this kind of action.

The division between children and adults or teens is somewhat arbitrary and continually negotiated. But is it wholly misguided to study children, especially younger children, with a different set of frameworks than one uses in studying adults? The quest to rescue children from a conceptual double standard and to include them in frameworks, such as theories of agency, that emphasize autonomous social action may have been overdrawn. Issues of dependence, interdependence, vulnerability, need, and development should also be in focus. And not just in the study of children, since these are also strands in the experiences of adults.

See also: **Comparative History of Childhood; History of Childhood.**

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BARRIE THORNE

Soldier Children: Global Human Rights Issues

As long as wars have been fought, children have been victims and participants. They have been among the civilians whose percentage of total casualties rose throughout the twentieth century. According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, civilians comprised 10 percent of all casualties in World War I, 45 percent during World War II, and perhaps 90 percent in the 1980s and 1990s. In the last decade of the twentieth century alone, an estimated 1.5 million children were killed and another four million were injured by warfare, while twelve million became refugees.

Only a fraction of those child casualties were combatants, but the issue of underage soldiers had become an international issue by the end of the twentieth century. An unfortunate truth behind the military use of children is that they make good soldiers. Political scientists have shown that small children, especially, accept war and violence as solutions to conflict more easily than adults or older children. Moreover, they can easily handle lightweight modern weapons; they are easily motivated and natural "joiners," willing to take risks; and they can often infiltrate enemy positions and territory because most adult soldiers are reluctant to fire on children. At the turn of the twenty-first century, an estimated three hundred thousand boys and girls under the age of eighteen were fighting on behalf of governments, opposition forces, or both in Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Columbia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, the former Yugoslavia, and perhaps two dozen other countries.

Children as Volunteer Soldiers

A few children have always gone to war willingly, out of patriotism, a sense of adventure, or religious conviction. French and German children mounted the Children's Crusade in 1212, which ended in disaster but created a legend that inspired faithful Christians. Children of French soldiers in the Napoleonic era were educated and trained by the na-

tional government, often accompanying their fathers on campaign and into the army. Thousands of Northern and Southern children, like ten-year-old John Clem, ran away from home to be drummer boys for American Civil War armies; many ended up carrying guns rather than drums. In countless other countries and colonies boys and girls became men and women before their time to fight invaders, colonists, and oppressors. Late-twentieth-century Burmese children, for instance, were raised on stories of heroes like General Aung San, who helped to liberate the country from Britain and Japan, and of the famous warriors of the nation's diverse ethnic groups. There, and in many other societies, becoming a soldier is a sign of manhood, accompanied by prestige and honor. In the West, a similar romanticization of drummer boys and other underage soldiers and the frequent use of children as patriotic symbols in wartime has for centuries encouraged governments to allow children to enlist.

These "pull" effects are often complemented by an equally strong "push." The grinding poverty in many developing—and war-prone—regions force children to work long, hard hours in fields or shops. Some are ORPHANS with no family to support them; others are refugees with no hope for a stable source of income. They join government or rebel forces because they see their service as a way to improve their lives. For these children, entering the military is not necessarily a matter of leaving behind childhood, but of exchanging different modes of premature adulthood.

Ideology is an important element of voluntary service by underage soldiers. Children, eager to be part of political or social movements in which their parents participate, often gravitate toward popular uprisings, especially if those uprisings offer a chance to exact revenge on enemies. The murders of family members, the ethnic cleansing of cultural groups, and long-time political and economic discrimination all fuel the hatred that can provide important motivations for young soldiers (as they do adult soldiers). Brought up in an environment in which politics, religion, and economic distress are interrelated, thousands of Palestinians in their teens and younger took part in the massive revolt against Israeli occupation that began late in 2000. Scores died and hundreds more were injured in clashes with Israeli forces; some became suicide bombers. While not, strictly speaking, soldiers, these boys and a few girls certainly considered themselves patriots and warriors for their cause. The remarkable story of Johnny and Luther Htoo, the thirteen-year-old twins who between 1999 and 2001 led a band of Karen rebels called God's Army against the government of Myanmar, shows how children can become willing participants in armed conflict. According to the legend that quickly grew around them, the brothers demonstrated mystical powers when they led a successful counterattack during a government raid on their village.

Children Forced into Military Service

Children increasingly became unwilling warriors in the twentieth century, especially in the brutal revolutionary and ethnic struggles that plagued developing countries. Some were conscripted formally into established armies; the Iranian army, for example, drafted tens of thousands of teenaged boys during the bloody Iran–Iraq war of the 1980s. Others were captured and forced into service when their villages were attacked by irregular units fighting inconclusive wars against existing governments. The Lord’s Liberation Army, for example, a rebel organization fighting against the Ugandan government, kidnapped over eight thousand children and forced them to be soldiers, menial laborers, and in some cases, sex slaves. Some of the children who “volunteered” for military service had no choice; they joined because recruiters—especially from irregular forces conducting popular rebellions against established governments—threatened their families or threatened to kill the children themselves if they did not join up.

Effects of Military Service on Children

Over and above the dangers of actual combat, the effects on children of military service can be devastating. The rigors of hard marching with heavy packs can deform young spines, the uncertain availability of rations can lead to malnutrition, exposure to all kinds of weather can cause skin diseases and respiratory infections, and taking part in forced or consensual sex with other, often much older, soldiers can lead to pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. The brutal discipline and disregard for human life that characterized many of the rebel units operating outside of formal military channels also took a heavy toll; if a child was unable to continue a march or refused to obey orders, he or she was simply shot on the spot.

The psychological consequences of these experiences can be profound. Child soldiers and victims frequently draw pictures and tell stories haunted by images of death, destruction, and violence. These youngsters, especially those forced into military service, are a kind of “lost generation.” Most

rebel and other irregular armies in the developing world tend to be rather disorganized forces concerned more with profit and violence than with actually trying to establish governments or defend homelands. Child-development experts believe that among the worst effects of the use of child soldiers are the brutality that they internalize and the disdain for political and moral authorities that they learn. Because they are normally seized and indoctrinated before their moral values are fully formed, children often become thoughtless killers. Ironically, some of the worst atrocities carried out against children are committed by children.

Child Soldiers as a Political and Diplomatic Issue

The use of child soldiers has not gone unchallenged; indeed, much of the media's coverage of children and war confronts the practice directly. It has also become a political issue, with the public outcry against the use of child soldiers led by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Human Rights Watch, Rädna Barnen (a Swedish organization), the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, and a number of other CHILDREN'S RIGHTS and humanitarian groups. The current standard of fifteen as the minimum age for military service was established by the 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD. Since then, activists have sought to bring the military service provision into step with the other conditions in the Convention, which recognize as a child anyone under the age of eighteen. Some progress occurred in the late 1990s. The United Nations established a policy refusing to allow soldiers under the age of eighteen to serve in peacekeeping forces, a number of governments raised their minimum age to eighteen, and a more strongly worded document (the "Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict") was developed by the UN. The protocol forbade the use of children under the age of eighteen in non-governmental armed groups, required states to demobilize child soldiers and reintegrate them into society, and forbade the voluntary recruitment of children under the age of sixteen.

But the basic issue of child soldiers remained unresolved. The wording of the "Optional Protocol" only asks governments to take "all feasible measures" to ensure that children under the age of eighteen are not exposed to combat. The chief opponent of a worldwide minimum age of eighteen is the United States, which allows seventeen year olds to volunteer for its armed forces but promises not to send them into battle. Another ambiguity is the protocol's banning of underage soldiers from "direct participation" in combat—a nearly meaningless condition, since in a typical war of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries the front line and the home front are not clearly distinguished.

See also: **Juvenile Justice; International; Violence Against Children; War in the Twentieth Century.**

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JAMES MARTEN

Sonography

Medical sonography, in which very high-frequency sound waves are bounced off internal organs to gather information about their shape and density, was first used to create images of a fetus *in utero* in 1955, using machinery built to detect flaws in industrial metal. Often called *ultrasound*, it has been incorporated into the routine practice of obstetrics and widely used as a noninvasive diagnostic and monitoring technology in pregnancy since the 1970s. Physicians have used sonography to assess fetal development and determine either the birth due date or the appropriate method for abortion; to detect gross anatomical abnormalities, usually untreatable; to establish and tighten definitions of "normality" in fetuses; and by the 1990s, to provide visualization for invasive monitoring and therapies such as amniocentesis and fetal surgery. In the United States by the late 1990s, many physicians also claimed that sonography provided the psychological benefits of reassuring parents that the fetus was healthy and providing an opportunity for "bonding" with the fetus. In some countries, such as India and China, in which it is financially or legally unfeasible to raise many children and boys are valued strongly over girls, ultrasound has frequently been used to identify female fetuses, which are then aborted.

Ultrasound safety has not been confirmed through large-scale medical trials; it has been assumed to be safe because there has been no evidence of harm after widespread use. However, a 1993 study also concluded that the use of ultrasound in routine pregnancies did not improve outcomes. Despite these results, the use of ultrasound during pregnan-

cy is almost universal at the beginning of the twenty-first century in most of North American and Western Europe, and quite common in other places as well.

Some feminists have raised concerns about sonography's role in medicalizing reproduction, pointing out that evidence based on women's experiences of pregnancy (such as a woman's sense of her fetus's health and growth as indicated by its movements) is usually dismissed by doctors in favor of ultrasound images, and that ultrasound is yet another mode of surveillance of women's bodies by those in positions of power. Feminists have also noted that in the United States, ultrasound images have been popularized by anti-abortion activists, who manipulate, interpret, and publicize the images to promote the idea that fetuses really are just like babies, and should be protected as such. On the other hand, anthropologists have observed that in the United States and Canada, pregnant women and their partners often enjoy viewing ultrasound images, sharing them with family and friends as prebirth "baby pictures," and appreciate what they perceive to be the psychological benefits of visualizing their fetuses. In the United States, images of fetuses are viewed by the general public as well, in advertising that promotes consumption in the name of fetal safety and comfort.

Ultrasound carries very different meanings depending on the cultural context in which it is being used. In contrast to the United States and Canada, in Greece, where ultrasound is used even more heavily, women, their partners, and their doctors see it as part of a package of technologies and practices necessary to having a desirable "modern" pregnancy. The uses and meanings of ultrasound have been culturally shaped in many different ways; but in every place where it is widely used, it has offered the possibility of altering understandings of pregnancy, the fetus, and the role of physicians and technology in reproduction.

See also: **Conception and Birth; Obstetrics and Midwifery; Pediatrics.**

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LARA FREIDENFELDS

Spears, Britney (b. 1981)

"Pop Princess," "Teen Queen," and "Video Vixen" are all terms that have been used to describe Britney Spears since she burst onto the music scene at the age of seventeen in 1998's "Hit Me Baby One More Time" video. Not since Madonna in the 1980s had a young female artist been as scrutinized for her appearance as for her music. Unlike Madonna, however, the only vote Britney Spears was old enough to cast at the time of her debut was for a video to appear on MTV's *Total Request Live*, a show on which viewer requests determined video airplay.

Britney Spears made her first foray into the entertainment industry at the ripe age of eight, when she applied for DISNEY's *The Mickey Mouse Club* and was rejected on account of her age. This would be the first of many times Spears's youth would be more of a concern than her music. Though at eleven she finally became a Mouseketeer, it was not long before mouse ears gave way to Spears's "wardrobe" staple, the bare midriff.

Some found it difficult to see Britney Spears, with her songwriters, stylists, and choreographers as anything but a pawn of the entertainment industry. She was a young girl performing songs written largely by men (though she co-wrote five songs on her third album) for boys under the pretext of being the voice of girls everywhere. By 2003 Spears had sold more than thirty-seven million albums. She had also appeared on countless magazine covers, won numerous awards and endorsements, written two autobiographies, and starred in the 2002 film *Crossroads*. Spears garnered a wide fan base, with old and young alike having responded to something in her image, if not her music.

The teen idol, his/her fans, and their disapproving parents date back to Elvis Presley, with his censored hip-swinging. The same element of a teen idol's persona to which the young look up is that which parents criticize—their SEXUALITY. Britney Spears, herself, attested that her over-the-top sexuality as expressed in her clothing (or lack thereof) and dance moves was just a performance, that she was really an innocent young woman whose virginity would be staunchly upheld until marriage. In so doing, her sexuality was debased to a marketing ploy, which brought on even more criticism.

Her commercial success prompted the music industry to crank out numerous Britney Spears derivatives according to the same formula of the sexy young girl next door. With TELEVISION rather than RADIO as the dominant source for music, image rather than talent dictated success.

Born in 1981 in Kentwood, Louisiana, Britney Spears made a career of entertaining the listener rather than engaging him or her, which proved successful in the wake of the

brooding, hard-edged form of ROCK AND ROLL known as grunge that had been popular in the early 1990s.

See also: **Teenagers; Youth Culture.**

INTERNET RESOURCE

Official Britney Spears Website. Available from <www.britneyspears.com>.

NIKA ELDER

Special Education

In the twenty-first century, schooling for children with disabilities is a public responsibility. In the United States, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, reauthorized as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1990, mandated a Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) for all children and youth, ages three to twenty-one, with disabilities. The law mandates that no child can be excluded from schooling because of a physical, mental, or emotional disability, no matter how severe. It also mandates individualized educational and related services based on an Individual Education Program (IEP) and implemented in the Least Restrictive Environment (LRE), the setting providing maximum appropriate opportunity to learn together with peers who do not have disabilities. IDEA thus constituted the legal basis for the inclusion movement.

This dramatic public policy development culminated historic trends beginning with the establishment of residential schools in the nineteenth century, largely supplanted in the United States and Europe in the twentieth century by day classes that permitted children to live at home with their families. No longer a philanthropic enterprise, specialized schooling in the United States had come to be recognized as a responsibility of the COMMON SCHOOLS. The history of children with disabilities is often described as steadily increasing educational integration leading, in adulthood, to societal integration and independence. Given this general historical trend, however, each form of disability has a unique and complex history.

Deafness, the oldest special educational challenge, was the first to be addressed through formal schooling. Modeled after Paris's famed National Institute for the Deaf, the Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons (later renamed the American School for the Deaf) opened in Hartford on April 15, 1817. Under the leadership of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc, a deaf teacher Gallaudet had recruited from the Paris School, the school featured academic instruction, as well as training useful in a trade, incorporating an Americanized version of the French system of manual signing. In time, American Sign Language (ASL) would be recognized as the fully legitimate language of the Deaf communities of the United States and Canada.

A conflicting tradition arose from the centuries-old quest to teach deaf persons to speak, predicated on the belief that speech was essential, not only for integration in the majority society but for reason itself. Through the strong advocacy of (hearing) leaders, notably Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, an international, late-nineteenth-century movement culminated in official adoption of oralism in teaching the deaf, favoring day classes rather than residential schools. Parents, in most instances not themselves deaf, and hearing professionals considered the communication models provided in children's own homes and public schools preferable to the exclusive company of other deaf students. Beginning with Ohio in 1898, successive states mandated funding for day classes, a development facilitated by the new capability to transport students with this relatively low-incidence disability to centralized, yet community-based school sites. However, since Deaf cultural identity issues have parallels among other minorities, conflicts concerning both instructional setting and instructional mode remain unresolved.

Samuel Gridley Howe, a leading nineteenth century reformer, founded Massachusetts' famed Perkins School for the Blind in 1832, then successfully lobbied various state legislatures to establish residential schools for persons (adults, as well as children) who were blind. Yet he, together with his strong ally HORACE MANN, came to oppose such "institutions," increasingly envisioning the day when blind children could attend the common schools. That new era began when in 1900 the Chicago schools formed classes for the blind, intended to foster social integration with sighted classmates. While this Chicago Plan was followed in cities in Ohio and Massachusetts, a major shift from congregate, residential schools to day classes and itinerant specialists (in Braille and orientation and mobility training) did not occur until the 1970s, with the aid of parents' advocacy efforts and a general deinstitutionalization movement.

While efforts to integrate deaf and blind children in regular schools were certainly motivated by concerns for their well-being, another force early in the twentieth century was a growing EUGENICS movement. Some leaders believed educational integration essential to reduce the likelihood of marriage within these communities and thus hereditary transmission of such "defects." In the case of mental RETARDATION (and also epilepsy) eugenics-related fears, erroneously linking various social evils with the condition led to state sterilization laws and more widespread institutional confinement less for the purpose of schooling than to protect society. In the meantime, with general adoption in schools of psychometric testing, by the 1930s states and individual districts were enacting policies to exclude children believed incapable of benefiting from education.

Paralleling the newly established day classes for deaf and for blind students, by 1900 the first special classes had been

formed for children who were then referred to as “backward” or “feeble-minded.” They were characterized by smaller class size, emphasis on practical life skills, and an individualized approach recognizing differences in readiness, motivation, and pacing. Contributing to this trend was the increasing adoption, especially in large, urban school districts, of psychoeducational clinics, modeled after the clinic Lightner Witner had established in 1896 at the University of Pennsylvania. While school-based clinics played a major role in assessing pupils’ eligibility for special class placement (or for school exclusion), Witner’s individualized, diagnostic approach would later be influential in education of students with orthopedic or health impairment, social-emotional problems, and specific learning disabilities.

As special classes became more numerous, however, concerns grew that placement was often arbitrary and discriminatory, and by the 1960s, influenced by the civil rights movement, that minority students were inordinately likely to be labeled as “slow” and placed accordingly, or as “disruptive” and placed in the far less numerous classes for students with emotional or behavioral disorders. These concerns, together with growing advocacy by parents of many other children not served by special education, yet not succeeding in school and needing individually appropriate instruction led to IDEA and the era of inclusion.

See also: **Education, United States; IQ.**

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PHILIP LANE SAFFORD

Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)

Benjamin Spock was the most influential author of child-rearing advice of the twentieth century. His principal work,

Baby and Child Care, went through seven editions, was translated into thirty-eight languages, and sold more than fifty million copies around the world. Aside from the Bible, it was the best-selling book of the century.

Spock was born in New Haven, Connecticut, the son of a successful corporate lawyer. He graduated from Yale, where he rowed on a varsity crew that won a gold medal in the 1924 Olympics, and from the medical school at Columbia. He studied at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and was the first psychoanalytically trained pediatrician in New York, where he maintained a private practice from 1933 to 1943.

His Park Avenue practice brought him overtures from publishers, who pressed him to write a book setting forth his distinctive combination of PEDIATRICS and CHILD PSYCHOLOGY. In 1946, he did. The first edition of *Baby and Child Care* began, as all the subsequent editions did, “Trust yourself. You know more than you think you do.” It invited mothers to indulge their own impulses and their children’s, assuring them on the basis of the latest scientific studies that it was safe to do so. In the process, it overturned the consensus of the previous generation of experts and authorized mothers to express their “natural” feelings toward their children. Spock’s book was an immediate success both inside and outside of the United States.

Earlier advice, embodied in the convergence of JOHN WATSON’s best-selling book and the U.S. government’s *Infant Care* pamphlets, warned against parental deviation from rigid disciplinary schedules and undue display of fondness or physical affection. Spock urged spontaneity, warmth, and a fair measure of fun for parents and children alike. He pressed mothers to recognize that each child had to be treated differently.

Conservative critics later complained that Spock promoted what they called permissive child rearing. In one of the earliest expressions of the “culture wars” that marked the last quarter of the twentieth century, they held him responsible for the counterculture and the collapse of conventional morality. On their face, such charges were difficult to sustain. Spock never counseled permissiveness, and after the first edition he explicitly advised against it. But he did become progressive in his politics in the 1960s and after.

Even before the war in Vietnam, Spock warned against the dangers of nuclear testing and served as co-chairman of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He was a vocal opponent of the Vietnam War, helped lead the march on the Pentagon in 1967, and was convicted and sentenced to jail for conspiracy to aid draft resisters in 1968. (His conviction was reversed on appeal.) He ran for president in 1972 as the candidate of the People’s Party and continued his activism thereafter. Long after the age of seventy, he was arrested for protesting against a nuclear power plant in New

Hampshire, against budget cuts at the White House, and against nuclear weapons at the Pentagon. Past the age of eighty, he still gave as many as a hundred talks a year on the nuclear arms race, as well as on pediatrics.

Spock's child-rearing advice changed as his political views and American family life evolved. In successive editions, he made a place for fathers as well as mothers in childcare, allowed new gender roles for boys and girls, acknowledged divorce and single PARENTING, and explicitly urged his readers toward a vegetarian lifestyle.

But the essentials of Spock's advice never changed. He always meant to write a guide for living more than a medical reference book. He challenged conventional notions of normality and sought to alleviate anxiety, in parents and children alike. He always offered reassurance, in the down-to-earth manner in which he set forth his advice. He had a genius for popularization. No one ever explained Freud better in everyday language. No one ever wrote more gender-neutral prose.

Even as he set himself in militant opposition to the status quo in politics, he endeavored to help parents accommodate their children to it in the society and economy they would encounter. However inadvertently, he pushed mothers and fathers to prepare children for the corporate bureaucracies in which they would make their careers. He emphasized the cooperativeness and congeniality that organizational life demands. He held that parents "owe it to the child to make him likeable" and that they had to make him be like others to be likeable. He never reconciled his dissident politics and his conformist approach to child rearing.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature.**

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MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN

Sports

Children's PLAY and children's games have always been an important part of a culture. The role and social significance of that play, however, varied according to its historical con-

text. Often the games and play were just that—"play" for the purpose of pleasure, entertainment, and diversion. When given unstructured time or even during their daily chores, children likely throughout history have created games that involved footraces and throwing contests or that otherwise mimicked the adult activity around them, all of which could be considered sport.

Youth Sport in the Ancient World and Medieval Europe

Sometimes games were designed to teach socially approved gender roles, to indicate maturation, and to teach skills necessary for future survival of the individual and the culture. Some African tribes encouraged pubescent girls to wrestle each other as part of the ritual initiation into adulthood. The Diola of Gambia promoted physical strength by encouraging the male and female wrestling champions to marry. Boys in ancient Greece were encouraged to attend the Olympic Games, and races for the younger boys were sometimes organized separately. Girls of the time had their own games: they participated in the female version of the Olympics, the Hera Games. Spartan children were encouraged to compete in track-and-field and to participate in mock battle events to become stronger and more competent adults. Boys in the Roman civilization were similarly expected to begin their training as youngsters, competing in games and individual sports.

The Christians of medieval European society, however, cared less for sport than their predecessors in imperial Rome and ancient Greece. As a result, games and play in the Middle Ages were more childish diversions than socially promoted means of teaching appropriate behavior. But children and adults did play games, despite the concern of the church that sports created a dangerous focus on the physical body that might distract the individual from the importance of the salvation of the soul. For example, large games of medieval folk football involved many adults and children of the town. Girls and milkmaids also played a game called stoolball, a variation of the sports that would later evolve into BASEBALL and cricket. The European ambivalence towards such activities continued for centuries despite King James I of England's Declaration of Sports (also called the Book of Sports). This proclamation encouraged lawful recreation among children and adults and was opposed by the religious Puritans.

Early North American Sports

When the Puritans arrived in the New World of North America, they continued their tradition of intolerance of games and sports. Their encounters with the indigenous Native Americans, who attached religious significance to their organized sports and limited participation to adults, served to harden the Puritans' conviction that sport, even among children, would endanger the immortal soul. The lack of organized or team sports for children among both Native Americans and Puritans in North America did not mean that children there did not engage in play. However, the adults



A 1913 Brooklyn, NY, girls' high school basketball team. Basketball was adopted for girls' physical education programs soon after the invention of the game in 1891. © Bettman/CORBIS.

did not provide structured sports in the ways that had been common in the Old World and that would become widespread beginning in the 1800s.

Although few organized sports existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the northern colonies of America, the southern regions had a greater emphasis on outdoor activity and less of a Puritan focus on the soul. Almost all southern boys and many southern girls were taught to ride horses and to hunt wild game, both as a means of survival and as a kind of sport in races and competitions. While northerners in the late eighteenth century had developed harness racing as an organized sport, signifying their appreciation of equestrian events, the role of boys in this sport was generally limited to that of exercisers and grooms.

Clubs and the Turner Movement

Organized sports and team sports for adults seem to have evolved throughout America in the early- and mid-nineteenth century. Private athletic clubs were formed around sports like fishing, archery, and rowing. In 1860 men and boys formed cricket clubs in about 100 different cities

in the United States. Many of these clubs were intended for the wealthy, but later athletic clubs would be organized around ethnic lines, as a place for immigrants to preserve their culture and language as well as their sports.

In the early nineteenth century, social reformers noticed that young men and boys who worked in factories and lived in the cities lacked the physical health and stamina of their rural counterparts. Accordingly, they founded private gymnasiums and promoted the Turner movement. A key figure in this undertaking was Friedrich Jahn, a Prussian who combined German culture with GYMNASTICS (the word *Turner* derives from the German term that means to perform gymnastics). In 1842, Jahn's Turner exercises were incorporated into German education for boys, but beginning as early as the 1830s in America, Jahn's transplanted students taught gymnastics in private gyms for boys and college-age youth.

In that same era, collegiate sports began on an informal level in the United States, and after the Civil War's conclusion, professional leagues for baseball were established. Although organized youth sports had not yet appeared, club

sports and professional sports provided a model for youngsters, both native-born and immigrants, and they played these games in their own space and their own manner. Sporting experiences differed among the different cultures, based in part on race, class, and nationality.

Muscular Christianity

The evolution of youth sports stemmed in part from the rise of “Muscular Christianity.” Victorian leaders in both England and America feared that boys, in particular, were too physically frail to become effective and powerful leaders. Thomas Arnold, the headmaster at the Rugby School in England from 1828 to 1842, organized team sports for his male students in order to build strong physical bodies. The activities also served to keep the boys occupied, tired, and away from the temptations of alcohol and prostitutes, which Arnold feared would corrupt their souls and their ability to effectively lead. The Rugby headmaster was the first modern educator to actively link physical education with the education of the mind. Arnold’s model was lauded and ultimately subscribed to by leading American social reformers.

The YMCA and YWCA

The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) was founded in England in 1844 and appeared in the United States in 1851. The YMCA was initially intended to provide a refuge for boys and young men, particularly those of lower-class or immigrant status, who were seen as being at risk from the non-Christian temptations that were common in large cities. Within twenty-five years, over 260 YMCA gyms were established across America, encouraging young men to play baseball and football, lift weights, row, swim, and otherwise build healthy bodies. By 1895 the YMCA had adopted as an emblem an inverted triangle to emphasize the three parts of a fully developed man: mind, body, and spirit. Although a Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) would appear in the late 1870s, the YWCA did not have the same emphasis on athletics, offering only a few gymnastics programs based on German and Swedish models.

The YMCA organization would create several new American sports. In 1891 young James Naismith, an instructor at the YMCA training school in Springfield, Massachusetts, was asked to create a game that could be played indoors during the winter, and he invented BASKETBALL. Naismith did not specify that the game would be for males only, and female physical educators quickly adopted the game but modified it to a less strenuous six-on-six version that minimized exertion. William Morgan, another YMCA physical director in Massachusetts, created volleyball, and the game was quickly incorporated into PHYSICAL EDUCATION programs across the country.

Playground Movement

Linked to Muscular Christianity was the PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT, based on the belief of many reformers that youth sports could be used as a way to Americanize immi-

grant youth, to lower crime rates, and to exert social control over the working classes and the poor. Many philanthropists had worried that poor urban children without supervision, fresh air, and a place to play would turn to crime. As a result, beginning in the late 1890s a number of urban parks and playgrounds were founded through private land donations in conjunction with public rezoning. Originally, playgrounds were supervised by volunteers, but around the turn of the twentieth century, educators began to recognize the value of sports as a control mechanism, and many communities began to hire adults to organize games and activities for the children. The Boston School Committee, for example, began supervising playgrounds because they considered it an appropriate function of the public schools.

Collegiate Sports and Physical Education

Collegiate sports began informally in the mid 1800s. Students at Yale and Harvard began rowing against each other in the 1840s, and in 1859, about ten years after the appearance of baseball, two other New England colleges formed club teams and played against the other with some regularity. These events would lay the groundwork for the vibrant collegiate sports scene that continues today. Collegiate athletics first gained widespread popularity in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, when more and more teams began to participate in a variety of sports. President Theodore Roosevelt served as a link between Muscular Christianity and collegiate sports. Roosevelt was himself an avid outdoorsman and the product of rigorous physical training as a boy. He strongly supported youth and collegiate sports, believing that every boy should participate in athletics to build strength of body and of character. His leadership would be critical in 1905, when collegiate football was most at risk. The popular American sport had evolved in part from rugby and, in its early form, was extremely rough and dangerous. After a number of deaths, collegiate leaders were encouraged by Roosevelt to meet in order to decide if the game should be banned, but instead they were able to agree upon a number of rule changes to better protect the players. In 1910 the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was formed to oversee the growing number of college athletic conferences. Aside from brief declines during the two world wars, participation in college athletics grew throughout the twentieth century and became culturally significant not just on college campuses but across the country, especially in its popularity among spectators.

Women’s collegiate sports originally grew out of physical education departments. Early teachers in the programs were concerned about the risks to young women from over strenuous activities and the dangers of excessive competition. As a result, college women often played variations of the games played by the men. Teachers also promoted gymnastics and calisthenics rather than sports and encouraged intramural games rather than intervarsity competitions.

Female college students enjoyed sports, however, and African-American women, in particular, were encouraged to compete in track-and-field events at several schools. Throughout the mid 1900s, the United States national women's track-and-field team was dominated by African-American collegians. The rise of the women's rights movement and the enactment of TITLE IX in 1972 had a profound affect on women's collegiate sports. As a result of the law, female college athletes received better facilities, coaches, and greater access to sports, and the result has been an unprecedented rate of female participation in college athletics. Like their male counterparts, female athletes are part of the business of college sports, which is based on public spectatorship through television and in-person attendance.

School-Age Physical Education

Physical education in the schools began in the 1830s with the appointment of Dr. Charles Beck, a student of the Turner movement, to the faculty of the Round Hill School in Massachusetts—the first physical-education teacher in America. In addition to gymnastics, Beck also taught his students to swim, skate, wrestle, and dance. His work was a model for other schools that chose to teach calisthenics and gymnastics to both their boys and girls in order to build their health. Often the exercises were led in the classroom by the classroom teacher rather than by a specialized physical education instructor. However, as more colleges embraced physical education in the early twentieth century, they began training young people who then employed in the schools specifically to teach sporting and recreational activities.

After World War I, when many American leaders had been concerned by the physical inadequacies of the early troops, several states passed laws requiring that physical education be taught in the schools. Although most of these laws focused only on boys, a few states required that girls also receive similar instruction. Some of these programs were dropped during the GREAT DEPRESSION. As a result, there were renewed concerns about the fitness of American troops during World War II, and increased attention was paid to physical education thereafter.

Moreover, the growth of suburban areas in America after World War II resulted in a shift from the traditional focus on physical education in an urban school setting and instead placed new emphasis on suburbia. In both urban and suburban schools physical education included not just calisthenics but games and sports.

School Athletic Organizations

When boys in the 1890s began playing sports, they simply organized their own high school teams, much like their collegiate counterparts had, and the teams began first in urban areas. LUTHER HALSEY GULICK Jr., formerly the director of the YMCA Training School, became the director of physical training for the New York City public schools in 1903. A great believer in the need for physical development to match

moral development, Gulick understood that organized sport could be more beneficial for boys than gymnastics and calisthenics alone. He formed the Public Schools Athletic League (PSAL), which promoted interscholastic competition in sports such as rifle shooting. A girls' division was later created, but it did not allow interscholastic competition.

Adult supervision of high school team sports began at roughly the same time. Some football programs at the turn of the twentieth century were facing the same problems as the collegiate programs of the time—a large number of injuries and instances of preferential treatment for athletes and the use of “ringers” (skilled outsiders added to teams to improve performance). In 1902 high school educators across the country met to increase their authority over INTERSCHOLASTIC ATHLETICS, and by 1923 all but three states had established statewide interscholastic athletic associations. Like most reformist movements, organized high school sports were intended to control the energized mass of students and focus their attention on academics rather than sex and hooliganism. High school sports also formed a bond among students, both athletes and spectators, and helped give the local community an identity. Further, as educators in the 1970s began to impose academic minimums for athletic participation, sports became a motivator for better performance in the classrooms.

Sports opportunities for high school girls were limited in the beginning. A few states had widespread participation in certain high school sports. Oklahoma and Iowa, for example, had extensive and very popular high school girls' basketball programs, but the girls still played six-on-six ball until the 1980s. However, Title IX and the women's rights movement greatly increased the opportunities for high school girls, just as they had for collegiate women, and their participation rates grew dramatically beginning in the 1970s.

Youth Sports Leagues

In the twentieth century more and more private organizations began organizing and sponsoring youth sport leagues for children—boys, in particular. One of the first was established in 1930 with the foundation of the Catholic Youth Organization. Immediately it launched basketball and BOXING tournaments for Catholic boys in order to combine religious and physical instruction. Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, other church leagues were formed, and there were also a growing number of publicly funded community leagues. Organized sports were available for children as young as age four and five in many areas of the country.

Little League Baseball, Inc., the largest youth sports program, was founded in 1939. Throughout its history, Little League Baseball has had an extensive participation rate around the world and an organizational structure modeled so closely after professional baseball that the season culminates in a Little League World Series. In its first few dec-

ades, Little League Baseball drew boys of all ages, but girls were usually excluded. In 1974, after a series of lawsuits had been filed against Little League Baseball and other similar youth baseball leagues, Little League Baseball officially opened the dugout to girls. At the same time, however, Little League Softball came into being, and girls were often encouraged to join that league instead. Today, some girls play on Little League Baseball teams but more play Little League Softball. A few boys, in turn, have played on the Little League Softball teams. Parental involvement in Little League has also been extensive and, to a degree, notorious. In the 1960s and 1970s some Little League parents (especially fathers) earned the reputation of being loud, abusive types who pushed their children too hard and threatened coaches, umpires, and opposing players.

Little League Baseball was a model for other youth sports organizations that were founded after World War II and expanded over the next thirty years. These included Pee-Wee and Pop Warner Football, Pee-Wee and Midget Hockey, and Biddy Basketball. Until the 1970s, when the courts ordered the leagues opened to girls, most of these programs were for boys only. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) offered programs in track-and-field, wrestling, skiing, and swimming, which were divided by age group. Again, many of these were initially aimed at boys more than girls, but the swimming program was always coeducational. The hockey programs popular in large, northern cities, limited by a lack of ice time, have been criticized for having practice times for four- and five-year-olds that take place too late at night and too early in the morning. Many of these programs have also suffered adversely from excessive parental involvement. Parents have been convicted of assault, battery, and manslaughter for their behavior at the sporting events of their children.

In the 1960s the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO) was founded and marketed partly as an alternative to Little League Baseball and that organization's sometimes overinvolved parents. Soccer was a relatively new sport to the United States, and fathers did not have the same emotional attachment to the game as they did to baseball and football. As a result, girls were encouraged to play from the very beginning of the AYSO. The league marketed itself as being kinder and gentler than Little League Baseball, emphasizing the lack of parental involvement and the active participation of all children on the team. "Every player's a quarterback" was the unofficial AYSO slogan. The popularity of youth soccer has grown dramatically since its inception, though it too has experienced some of the same problems with overenthusiastic parents that were previously identified with other sports. Nonetheless, parental involvement—sometimes supportive and constructive, sometimes excessive and negative—remains a large factor in youth sports.

See also: **GutsMuths, J. C. F.; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; YWCA and YMCA.**

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SARAH K. FIELDS

Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)

Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner was born in Kraljevic, Austria-Hungary, in 1861. He was educated in Wiener Neustadt and graduated from the Technical University in Vienna in 1884. Rudolf Steiner's view of life is called *anthroposophy*: wisdom of men. It stresses the unity of body, mind, and soul, in the sense not of a personal but of a cosmic unity. According to this philosophy, there are three worlds, the physical, the soulish, and the spiritual. Humans are part of all three worlds through the seven forms of their whole existence on earth. They are "rooted" in the physical world with their physical, ethereal, and soulish bodies, and "blossomed" into the spiritual world with their spiritual selves, their spirit of life and spiritual existence.

Anthroposophy is intended to be a counterproject to Western scientific culture, one that includes the doctrines of cosmic fate and reincarnation. When this purely occult philosophy is applied to education, the child is considered to be

the “human in being” whose “substance” is known only when the “hidden” or “secret” nature of man is revealed. Education then is part of the *Geheimwissenschaft*: that is not publicly known but revealed only to its believers. This view is in opposition to all that constitutes modern education since the ENLIGHTENMENT.

For Steiner and his followers, the basis of education is neither teaching nor learning, but development. Development, however, refers not to nature, as Rousseau had stated, nor to mind, as JEAN PIAGET proposed. Steiner spoke of the “three births of men” that succeeded one after the other in a sequence of seven years. Up to the age of seven the child is woven within the ethereal and astral cover. After the child’s second dentition, the ethereal body is born; at the age of fourteen the astral body, or the body of sensation, is revealed; and at the age of twenty-one the “body of I” is set into spiritual life. The means of education during the first period are imitation and modelling, during the second period succession and authority, and in the third period the road to the “higher soul of men” is opened.

Teaching in the first periods, Steiner believed, should not take place in an “abstract” manner, but in a concrete way, with “lively, vivid pictures” representing true spirituality for the understanding of the child. The educator should be “sensitive, warm and imbued with empathy” as a result of his or her studies of the sources of spiritual science. In the end the educator should represent the “true knowing of spiritual science” and this would be at the heart of all true education. Until the child reaches sexual maturity, teaching relates to the memory of the child, Steiner argued, and after that it relates to reason. Working with concepts is necessary only after sexual maturity. Teaching has one central principle, namely that memory comes first and only then comes comprehension. The better the memory, the better the understanding will be, so all first schooling should be based upon memorizing.

In February 1919, Steiner delivered four public lectures in Zurich. These lectures were published soon after as “the key points of the social question.” Steiner developed his later famous principles of the “trinomial organization of society,” namely economy, law, and spiritual life. Education and schooling are part of the spiritual life, or the *geistige Kultur*, which can only work when it is completely free. Thus schooling should be completely free, too. The Waldorf Schools, following this principle, are nonstate enterprises and call themselves Free Schools because they operate independently from the curricula of the state.

The grounding principle of the schools is “rhythm,” not lecturing: the rhythm of the day, of the week, and of the year. The curriculum is constructed around a seven-year cycle, with special forms of teaching, such as epoch-instruction or the learning of eurythmics. The schools are nonselective and use neither grades nor rankings. The pupils are not divided

into classes but remain together as a group with one teacher as long as one cycle lasts. The schools are coeducational and have an independent administration and a close connection between teachers and parents. They attempt to avoid putting pressure on children and allow them to work according to their own personal potential.

See also: Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Neill, A. S.; Progressive Education.

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JÜRGEN OELKERS

Stepparents in the United States

Stepparents in America have experienced at best a grudging acceptance, and at worst a negative and suspicious reception throughout American history. Overall, their role has been poorly defined by law, public policy, and social custom. Still, stepparents have always had an important role to play in raising children. In early colonial times because of high mortality rates and more recently because of divorce, the common occurrence of remarriage has meant a substantial proportion of American children are raised in stepfamilies.

Stepfathers

Widowhood was a common phenomenon in colonial America. Although many widows with children remarried, the role of stepfathers is prominent yet unclear in colonial America. Under seventeenth-century English common law, as indeed under modern American family law, the stepfather stood in an uncertain position with regard to his stepchild. Under common law, the mere relationship of stepfather and stepchild conferred no rights and imposed no duties. If, however, the stepfather voluntarily received the child into the home and treated it as a member of the family, the reciprocal rights and duties of the parent–child relationship were established and continued so long as the relationship lasted. If a man died without a will his stepchildren would not inherit from him. Beyond that the law is mostly silent.

We do have historical evidence that as heads of households, stepparents took on virtually all the responsibilities of natural fathers even if they were not officially recognized as such. Certainly all the colonial laws requiring fathers, parents, and masters to maintain, educate, and train children and servants in their households applied to stepfathers, who may well have had natural children in the household as well. There are also many references to stepfathers apprenticing their stepchildren to others, a role normally reserved for fathers. The mother of the children, as *femme couverte* (without a legal status separate from her husband) in remarriage, had no ability to make indenture contracts in her own right.

Stepfathers, however, were limited in their obligation to support their stepchildren. As heads of households, they were obliged to support the child they had accepted into the household, but not if the natural father was available. If the child was born out of wedlock, the natural father still had to pay maintenance for the child, which he gave directly to the stepfather. In one such case the biological father was forced to make payments for his sexual transgressions both to the stepfather and to his wife's natural father. A Massachusetts County Court decided

Joseph Hall of Lyn, charged by Elizabeth wife of Nathll Eastman of Salisbury, as being the father of her child before her marriage, and the charge having been proved true, was ordered to pay 12 li.[pounds] toward the child's maintenance to the husband of Elizabeth, in provisions within two years. Hall was also to pay 5 li.[pounds] according to the law to Johathan Hudson, father of Elizabeth, for enticing her and frequenting her company contrary to her father's warning. (Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, Vol. V:1672–1674, p. 103)

If the stepchild's mother died, the rights of the stepfather were greatly weakened. ADOPTION was not available until the nineteenth century, so stepfathers had no legal right to retain their stepchildren. The courts determined the placement of children in these circumstances based mainly on practical considerations. Labor was scarce and healthy children were an important asset, a fact not ignored by the courts. Petitions on behalf of the stepfather before the Maryland Orphan's Court arguing for custody of the child as against the claims of the grandparents did not mention the best interests of the child, but rather stressed the investment that the stepfather had already made in the maintenance of the children and his need for their services.

In practice, most children remained with their stepfather if he chose to keep them, but the community continued to keep a close watch on stepfathers. Court records are filled with accusations about stepfathers squandering children's estates or mistreating them. Under guardianship law, minors could appoint their own guardians for their estates at age fourteen. At that age, Aaron Prother asked the Maryland

court for permission to choose his own guardian since "he has had the mishap sometime since to fall under the lash of an unfortunate father in law [stepfather]" (quoted in Wall, p. 90). Neighbors and town officials also monitored the behavior of stepfathers, as they did of fathers, but courts appeared more willing to remove a child from a stepfather than from a father for what was frequently referred to as "evil usage" or "hard usage" of their stepchildren.

Stepmothers

Since widowers remarried just as did widows, stepmothers constituted a large class in colonial America. There is very little to say about the legal status of stepmothers, however, because like natural mothers they were *femme couverte* and had a legal existence only in the shadow of their husbands. Like biological mothers, their only claim was to "love and respect." Upon the death of her husband, a stepmother had a weaker claim to the custody of her stepchildren than would a stepfather, since her economic and marital future was uncertain. Only if the father had made a will appointing the stepmother as the guardian of his children could a stepmother have a strong claim.

In some cases, the court chose a blood relative over a stepmother. In Connecticut, the stepdaughter of Edward Clark's widow was bound out to her aunt against the widow's objection. Since adoption was not yet a legal concept, binding out by contract, or apprenticing, was as close as one could come to adoption. It gave the relative a firm legal hold on the child until the child reached majority. This decision could mean that, in the court's judgment, the stepmother was unable to maintain the girl and the nearest relative offered to do so. It could also mean that the court chose the aunt because she was a blood relative and the stepmother was not.

These contradictory decisions indicate both the lack of clear legal principles regarding stepparents' rights and also the practical strategy followed by the courts in placing the children where they could provide critical labor. The nineteenth century changed the status of stepparents somewhat both through the new option of adoption and the elimination of APPRENTICESHIPS or "binding out" as a way of dealing with children whose fathers had died. The "best interest of the child" replaced the labor value of the child in determining the relationships with nonbiological parents. Still, adoption did not suit all stepparent situations, particularly where there were children from a previous marriage. The act of adoption gave the child inheritance rights that were often resented by children of the first family. Therefore most stepchildren and stepparents continued to coexist in an ambiguous relationship.

Modern Stepfamilies

A great shift in stepfamily demographics occurred in the twentieth century as divorce replaced death as the most common reason for remarriage. The modern stepfamily is differ-

ent and more complex than the colonial stepfamily in several important ways. With divorce rather than death as a background event it is the remarriage of the custodial mother that usually forms the stepfamily. Some 86 percent of stepchildren live primarily with a custodial mother in their stepfamily. In most cases the noncustodial parent is still alive, creating the phenomenon of children with more than two parents. This fact precludes the option of adoption for many stepfathers. In addition to divorce, 28 percent of children are born to unwed mothers, many of whom eventually marry someone who is not the father of their child. In a study including all children, not just children of divorce, it was estimated that one-fourth of the children born in the United States in the early 1980s will live with a stepparent before they reach adulthood.

Still the role of stepparents continues to be ignored as a social or legal concept. While the rights and obligations of biological parents, particularly unwed fathers, have been greatly expanded in recent years, stepparents have received almost no attention from policy makers. Stepparents in most states have no obligation during the marriage to support their stepchildren, nor do they enjoy any right of custody or control. Consistent with this pattern, if the marriage terminates through divorce or death, they usually have no rights to custody or even visitation, however long-standing their relationship with their stepchildren. Conversely, stepparents have no obligation to pay child support following divorce, even if their stepchildren have depended on their income for many years. And stepchildren have no right of inheritance in the event of the stepparent's death.

Some social scientists believe that stepparent-stepchildren relationships are not as strong or nurturing as those in biologically related families, and that stepchildren do not do as well in school and in other outside settings. Other studies show that when single or divorced mothers marry their household income increases more than three-fold, rising to the same level as nuclear families. In many cases this lifts the mother and children out of poverty. Studies also show us that residential stepparents perform many of the same caregiving functions as biological parents: helping with homework, driving the children to school, and so on. And in many stepfamilies the affectionate bond between stepparent and child is warm and strong. Stepfamilies are likely to remain an important family configuration. There is little indication, however, that they will soon receive the recognition and acknowledgement they deserve.

See also: **Divorce and Custody; Parenting; Same-Sex Parenting.**

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MARY ANN MASON

Street Arabs and Street Urchins

An alarming 1849 report by New York City police chief George Matsell raised the specter of over ten thousand "vagrant, idle and vicious children of both sexes" roaming the city streets, begging, stealing, or making their way as prostitutes. That same year, British journalist and social critic Henry Mayhew lamented the "licentious and vagabond propensities" of the thousands of children "flung" into London's streets through neglect and destitution. While Mayhew and other social observers illuminated the hardships and squalor that characterized the lives of street arabs and street urchins—the legions of raggedly dressed children, girls as well as boys, who worked, played, and sometimes lived in the streets of urban slums—their view of street children was framed as much by their own middle-class attitudes toward the poor as by the actual conditions of the children. Urban dwellers throughout the United States and Western Europe faced a bewildering array of social changes during the Victorian era that gave rise to fears of social chaos and violent class confrontation. Considering poor children to be "endangered and dangerous youth," urban reformers came to see these children as both the symbol of social disintegration and the key to social stability.

During the nineteenth century, urban centers such as New York City received a steady stream of foreign immigrants, unskilled native-born workers, and free blacks who, by economic necessity, settled in the poorest, most densely populated wards of the city. Although social reformers and the press publicized only the most sensational stories of children who ran away from or toiled to support alcoholic, abusive parents, the vast majority of children worked to supplement their families' meager incomes. Children scavenged for coal and scrap wood to burn, ran errands, and gathered scrap metal, glass, and rags to sell to junk dealers. Boys blacked boots and sold newspapers and matches. Girls peddled corn or flowers on street corners. The growth of street trades also led to an increase in the amount of petty crime committed by juveniles. Many children became adept at pilfering salable objects, though pickpocketing was the preserve of a small cadre of young professionals.

Police cited vagrancy, however, as the principal "crime" committed by the young, though most had homes and jobs that required their presence in the streets. The emphasis on children's "vagrancy" reflects middle-class biases about what constituted a home. In the eyes of many middle-class observ-

ers, the poor had no homes, merely dark, filthy hovels. In fact, the term *street arab*, first used in the mid-nineteenth century, alludes to the nomadic lifestyle of some Arabic peoples. More than any other issue, the presence of children in the streets symbolized the disorder of lower-class family life to social reformers. In poor families, home life spilled out of the crowded tenement rooms into the bustling streets below. By contrast, domesticity defined the experience of bourgeois families. Instead of keeping children within the domestic sphere to protect them from the perceived evils of urban life, lower-class parents allowed their offspring to work and play in the city streets.

Fueled by these beliefs, organizations for the moral reform of destitute and delinquent youth emerged on both sides of the Atlantic: Rauhe Haus in Germany, Colonie Agricole in France, Kingswood and Tower Hill in England, and the Houses of Refuge in the United States. These reformatories sought to remold children's characters through discipline and hard work. Other organizations, notably the Children's Aid Society and the SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, took a different tack, interven-

ing in the home life of the poor. They rescued children not only from the streets, but, when they deemed it necessary, from their parents as well. Modern conceptions of foster care and children's services evolved directly from these programs.

See also: **Child Saving; Delinquency; Homeless Children and Runaways in the United States; New York Children's Aid Society; Work and Poverty.**

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CLAY GISH

Street Games

The outdoor PLAY of girls and boys has exhibited remarkable persistence over time—and considerable similarity throughout the world. Evidence of games of tag, hide-and-seek, hopping, jumping, marbles, and the competitive throwing of balls, sticks, and other objects is found in the earliest historical records of virtually every culture. Whether these activities originated as amusements and recreation or were part of adult rituals that were imitated by children is uncertain. Origins, however, are less relevant to understanding the importance of children's outdoor play and street games than the cultural contexts in which the games are played. In most cultures, childhood is a time of life when girls and boys engage in games and play. Through these games, in addition to having fun and getting exercise, they learn leadership and cooperation, rules (and rule evasion), physical skills, and social roles.

Street *play* may be defined as any pleasurable activity engaged in by children outside their homes, schools, and supervised playgrounds. Street *games* are those kinds of play that have names and rules, persist over time, and are recorded by adults. Popular games in the United States include: *red rover*, *jump rope*, *king of the mountain*, *kick the can*, *hide-and-seek*, *stickball*, *marbles*, and *hopscotch* (there is regional variation in many names). Jacks, board games, cards, and similar games may be played outside as well as indoors.

History of Games

Pieter Brueghel's 1560 painting *Children's Games* is a record of Dutch children engaged in more than ninety activities, most of them in streets and courtyards. The painting has been the subject of extensive scholarship and debate about its meanings. Whatever allegorical interpretations may be made, it provides a useful baseline from which to measure the survival or loss of children's games over 400 years. Prominent in Brueghel's assemblage are jacks (knucklebones), DOLLS, dollhouses, popguns, blindman's buff, leapfrog, marbles, various kinds of tag, ball, and pretend games, fighting, and fire-making—in short, games remarkably similar to those played today throughout the world.

For example, the knucklebones used in a game by two young women in the painting are clearly tali, or ankle bones, probably of sheep. These bones have four distinct sides and in Mongolia, for example, they are labeled "goat," "sheep," "camel," and "horse." In some games the ancient Greeks named only two sides, "dog" and "Venus." The bones can be used to play various games that have obvious kinship with both dice and marbles. They may be thrown on the ground with points assigned to each side of the talus; they may be flicked with a finger to strike and capture another bone; or they may be tossed in the air and caught on the back of the hand—a variation of this game using small stones was known as *jackstones* or *fiwestones* in the United States. The manufac-

ture in the nineteenth century of six-pointed metal jacks and small rubber balls allowed the game to evolve into its present form.

William Wells Newell, in his book *Games and Songs of American Children*, published in 1883, described almost 200 kinds of children's play as observed or remembered by Newell and his friends. Like Brueghel's painting, Newell's work provides another baseline from which to measure persistence and change in children's play. Newell lists half-a-dozen variations of jackstones played by boys and girls in New England, including *otadama* or *Japanese jacks*. This game was played with seven little bags of rice and involved complex patterns of arrangement, throwing, and catching, similar to games played with bones, stones, and pieces of iron.

In parts of the United States, jackstones was also known as *dibs*, linking it with slang terms for money and claims on property. In NEW ZEALAND, as in Mongolia, children hunted for the remains of dead sheep, removed the anklebones, cleaned them, dyed them, carried them in specially made

bags, and traded them. Before the arrival of Europeans and their livestock, Maori children played their version of jacks with stones. A few years after Newell's book, Stewart Culin, a curator who worked for the Smithsonian Institution and later the Brooklyn Museum, described how bison anklebones were used by Papago Indians in yet another variation of jacks. Folklorists in late-twentieth-century New York City found children in Chinatown playing jacks with buttons.

Jacks is presented in both memoirs and ethnographies as a game of hand-eye coordination and friendly competition—unlike marbles, which often involves playing “for keeps.” Marble games are also of great antiquity. Made of clay, bone, fruit pits, shells, stone, glass, metal, or other material, games with these small round objects usually consist in “shooting” one marble into another by flicking it with a thumb or finger, with the intent of capturing the other marble. A variation involves shooting a marble from hole to hole to win all the marbles in the final hole. Marbles are also valued according to their material, style, and personal tastes of their owner. The distinction between playing for “keepsies” as opposed to “funsies,” marks marbles, also called *taws*, as a gambling game. Played outdoors on uneven ground, marbles adds an element of luck to a game of skill. Historical sources suggest that marbles were played for reasons beyond amusement, acquisitiveness, or greed. A slave in Louisiana exploited his skill to accumulate marbles that he then used to pay a white boy to teach him to read. Culin notes that the Philippine game of *pungitan*, which involves shooting a shell at another shell in a ring, was played for money, food, and cigarettes.

Games of tag have been analyzed for what they suggest about power relationships. Folklorists and psychologists see elements of personal power in the “it” role in chase, tag, and capture games such as *Black Tom* (also known as *black man*, *wall-to-wall*, and *pom pom pull away*). This power confers prestige and self-esteem on the child who is “it,” even if he or she is not the fastest runner or most skilled player. This is because the “it” person exercises control over the other players by positioning himself or herself before calling out the words that require the others to run between bases. Conversely, low power “it” roles in dodge the skunk (like *Black Tom*, but without the call to start the game) and pickle-in-the-middle (a version of keepaway), in which the chosen player cannot control the movement of the other players, convey little prestige and often result in a sense of failure leading to arguments, fights, and abandonment of the game.

Variation in Games

Examples of children's games with worldwide occurrence can be extended indefinitely. As important as the similarities may be, the subtle variations brought about by different cultural styles and social conditions are also meaningful. In the singing game *Sally Waters*, African-American children in St. Louis added lyrics that changed the rhythm and gestures of

the game from “Turn to the east/Turn to the west/Turn to the one that you love best,” to “Put your hand on you hip/Let your backbone slip/Shake it to the east/O baby/Shake it to the west/Shake it to the one you love the best.” In one version of the traditional southern game *chickamy*, *chickamy*, *craney crow* (also known as *fox and chickens*), in which a hawk or a witch tries to pull a player from a line of “chickens” behind a “mother,” an overseer was substituted for the witch. By substituting a dreaded historical figure for a witch, the children preserved the memory of slavery, and in a slight way transformed the meaning of the game. IONA AND PETER OPIE cite versions of this game throughout Europe, Asia, and the Caribbean. A Mexican version, *A que te robo un alma*, has a devil stealing a soul, then punishing the soul by putting it to work at some disagreeable task. In another example of name change that illustrates children's humor, boys in the state of Jalisco play a version of Johnny-on-the-pony called *chinche lagua* (bed bug), in which boys climb on the back of a boy braced against a wall until the pile of boys collapses.

These are a few of the dozens of street and outdoor games played by American children from the seventeenth century to the present. The increasing density and congestion of cities in the twentieth century has changed the nature of street play. Stewart Culin was one of the first to notice distinctly urban forms of traditional games. Some were minor variations of old chase-and-capture games. *Relievo*, a “prisoner's base” type of game common in Scotland, Wales, and Northern England, became, in Brooklyn, *ring relievo* (or *ringoleavio*), a rough and tumble game in which the prisons for captured players were marked in chalk on the sidewalk and pursuit went around a city block instead of across open fields. An observer in 1902 reported that city boys had substituted chalk marks on walls for the colored paper used by the hares in the chase game of hare and hounds. Architectural features of cities were incorporated into games. Walls and the steps leading up to the doors of apartment houses became courts for handball and stoopball. Manhole covers and fire hydrants were used as bases in stickball. *Pictures* was a gambling game in which boys tossed or flipped picture cards from cigarette packs toward a wall about twelve feet away. The boy whose card landed nearest the wall won all the other cards that had fallen picture side up.

Games in U.S. Cities

Reformers and advocates of supervised playgrounds were dismayed by what they saw on the streets of America's major cities in the early twentieth century. In New York City, one observer found the ten most popular games from October through May of 1904 were: playing with fire, craps, marbles, hopscotch, leapfrog, jump rope, BASEBALL, cat (hitting and catching a stick), picture-card flipping, and tops. A survey in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 23, 1913, concluded that almost half the children were “doing nothing,” which consisted of breaking windows, destroying property, setting fires, chalking suggestive words on buildings, standing around, fight-

ing, gambling, and stealing. Those who were “playing” in streets, alleys, yards, vacant lots, and playgrounds were engaged in baseball, kite flying, digging in sand piles, or playing tag and jackstones.

Cleveland, which had an active playground association that provided *SANDBOXES*, swings, and other apparatus, had a higher percentage of children “playing” than many cities. In the early 1930s, Richmond, Virginia, reported that 65 percent of the city’s children spent their time “idling.” Ipswich, Massachusetts, and Eveleth, Minnesota, had even higher percentages of children bereft of play. Other surveys suggest that the reformers may have defined play and games too narrowly, perhaps or missed some activities.

Weather conditions and changing seasons often determine the choice of games. Newell and others noted that marbles was a game of late winter and early spring, as were kites and tops. In Georgia the season for popguns was when the chinaberries ripened on the trees. In 1898 an observer in Chicago noted that the first appearance of marbles, jacks, and jump rope was on March 6, when the weather turned mild, as well as their virtual disappearance by the end of April, when they were replaced by ball games in the day and chase and tag in the evening. Some activities, of course, are almost completely dependent on weather, such as swimming in the summer and sledding and snowball fighting in the winter.

The Twentieth Century

In the 1950s, Brian Sutton-Smith and B. G. Rosenberg collected information on almost 200 games played by 2,689 children between the ages of nine and fifteen in northwestern Ohio and compared them to collections from the 1890s, 1920s, and 1940s. Ball games, tag, marbles, bicycle riding, and make-believe games such as cops and robbers were among the favorites of boys for over 60 years. Jump rope, tag, hopscotch, and dolls continued to rank high among girls, but by the 1950s girls showed an increasing preference for traditional boys’ activities such as swimming, marbles, and kite flying. More highly organized games with inflexible rules, such as *BASKETBALL* and football, rose in popularity among boys as a result of the expansion of physical education programs. Although many changes in game preferences may be attributed to the differences in methods and places of the surveys, Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg concluded that there had been a significant shift away from singing and dialogue games, such as Sally Waters and chickamy, and some shift away from traditional chase-and-capture games that involved choosing leaders and establishing group relations. Instead, games of individual skill became more prominent. The range of play for boys was narrowing and the games of both sexes involved smaller numbers of players.

The impact of school recreation programs, suburbanization, *TELEVISION*, and electronic games have further altered children’s play since the mid-twentieth century. Although

the memoirs of men and women who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s still contain references to regional styles of informal ball games, tag, jump rope, hopscotch, and dolls, there are increasing references to the influence of electronic media and commercial amusements. From the Davy Crockett fad of the 1950s to television shows and movies marketing specific *TOYS*, children’s play has increasingly become a target for the manufacturers and retailers of clothing, electronic games, sports apparatus, and other paraphernalia.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that children do not passively accept the blandishments of adult culture. A 1992 study of almost 1,000 children, mostly three to seven years old, in twenty-two schools and day-care centers in the Philadelphia area, provides a fascinating glimpse of the impact, or lack thereof, of television and electronic games. Although Nintendo topped the list of favorite games and toys, *Monopoly* and hide-and-seek were close behind, while *BARBIE* dolls and baseball outranked generic video games. Watching TV and playing video games dominated indoor activities, although drawing and reading made the top ten, while for outside activities biking, swimming, baseball, soccer, and playing in playgrounds and yards topped the list. Responding to questions about what they liked best about where they lived, children listed friends, house, yard, park, bike, playmates, and their rooms—and while these rooms may contain video games, this seems to indicate that from a child’s perspective it is the opportunity to play, not any particular activity, that is the prerequisite for perpetuation of children’s games.

Even more remarkable was the number of different activities named by the children in the survey. Over 500 distinct activities, most named only once, were recorded, from “fixing things” to “playing spooky in the dark,” to “playing with bugs.” Many traditional tag, chase, and jumping games were mentioned, but the evidence suggests somewhat more solitary play for contemporary children than that experienced by earlier generations.

Paradoxically, children have lost some of their autonomy. This is the conclusion of a study of three generations of children who grew up in a neighborhood on the northern tip of Manhattan. From 1910 to 1980, the age at which children were first allowed to go out of their yards alone rose from five-and-a-half to seven-and-a-half. Moreover, the number of places children recall visiting away from home declined for both young children and teenagers. Most dramatic was the increase in the number of professionally supervised activities for children. For those growing up in the 1920s and 1930s the only supervised play was a summer sports program in a schoolyard. By the 1950s, however, Little League, Boy and Girl Scouts, the Police Athletic League, youth centers, and public libraries were offering a wide variety of organized recreation.

Street games have become a topic of nostalgia, with newspapers and the media regularly reporting on the survival of

stickball, handball, and double-dutch jump rope in organized leagues and competitions. Picture books and websites on street play appeal to adults who have happy memories of childhood. Currently, streets are being reclaimed for play by boys and girls on roller blades and skateboards, and efforts to ban these activities recall earlier contests over control of play spaces. Street play is, in the final analysis, a public performance by children of games and rituals that both mock and confirm the larger social order.

See also: **Boyhood; Girlhood; Indoor Games; Playground Movement; Theories of Play.**

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BERNARD MERGEN

Student Government

The American belief that education transmits democratic ideals to a new generation is as old as the republic. Throughout the nineteenth century examples in secondary schools and colleges can be found of students taking on responsibilities for the functioning of their institutions. The widespread expansion of student government began at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

In colleges the impulse came from students' beliefs that they should be involved in the aspects of college life which most affected them. Advocates of Progressive-era political and educational reform, meanwhile, saw training young people in the practicalities of democratic citizenship as an answer to a political system they feared was dominated by "bosses." The school, as an increasingly universal experience, seemed the logical site for such instruction.

Adult proponents saw student government as an extension of the progressive educational concept of learning by doing. They assailed authoritarian school systems and argued that only if students experienced democracy in their school life would they become effective adult citizens. Experiments in student participation modeled on existing structures of city and federal governments were tried in many secondary schools during the first decades of the twentieth century, gaining media attention and support from political and educational leaders. Opponents, however, charged the schemes would simply reproduce the corruptions of the existing political system rather than offer a model of democratic behavior. Despite successes, programs that established a "school city" or "school republic" faded in the years after World War I.

By the 1920s, fraternities and sororities had become the center of college society and these social organizations dominated many student governments. The first national organization of student government leaders, the National Student Federation (founded in 1925), supported reforms of education and restrictions on student behavior.

A focus by administrators on school as the center of young people's lives made student government an important component of HIGH SCHOOL culture during the 1920s and in subsequent years. New initiatives were based on life *within* the school and became a means to promote "school spirit." Student government stood at the head of an array of clubs that operated outside the standard curriculum. Many student councils and their teacher advisers had responsibility for promoting social activities, monitoring halls, lunchrooms, and organizing assembly programs. During World War II, councils turned to drives for war bonds in addition to their management of social life.

While participation had once been limited to club officers and those who met certain academic requirements, by

mid-century councils were increasingly elected at large and in homerooms and qualifications for participation were removed. The Progressive-era focus on modeling adult structures had been replaced by an emphasis on students learning “responsibility” and “cooperation.” Student government was a special kind of “delegated authority” in which students stood at the bottom of a long chain of command.

Promoted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals, student government entered the postwar years as a predictable aspect of any high school life. The high school became the appropriate focus for students’ patriotism and student government the principal’s cooperative partner in managing the school.

College student government hit a high-water mark during the 1950s as a larger and demographically diverse student population poured onto campuses. Student government was almost universal in colleges of all sizes. Although leaders complained about apathy, most students voted in campus elections. Student government leaders, represented nationally by the National Student Association (founded in 1947), felt student government should have greater responsibility and involvement not only in student social affairs but also in the educational matters facing their institutions. When they called for academic freedom, an end to racial discrimination, and reform of in loco parentis authority over students, leaders imagined such changes would occur within a college’s existing power structure.

While students played significant roles in the civil rights and antiwar movements during the 1960s, student government declined in its importance during this period. Although many activists were or had been student government leaders, student governments themselves waded into the fray only tentatively. Campus protests against the unequal distribution of power in college students’ lives and demands for greater involvement in campus decision-making that resulted in significant upheaval often made the student government appear to be a “sandbox” for make-believe politics. The National Student Association’s reputation was damaged significantly when it was revealed in 1967 that the Central Intelligence Agency had been providing substantial funding for its international student exchange programs and had exerted unofficial influence on its policies since the early 1950s.

The transformation of educational governance policies in the early 1970s prompted by student unrest seemed to presage a renaissance for student government. In secondary schools, a robust student council that focused on dropouts and drugs as much as, or more than, improving lunchroom behavior and the participation of student representatives on local school boards were deemed the best way to promote democracy and avoid future strife. Colleges and universities transformed many of their governing bodies to involve students in decisions regarding student life and educational policy. As the years went on, however, the feeling of urgency re-

garding student involvement in governance began to fade. Studies found declining sentiment for student involvement in governance and participation in college elections. High school involvement declined even more and experts’ proposals for increased student participation were often precisely the same ones described as accomplishments of a dynamic student council in the 1940s.

By the end of the twentieth century, high school students involved in government balanced the demands of multiple extracurricular activities; school councils made announcements and coordinated clubs and social events but even that level of responsibility was declining. On college campuses, student government leaders often sat on university committees, managed a considerable student activities budget funded by activities fees, provided other services to students, and worked with an expanding staff of “student affairs” professionals. While the belief that a new generation must learn the skills of democracy remained, the role of student government in that quest is less clear than it was to its progressive advocates.

See also: **Youth Activism.**

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GLENN WALLACH

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome

Sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS, also known as crib death) is the unexpected death of an infant for which post-mortem examination fails to find adequate cause. It has a long history and has been explained, at various times, as infanticide, overlaying (accidental suffocation in a family bed), and thymus death, or *status lymphaticus*. The reasons why infants died suddenly were often obscure. In 1855 Thomas Wakley, the founder and editor of the *Lancet*, wrote about “infants found dead in bed,” and there has been a stream of publications on the subject ever since. During the nineteenth

century, the frequency of infanticide was a matter of growing concern. In the mid-1860s over 80 percent of all coroners' reports of murder in England and Wales involved infants. Disraeli said that infanticide was "hardly less prevalent in England than on the banks of the Ganges." The subject excited considerable interest in British newspapers and medical journals from the 1860s onwards. Death from overlying was also common, perhaps because of overcrowding and the prevalence of drunkenness.

The unexpected death of an infant without obvious cause was long thought to be due to an enlarged thymus. This was a misunderstanding, but it lasted until modern times. Normal infants have large thymus glands, but most infant deaths occurred after prolonged illness had depleted the thymus so that postmortem examinations revealed small thymuses. A child who died suddenly was likely to have a normal, large thymus, and this was taken to be the cause of death. A disease, *status lymphaticus*, was invented to legitimize it. During the early twentieth century this disease caused considerable interest and anxiety. It was later questioned and eventually shown to be nonexistent.

Yet infants continued to die unexpectedly. During the 1940s the concept of crib death (also called *cot death*) became prominent and gradually the label changed to sudden infant death syndrome. Most experts in the field agree that it has many possible causes. These include infection (often sudden pneumonia), hyperthermia (overheating due to too hot a room or too many bedcoverings), murder, and unintentional poisoning (perhaps from cigarette smoke or chemicals, possibly arsenic, phosphorus, and antimony in crib mattresses, perhaps from obscure fungi that grow in old mattresses). The possible involvement of mattresses has led to accusations of cover-ups by governments and manufacturers. Increasing publicity has promoted the adoption of baby monitors, which record a baby's breathing and sound an alarm if the infant ceases to breathe.

The current consensus of opinion is that crib death appears to be an abnormal response to everyday challenges and stresses that do not affect most babies. After (or coincidental with) new regulations about crib mattresses and public advice to put babies into their cribs on their backs rather than on their stomachs, the incidence of SIDS fell by two-thirds, but it is still the largest single killer of babies under one year and the subject is of considerable interest to both pediatricians and the public. The Foundation for the Study of Infant Deaths initiates research and also campaigns for greater compassion to be shown by health professionals to bereaved parents.

See also: **Infant Mortality; Pediatrics.**

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ANN DALLY

Suicide

Suicide rarely occurs before age ten, and although suicide rates for ten to fourteen year olds and adolescents greatly increased in the United States between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s, suicide rates for children and adolescents are lower than for other age groups. Nevertheless, by the end of the twentieth century, suicide was the second greatest cause of death in adolescents, after (mainly automobile-related) accidents. In children age ten to fourteen suicide is the third leading cause of death, following unintentional injuries and malignant neoplasms. In the United States, males age ten to fourteen die by suicide three times more than females, and males age fifteen to nineteen have five times more suicides than females. The difference between male and female suicide rates may be explained by males being more vulnerable, or it may be due to their preferences for more lethal methods, particularly firearms: gunshot wounds are the leading cause of suicide deaths in the United States for all age groups. For each person who dies by suicide (a "completed suicide") there are an estimated 50 to 100 suicide attempts. When people under age eighteen are asked if they have ever seriously attempted suicide, at least one out of twenty say that they have.

The Historical Problem

The contemporary concern about adolescent suicide raises a complex historical problem. First, how new is the pattern? We know that adolescents and very young adults committed suicide in the past. In Germany in the late 1700s, the publication of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Werther*), a novel by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, presumably spurred some suicides in young men who were attracted to death by the prevailing romantic culture. Studies of suicide in England in the late nineteenth century also reveal some adolescent suicides. It is unclear how much the current patterns reflect new developments, as opposed to new levels of attention and concern.

To the extent that there is change, the question then arises: what might the causes be? A culture permeated with images of violence, but in which children rarely experience death directly, is sometimes held accountable. New tensions at school and in peer groups may be involved, sometimes complemented by drug use. Suicide is closely linked, of course, to psychological depression, which also seems to be on the rise among young people.

Children's Understanding of Suicide

Although young children (less than ten to twelve years) rarely die by suicide, contemporary children develop an understanding of suicide at an early age, and their conceptions of suicide may influence their behaviors later in life, when they experience the vulnerabilities of ADOLESCENCE.

Research indicates that by age seven or eight most children understand the concept of suicide, can use the word *suicide*, and can name several common methods of committing suicide. Young children, as young as age five and six, can understand and talk about killing themselves, even if they do not understand the word *suicide*. Children by age seven or eight report that they have talked about suicide with other children, and most have seen at least one fictional suicide on television. These suicides usually occur in cartoons in which the villain takes his or her own life when he or she has lost an important battle and has no way to escape. Children also experience suicide attempts and threats in adult television programs, including soap operas and the news. Despite children's knowledge of and exposure to the subject, they receive little guidance about it from adults.

Children age five to twelve generally have quite negative attitudes toward suicide; they consider suicide something that one should not do and generally feel that people do not have a right to kill themselves. When there is a suicide in the family or in the family of their friends, children usually know about the suicide, despite parents' attempts to hide the facts by avoiding talking about it or explaining that the death was an accident. For example, in studies conducted in Quebec, Canada, by Brian L. Mishara, 8 percent of children said that they knew someone who committed suicide, but none of the children said that they were told about the suicide by an adult. Surveys of parents found that 4 percent of children have threatened to kill themselves at some time but these threats are rarely taken seriously or discussed.

Children at a young age are curious about understanding death, and although they know that one can commit suicide, their view of what occurs when someone dies may be very different from an adult's understanding of death. However, children learn fairly early (generally by age seven or eight) that death is final—that someone who dies may not come back to life. Younger children often believe that people who have died are able to see, hear, feel, and be aware of what living people are doing.

Suicidal Behavior in Children and Adolescents

Suicide is a relatively rare event that results from a combination of risk factors, usually a precipitating event combined with access to a means of committing suicide and a lack of appropriate help. Suicide is generally understood to be the result of complex interactions between developmental, individual, environmental, and biological circumstances. Despite the complexity of factors that may result in suicidal behavior, it is possible to identify children at risk.

Depression is a major risk factor for suicide, although depression symptoms in children may be difficult to recognize and diagnose. In prepubescent children, symptoms may include long-lasting sadness, frequent crying for no apparent reason or, conversely, inexpressive and unemotional behavior, including speaking in a monotone voice. Other signs include difficulty concentrating on schoolwork, lack of energy, social withdrawal, and isolation. Children and adolescents who threaten suicide or become interested in the means of killing themselves, such as tying nooses or playing suicide games or trying to acquire a firearm, should be considered as potential suicide risks.

The best way to verify the risk of suicide is to ask direct questions of the child. They might include the following: "Are you thinking of killing yourself?"; "have you thought about how you would kill yourself?"; "do you think you might really commit suicide?" Many adults hesitate to ask such questions because they are afraid they might "put ideas" in a child's head. However, decades of experience indicate that talking about suicide cannot suggest suicidal behavior to children and can only help children express their concerns to an adult.

It is also important to ask suicidal children what they think will happen when a person dies. If the child indicates that they think someone can return from the dead or that being dead is like being alive, it may be useful to correct that impression and describe with some details what it means to die.

Children who have symptoms of depression or threaten suicide may benefit from help from a mental-health professional. It is also important to talk with a child or adolescent when there is a suicide in the family or in the school environment. Most children already have a good understanding of what occurred and do not feel that this is appropriate behavior. However, in the event that the child glorifies or trivializes a death by suicide or feels that the suicide victim is "better off" after dying, it is important to clarify what occurred and, if necessary, seek counseling or professional help. It is also important to help children express their feelings about a loss by suicide, even if they include "unacceptable" feelings such as being angry at the suicide victim for having abandoned them. It is important to communicate that suicide is a tragic event that is usually generally avoidable and certainly is not beneficial for anyone.

See also: **Drugs; Emotional Life; Mental Illness.**

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BRIAN L. MISHARA

Summer Camps

Summer camps—overnight camps attended by children without their parents—were first established in the 1880s in North America, fueled by Victorian convictions about nature’s moral and physical benefits, as well as newer concerns about degeneracy and falling birth rates. In the twentieth century, the summer camp idea became an international phenomenon, supported by organizations with varied social, political, religious, and pedagogical agendas. In short, summer camps have become an increasingly important means for socializing modern children.

The earliest camps were small, private camps for older boys, developed in response to growing concerns about the emasculating tendencies of what was called overcivilization. Catering to the sons of elite families, many of these camps were located in the woods of northern New England, far from the temptations of city life and the refinements of the “feminized” home. Among the earliest were Chocorua (in operation between 1881 and 1889), Asquam (founded as Camp Harvard in 1885 and renamed in 1887), and Pasquaney (established in 1895), all located on or near Squam Lake in New Hampshire. Although the physical character of these camps was highly rustic (with unhewn timbers used liberally in the construction of their permanent buildings), camp life was rougher in some camps than in others; at Chocorua, for instance, campers did all the cooking and cleaning, and ate off tin plates, while at Pasquaney, a professional cook served meals on china.

A camp building boom in the 1890s brought camping to a wider audience, including the urban poor (who attended camps organized by religious organizations, SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS, and other social welfare agencies) and middle-class boys served by the YMCA (which established its first boys’ camp, later known as Camp Dudley, in 1885). By 1901, the YMCA estimated that it served five thousand boys each summer, a number that grew to 23,300 by 1916. Unlike elite camps, these early YMCA camps tended to mimic military encampments with sleeping tents pitched around a square parade ground where campers enacted reveille, morning inspection, calisthenics, and taps. While these military trappings allowed boys to experience an all-male environment that contrasted sharply with the feminized home, they also insured that these camps sat lightly on their natural sites. Tents could be taken down at the end of each season, a par-

ticular advantage for camps held on land borrowed from supporters eager to promote the cause of camping for boys. In the early twentieth century, Native American motifs, which had appeared in some camps from the beginning, became even more popular, thanks in part to the Woodcraft Indians, a precursor to the BOY SCOUTS of America, another organization that encouraged summer camping for boys after 1910.

Camps for girls were established in the early twentieth century to foster a new, more self-reliant generation of young women. Among the earliest were private camps (like Camp Kehonka in New Hampshire and the Wyonegonic Camps in Bridgton, Maine, all founded in 1902), although the Camp Fire Girls (established in 1911) and GIRL SCOUTS of the U.S.A. (established in 1912) soon started camps for middle-class girls. By 1925, there were some three hundred Girl Scout camps in the United States.

Whether serving boys or girls, camps offered a range of activities: campcraft (i.e., skills needed to survive in the wild), nature study, manual training (later called arts and crafts), calisthenics, swimming, and a range of the other SPORTS (although early camp organizers frowned on BASEBALL and BASKETBALL as too “urban” for camp). Popular camp games included Rover, All Come Over and Indian and White Man, in which campers designated as Indians try to capture other campers representing “white people travelling over the prairie” (Gibson, p. 217). The evening campfire was the setting for theatrical entertainments, songs, and storytelling, as well as special rituals to mark the opening and closing of camp. Calling upon a long-standing conviction that a natural setting enhances religious feeling (something already practiced at camp meetings attended by adults and family groups), many camps featured a spiritual component as well. On Sundays, the regular routine was suspended, while white-clad campers attended services in a forest chapel fitted out with rustic furniture and a wood or stone altar, framed by a lake view.

By the 1920s, this sense of nature’s spiritual associations prompted many religious groups to move beyond their early charitable camping endeavors into religious-based camping for the children of middle-class and elite families. In addition to Catholic camps and Protestant Bible camps, Jewish camps enjoyed a surge of popularity between the 1920s and the 1950s, as they sought to maintain ethnic practices threatened by modernization and assimilation. The approach to Jewish identity varied widely at such summer camps, some of which (like Camp Ramah in Wisconsin) were explicitly religious in orientation, others (like Massad Hebrew Camps) were also Zionist, and still others (like Cejwin Camps at Port Jervis, New York) emphasized secular Jewish cultural practices.

In other parts of the world, turn-of-the-century experiments with charitable camps gave way to a wider range of camping endeavors in the 1920s. In NEW ZEALAND, camps

were closely associated with rebuilding the health of delicate children. Established in 1919, the first health camp used Army surplus tents provided at a nominal rate by the Defence Department. By the 1930s, nine health camp associations had instituted camps, including Canterbury's Sunlight League, which emphasized sunbathing as prescribed by the new science of heliotherapy. In the late 1930s, health camps came under government regulation, resulting in a new emphasis on permanent, year-round facilities. By the 1950s, increasingly stringent government standards forced many summer-only camps to close.

In other settings, the 1920s and 1930s saw the rise of summer camps of a political bent, including a range of left-wing camps in the United States (there were twenty-seven Communist camps in New York state by 1956), Communist camps in France, Germany, and Austria, Fascist *colonie* in Italy, and camps to sustain Polish culture on the contested border between Poland and Germany. Unlike radical camps in the United States, which differed little in physical form from other North American camps, French *colonies de vacances* established by Communist-governed municipalities (like Ivry-sur-Seine) were instituted in part to secure party loyalty and thus served large audiences. The *colonie* at Les Mathes opened in 1929 near Royan on nineteen hectares of pine woodlands; supplementing old farm buildings were five new dormitories (each with a capacity of one hundred children) and a refectory/kitchen serving eight hundred. Notable, too, was the practice of children's self-government; decisions about daily life at Les Mathes were taken collectively, under the guidance of a municipal council of colons elected each summer by universal childhood suffrage, with half the seats reserved for girls. Equally massive were the *colonie* established in Fascist Italy to aid in the cause of political indoctrination; they housed children in large, austere, modern buildings adjoining vast, unplanted terraces for mass sunbathing and calisthenics.

Just before World War II, North American camp-planning practices were transformed as professional experts lent their advice to camp directors (themselves newly professionalized since the formation of the American Camping Association in 1935). The findings of child psychologists prompted the introduction of the unit plan (which divided the camp landscape into age-based living units), and the construction of elaborate sleeping quarters (including socializing space to facilitate closer camper-counselor interaction). Water safety experts at the American Red Cross suggested improved waterfront designs with lifeguard towers, checkboards, and carefully demarcated areas for non-swimmers, beginners, and swimmers. Camp planning experts (many of whom had worked for the National Park Service under the aegis of the New Deal designing camps in thirty-four federal Recreation Demonstration Areas) advocated both master planning (to control the development of the camp landscape)

and picturesque planning principles (to disguise the extent of that control).

Codified in camp planning manuals published in the 1940s by the YMCA, the Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls, this professional advice guided the postwar camp-building boom that paralleled the BABY BOOM. Not only were there more camps to choose from in this period, but these camps served larger populations of younger campers. Camp counselors were younger, too. Even at sixteen (the median camper age in the late nineteenth century), many postwar teenagers considered themselves too old for summer camp, prompting many camp organizers to establish Counselor-in-Training (CIT) programs to keep these youngsters coming to camp.

In the postwar period, camps for children with disabilities became increasingly common, as did skill-based camps teaching foreign languages, music, and computer programming. At the end of the twentieth century, however, the traditional, rustic, character-building summer camp enjoyed renewed popularity.

Summer camps, then, are among the first institutions designed to educate the whole child, providing twenty-four-hour care that fostered physical health, social development, and spiritual development in generations of children in North America, Europe, and Australasia. Yet, if the general goals of summer camps have remained unchanged since the 1880s, the particular ways that camps achieved those goals have varied, as camp organizers grappled with changing ideas of what is best for children.

See also: **Children's Spaces; Communist Youth; Fascist Youth; Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Vacations; YWCA and YMCA.**

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ABIGAIL A. VAN SLYCK

Sunday

For centuries Sunday has had a distinct set of boundaries and meanings for children growing up in Catholic and Protestant households and nations. As styles of religious practice changed over time, so did proscriptions for Sunday observances. Broadly speaking, before the PROTESTANT REFORMATION there was little difference between Sundays and other days, but afterward both Catholics and Protestants engaged in a reformation of the calendar that resulted in a regular rhythm of six days work and one day's rest (Sunday). Children's activities did not escape from this new emphasis on Sunday as a day strictly reserved for religious observance and instruction, thus giving rise to the oft-heard youthful lament about the tedium of Sundays.

Throughout the eighteenth century children were expected to observe Sunday in the same manner as adults, that is, to refrain from all but religious thoughts and actions; but in the early nineteenth century, shifting attitudes toward religion, family relations, and child rearing resulted in the development of new understandings about the Sundays of children. These new attitudes emphasized the belief that children had different religious and recreational needs than adults. In the United States, the resulting schematic applied most directly to the children of the middle classes, however many children of factory workers, African Americans, and of other marginalized Americans experienced Sundays that were distinct from the other days of the week, whether in attending services or gathering with family and friends or donning an outfit reserved for Sundays and special occasions.

In terms of religion, the most important and lasting development in the United States was the SUNDAY SCHOOL. At first devoted to teaching the children of the urban poor to read and write, by the 1820s Sunday schools assumed a position as one of the central Protestant institutions devoted to inculcating religious literacy in children. Rising in large part out of the ferment of the Second Great Awakening, a nationwide religious revival that gave primacy to the centrality of personal conversion, the Sunday school movement at first aimed to foment religious awakening in the nation's youth. Soon, however, it settled into a complacent form of mostly nondenominational religious education, one that continues to inform American religious experience into the twenty-

first century. Despite the recognition that children had special religious needs, it was still expected that they sit attentively through services (an expectation that only diminished in the second half of the twentieth century). Parents continued to take part in their children's religious-oriented education, overseeing family prayer and bible study at home. During the 1820s and 1830s, they were encouraged to let their children play on Sunday (which was in great contrast to their own childhood Sundays), but to sanctify this play with religiously oriented reading, games, and TOYS. By mid-century, Bible picture puzzles, inexpensive Bible books, Sunday reading, Christian-oriented games and toys (such as the Noah's Ark) were available through mail-order houses. Observant households witnessed children putting their everyday books and toys away Saturday night in preparation for a Sunday of special experiences, books, and playthings. As such, the theory went, children would learn to love Sunday, and consequently become committed Christians.

During the decades after the Civil War the emphasis on religious education and play dilated into a widespread acceptance of certain kinds of Sunday recreation, especially family-oriented recreation. As more and more men engaged in paid labor outside of the home, Sunday became "Daddy's Day with Baby" (as went the refrain of one popular song). As such, many began to emphasize family togetherness and recreation, often at the expense of religious observances. After midcentury, the Sunday dinner became a fixture in many households, while excursions of many varieties, including the uncomplicated Sunday drive, provided much desired and needed change for adults and children alike. Entrepreneurs met the demand for Sunday entertainment, especially that which was child-centered. Picnic grounds, beach resorts, and amusement parks all catered to the special needs of children with merry-go-rounds, pony rides, and such. Trolleys, railroads, steamships, and other forms of mass transportation did vigorous business on Sundays, often due to the patronage of large family groups. Publishers of the Sunday newspaper, whose widespread introduction in the 1880s elicited scorn and condemnation, also recognized the special needs of children, first with children's sections, and then, beginning in the 1900s, with the comics insert. In the twentieth century RADIO and TELEVISION producers fashioned special shows for children's Sunday afternoons, such as *The Wide World of Disney* and *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*. The church, the family, and the market, then, have recognized Sunday as an unique space of time in the lives of children, and have sought in various ways to cater to their needs.

See also: **Birthdays; Halloween; Parades; Vacations; Zoos.**

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ALEXIS MCCROSSEN

Sunday School

Since the 1870s, the Sunday school in Protestant churches has been called the nursery of the church. It has been a primary means of growing children into church members. Estimates from the 1890s in mainline denominations in the United States (i.e., Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian) were that over 80 percent of all new members were nurtured through the Sunday school. Today the Sunday school continues to encourage membership and denominational formation. Throughout the twentieth century, approximately 60 to 70 percent of church members in mainline denominations were nurtured through the Sunday school; in evangelical denominations (like the Assemblies of God and Southern Baptist), the percentage was even higher.

Begun in the latter half of the 1700s, Robert Raikes, an English prison reformer, is credited with inventing the Sunday school. Raikes and other philanthropists sought to provide basic education, particularly in reading and religion, for children of the working poor. The hope was that education on Sunday, often extending to morning and afternoon sessions, would provide the children who worked in factories with the basic skills and character to become contributing members of society. This same vision of character reform and basic education fueled the Sunday school in industrial American cities and on the American frontier.

By the 1830s, this social outreach purpose was expanded to include the children of church members. Therefore, through the nineteenth century, Sunday schools were sponsored by both churches and philanthropic agencies for two purposes: (1) mission, the character building and evangelization of unschooled children, and (2) congregational education, the denominational formation of the children of church members. Most Sunday schools in the United States used a uniform lesson curriculum (cooperatively approved in 1872 at a meeting of denominational leaders, the National Sunday School Convention) that consisted of a seven-year pattern of biblical study studying each week the same lesson across age groups. Because the uniform lesson was also used in worldwide church missions, many proclaimed that the same text was studied throughout the world each Sunday.

In the early twentieth century, the educational tasks of the Sunday school were enhanced. Renamed *the church school*, significant teacher training, increased pedagogical sensitivity, additional educational programs for youth and adults, and curricular resources emphasizing religious development

were added. Sunday church school instruction grew uniformly throughout Protestant education into the 1920s until a division of churches occurred resulting from conflict over methods of historical biblical scholarship (the fundamentalist/modernist controversy). Two major forms resulted: mainline denominations emphasized a school teaching theology and biblical scholarship while evangelical denominations focused on appropriating the witness of the biblical story.

In the twenty-first century, complemented by family education, youth and children's ministries, NURSERY SCHOOLS, music ministry, and intensive biblical and theological studies of the issues of faith and living, the Sunday school continued as a primary setting of congregational education. Curricula were diverse, produced by denominational and interdenominational publishing houses, ranging from Bible study (including lectionary studies complementing the biblical texts defined for worship) to sophisticated studies addressing ethical issues. Sunday schools provided their members education and spiritual growth, personal support and community, and evangelism and social outreach.

See also: Youth Ministries.

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JACK L. SEYMOUR

Surrogacy

Surrogacy involves the gestating of a fetus by one woman, the surrogate mother, with the understanding that the baby she bears will be raised by another person or couple, usually including the man who contributed the sperm. In what is known as traditional surrogacy, the surrogate mother is artificially inseminated, contributing her own egg to the fetus. In gestational surrogacy, the embryo is produced through IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (IVF) and implanted in the surrogate mother.

Surrogacy, while resembling practices familiar to many times and cultures (for example, the practice in traditional Chinese families of a concubine's sons becoming the ritual and legal children of the primary wife in cases where the primary wife did not bear sons), was first legally and socially recognized in the United States in 1980. It has received a great deal of critical attention and debate in the United

States and Europe, especially in cases where surrogacy has been commercialized through payment to the surrogate mother or to a for-profit surrogacy agency. By 2000, commercialized surrogacy had been banned in most of Europe and North America.

Social and religious conservatives have opposed surrogacy because it separates sex, reproduction, and family creation, thereby challenging the “natural” basis for the heterosexual nuclear family. Some feminists have supported surrogacy for the same reason, but debates over surrogacy have made clear fundamental differences among feminist philosophies regarding reproduction. Some feminists have compared surrogacy to slavery and prostitution, arguing that surrogacy is likely to become a means of exploiting poor women’s sexual and reproductive capacities by wealthier women and men. Others, emphasizing reproductive choice for women and the right of a woman to control her own body, have argued that just as people are allowed to choose dangerous jobs such as fire fighting, they should be allowed to take on the physical and psychological risks of surrogate mothering, with the caveat that surrogate mothers should retain legal control over their bodies during the pregnancy, and that they should be significantly better paid than they are currently.

Contested surrogacy agreements, debated in court, have served as a focus for contemporary public discussion. In the late 1980s, public attention was riveted on the case of Baby M, in which a “traditional” surrogate mother tried to break her contract and keep the baby she had birthed. Notably, the arguments on both sides of the case, as well as the judges’ decisions, were made in terms of upholding the “traditional family.” William Stern, the biological father, argued that surrogacy was a legitimate mode of infertility treatment to provide the traditional family he and his wife desperately wanted. Mary Beth Whitehead, the surrogate mother, argued that she had grown unexpectedly attached to Baby M as a natural part of gestating a fetus, and that this natural connection between baby and mother should not be broken. On appeal, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that the commercial surrogacy contract was illegal under New Jersey laws prohibiting baby-selling, and treated the case as a custody battle between two parents, Stern and Whitehead. Critics pointed out that Stern received custody based on criteria, such as financial stability, which favored the higher-income party, and that these criteria will almost always be biased against the surrogate mother. Surrogacy is likely to remain controversial as long as biology is regarded as the “natural” basis for social parenting; two-parent, heterosexual, nuclear families are considered the norm and the ideal; and economic and social inequities leave some women particularly vulnerable to exploitation.

See also: **Adoption; Artificial Insemination; Conception and Birth; Egg Donation; Fertility Drugs; Obstetrics and Midwifery.**

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LARA FREIDENFELDS

Swaddling

The swaddling of infants is a child-care practice that has been known for centuries over most of Europe, Asia, South and North America. The technique is not commonly practiced in tropical areas. In the twenty-first century swaddling is still practiced by various population groups.

Swaddling means to wrap pieces of cloth around an infant’s body, before covering the child with bands, called *swaddling bands*, that are swathed over and round the baby’s clothes. The swaddled infant may be firmly tied to a cradle board for stiff support or be placed in a type of carry-cot. Among Native American peoples infants normally slept in a vertical position. European swaddled infants slept horizontally.

Several reasons were given for swaddling infants. The babies were kept warm and at the same time the swaddling band gave support to the child’s body. All types of swaddling methods more or less constrain the child from moving. One of the most common assumptions was that the baby’s limbs were loose-jointed and that sudden movements of the baby could be harmful.

In Europe, the tightly swathed circular method and the apparently looser crisscross method were the two main techniques of swaddling. The physician Soranus from the second century C.E. wrote about the swaddling practice, recommending that infants be tightly swaddled from shoulders to feet. His recommendations were later printed in medical and midwifery books, throughout Europe from the late fifteenth century.

The ENLIGHTENMENT brought a change to swaddling practices in Europe. For example, in 1762 the philosopher JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU argued in *Émile* for the liberation of babies from restrictive swaddling clothing. However, Rousseau’s recommendations were followed only by the most wealthy upper class, and more than a century passed before his ideas won general acceptance.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the medical profession recommended a less constraining form of swaddling. In this type of swaddling, often practiced by the middle classes, the infant was able to move its legs and the arms were kept free from restraints, although mothers were still advised to keep the swaddling band to support the baby's back. Baby clothing also became more comfortable.

In the late 1800s several doctors claimed that the swaddling band was unnecessary and in fact was harmful to the child because it inhibited the mobility of the body. Nevertheless, the practice of using swaddling bands around babies' stomachs and backs did not quickly disappear. Most women learned how to take care of babies from their mothers and so traditional ideas and practices were kept among women

of the family with little influence from society. In some areas of Europe swaddling bands were used until the early 1930s.

In the twenty-first century, after a long period of resistance against restraining children's natural movements, new thinking has begun to consider possible benefits from swaddling. Swaddling has proved to be comforting, for example, to restless babies need of physical contact.

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KIRSTEN LINDE



Tattoos and Piercing

Since the mid- to late 1980s, body modification has moved from the margins of society to the mainstream, especially among adolescents, for whom the three most common forms are piercing, tattooing, and scarification. All three can be found in various cultures, ancient and modern, worldwide. Piercing is the most widespread form of body modification. Historically, tattooing has been more prevalent among peoples with lighter skin and scarification has been more prevalent among peoples with darker skin; however, among adolescents in contemporary American culture, such generalizations cannot be made.

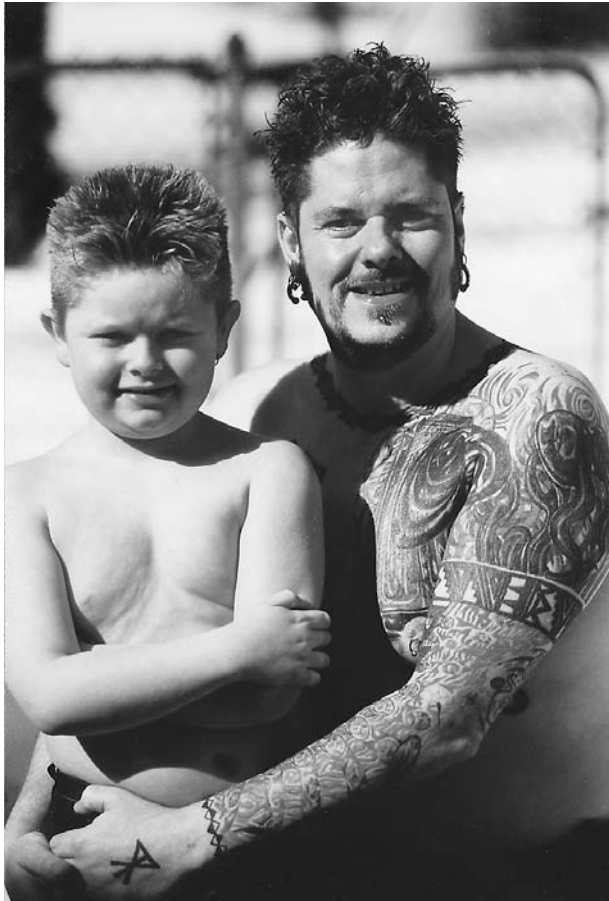
With the exception of piercing female earlobes, these modifications have historically been interpreted as marginal or taboo activities in Western culture, but they were hardly unknown. As Europeans encountered new peoples during the era of colonialism, they brought back practices that had been part of ancient European cultures, but had been dormant for centuries. Piercing was among them, but tracing the history of piercing is difficult, since the European men who were involved in colonialism or foreign travel were more likely to have their glans penis pierced than more visible parts. Tattooing, which was introduced to Europe from Polynesia and Japan, was also a private pleasure among those who wished to remain part of polite society. Scarification, also known as branding, was generally not adopted into Western culture, except as a means of marking slaves and criminals.

Piercing and tattooing remained private vices of the upper classes or were considered public vices of sailors and criminals until the mid-twentieth century. During the 1960s, when American youth were being exposed to free expression and cultural differences via the hippie movement, rock-and-roll, and the Peace Corps, tattooing and piercing moved from private or forced acts and expressions to acts of self-expression and identity, although they were still signs of

marginalization. The associations of tattooing and piercing with criminality and *SEXUALITY* and the Christian notions that the body is a temple and should not be altered were enough to prevent either tattooing or piercing from becoming part of the mainstream during the 1960s and 1970s.

During the 1980s, two things happened that changed the evolution of body modification in Western society: Music Television (MTV) and the AIDS virus. MTV was able to bring the countercultural expressions of rock musicians to younger audiences (especially since many children were unsupervised when they watched television) and to far greater numbers than ever could have attended concerts. The video audience was also able to see the musicians up close, so body modifications were more visible. However, these children were also being told that needles could spread AIDS. This delayed the advent of tattooing and piercing among young MTV viewers. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, as AIDS was better understood and tattooing and piercing establishments began advertising the sterility of their equipment, many college-age and teenage individuals began getting tattoos. Within a few years, tattooing became common at high schools and colleges. In "Tattoos and Tattooing, Part I," Kris Sperry estimated that as many as 25 percent of fifteen to twenty-five year olds had tattoos.

Once tattooing became this common, it no longer represented individuality or rebellion, and by the mid to late 1990s was replaced by piercing as the body modification of choice for adolescents. The most prevalent and generally the first piercing is the earlobe. For most of the twentieth century, only girls had their ears pierced. Some parents have their daughters' ears pierced only months after birth. Before the 1980s, pierced ears for men and boys were considered the domain of criminals or homosexuals. However, during the 1980s, there was a radical shift in the sexual connotation of pierced ears for boys; it was considered cool for boys to get their ears pierced, and many did and still do, with their parents' consent or encouragement, at ages as early as five or six



Since the 1980s tattooing—once considered suitable only for sailors and criminals—has moved into the mainstream as a form of body art. Jeff White © 2003.

years. By the 1990s, with so many girls and boys having their ears pierced, one had to pierce other parts of the body in order to set oneself off as different, to gain attention, or to rebel. Body parts that are frequently pierced include the nose, eyebrow, lip, tongue, navel, nipple, penis, and labia.

According to Myrna Armstrong and Cathy McConnell, adolescents often get their first tattoo around age fourteen, although some started as early as ten. Since many states prohibit the tattooing of minors without a parent's consent, and most who get tattoos at this age do so without a parent's knowledge, almost half of adolescent tattooing is done with straight pins or sewing needles and ink, or pens and pencils. Since the 1980s, professional tattooing has shifted in the eyes of many from the sign of a social outsider to a form of body art. The technology and artistry has improved, and the color and definition last much longer. Many who get tattooed state their reasons for doing so as aesthetics, individuality or community, sexuality, or to commemorate a person or event (this is much more common with women).

Scarification is the broad term that describes the deliberate scarring of the body by burning and/or cutting. With scarification, intent is important: if one burns or cuts oneself with the intent to do bodily harm, then it is considered self-mutilation; however, if the motive is aesthetics, commemoration, individuality, rebellion, sexuality, or attention, then it is body modification. The great majority of scarification is self-inflicted, although there are scarification artists who use surgical tools and chemicals. Those who cut or burn themselves generally begin earlier than those who tattoo—all one needs is a razor blade or a cigarette lighter—but many who begin earlier are considered self-mutilators. The visibility or location of the body modification can also signify meaning and intent. Visible modifications can suggest acts of rebellion or cries for attention or help. Body modifications that are covered by clothing tend to be more personal or sexual; they also indicate that the individual is conscious of the social or familial ramifications of such behavior.

See also: **Fashion.**

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MICHAEL HARDIN

Teddy Bear

Teddy bears became popular at the very beginning of the twentieth century. Prior to their introduction, most soft

TOYS for children were rag DOLLS, usually given to both boys and girls to encourage nurturing instincts. The first stuffed animal toys were made in Germany in the latter part of the nineteenth century, generally consisting of felt-covered animals mounted on wheels. As rigid pull toys rather than soft, huggable playthings, this type of stuffed toy virtually disappeared as the teddy bear craze took hold.

The first teddy bears appeared in 1902. According to popular history, American president Theodore Roosevelt went on a hunting trip in Mississippi in November 1902 as a break from his ongoing efforts to resolve a border dispute between that state and Louisiana. Most versions of the story agree that "Teddy" refused to shoot a bear that was captured for him. Roosevelt had already achieved fame as both an enthusiastic sportsman and conservationist. The episode inspired a cartoon by Clifford Berryman, entitled "Drawing the Line at Mississippi," published in the *Washington Post*. Berryman continued to draw the scene (with different versions of the trapped bear) for several years after.

Shortly after the publication of the first cartoon, Russian immigrant Morris Michtom displayed a plush bear sewn by his wife Rose in the window of their Brooklyn novelty and stationery store with the label "Teddy's Bear." The couple wrote to President Roosevelt asking for permission to use his name, which was readily granted. The toy was immediately successful, leading to the establishment of the Ideal Novelty and Toy Company by the Michtoms in 1903.

At the same time, a German company was also developing designs for a string-jointed bear. Margarete Steiff first began making stuffed felt toy animals in 1880, expanding her business in 1893. In 1902 her nephew Richard Steiff, who was an artist, began working on a plush bear prototype. Steiff based his designs on drawings made at the local zoo. The final design was successfully distributed through wholesalers George Borgfeldt and Company of New York in early 1903.

In 1906 the American toy trade journal *Playthings* shortened "Teddy's Bear" to "teddy bear," and the phrase was quickly adopted by manufacturers. By 1913, several American companies were producing teddy bears, competing with German manufacturers. During World War I, German imports to Great Britain were banned, leading to the creation of the British stuffed toy industry, spurred on by the success of the teddy bear. France entered the market immediately following the war.

The teddy bear became one of the most popular children's toys, as well as the center of a thriving collectibles market fueled primarily by adults. Companies such as the American Vermont Teddy Bear Company or Margarete Steiff GmbH (still in business at the beginning of the twenty-first century) began creating character bears specifically aimed at adult collectors. In addition, stuffed toys in general became enormously popular with both children and adults, as confirmed by the Beanie Baby craze in the 1990s.

Teddy bears form part of the collections of the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, in London, England, and the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum in Rochester, New York, the finest publicly held collections of toys in the world.

See also: **Indoor Games; Play.**

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SHIRA SILVERMAN

Teenage Mothers in the United States

It is difficult to define exactly what constitutes teenage motherhood because of inconsistencies in defining its age limits, but studies focusing on the causes and consequences of teen motherhood typically include young women fifteen to nineteen years old. Although births occur among adolescents younger than fifteen, they are often included only in aggregate national statistics. Childbearing among children under age fifteen is considered socially problematic in almost all industrial cultures. Studies describing the trends, patterns, and prevalence of teen motherhood continue to show that the United States has the highest teen birthrates of all industrialized countries and that these patterns have fluctuated over time, declined in the 1960s and 1970s, rose rapidly between the mid-1980s and early 1990s, and decreased substantially in 1999–2000, reflecting the lowest rate observed since 1987 for those fifteen to nineteen years old, and the lowest in three decades for those ten to fourteen years old. Despite these trends, approximately four in ten U.S. girls get pregnant at least once in their teens, 20 percent of teen births are repeated pregnancies, and approximately 18 percent of African Americans, 14 percent of Hispanics, and 7 percent of whites are teen mothers (as Susie Hoffman and Velma M. Murry have pointed out, not all pregnancies result in parenthood).

Risk factors for teen pregnancy include living in southern rural areas, having low educational expectations and school performance, and having a lack of optimism about the future. Additional risk factors include living in a state with high poverty and male incarceration rates or with a gender ratio imbalance, residing in a single-parent family and in a disorganized or dangerous neighborhood, having a lower family income and lower levels of parental education. Other issues include a desire for and a romanticization of motherhood, adolescent mental health (depression and low self-esteem), and poor family relationships that increase reliance on boyfriends and peers for emotional support. Other contributing factors include having older sexually active siblings, having pregnant or parenting teenage sisters, associating with friends who have children, being intimately involved with older males, and sexual victimization. Biological factors,

such as androgen hormone levels, the timing of PUBERTY, and the age of MENARCHE among mothers, daughters, and sisters, have been associated with elevated pregnancy risk. Risk factors for repeated pregnancies include depressive symptoms, low self-esteem, poor school performance, and impaired parenting practices.

Teenage motherhood places both the young mother and her child at risk for various problems, including low educational attainment, high unemployment, greater dependency on welfare, and lower levels of psychological functioning for mothers. Family social support and educational attainment differentiate teen mothers who fare well from those who do not. Infants born to teenage parents have greater incidences of low birth weight and learning problems. The desire to be good mothers is compromised by poor parenting skills, fewer positive verbal and emotional interactions with the child, and unrealistic expectations. Conversely, teen parents' parenting behavior is enhanced by the presence of a grandmother in the home when the mother-grandmother relationship is supportive and affectionate. Poor birth outcomes are also moderated by the mother's age: children born to adolescents fifteen years old and younger are at greater risk than those whose mothers are sixteen to nineteen years old. Children's development is also enhanced when mothers have more education, stable employment status, fewer additional children in the household, live in a more advantaged community, and reside with an additional adult, including a male partner.

Stanley Henshaw reports that 22 percent of all teen pregnancies and 44 percent of births among fifteen to nineteen year olds were intended. Factors that encourage adolescents to become mothers are as complex as those that influence adult women's decisions to have a child. Most adolescents who "want" a child lack close fulfilling personal relationships and report that they desire a child for stability, as a way of setting a life course, and to gain maturity. According to Patricia East and Marianne Felice, adolescents who plan pregnancies are different from those whose pregnancies are unplanned. Among those reporting planned pregnancies, 28 percent of black teens, 45 percent of white teens, and 63 percent of Hispanic teens were older (average 17.4 years), more likely to have an ongoing relationship with their child's father, and were in better financial situations two years after the birth.

Taken together, these findings suggest that being a teen mother does not automatically translate into negative outcomes and that some teens purposefully become mothers. The challenge for researchers and practitioners is to design approaches for understanding more about those conditions that foster positive outcomes for the teen and her child, despite age at first birth, and to consider contextual processes that identify ways to dissuade early parenting and ways in which protective factors foster positive outcomes for those who do become parents.

Globally, teenage women are less likely to give birth than their counterparts 20 years ago, but the rates are still high and many of those pregnancies are unwanted. In the United States, despite the decrease in the number of babies born to teenagers, the rate still continues to be more than four times that of many industrialized nations. According to Stephanie Ventura and her colleagues, the United States had 48.7 births per 1,000 women aged fifteen to nineteen, compared to less than 10 births per 1,000 of the same cohort in Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Reasons for the difference are unclear. Jacqueline Darroch and colleagues, as well as Douglas Kirby, have suggested that access to effective contraceptives and early exposure to comprehensive sexual health information are lower in the United States than in other developed countries.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Teen Pregnancy; Sexuality.**

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VELMA MCBRIDE MURRY
DIONNE P. STEPHENS

Teenagers

In 1900 teenagers did not exist. There were young people in their teens, but there was no culture or institution that united them or fostered peer group development on a societal scale. While some worked at home, on family farms, or in

factories or offices, others attended school. Still more married or prepared for marriage. One hundred years later, in 2000, teenagers were impossible to avoid. There were more teens than ever before and their cultural presence was undeniable. They existed not only as high school students, but as highly sought consumers, carefully watched as trendsetters in FASHION, music, and MOVIES.

In the public imagination teenagers first appeared after World War II, complete with distinctive dress, habits, and culture. The period before 1950, however, proved crucial for the formation of teenagers in the United States. After 1900 reformers, educators, and legislators began to separate teens from adults and children. The legal system created JUVENILE COURTS. State and federal governments legislated minimum age requirements for sexual consent, marriage, school attendance, and work, and later for voting, driving, and drinking alcohol. Often inconsistent, some legislation further divided teens by gender. Girls, for example, could marry younger than boys, but could not legally consent to sexual activity until later.

The dramatic rise in HIGH SCHOOL attendance was the single most important factor in creating teenage culture. High school, based on biological age, reshaped the experiences of thirteen- to eighteen-year-olds. Between 1910 and 1930, enrollment in secondary schools increased almost 400 percent. The proportion of fourteen- to-seventeen-year-olds in high school increased from 10.6 percent in 1901 to 51.1 percent in 1930 and 71.3 percent in 1940. Graduation rates remained low but still rose from 29.0 percent in 1930 to 50.8 percent in 1940. The number of African-American teens in high school was lower, but also rose at a steady rate and by the early 1950s, more than 80 percent of African Americans aged fourteen to seventeen were enrolled in school.

As enrollment grew, the student body changed. No longer an elite institution, students increasingly came from all socioeconomic, ethnic, and racial groups. Educators redesigned rapidly expanding schools to foster responsible citizens, promote social order, and, during the Depression, to keep teens out of the labor market. High schools also promoted unsupervised peer interaction.

During the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, some manufacturers, marketers, and retailers also began to recognize high schoolers, especially girls, as consumers with purchasing power and style preferences. Simultaneously, teenagers began to develop a “teenage” identity and recognize their collective strength. Social scientists and parents also engaged in the extensive dialogue over the nature of ADOLESCENCE, high school, and the growing concept *teenager*. Scholarly work, popular advice, and parental strategies emerged alongside the developing high school culture and teen CONSUMER CULTURE. Gendered differences remained—literature on boys emphasized education, work, and rebellion, whereas lit-

erature on girls addressed behavior, appearance, and relationships. Media also played an important role, often defining *teenager* as female. Media served to promote teenage trends by offering publicity and a national means for reaching other teens. But by the early 1940s, the BOBBY SOXER stereotype dominated, which negatively portrayed teenage girls as mindless worshippers of celebrities and adolescents fads.

Recognized as separate from the adolescent, the teenager more closely related to high school culture. Use of the words *teen*, *teener*, *teen-age*, and even *teenager* first appeared in the 1920s and 1930s. They referred to thirteen- to eighteen-year-olds, increasingly conceptualized as a distinct cohort in media, popular literature, and advertisements. As teenage culture emerged, teens used mass-produced commodities to imitate adults, but they also used them to create fads and to define themselves as teenagers.

See also: **Consumer Culture; Youth Culture.**

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KELLY SCHRUM

Teen Drinking

Teen drinking is not a new phenomenon in the United States, but the practice has received particular attention since the 1970s.

Alcoholic beverages such as cider were a standard part of the diet of American colonists, even for children and sometimes for babies. Taverns welcomed teen boys, whose fathers brought them there as a RITE OF PASSAGE. Local ordinances occasionally limited the drinking of alcohol in public establishments for youths under sixteen years old, but these cases were uncommon and did not affect drinking at home. Alcohol consumption remained high in the early Republic, with adults over fifteen drinking the equivalent of six to seven gallons of absolute alcohol per year. College students, with whom alcohol was always popular, contributed to the high levels of drinking.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, child-saving reformers expressed concern at the availability of alcohol to young people in taverns. In 1877, the SOCIETY

FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN helped to enact a law that excluded children from saloons and dance halls; however children selling newspapers and peddling other items frequently gathered outside saloons to hawk their wares, and others hauled buckets of beer from saloons to factories at lunchtime for workingmen. Furthermore, some boys drank in saloons courtesy of bartenders who hoped that those they treated would become loyal customers in adulthood.

Also at this time, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League spread the message of "scientific temperance" to children through public schools, Sunday schools, and youth temperance clubs, but they did not focus much attention on the drinking habits of youths. Some laws during this period restricted the use of alcohol by young people, but parents could allow them to drink alcohol at home or even in commercial establishments, and sellers of alcohol, not young drinkers themselves, were responsible for violations.

The onset of Prohibition in January 1920 failed to put an end to drinking in the United States. College students, particularly men in fraternities, flouted university regulations and further popularized the drinking of alcohol; many adults worried that high-school fraternities, too, promoted drinking. In 1930, about two-thirds of college students were drinkers, and many adults bemoaned the increase in drinking by young women. Foes of Prohibition argued that the restriction on alcohol would result in increasing automobile accidents as young people sought out places to drink, while supporters of the Eighteenth Amendment claimed that youth drinking was decreasing.

With the end of Prohibition in April 1933, individual states began setting the drinking age, often at twenty-one, though sometimes at eighteen for the purchase of beer. Anti-alcohol education remained standard in the public schools. Nevertheless, young people continued drinking alcohol. A study of drinking habits among college students published through the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies in 1953 found that 79 percent of male drinkers and 65 percent of female drinkers had had their first drink before starting college, and many had already begun drinking regularly. Furthermore, 45 percent of men and 40 percent of women reported having tasted alcohol before they were eleven years old. Studies such as this one failed to raise concerns about teen drinking.

Members of the BABY BOOM GENERATION lobbied for the right to drink alcohol (and to vote) at the age of eighteen rather than twenty-one; by 1975 twenty-eight states had lowered the legal drinking age, most to eighteen. However this new freedom was short-lived, as reports of increased rates of alcohol-related accidents and adolescent alcohol abuse gained publicity, and states quickly raised the drinking age to twenty-one again. A 1984 law made this trend univer-

sal by giving federal highway funds only to states that had, by 1986, adopted a legal drinking age of twenty-one.

The drinking age of twenty-one persists in the United States, but people under twenty-one drink between 11 and 25 percent of all alcoholic beverages in the United States. Furthermore, a study by Columbia University's National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse found that 36 percent of the class of 1999 began drinking by eighth grade, compared to 27 percent of the high school class of 1975. It also appears that young males and females begin drinking at about the same time. Opponents of current laws argue that youths in countries with lower minimum drinking ages learn how to handle alcohol and tend not to abuse it. On the other hand, recent studies in the United States show a connection between teen drinking and sexual activity, high rates of fatalities in drunk driving accidents, possible neurological damage from binge drinking, and increased rates of alcoholism in later life.

Legal drinking ages in Europe vary by country, ranging from sixteen in Spain and the Netherlands, to eighteen in the United Kingdom and Poland, to twenty in Iceland. However, in western Europe, most teens begin drinking at age fifteen or sixteen, often in peer groups, with boys drinking more than girls. Approximately 90 percent of residents of the United Kingdom are drinkers by age seventeen.

See also: Adolescence and Youth; Drugs; Law, Children and the; Smoking.

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ELLEN L. BERG

Teen Magazines

At the turn of the twenty-first century, TEENAGERS could choose from a multitude of magazines that covered the latest

teen FASHIONS, music, SPORTS, MOVIES, and advice. Teens, especially teenage girls, were a well-established, lucrative magazine audience—creating and consuming teen-focused products. But this was not always the case. While magazines for children began in the nineteenth century, the first publications to speak to teenagers did not emerge until the twentieth century.

American Girl and *Everygirls*, the official magazines of the GIRL SCOUTS and the Camp Fire Girls, respectively, first addressed girls directly in the 1920s. These magazines, however, only reached organization members. In the late 1920s, *Ladies' Home Journal* introduced “The Sub-Deb, a Page for Girls” with beauty and domestic advice. By 1931, the tone was distinctly “young” and by 1938, teen slang appeared.

Teenage interest in a 1941 PARENTS MAGAZINE column on high school fashion trends, called “Tricks for Teens,” inspired *Calling All Girls*, the first general teenage magazine. It offered comics, stories, and advice, but attracted preteen readers rather than the fashion-conscious high school girls of growing interest to advertisers.

Seventeen magazine debuted in September 1944 with broader teen appeal. Circulation exceeded one million copies by February 1947 and two and a half million by July 1949. Despite the predominantly white, middle-class audience, *Seventeen* reached many more teens than *Calling All Girls* or sub-deb columns. *Seventeen* offered a similar recipe of young fashions, beauty, entertainment, and advice, but girls appreciated efforts to make them better teenagers rather than kids or adults, including articles on World War II and the importance of voting.

Boys were also active magazine readers. Editors claimed that boys read girls' magazines and requested advice on fads. Most teenage boys, however, primarily read general interest magazines such as *Life*, and mechanical or sports magazines. By the 1950s, a growing number of boys read automobile magazines such as *Hot Rod*. No such magazine, however, enjoyed *Seventeen's* enormous success with teenage readers and advertisers.

In the 1950s, gossip magazines, such as *Teen Parade* and *Hep Cats*, sought working-class readers while *Seventeen* emphasized fashion, dating, and early marriage. In the 1960s and 1970s, teen magazines reflected some feminist ideas, but these mostly faded in the 1980s. Newcomers like *Sassy* gained readers in the 1980s, with explicit articles on sex.

Teenage magazines emerged as teens began to rely on commercial popular culture for guidance and entertainment shifted again as teens turned to peers rather than adults. The proliferation of zines, noncommercial girls' magazines, and virtual magazines in the 1990s ensured that many voices speak to and for teenage girls. In addition to commercial teen websites, websites created by girls offered articles, fash-

ion advice, and discussion forums and relied on reader input. As with magazines, sites for teenage boys remained subject specific rather than “teen” centered.

See also: **Adolescence and Youth; Advertising; Consumer Culture; Youth Culture.**

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KELLY SCHRUM

Teen Pregnancy

Using adolescent birth rates to measure teen pregnancy, adolescent parenthood has been a fairly common experience throughout American history. (It is nearly impossible to gain an accurate measure of teen pregnancy rates over time, because not all pregnancies result in births.) The most recent American teen birth rate of approximately 51.1 births per 1,000 adolescent females is consistent with historical trends and matches the 1920 figure. Nonetheless, since the 1970s, American politicians, policy makers, and social critics have condemned the perceived “epidemic of teenage pregnancy.” This label reveals that critics have little knowledge about the incidence of teen pregnancy and parenthood in America’s past.

From colonial times through the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of Americans had chosen to marry and have children by their early to mid-twenties. Marriage and parenthood was a rational choice for people living in a society dependent on family production. Race, ethnicity, class, and region could influence individual circumstances, with rural areas experiencing the lowest age at marriage. Few people worried about teen pregnancy as long as the expecting mother married before giving birth. There was strong social pressure to marry before becoming a parent, but the high number of babies born less than nine months after marriage ceremonies shows that many young couples taking their marriage vows were already expecting a child. State codes outlining minimum-age-at-marriage laws followed English common law that permitted girls as young as twelve to marry without parental consent.

The ability to bear children generally established the move from childhood to adulthood for most females. The

capacity to do physical labor marked the change for boys from childhood dependence to a state of semi-dependence known as youth. For males, marriage marked full adult independence and its associated responsibilities. Physical capacities and life circumstance set the dividing line between childhood and adulthood, not age. Poor diet and common childhood illnesses delayed physical maturity for many. The majority of girls did not reach menarche (and their ability to have children) until sixteen or seventeen years of age. Many boys assumed strenuous jobs early in their ADOLESCENCE, but few could earn enough to support a family until their early to mid-twenties. This combination of biological, social, and economic factors limited pregnancy and parenthood for most teens.

By 1900, things began to change. The move to an industrial economy had radically changed everyday life for many Americans. Improved health conditions and better economic opportunities for young males in the Progressive Era encouraged a growing number of couples to marry and become parents at younger ages, in their teens and early twenties. Interestingly, this trend toward early marriage and parenthood ran counter to the social definition of adolescence that had become increasingly popular among urban middle-class families. Since the 1820s, a growing number of middle-class parents had been sending their adolescent children to HIGH SCHOOLS. Advocates of the urban-middle-class-family ideal maintained that adolescence was a distinct period of life separate from adult responsibilities. They encouraged parents to leave their teenaged children in school instead of sending them to work or allowing them to marry.

In 1904, G. STANLEY HALL formally defined the broad psychological and physiological parameters of modern adolescence in his two volume work, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*. Hall concluded that the teen years were a time of unavoidable physiological and psychological turmoil. While it was normal for teens to think about sex, Hall cautioned that adolescents were too immature, both physically and psychologically, to engage in sexual intercourse or become parents.

Many child welfare reformers agreed. New child labor laws, compulsory education legislation, the establishment of juvenile courts, efforts to control teen sexuality, and a myriad of other age-specific policies reflected new social attitudes defining modern adolescence. A growing number of teens, however, resisted the new restrictions on their autonomy. In 1900, less than 1 percent of males and 11 percent of females fourteen through nineteen years of age were ever married. During the next six decades the age of first marriage and subsequent parenthood continued to fall for both males and females. By 1950, the median age at first marriage was down to 22.8 for males and 20.3 for females. In the 1930s the Great Depression temporarily slowed the trend, but the postwar

years saw a dramatic rise in early marriage and teen pregnancy rates. The 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s included the twentieth century's highest teen birth rates (respectively 79.5, 91.0, and 69.7 per thousand). By 1960, nearly one-third of American females had their first child before reaching age twenty.

The 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s reversed this trend. In the face of rising divorce rates, more college graduates, and reliable birth control, growing numbers of young people chose to delay marriage or not to marry at all. At the same time, the average age of menarche dropped to twelve, with some girls as young as eight experiencing menstruation. Many Americans ignored the rising age of marriage, and instead focused on changes in the incidence of unwed motherhood. By the 1990s, almost 25 percent of all babies were born to unmarried women. Teen mothers gave birth to only one-third of these infants, but the fact that black and Hispanic teens were more likely to have children outside of marriage than their white counterparts gained public attention. Furthermore, before 1970 the majority of unwed mothers gave up their babies for adoption. By the 1990s, nine of every ten teen mothers chose to keep their children and, at least for the immediate future, remain unmarried.

After 1970, rising concerns about teen pregnancy and parenthood became mixed with a variety of crucial social, economic, and political shifts. A new wave of immigration spurred by the 1965 Immigration Act increased American diversity. Changes in the nation's racial policies and practices grounded in the civil rights movement became part of federal law. Legal debates over access to abortion often centered on teens. Economic shifts fostered by the move from an industrial to a service- and information-based economy created new social problems. To many critics, unmarried teen mothers became symbols of American immorality and the growing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare program. As Hall had theorized decades earlier, teen pregnancy and parenthood, both inside and outside of marriage, seemed unacceptable and a modern social problem.

In 1996, Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. This new law discontinued AFDC, included incentives for using implanted birth control, and placed restrictions on federal assistance to unwed teen mothers. To supporters, one of the keys to "changing welfare as we know it" was to end federal assistance to unwed teen mothers. Teen birth rates have continued to decline, but the reasons are not clear. It appears that young people, as they have done throughout American history, are making choices about parenthood for themselves.

See also: **Adoption in the United States; Aid to Dependent Children; Dependent Children; Menarche; Parenting; Sexuality; Teenage Mothers in the United States.**

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Growing up with television, c. 1950s. Worries about the effects of television viewing on young children have been around since the birth of television itself. © H. Armstrong Roberts/CORBIS.

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KRISTE LINDENMEYER

Television

Television was gradually introduced in the United States and Western Europe after World War II, although the medium as such was developed before the war. By the end of the 1950s most countries in the Western hemisphere had access to one or more television channels and in the 1970s the majority of the households were equipped with at least one television set. At the end of the 1990s television was still the

most pervasive medium in European households: about 90 percent of children had access to a television in their home. The dissemination of television was also rapid in the Third World and by the end of the twentieth century most people, at least in urban electrified areas, had a set.

Television gradually replaced RADIO as the medium most used by children; primarily attracting children in the younger ages (up to the teenage years). The amount of television viewing is sensitive to the output of children's programs as well as the output of entertainment programs. Thus, children have increased their viewing time as a consequence of more national channels as well as the deregulation of the television market, which have led to an increased output of globally distributed commercial children's programs, such as animated cartoons and action adventure series. Time spent with television varies between different countries, depending on differences in cultural pattern as well as differences in production. By the 2000s, the average child viewer in the United States watched about three to four hours of television a day, whereas the European viewer watched about three hours, with some national variations.

Television in Europe and the United States has changed its function from the early days, when it was a medium gath-

ering the family in the living room, to a more privatized and individual activity, as many children today have their own television set in the bedroom.

Television's Impact

Children's fascination with television has concerned researchers, parents, educators, and other groups dealing with children's well-being ever since the medium was introduced. Much of the public debate has been focused on the effects of media violence, which has resulted in much scrutiny by psychologists and sociologists and has given rise to a massive body of research. But the debate and research has also dealt with whether television viewing in itself is a passive activity, and sometimes television has been compared to a drug, which has a tranquilizing or seducing effect on the viewer. Television has also been blamed for causing negative effects on reading skills and some claim that too much television use makes children stupid. Other worries have concerned children's physical condition, such as too little exercise or that radiation from the screen may affect the brain or eyes. Television viewing has also been linked to obesity in children.

In the history of media effects, a "direct effects era" was dominant for a long period of time. The reception of television was viewed in a linear and one-dimensional manner. Later, researchers realized that children did not react uniformly to the same program, but there were intervening variables such as age, gender, predispositions, perceptions, social environment, past experience, and parental influence. However, even if years of research has stressed that there are a number of so-called intervening variables, the "direct effects model" has been very influential in the public debate about children and television.

When research was done in more realistic settings, rather than in the laboratory, the effects of exposure to television was attenuated and long-term effects were particularly weak or even nonexistent. Long-term research conducted both in the United States and in Europe came to the conclusion that television violence is but one of a number of factors responsible for violent aggressive behavior among young people. Aggressive behavior is mainly related to other factors than exposure to television violence, such as personality or sociocultural variables, for example, family conditions, school, and peers. However, researchers also point to the fact that the frequent occurrence of screen violence reinforces the idea of violence as a solution of problems. The GLOBALIZATION of the television market contributed to increased production of violent programming and to the worldwide dissemination of such programs (e.g., animated cartoons and action adventures).

Learning and the Social Benefits of Television

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s there was a belief that television could be used for promoting learning and social behavior. The medium was deliberately used for preschool learning, often called *pro-social learning*, and com-

pensatory education in the United States, in Europe, and in some countries in the Third World, for example, in the Latin American countries of Mexico and Brazil. Producers, educators, and researchers started investigating the possibility of using television to reach out to underprivileged groups in society. In the United States, the educational program *Sesame Street* was developed and became a success also in other countries, where the program sometimes was adjusted to the domestic child audience. For example, Brazil, Germany, Israel, and Spain developed their own versions of *Sesame Street*. In Scandinavia, the domestic public service companies expressed a certain resistance against *Sesame Street*, because of the commercial format. However, in Sweden there was a wave of program series inspired by *Sesame Street*, teaching elementary skills in reading, concept formation as well as promoting pro-social behavior, such as solving conflicts without violence or strengthening children's self-confidence.

Regulation and Public Service

The television market has been more regulated in most European countries than it is in the United States. As a rule, the European broadcasting landscapes are organized as dual systems with public service broadcasters as a central pillar of the broadcasting system, rather than just a supplement to commercial broadcasting. In Northern Europe, children's programs have a particular position and status. Programs for children are offered on a regular basis. For example, in Sweden, about ten percent of the output on public service television was aimed at children and young people by the 2000s. About half of this output was domestic productions, with programs in a variety of genres: fictional dramas, sports, news, documentaries, magazine programs. However, deregulation has been both a challenge and a threat against public service television. The general tendency in Europe is weakened public service television, with fewer investments in domestic children's programs in favor of cheap imports. In recent years public broadcasters have been facing increasing competition by global (American) commercial children's channels like Cartoon Network, The DISNEY Channel, Nickelodeon, and Fox Kids Network. The situation in many countries in the Third World is such that the child audience has no other choice than the output from these channels.

Children's Participation

During the 1950s there was a discussion about whether children should participate in programs or not. In England, it was legislated that children were not allowed to participate or to appear as actors. The legislation originated from the days when CHILD LABOR was a common phenomenon in society. Children's programs were mainly performed by adults, as well as by various kinds of puppets, which acted as children, for example the puppet Andy Pandy from the BBC's *Watch with Mother*, one of the very first children's programs. In Sweden, on the contrary, it was stated from the start of broadcasting that children were welcomed to participate in programs. One of the very first television programs for chil-

dren exhibited a mother with all her children in the studio. Eventually, children came to be heard and seen in children's programs more generally. But the image of the child is highly related to cultural patterns. For example, there are differences between how children in France are portrayed, where there is a preference for well dressed and proper children, as compared to children in Scandinavia, where the idea of the "natural" child is advocated. However, in the output as a whole, children are underrepresented both in the United States and in Europe. Children are rarely addressed directly, except in advertisements, as children do not have prominent roles in programs aimed for an adult audience. When young people are portrayed, they are often represented as a problem and a threat. Another recurrent picture is the good, innocent and sweet child, which reaches its extreme in advertising.

Media Education

The issue of children and the media (particularly television) has also been a target for the United Nations since the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD, became valid in 1989. One issue of concern has been to increase children's participation in terms of media education. In the United States and in Europe, media education has been inserted into the school curriculum to varying extents. The implementation of media education has been a slow process, often met with resistance from defenders of established school ideals. Wider access to digital video cameras for domestic use as well as computer editing programs makes it easier for children themselves to produce their own programs, which strengthens their positions and makes their voices heard more easily. However, the unequal distribution of technological resources in the world, makes such a scenario realistic only in more economically developed nations.

See also: **Consumer Culture; Media, Childhood and the.**

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INGEGERD RYDIN

Temple, Shirley (b. 1928)

In the annals of movie history, no actor or actress represents the phenomenon of child stardom better than Shirley Temple. "Discovered" by Hollywood at the age of six, Temple achieved extraordinary fame during the 1930s and became, for a decade, the world's most celebrated child. When Temple became a TEENAGER, however, her career declined and by her sixteenth birthday she had fallen out of public favor. Her phenomenal rise and sudden fall, amply documented in the magazines and tabloids of the period, illustrated to Americans both the joys and perils of childhood stardom.

Born in 1928 in Santa Monica, California, Temple began her movie career as a toddler, when she appeared in a series of low budget films called "Baby Burlesks." Trained in singing and tap dancing, in 1933 Temple was hired by Hollywood's Fox studio to appear in the musical *Stand Up and Cheer*, and her performance instantly catapulted her to stardom. Between 1934 and 1940, Temple appeared in over a dozen films for Fox and became not only the studio's biggest asset but, between 1935 and 1938, the most popular film star in America, surpassing such screen giants as Clark Gable and Mae West.

To moviegoers in the 1930s, Temple's appeal was obvious. Perky, talented, and cute—her trademarks were her dimples and ringlets of golden hair—Temple conveyed a message of hope and optimism to Depression-era America. Her on-screen tap dances and renditions of such popular tunes as "The Good Ship Lollipop" won the affections of millions of fans worldwide, who purchased thousands of Shirley Temple dolls, tore at her clothes during her personal appearances, and on her eighth birthday, showered her with over one hundred thousand gifts. Perhaps her most famous admirer was President Franklin Roosevelt, who credited "Little Miss Miracle" with raising the nation's spirits during the economic crisis.

For nearly a decade, Temple enchanted audiences with her appearances in such childhood classics as *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1935), *Wee Willie Winkie* (1937), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938), and *The Little Princess* (1939). In the early 1940s, Temple left Fox and signed on with producer David Selznick, who cast her in a series of more mature roles, including a part as an adolescent daughter in *Since You Went Away* (1944) and a high school girl with a crush on an older man in the *Bachelor and the Bobbysoxer* (1947). By then, the teenage Temple could no longer attract audiences, and after

a role in *Fort Apache* (1948), in which she starred with her husband, John Agar, she retired from the screen.

Unlike many fallen CHILD STARS, however, Temple made a comeback. After a decade hosting television programs, during the 1960s she began a second career, in politics. After an unsuccessful run for Congress in 1967, she was appointed by President Richard Nixon as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. In 1974, she became U.S. ambassador to Ghana, and in 1976, Chief of Protocol during the Ford administration. Her autobiography, *Child Star*, was published in 1988.

See also: **Media, Childhood and the; Movies.**

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SAMANTHA BARBAS

Theme Parks

Children use their imagination extensively when at play. Through the creation of role-play fantasies, children are able to escape their dependent and limited role as children and venture into a world of fantasy to become free-willed, independent persons owning a sense of societal status and importance. Drawing from examples they observe in books, television, and film, children can escape into fantasy roles to become pioneers, heroes, doctors, nurses, royalty, or any inspiring figure of the past, present, or future. As children advance toward adulthood, however, fantasy role-playing is replaced with more passive forms of escapism, such as reading books or watching MOVIES and TELEVISION.

Theme Parks and Amusement Parks

Theme parks are three-dimensional fantasy settings in which both child and adult are actively immersed into fantasy environments inspired by literature, films, and television. They have their roots in the amusement park, which has long been a center of active play where children and adults alike can divert themselves from their typical daily regimes and involve themselves in direct play, thrill, and challenge. Yet even in amusement parks, where adults and children alike can participate in active play, parents are more likely to participate passively as bystanders, observing their children at play.

The theme park differs from the amusement park in that its form and function embrace the childhood activities of role-playing that appeal to children as well as to the inner child of adults. Thus the concept of the theme park is born, in part, from the universal desire of children and the child within adults to escape into their imaginations and pretend to be a part of a nostalgic, exotic, or fantasy setting.

The term *theme park* originated with Disneyland, which opened in Anaheim, California, in 1955. As the first and

most widely recognized theme park, Disneyland has long reigned as the model of all modern theme parks. Its unique themed settings and attractions created a shift in the design of parks that followed, many of which placed as much emphasis on their themed environments as on park attractions.

The opening of Disneyland coincided with the transition of North America's demographics toward a predominately middle-class society and with a surge in the population known as the BABY BOOM. With the increasing number of young families came a growing need for family-oriented leisure activities.

As a producer of films and television programs that families could enjoy together, Disneyland's founder, Walt DISNEY, was in close touch with what interested the American middle-class family. He was well aware that children and adults alike enjoyed escaping into his films and television programs. He was also conscious of the need for activities that would appeal equally to young and old, and thus began to conceive a new kind of amusement park that would appeal to patrons of all ages; that would engage the typically inactive parents and promote family participation.

Designing Disneyland

Drawing on his background in film and television production, Disney looked for ways to translate the entertainment that was experienced on a movie or television screen into a physical setting that could be experienced completely by patrons. To do this, he turned to the art directors and animators of his film studio for assistance in designing his park.

The Disney artists came up with the concept of organizing attractions within a series of memorable theatrical settings. All elements of these themed environments would work in harmony, including the architecture, landscaping, attractions, costumes, and even sounds. The intent was that patrons could literally step into the scenes and become a part of the show.

When it opened, Disneyland included five distinct themed settings: Main Street, USA; Adventureland; Frontierland; Fantasyland; and Tomorrowland. Children visiting the park for the first time were already familiar with these settings because they were commonly portrayed on television and in film. For adults, the settings functioned as vivid reminders of their own childhoods. Thus visitors to Disneyland found the park environments instantly familiar and comforting.

Disneyland's designers employed techniques similar to those used in the studio, including the film design ideal of the procession through scenes such as scenic transitions and design tricks with scale and perspective that were commonly used to create convincing environments within the tight confines of a studio sound stage. These immersed the visitor in the theme park experience.

To employ the ideals of scene changes in themed settings, for example, key landmarks were sited at the ends of long vistas to lure guests forward and through park environments. Furthermore, themed settings were organized to carefully transition and unfold as park guests traveled from one themed environment and into another.

For children visiting Disneyland, the smaller-than-life scale promoted a sense of importance, making them feel larger in relation to their surroundings and thus able to experience the scale of space as an adult would. Because of its scale, adults visiting the park experienced an instant sense of nostalgia, as if they were returning to a childhood setting and discovering environments that were smaller and more intimate than they remembered.

Disneyland's Successors

Disney's new theme park was immediately popular among the American public, and it quickly became well known around the world. In fact, Disneyland soon became a stop that many foreign dignitaries requested when visiting the United States.

Disneyland's popularity led to a surge in the opening of theme parks, which drew from Disney's theme ideals in their own designs. The first to prove a strong success since Disneyland's opening was Six Flags over Texas, which opened in 1961 and incorporated themed settings based on the history of Texas. Following this successful example, other theme parks began to open throughout the United States. The formula for the design of these parks typically consisted of six or seven themed areas, each having attractions, shows, and rides that blended with their surroundings.

The success of the Six Flags park also prompted Six Flags to open a park near Atlanta, Georgia, and another one near Saint Louis, Missouri. Following the lead of the three Six Flags parks, chains of theme parks began to appear across the United States. These were largely developed, owned, and operated by global hospitality and beverage companies such as the international hotelier Marriott and the international beverage company Anheuser-Busch.

In the decades following the opening of the Marriott and Anheuser-Busch parks, several of the world's largest entertainment companies began also to design, build, and operate their own theme parks. Today global film companies such as Universal Studios, Fox, Paramount, Warner Brothers, and of course Disney own and operate the majority of chain theme parks in the United States, Europe, and Asia.

The parks produced by these film studios have much in common with the original Disneyland park in that they also employ well-recognized themed designs, often based on popular films. Their patrons, like Disneyland's, are already familiar with the television programs and films upon which the settings and attractions are based and thus feel an immediate sense of familiarity.

Walt Disney World Resort

Today the most notable collection of theme parks within one geographic locale can be found at the Walt Disney World resort in central Florida. As the original Disneyland park revolutionized the future of amusement parks, the Walt Disney World Resort has revolutionized leisure-time destinations.

When the success and profitability of Disneyland far surpassed even his expectations, Walt Disney began to conceive an attraction that would be more than just another theme park. He wanted to create an extensive leisure resort complex that would ultimately contain several other theme parks and a prototype residential community, all within the confines of 27,433 acres of land. Disney referred to this plan as EPCOT, which stood for Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow.

Today the Walt Disney World resort is a forty-three-square-mile leisure complex that is home to four theme parks as well as numerous resort hotels; leisure, retail, and entertainment complexes; and a planned residential community. The first park developed for Walt Disney World was the Magic Kingdom, which is similar to Disneyland. This was followed by Epcot, which took its name from Disney's original plan, then by the Disney-MGM Studios theme park, and finally by Disney's Animal Kingdom park. In all, the Walt Disney World resort is one of the world's most popular and most highly attended leisure destinations.

Today, themed environments are commonplace, and themeing is found not only in the realm of amusement and theme parks, but also in retail stores, restaurants, hotels, cruises, high-profile architecture, and in many other types of built environments. Since their conception in the mid-1950s, theme parks have become an international brand of entertainment that continuously leads the amusement park industry in attendance and provides opportunities for play and escapism for children and adults around the world.

See also: **Parades; Vacations; Zoos.**

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Theories of Childhood

Childhood is generally considered to be either a natural biological stage of development or a modern idea or invention. Theories of childhood are concerned with what a child is, the nature of childhood, the purpose or function of childhood, and how the notion of the child or childhood is used in society. The concept of childhood, like any invention, was forged from a potent relationship between ideas and technologies within a frame of social, political, and economic needs. Theories of childhood as a concept are often highly colored or emotive, that is to say, they deal with stark contrasts revealing the development over time of the psychological or emotional significance of childhood as viewed from the state of adulthood. Up until the 1990s, theories of childhood tended to be determined in a “top-down” approach which some have described as “imperialistic.” This is true of theories about the medieval child as much as the modern child. Children themselves, while the focus of theory, have not generally been considered as having a legitimate voice in influencing its production. However, the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD (1989) created a climate for reconsidering this tendency and a subsequent focus on listening to the views of the child and CHILDREN’S RIGHTS of expression in general. This has led some scholars to explore allowing children themselves to reflect upon their own experience of childhood, resulting in the use of inclusive research methodologies and more democratic frameworks for dissemination.

Ever since JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS (1592–1670) published his *Didactica Magna* (1649) and JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704) produced his treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), observers of children have been occupied with attempting to understand, document, and comment on what it is and what it means to be a child. The significance of a state of being after the end of infancy, experienced by all humans in all societies, has produced sometimes contradictory theories from philosophical, religious, and scientific schools of thought as well as from the later established disciplines of psychology, anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies. Throughout history, theorists have been fascinated with the distinctive character of human development, unique as compared with other mammals in having evolved a lengthy period of dependency known as childhood.

Theoretical Boundaries of Childhood

The theoretical boundaries drawn between the relative states of childhood and adulthood have historically been highly significant across a range of cultures for social, political, religious, and legal purposes. The status of *child* awarded protection and acknowledged distinct limitations of personal responsibility within a context of parental or community belonging. A child has been defined as any person below a notional age of majority, but this has been variously interpreted and there have been many differences throughout

history in the ways that societies have come to recognize the exact beginning and end of childhood. The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) has for its purposes identified childhood as that stage of life experienced by any person between birth and fifteen years. Article 1 of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states that a child is any person under the age of eighteen.

Childhood has thus been identified as a stage of life, associated with chronological age, located between infancy and youth, and including ADOLESCENCE. The word *child* has been used in many societies to indicate a kin relationship but also to indicate a state of servitude. But biological determinants have not always been paramount in indicating childhood. Children in the past often lived with and belonged to households rather than their biological parents. The beginning of childhood has been considered variously to occur at birth or at the end of breast-feeding, which lasted sometimes until the age of three in medieval Europe or in preindustrialized societies of modern times. The Qur’an, for example, indicates thirty months as the usual period. Medieval European society considered infancy to end at around seven years, coinciding with the beginning of a young person’s competency at performing certain domestic or industrial tasks. At that time, the educational framework which modern societies have come to draw upon in distinguishing stages of infancy and childhood was yet to be invented. The eighteenth-century philosopher JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778), in constructing an ideal childhood, described what he termed the “age of nature” as occurring between birth and twelve years. For the Austrian-born philosopher RUDOLF STEINER (1861–1925), childhood was a state of physical and spiritual being roughly between the ages of seven and fourteen years, indicated initially by certain physiological changes such as the loss of the milk teeth.

Biological-anthropologists, taking a biocultural perspective, regard childhood as a stage in development unique to humans, the function of which is the preparation for adulthood. However, advocates of a new sociology of childhood such as sociologist Alison James have pointed out that chronological age is sometimes of little use when comparing childhood across very different cultures and societies. A ten year old may be a school child in one society, the head of a household in another. As such, the new sociology of childhood prefers to identify a “plurality of childhoods” rather than one structural conditional term. This plurality, it has been argued, is partly reflected through the prism of children’s own definition of themselves.

Legal definitions of childhood have emerged gradually over time and during this long evolution the law can be seen to have reflected changing understandings of the meaning, span, and significance of childhood. Medieval English common law indicated, through its recognition of ages of majority, that a child was considered incapable or lacking sufficient



The inherent playfulness of childhood is depicted in Judith Leyster's *Two Children with a Kitten and an Eel* (c. 1630s). © National Gallery Collection; By kind permission of the trustees of the National Gallery, London/CORBIS.

means of carrying out a range of adult practices. The capacity of the individual to know and reflect upon the moral status of their actions has come to signify the capacity of belonging and contributing to civil society. The age at which a person can be considered capable of moral reflection upon their actions has altered over time according to changes in the understanding of childhood. Thus, for example, according to nineteenth-century English common law, it became established that children should be exempt from criminal liability under the age of seven. This was raised to age eight in 1933 and to ten in 1963.

The necessity of formulating a precise legal definition of childhood grew out of demographic, economic, and related social and attitudinal changes in the industrialized world that together forged a new recognition of the significance of childhood at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Before this time, children had been defined in strict relation to their status as the biological offspring of fathers who also were considered by law to own any of the child's possessions and to whom they were obliged to offer their services. The lowly status of children was reflect-

ed in the fact that child theft was not acknowledged by English law before 1814. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a growing concern among the newly formed middle classes with the moral condition of childhood and the domestic responsibility of parents. Accompanying this was a notion of childhood innocence and vulnerability which was employed to argue for a new definition of childhood—one which associated it less with the world of industry and more with the world of education. Notions of protection and welfare developed strongly in parts of the world which were experiencing for the first time reductions in infant and child mortality.

The social historian Viviana Zelizer has described what she terms a “sacralization” (investing objects with religious or sentimental meaning) of childhood that occurred at this time, creating a transition in the way children were regarded, from a position of economic value to one of emotional pricelessness. Thus, the notion of the economically useful child began to be replaced by the notion of the incalculable emotional value of each child. Such a theoretical development was essential for the generation of a consensus around legally sanctioned compulsory education.

The Significance of Childhood

What was childhood for? Two broad theoretical positions have emerged on this question. One argues that childhood is a characteristic of human evolution designed to ensure the survival and development of the species. The other suggests that the state of childhood or how childhood is viewed is significant in itself as an indicator of the evolution or development of societies and cultures toward notions of civility or modernity. The former, which encompasses the *biosocial* and *evolutionary* approaches, argues that childhood, as a stage of growth and development, has evolved in human society to provide the conditions for optimizing the prospects of maturity. In particular, this perspective has suggested that the distinctively rapid growth of the brain and the immaturity of dentition and digestive tracts characteristic of the early stages of human life have evolved over time to sustain human society. Such a view is consistent with an essentialist or universal view of childhood (that prioritizes biology over environment in explaining childhood) but has also recognized that social conditions and ecology play a part in constructing the social and cultural response to childhood. Somewhat related to bio-social theories, the perspective of evolutionary psychology came to regard childhood as directly linked to the evolution of what has been called a psychology of PARENTING. This theory suggests that certain universal characteristics of infants and young children, such as relatively large heads and eyes in small bodies, act to trigger instinctive emotions and responses in adults, thus securing development toward maturity.

From this perspective, childhood can be seen as a relationship and therefore can be understood in generational

terms. The principle relationship of childhood is with adulthood, but more specifically with parenthood. The development or evolution of conscious parenting is the focus of a school of thought known as *psychohistory*, which has developed since the 1970s following the work of Lloyd deMause. DeMause and his associates have developed a distinctive and controversial theory of childhood. This position establishes from empirical evidence that childhood, while seemingly held by society to be a time of freedom and innocence, has been for the majority of children a time of oppression and abuse. DeMause has argued that the parental response to the infant or child has evolved over time from one which was generally abusive and cruel to one which became nurturing and affectionate. Such a development, according to this theory, not only reflected social, technological, and cultural change but indeed generated those changes.

For SIGMUND FREUD (1856–1939) and psychotherapists who have followed Freud, such as Alice Miller, childhood was of key significance in the adjustment of the individual to mature well-being. Freud developed his theories of the subconscious partly through considering the reasons early childhood memory becomes lost. Since childhood was regarded as the key stage in the successful, or unsuccessful, development of ego, psychological well-being in adult life hinged on this period of time and healing might be effected through the recall of repressed childhood experience.

Developmental and Social-Constructionist Models

Before the second half of the twentieth century, physiological, psychological, and cognitive mapping of development was the dominant theoretical model for the study of childhood. However research and theory which emerged from the disciplines of history, anthropology, and sociology came to strongly question the developmental model, shifting the focus from the child itself to the socially and culturally constructed view of childhood specific to time and place. Since the eighteenth century, the dominant paradigm in Western cultures has viewed childhood as a stage of life characterized by dependency, learning, growth, and development. The notion that in the medieval world there was no concept of childhood was first introduced by the French scholar PHILIPPE ARIÈS in his *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), which focused mainly on France. Ariès believed that the evidence drawn from European paintings and texts of the time revealed that children seemed to be viewed as miniature adults. They had no special clothing, food, social space, or time which amounted to a childhood culture. It was only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the demarcation between the adult world and the world of childhood slowly began to be drawn. In other words, the social and cultural world of childhood was instituted as a key part of the institution of a new kind of adult, the adult of the bourgeoisie. In spite of regional, cultural, and social differences in the experience of being a child and in how childhood is understood, the social-constructionist view of childhood has become the dominant conceptual model.



The late-eighteenth-century conception of children as utterly innocent is exemplified in *The Age of Innocence* (c. 1788), by Sir Joshua Reynolds PRA (1723–1792), from the title of the painting to the young subject's artless expression and pure white clothes. (Oil on canvas). Collection: © Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery (Plympton Guildhall).

The early twentieth century saw the development of the discipline of psychology and associated with it, within the context of compulsory mass schooling, educational psychology. For the first time, large numbers of children were brought together institutionally with the object of transforming them into literate and numerate citizens. This material fact encouraged the development of learning theory with particular reference to childhood, and a developmental model, drawn from scientific observation and experimentation, came to characterize the understanding of the child as learner. Stage theory, usually associated with the work of JEAN PIAGET (1896–1980), assumes that the child, regardless of social or cultural context, has a certain universal nature which predisposes it to develop in identifiable stages. This understanding had profound effects on the organization of knowledge and pedagogy in the modern school.

During the 1920s anthropologist MARGARET MEAD (1901–1978) challenged Piaget's theory of stages of development. Her research sought to show that children brought up in different cultures did not exhibit a replica of the animistic stage that Piaget thought to be universal. Mead studied important differences in child and adolescent experiences according to environmental factors and while the results were

controversial, the contextual debate continued throughout the rest of the twentieth century, reflecting a weakening of confidence in the universal view of childhood.

Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have suggested that there is no single and universal experience or understanding of what childhood is and where it begins and ends but that this has altered according to time and place. Social-constructionist theory seeks to illustrate that there are many possible answers to the questions “What is a child?” or “What is childhood?” While factors such as body weight might be measured scientifically, producing the same answer in any time or place, childhood itself, the social and cultural

expectations of the child, and its roles and responsibilities or stages of legitimacy can be understood very differently according to any contextual worldview. Social-constructionist theory argues that a notion of childhood is generated by successive generations out of a mix of tradition, social intercourse, and technological development. The context is cultural, and the key generating force is *discourse*. A discourse on childhood is the mediation of an interrelated set of ideas which are communicated through predominantly cultural outlets that generate and consolidate a particular worldview.

That children have and actively generate their own cultural worlds is recognized within another social-

constructionist approach which has been termed the *tribal child* perspective. IONA AND PETER OPIE's work in the 1950s and 1960s on children's culture as expressed through PLAY and organized games in United Kingdom streets and playgrounds encouraged this understanding of the child operating within and determining its own cultural world. Another variation on the social-constructionist approach is a political theory of childhood, which views children as a minority group. Within this perspective, children are viewed as people who are afforded little status in society but who are capable of becoming the agents of their own destiny. Within this framework, the physical and cognitive characteristics of childhood are subsumed within an approach which questions a key political function of the ideology of childhood, that which denies a voice to the child.

Cultural Theories of Childhood

Considerations of age and physical maturity are not the only factors by which childhood has been characterized. The association of childhood with notions of a spiritual world, or in modern times, a fantasy world, have shaped both the experience and expectation of childhood. In medieval times in Europe and into modern times through much of the rest of the world, childhood has been considered a condition with a special closeness to nature and to things spiritual. Marina Warner has shown how across cultures adult society has universally recognized this attribute by means of its songs, stories, and FAIRY TALES, rituals and iconography. In preliterate or predominantly oral cultures ideas about childhood were and still are transmitted through stories, song, and ritual. Such traditional media carried meanings, communicated moral codes, instructed on the care and protection of the young, and marked the important transition from childhood to adulthood. The end of childhood is a universally recognized stage of transition characterized by physiological changes which indicate sexual maturity. All societies and cultures have variously recognized this important mark of entry into the adult community. In the premodern world, the relative position of the young within the community and the wider cosmos was articulated as clearly to contemporaries through the collective recognition of RITES OF PASSAGE as is the case in the modern world. What came to transform this consideration into what we identify as theory was the development and spread of LITERACY.

Neil Postman has suggested that in western Europe at least, it was the spread of literacy through the invention of the printing press that was the principal force in generating a widely held and understood consensus around the meaning of childhood. In this sense, childhood was recognized as a stage of life essentially separated from the world of adults and adult knowledge by a lack of literacy. Knowledge and skill with the written word became a sign of maturity toward which the young could be trained. Postman has suggested that the information and communications revolution at the turn of the twenty-first century has delivered the end of



Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries (1848), Honoré Daumier. Children's penchant for overturning authority is embodied in Daumier's lithograph of a street urchin sitting on the throne of the King of France. Benjamin A. and Julia M. Trustman Collection of Honoré Daumier Lithographs, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections Department, Brandeis University Libraries.

childhood, since the relational distance between the adult and the child has been terminally altered by the spread and crucial adoption by children of information and communications technologies.

The notion of the disappearance of childhood expresses a sense of loss communicated at an earlier period in history. The Romantic poets of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Europe employed the notion of a lost childhood in their responses to an emergent industrial world. As Hugh Cunningham has put it, the child was the "other" for which one yearned (p. 43). From the end of the eighteenth century, particularly through the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the poetry of William Blake and William Wordsworth, childhood began to be associated strongly in the European mind with a state of nature and as a symbol of humanity, a signifier of development, and the root of progress. This was accompanied by a romantic turn against the impact of new forms of industrial organization and production. Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1794) deployed the notion of a universal, natural childhood as a symbol of the humanity that Blake and his contemporaries feared would be destroyed through the oppressive effects of industrialization.

The dominant cultural product that emerged from the end of the eighteenth century was the image of the child as



In Hugo Simberg's *The Wounded Angel* (1903), it's not clear whether these children are helping the angel or if they've captured her. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki, Finland.

a symbol of innocence and purity, particularly the white Anglo-Saxon child. Within a racial framework, the evolutionary notion of childhood was found to be useful when deployed by the European colonial powers in justifying their “civilizing” domination of Africa. Those to be colonized were, according to the theory of *recapitulation*, likened to children in their behavior and evolutionary stage of development. In cultural and religious terms, the modern theory of childhood came to be identified with notions of innocence and absence of sin or corruption. Innocence was associated more often than not with the female child in the adult mind and it has been argued indicates an awareness of its opposite state. These are essentially adult concerns and not natural attributes, but the inevitable confusion has been exploited, not always in the interests of children themselves. Literary historian James Kincaid has argued that the notion of childhood innocence has been adopted by the adult world in order to imply the potential of violation and as such contains within

it the potential of its opposite meaning. As such, theories of childhood communicate reflections on the state of human nature and the dominating anxieties of adult life at particular historical junctures.

The experience of being a child and the conceptualization of childhood are of course related, but Jens Qvortrup and colleagues have suggested that the idea of childhood developed as a structural form irrespective of children themselves. Theoretical notions of childhood can be seen to reflect adult anxieties, concerns, and needs while at the same time functioning to teach children themselves what it is to be a child and to provide a marker against which any child can be measured and compared. Childhood viewed at a distance, through a historical perspective, is revealing of patterns or what are sometimes called landscapes—general conditions of how children appeared to themselves and to their adult contemporaries at any one time. Historian John Sommerville

has adopted the term *standardization* in this context. According to this theory, a consensus is arrived at, usually in accord with a hegemonic ordering of the values and standards of the more prosperous in society, through which a normal or ideal vision of childhood is arrived at. Theorist Henri A. Giroux has argued that the generation of cultural definitions of childhood needs to be understood historically, since the contextual site or framework within which childhood becomes defined alters over time. In modern times this occurs predominantly through commercial or market forces; a dominant site of cultural definition is the media and associated leisure and entertainment industries. For Giroux, the “politics of culture” provide the conceptual space in which childhood is constructed, experienced, and struggled over. For most of the twentieth century the school served as the principal site of cultural production, but in the twenty-first century the media and leisure industries have become at least as significant in the cultural definition of childhood. In a similar vein, childhood has been characterized as *spontaneous desire* by historian of childhood Gary Cross, who has focused on the changing form of children’s TOYS over the course of the twentieth century. He traces these changes to the construction of the child as consumer within the context of a view of parenting which emphasizes the importance of fulfilling those desires for healthy cognitive and social development.

Postmodernist Theories of Childhood

The idea of a universal state of childhood was challenged toward the turn of the twenty-first century through an increasingly globalized perspective which accompanied scholarly questioning through ethnographic, cultural, and anthropological studies. The shift toward a recognition and acceptance of children’s voices in determining their own worldview brought about a fragmented view which questioned the structural norm of childhood and brought about a theoretical position about pluralities of childhoods. For such theorists as Chris Jenks and Jens Qvortrup, it is more accurate and helpful to talk of many childhoods or a plurality of experience both across cultures and within them. Diversity of experience according to class, ethnicity, gender, culture, place of residence, health, or disability rather than one common childhood is emphasised, in spite of growing recognition of the universalizing effects of GLOBALIZATION.

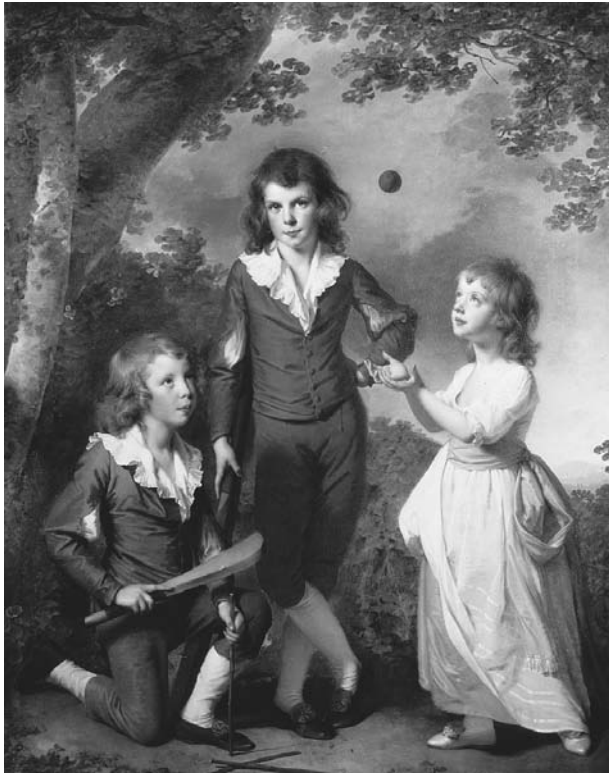
Popular writing and scholarship on childhood in the last decades of the twentieth century reflected on a changed state of being. The traditional Western notion of childhood, which had held from about the 1850s to the 1950s, was implied in its absence by notions such as “the disappearance of childhood” or David Elkind’s “the hurried child.” The emerging consensus was that notions of childhood innocence and dependency on adults could no longer be sustained in the context of children’s access to and use of new media technologies. The notion of childhood as an apprenticeship period for adulthood was fundamentally challenged by the use of such technologies, particularly in the home.

Such a material change, coupled with an intensification of child-focused popular entertainment (sometimes called *kinderculture*) that began in the second half of the twentieth century, came to place strains on existing contemporary theories of childhood. What has been called by Shirley Steinberg and Joe Kincheloe “the dilemma of postmodern childhood” was characterized by a democratization in family life which placed the expectations of children and the concept of childhood itself in conflict with many of its established institutions such as the traditional family or the authoritarian school. This has also been accompanied by a new vision of CHILDREN’S RIGHTS apart from and even in opposition to their parents.

See also: Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; History of Childhood; Law, Children and the; Sociology and Anthropology of Childhood; Theories of Play.

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The Wood Children (1789), Joseph Wright of Derby. By the eighteenth century, the Puritan view that play was sinful had largely been abandoned. Play, like childhood itself, was now seen as something to be enjoyed. Used with permission of Derby Museum and Art Gallery.

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Theories of Play

That children engage in PLAY seems to be a proposition that is universally true. Whatever historical period is examined, evidence can be found of children playing. The same holds across cultures too, although the content of children's play differs across time and space. Play may also transcend species; the young of many other animals also exhibit behaviors that are similar to the play of children. However, while play is apparently universal, a number of necessary conditions need to be present for children's play to occur and be sustained. Among these are time and space, which, in turn, are frequently related to poverty or its absence. If children are engaged in labor, whether in their homes or outside them, the opportunities for play are much curtailed. Space for play has been less of a constraint but as the growth of cities led to a diminution in the availability of space in general and secure or safe space, in particular, space for play became an

issue. A further necessary condition, that by its absence has occasionally disrupted the universality of play, is adult consent. Children's lack of power in relation to adults has led to their play being curtailed when adults have disapproved of it.

These constraints aside, the recognition that play is strongly associated with childhood has given rise to an extensive literature devoted to its definition, explanation, and description. In addition, there is an equally extensive and rather different literature that has focused on how the propensity to play may be harnessed to educational purposes, pedagogy, and forms of schooling. This literature on play is rendered even more extensive by the fact that play has often given rise to controversy. Arguably, this is because whenever play is mentioned, its antithesis, work, is never far away.

Play has been defined in numerous ways but is perhaps best understood by knowing first of all what it is not. In this case the main thing it is not is work. Play and work are powerful binary oppositions that have attached to them a number of signifiers. Work, for example, is valued as a necessity that provides the material basis for life. It is also frequently seen as giving meaning to life. Play, in contrast, is often seen as frivolous and lacking the serious purpose of work. Play takes place in the time not given over to work and in some cultures, such time in school is called *playtime* to distinguish it from time devoted to lessons. These oppositions between play and work are organized not only in the present but also over the time of the life cycle as well. For example, in modern popular perception, childhood is a time for play, whereas adulthood is a time for work. This entry examines the history of these oppositions through a consideration of theories of children's play and methods of education that sought to utilize play. TOYS are central to many kinds of play and attention will be given to their use and the rise of the toy industry and how that has affected play. Finally, theories of play and the practice of play have had to contend with an attitude associated with Puritanism—but found in Christianity in general—that play was at best a distraction and at worst sinful. Any discussion of play needs to take account of this powerful and pervasive belief.

Play in Ancient Civilizations

Play is typically divided into a number of categories. Among them are sociable play, fantasy play, and play with toys. While evidence of the first two kinds are hard to find in the remains of ancient civilizations, artifacts interpreted by archaeologists as toys are widespread. Small clay and stone balls that are thought to have been toys dating back to the Yangshao Culture during the Neolithic Period (4800–4300 B.C.E.) have been found at Banpo village in Xi'an, in present-day China. Small carts, whistles shaped like birds, and toy monkeys have been recovered from Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, cities that existed in the Indus valley between 3000 to 1500 B.C.E. (There is some debate, however, about whether



Making a Train (1867), Seymour Guy. A little girl playing dress-up tries on the role of an adult woman through her imaginary play.
© Philadelphia Museum of Art/CORBIS.

all these objects were toys or whether they were used in religious rituals.) In later periods, representations of play began to appear. Archaeological finds, such as Egyptian tomb paintings, show abundant evidence of children's games. Images of children playing games or children with toys appear on ancient Greek vases and plates of children playing with toys and playing games and ancient Greek playthings have also been recovered. These include swings, seesaws, kites, hoops with bells, model carts, whipping tops, and wheels that were attached to poles for pulling along. Evidence of toys can also be found among ancient writings. In *The Clouds*, a comedy by the ancient Greek dramatist, Aristophanes, a proud father tells how clever his son is and how, even when quite little he amused himself at home with making boats and chariots and frogs out of pomegranate rinds.

The first known discussions of play and its relation to education also made their appearance in the work of the ancient Greek philosophers PLATO (427–348 B.C.E.) and ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.E.). Their references to play are important not so much because of what they said, which in

Aristotle's case was not much, but for the use that was made of their ideas in later periods. Encouraging children to play in school was often controversial and the advocates of play methods frequently used the work and prestige of Plato to legitimize their approach. In his *Laws* and the *Republic* Plato provides not a theory of play but a justification for its use in education. In the *Laws*, for example, Plato views play as a form of anticipatory socialization. If children were to become builders, he suggested, they should play at building houses. The teacher's role in this was to try to direct the children's inclinations and pleasures through play towards their final aim in life.

This view of play as best when it is directed by the teacher is a recurrent one and has sometimes been seen as a way of manipulating and controlling children. This was wholly consistent with Plato's concern that education should serve the needs of the state by producing good citizens and with the distinction he drew between play that would lead to that goal and that which would not. Between the ages of three and six, however, this distinction between desirable and undesirable

play did not apply; at this stage in their life, Plato wrote in the *Laws*, children had certain natural modes of play, which they discovered for themselves. This idea that children's play was natural is another persistent theme, as is Plato's fear that unless the play of older children was regulated and contained it threatened the stability of the state. His reasoning was not, as might have been expected, that unregulated play would lead to violence but that if children changed the rules of their games, they might, when adults, attempt to change institutions and laws.

This theme of free play leading to serious and detrimental consequences, as Plato put it, was to reappear often in subsequent discussions of play. So too was the philosopher Socrates' notion that children should not be compelled to learn. In Plato's *Republic*, Socrates argues that play, rather than force, should be used in training children. In the *Laws*, Plato described how play could be used as a method in education by noting that in Egypt, arithmetical games had been invented for the use of children so they found learning a pleasure and an amusement.

Play and Education in the Dark and Middle Ages

In the early Christian period, some of the misgivings that Plato expressed about play reappeared in the writings of Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430 C.E.). In his autobiographical *Confessions*, Augustine related how he had neglected school work when a boy in order to satisfy his love of play and how he was beaten for it. Unlike Plato, he saw no educational value in play whatsoever, noting only its incompatibility with schoolwork. He expressed regret that he had, out of a love of play, not obeyed his teachers and parents and worked harder. Although Augustine goes out of his way to present his early life as sinful, this view of play in childhood as a temptation and a distraction from the work of preparation for adult life is a persistent theme in many variants of Christianity.

While the intellectual histories of play tend to be silent about the Middle Ages, one of the most famous paintings of children playing, Pieter Breughel the Elder's *Children's Games*, in which about eighty-four games are represented, was painted at the end of the Middle Ages in 1559–1560. Why the appearance at this time? The French historian PHILIPPE ARIÈS in his influential book, *Centuries of Childhood*, argued from evidence, including paintings, that a concept of childhood did not exist in the Middle Ages, which is one possible reason for the absence of theories of play during that period. Significantly, Ariès did not argue that children had ceased to play. On the contrary, he argued that children's play, except in infancy, did not become differentiated from that of adults until the eighteenth century. From then on, the growth of schools and changes in the structure of the family led to the modern emergence of childhood as a stage of life marked by its own distinctive characteristics. Perhaps this is why Brueghel's painting appears when it does; it is the

sign of a new image of childhood in which play was newly important, but would soon become suspect. The role of schools was subsequently dominated by moralization and the moralizers who promoted them, like the medieval Church, tended to oppose the playing of games and play in general as a threat to order and authority.

The Enlightenment

This negative attitude was also present among the Puritans of New England among whom the Calvinistic work ethic was deeply rooted. According to the German sociologist Max Weber, such religious groups saw their most urgent task as the destruction of spontaneous, impulsive enjoyment. In pursuit of this, the New England Puritans tried to prevent children playing with toys unless they were related to Biblical stories and adjudged to be morally uplifting. Play was regarded as frivolous if not sinful; work was the road to salvation. But it was an English political philosopher who had been brought up as a Puritan, JOHN LOCKE (1632–1704), who made one of the earliest significant contributions to the modern conception of the place of play in education. Locke discussed play quite extensively in *Thoughts Concerning Education*. Like Plato, Locke thought the chief aim of education ought to be virtue. He was opposed to the use of corporal punishment to motivate children to learn Latin and Greek or any other form of school knowledge. For him, the acquisition of school knowledge was of less importance than producing people who were virtuous and wise. Locke believed that children learned best not by being coerced, but if learning was made a recreation. They then would develop a desire to be taught. As an example of how play could facilitate learning, he proposed that “contrivances” or apparatus might be made to teach children to read. Locke was interested in harnessing play to educational aims, but he also provided clues to a theory of play. By observing how girls spent hours becoming expert at a game called *dibstones*, Locke concluded that this was due to a natural tendency to be active.

Locke's empiricist theory of knowledge, which saw knowledge as being derived through the senses alone, held out the possibility that if the right experiences were presented to children through education then they could be molded by educators to whatever form was desired. In addition to contributing to a growing realization of the importance of childhood in human development, Locke's empiricism appealed to ENLIGHTENMENT radicals seeking to change the society they lived in. Among these, the most prominent was the Genevan-born political philosopher, JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712–1778). In *Émile* (1762), Rousseau's famous treatise on education, Rousseau proposed the rather revolutionary theory that children went through distinct stages in their development and that education should primarily be tailored to those stages. Rousseau's comments on children's play were not in any way systematic but the text reveals that he held, albeit in sketch form, a theory of play. This consisted mainly in the view that play was in-

stinctive and the means provided by nature for growth of the body as well as of the senses that were so important to Locke's empiricism.

Rousseau cited Locke, approvingly for the most part, throughout his book but when he came to consider the relation between play and education he turned only to Plato to support his belief that children should be taught through play. Rousseau thought that in all the games that children played, there could be found material for instruction. He held that what children learned from each other in play was worth far more than what they learned in the classroom. In contrast to the Puritan view, Rousseau did not hold that play was idleness or a waste of time because it contributed to what he believed to be the main object of childhood, that children should be happy.

Rousseau's thoughts on play were set within a position that was hostile to conventional schooling with its emphasis on books and telling pupils what to do. Rousseau believed instead that learning took place best when it was pleasurable and when pupils were hardly aware that they were learning.

Although *Émile* was a text marked by paradox and contradiction and not intended as a guide to practical education, a number of Rousseau's admirers in Europe tried to educate children in the way he outlined. Prominent adherents to Rousseau's advice about play were Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849) and her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817). Their views and those of other members of their Anglo-Irish family appeared in a two-volume book entitled *Practical Education* (1798). In addition to Rousseau, this book drew heavily upon Locke and other sources. It was distinguished from much of the previous literature on play and education by being based upon observation and experience of a domestic education often of an experimental nature. A chapter in *Practical Education* was devoted to a consideration of toys, their nature, their suitability, and how best they might be used for educational purposes. Like Rousseau, the Edgeworths saw play as leading to science through the presence in play of observation, experimentation, and discovery.

The Romantic Movement

Rousseau's emphasis on education following nature and education as self-realization were themes taken up by the Romantic movement which stressed the varieties of experience available to children that were lost with the onset of adulthood. These notions about childhood innocence and the need to protect children from the world of adults were present in the work of the English poets William Blake and William Wordsworth as well as others, and were among those that informed the thinking of the German educationalist and founder of the KINDERGARTEN, FRIEDRICH FROEBEL (1782–1852). Together, Froebel's writing and educational practice constitute a qualitative shift in the conceptualization of children's play and its role in their education. Much of what Froebel advocated, such as the use of play objects or ap-

paratus to provide learning experiences, was not novel. (As was discussed above, Plato had recorded that the ancient Egyptians had used games to teach arithmetic.) However, Froebel went further than any theorist before by placing play at the center of his conception of how young children should be educated. The games he devised and the play apparatus, what he called the *gifts* and *occupations*, were extensively described in his books such as *Mother's Songs, Games and Stories*, a manual for mothers on how to play with their children. In his *Pedagogics of the Kindergarten* Froebel detailed how his play apparatus, the gifts, and occupations should be played with. The persuasiveness of Froebel's theories owes much to the Romantic, sometimes, mystical language he used but his theories were innovative in that his conception of play is free from any warnings that unregulated play might be dangerous. In contrast to earlier traditions Froebel says of play in the early stage of childhood in his *Education of Man* (1826) that "play at this time is not trivial, it is highly serious and of deep significance" (p. 55). However, in Froebel's kindergarten there was no unregulated play as even the free play was planned and constrained. He intimated that play arose from an impulse to activity that in the next stage, a stage he calls *boyhood*, becomes expressed in work.

Evolutionary Theories of Play

Because of the similarities between the play behavior of young children and the behavior of the young of some animal species, the behavior of the latter has also been described as play. Following the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, it was almost inevitable that some of his followers would make the connection and attempt adaptive explanations of the play of all species in terms of Darwinian and other evolutionary theories. These theories gave rise to the first attempts to provide explanations for play, rather than observations of play or uses to which play could be put. Although hints as to how play arises are present in earlier texts, it is not until the nineteenth century that theories of play make their first appearance.

One of the most prominent theories arose from the work of the German philosopher J. C. Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805) in his *Letters on Aesthetic Education* and later the works of English philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). They expounded what was called the *surplus energy theory* to explain animal play. Schiller, writing before Darwin, was principally concerned with the relation between play, art, and aesthetics. He believed that a concern with aesthetic appearance emerged in humans when they acted on an impulse "to extend enjoyment beyond necessity" and thereby stimulate their imagination. Necessity in this context meant the struggle for survival. In support of this argument, he cited the way in nature, a lion sometimes roared, not out of necessity but in order to release its "unemployed energy."

With Herbert Spencer, a break occurs in the history of theories of play as he, like most of the subsequent figures,

adopted a scientific approach that was mainly empirical rather than speculative. Spencer, a prominent advocate of an evolutionary theory that preceded Darwin's, wrote, in his *Principles of Psychology* (1855) that once an animal no longer had to expend all its energy on survival, the surplus could be released in play. For Spencer, the release of surplus energy in play took the form of imitation of a "serious" activity.

In his book *Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (1861), Spencer argued that learning should be made as pleasurable as play, although he makes no connection here to his general theories of play. Unusually for the time in which he wrote, Spencer drew attention to the fact that girls were often prevented by schools from engaging in noisy play even though it was thought desirable for the adequate development of boys.

A German contemporary of Spencer named Karl Groos (1861–1946) also presented a biological explanation for play in his books, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man*. Groos argued that play was the expression of an instinct necessary to the survival of the species. The young child, due to its prolonged dependency on adults, did not need the instinct. Hence play is the practice and development of capacities, like sex and fighting, to be used later in life. Thus, for Groos, the purpose of play was a preparation for life. Famously he claimed that, "instead of saying, the animals play because they are young, we must say, the animals have a youth in order that they may play" and thereby they practice skills necessary for their survival. This theory, unlike that of surplus energy, could explain not only why play was most prominent in young animals but also why it occurred in isolated animals that were not able to imitate others. Spencer's theory, which relied on imitation, was unable to explain this.

The American psychologist James Mark Baldwin (1861–1934), who did much to popularize Groos in the United States, concluded that play is a function of high utility. Baldwin subscribed to *race recapitulation*, one of the most pervasive ideas among psychologists, biologists, and educationalists of the late nineteenth century. This view held that the development of the individual (ontogeny) recapitulates, or repeats the principal stages, the development of the human race (phylogeny). Race recapitulation appeared in many different areas of social life. It was present in Froebel's and Spencer's work but the American psychologist G. STANLEY HALL (1844–1924) did most to promote it in education. A variant of race recapitulation was that each individual mind passes through the evolutionary stages that the human race has previously been through. For Hall play was the recapitulation of an earlier evolutionary state. The great American educationalist and pragmatic philosopher JOHN DEWEY (1859–1952) developed a curriculum around the similar idea of cultural epochs that was propounded by the German educator and philosopher, J. F. HERBART (1776–1841) and his followers. In Dewey's scheme, the youngest children were

given objects to play with that would have been necessary for survival, for example, in the Stone Age. Throwing sticks at an object was held to recapitulate the hunting of wild animals in the Stone Age and in Hall's view, because it was a reliving of a past evolutionary state it provided more pleasure than throwing sticks at nothing in particular.

John Dewey and Maria Montessori: "Scientific" Education and Play

These often conflicting theories of play encountered many problems, many of which were related to the inadequacy of the definitions of play that had been adopted. For the most part, none of the figures that have been discussed provided anything more than a cursory definition that typically contained the views that play was not a serious activity and that it gave pleasure. It fell to John Dewey to define play on several occasions in the course of his voluminous output. Dewey's attitude to education was scientific in that his views were formed by observation and experimentation. He often presented the world in his writing in terms of binary oppositions and so he defined play in relation to work. Thus, in *How We Think* (1909), Dewey wrote, in a formulation that paralleled Froebel's, that play was an activity not consciously performed for any sake beyond itself whereas work was an activity in which the interest lies in its outcome. In Dewey's conception, play is subordinated to work. He poses this almost as a developmental task. A time comes, he argued in a reversal of Schiller's notion, when children must extend their acquaintance with existing, as opposed to symbolic, things. Dewey did not consider work unpleasant; instead he distinguished it from labor, which was characterized by drudgery. As an antidote to labor, he suggested, adults engaged not in play but in amusement.

The consequences for education, in Dewey's view, were that play and the work into which it grows should give exercise in socially useful occupations. This, as has been seen, was not a novel prescription. Echoes of Rousseau and the Edgeworths may be detected in his contention in *Democracy and Education* (1916) that "[i]t is the business of the school to set up an environment in which play and work shall be conducted with reference to facilitating desirable mental and moral growth. It is not enough just to introduce plays and games, handwork and manual exercises. Everything depends upon the way in which they are employed" (p. 230). There are clear parallels in this statement with Rousseau's advocacy of the manipulation of the child's environment so that it was unaware that its work and play were completely under the control of the teacher. Similarities may also be observed between Dewey's view and that of the Italian educationalist MARIA MONTESSORI (1870–1952). Montessori's system, which blurs the distinction between play and work, was based on sense training by means of didactic apparatus. Montessori was also opposed to FAIRY TALES—the source of much of children's fantasy play before the advent of DISNEY and computer games—favored by Froebel's followers. She

wanted children to encounter reality and not have imposed upon them the fantasies of others.

The Growth of the Toy Industry and Organized Play

The context in which the theories of play discussed above were formulated and attempts were made to utilize play in the emerging mass school systems was also one in which certain kinds of play were being exploited commercially on a mass scale by the manufacturers of toys for the first time. It was also a context marked by the codification of games such as football and BASEBALL, which were played by children and adults alike. In a previous era, Locke had recommended that children should make their own toys. The Edgeworths advised that toys be plain and useful and the play materials devised by Froebel and Montessori were just that. The current meanings of the word *toy* did not become widespread until the nineteenth century, when it coincided with an expansion in the mass production of toys.

The expansion of the toy industry during the nineteenth century signified a strengthening of the relation between a newly emergent conception of childhood and forms of play largely outside the direct control of adults. This kind of play was educative in the broadest sense but did not take place in the conditions advocated by Rousseau and Montessori. At the end of the nineteenth century, attempts were made in cities across the United States and Europe to retain or retake control of children's social play through the organized children's PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT. While some have seen these initiatives as an unambiguous attempt to impose adult control over the children of the urban poor, many of the reformers were motivated by another impulse, a Romantic critique of the city as a source of physical and moral degeneration that had violated children's natural right to play. A similar impulse also may be seen in the rise of uniformed youth movements, such as the BOY SCOUTS and GIRL SCOUTS/Girl Guides, during the early years of the twentieth century.

Psychoanalytic Theories

The new concern with children, childhood, and play manifest at the end of the nineteenth century also provided the context for new theories. The revelation of INFANT SEXUALITY by the founder of psychoanalysis, SIGMUND FREUD (1856–1939), produced a view of childhood that conflicted sharply with the view of childhood promoted by Rousseau and the Romantics. The evolutionary biological basis of Freud's general theories meant that his was not an entirely new departure. Strong links may be found between Freud's view of childhood and those of Groos and Hall. Nevertheless, Freud's enormously influential theories countered the Enlightenment optimism visible in the play theories, and the belief that the application of reason to fields such as education would bring about progress towards perfectibility.

Freud's psychoanalytic theory of play was outlined in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). In this work, he explicitly

conceptualized play as the *repetition compulsion* whereby a child wishes to constantly repeat or re-enact an experience. This he saw as the working out of his pleasure principle; the reduction of tension produced by the life instincts; and, when the experience was unpleasant, of the death instinct. The replacement of the pleasure principle, of which play is part, by the reality principle takes place phylogenetically in Freudian theory as well as ontogenetically within the individual child when its instinctual drives give way to reason.

Psychoanalytic theories of play, which focused on the value of play for emotional development, gave rise to two developments. First, the use of play as psychotherapy was pioneered by the Austrian psychoanalyst MELANIE KLEIN (1882–1960) and described in her book *The Psychoanalysis of Children* (1932). Second, a small number of experimental schools were founded on psychoanalytic principles in the early twentieth century. Among these was the Children's Home opened in Moscow by Vera Schmidt in 1921. The school ran until its closure in 1926. In the United States, Margaret Naumburg (1890–1983) began in 1914 what became known as the Walden School and in England, A. S. NEILL (1883–1973) founded a school named Summerhill. Although different in some respects, the schools were united in a belief that adults should not channel spontaneous, natural play into a learning experience for children. At Summerhill, for example, children were able to play freely without constraint, something Plato feared would lead to dire social and political consequences.

Twentieth-Century Psychological Theories

Discussion of play in the twentieth century tended to be dominated by psychologists, a consequence of psychology having become the dominant discourse of nearly all aspects of childhood and education. Three figures stand out in the debates and discussions around children's play: Swiss psychologist JEAN PIAGET (1896–1980), Russian psychologist LEV VYGOTSKY (1896–1934), and American psychologist Jerome Bruner (b. 1915). Their theories differed from earlier explanatory theories in stressing cognitive rather than biological functions performed by play. Piaget emphasized the importance of play in symbolic representation and its contribution to socialization. Vygotsky described play as a "leading activity" and believed that play allows children opportunities to use language and to learn through role playing, as Plato believed, to "self-regulate" their behavior by following rules. By these means they raise their own learning above the level they had attained previously. Bruner and his associates stressed the role of play in language acquisition and problem solving.

While these psychologists emphasized the cognitive benefits of play, some observers like Neil Postman argued that childhood is under threat and with it the conditions for play. In *The Disappearance of Childhood*, Postman argued that the electronic media, especially TELEVISION, was destroying

childhood. Others, like the psychologist ERIK ERIKSON, contributed to the view that as childhood vanishes, so does adulthood as adults become infantilized by a commercialized popular culture.

Conclusion

One of the regularly repeated themes in the history of theories of play and the relation between play and education is the persistence of the binary opposition of play to work. This binary could be rewritten in Freudian terms as the conflict between the pleasure and the reality principles. Those educationalists who advocated the use of play in education generally did so as a means to induct children into the structures of the reality principle. At the start of the twenty-first century, within many education systems (except perhaps in early childhood education), play has lost ground to the perceived demands for a competitive advantage in a global economy.

Paradoxically, since the 1960s, which saw a rise in living standards across the Western world, the boundaries between play and work have become more blurred and the notion that play is the work of the child has been disrupted by the realization, found in the work of the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga (1872–1945), that adults continue to play too. To this is added the growing convergence of children and adults by virtue of both sharing the same mediatised, cultural space. Finally, if the history of theories of children’s play illustrates anything, it is that play has far too many social ramifications to be left to children and that the theories are as much about a conception of adulthood—and what the child should become—as they are about childhood.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology; Media, Childhood and the; Theories of Childhood.**

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Tinker v. Des Moines

In early December 1965, a handful of members of a small Iowa peace group—mainly Quakers and Unitarians—met in a Des Moines home to discuss ways to demonstrate their opposition to America’s escalating military activity in Southeast Asia. Without prompting from their parents, several of the young people attending the meeting made the decision to wear black armbands to school in order to express sorrow for

casualties in the Vietnam War and to encourage a truce in hostilities. The armband demonstration took place on December 16 and 17, 1965. Only about sixty of the 18,000 students enrolled in the Des Moines public schools participated, and there was no serious disruption of school routine. School administrators, however, suspended a handful of the offending students for violating a hastily enacted school district rule that prohibited the classroom display of symbols of protest.

Represented by the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, three of the armband wearing students—Christopher Eckhardt, John Tinker and Mary Beth Tinker—challenged the school district's position in federal court. At the time, Christopher and John were fifteen-year-old high school sophomores; Mary Beth was thirteen and in the eighth grade. Although not as newsworthy as the raucous political demonstrations of the 1960s in other sections of the country, the Iowa armband protest and the civil liberties issues it raised eventually led to one of the U.S. Supreme Court's most significant decisions on CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.

In his 1969 opinion in *Tinker v. Des Moines* for the seven-member Supreme Court majority, Justice Abe Fortas held that the conduct of the armband wearing Iowa teenagers was "not substantially disruptive" of educational activities and, thus, constituted protected symbolic expression under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Justice Fortas submitted further that constitutional protections of free expression extend to young people even "inside the school-house gate." Fortas had also written the Court's opinion in *IN RE GAULT* (1967), which held that full procedural rights should be accorded to youthful offenders appearing before JUVENILE COURTS. The tandem of opinions in *Gault* and *Tinker* made Fortas appear to be the Warren Court's designated spokesperson for children's rights.

In a biting dissent, Justice Hugo Black fulminated that "children should be seen and not heard." At a time when many older Americans were uncomfortable with student political expression, Justice Black's opinion served as a conservative bellwether; he received hundreds of letters praising his stand against classroom protests.

Since the 1960s, the *Tinker* precedent has been significantly qualified. For example, in *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the administrative censorship of a Missouri high school newspaper, concluding that a school principal's decision to excise some student-bylined material was reasonably grounded in the law. *Hazelwood* notwithstanding, however, Justice Fortas's opinions in *Tinker v. Des Moines* and *In re Gault* still remain key starting points for any discussions of children's rights in late twentieth century America.

See also: **Law, Children and the; Youth Activism.**



A French stamp featuring Tintin and his dog Snowy was released during the national *fête du timbre* (stamp fair) in March 2000. © AFP/CORBIS.

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JOHN W. JOHNSON

Tintin and Hergé

The character of Tintin, the courageous boy reporter, was created in 1929 by the Belgian cartoonist Georges Remi (1907–1983). The cast—including Tintin, his dog Snowy, Captain Haddock, Professor Calculus, and Bianca Castafiore, and others—appeared in a series of twenty-three adventures between 1930 and 1976; the final Tintin album, *Tintin et l'Alph-Art* (*Tintin and Alpha-Art* [1990]), was left unfinished at Remi's death and was published in notes form in 1986.

Remi (better known by his *nom de plume* Hergé, the French pronunciation of his initials in reversed order, "R-G") began his career as an illustrator for the conservative, Roman Catholic newspaper *Le vingtième siècle* (The twentieth century). Hergé's earliest picture stories for children, be-

fore embarking on Tintin, took the traditional children's form of densely illustrated texts, whereby another author's prose story would be broken down into short units, and each block of text would be placed under a picture that illustrated or glossed it; the pictures were at best decorative and redundant to the text. After seeing imported newspapers from Mexico, which reprinted the then new American comic strip form (in which text was integrated into the pictures as dialogue), Hergé decided to create a new story, introducing this innovative format to his readers.

The first Tintin story, *Tintin au pays des Soviets* (*Tintin in the Land of the Soviets* [1989]), was serialized two pages at a time in the newspaper's children's supplement, *Le petit vingtième* (The little twentieth), and published in a collected version in 1930. Initially a lone artist, Hergé eventually hired a small team of assistants. After the demise of *Le vingtième siècle*, he moved the initial serialization of his Tintin stories to the children's supplement of the newspaper *Le Soir* in 1940, and finally in 1946 to the pages of his own *Tintin* magazine. Unlike American comic book stories for children, which usually comprised either short, stand-alone stories or open-ended serials, Tintin stories were constructed as complete tales, with beginnings, middles, and endings; these stories were then collected and published in a hardcover, or album, format, leading to a complete library of titles that have remained in print, with rare exceptions, since their initial publication.

Tintin in the Land of the Soviets owed a debt to the anti-communist propaganda of the day; Hergé's research was limited to a single anticommunist tract (Joseph Douillet's *Moscou sans voiles* [1928]), in keeping with the newspaper's agenda. This somewhat xenophobic trend continued in books like *Tintin au Congo* (1931; *Tintin in the Congo* [1991]) and *Tintin en Amérique* (1932; *Tintin in America* [1978]), which portrayed nonwhite characters in stereotypical fashion. *Tintin in the Congo* especially suffered from the colonial prejudices of the day, as the Congo was at that time still under Belgian rule.

The fifth volume, *Le lotus bleu* (1936; *The Blue Lotus* [1983]), marked a change in Hergé's conception of the stories; instead of simply crafting escapist adventures based solely on common (mis)conceptions, he would base his stories on more careful research and address, at least indirectly, contemporary concerns. For *Blue Lotus*, Hergé learned about Chinese culture and history from Chang Chong-Chen, a student at Brussels's Académie des Beaux-Arts. The book directly confronts Western misconceptions about China (although Hergé's depictions of Chinese characters still often relied on popular visual stereotypes); the political situation of the time, specifically the Sino-Japanese War, is discussed directly, a rarity for children's fiction in Belgium at the time.

As the years passed, the Tintin volumes were occasionally revised and re-imagined, due both to external pressures such

as publishing in foreign markets and to Hergé's own developing realization that his books had an effect on their young readers. The versions available today represent Hergé's final revisions.

Tintin has been marketed with all the fervor of DISNEY's most important characters, with merchandise from children's clothing to fine china. Live-action film versions include *Tintin and the Golden Fleece* (1961) and *Tintin and the Blue Oranges* (1964); animated films consist of *Prisoners of the Sun* (1969) and *Tintin and the Land of Sharks* (1972), and a series of thirty-minute adaptations was produced in 1990.

Hergé has had a wide influence on cartoonists throughout the world. Traces of his *ligne claire* ("clear-line") style of drawing, with simple ink outlines, flat and bold color, and realistic background detail can be seen in the works of various European and other cartoonists, both for children and adults.

See also: **Children's Literature; Comic Books; Series Books.**

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GENE KANNENBERG JR.

Title IX and Girls' Sports

"Title IX," commonly known for its application to athletics, has played an important but controversial role in expanding athletics opportunities for women and girls. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is a federal statute that prohibits sex discrimination in education programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. The statute applies to athletics programs at federally funded private and public educational institutions, and is enforced by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. As outlined in the 1979 Policy Interpretation, Title IX regulation for athletics requires compliance in financial assistance, accommodation of interests and abilities, and other program areas. The Policy Interpretation, though designed for intercollegiate athletics, may also apply to club, intramural, and interscholastic athletics programs.

Since the passage of Title IX, the number of girls participating in athletics has risen dramatically. Fewer than 300,000 girls participated in high school sports in 1971, compared to more than 3.6 million boys; by 2001, the number for girls had reached over 2.7 million, compared to more than 3.9 million boys. The perception of female athletes in society has also undergone change as a result of Title IX. Increased media coverage of women's sports, successes at the

Olympic Games, and the establishment of professional leagues reflect only a few ways in which women are redefined by their image in athletics. Many argued, however, that despite the apparent progress Title IX has made in promoting gender equity, women and girls continued to receive unequal opportunities, benefits, and treatment.

Title IX's meaning for athletics in the United States has been contested since the 1970s, spawning debates in Congress, courts, educational institutions, and various organizations. In particular, the three-part test for assessing Title IX compliance has generated intense disagreement about the intent and purpose of Title IX. Opponents of the test argue that it creates proportionality "quotas" which discriminate against males, leaving schools little choice other than to eliminate, or to reduce budgets for, male sports programs. Others contend that since females are inherently less interested in playing sports than males, the test embodies a misinterpretation of Title IX. Proponents of the three-part test emphasize the correlation between interest levels and a history of discriminatory policies, and argue that female teams and Title IX have been wrongly blamed for the decisions schools make regarding male teams. Stronger enforcement of Title IX regulation, some believe, is necessary to ensure that educational institutions provide nondiscriminatory opportunities for females in all areas of athletics.

Much of the debate surrounding Title IX has centered on the statute's application to intercollegiate programs, but Title IX compliance remains problematic at the younger levels as well. For example, in *Communities for Equity v. Michigan High School Athletic Association* (2001) a U.S. District Court ruled that the scheduling of female high school sports in nontraditional seasons was in violation of Title IX and the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. Further research that focuses on elementary and secondary school athletics programs is needed to fully examine Title IX's impact on girls' participation in sports. As the controversy over Title IX continues to unfold both on and off the field, this landmark piece of legislation will have far-reaching implications for athletics for both girls and boys.

See also: **Sports.**

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ANDREA KWON

Tobacco. See Smoking.

Toilet Training

Although nearly every human learns to control the time and place of urination and defecation, there is considerable historical and cultural variation in this training. The individual's control of these bodily functions carries psychological importance, as the child's body can become the site of a power struggle between the child and the adult caretakers. Children are socialized to surrender to society this particular control over their bodies, and to some anthropologists, such as Mary Douglas (*Natural Symbols*, 1970), the body serves as a powerful symbol of society, including the important cultural categories *clean* and *dirty*. As "dirt" of a special sort, human urine and feces are treated in variable ways that reveal a great deal about the culture. The very phrase *toilet training*, signals the tendency of most Western societies to treat urine and feces as dirty, dangerous materials that must be disposed of safely.

There are few historical references to the training of these bodily functions until the rise of published advice literature, usually written by physicians, in the seventeenth century. In general, the trend over time has been for the advice literature to recommend increasingly permissive approaches to socializing the child, including the early regimes of feeding and toilet training. In the British American colonies, for example, the literature advised parents to make toilet training early and rigorous, a matter of exerting adult will on the willful child. By the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the effect of ENLIGHTENMENT thinking was to get parents to see child training as a rational (rather than a necessarily moral) process. Structure and rigid scheduling dominated the child-training regime of the first half of the nineteenth century, but in the latter half the increasing separation in the middle class between the public sphere and the private, domestic sphere, coupled with the increasing responsibility of women for the domestic sphere, led to gentler methods. Still, by modern standards, toilet training well into the early twentieth century stressed structure, regularity, and early onset.

By the early twentieth century, SIGMUND FREUD's ideas about socializing the anal system and about the consequences of events creating anal fixation provided a possible

rationale for taking a different approach toward toilet training, though behaviorism, best represented by JOHN B. WATSON, still dominated the advice literature. Behaviorism recognized the child's strong drives and desires and aimed to socialize those desires through consistent, structured training. But by the 1940s, the advice literature assumed a less willful, driven child and advocated a more relaxed, permissive approach to toilet training. Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK's best-selling book, *Baby and Child Care* (1946), went even further, warning that parental anxiety about toilet training can cause more problems than a relaxed, permissive regime that recognized children's individuality and variability. The advice literature since Spock has remained permissive with regard to toilet training.

While the authors of child-training advice literature did not generally adopt Freudian thinking about the relationships between anal socialization and later adult personality, some psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists employed psychoanalytic theory in the 1940s and 1950s in trying to understand "group character." One such interdisciplinary project was Whiting and Child's 1953 use of ethnographic reports on seventy-five primitive societies and an American middle-class sample to test specific hypotheses about the relationships between child-training practices (including the socialization of the anal system) and adult customs and traits, and another was Miller and Swanson's 1958 attempts to correlate child-training practices (including toilet training), social class status, and adult personality traits. Interdisciplinary inquiry of this sort disappeared in the 1960s, when group character studies fell into disrepute.

In comparative cultural studies, the researchers found a wide range of practices in anal training. The median age for beginning serious toilet training, for example, was two years of age, with half of the societies beginning as early as age one and a few (e.g., the Bena of Africa) waiting until the child was nearly five. Middle-class American practices tended toward the early extreme in the 1930s through 1950s samples, typically beginning toilet training at six months. Similarly, while there was a wide range of cultural practices regarding the severity of anal training in those studies, the American mothers tended to be quite severe.

Historians have noted the impact of changes in material culture and technology upon toilet training. Gideon's 1948 and Ogle's 1996 histories of household technology recount this revolution and its connections to social history. The invention and wide availability of household washing machines, for example, made the laundering of cloth diapers less onerous, possibly contributing to the relaxation of mothers' distress over dirty diapers, and the invention and inexpensive availability of disposable diapers made the chore that much easier. This is also a factor in explaining why the emphasis on toilet training relaxed faster in the United States than it did in Europe. Similarly, the invention of the zipper,

replacing buttons, and then of Velcro fasteners, replacing zippers, has made it much easier for children to disrobe quickly and to get on the toilet when the urge of urination or a bowel movement comes to them. Toilet training in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has seen the commercial availability of a range of child-sized portable toilets and toilet seats, along with picture and reading books aimed at making toilet training less intimidating and even "fun" for children.

See also: **Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Diapers and Toiletting.**

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JAY MECHLING

Tolkien, J. R. R. *See* Lord of the Rings and J. R. R. Tolkien.

Tolstoy's Childhood in Russia

Childhood in Russia was a literary invention, and it appeared more or less fully formed in the pseudo-autobiographical novel *Childhood* (1852), the debut work by Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910). This is not to assert that before the publication of Tolstoy's work Russians did not experience childhood as a separate phase of life subject to its own laws. However, those who had had such experiences failed to record them in anything more than rudimentary form. The appearance of Tolstoy's novel, and a complementary one by the lesser-known writer Sergei Aksakov in 1858 entitled *The Childhood Years of Bagrov's Grandson*, allowed for the systematization of Russian childhood. Henceforward, autobiographically oriented works by Russians not only tended to include extensive sections devoted to childhood, but autobiographers almost invariably recalled their childhood through a Tolstoyan filter. It should be noted that at least through the early twentieth century we can speak about Russian childhood almost exclusively in connection with the gentry, which made up some 10 percent of the population. Other Russians generally lacked the leisure to reflect on their childhood memories, whatever they might have been.

First and foremost, Russian childhood is distinguished by the fact that it is supposed to have been the happiest stage of life, a time that can never be equaled by adult experience. Chapter 15 of Tolstoy's work begins with what may have been the most influential sentences Tolstoy ever wrote as far as the Russian cultural mind was concerned: "Happy, happy unforgettable time of childhood! How can one not love, not cherish its memories?" Certainly for the next eighty years, practically every first-person description of childhood in Russia, whether in fictional or nonfictional form, was oriented to them. Nineteenth-century autobiographers not only repeated Tolstoy's overall interpretation of childhood, they also borrowed typically Tolstoyan situations, cadences, and turns of phrase. Of course, to say that Tolstoy invented a paradigm that was used for understanding childhood by generations of Russians does not mean that he made this view up out of whole cloth. Rather, it is likely that Tolstoy's vision had such staying power because it coincided with existing Russian views. In any case, it has become quite impossible to separate literary reality from real life, particularly because in a highly bookish country like Russia, no one who sits down to recall his or her childhood or who thinks about the kind of childhood society should provide does so without having Tolstoy's work in mind.

While some autobiographers contented themselves with mere variations on themes of Tolstoy, others strove to develop the myth of childhood as a golden age. Their authors maintained that there was a qualitative difference separating the world in which they grew up from that in which they lived as adults. Eventually, and particularly as the gentry decayed as a class, a happy childhood was seen as their last possession, a synecdoche for traditional Russia itself. Novels and memoirs written in exile after the Soviet revolution, such as Ivan Bunin's *The Life of Arseniev* or Vladimir Nabokov's *Speak, Memory*, continued this tradition, linking a happy childhood to pre-Bolshevik Russian life itself.

The myth of the happy childhood is generally accompanied by some corollaries, including the myth of the perfect mother, the myth of the impotent father, and the equation of the locus of childhood—the country estate—with paradise. As Ekaterina Sabaneeva put it:

The rivers, the groves, the village paths on which we rode with our parents left such deep impressions on me that my entire moral nature has been woven of them, as if from threads. It is clear to me that my attachment to my homeland, to its people, and to the church grew from this foundation: those threads and impressions of childhood gave a direction to the whole contents of my life. (p. 2)

The idealization of the rural paradise in which upper-class autobiographers grew up is often set against the cities in which they spent the latter part of their youth. Constant descriptions of paradise lost lend a nostalgic and elegiac accent

to their autobiographies. As a result, instead of viewing life's journey in terms of gradual growth and improvement through the course of one's life, the Russian model is based on a gradual falling away from the perfection of childhood.

One might have expected that the complete destruction of the gentry class in the twentieth century would have led to the appearance of new paradigms of childhood in Russian culture. To be sure, the early twentieth century did witness some new cultural models. One should note, for example, the modernist ideal of childhood as the time in which an observant artistic individual's first impressions are formed, as described in works such as *Kotik Letaev* by Andrei Belyi, *The Noise of Time* by Osip Mandelstam, and *Zhenya Luvers' Childhood* by Boris Pasternak. Such rarified literary work could not, however, provide a general paradigm for Russians. A more potentially influential model was provided by Maxim Gorky in his pseudo-autobiographical novel *Childhood*. In this work, the overall impression is one of childhood as a time of difficulty and hard knocks. In the gentry tradition, recalling childhood leads to nostalgically pleasant reminiscences. By contrast, for Gorky the past must be remembered in order for it to be "exposed to its roots and torn out of grim and shameful life—torn out of the very soul and memory of man" (p. 302). Autobiography is not a nostalgic attempt at eternal return but a means of overcoming the past. Humankind, for whom the child is a synecdoche, is seen growing ever upward toward the sun, which provides the light for the "bright future." Gorky's work thus does not merely express the experience of a writer from a different socioeconomic background; it challenges the Russian notion of childhood as such.

Nevertheless, despite his iconic status for Soviet literature, Gorky and his *Childhood* did not provide the ultimate model for Soviet writers or society. By the 1930s the Soviet government announced that Socialism had been "achieved and won" in the USSR. As a result, a paradigm of childhood which saw it as a period of misery leading to gradual improvement and enlightenment was inappropriate. Instead, the myth of the happy childhood was fated to make a comeback, not precisely in Tolstoyan terms, but in a formula that every Soviet child of the 1930s and 1940s was expected to know by heart: "Thank you for our happy childhood, Comrade Stalin."

See also: **Autobiographies.**

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ANDREW WACHTEL

Toys

While toys today are widely associated with children, historically toys were the province of adults and were only gradually passed on and relegated to the young. Playthings, long rare and slowly changing, became far more varied and transient in modern society, reflecting conflicting cultural and economic influences over the childhood experience.

Origins of Modern Toys

For all but the rich, the preindustrial family's need to work meant PLAY and toys were not encouraged by parents. In ancient and medieval times, adults shared objects of play with children primarily during festivals as occasions for emotional release. Common play objects, such as hoops, tops, balls, and even hobbyhorses, were only gradually abandoned by adults as childish. The passing of toys to children was closely related to the sixteenth-century shift from community spectacle to domestic celebrations (with the miniaturization of crèche, battle, and animal scenes for family amusement and edification). Miniature scenes eventually became children's play sets (e.g., the sixteenth-century wooden Noah's Ark). Only in the late sixteenth century did miniature soldiers shift from being adult to children's toys. In the eighteenth century domestic miniatures, which had formerly been custom-built for luxurious display for adult women, became doll cabinets and houses to instruct girls in the arts of housekeeping and do-

mestic fashion. Domestic automata, mechanical figures or animals that were powered by water and even steam, had amused wealthy men from ancient times, but it was not until the nineteenth century that mass production and cheap clock and winding works let adults pass these novelties down to children as toys.

Poor children, of course, found time to make their own rag- and straw-stuffed DOLLS or balls from animal skins, and created games in unsupervised groups with whittled sticks and castaway bits of cloth. Traditional toys, such as hoops pushed along the street with a stick, or hand-made cup-and-ball toys, let children display skill until the end of the nineteenth century.

The toy industry began in southern Germany (Nuremberg and Groeden Valley especially) in the fourteenth century. At first, seasonal craftspeople specialized in carving wooden animal figures sold regionally through peddlers. But by the end of the eighteenth century, cheap tin toy armies for boys and miniature kitchens for girls were manufactured according to the strict specifications of powerful merchants and distributed across Europe and North America to children in middle-class families. European toy makers also found new, cheaper materials (like sawdust-based "composition" for dolls' heads by 1850 and lithographed paper on wood to simulate domestic interiors or hand painted scenes on play sets by 1890). These innovations not only put more playthings into the hands of less wealthy children, but also made for more variety and more rapid change in toys, thus turning playthings into a fashion industry. Nevertheless, older craft production and distribution through merchants survived in many branches of the toy industry throughout the nineteenth century, delaying mechanization. German toys prevailed until World War I, when Germany still exported 75 percent of its output.

Toys in the United States

Until the mid-nineteenth century, American children had relatively few playthings, especially after the toddler years. Parents seldom thought of toys as tools of learning or character building, but rather as frivolities that interfered with the learning of sex work roles through assisting adults in their daily tasks. Religious strictures against idleness, especially in Puritan New England, made toys suspect, except perhaps on SUNDAYS or holidays. Only after the Civil War, with the spread of factories and the coming of department stores and mail order catalogs, did the American toy industry begin to emerge. Innovative interlocking building blocks and comical windup toys appeared in the 1860s and 1870s. But more common were simple miniatures of adult work tools (toy hammers, saws, and garden tool sets for boys and dolls and miniature houseware sets for girls).

Toys became part of an ideal childhood in the middle-class home. Industrialization removed production from the home and reduced the need for child labor, making play-

things essential to preparing the young for adult roles. Parlor board and card games and “scientific” toys (featuring optical illusions) replaced shared domestic work to create family loyalties and to train the child in the values of honesty and competition. Such “educational” playthings served aspiring middle-class parents to isolate their young from often-unruly street gangs while also providing antidotes for loneliness. With greater affluence, the young were increasingly encouraged to enjoy the spontaneity and the pleasures of their freedom from work and responsibility. Playthings were both vehicles to introduce the real world and fantasy objects that shut off the child from that world.

Beginning around 1900 toy manufacturing diversified greatly and began to offer almost annual changes. As boys were withheld longer from the workforce and girls spent less time caring for younger siblings and doing household duties, playthings for older children became more common. Boys up to sixteen years old could look to sophisticated toy construction sets, toy microscopes, chemistry sets, and electric trains as fun, but also as practical preparation for modern careers in engineering, business, and science. Toys became even more sex stereotyped as boys’ toys increasingly idealized technology, constant innovation, and the values of competition and teamwork. By contrast, a new generation of playthings for females featured companion and baby dolls, meant to encourage emotional attachments and nurturing “instincts.” New interest in early child development created a demand for building blocks, crafts, and other educational playthings. The didactic and often austere character of educational toys (rejecting, for example, any association with popular film or comic book characters) limited their appeal and led to their declining role in children’s lives by the 1960s.

Other popular toys encouraged fantasy. They were sometimes drawn from folk literature (like the Scottish elf Brownies figures and play sets of the 1890s) but more often from the ever-changing stories and characters of comics and movies, including Kewpie dolls (1912), Charlie Chaplin dolls (1914), and eventually Mickey Mouse figures (1930). The TEDDY BEAR, based on a story of Teddy Roosevelt sparing a baby bear on a hunt, became an international craze in 1906. This toy, in contrast to the hard wooden or stiff cloth animals of the past, was cuddly (made of upholstering fabric and filled with soft stuffing) and provided children security and protection. Teddies also made children seem innocent and charming and later reminded adults of their own childhoods. Most toys of the early twentieth century were intended to convey adult messages to children either by giving them the adult’s image of their future or by presenting adult fantasies or nostalgia about ideal childhood.

Growing Fantasy and Autonomy in Toys

A major shift in playthings began in the 1930s during the Great Depression. In response to reduced sales, toy makers



Boy with Toys on Porch (c. 1909), photographed by Underwood and Underwood. By the early twentieth century, toys had become part of the ideal middle-class childhood. Boys’ toys idealized technology and innovation; toy trains were particularly popular. © CORBIS.

offered cheaper toys, often sold by the piece rather than in sets (as they had often been sold in the past). This tended to encourage children to purchase their own toys, bypassing parental control. Toy companies also began to use licensed images of popular radio and movie personalities in their toys to increase sales. Buck Rogers toy guns, Little Orphan Annie decoder rings, Popeye wind-up figures, and SHIRLEY TEMPLE dolls served as props to reenact stories or to identify with heroes. Military figures, science fiction play sets, and cowboy cap guns gained a new prominence in boys’ play in the 1930s as war approached and the optimism that had characterized the previous generation of construction and scientific toys declined.

In many ways, toys during the post-1945 BABY BOOM GENERATION returned to the era before 1930. In a period of new scientific and technological advances and perhaps closer bonds between fathers and sons, space toys and miniature cars and trucks were common. Adult fascination with the rugged individualism and moral certainty of the pioneer, cowboy, and Indian fighter led to parents’ buying cowboy suits, holster sets, and Lincoln Logs as well as frontier ranch and Fort Apache play sets for their sons. These often fea-

tured movie and TV western heroes such as Roy Rogers, Davy Crockett, and the Lone Ranger. By contrast, parents gave their baby boomer daughters miniatures of mother's work, including kitchen sets and replicas of name-brand products like Toni home permanents, presumably to teach girls their future roles as homemakers and consumers. As in the past, baby and companion dolls continued to invite girls to build play around relationships and emotional ties.

While the 1950s seemed to be a throwback to the past, there was one significant innovation in the world of toys during this period—the beginning of mass ADVERTISING of toys directly to children on TV programs. The *Mickey Mouse Club* was not the first children's show to promote toys when it first appeared on TV in 1955, but its advertising was designed to appeal to the child's imagination rather than the parent's values. Mattel toys proved that year-round advertising featuring children actors could create a mass demand for “burp guns” and Barbie dolls even outside of the Christmas gift season. Increasingly children pressured their parents into buying the “must-have” toys seen on TV.

Changes since 1960

In 1959, Mattel's Barbie doll, with her model's body, broke from the friendship and nurturing themes of the companion and baby dolls that had predominated since the 1900s, and put grown-up fashion and spending in its place. To the eight-year-old of 1960, Barbie represented a hoped-for future of teenage freedom from the dependencies of childhood that ignored the likely future responsibilities of her own mother. Barbie certainly did not teach girls to shed female sex stereotypes. Rather, she encouraged girls to associate being grown up with Barbie's “shapely” female body and with her freedom and carefree consumption.

G.I. Joe, introduced in 1964, was at first a boy's military dress-up doll modeled after real soldiers. During the Vietnam War when military toys became controversial, Joe and his friends became a line of adventure figures (who searched for treasure, for example). By 1975 G.I. Joe was again a fighter, but in a science fiction world divorced from the experience of real war. By 1978 boys' toys had become props to reenact the fantastic gadget-filled adventure of the *Star Wars* series, when the producers sold the rights to produce millions of action figures of the movie heroes and villains to Kenner Toys.

Since 1982, toy companies have produced TV cartoons based on their own toy lines. Mattel's series, *He-Man and Masters of the Universe*, featured warring characters from a TV program. However, with these toys, unlike the toy guns of the past, the tiny figures, not the boy, pulled the triggers.

Following on the success of action figures, toy makers introduced little girls to their own world of fantasy figures and play sets. In the early 1980s, greeting card companies developed lines of minidolls (Strawberry Shortcake, Care Bears,

and others) popularized with Saturday morning cartoons and movies. In the 1990s, the periodic release of movies like *Little Mermaid* or *Aladdin* created demand for toy figures associated with movie characters. Each child received her or his own “heroes” based on the media craze of the moment. While the American toy industry grew to sales of over 20 billion by the end of the twentieth century, parents' values and memories had little to do with children's toys even as children experienced more autonomy, albeit in a highly commercialized form of play.

Fate of the Toy Industry Outside the United States

In contrast, toys remained relatively static after 1920 in Europe and elsewhere. American toy innovations penetrated European childhood, especially with Walt DISNEY's aggressive marketing of character licenses to European doll and toy makers in 1935. The Americanization of toys meant a shift of play away from an adult world of training and toward an international culture of childhood created by linking children's movies and other media to toys. Of course, older toys survived after World War II in Europe: British Meccano construction sets returned and the Lesney “Matchbox” cars updated a tradition of play based on realistic miniatures of adult life. The Swedish Brio Company perpetuated a tradition of high-quality wooden toys (simple trains, cars, animals, and blocks) and promoted them as an educational alternative to licensed character toys. In the 1960s, the German Playmobil Company thrived by offering sturdy plastic updates of traditional wooden play sets. German toy makers abandoned war toys and specialized in electric trains, stuffed animals, and fine character dolls.

Where TV advertising was minimal or prohibited (e.g., Sweden), TV toys were somewhat slower to dominate the European market. Traditional craft toys (such as dolls, miniature animals, jumping jacks, and kites), made of common materials and featuring generic humor, still exist in the street markets of Asia and Africa in great regional variation. But even in poor countries, where parents cannot afford American name-brand action figures and dolls, local manufacturers make cheap imitations.

From the 1960s, European toy companies survived by imitating or becoming subsidiaries of aggressive American toy makers (e.g., with imitations of Barbie or European translations of G.I. Joe as Action Man). American control of licensed characters, associated with globally distributed movies like *Star Wars*, assured American dominance of the new type of toy line. The most dramatic exception was the Danish Lego interlocking blocks, which, starting in the mid-1960s, became a global boy's toy. By the late 1980s, however, Lego compromised with the American toy industry by introducing kits or “systems” designed to construct a single model based on exotic science fiction or fantasy themes. While educational toys survived in specialized upscale stores, appealing especially to parents intent on giving their infants and tod-

dlers a head start, the older child has become part of a global consumer culture through satellite TV, movies, COMIC BOOKS, and after 1991 especially video games. Toys are increasingly designed and marketed through American and Japanese companies and manufactured in South China near the international commercial center of Hong Kong for global distribution.

While some toy companies have undertaken research on children's response to new toys (such as Mattel and Lego) and development through toys (e.g., Fisher Price), only recently have children's playthings attracted impartial scholarly research (such as that by the International Toy Research Association). Toy collections are often small and specialized reflecting the particular interests of collectors. But major displays of historic toys are available at the Margaret Strong Museum (Rochester, New York), the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood (London, England), Legoland (Billund, Denmark), and the Brio Toy Museum (Osby, Sweden).

See also: **Boyhood; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Construction Toys; Early Modern Europe; Economics and Children in Western Societies; European Industrialization; Girlhood; Theories of Play.**

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GARY CROSS

Toy Soldiers (Tin Soldiers)

Toy soldiers, tin soldiers, or model soldiers are miniature figures representing soldiers from ancient times to the present day. They come in different sizes, usually between 30 millimeters and 75 millimeters measured between the base plate and the eyes to compensate for the height of the headgear. Different types of toy soldiers are the so-called flats, paper-thin castings painted and shaded to look three-dimensional. Semiflats are a few millimeters thicker, and in the case of cavalry, often produced with a semiflat horse and a round rider. The most popular today are the round, solid, or hollow-cast figures.

Toy soldiers are used by children to play with, but can also be used by adults to fight war games as a pastime or for instructive purposes. Toy soldiers—old and new—as well as

the expensive and detailed model soldiers that are produced by cottage industries in several countries, are popular collectors' items.

Boys have always been intrigued by war toys. When the Egyptian prince Emsah was buried almost four thousand years ago, he was accompanied in his grave by a unique collection of toy soldiers, which today shoulder by shoulder march steadfastly forward on their wooden bases in the museum in Cairo. Before the modern period, toys were a luxury reserved for the rich and powerful. The French queen Marie de'Medici gave her young son, the future King Louis XIII three hundred silver toy soldiers. The royal collection at Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen has a collection of silver soldiers made by the silversmith Fabritius for King Frederick IV. French king Louis XIV had a similar army, which however was melted down during the economic crisis of 1715. Catherine the Great of Russia wrote in her autobiography that Tsar Peter III as a young boy had several hundred toy soldiers made of wood, lead, starch, and wax: "They were all paraded on festive occasions, and a special arrangement of springs which could be released by pulling a string, produced a sound as if they fired their guns." It comes as no surprise, then, that the French emperor Napoleon presented his son, the king of Rome, with a large number of toy soldiers. The finest were a set of 117 gold figures made by the goldsmith Claude Odinot.

Toy soldiers as they are known today appeared around the middle of the eighteenth century. Among the first producers of flat figures were the Hilpert family of Nuremberg, Germany. The figures were inspired by the colorful uniforms of Napoleon Bonaparte and the Prussian king Frederick the Great. It is probably figures of this type that inspired the Danish fairytale writer Hans Christian Andersen's tale "The Steadfast Tin Soldier."

The first literary reference to round and solid figures, rather than flat figures, was in the German poet Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and truth). Goethe describes a boy and a girl who are playing with some tin soldiers that are "round, solid, and meticulously made." The French producer Lucotte started his work before 1789 but no figures made before 1850 were known to still be in existence in the early twenty-first century. One of the greatest collections of these figures are preserved at Blenheim Castle in England, and belonged to the British wartime prime minister Sir Winston Churchill. He describes his army in his biography *My Early Life*: "I had almost 1500 of the same size, all British and organised in an infantry division and a cavalry brigade. I had 15 fieldpieces but lacked a train. My father's old friend, Sir Drummond Wolff, noticed this and created a fund, which to a certain extent remedied this."

The Lucotte Company was bought by the French toy firm Cuperlu, Blondel and Gerbeau, in 1825, which was bought in turn by Mignot in 1876. Mignot continued to exist

into the twenty-first century. Besides soldiers, the company produced a number of interesting sets, including a picturesque group of firefighters and vehicles from the Paris Fire Brigade, circa 1900.

The most prolific toy soldier manufacturers were the German manufacturer Georg Heyde and the British toy maker William Britain. Heyde made 4.5 centimeter round, solid figures, with interchangeable heads so that each body could be used to represent the armies of a number of countries. Britain founded his company in 1893 and developed a special metal-saving way of casting hollow figures that became very popular. His first figure represented a British guardsman in red tunic and black bearskin hat, which was quickly followed by a multitude of soldiers from the British Indian army, from the Boer War, World War I, the Abyssinian war, and World War II, complete with guns, vehicles, and airplanes. Britain was still producing toy soldiers into the twenty-first century, but the figures became far too expensive to be used as toys and were mostly directed towards collectors. Toy soldiers today are almost exclusively unpainted plastic figures.

Between the world wars the German companies Elastolin and Lineol produced a large range of 75 millimeter resin figures, representing soldiers from many countries—although the majority of toys represented German soldiers and Nazi party leaders, such as Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering. Elastolin and Lineol, like Britain and other makers, also made an extensive line of farm people, animals, and equipment.

See also: Construction Toys; Dolls; Toys; War in the Twentieth Century.

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NILS ERIC BOESGAARD

Toy Technology

Production of games and TOYS once involved little in the way of technical sophistication. Early toys were handmade by parents or in limited quantities by artisans. Later, nineteenth-century industrial toy production benefited from technological advances in tool and die, ceramics, and paper, among others, in the same manner as other industries. Doll makers profited from gains in bisque techniques and materials, and doll clothiers used analine dye technology for their miniature couture. But unlike many other industries of the

period, toy manufacturers found it unnecessary to dismantle a new machine in favor of the most recent device. Although it was hardly a craft operation, toy manufacture depended more for success on the creativity of its designers, marketing, and advertising than on technology. Toys, after all, were rather simple objects.

There were in fact only four technological innovations that affected toy manufacture—high-speed color lithography in the nineteenth century and injectable plastics, television, and the microchip in the twentieth. Color lithography enabled toymakers to produce colorful games, brightly illustrated books, and decaled toys. Even then, however, some manufacturers chose to contract their lithographic work to companies specializing in such work. The advent of plastics after World War II created the model-building sector within the toy industry and allowed the major toy manufacturers to market their products with plastic dice, counters, and in some cases, three-dimensional playing boards. At Parker Brothers, for example, plastics technology enabled the company to issue Monopoly with plastic houses and hotels rather than the wooden ones of the earlier editions. Other companies, such as Fisher Price, changed the basic material for their preschool toys from wood to plastic, and doll makers had a new material for sculpting doll bodies and creating realistic hair. TELEVISION altered toy marketing and furnished new toy concepts via licensing of television characters such as Fess Parker as Davy Crockett and program formats such as quiz show games. But it was the microchip that utterly transformed the toy industry.

Advent of Electronic Toys and Games

Beginning in the late 1970s, the largest toy manufacturers confronted difficult business decisions with regard to their participation in the electronic toys and games market. Each company evaluated the new market in light of its corporate personality, its perception of its place within the industry, and its available resources. Board game manufacturers were a case in general and Milton Bradley a case in particular.

For Parker Brothers, maker of Monopoly and other classics, decisions about electronic games spelled short-term profits followed by sharp losses that persuaded its parent company, General Mills, to spin off its toy group as Kenner Parker, which was in turn swallowed by Tonka. For Milton Bradley, entering the electronic games market wrecked havoc with the corporate balance sheet, forcing its sale to a competitor, Hasbro, to avoid a hostile takeover. Mattel's experiment with Intellivision created financial liabilities greater than the assets of the company at one point, compelling the company to restructure entirely. Hasbro and Selchow and Righter, however, found little to attract them to electronic games and toys, and the companies avoided any obligation to microchip technology. Selchow and Righter's minimal commitment to electronic games and introduction of the popular trivia game Trivial Pursuit allowed the company

to maintain its position in the industry as well as increase its market share until lack of family management forced its sale to Coleco and ultimately to Hasbro. Hasbro's caution freed the company to capitalize on the consumer's return to basic toys and augmented its bottom line. By 1991 Hasbro had absorbed Tonka, making it the largest toy manufacturer in the world. Microchip technology, in short, rearranged the toy industry, destroying some companies and turning others into titans.

Milton Bradley, a century-old firm and the successful manufacturer of such classic games as Candyland and the Checkered Game of Life, illustrated this transformation. In 1978 Milton Bradley marketed Simon, a fat, Frisbee-shaped device that proved to be the most popular game of the year. *Newsweek* featured the game in a December issue, and the company could not keep pace with the demand. Using the randomizing capabilities of the microprocessor, Simon was a game entirely dependent on the characteristics of the microprocessor and at the same time maintained the traditional mode of play. Players sat around Simon and attempted to repeat the game's pattern of flashing colors. Its success diverted Milton Bradley's energy away from the development of video games, and the company chose not to produce its own video console, believing that such machines and games would shortly be replaced by multiple-use home computers or entertainment centers. Management predicated its rationale on the evolution of a standardized cassette or other electronic medium. When this occurred, Milton Bradley reasoned, the company would develop toys and games to take advantage of the market.

While Milton Bradley executives were traveling to the company's European subsidiaries in the late 1960s and early 1970s, other men were on their way to the moon. Nolan Bushnell, founder of Atari Corporation, had perceived a less scientific application for microchips and, in partnership with another engineer, designed a game called Pong in 1972. Pong in turn spawned a host of imitators, a novel toy producer—the video game company (Nintendo, Sega, and Xbox among the best known), and an entirely different market sector. With Pong's success and the subsequent popularity of the Atari 2600 game console, established game manufacturers saw that there was money—a great deal of money—to be made in video games. Among those watching Atari's mounting profits were the executives at Milton Bradley, and the company entered the video game market with its own game console, Vectrex. By mid-1983 it was clear that Milton Bradley had badly miscalculated; its foray into the video hardware and games market had incurred heavy losses, endangering the financial well-being of the firm. In 1985 Hasbro absorbed Milton Bradley, and Milton Bradley became a division of the larger company, represented only by its “MB” logo on Hasbro's game products.

“I think,” said one retailer in 1982 before the toy companies sustained their losses, “it's clear that the video market

scared the daylights out of the board game manufacturers. It was just the shot in the arm they needed to begin promoting their products.” Some manufacturers and many consumers returned to familiar, staple products, but for several large, established manufacturers the “shot in the arm” had come too late and had not saved the patient. Milton Bradley discovered that neither adding electronic play features to an already existing game nor buying licenses guaranteed success in the video game scramble. Major game manufacturers, moreover, had failed to exploit the full scope of microchip capabilities; rather, they elected to apply electronic technology to traditional game design—an instance of “add microchips and stir.” The mode of play remained generally the same; the board was identical to the nonelectronic board, but the board could do certain tasks for the player. Microchip technology in the 1980s, in short, altered the toy industry—once a group of many small manufacturers—into an oligopoly—a small group of large manufacturers who dominated the industry.

Computer Games

While microchip technology vexed the traditional producers, it created an entirely new breed of toy and game manufacturers. These newcomers, literally the children of the electronic age, were not bound by traditional concepts of toy design. They provided the leadership in the technological revolution in toys and games and also expanded the toy industry by creating a new toy category in much the same way that Edwin Land did with the Polaroid camera and instant pictures. Of those in the forefront of electronic design, Electronic Arts, manufacturer of sports, sci-fi, and fantasy games, and Cyan Worlds, creator of *Myst* and *Riven* (marketed by Ubi Soft), illustrated the differences between traditional manufacturers, who adapted microchip technology to existing designs, and ingénue manufacturers, who designed toys and games in a wholly electronic milieu. Electronic Arts and its counterparts capitalized on the intrinsic capabilities of the microchip and computer: randomizing, speed, and mass storage. Because computer game creators operated out of very small shops, as microchip and computer technology grew more sophisticated, they were able to take advantage of the advances almost immediately. Some electronic game firms became marketing firms, advertising and vending products from dozens of small designers in addition to their own wares. The microchip not only underpinned a new genre of toys and games but also altered the nature of play for a stratum of the American population. While microchips allowed toys and games to be more interactive, three-dimensional, and complex, play became more solitary and gender-specific. With a few notable exceptions, adolescent boys, rather than girls, were more likely to play electronic toys and computer games.

For computer game companies, the advent of the Internet and broadband technology promised an entirely new game format, the multiplayer online game—a prospect that

in the early twenty-first century is only beginning to be fully realized. In multiplayer games thousands of players from across the globe compete as individuals or in groups in combat or puzzle solving. Several large firms have adapted traditional games as well as successful single-player computer games to the multiplayer format. As broadband reaches more households, however, several “native” Internet multiplayer games have appeared. Probably the most famous of these was a game designed as a marketing tie-in with the film *A.I.* Known informally as *The Beast*, the game attracted thousands of players, spawned an extensive website, and garnered national press attention.

See also: **Indoor Games; Media, Childhood and the; Theories of Play.**

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PAULA PETRIK

Toy Trains

The advent of the train in the early nineteenth century had a profound effect on communities throughout the world. Towns grew in vast tracts of previously uninhabited territory and formerly remote villages became accessible. For the first time it was possible to move troops, mail, and freight quickly, and it became much easier for travelers to seek out exciting new areas to explore. The train also had a profound effect on the toy industry. With the arrival of the new technology came the promise of interesting new possibilities in toy design at a time when industrialization and commerce were expanding at a tremendous pace, and research into science and technology was becoming an important educational option for boys.

Very early toy trains were simple TOYS of wood or metal usually consisting of a locomotive with a carriage and wagon that was pushed along the floor. Commercial production of toy trains did not take off until after the opening of the first

German railway between Nuremberg and Furth in 1835. This event was immediately commemorated by makers of metal *flats*, simple flat one-piece models cast in pewter with no working parts. The introduction of mass-produced rolled milled steel around 1850 permitted the production of cheap toys. They were made from thin steel coated with tin to prevent rusting (“tinplate”) and stamped and pressed or rolled into a variety of shapes. Key names in the manufacture of tinplate trains and other toys in Germany were Bing, Carette in Nuremberg, Märklin in Göppingen, and Lehmann in Brandenburg. S. Güntermann and J. Issmayer were two important pioneers of the clockwork railway. The model steam train first appeared in the 1860s and grew in popularity over the next two decades. Trains were powerful, “fun” toys, and many children were introduced to physics and engineering through playing with them.

The demand for more realistic trains grew rapidly, and during the period from the 1880s to World War I some of the most authentic and complete systems were produced. Notable manufacturers included George Carette, Issmayer, Fleischmann, Bing, Plank, and Bub. In 1891 Märklin merged with another firm, Lutz, and introduced a gauge system and accessories which for the first time made it possible for children to set up and run a railway system, enabling them to organize and control this miniature mechanized world. Other important names in the toy train industry were JEP and Rossignol in France, and Ives and Lionel in the United States. The Ives product, which had no rails, was unique in the toy trade for being made in cast iron.

In Britain the force behind the toy train market was W. J. Bassett-Lowke, which joined forces with Bing in 1900 to import and sell trains that were adapted for the British market. Bassett-Lowke was determined that the toy trains be accurate copies of the real thing, and the resulting products were hugely popular. F. Hornby, known also for Meccano, started to produce clockwork trains in 1915, followed by the first electric train sets in about 1925. World War II took a heavy toll on the toy train industry. After the war new toys competed for the affections of children and many firms closed in the 1960s, but toy trains continue to be manufactured, including the well-known names of Märklin, Fleischmann, Lehmann, and Hornby. Model railway production today could not exist without the extensive use of high-quality plastics and sophisticated electronic controls, plus some very accomplished miniature engineering.

See also: **Cars as Toys; Collections and Hobbies; Construction Toys; Toy Soldiers.**

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HALINA PASIERBSKA

Trade Schools. See Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.

Tuberculosis. See Contagious Diseases; Vaccination.

Twain, Mark (1835–1910)

The essayist, novelist, and humorist Samuel Langhorne Clemens is better known by the pseudonym Mark Twain. He is most noted for authoring *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), the latter often touted as the great American novel.

Soon after Twain's birth in Florida, Missouri, his family moved to Hannibal, Missouri, which he later recast as St. Petersburg, the setting of *Tom Sawyer* and parts of *Huckleberry Finn*. Hannibal, which was important to the slave market on the Mississippi River, had a profound influence on Twain's writing, particularly his views on race, articulated most cynically in *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). As an adult, Twain became acquainted with Mississippi steamboat life on his abridged journey to South America, where he anticipated establishing himself in the coca trade. Twain received his pilot's license in 1859, working the river until the onset of the Civil War halted river commerce. These years on the Mississippi provided Twain with a diversity of experience that greatly informed his writing, especially his Mississippi River novels, for which he is best known. After serving briefly in the Confederate Army, Twain moved to Nevada, where, as a reporter for the *Territorial Enterprise*, he first signed a piece as Mark Twain, a pseudonym meaning "two fathoms" for riverboat pilots, and "two drinks on credit" for Nevada citizens.

Though renowned for his witty social commentary, Twain's most lasting contribution to literature is, arguably, his children's fiction, which Twain maintained was intended for both children and adults. The somewhat nostalgic depiction of BOYHOOD found in Twain's Tom Sawyer books has come to stand in for boyhood itself, with Tom Sawyer exemplifying the "good bad boy," an important departure from the more didactic children's fiction of the time. This departure is felt most powerfully in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain's most sensitive rendering of child consciousness. Twain's choice to narrate the novel in Huckleberry's voice was revolutionary. His Tom Sawyer sequels—*Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) and *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896)—

were neither as intimate nor as complicated, though they were also told in Huck's voice. Twain's other novels associated with child readers, *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) feature adult protagonists.

Theatrical and cinematic versions of Twain's two major books are common; one of the earliest is a dramatization of *Tom Sawyer* authored by Twain in 1884, though never staged. Huckleberry made it to the boards in November 1902, in a production that fared well. Perhaps the most famous of the many film versions of *Huckleberry Finn* is the 1939 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production, released the same year as *The Wizard of Oz*. Featuring Mickey Rooney as Huck, this adaptation was the first to focus on the relationship between Huck and Jim, an escaped slave who accompanies Huck down the Mississippi. In 1993 Walt Disney Pictures released their film adaptation, *The Adventures of Huck Finn*, starring Elijah Wood. However, despite these numerous retellings, ubiquitous media representations, and nearly uniform critical acclaim, both *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* are consistently challenged and banned throughout the United States for addressing so directly issues of race and class.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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JOSEPH T. THOMAS JR.

Twenty-Sixth Amendment

The Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which was ratified in 1971, lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years of age. Section One of the Amendment states "the right of citizens of the United States, who are 18 years of age or older, to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of age." At the time the amendment was ratified, significant popular support existed for lowering the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years of age. However, the process of achieving this modification was not without conflict.

Popular discussion of lowering the voting age from twenty-one years of age to eighteen years of age first appeared in 1942 after Congress amended the Selective Service and Training Act to reflect a draft age of eighteen. From this year

forward, on an annual basis, various federal legislators offered proposals to lower the voting age. In addition Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon each advocated lowering the voting age to eighteen. However the voting age remained at twenty-one until 1971. Wendell W. Cultice argues that the pervasive sense of crisis that was present during 1960s and 1970s caused young Americans, who felt unsupported by the political system, to organize and fight for modification of the voting age. The Vietnam War was especially significant in leading young Americans to seek the right to vote. Youth rallied around the slogan “old enough to fight, old enough to vote.” Following the 1969 implementation of a lottery-style military draft, popular and political support for lowering the voting age increased.

As popular support grew for lowering the voting age to eighteen, Congress determined that the fastest way to extend the vote to eighteen-year olds would be through an amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. However, many were concerned about whether this would violate the U.S. Constitution. Despite these concerns, President Nixon signed the 1970 Voting Rights Act, which contained a provision lowering the voting age to eighteen years of age, into law on June 22, 1970.

The United States Supreme Court addressed the constitutionality of the act in the 1970 case *Oregon v. Mitchell*. The Court held that although the act could properly lower the voting age for federal elections, the act could not require states to lower the voting age for local elections. As a result of this decision, states would have been faced with the unappealing and costly burden of maintaining separate voting procedures for federal and local elections. In order to eliminate this problem, a constitutional amendment was proposed on January 25, 1971. It was approved by the Senate on

March 10, 1971, and by the House on March 23, 1971. It was then ratified by the required thirty-eight states in the fastest ratification process in U.S. history.

The decision to lower the voting age to eighteen was significant for several reasons. First, the decision indicated the belief that eighteen-year olds possessed the requisite emotional and mental maturity to participate in the electoral process. Additionally, passage of the amendment indicated an acceptance of the argument that if eighteen-year olds were old enough to fight in war and were old enough to be held to adult standards for criminal punishment, they should also be considered old enough to cast a vote. Finally, passage of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment caused the age of majority (the age at which one is considered a legal adult) to be lowered to eighteen for many other purposes.

See also: **Baby Boom Generation; Children’s Rights; Law, Children and the; Youth Activism.**

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Ultrasound. *See* Sonography.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

In 1959, the United Nations followed the League of Nations' precedent by adopting a Declaration of the Rights of the Child. However, the declaration's articles advocating the well-being of children in education, health, and protection were nonbinding; states were not legally accountable for their treatment of children. Inspired by the United Nation's International Year of the Child (1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted by the General Assembly in 1989 and went into effect the following year. The first CHILDREN'S RIGHTS instrument to obligate states to legally comply with its provisions, the Convention became the UN's most ratified treaty, with 191 states becoming party to its provisions. Only two, Somalia and the United States, have not ratified it. To monitor treaty compliance, ratifying states are required to supply scheduled reports to an expert committee, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which reviews the state's fulfillment of its obligations. Further strengthening international law regarding pressing issues of children's rights, the General Assembly adopted two Protocols to the CRC in 2000: the Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and the Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Pornography, and Child Prostitution.

Defining a child as every individual below the age of eighteen, the CRC addresses the child's well-being in forty articles and establishes certain rights, prohibitions, and procedural guidelines. The Convention's fundamental requirement is that the state primarily consider the child's best interests in all its actions concerning children. Among the Convention's provisions are a child's right to life and healthy development without discrimination; to a name and nation-

ality; to free compulsory education; to freedom of expression, thought, conscience, and religion; to the right to enjoy one's own culture, language, and religion; and the general right to receive information. The Convention also confirms the primary rights of parents or guardians concerning their child's care, healthy development, and moral direction; the state is nevertheless obligated to safeguard the child against physical or mental violence, neglect, and exploitation, including sexual abuse.

The Convention expands a state's responsibilities to ensure the health and safety of a child, ranging from improving adoption procedures to encouraging the mass media to disseminate information socially and culturally beneficial to the child. States must also ensure the child's access to the highest attainable standard of health and treatment of illness, including action to reduce infant and child mortality, eradicate certain diseases, guarantee appropriate maternal prenatal and postnatal health care, and provide special protection to children exposed to armed conflict. Under the CRC, states recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development. The Convention also establishes rights regarding children accused or convicted of crime, including prohibitions against torture and degrading punishment, the right to due process and the presumption of innocence, and the abolition of capital punishment or life imprisonment without possibility of parole for crimes committed before the age of eighteen.

See also: **Child Abuse; International Organizations; Juvenile Justice; International.**

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DIANE E. HILL

UNICEF

To address the increasing hunger and disease among European children in the wake of World War II, in 1946 the United Nations established a temporary agency, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). In addition to its charge to relieve famine, UNICEF worked with the World Health Organization, founded by the UN in 1950, to reduce INFANT MORTALITY rates, establish mass immunization programs, and organize malaria control demonstration areas in Latin America, Europe, and Africa, as well as tuberculosis testing programs in India, Europe, North Africa, and China.

As a result of its efforts, in 1953 the UN General Assembly established UNICEF as a permanent body under a new name, the United Nations Children's Fund. Its mandate to the world's children remained the provision of safe water, health care, nutrition, sanitation, and education. It also retained its original charge to supply emergency assistance to children affected by crises of war and natural disasters in coordination with other UN and humanitarian agencies. In recognition of its role in uplifting the world's children, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee selected UNICEF as its 1965 recipient. The 1989 UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD further guided UNICEF's mission to aid countries in implementing its provisions and to uphold international standards of CHILDREN'S RIGHTS established by the convention and its two protocols adopted in 2000 regarding children engaged in armed conflict and trafficking in children, CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, and CHILD PROSTITUTION.

Under the direction of the General Assembly and the UN's Economic and Social Council, UNICEF is administered by an Executive Board headquartered in New York City. The Executive Board's thirty-six seats are regionally allocated and members serve for a period of three years. The

Board is assisted in its work of identifying special program needs and monitoring program effectiveness by the Innocenti Research Centre, located in Florence, Italy, which was created in 1988 to help collect and analyze data on indices of children's well-being for UNICEF.

UNICEF is funded entirely from voluntary sources. Governments and intergovernmental organizations contribute nearly two-thirds of its income. The remainder of its budget is largely funded by private sector groups and individuals as well as nongovernmental organizations, principally the UNICEF National Committees, which exist in thirty-seven countries. These National Committees promote UNICEF's programs within their states and raise funds for its projects through private sector partnerships and selling UNICEF greeting cards and products. In 2001, UNICEF contributions totaled \$1.2 billion. From contributions received, UNICEF allocates direct program aid to countries proportionate to need, determined by assessing a state's mortality rate of children under five, the population of its children, and its income level (GNP per capita).

The goals of UNICEF for the first decade of the twenty-first century included the continued promotion of education, especially targeting increased enrollment of girls and child workers, eradication of child trafficking, institution of programs to prevent violence against women and girls, establishment of special programs for children with disabilities, reintegration of child soldiers into their communities, provision of HIV/AIDS information and prevention of mother-to-child transmission of the disease, as well as continued collaboration with the World Health Organization to prevent common childhood diseases and malnutrition. Immunization programs to eliminate vaccine-preventable diseases of childhood remained a major priority; in 2001, UNICEF provided 40 per cent of the vaccines for the world's children and was the main supplier of vaccines to developing countries.

See also: **Child Pornography; Child Prostitution; International Organizations; Juvenile Justice; International; Soldier Children; Global Human Rights Issues; Vaccination.**

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Urban School Systems, The Rise of

Urban schools have dominated historical writing on the rise of modern school systems for several reasons. As sites of wealth and social differentiation, cities spawned the earliest schools. Furthermore, urban schools pioneered many of the institutional innovations that we identify with modern education, including professionalization, district-wide system building, and bureaucratization. Finally, as focal points of nationally publicized struggles, urban schools have had a visibility rural schools could not match. (When it came to school attendance and graduation rates, however, rural schools led the way.) Highly urbanized societies, due to their wealth and demand for formal education, have always been the most extensively schooled. However, the transition to mass schooling (an educational opening that made it possible for the overwhelming majority of children of a region to attend school for a few months per year) has generally begun in rural areas and spread to urban-industrial centers later. Hence, it has been somewhat misleading to place urban schooling at the center of educational history. Still, we know a good deal about the rise of urban school systems.

The Origins of Primary Schooling in Urban Settings

American primary education traces its origins to English settlement. In 1647, the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay mandated that every town of fifty families or more establish a public elementary school. The law required towns of one hundred families or more to establish public GRAMMAR SCHOOLS with masters "capable of preparing young people for university level study." Called the Old Deluder Satan Act, its purpose was clear: to ensure that the children of Massachusetts would learn to read and understand the scriptures and thereby keep the devil at bay. Within an overwhelmingly rural society, however, most education took place within households—through the family or APPRENTICESHIP—and to a lesser extent, in churches. Moreover, it appears that despite the legal requirement, far from every town directed by law to establish a school actually did so.

By the early 1800s, however, a variety of urban schools had appeared. The most common—independent pay schools—proliferated in the early national period. Essentially, these schools were organized by entrepreneurial tutors

who lived on the fees they charged parents. Dame schools, a lower-cost alternative operated by women from their homes, were popular as well. As with later forms of elementary schooling, pay and dame schools served both custodial and educational functions. Since instruction was simple and costs to parents low, many families patronized these kinds of schools, especially in the largest cities. The wealthy and poor, however, did not. Well-heeled merchants and professionals generally opted to employ private tutors at home or send their children to boarding schools. They wanted their offspring to acquire the cultural accoutrements of their class. Inasmuch as social differentiation was the primary object of their training, common pay-school instruction held little appeal. The poorest Americans, in contrast, could not afford even the modest fees of the early pay schools, so their children went unschooled. By the early national period, however, unemployment and crime accompanied the growing socioeconomic inequality in the nation's principal cities, and the emerging urban middle class saw the unschooled children of the lower classes as the cause of the problem. They put great store in the capacity of schools to discipline and guide children and, believing that if left to their own devices poor families reproduced indolence, mischief, and dependence, urban reformers began organizing schools for poor children. It was not so much the welfare of children that concerned them as the long-term impact of educational *laissez-faire* upon the community.

Several types of schools emerged in response to such concerns. Charity schools were among the first. Like most early schools, they strove to inculcate piety, morality, and self-reliance through instruction in ciphering and the memorization of scripture. Initially organized by individual denominations on behalf of the children of their poorest members, they derived from English models. As they expanded in reach and ambition over the first two decades of the nineteenth century, however, their denominational character receded. As immigration accelerated in the largest seaboard cities from the 1820s, charity schools increasingly targeted the foreign-born populace. Expansion, however, incurred rising costs that voluntary organizations found difficult to bear. The most influential of the efforts to moderate costs was the monitorial system, or Lancaster system, developed in England in the 1790s by Andrew Bell and Richard Lancaster. Designed as an instructional pyramid, it engaged older, more advanced students to teach younger, less skilled ones at little cost. To facilitate this, Lancaster and Bell simplified instruction by dividing their schools into graded classes of varying abilities. This allowed them to separate complex instructional skills into a series of calibrated exercises that their youthful instructors could handle. Monitorial instruction offered several advantages over traditional methods. It allowed one adult teacher to oversee the instruction of hundreds of pupils, keeping costs to a minimum. It enhanced the efficiency of instruction by permitting teachers to address their students all at once, unlike individualized instruction that char-

acterized ungraded classrooms. Finally, it gave teacher-monitors training at a time when the quality of the average teacher was low and training unheard of. By 1830, Lancasterian schools had spread from the Northeast to the urban centers of the South and West.

Sunday and infant schools arose at about the same time as alternatives to charity schooling. Targeting working children, SUNDAY SCHOOLS taught reading, writing, and religion on Sundays. Essentially part-time charity schools, they were nondenominational from the beginning. Infant schools catered to children from two to six years of age. These were informed by the belief that educational intervention worked best on the very young. Known for their relative freedom and encouragement of individual development, they rejected the strict regimentation of monitorial and other philanthropic schools. Still, they sought—as did all charity schooling—to instill in the young Christian morality and a work ethic, primarily through the reading and recitation of scripture. Reformers also sought to foster conservative citizenship that rejected what they considered to be dangerous agitators and demagogues.

The Urban Common Schools

COMMON SCHOOLS, forerunners of the modern public elementary school, built upon this early experience. These publicly financed schools were common in the sense that they brought together groups—boys and girls, Protestants and Catholics, middle-class and poor children—that private and charity schooling had tended to segregate. Far more than autonomous pay schools, charity schooling paved the way for public education by elaborating the organizational know-how and administrative capacity on which it built. While pay schools grew more elite over the early national period, charity schooling became more inclusive. Its contributions to public school systems were several. First, charity organizations bequeathed to the common schools accounting practices designed to limit costs and justify financial subsidies from city and state agencies. Second, this financial coordination often led to the centralization of superintendence, with a single board overseeing the charity schools of the entire city—a model embraced by urban public schools. Finally, Lancasterian graded classes, hierarchical organization, and standardized instruction shaped the pedagogy and curriculum of the emergent common school.

The idea of building a universal public school system, however, came from a group of professional educational leaders, heavily concentrated in New England, who looked to Prussia for inspiration. HORACE MANN of Massachusetts and Henry Barnard of Connecticut were the two most prominent advocates of common schooling. In 1837 Mann took charge of Massachusetts's state board of education and began collecting and publicizing school information throughout the state. Over the next eleven years, he worked on behalf of free, universal, nonsectarian schools staffed by

professional teachers. Barnard did much the same for the public school systems of Connecticut and Rhode Island, before being appointed the first U.S. Commissioner of Education. In particular, he fought to establish normal schools designed to provide for professional teacher training. Due to the efforts of Barnard, Mann, and their allies, combined with a Puritan legacy of religious literacy, New England pioneered public schooling. The Midwest—settled largely by New Englanders—followed closely behind, while the mid-Atlantic region moved more slowly. In contrast, the South did not establish regular and continuous public school systems before the Civil War.

Despite the establishment of centralized departments of education in a few states, locally elected school boards still oversaw and ran virtually every aspect of school activity in 1850. Since costs weighed utmost in the minds of most boards, they hired transient, untrained teachers—increasingly women—more for whom they knew than how much. This was possible because the curriculum was simple—recitation and memorization constituted the predominant instructional methods—and popular expectations were low. Educational system builders felt uncomfortable with such amateurism, however, and sought to upgrade the schools. Unlike local boards, which held down costs by keeping school terms short and staffing schools with footloose, low-cost teachers, reformers sought to extend the school year, professionalize teaching, and introduce standards into American classrooms. This meant transferring control of the schools from boards of cost-conscious amateurs to emergent educational experts. It also meant financing the schools through public taxes, for these reforms required money.

School consolidation became a central goal of reformers since larger schools furthered the cause of administrative centralization, permitted the grading of classes, increased control over teacher hiring, and accelerated the diffusion of “scientific” pedagogy. System builders sought to exclude religion from public institutions because of its divisiveness. They also extolled free public schooling in an effort to ease competition from private schools. Private schooling undercut political support for public education and made large, graded schools harder to build. Suspicious of centralizing outsiders, many urban Democrats, some religious groups, and most rural Americans opposed these reforms. Dissenters wanted their schools to be convenient and near to home, responsive to local beliefs and customs, and as inexpensive as possible. Catholics, pietist Germans, and other religious groups rejected either the Protestant thrust of much of public schooling or the secularizing tendencies of the reformers. Resistance proved especially strong in dispersed rural areas where population densities were low, transportation difficult, and the traditions of local control most ingrained. Consequently, unified common school systems first appeared in the largest urban areas where the reform impulse was strongest, population densities highest, and identification with pro-

fessionalism strongest. Centralization came only gradually to smaller cities, towns, and rural school districts.

American High Schools

Though often traced to the residential rural academy, American HIGH SCHOOLS owed much to the common school. The common school paved the way for high schools in several ways. It accustomed Americans to the idea of free schooling financed by property taxes. It provided an institutional framework on which the high schools built. Indeed, in some regions, urban high schools literally grew out of common schools through upward extension. Finally, common schools created a public for high schools by preparing the young for entry. ACADEMIES shaped high schools too. Replacing the colonial Latin grammar school in the early nineteenth century, academies were rural, private institutions, largely cultural and preparatory in orientation. The academy bequeathed the academic method to high schools, especially an early emphasis on memorization and deductive learning.

The high school's purpose, however, was quite different from the start. Artisans, shopkeepers, and other urban middle-class parents sought useful, local, affordable education for their children—not costly private boarding schools that stressed the liberal arts. They wanted practical finishing institutions, not preparatory schools that led to further schooling. Consequently, the first school of its type, the Boston English Classical School, established in 1821, aimed to provide middle-class youth with useful skills for vocations in commerce and the mechanical arts. Its curriculum—consisting primarily of mathematics, natural sciences, and modern languages—was academic in approach but practical in purpose. By 1851, eighty cities possessed public high schools, primarily for boys. Americans debated high schooling for girls through the 1850s, when the demand for common school teachers led to the establishment of high and normal schools for young women. Not until the 1880s, however, did high schools begin to find widespread acceptance.

Though it is hard to detail the development of a system as decentralized as the American one, several generalizations emerge from the diversity. Nearly from the beginning, Americans fought over whose interests should dominate the schools. From the 1840s, state governing boards such as the board of regents in New York and Michigan championed an elite, college preparatory curriculum with high standards for public high schools. Local school boards, in contrast, fought for more accessible high schools offering courses in practical subjects with less rigorous standards. Moreover, since only a small percentage of Americans attended high schools initially, and fewer still graduated, opponents contested the schools' right to tax support. In the Kalamazoo case of 1874, however, the supreme court of Michigan ruled that school districts could support high schools with taxes. Thereafter, the fact that they offered free, mostly practical education rendered them an attractive alternative to academies.

Educational Professionalism

Pioneering system builders found much to dislike in American schools. From the 1840s to the end of the century, they decried the incompetence and brutality commonplace in many early American classrooms. When teachers were hired for a season and for their connections to local political machines, their teaching skills were often limited and their discipline sometimes draconian. Educational leaders hoped to develop professional methods of recruitment, training, and development, screening out the most incompetent and brutal. Moreover, they sought to standardize the curriculum to achieve some control over what transpired in classrooms. They understood, however, that so long as local political interests dominated the schools and financial parsimony remained the guiding principal of school policy, professional standards remained beyond their reach. At the same time, like other professionalizing groups, early educational leaders had an agenda of their own. Using the welfare of school children as their justification, they sought better working conditions, higher salaries, and enhanced job status and control. In the 1890s, they began organizing professional associations that lobbied state legislatures to set educational certification standards, which they effectively controlled. Only two states had specialized teaching credentials in 1900. Thirty years later, nearly every state did.

Two developments between 1893 and 1935 dramatically shaped the evolution of the American high school. The first, a two-part shift in the governance structure of American schooling, played out between 1893 and 1930. At the local level, the Panic of 1893 unleashed a series of Progressive-era reforms that insulated the schools from political machines. The financial crisis bankrupted thousands of municipalities and school districts after two decades of heavy borrowing and provoked a transition in local government to professional management practices. These reforms included the emergence of city commissions, city managers, central, consolidated school boards, city-wide, nonpartisan elections, and other measures designed to favor professional administration over political patronage in local and school government. While land acquisition, school construction, school bonds, and the like continued to provide big city machines with ample opportunity for political graft, professionally trained school superintendents gradually took control of areas bearing directly on education, including teacher recruitment, textbook selection, curriculum development, and graduation standards. By legitimizing school expenditures, professional expertise encouraged increased public outlays on the schools.

At the topmost level, a second trend affected American school governance: the growing influence of higher education on the entire educational pyramid. Preoccupied with the flow of high school students into their institutions, colleges and universities banded together to form regional accreditation boards that acquired the capacity to mold high

school curricula. These boards prescribed the kinds of academic courses accredited schools had to offer. Since accreditation affected students' capacity to qualify for college, influential parents in virtually every urban district insisted their schools be accredited. This power was reinforced by the emergence of professional schools of education after 1900. Attached to some of America's most prominent universities, these shaped American educational policy in two ways. First, they increasingly monopolized the training of educational leaders, especially state officials, superintendents, and influential teachers. Second, they created a body of "scientific" pedagogy and best practice through educational research that laypeople found difficult to counter. Meanwhile, prominent university presidents assumed leading roles in national debates over the schools, chairing several national commissions that drew up influential guidelines for the secondary schools.

Consequently, just as financial crisis and municipal reform were loosening the hold of the political system over the schools, a professional group of academically trained educators within or allied with higher education moved decisively to govern them. This governance shift favored the college preparatory function of the American high school, an orientation that progressively pushed the grooming of students for workplaces to the periphery of its concerns. After 1900, a rising demand for educational qualifications in the white-collar labor market reinforced this movement. In effect, urban high schools adjusted to the changing occupational and educational aspirations of their predominately middle-class clientele, administration, and staff. Immediately on the heels of this governance shift, however, a second and in many ways countervailing transition occurred. Between 1920 and 1935, American urban high schools metamorphosed from middle-class into mass institutions.

Two events rendered secondary schooling nearly universal throughout the non-Southern United States in these years: the transformation of industrial and commercial workplaces in the 1920s and the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s. Technological innovation marked the decade of the twenties, sharply undercutting the demand for child labor. Consequently, public high schools witnessed a doubling of enrollments over the decade, from 2.2 to 4.4 million. Then, after 1929, the Depression effectively ended full-time juvenile labor in urban America. Working-class kids streamed into the schools, pushing high school enrollments to 6.6 million by 1939–1940. This high school growth spurt proved especially dramatic in the largest, most industrialized cities. Claudia Goldin's data shows that secondary schooling was a function of two factors: the presence of high schools and the demand for juvenile labor. Americans could not attend high schools where none existed. Low property values, restricted school funding, and limited demand for skilled labor discouraged school building in the South—a poor, overwhelmingly agricultural region—until the 1950s. Consequently,

high schooling expanded in two distinct phases: from 1920 to 1935 in the West and North, and from 1950 to 1970 in the South.

Agricultural areas with high average incomes, in contrast, sent their children to high school earlier than their urban counterparts. They built schools because the burdens and rewards of schooling were more fairly distributed in farm areas than in urban areas. Property taxes were more equitable since few farmers had intangible wealth, common in cities, that was easy to hide from assessors. Moreover, farmers had little need for family labor in winter. Consequently, nearly all farm children attended school once school buses guaranteed access, in contrast to cities, where many adolescents worked year-round. Finally, unlike eastern cities, the absence of competition from private institutions encouraged well-heeled citizens to support public schools. Thus, rural states in the Midwest and West built high schools early and sent their children to them. Heavily urbanized, industrial states, in contrast, were far slower to send their children to high school. In 1920, they had the lowest high school attendance and graduation rates outside of the South. Overwhelmingly peopled by immigrants and the children of immigrants, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and other major industrial cities sent the majority of their children to work at the age of fourteen or fifteen, since their families needed the income. This made sense at a time when school diplomas were not required for most jobs and work was one of the best ways to learn a trade.

Thus, urban high schools in 1920 still tended to serve a predominately native-born, middle-class clientele headed for either higher education or white-collar jobs in commerce and industry—just as professional middle-class academics were shoring up their control of the schools. However, as ethnic working-class children flooded the urban high schools after 1920, the social background and life trajectory of the average student changed. This dramatically increased the demands placed upon the schools, both financial and curricular. It led to America's first national teacher shortage, one worsened by a sharp rise in white-collar employment that siphoned off practicing and prospective teachers. It also unleashed a public debate on the character and purpose of schooling.

The Depression hit heavily indebted urban school systems hard by reducing funding in the face of an exploding demand for services. It undercut expensive vocational programs while reinforcing book-based general and college preparatory courses that were much cheaper to deliver. World War II, however, revived the economy, temporarily reduced the demand for secondary schooling as adolescents found work, and led to increased funding for the schools. Thanks to the South's convergence with the educational practices in the rest of the country in the postwar years, secondary

schooling became universal though racial segregation rendered school access more difficult for Africa-American children than white children, particularly in the rural South, quite apart from its biased impact on spending per child. However, the middle-class orientation of the schools and their dominance by academics created a system that failed to address the educational needs of all children equally. Savage inequality has characterized America's urban school systems. This is partly due to great variance in the financial, social, and cultural resources available to schools across districts—a legacy of local control and its interaction with housing markets. Less widely recognized has been the impact of a single system of comprehensive schooling that has favored the educational interests of the academically successful over those of everyone else.

America's Urban Schools in Comparative Perspective

Early state building put Europe's urban schools on developmental paths quite different from America's. In Germany, France, and other continental European nations, state bureaucracies preceded the elaboration of public school systems. This gave the state a prominent role in the growth and governance of schools. Whereas the American Constitution severely limited the power of the federal government in school matters, reflecting its anti-centralist origins, continental European governments took an active role in educational policy from the beginning. In particular, they were keen to shape elite higher education, a recruiting ground for state officials. Many economic leaders eventually emerged from elite schools as well. Consequently, as popular free primary schooling appeared in the nineteenth century, it was sharply differentiated from the elite system of secondary education already in place. Whereas American high schools grew out of common schools, the urban German GYMNASIUM and French LYCÉE had little in common with predominately rural *Volksschulen* and *écoles primaires*. Like Americans, however, Europeans initially invested in public schooling to foster social order and instill political allegiance.

The class-based nature of these two-tier systems offended Americans, though for middle-class Europeans they created an opening by substituting achievement for aristocratic, status-based organizing principles. More important still, they encouraged technical and vocational programs governed and financed independently of elite academic tracks. Though backers of the Vocational Education Act of 1917 fought hard to achieve a similar separation of vocational programs from academic schools in the United States, they lost out to a coalition of labor, teacher, superintendent, and women's groups in every state but Wisconsin. Consequently, whereas American educators closely linked to higher education became responsible for all students in comprehensive public schools, European states thought educational policy too important to give over entirely to academics. In an effort to coordinate education and training policy with broader economic and labor market initiatives, Europeans sought to

extend a voice in educational policy to nonacademic groups as well. No state went further in this direction than Germany, where organized groups of employers and workers—with state oversight and input from the educational community—govern the entire vocational education and training system. Providing secondary education to a majority of young Germans throughout the twentieth century, the system was specifically designed to limit the role of academics. Its originators in the German southwest had seen how academically trained administrators and staff transformed Prussia's trade schools into elite preparatory institutions, leaving those desirous of affordable, practical education without anywhere to turn. Thus, they built a system governed and staffed by the communities of practice for which it educated and trained. Virtually every European state eventually integrated some form of apprenticeship into its secondary education mix, in contrast to the United States, where school-controlled vocational programs developed such mediocre reputations that many Americans came to think of them as lyceums for losers.

Schooling and modern school systems originated in cities on both sides of the Atlantic. Mass schooling, in contrast, took root in the countryside and diffused to the cities. How this urban-rural divide shaped the development of national educational regimes is still not well understood. Despite considerable variation, European states built educational systems that addressed the different capacities and interests of students. Their greatest challenge has been to render elite education more inclusive, making it accessible to all socioeconomic groups. Americans, in contrast, have focused on equal access and opportunity, but much less on how comprehensive schooling affects the distribution and fairness of educational outcomes. European nations that have tried the American model have found it wanting. Nowhere have its shortcomings been more glaring than in America's cities, the crucible of the events that stamped it in its formative years.

See also: **Compulsory School Attendance; Education, United States; Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools.**

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HAL HANSEN

U.S. Children's Bureau

Progressive reformers Florence Kelley and Lillian Wald are generally credited with coming up with the idea for a federal children's bureau. The NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE endorsed the idea in 1905 and the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children called for

the agency's creation. The Senate passed the Children's Bureau bill by a vote of 54 to 20 and the House passed it by 177 to 17. President William Howard Taft signed legislation on April 8, 1912, establishing the agency within the Department of Commerce and Labor. Taft's signature made the United States the first nation in the world to have a federal agency focused solely on children. The president's naming of Julia C. Lathrop as the bureau's first chief symbolized the important role of female activists in the agency's creation and made Lathrop the first woman to head a federal agency in the United States.

Despite its popularity, the U.S. Children's Bureau faced powerful critics. Some felt that the bureau overstepped federal authority. Manufacturing interests feared that the agency would push for the regulation of CHILD LABOR. Fiscal conservatives contended that the bureau duplicated work already under the jurisdiction of other federal agencies (primarily the U.S. Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education). The Catholic Church warned that the agency might interfere with parochial education or promote birth control. Lathrop sought to quiet criticism by steering clear of partisan politics and focusing on INFANT MORTALITY. Further, under Lathrop's leadership the Children's Bureau embraced the middle-class family ideal: a nuclear family where the father worked as the sole breadwinner, mother served as a full-time housewife, and children attended school, were well-fed and cared for, had a secure future, and labored only at household chores.

With a staff of fifteen and budget of \$25,640, the U.S. Children's Bureau relied on data collected by other federal agencies and an army of female volunteers. In 1913 the bureau estimated that the United States' annual infant mortality rate of 132 deaths per 1,000 live births placed it behind New Zealand (83), Norway (94), Ireland (99), Sweden (104), Australia (108), Bulgaria (120), and Scotland (123). Armed with this information, the bureau conducted the nation's first infant mortality study. Staff concluded that poor sanitation, lack of good medical care, and poverty were the major factors contributing to infant deaths. Educating mothers, improving public sanitation, and requiring birth certificates would help save babies' lives. Advice pamphlets published by the bureau became very popular and Congress declared 1918 Children's Year.

In 1921 Congress passed the SHEPPARD-TOWNER MATERNITY AND INFANCY ACT, giving the Children's Bureau administrative authority. Although limited to education, diagnosis, and investigation, by 1926 the Sheppard-Towner Act faced strong opposition from the American Medical Association. The AMA condemned Sheppard-Towner as socialized medicine and disliked the fact that the physician-controlled Public Health Service did not control the program. The Children's Bureau's two physicians, Grace L. Meigs (hired in 1915) and Dorothy Reed Mendenhall (hired in 1917),

were not enough to pacify the AMA. Funding ended in 1929, but infant mortality rates had decreased to 67.9 deaths per 1,000 live births.

The Children's Bureau also had an important role in New Deal legislation. Bureau representatives wrote the child welfare sections of the 1935 Social Security Act. Title V provides federal funding for maternal and infant care for poor mothers and children. During World War II Title V expanded to include medical care for the wives and newborns of enlisted men in the military. From 1942 to 1946 one of every seven babies born in the United States benefited from this Emergency Maternity and Infant Health Program. In addition to infant and maternal health care, the 1935 Social Security Act included the AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN Program (ADC, later renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and Title VII, which establishes federal funds for handicapped children.

During its first decades of work the Children's Bureau also addressed child labor and those dependent on the state. The 1910 census counted 1,990,225 children under fourteen years of age working for wages (18.4 percent of the total cohort). Beginning in 1915 the bureau lobbied to end the worst abuses of child workers. But the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a 1916 child labor law (the Keating-Owen Act) and a 1922 constitutional amendment was never ratified. The onset of high adult unemployment during the GREAT DEPRESSION led to the first permanent federal restrictions on child labor, included in the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. The U.S. Children's Bureau was responsible for enforcing prohibitions on the employment of youngsters less than fourteen years of age and the restrictions on the paid labor of those fourteen through seventeen. Children dependent upon the state or those accused of crimes also drew attention from the Children's Bureau during its early decades of work. By 1920 forty-five of the then forty-eight states had some form of juvenile or family court. Minors charged with delinquency or children whose families could not care for them came before juvenile and family courts.

These victories for children did not end the exploitation or suffering of all American children, nor did they translate to an expanding role for the U.S. Children's Bureau. The Social Security Board (established in 1935) was given authority for administering ADC and the Public Health Service handled Title V's maternal and child health program. Moreover, in 1946 government reorganization lowered the

Children's Bureau status within the federal hierarchy, set the stage for the eventual removal of all bureau administrative and regulatory responsibilities, and removed the "U.S." from the agency's name. The bureau relocated again in 1969, this time to the new Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Since 1972 the Children's Bureau's focus has continued to narrow. By the 1990s the agency was one of four bureaus within the Department of Health and Human Services' Administration on Children, Youth, and Families. With an annual budget of over \$4 billion, the Children's Bureau works with state and local agencies to prevent CHILD ABUSE; a role much smaller than its original responsibility to investigate and report on the whole child. Overall, everyday life for American children has improved since 1912. However, at the start of the new millennium, children remain the most likely constituency in the United States to experience abuse, poverty, and exploitation.

See also: **Child Guidance; Child Saving; Compulsory School Attendance; Juvenile Justice; Social Welfare; White House Conferences on Children; Work and Poverty.**

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KRISTE LINDENMEYER



Vacations

The vacation, understood either as time free from work and other obligations like school and family care, or as time away from home in leisure pursuits, was rare for almost all children until the twentieth century. And yet in the last half of the twentieth century vacations increasingly became associated with the child in affluent societies.

Vacations, in contrast to times of seasonal or trade unemployment or migration away from home for work, were and are largely unknown in agrarian and preindustrial urban societies. Not only were children necessary for daily farming and craft routines, but the idea that the young needed or deserved extended times free from work did not exist in these societies. The childhood vacation was a by-product of changes in work time requirements of households, increased affluence, and new attitudes about children's needs and rights to PLAY and experience.

School Vacations

The expansion of children's access to schooling in the nineteenth century and the creation of annual break periods did not create the modern childhood vacation of rest and nonacademic explorations. Rather, these "vacation" periods were times when child labor, bad weather, or budgetary restraints prevented school from being open. School breaks varied greatly in the nineteenth century: in the United States urban schools had as little as one month's closure, while rural districts could have breaks of up to nine months in total. Often schools were closed not to give children rest, but because roads were poor in winter or because children were needed for spring planting and autumn harvests. Vacation periods depended on the local economy. Wheat farming required little child labor, but corn, tobacco, sugar beets, and cotton placed heavy seasonal demands on children's time. Schools, especially in urban areas, were often open in summer as well as winter. In the 1840s, schools were open in New York City up to 242 days of the year. Gradually, beginning with the

common school movement of HORACE MANN in the 1840s, reformers won an increase in the days schools were in session in rural areas. On average, the American school year increased from 132 in 1870 to 162 days by 1920. At the same time, urban areas saw the elimination of summer classes because of poor attendance, inefficient learning on hot days, and parental pressure, especially in the middle classes, to make children available for family vacations. State laws gradually produced the "standard" of the ten week to three month summer vacation in the twentieth century (with 180 days of schooling per year) as differences between rural and urban school terms diminished. To compensate for longer school terms, Mann and subsequent reformers advocated regular holiday periods to provide children with outdoor experience and rest from school routine.

In Europe and elsewhere, the length of children's summer vacations similarly varied by the demands of work and budget in the nineteenth century. By the 2000s, these holiday periods were generally shorter than in the United States, though intermediate vacations (in spring and mid-winter) were often longer. While Japan remains at the extreme end of the spectrum in the 2000s, with a school year of 243 days and a short August vacation, European school children attended classes across a range from 216 to the American standard of 180. Despite the efforts of school reformers in the 1920s and after to extend school time in the United States through July or begin school before Labor Day, parents resisted, claiming a shortened break would interfere with family vacations and other worthy activities like SUMMER CAMPS and SPORTS.

Childless Vacations

The contemporary tendency to identify the child with the vacation is relatively recent. The modern vacation has its roots in the late seventeenth century in the aristocratic pursuit of social and health advantages at wells and mineral springs in places like Tumberidge Wells and Bath in England where the elderly and sickly rich drank or bathed in healing

waters. Even the seaside resorts that became popular in the early nineteenth century at Brighton, Torquay, and Scarborough in England were not places for child's play in the surf and sands, but rather sites for quiet strolls for health-giving air or drinking salt water. At assembly halls, masters of ceremonies organized formal balls to allow the fashionable to "see and be seen." Colonial and early-nineteenth-century American resorts like Newport, Saratoga Springs, and White Sulphur Springs offered quiet relaxation, status socializing, access to a marriage market, and, in some cases opportunities for gambling at race tracks and card tables. Notably absent were children's activities. Aristocratic youth, but not children, traveled from Britain on the "Grand Tour" of European ruins and cities for edification from as early as 1670 and Northern European youth trekked to Italy in search of adventure and edification in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This pattern gradually changed as the middle class began to enjoy vacations and travel away from home. From the first

decade of the nineteenth century, middle-class sensibilities turned against the adult fashion and social season of the aristocracy and cultivated family leisure. This was expressed both in the creation of family-oriented suburbs and in the family excursion. In the 1840s tour organizers like Thomas Cook in Britain deliberately appealed to family groups, offering them reduced fares that made taking the children, at least, a possibility. Fathers were infrequent participants in this culture. Instead married women with children arranged summer holidays to meet childhood friends at mineral springs or even to share country homes. By the end of the nineteenth century, the bungalow, a small informal, usually one and a half story house with wraparound porch, imported by the British from India, began to dot the southern coast of England as summer homes for families with growing children. In the 1870s, resort town governments attempted to attract this middle-class family vacationer by regulating gypsy beach vendors, encouraging cheap family rail tickets, and building family-oriented entertainment centers like the pleasure piers and Pleasure Gardens of Blackpool in Britain or the Boardwalk of Atlantic City, New Jersey, in the United States. This process was slow in trickling down to the children of wage earners. For most working-class families, couples stopped taking holidays when the children arrived. Through World War II, outside of the middle classes, vacations for children were largely confined to the rare day's excursion to the amusement park, lake, or seashore.

Expansion of the Democratic Family Holiday

Children's vacations depended on their parents' paid leave from work. Paid vacations came first to privileged employees of the courts and gradually spread out to other white collar personnel and foremen during the nineteenth century in the United States and Europe. While annual plant shutdowns (for machine refurbishing) or trade slowdowns brought weeks or months of unemployment to many factory worker parents, few could afford to take themselves or their children on a vacation. In the late nineteenth century, vacation savings clubs emerged in northern England and in some parts of Europe to rectify this problem. In the United States, only ten percent of wage-earners enjoyed a paid vacation as late as 1930, while 85 percent of white collar workers and their children benefited from it. Paid vacation plans emerged in the 1930s and 1940s as part of the explosion of union membership (reaching 93 percent of union contracts by 1949), allowing many union members to at least take their kids to the seashore. Because paid vacations in the United States are tied to employment contracts, instead of being a legal entitlement, there was little expansion of vacation time in the United States with the decline of unions after the 1960s.

In Europe, paid vacations for wage earners appeared first in central Europe in the 1920s and expanded into France and Britain in the 1930s. Even conservatives accepted it as a way of instilling worker loyalty and as a means of strengthening family bonds by uniting children and their parents in leisure



Children investigate the wet sands at Scarborough, England, c. 1913. By the twentieth century the seaside—once a place where aristocratic adults went to see and be seen—had become a popular vacation destination for middle- and working-class families. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS.

to compensate for their separation during work and school. In France, for example, a legal right to a two week paid vacation was won in 1936 and expanded to three weeks in 1956, to four in 1962, and to five in 1982 and six weeks by the 2000s. While holiday leaves varied greatly, European paid vacations remain considerably longer than in the United States.

As children's access to vacation time increased, so did efforts of reformers to shape that time with productive recreation. As early as the 1870s, through the Fresh Air Fund, members of small-town churches opened their homes to slum-dwelling children from New York City. By the end of the nineteenth century, philanthropic groups from large American cities sponsored excursions and weeks at seashore resorts for the children of the poor both to provide healthful fresh air and exercise and to inculcate loyalty to authority. The summer youth camp became a peculiarly American institution where, by 1929, a million children yearly encountered nature in the sheltered moral environment of about 7,000 camps. From the 1880s, British reformers organized summer camps for poor children and their families while French businesses created youth summer camps and recre-

ational programs for young workers and the children of employees in the hopes of easing class tensions.

Groups like the Playground Association (1907) in the United States promoted the construction and staffing of neighborhood playgrounds suitable for supervised children's play and crafts during the summer vacation. Young adult hiking and camping activities were extended to youth and children in the 1930s through groups like the British Youth Hostel Association. At the same time, the Holiday Fellowship, and other labor or local holiday camps in Britain promoted low cost family vacations. A wide range of organizations in France did the same through founding sea or mountain resorts or subsidizing family tourism in the 1930s. Similarly, fascist states and the Soviet Union organized summer vacation tours and youth summer camps to foster political loyalties.

Vacation Designed Around Children

While adults attempted to shape the values and loyalties of children on vacations, a more profound change was occurring. Children's right to time free from the routines of work and school and parents' right to interact with their children in play was becoming a central part of the vacation's mean-

ing. Romantic ideas about children—especially identifying the young with discovery of the delights of nature and associating childhood with nostalgic recollections of carefree times—were well-established in literature and popular images on prints and trading cards by the 1870s. Early manifestations of this sentiment were expressed in seaside rituals like donkey rides, punch and Judy shows, and the building of sand castles. Mechanical amusement rides like the carousel were beginning to pass from adults to children by the end of the nineteenth century. The TEDDY BEAR fad, started at the seaside resorts of New Jersey in the summer of 1906, and the creation of kiddie rides at amusement parks in the 1920s reveal a trend toward the “infantilization” of the vacation site and experience. Instead of the vacation as primarily an opportunity for adults to socialize, gain new experiences, and rest often away from children, it gradually became a “gift” to the child and a chance for adults to relive childhood through their offspring’s play.

Older views, however, persisted. In 1888, the famous American child psychologist G. STANLEY HALL praised the father who provided his young sons with a pile of sand for a summer of creative play by themselves. In the 1900s, popular magazines insisted that middle-class parents find “diversions” for their children when they took them on seaside or country vacations. Others sent them on extended absences to summer camp.

By the 1930s, new American child-rearing magazines insisted that family vacations should focus on the child’s education. After World War II, the emphasis shifted to the adult’s pleasure in the child’s delight at seeing for the first time the sea or farm animals. The 1950s saw the widespread use of the station wagon for inexpensive and informal tours of national parks and heritage sites. The increasingly roomy family car was to provide family togetherness on long automobile trips to the Grand Canyon or Old Faithful. The Civil War battlefield of Gettysburg, formerly a place for serious contemplation and memory of war became an obligatory destination for families. From the car, Mom, Dad, and the kids read plaques and later heard taped guided tours about the glorious past after which they drove into the parking lots of motels to swim in the pool and later visit child-oriented amusement parks nearby. Not all embraced this romantic call for the child-oriented vacation. The 1962 movie, *Mr. Hobbes Takes a Vacation*, in which James Stewart played the frustrated family man stuck in a beat-up summer cottage with a son who wanted to do nothing but watch westerns on TV and a teenage daughter unable to get a date, summed up the frustration of many attempting to recreate the wonder of the children’s vacation. Still, the holiday increasingly was meant for the family, for bonding, for renewal and celebrations of children’s desire.

Today, the classic site for this child-focused celebration is the amusement park, but this was not true in the beginning

of these pleasure sites. The first amusement parks were really modern adaptations of the traditional festival where adults were allowed to loosen restraint and enjoy unaccustomed freedoms. The revolutionary amusement parks opened on Coney Island between 1897 and 1904 were certainly more childlike than the surrounding dance/music halls, race tracks, and saloons, but their fare of mechanical rides, freak shows, and spectacles were designed to challenge the male entertainment zone of drink, sex, and gambling with an environment conducive to “respectable” women rather than children. And, the childlike amusements allowed mostly adults to regress, rather than to encourage children to be delighted. As late as the 1920s, even progressive amusement parks like Playland on Long Island still offered playgrounds where parents could drop off their children while the adults rode roller coasters and bumper cars.

Walt DISNEY’s Disneyland, opened in 1955, became the template of the child-focused holiday site. Through such architectural features as “Main Street, USA,” recalling small town America of 1900, adults were called to share with children memories of their own childhoods (or, at least, the fantasy of an ideal childhood). Disney’s buildings, notably constructed at five-eighths the size of “real buildings” make Disneyland child friendly, and the rides provide frequent cues for adults to share with their children in Disney fantasies. The whole of Disneyland could be said to be an evocation to childlike wonder, with or without kids. Disney’s achievement was to package, combine, and intensify a half century of movie images that many Americans and families around the world identified with the delights of childhood. He and his company filled a cultural need that the traditional amusement parks, national parks, and museums failed to fill. Disney was so effective at meeting this need that for many American families (as well as Europeans and Pacific Rim Asians at Disney parks in Paris and Tokyo) made a vacation pilgrimage to Disneyland as an essential part of childhood and then, later, the reliving of that childhood.

See also: **Playground Movement; Theme Parks; Zoos.**

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GARY CROSS

Vaccination

Chinese physicians discovered about a thousand years ago how to reduce the risk of dying from smallpox by scarifying the skin of susceptible persons with secretions from a healing smallpox bleb, thus inducing a mild attack of smallpox. This procedure, called *variolation*, was not without risk—about one person in a hundred sustained a severe and sometimes fatal attack of smallpox. Nonetheless it was widely used to protect the children of educated well-to-do people in China, and the procedure spread westward along the silk route. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the British ambassador in Constantinople, described it in a 1717 letter to a friend in England and introduced it in England when she returned home.

Smallpox Vaccination

Edward Jenner, a naturalist and family doctor in the village of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, knew about variolation, and knew that milkmaids who had been infected with cowpox, a common disease of cattle in that area, never got smallpox. He reasoned that it might be possible to inoculate cowpox serum into the skin in the same way as the more risky smallpox secretions. During an EPIDEMIC of smallpox in 1796, Jenner inoculated a nine-year-old boy, James Phipps, with fluid from a cowpox lesion, and over the following months he inoculated a total of twenty-three people, mostly children, in the same way. All survived unharmed and none got smallpox. Jenner's experiment would not withstand the rigorous ethical scrutiny required for modern human experimentation, but its lasting benefits for humankind have been enormous. Jenner reported his results in *An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vaccinae* (1798). *Vaccination* is derived from *vaccinae*, the Latin for the possessive of *vacca*, or cow. Vaccine is the fluid containing weakened or dead pathogens, which stimulate immune responses that protect against CONTAGIOUS DISEASE. First applied to protection from smallpox, *vaccination* and *vaccine* broadened in meaning to include all such immunizing procedures as these developed.

Before vaccination, smallpox epidemics often afflicted virtually all exposed susceptible persons in the population, in other words, all who were not immune because they had survived previous epidemics. Children were the main victims. Depending on the virulence of the strain of smallpox virus, about one child in every eight to twenty would die, and many who survived were left with unsightly scars after the infected blebs on the skin had healed. If the eyes were affected, the result was blindness.

Despite fierce opposition from antivaccination critics, vaccination programs against smallpox began in Europe and the United States in the early nineteenth century, gathering momentum whenever smallpox epidemics occurred, as they continued to do, albeit with declining ferocity, throughout

TABLE 1

| Vaccine-preventable diseases of children | |
|--|--|
| Disease | Year Vaccine Developed |
| Smallpox | c. 1000 (variolation) 1796 (Jenner) |
| Rabies | 1885 (Pasteur) |
| Tuberculosis | 1924 (BCG) |
| Diphtheria | 1894 (antitoxin after exposure to risk) 1912 (preventive vaccination) |
| Tetanus | 1890 (antitoxin after exposure to risk) 1933 (preventive vaccination) |
| Whooping cough | 1931–1939 |
| Poliomyelitis | 1954 (Salk) 1961 (Sabin) |
| Measles | 1960 |
| Mumps | 1967 |
| Rubella | 1966 (vaccine developed) 1970 (vaccine licensed) |
| Hepatitis B | 1978 |

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Vaccination against smallpox was not risk-free. It induced fever, painful swelling, and frequently an unsightly scar at the vaccination site. Adverse effects increased in severity with age, strengthening the case for vaccination in childhood. In an epidemic in 1946, the public health authorities in New York City vaccinated about 5 million people over a six-week period—a considerable logistic feat. The human costs included forty-five cases of vaccine-induced encephalitis (severe brain inflammation) and four deaths, along with many thousands of the milder adverse reactions described above. One of the worst possible adverse reactions was a fatal generalized *vaccinia* infection of the unborn fetus if a pregnant woman was vaccinated.

In 1949 Donald Soper, an American epidemiologist, developed the containment strategy, which consisted of vaccinating all known contacts of every diagnosed case of smallpox rather than indiscriminately vaccinating the entire population. Containment stopped transmission by removing the possibility of the smallpox virus passing from an infected person to others who would have been susceptible in the absence of vaccination, thus reducing the numbers exposed to the risk of adverse reactions. However, in 1965, when the World Health Organization began a vaccination campaign aimed at worldwide eradication of smallpox, total coverage of the entire population in affected countries was the aim. The containment strategy was used later, when the risk of epidemics had declined and the risk of contagion arose mainly from sporadic cases. The last known case of naturally occurring smallpox was a teenage girl in Somalia in 1977. In 1980, the World Health Assembly at its annual meeting de-

TABLE 2

| Risks of adverse reactions to vaccinations | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Vaccination against | Rate per Million Vaccinations |
| Smallpox | |
| Fatal reaction | approx 1 |
| Encephalitis | 4 |
| Tuberculosis | |
| Disseminated TB | 1–2 |
| Localized abscess | 10–40 |
| Diphtheria/pertussis/tetanus | |
| Convulsions, brain damage | 10–30 |
| Death | 1–2 |
| Measles | |
| Acute brain inflammation | 0–1 |

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

clared that the vaccination campaign had succeeded and that smallpox had been eradicated from the world.

Other Vaccines

Vaccination against smallpox was the only immunological method of preventing any kind of contagious disease until the rise of scientific bacteriology almost a hundred years after Jenner's experiment. In 1885 Louis Pasteur used an attenuated rabies vaccine to protect a teenage boy, Joseph Meister, after the boy had been bitten by a rabid dog. Before Pasteur's anti-rabies vaccine, rabies was always fatal. By applying Pasteur's methods of developing attenuated strains of pathogens to create innocuous cultures suitable for vaccination, vaccines were soon developed to provide protection against several other previously dangerous diseases of children: diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, tuberculosis, and then, with advances in virology and immunology in the middle third of the twentieth century, measles, mumps, poliomyelitis, and others. By the end of the twentieth century, vaccines were available to protect against many diseases that were once a danger to the health and life of infants and children (see Table 1). A high priority for public health science is to develop vaccines for contagious diseases against which so far this preventive method has not been available.

The efficacy of vaccines as a way to protect populations depends on factors that influence herd immunity. For example, diphtheria was a terrible and much feared disease that killed by causing inflammation of the windpipe, so that children who got it often choked to death. After about 50 percent of a population has been immunized (vaccinated) against diphtheria, the probability of transmission to susceptible persons declines sharply. This is called the *epidemic threshold*.

The epidemic threshold of vaccine-preventable contagious diseases varies according to the infectivity of the pathogen, its mode of spread, and a very large number of

TABLE 3

| Outcomes per million of pertussis (whooping cough) with and without vaccination | | |
|---|------------------|---------------------|
| | With Vaccination | Without Vaccination |
| Birth to 6 months | | |
| Hospitalization | 1,060 | 11,098 |
| Death | 12 | 131 |
| Brain inflammation | 2 | 26 |
| Age 6 months to 5 years | | |
| Cases of pertussis | 34,048 | 356,566 |
| Hospitalization | 6,529 | 38,787 |
| Death | 44 | 487 |
| Brain inflammation ^a | 162 | 87 |

^aOnly brain inflammation is slightly more frequent with than without pertussis vaccination; all other adverse effects including death are a far greater risk without vaccination.

SOURCE: Courtesy of author.

other variables. Measles used to kill from one in ten to one in a thousand children, depending on their prior state of health, nutrition, and resistance to infection. It remains an epidemic risk until over 95 percent of the susceptible population has been vaccinated. Thus it is important to achieve complete coverage of the susceptible population in measles vaccination campaigns, because those who remain vulnerable can be struck down by dangerous complications such as measles encephalitis (which causes permanent brain damage) as well as by bronchopneumonia, a more common and also dangerous complication. Similarly, vaccination against rubella must reach a very high proportion of women in order to protect all against the small risk that a pregnant woman will get rubella and infect a developing fetus with congenital rubella.

Most vaccines are imperfect; although it is rare, they are sometimes contaminated and tragedies occur. Adverse reactions of varying severity can also occur. The frequency of these reactions has been measured in several large-scale campaigns under the auspices of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (see Tables 2 and 3). However, death and serious disease is a far higher risk without than with vaccination against all the common childhood contagious diseases. Despite the fact that the benefits of vaccination far exceed the risks, resistance continues, occasionally jeopardizing the success of communitywide vaccination programs. For example, vaccination against whooping cough was disrupted in Britain in the late twentieth century when a pediatrician made widely publicized but inaccurate statements about the risks of fatal outcome. It is a challenge for public health authorities, pediatricians, and family doctors to allay the understandable anxiety of parents that their children will suffer harm from

vaccination against diseases that have been eliminated from affluent modern societies.

See also: **Infant Mortality; Pediatrics.**

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JOHN M. LAST

Venereal Disease

Throughout the twentieth century, doctors, educators, social reformers, churches, the government, and the media have warned adolescents about venereal disease (VD), a group of bacterial infections transmitted primarily during sexual contact. Less attention has been paid to children, especially girls, who are presumed not to be sexually active and to be protected within their homes from sexual predators. Medical views about how girls become infected changed dramatically in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the 1890s to the 1940s, doctors did not rely on medical research, but modified their medical views to conform to their assumptions about the type of men they believed capable of sexually abusing children.

A Historical Perspective

Venereal disease has a long history, with major epidemics recorded, for example, in the late fifteenth century in Europe. In popular belief, problems were usually associated with adults, not children, and particularly with the growth of cities and, in the United States, with the arrival of new immigrant groups whose sexual habits seemed suspect. Growing awareness of prostitution and urban red light districts fed concern. Again, actual problems focused primarily on adults, but venereal disease warnings to children amplified nineteenth-century sexual advice, providing yet another reason to urge children to avoid premarital sexual activity. Warnings of this sort continued in the twentieth century, and by the 1960s new patterns of adolescent SEXUALITY, and new venereal diseases, redefined the whole problem both in advice and in actual disease incidence.

Historically, venereal disease has referred primarily to syphilis and gonorrhea, for which no effective cure existed until researchers discovered penicillin in the 1940s. Although antibiotics have nearly eliminated syphilis from the United States, many new infections, which physicians now refer to as sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), have been

discovered. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) have identified twenty-five STDs and estimate that each year in the United States more than 15 million people become infected with at least one; 65 million people in the United States are infected with an incurable STD, such as human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) or genital herpes. Most of the children who acquire HIV, which can lead to AIDS, acquire it from their mothers. As of December 2000, more than 9,000 children and 45 adolescents in the United States had died of AIDS.

A Statistical Perspective

Rates of STD infection in the United States may differ by race, ethnicity, class, age, and geographic location, and because of factors such as inadequate health education or access to medical care. But there is no way to know how many people are infected. Statistics are unreliable because only doctors in public health clinics, where most of the patients are poor and people of color, consistently report new infections. In addition, some people never experience any symptoms and others hide infections because they carry a social stigma.

One quarter of the reported infections are among adolescents, who are particularly vulnerable to chlamydia and gonorrhea. The CDC estimate that 3 million people become infected with chlamydia, and over 1 million with gonorrhea, each year; 40 percent of reported chlamydia infections are among adolescent girls, who also have the highest rates of gonorrhea. The CDC has found not only that untreated infections can lead to infertility but that gonorrhea infection, coupled with unprotected sexual contacts, can also facilitate the transmission of HIV, drastically increasing the risk of infection.

As troubling as these numbers are, very little data exist about the numbers of infected children. Most doctors never test children for STDs except as part of a medical investigation for evidence of CHILD ABUSE; when they do, gonorrhea is the single most common diagnosis. Physicians report more than 50,000 gonorrhea infections in children each year. A sexually transmitted disease can spread without penetration, and because genital bruises may disappear quickly, an STD may be the only physical evidence of sexual assault. Gonorrhea is particularly important evidence because the bacteria cause an infection at the point where they enter the body. Boys and girls both suffer from gonorrhea in the rectum and throat, but the vast majority of children diagnosed with an STD, in 1900 as well as 2000, were prepubescent girls with vaginal gonorrhea. What has changed is the medical explanation for how girls become infected.

STDs and Sexual Assault

Although most doctors in the nineteenth century believed that venereal (by which they meant "immoral") diseases originated with prostitutes and spread during sexual intercourse, doctors knew that children also became infected. Doctors expected to find children infected with syphilis or

gonorrhoea of the eyes, which mothers transmit to their babies. But genital gonorrhoea was neither routine nor acquired at birth; most infected children were poor, working-class, or African-American girls who claimed to have been sexually assaulted. Doctors considered these infections important evidence that a girl had been raped, sometimes by her father.

However, when scientific advances at the end of the nineteenth century improved doctors' ability to detect venereal disease, their belief about the link between child sexual assault and infection suddenly changed. Physicians realized not only that venereal disease had spread among Americans from every race, class, and ethnicity, but that genital gonorrhoea was so widespread among girls that doctors feared it was epidemic. Most of these girls were between the ages of five and nine and did not claim they had been assaulted. By the time record-keeping systems were in place in the late 1920s, girls under age thirteen accounted for 10 percent of reported infections among females.

Doctors were vexed as to how so many girls had become infected, particularly those from white middle- and upper-class families, which white professionals considered respectable. Many white professionals believed that only foreign or ignorant men abused their daughters and so assumed that INCEST occurred only in poor, working-class, immigrant, or African-American families. When the evidence increasingly pointed to men from their own class, doctors, public health officials, social reformers, and educators speculated that girls could become infected from nonsexual contacts with toilet seats, towels, or bedding—modes of transmission doctors had already rejected for adults and boys. Doctors based their speculation on the fact that the epithelial lining of girls' genitals is so thin that it provides little protection against bacteria. They knew it was unlikely that soiled objects could spread gonorrhoea because the bacteria dry quickly when exposed to air, yet without proof that even one girl had become infected after using the school toilet, from 1900 to the 1940s, health care professionals ignored the possibility of sexual assault and insisted instead that girls faced the greatest risk of exposure in the school lavatory.

After penicillin was introduced in the 1940s as the first effective cure for gonorrhoea, medical interest in the source of girls' infections disappeared. It was not until the 1970s that physicians who specialized in treating abused children began to emphasize the link between gonorrhoea infection and child sexual abuse. In 1998 the American Academy of Pediatrics instructed physicians to assume that a child infected with an STD has been assaulted. But many practitioners remain unwilling to believe that white middle- and upper-class fathers abuse their daughters. These doctors and others, whose motivation is to avoid becoming involved in legal proceedings, may simply attribute a child's infection to "source unknown" and send her home.

See also: **Contagious Diseases; Epidemics; Pediatrics.**

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LYNN SACCO

Verne, Jules (1828–1905)

Jules Verne, who has been called the "father of science fiction," was born on February 8, 1828, in Nantes, France. As a child, Verne enjoyed exploring the quays on the River Loire near his home. His favorite book was *The Swiss Family Robinson* because of its constant action and because members of the shipwrecked family contribute their different talents to the task of survival. As a young adult, Verne evaded his parents' plans for a career in law. Instead, in 1857, he bought himself a seat on the stock exchange, writing in his spare time. When, in 1862, he sold his first novel (*Cinq Semaines en ballon*, 1863; *Five Weeks in a Balloon*, 1869), he announced to his fellow stockbrokers that he had written a novel in a new genre created by himself. With this, he quit the stock exchange and devoted himself to writing. He was an extraordinarily prolific author, eventually publishing more than sixty novels in the series *Les voyages extraordinaires* (Fantastic journeys).

In *Jules Verne: Inventor of Science Fiction* (1978) Peter Costello observes that there was nothing new in Verne's concept of "fantastic journeys." Science fiction in this sense can be seen in the writings of the ancient Greeks. However, Costello suggests, Verne was the first to use a well-researched scientific basis for his tales. This makes his work convincing in a way that previous texts are not.

There is some controversy about the extent to which Verne's texts were intended for a child audience. In *Jules*

Verne and His Work (1966) I. O. Evans observes that, although Verne was always mindful of young readers, he rarely wrote especially for them. Moreover, Walter James Miller points out in his foreword to *The Annotated Jules Verne* (1976) that Verne is considered a highly respected writer of adult fiction in much of Europe. It is only in Britain and America that his works are relegated to children—a fact that Miller attributes to the extensive editing and poor translations of the English-language texts.

On the other hand, Verne's novels may have particular appeal to children because of their emphasis on action and suspense. Furthermore, children can easily identify with Verne's protagonists. Just as children are marginalized in an adult-run society, so Verne's protagonists stand apart from society as they travel to the moon or to the center of the earth. In addition, Verne's books suggest ways in which child readers can see themselves as possessing agency. For example, his protagonists often rely upon their wits rather than physical force. In some cases, they also invent alternatives to established social traditions. In *Deux Ans de vacances* (1888; *Two Years' Vacation*, 1889) a group of shipwrecked boys organizes a society based on cooperation and individual development. In many ways, this new society seems superior to the adult-run boarding school from which they came, in which younger boys were expected to act as personal servants for older ones.

Verne's texts have been adapted for film, including *Vingt Mille Lieues sous les mers* (1870; *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, 1873), adapted and released by Walt Disney Productions in 1954, and *Autour de la lune* (1870; *All Around the Moon*, 1876), adapted and released by Jules Verne Films in 1967. His work has also been adapted for theater and television.

See also: **Children's Literature.**

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JENNIFER MARCHANT

Victorian Art

The Victorian era (1837–1901) in Great Britain marked the advent of a new kind of childhood, at least for the privileged classes, and when compared with the less child-friendly eighteenth century. The period witnessed a significant increase in the volume of paintings, books, toys, advice manuals, and

other things designed specifically with children in mind. In the realm of the fine arts, Victorian images appeared mostly as prints, paintings, and illustrations in magazines and books. Countless artists tackled the theme of childhood, which was popular throughout Queen Victoria's long reign and especially during the years 1850–1880. Their range of subjects—from the sentimentalized girl to the young urban worker—was quite vast. Among the most significant painters of the time was the Pre-Raphaelite artist John Everett Millais, who produced numerous landmark images of young protagonists such as *My First Sermon* (1863), a pair titled *Sleeping and Waking* (c. 1867), and *Cherry Ripe* (1879). In addition, numerous illustrators—particularly KATE GREENAWAY, BEATRIX POTTER, Arthur Rackham, and Walter Crane—achieved fame for their contributions to a flourishing market in CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

Demure Girls and Mischievous Boys

Underlying these representations of young protagonists were adult values that clearly demarcated and endorsed gen-

dered constructions of childhood, whether of demure girls or mischievous boys. Genre paintings capitalized upon themes inspired by contemporary daily life, and many scenes depicted fictionalized domesticity while reinforcing middle-class beliefs. Such didacticism is particularly evident in the paintings by the Irish artist William Mulready, which include *Train Up a Child* (1841) and *A Mother Teaching Her Son* (1859). Their titles alone communicate the signal importance placed on educating a child to exemplify high moral and religious conduct.

Many modern stereotypes of gender owe their origin visually to the separate spheres and expectations produced in Victorian imagery. Due to the inventions of photography and various photomechanical means of reproduction, the Victorian era was flooded with prints, books, and paintings, all of which circulated countless images of decorative, pious, and pretty girls who obediently served the needs of males. There was a darker side to Victorian images of young girls, as evidenced in the photographs and paintings of unclothed girls found in the possession of LEWIS CARROLL, who is perhaps best known as the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). Modern viewers often perceive repressed sexuality in these images, with the ideal middle- and upper-class

Victorian girl viewed as womanly and the perfect adult female seen as girlish and innocent. In paintings by William Powell Frith, Sophie Anderson, and James Collinson often girls are cast as mother surrogates, peacemakers, and observers, their passivity in contrast with the stereotyping of boys, who are more typically shown as feisty, independent, and contentious. Schoolrooms and schoolyards are two common sites of male misconduct, aggression, and bravado in works by Collinson, John Faed, and John Morgan, to name a few. In many of these images there are acts of physical violence that remind modern viewers about how accepted corporal punishment was in the Victorian era and how brutality sometimes reached sadistic levels in elite British private schools. More idealized images, by such artists as Edward Ward, Charles Compton, and William Dyce, feature the "boy hero," who preserves highly differentiated masculine modes of behavior; girls in these works appear merely as admiring bystanders in the presence of precocious young male geniuses.

Sexuality

Occasionally images of "calf love," or young courtship, appeared in Victorian art, but SEXUALITY of a more explicit nature was limited to fairy paintings, where prepubescent

winged fairies of both sexes (as well as some androgynous ones) cavort, commingle, and pursue one another with a degree of abandonment, aggressiveness, and sensual gratification rare in any pictures on other subjects. This was undoubtedly because many fairies were both nonhuman as well as innocuously childlike in appearance; thus, in works by artists who specialized in this genre—among them John Anster Fitzgerald and Richard Doyle, creator of the popular book *In Fairyland* (1869–1870)—fairies could behave in illicit ways, flaunting their nudity and sometimes performing quite sadistic acts, while retaining an aura of innocence and otherworldliness.

Depictions of the Lower Class

Victorian portrayals of lower- and working-class children in both urban and rural contexts were somewhat different. The lower-class female might be incredibly rosy-cheeked, tidy, and sweet, whether as a farm lass, peasant, or street vendor. All such girls were perceived essentially as objects of pity or amusement, with little sense of the sordid and oppressive social conditions that impoverished children endured. Boy urchins, whether in the pages of *Punch* magazine or in Royal Academy paintings, were sanitized into healthy, scruffy, and unthreatening children.

The dead or dying child appeared frequently in Victorian era paintings as well, reflecting the high mortality rates (compared with modern statistics) among all classes. Many scenarios—by George Hicks, Thomas Faed, and Thomas Brooks—feature parental bedside vigils in which the need for Christian faith and fortitude are endorsed. As in the literary realm, the picturesque appeal of the helpless orphan, especially vulnerable female ones—as in the paintings of Emily Mary Osborn, George Storey, and Philip Calderon—also was favored by Victorian audiences.

Modern audiences have been inculcated with Victorian notions of childhood by a variety of sources, from an endless proliferation of Kate Greenaway-decorated items to contemporary magazines that combine nostalgia for the past with gauzy finery and images of female decorativeness, passivity, leisure, and conspicuous consumerism. The Victorian literary characters Alice, of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and PETER PAN, of James Barrie's 1904 novel *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would Not Grow Up*, have earned permanent places in the public imagination, due to DISNEY films and to the enduring appeal of the girl seeking authority over her fantasies and the boy escaping the responsibilities of adulthood by refusing to grow up.

See also: **ABC Books; Boyhood; Girlhood; Images of Childhood; Madonna, Religious; Madonna, Secular; Photographs of Children; Theories of Childhood.**

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SUSAN P. CASTERAS

Victory Girls

Though she often resists exact definition, the *victory girl* was generally a teenaged girl or young woman who exhibited her patriotism by offering companionship, and often sex, to servicemen during World War II. With fewer opportunities than their male counterparts to partake in the excitement of wartime mobilization, many young women traveled to various encampment or port areas, seeking intimate encounters with men in uniform. The behavior of victory girls was hardly new; so-called patriotic prostitutes and charity girls attracted the concerned attention of Progressive reformers and military officials during World War I. With increased mobilization of the home front during World War II, however, came heightened scrutiny of those girls and women whose apparently misguided patriotism led them onto hazardous moral and social terrain.

Although studies suggest that many victory girls were actually young married women, literature in the 1940s portrayed victory girls—also known as “khaki-wackies,” “good-time charlottes,” “free girls,” and “grass grabbers”—as single girls and as part of the larger problem of female “sex delinquency.” Agencies such as the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU stressed the need to protect local girls from the corrupting influence of servicemen through the provision of social services. Other federal agencies, such as the Social Protection Division (SPD) of the Federal Security Agency, recognized this need but emphasized the importance of stopping victory girls from spreading venereal disease to U.S. troops. Social policy was torn between the ideal of prevention and rehabilitation on the one hand and punitive measures on the other.

At its 1942 conference, the American Social Hygiene Association reported that victory girls were “sexual delinquents

of a non-commercial character . . . [seeking] adventure and sociability” and suffering from a misplaced sense of patriotism. Most professionals agreed with this evaluation, stressing the emotional nature of victory girls’ behavior. As Karen Anderson explains in *Wartime Women*, the belief that victory girls desired male companionship above other considerations was supported by their high unemployment rates, unwillingness to take well-paid jobs in the war industry, and concentration in the service industry. While wartime authorities viewed men’s sexual behaviors as fulfilling inevitable needs, they dismissed or ignored the possibility that physical as well as emotional drives played a part in women’s sexual activity. Historians have pointed out that victory girls may have harbored other motivations for their unconventional behavior. Like other groups of Americans at the time—such as African Americans, gays, and lesbians—victory girls may have been “testing the perimeters of social freedom,” as Anderson puts it, by rejecting family- and community-based notions of sexual morality in favor of wartime adventure and independent decision making.

For many girls and young women, the consequences of sexual encounters included venereal disease, illegitimate birth, and entrapment in the penal system. Studies by the military and other federal agencies showed that most cases of VENEREAL DISEASE in the Army—perhaps as much as ninety percent, one article in the *Nation* claimed—were traceable to “amateur girls” such as victory girls. Demonstrating a pervasive sexual double standard, the military turned its attention to warning servicemen about the danger of the girl next door and to repressing women’s sexual availability. Encouraged by the SPD, cities across the country subjected women and girls arrested on morals charges to mandatory venereal disease testing and detained them for several days or longer while awaiting the results. When the use of detention proved an ineffective deterrent to female sexual behavior, social protection advocates endorsed additional counseling and rehabilitation for unreformed victory girls. Unless they were forced to accept such services by law, however, girls and women tended to reject efforts to influence their behavior, prompting even stronger efforts by policewomen and social workers to thwart unsanctioned sexual practices.

See also: **Delinquency; Sexuality; War in the Twentieth Century.**

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AMANDA H. LITTAUER

Violence Against Children

Violence against children went unnoticed for centuries in Western society. Prior to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe, as historians have suggested, the age of a child constituted no guarantee and little protection against a variety of now commonly unacceptable actions, including castration, seduction, sodomy, forced sex, battering, physical beating, labor exploitation, CHILD PROSTITUTION, ABANDONMENT, adult bullying, or even infanticide. Prior to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was no defined concept of childhood vulnerability or childhood innocence. According to historians, a belief in child protection and child nurture were accidental by-products, rather than a central purpose, of family life and child rearing. There was no body of law that defined children as a special class of people and adults as criminally libel when they employed life-threatening forms of DISCIPLINE or punishment against the young. Children and adults were everywhere joined. Children did not attend school for extended periods of time, and as artists and writers portrayed them, children were everywhere visible and underfoot in the full array of social spaces where adult men and women worked, played, slept, bathed, prayed, and consorted. In short, children had few if any protected spaces in which to avoid physical assault and injuries to body, mind, or soul.

Perspectives on Child Violence in the United States

This entry focuses on perspectives on child violence as they evolved in the United States over a three-hundred-year period. Historically, a recognition of violence against children has proceeded simultaneously with other related social discoveries: of children as essentially innocent and vulnerable; of childhood as a distinct and special stage of life; of the family as a protective enclave for the child; of schools as specialized, age-graded, developmentally calibrated institutions for the young; of government as an important vehicle for the protection and elaboration of CHILDREN’S RIGHTS. These new-found notions developed simultaneously with a view of children as a visible class of innocent and vulnerable people in need of LOVE, protection, education, and patient understanding rather than physical battering, sexual assault, or emotional neglect. Each of these evolving social developments catalyzed a continuing series of controversies centered on the relative morality, utility, and legitimacy of corporal punishment and physical restraint; moral persuasion and psychological manipulation; and behavior management, nonviolence, and individual praise as relationship-shaping modes in families, schools, and communities.

Corporal punishment. Among the more persistent controversies were those centering on the appropriate use of physical force and corporal restraint. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when children typically worked alongside their parents, went to school only on occasion, if at all, and learned a trade through contractual master-apprentice rela-

tionships or informally at home and church, controversy centered less on the relative utility of corporal punishment to secure obedience, morality, and good conduct from children than it did on the circumstances which justified its uses and the instruments deemed most appropriate. By statute and by custom, “stubborn and rebellious,” physically abusive, disrespectful young people who failed to honor their parents might legally be put to death, but were more likely to become subject to severe beatings for their bad conduct. The concept of “muscular Christianity” was well accepted and so too were applications of the rod, the ferule, the whip, and the belt by parents, churchmen, masters, and school teachers.

Notwithstanding the popularity of severe corporal punishment for disobedient children, reformers such as JOHN LOCKE, Samuel Willard, and Anne Bradstreet viewed childhood as a vulnerable and malleable life stage and enjoined parents, educators, ministers, and masters to attend to the age and condition of the children, to assess the relative gravity of child offenses, and to calculate the potential moral effects of particular forms of discipline before they administered punishment. As one of them suggested, “No parent has a right to put oppression on a child, in the name of authority. . . . Children are not to be treated either as Brutes or Slaves.” (quoted in Greven 1990, p. 161). The recognition of inhumane and dangerous forms of child beating in families and in schools led moral and social reformers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to register their distaste for the traditions of muscular Christianity and to identify parents and teachers as major sources of inhumanity and mis-education. Many mounted an all-out assault on any form of corporal punishment as inimical to the well-being of children.

Child labor. In the nineteenth century, massive numbers of poverty-stricken immigrant children lived and worked in the cities and factories. Urban reformers, privy to public displays of children begging, child prostitution, injuries, and ungovernable street children, discovered child neglect and abusive families. They saw children awash in what they believed to be the corrupting influence of dependent, irreligious families and unscrupulous urban entrepreneurs, and identified CHILD LABOR as a form of physical abuse, a symptom of family failure, and an unacceptable violation of children’s needs. They articulated a concept of child neglect and condemned the child-rearing practices of families who were unable or unwilling to provide moral oversight or secure the formal education of their children. They invented a legal notion of child abandonment, and condemned the consequences of premature SEXUALITY, sodomy, and sexual exploitation by peers and employers.

In the view of middle-class urban reformers, boarding schools, urban charity schools, and juvenile reformatories were more humane and educative environments for exploit-

ed and ungovernable children than the factory, the street, or the laboring household. They could not have known that these institutions would become incubators for the cultivation of new classes of child abusers and sexual exploiters (who would themselves fuel the outrage of a new generation of Progressive reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). Ironically, these nineteenth-century reformers—so passionate in their zeal to eliminate harsh punishments, labor exploitation, premature sexuality, and the like—did not notice the abuse and neglect among enslaved boys and girls in the South or of Native American children in missionary schools, despite the prevalence of rape, harsh beatings, and deadly assaults in these communities.

The Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Like their predecessors in the early nineteenth century, a new generation of social reformers grew up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a sometimes turbulent, rapidly changing society. They were confronted with ever larger numbers of non-English speaking immigrants and migrant workers who crowded city streets and city schools and, in the view of the reformers, contributed to a series of social practices that were in need of fundamental transformation. Reformers saw a society where juvenile crime was on the rise, where children and youth had slipped the regulatory ties that bound them to their families and churches, and where increasingly large numbers of boys and girls worked as street entrepreneurs, frequented dance halls and movie theaters, and formed juvenile gangs. Within this environment, reformers discovered ADOLESCENCE as a vulnerable and bombastic period of youth development, juvenile DELINQUENCY as a specialized category of curable criminality, and boys as potential perpetrators as well as victims of crime. They identified battered children as a special class in need of shelter and created child and youth advocacy groups. They codified the concept of “the best interest of the child,” and established children’s rights as a rationale for public investigation. Ultimately, they criminalized child-beating and identified infanticide as a jailable offense.

Over the course of the twentieth century, attempts have emerged to root out violence against children and to expand its meaning to include emotional, social, and psychological abuse as scholars, theologians, journalists, and educators have continued to expose instances of child beating, INCEST, and sexual abuse in families, institutions, and communities across the social spectrum. With the public spotlight on date rape, CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, prostitution, PEDOPHILIA, and homophobia, once silenced realities have become part of the public discussion. The emergence of statistics documenting the existence of forced sex and incest within families, usually by fathers against daughters, has elevated incest to public visibility. Multiple instances of school-based violence: physical beatings, sexual assaults, bullying, and murder by knife, GUN, and bomb, have drawn public attention to the problem of violence by the young against the young. Taken together,

these highly visible acts of violence of the young against the young have led society to redefine young men as criminals and perpetrators rather than adolescents and delinquents, and have intensified a new public debate about the relative utility of zero-tolerance laws, incarceration in adult facilities, and capital punishment.

The conception of violence as a form of injury toward children and youth emerged only gradually, after their status as human beings had acquired definition and respect. The definition of children as a specialized class in need of protection and restraint, has altered the nature of acceptable child-rearing practices, family authority, and the legitimacy of particular forms of punishment and discipline. Like all revolutions, the revolution in childhood status has transformed the parameters of what counts as violence against children.

See also: **Child Abuse; Law, Children and the; Theories of Childhood.**

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BARBARA FINKELSTEIN

Vocational Education, Industrial Education, and Trade Schools

The nineteenth century was characterized by the development of many types of vocational schools and programs. These programs had their origins in the movements and philosophies that grew out of the revival of learning during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The humanistic movement at that time placed emphasis on the privileges and responsibilities of the individual. A shift in emphasis occurred during the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the realism movement took form. This movement was responsible for the introduction of science and practical arts into the curriculum. The eighteenth century, or Age of Reason, was an age of democratic liberalism, benevolence, and tolerance.

Schools of Industry

Schools of industry were developed in Germany and England during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These schools combined industrial wage work with classroom study. The industrial work was provided to enable students to earn money to pay tuition. Among the different kinds of industrial work done in these schools were flax and wool spinning, knitting, and sewing for girls and braiding, wood joinery, furniture making, and wood carving for boys. Leaders in education during this time stressed self-education, student participation in learning, universal education, and the importance of environmental factors in creating good workers and good citizens, with the result that many new schools and programs were created in the nineteenth century. Increased interest in human welfare was responsible for the development of schools for poor and delinquent children, while increased demands for labor led to school substitutes for the declining APPRENTICESHIP system. The emphasis on mass education and the need for trained workers made necessary the organization of schools and curricula for workers and prospective workers.

Trade School Movement in America

In the early years of the nineteenth century working people battled to obtain equality of education for their children: even their wildest dreams did not include the teaching of trades in free public schools. The idea of “educated labor” as opposed to merely “skilled labor” gradually gained acceptance through the first half of the nineteenth century. But it was not until after the Civil War, during the period of Reconstruction, that the demand grew pressing for a new type of school that could prepare people for employment in the rapidly expanding industrial economy. The trade school movement thus emerged to provide a workable system of industrial education for all Americans.

One of the first private trade schools was Hampton Institute in Virginia, organized by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong in 1868. Hampton Institute was established to provide both liberal and trade training to African Americans to improve character and social status. Students devoted eight hours each day to the study of a trade through organized courses lasting for a three-year period along with academic courses that required four years. If students completed the entire four-year program they earned a diploma. Booker T. Washington was one of Hampton Institute’s most famous graduates. He later became principal at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and had a distinguished educational career until his death in 1915.

The first school to offer specific trade training with supplementary studies related to each trade was the New York Trade School, founded by Colonel Richard Tylden Auchmuty in 1881. As a result of his study of labor problems, Auchmuty developed a pattern of trade training designed to give pre-employment instruction as well as supplementary instruction for employed workers.

In contrast to the plan of instruction of the New York Trade School, the Hebrew Technical Institute, founded in New York City in November 1883, offered a greater range of general subjects. The need for a school of this nature arose because of the number of Jewish immigrants coming to America in the late nineteenth century.

The Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades was organized in 1891 in Philadelphia by the merchant and philanthropist Isaiah V. Williamson. The school was designed to take the place of apprenticeship training that was no longer widely practiced. Boys from sixteen to eighteen years of age were bound as indentured apprentices to the school trustees for three years. After preliminary courses were completed, a student was assigned to a trade by the school trustees. Williamson was convinced that the abandonment of apprenticeship resulted in idleness and crime and constituted a threat to society. The school was entirely free—there was no charge for clothing, food, or instruction.

These three different types of schools gave birth to a limited number of trade schools throughout the country in the late 1800s. During this same period, public secondary schools increasingly offered courses in manual training and industrial arts, and a variety of proprietary and endowed vocational schools of less than college grade provided instruction in agriculture, business, home economics, and trades and industry.

As the nation entered the twentieth century, support for the use of state and federal funds to establish and operate a system of vocational education began to grow, even though labor and education groups frequently disagreed about what form vocational education should take. In 1905, Governor William Douglas of Massachusetts appointed a commission composed of representatives of manufacturing, agriculture, labor, and education. The commission was charged with investigating the status of vocational education and making recommendations for any required modifications. The commission’s recommendations issued in 1906 included: (1) instruction to acquaint students with industry, agriculture, and homemaking in the elementary schools; (2) incorporation of practical applications into mathematics, science, and drawing at secondary level; and (3) creation of independent vocational schools to provide both day and evening courses in agriculture, domestic occupations, and industrial pursuits.

Smith-Hughes Act

Although the Smith-Hughes Act, which was to provide federal funds for the teaching of agriculture, home economics, and trades in the public schools, was endorsed by many groups, among them the Chamber of Commerce and the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, it did not quickly move through Congress. It wasn’t until February 17, 1917, largely as a result of appeals from President Woodrow Wilson and pressure from the nation’s impending entry into World War I that the bill finally was

approved. President Wilson signed the bill, officially titled the Vocational Education Act of 1917, on February 23, thus establishing the federal government's role in shaping the vocational education programs provided by the states.

Provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act established continuing appropriations for the salaries and training costs for teachers in agriculture, trade, and industrial education that were to increase annually until the maximum of \$3 million each was reached in 1926. The funds thus provided were intended as seed money to encourage the states to expand programs and increase enrollments, both of which occurred during the period 1917–1926. Grant Venn has noted that within three years, enrollments in federally subsidized programs doubled, and the combination of federal, state, and local expenditures quadrupled.

Over the course of the twentieth century, vocational education became a fixture of public schools, but its appeal as an avenue for advancement and skilled learning declined. Increasingly a part of the curriculum to which the least academically engaged students were directed, vocational education was chronically underfunded, yet at the start of the twenty-first century, the real needs for the development of skills has seen a renewed interest in vocational schooling.

See also: Delinquency; Progressive Education; Urban School Systems, The Rise of.

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HOWARD R. D. GORDON

Vygotsky, L. S. (1896–1934)

Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky grew up in a Jewish family in Gomel in Belorussia (now known as Belarus). After a tradi-

tional Jewish education, he was admitted to the law school at Moscow University, but he also took courses in history and philosophy. In 1916 he wrote a master's thesis analyzing Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In 1917 he returned to Gomel as a teacher and also practiced clinical psychology. Here he wrote *Educational Psychology* and his dissertation, *The Psychology of Art*.

In 1924, at a congress in Leningrad, Vygotsky presented a talk on consciousness. Due to the success of the talk, he gained access to the Kornilov Institute of Experimental Psychology in Moscow. Here, together with Alexander Luria and Alexei Leontiev, he developed the cultural-historical theory as an answer to the crisis in psychology. In *The Historical Meaning of the Crisis in Psychology*, written between 1925 and 1927, Vygotsky argued that there was no unity or consistency in contemporary psychological research. He claimed that it was difficult to see how the psychoanalytic view of human nature and Pavlov's theory on human behavior could be bridged and that Marxist psychology only pieced together quotations from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

In his 1931 work, *The History of the Development of Higher Psychological Functions*, Vygotsky outlined the idea that psychological development can be seen as the transition from natural forms of behavior to higher mental functions that have a mediated structure. Signs, symbols, and languages function as mediators and create this psychological structure. With this cultural-historical approach, changes in psychological processes can be related to changes in the social-cultural type of mediation. Simultaneously, higher mental processes have to be seen as functions of meaningful social activity created through the individual's own activity. He also formulated the concept of the zone of proximal development—that is, the difference between actual achievement (tasks a child can perform on his or her own) and potential achievement (tasks a child can perform with help from another)—which has inspired pedagogues to reflect on the relation between learning and development and between PLAY and teaching.

Vygotsky investigated the development of and the relation between thinking and language, and he described language as a mental tool for thinking. He dictated his manuscript on this topic from his sickbed and it was published in 1934 as *Thought and Language*, which became his most popular book.

He left behind an extensive and still highly regarded body of scientific work. Most of it was not published in his lifetime, and two years after his death in 1936 his few available publications were blacklisted in the Soviet Union. In 1956 Vygotsky was rehabilitated, but almost twenty years passed before his genius was known and his work adopted in the rest of the world. Vygotsky has had an enormous influence on psychological and educational thinking and practice around the world. Thus the American Vygotsky expert Stephen

Toulmin praised Vygotsky for his talents, genius, and sumptuous production and called him the Mozart of psychology.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child Psychology.**

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STIG BROSTRÖM



War in the Twentieth Century

Children were included in international conventions for the first time in 1949, when the rights and protection of children in war—as part of the civilian population—were mentioned in the fourth Geneva Convention. This was supplemented in 1977 to refer to child soldiers for the first time. The convention provided that children should be protected from military conscription, from the dangers of warfare, from sexual exploitation, and from starvation. In 1989 the UN CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD was introduced. Its articles defined standards for the treatment of children, including a child's right to name and nationality, the need for family reunification, and protection against torture. It prohibited recruitment of children under the age of fifteen as soldiers. These international laws are difficult to enforce, but they set a standard for children in war and for our view of children's legal rights. The fifteen-year-old age limit for military conscription provoked much discussion, and some have suggested it be raised to eighteen. The age issue is interesting because it focuses on the question: When is a child a child, and when does a child become an adolescent or an adult? That in turn brings our understanding of the apolitical child into focus and whom we see as perpetrators and victims in an armed conflict. This is sometimes also an open question in the literature when information about a child's age is unclear or not discussed at all.

Child Soldiers and Activities in Resistance

During World War II, young boys contributed to the war effort on the Allied side as well as in the army units of the Axis powers. There are examples of American boys between thirteen and fifteen years old who lied about their age and succeeded in joining the U.S. Navy, taking part in the battles in Europe. In Germany, meanwhile, during the last period of the German defense in the autumn of 1944 and spring of 1945, many boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen were drafted as German troops on both the Eastern and Western fronts. Many of the boys were recruited from the HITLER

YOUTH, and the Führer awarded some the Iron Cross. The boys handled antiaircraft artillery, grenade throwers, and other weapons. Many of the soldiers who refused to surrender when the Americans occupied the Ruhr Valley were boys. They devised roadblocks, ambushes, and other mischief wherever they could until the final German defeat in May 1945.

Technological developments in the last decades of the twentieth century, especially the manufacture of light, easy-to-handle weapons, made it easier to use children as soldiers. UNICEF estimated that in 1988 almost 200,000 children were involved in military actions as soldiers and fighters. In the 1980s many children joined armed groups in Cambodia to get food and protection. In 1990 the situation was the same in Liberia, where boys between six and twenty were gathered in military units. In Myanmar that same year, when guerrillas began to provide clothes and food many parents handed over their children as soldiers for the rebel army.

Girls also were recruited as soldiers, as in the National Resistance Army in Uganda, where approximately 500 girls were among the 3,000 child soldiers there in 1986. Some children fought for political, religious, cultural, or social reasons; others sought revenge for the deaths of family members.

One way to recruit children into military service was to inculcate schoolchildren with propaganda (a tactic used by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka). Others kidnapped and forced children into military activities, for example in Ethiopia in the 1980s and the Renamo in Mozambique in the 1990s. Indoctrination, physical abuse, terror, and execution of children's relatives in front of them were practiced to brutalize children and accustom them to violence and warfare.

One example of children as prisoners of war was during the Boer War of 1901–1902, in which children were among forty-three prisoners who fought on the Boer side. During



Kim Phuc, age nine, runs from a napalm attack on her village in Vietnam by South Vietnamese troops under U.S. command, 1972. In the late twentieth century, civilians, including children, were the chief victims of war. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

World War II, about 10,000 underage German boy soldiers were imprisoned in the largest Allied camp for child soldiers, located in the French village of Attichy. In Rwanda, child soldiers were interned and faced trial for genocide.

Children also took part in military conflicts through their activity in resistance movements, for example during World War II in France, Holland, Denmark, and other German-occupied countries. In France boys were trained by the resistance movement. Older children were used as occasional informants or took part in sabotage actions. Others were instructed in how to behave in case of an inspection of the home, keeping quiet about illegal persons living in the house or apartment; others reported to the resistance movement about persons cooperating with the occupation army. The Pioneers Organization of Montenegro, founded in 1942, was for children from ten to fifteen years of age. The children helped the partisans by bringing them food, weapons, clothes, and other necessities. In the war in Uganda (1986) children were used as spies and messengers.

In the long war in Vietnam (1940, 1961–1975) many children grew up with the experience of their mothers and fathers fighting against the French for independence and against the Americans in favor of Ho Chi Minh and the communists. The period of war was so extended that many children were drawn in the military struggle. Both boys and girls distributed leaflets, brought messages, found hiding places for the soldiers, served as liaisons for the resistance fighters, brought them food and equipment, and took part in ambushes. Smaller children, held by their mothers, were among those who stood up or lay down as shields to prevent the enemy from destroying crops. Children were killed in demonstrations, and fifteen- and sixteen-year-old girls became martyrs.

Rape, Torture, and Genocide

Rape of women and young girls was used throughout the twentieth century as a tool of war violence and organized war activity. It has been common in ethnic conflicts. In the genocide carried out against the Tutsi population in Rwanda

(1994), rape was used systematically to destroy communities by making girls and women pregnant. The mothers often rejected these children; others kept them and the children became integrated into the family. During the war in the ex-Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s there were cases of infanticide as the consequence of forced pregnancy, as well as testimonies about daughters who were raped in front of their fathers and mothers in front of their children. In the Renamo camps in Mozambique, young boys committed sexual violence on young girls.

The dehumanizing effects on a child who has been raped or has witnessed rape are well documented. It is an experience with long-term effects that carry into the child's adult life. Many women and girls have been forced to trade sex for food and shelter in tense conflicts or war situations. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS/HIV spread rapidly with sexual violence in wartime, making many children ORPHANS and increasing the number born with HIV.

In several wars and armed conflicts in the twentieth century, children were tortured as a punishment to the parents, as a way to force information about family members, or as part of a collective punishment of a whole community. In large-scale killing of populations and mass executions, children were not spared. In the 1904 uprising of the Hereros of Southwest Africa against the German colonial power, the violence ended with genocide; thousands of Hereros were killed, many of them children. In 1915–1916 the Turks massacred about 1.2 million Armenians, mostly women and children. Under the German military occupation of Poland, and as a part of the HOLOCAUST during World War II, raids on children took place systematically in an attempt to put an end to regeneration of the Jews. The children were killed or sent to concentration camps where they could be used as experimental subjects. Gypsy children and physically disabled children suffered pogroms and murder under the Nazis.

Unaccompanied Children

Large groups of refugees and uprooted peoples were characteristic of the twentieth century. That this was a new phenomenon and a mass movement became clear in the post-1918 period, and it became an increasing problem for the European continent and its children in the following decades. By the late 1990s the refugee problem was seen as a more or less constant global problem, and the greatest number of the world's refugee children were in Africa and Asia.

The general difference between a refugee child and a displaced child is that the former has crossed borders into neighboring countries and the latter has fled and moved elsewhere in the country. But the distinction is not always clear. Characteristic for modern refugee children is the long duration of their status as refugees, often due to the complex question of nationality. They often become isolated from civil society through years of wandering or long periods in camps.

Beginning in 1900 refugee camps sprang up in South Africa as a result of the Boer War. These developed into concentration camps for persons—mainly women and children—whom the British considered supporters of the Boers. Many of the children died as a consequence of poor sanitary conditions and starvation.

After World War I many children became refugees as a consequence of the crumbling of the Ottoman (Turkish), Romanov (Russian), Hapsburg (Austrian-Hungarian), and Wilhelminian (German) empires, and later as a result of civil war in Russia after the Russian Revolution and the persecutions and expulsions carried out by fascist rulers before and during World War II.

The question of citizenship was often a problem for uprooted children. After the breakdown of the Austrian-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1918, new states were created in Europe and borders were changed, with the result that the nationality and citizenship of many children remained unclear for years.

In the 1920s large numbers of children in the Soviet Union were without parents or a home as a result of revolution, civil war, famine, and disorder. The Soviet state could not solve the enormous problem of its uprooted children. Some of the orphans were placed in institutions, others in foster families or in labor communes. These children were regarded with suspicion and by the mid-1930s were seen not as victims of the civil war but as criminals.

Just before the end of World War II about 70,000 German refugee children (under the age of fifteen) were sent to Denmark. The children, with few exceptions, received inadequate medical care from Danish authorities. It is estimated that by the autumn of 1946 almost all the refugee children under the age of two had died. In all about 7,000 of the refugee children died in camps in Denmark through poor nutrition and lack of medical care.

Malnutrition and disease were great problems for refugee children throughout the twentieth century. Separation from parents in wartime often meant that children lost their protectors and their economic security and became homeless. If the whole family was dissolved, the children became totally exposed and dependent on others for food and shelter. UNICEF collected pictures and information about unaccompanied children and distributed them throughout refugee camps in an effort to find the children's families. Most of the separations were accidental, but in Haiti and Vietnam parents sometimes sent their children ahead in the hope that the whole family could get asylum in this way. During the civil war in southern Sudan about 20,000 boys between the ages of seven and seventeen fled the country and trekked enormous distances. Many died on the journey. In the last years of the twentieth century unaccompanied children accounted for approximately 5 percent of the refugee population, or about 53 million people.

Outplacing

Sending children away from their parents and home area was used as a solution for different kinds of problems throughout the twentieth century. For example, they were sent abroad or to another part of the country in order to protect them from enemy attacks. During the Munich crisis of 1938–1939, when it was suspected that England could be bombed, children were sent from England to Wales on private initiatives. From the start of World War II there were mass evacuations of British children from cities to the countryside to secure them from German bomb attacks. The evacuees were normally placed with host families in rural areas, and mothers and schoolteachers sometimes accompanied them. Some of the evacuees in Britain were Jewish refugee children from Nazi-controlled countries who now had become refugees for a second time. Children from London and other large cities were also sent abroad to Canada, the United States, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. Just as British children were evacuated to protect them from German air attacks, German children in large cities were also evacuated en masse to the southern part of the country or to neighboring occupied countries to escape Allied bombing.

When war between Germany and the Soviet Union broke out in the summer of 1941, more than 264,000 children were evacuated from Leningrad and other areas and sent to other parts of the country to escape the invasion and siege by German forces. About 4,000 Finnish children were sent to Denmark in 1939–1940 and about 65,000 to Sweden in 1941–1945 to protect them from war hostilities and bombings. But this relocation action was also a gesture of solidarity from Sweden and a way for the Finnish government to solve social problems with food supplies. The Finnish government wanted the children back when the war was over, but a number of the children stayed in Sweden and Denmark as foster children, and some became adopted.

Outplacing children was also practiced as part of humanitarian aid actions. Between 1917 and 1925 about half a million German and Austrian children were sent to other countries in Europe, mainly Switzerland and the Netherlands, as a way to give them proper food and recreation. This was intended to last for just a short period, but some of the children stayed several years with host families. These schoolchildren were seen as war victims, but authorities also believed this program would help ensure that the children would not grow up to become a threat to the rebuilding of Europe. After World War II, German children and smaller groups of children from Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Czechoslovakia came to Sweden as part of an aid rescue program for the destitute in Europe. The aim was to give the children medical care, food, and clothes, but the purpose was also to democratize and rebuild Germany through the children.

Outplacing also took place during the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. Spanish children were sent to England,

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Belgium, both to remove them from the war zone and as part of a humanitarian aid effort. International aid organizations also arranged outplacing of Spanish children in homes and institutions in Spain.

During World War II, the U.S. government, claiming Japanese Americans were a potential threat to national security, forced some 110,000 persons of Japanese descent—most of them children, from infants to adolescents—into camps in the spring of 1942. After being gathered in “assembly centers,” these families were then removed to “relocation centers,” camps that were protected with armed soldiers and barbed wire, where they were held for the duration of the war.

Schools

When children are evacuated or schools closed or destroyed in war, children fail to get the education that is so important to their futures. They also lose contact with school friends and regularity in their everyday lives. Under the German occupation of the Ukraine in World War II, schools were destroyed and closed down. Partisans and underground resistance movements established secret networks for schooling, in spite of lack of facilities and teachers and problems with enrolling all children of school age.

During World War I, Belgian refugee children in Britain attended ordinary elementary schools until 1915–1916 when separate schools were established for them. Some, not all, of the German and Austrian children who came to Sweden after World War I went to local schools, but only for a short time. Wartime also provided opportunities for progressive elites to carry out educational and pedagogical experiments on refugee children, as Spanish children were subject to in Cambridge, England, in 1937–1938. Schools and education have been used as channels for both political measures and humanitarian aid programs. After the German occupation of Poland in 1939, young German teachers were sent to Poland to educate ethnic German children in German culture and Nazi ideology. Teachers in schools in Vienna after World War I were empowered to suggest which of the pupils should be sent abroad by some of the humanitarian aid organizations operating in the city. French schools were used as distribution centers for food coming from the United States and Switzerland during World War II.

Growing Up in War

The term *home front*, created during World War I, shows the close connection between the military front and the domestic front and the central role children, as part of the civilian population, have played in wars. Children have been prepared for war in different ways: through ideological propaganda in schools and movies and through militarized youth organizations. When World War II broke out, British children were taught how to build air raid shelters, how to use gas masks, and how to cope with fire. Special colored gas



A French woman and her children are directed to a refugee center as they cross the border at Bonfoi, Switzerland, during World War II. Massive displacement of peoples and long-term problems with refugees, including millions of children, were a characteristic of twentieth-century wars. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

masks were produced for children under the age of five. German children received similar training when the British army began to bomb German towns. Soviet schoolchildren learned how to take care of wounded soldiers, how to use guns, and how to defend themselves against enemy attacks.

Children saw soldiers on their way to the battlefields and prisoners of war who had been captured. They wrote letters to soldiers. Children met the enemy as soldiers of the occupying army, they saw refugees, and in World War II, non-Jewish children sometimes saw trainloads of Jews on their way to the camps. During this era children got information about the war by listening to RADIO news programs, the official ones or those illegally transmitted from the enemy side. They heard the news of victories and defeats, of invading troops and occupation. In the last decades of the twentieth century children in industrialized countries constantly saw war pictures—often focusing on wounded children—on

TELEVISION screens, pictures that affected their capacity for violence.

The family economy often changes because of war, with the result that children frequently need to contribute to the family's subsistence. In Vienna during World War I, one children's job was to stand in line, sometimes for hours, to buy bread or other necessities for the family. Children also went around railways and warehouses picking up chunks of coal for fuel. During both world wars European children experienced rationing, undernourishment or starvation, cold houses, and lack of clothes and medical care.

Children's family situations changed drastically with fathers, older brothers, or other relatives at the front during World War II. Further, the prisoner of war question was a real problem for many families and had a great impact on the lives of children, who had to live without knowing whether a parent would ever return. If the mothers were active partic-

ipants in resistance movements or took paid work to support the family, the question of who should take care of the children became urgent. Many children had to cope with news about fathers who were lost, dead, or severely injured. In European and Japanese cities children were eyewitnesses to bombing raids and firestorms caused by both conventional weapons and the atomic bomb. Some survived, others did not.

In war and postwar periods lack of food and water supplies were a great threat against children's health and normal growth; these often killed more children than armaments. Sanctions, blockades, and economic warfare took a heavy toll on children, for example those in Berlin during World War I or in Iraq in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Between 1980 and 1988 approximately 330,000 children died of war-related causes in Angola.

Long-lasting conflicts such as the struggle between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict tend to politicize children to a high degree. The same phenomenon occurred in the wars in Vietnam, where more than one generation in the same family was involved in the struggle. Huge numbers of children never experienced any life but that of war.

After World War II daily life changed once more for children who had to cope with bombed-out houses, the black market, and streams of refugees. American soldiers in occupied Germany offered children sweets, fruits, and chewing gum. Children saw that the enemy could be helpful and kind, and for some German children it was the first time they had ever seen a black man. There were fathers who never returned or came home with psychological or physical wounds. Prewar family life could in many cases not be reestablished. The fall of the Nazi and fascist regimes in Germany and Italy in 1945 gave children new political positions depending on which side their parents had supported. The war had long-term effects on children depending on how traumatized they were by their family situations and experiences of the Holocaust. Because children undergo many changes, they are very vulnerable to war traumas—for example, a sense of hopelessness about the future—as well as malnutrition and war-related diseases.

Increasingly as the century wore on, in areas where landmines were used children continued to be hurt and killed long after the war in their region had ended. Hundreds of thousands of children have been killed and maimed by landmines as they were playing, herding animals, or taking part in agricultural work. If they survive, they live with serious injuries ranging from blindness to loss of arms and legs or chronic pain. In the late twentieth century, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola were probably most devastated by land mines. Many of those children have ended up as beggars or criminals in their struggle to survive.

The War Child Problem

The term *war child* has been used for different types of children: for German orphans outplaced in Germany during World War I, for Viennese children in the 1920s, for children sent from Finland to Sweden and Denmark in 1939–1945, and for children born out of a relation between an occupation soldier or soldier from an allied country and a local woman. The father could also be a part of a peacekeeping force. Children born as a consequence of rape as warfare have also been called war children. A child whose parents are on different sides of the front line often has the same experience of being excluded or stigmatized because of the mother's status as a non-national.

Every country that has experienced war or armed conflict has produced war children. About 10,000 to 12,000 children were born of German soldiers and Norwegian women between 1940 and 1945. The largest group, approximately 100,000, was made up of the children of American soldiers in Vietnam and neighboring countries between 1965 and 1975. Some of the American soldiers in Britain during World War II were black Americans, and children born out of their relations with white Englishwomen were called Brown Babies. Many of those, 1,000 to 2,000 children, were placed in ORPHANAGES. In all there were about 20,000 children born with an American father and an English mother. Children were born out of relations between American soldiers and West German mothers (1945–1956), French soldiers and Algerian women (1954–1962), British soldiers and Soviet women (1941–1945), Japanese soldiers and Chinese women (1945–1950) or Korean women, many of whom were “comfort women” transported to the field (1940–1945). These are but a few examples.

Wars and Humanitarian Aid

During wartime, children have been the victims of medical experiments, such as those performed by the Nazis on twins and other children. They have been neglected medically for political reasons, such as German refugee children in Denmark in 1945. Or in some cases they have been taken care of in order to give doctors medical experience with rare diseases, such as war children in Sweden in the 1920s.

After World War I, children as war victims became an international issue on the American and European agenda, and as a consequence many relief actions came to focus on children. Individuals and organizations throughout the century worked—both legally and illegally—to rescue, protect, and give aid to children affected by wars. The Red Cross movement has been one of the main players on the field. Another is Save the Children, founded after World War I as an international humanitarian organization for child protection. Different religious organizations or groups without an official or unofficial aid program have made great efforts, for example in the rescue of Jewish children during World War II.

In the 1980s the idea of creating a “conflict-free zone” around children emerged in UNICEF’s aid work. Negotiations with warring factions worked out corridors of peace for longer or shorter periods, in which children in a war area could get aid and VACCINATIONS, as in El Salvador in 1985 and Uganda in 1986.

In the twentieth century, civilian populations, and therefore children, were participants in war activities in greater numbers than ever before, both as victims and combatants. The century saw an increasing death toll among children, and millions suffered from wars in other ways. We may all believe that children should be above the political divide, but children have taken part in the whole range of military activities. While children are thought to be those who deserve the greatest protection, reality has shown us that they are often the most vulnerable and expendable in war.

See also: **Abduction in Modern Africa; Children’s Rights; International Organizations; Latin America: Wars in Central America; Soldier Children.**

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MONIKA JANFELT

Watson, John B. (1878–1958)

The details of John B. Watson’s contributions to developmental and CHILD PSYCHOLOGY are largely unknown to modern psychologists, who see little of them beyond textbook summaries. Based on an objective, empirical foundation, the best early twentieth-century research in developmental physiology, and his own work with animals, Watson adopted a life-span developmental approach which emphasized combining observational research with laboratory work employing the precision of Pavlovian principles. Watson was one of the first psychologists to argue for the impressive cognitive competence of infants, question the prevailing prejudice of inevitable intellectual decline in old age, and, unlike other pioneering developmentalists such as G. STANLEY HALL, JEAN PIAGET, and ARNOLD GESELL, explicitly reject Ernst Haeckel’s discredited recapitulation theory and its questionable behavioral implications.

The origins of Watson’s developmental viewpoint can be traced to his earliest work with animals. His dissertation, *Animal Education* (1903), an analysis of the relationship between

brain and behavior development in rats, suggested to Watson that infant humans, like infant rats, were not the passive, cognitively limited organisms that some of his contemporaries suggested. His extensive ethological and laboratory studies of seabirds (*The Behavior of Noddy and Sooty Terns*, 1908), monkeys (*Notes on the Development of a Young Monkey*, 1913), and other organisms convinced him of the importance of early experience to the development of adult behavior (a position which paralleled Freud's in some ways) as well as the impossibility of fully understanding learned behavior without also understanding unlearned capabilities.

After 1917, Watson's research shifted from animals to humans. Focusing on unlearned behavior and emotional development, his interests included reflexes, thinking, language acquisition, and handedness. Although he argued that there was little good evidence supporting inherited differences in intelligence and other tendencies based on race and similar factors, Watson never claimed that all behavior was learned. Watson is usually portrayed as a naïve environmentalist who claimed that if given a dozen healthy babies, he could turn them into anything he wanted. But he regarded the study of unlearned behavior in humans as basic to understanding learning and behavior development. A clever debater, his famous "dozen health infants" statement, which seems to assert complete environmentalism, was actually a rhetorical device for revealing the unscientific foundations of early twentieth-century hereditarianism. A Darwinian, Watson believed that the primacy of learning over complex instinctual behavior in humans was an inherited, adaptive characteristic in which complex functional behaviors were conditioned though Pavlovian processes from simple unlearned behaviors.

For Watson, emotional development also consisted of building complex behaviors through conditioning from simpler reactions—in this case, newborns' unlearned reactions of fear, rage, and love. The so-called Little Albert Experiment (where Watson conditioned an eleven-month-old infant to show fear at the sign of a white rat) suggested that new emotional reactions could be conditioned via Pavlovian associations. Research by M. C. Jones (1924a, 1924b), supervised by Watson, showed that emotional responses might be unconditioned using a technique now known as "systematic desensitization." While his theory as a whole was considered an oversimplification, the concept of emotional conditioning was accepted broadly and serves as the basis of modern therapies for anxiety disorders.

A good Progressive, Watson believed in applying scientific findings to social problems. *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* (1919) and *Behaviorism* (1924, revised 1930) contained large sections on developmental topics. Articles on child behavior in *Harpers*, *McCalls*, and *Cosmopolitan*, as well as advice dispensed by radio, broadened his audience. *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928) is

remembered primarily for suggesting that emotional attachment between children and parents breeds overdependency. However, Watson also warned of the negative effects of corporal punishment, allayed unfounded Victorian-era fears about MASTURBATION, and advocated an open approach about sexual issues—a view derived from extensive studies of the effectiveness of SEX EDUCATION in preventing venereal disease.

Watson stopped publishing broadly in 1930. For over thirty years research on conditioning principles dominated behaviorism. Eventually, the successful application of Skinnerian behavioral principles to developmental disabilities in the 1950s reinvigorated a behavioral life-span approach to developmental psychology. The "behavior analysis of child development" has become a major component of modern behavior analysis.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Spock, Benjamin.**

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JAMES T. TODD

Wayland, Francis (1796–1865)

The Reverend Francis Wayland exerted a strong influence over generations of American youth, including not only his own students at Brown University, but also the thousands who relied on his standard textbooks, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1835), and *The Elements of Political Economy* (1837). Wayland was born March 11, 1796 in New York City to English immigrant parents. He graduated from Union College in 1813 and was preparing to become a doctor when he underwent a conversion experience and enrolled at Andover Seminary. After graduating in 1816, Wayland returned as a teacher to Union, then led the First Baptist Church in Boston, before being installed as president of Brown in 1826.

Wayland's legacy is as a reformer. Brown was a troubled institution when he arrived. Wayland embarked on a vigorous program to revivify the school, through a combination of increased student discipline and liberalization of the curriculum. He compelled faculty to live on campus and pay visits to students in their quarters. He insisted that all student infractions be reported to him personally, and he used the threat of expulsion to keep order. Yet Wayland compelled an enormous respect and admiration from many students. In contrast to his restrictive approach to student behavior, Wayland advocated opening Brown's pedagogy. For colleges to be competitive in the market for students, he believed they should offer classes relevant to the new professions of the nineteenth century. Wayland rejected the standard fixed university curriculum of classics, mathematics, and philosophy. He introduced classes in the sciences and engineering. Wayland also advocated for the expansion of the public school system in Rhode Island so that a greater number of youth might be prepared for college. His ideas about education are best expressed in his books *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System* (1842), and *Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education* (1850).

Wayland's approach to raising his children mirrored his treatment of students. A personal essay published anonymously in *The American Baptist Magazine* in 1831 testifies to his intensive disciplinary efforts. The piece describes his reaction to the willful refusal of his fifteen-month-old son, Heman, to accept a piece of bread from Wayland's hand. To subdue Heman's temper, Wayland left him alone in a room, without food or drink, for a day and a half. He visited regularly to give Heman a chance to behave compliantly, until the infant finally relented his obstinacy. Wayland's discipline, while strict, was balanced with great openness and love. Heman and his older brother, Francis, Jr., fondly remembered wrestling their imposing father on the living room floor; and both expressed absolute respect and love for him in their personal letters. Historian William G. McLoughlin has suggested that Wayland's disciplinary technique, prompted by religious fears of infantile propensities towards sin, may have been archetypal of evangelical child rearing, and likely to result in "reaction formation."

Wayland retired from Brown in 1855, afterwards devoting himself to reform movements including temperance, antislavery, peace organizing, and prison and hospital reform. He died September 30, 1865, at the age of sixty-nine.

See also: **Child Development, History of the Concept of; Discipline.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Welfare Reform Act (1996)

The 1996 Welfare Reform Act, officially the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, fulfilled President William Jefferson Clinton's oft-repeated campaign promise "to end welfare as we know it." It replaced the federal program of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), founded in 1935 as part of the Social Security Act, and later known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Between the 1960s and the 1990s, AFDC's rolls increased dramatically, especially in the wealthier Northern industrial states. In accordance with the era's individualistic ideologies, welfare's actual and potential claimants now regarded welfare as a right, not a mere privilege. Conservatives denounced the federal welfare system as a communist plot and a threat to American values.

After 1970, liberals, moderates, and even welfare recipients began to join conservatives in denouncing welfare in general, and AFDC in particular. The discussions tended to accuse AFDC of things such as breaking up the family, fostering a rise in illegitimacy, and stimulating dependency, although the evidence of this was sometimes ambiguous. Some studies showed AFDC promoted the economic, legal, and cultural independence of welfare mothers; some believe that there was a gender as well as a racial basis to the criticism. AFDC permitted impoverished mothers to raise their children at home. As AFDC became increasingly generous in the 1960s and early 1970s, it at last fulfilled the original ADC's promise that mothers be paid to stay at home to raise dependent children.

By the 1990s the political and cultural climate had changed. In the new individualistic and free-market worldview that permeated American political and cultural discourse entitlement programs such as AFDC were vulnerable. As liberals and moderates adopted individualistic perspectives parallel to those of conservatives, AFDC's days were numbered. The turning point was likely the Republican Congressional victories in the 1994 elections, which convinced President Clinton to surrender the program in order to remain re-electable. Congress passed the welfare reform act in summer 1996 and President Clinton signed the bill on August 22, 1996.

The law ended AFDC. It required work in exchange for temporary relief; no more than two years could be used before parents would be working or in job training. No recipi-

ent could have more than five years of assistance cumulatively. There were a handful of concessions, such as providing new monies for childcare and medical insurance for mothers in cases in which mothers were shifting to employment. The 1996 act also destroyed the independence mothers enjoyed under AFDC. For example, single mothers could afford to attend school part time, or even full time depending on family resources, to advance themselves and qualify for better jobs than they had before. The new law of 1996 made that very difficult, because states could diminish allocations and also limit the time one was on welfare, a serious problem in a cyclical or depressed local economy. Conservative thinkers won a major victory in politics. Culturally this was also a triumph too for the free market, individualistic worldviews of those who had attacked the rationales for the New Deal and the national welfare state.

See also: Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC); Great Depression and New Deal; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act; Social Welfare.

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HAMILTON CRAVENS

Wet-Nursing

A wet nurse is a woman who breast-feeds a child that is not her biological child. Although specific wet-nursing practices differed among countries from the fifteenth through the early twentieth centuries, diverse customs produced largely identical results. Across space and time, maternal nursing produced the lowest infant death rates while wet-nursing prompted significantly higher INFANT MORTALITY.

Wet-Nursing in France

Wet-nursing was a particularly entrenched cultural phenomenon in France, where the wealthy sent their infants to the countryside to be suckled for several years by peasant women. A high death rate was common among these babies, probably due to neglect. One typical seventeenth-century father reported that only three of his thirteen wet-nursed children survived more than a few years.

By the eighteenth century the custom of sending babies away to be wet-nursed had crossed class lines, as economic conditions forced even the urban working class to place their babies with rural families for up to four years. Workers' wages were so low during this era, and rents so high, that even mothers with infants had to work. Although working women were by no means novel in France, they posed a unique problem in an urban setting. No longer able to keep their infants at their sides as they toiled, working-class urban

mothers began to send their babies to the countryside to be cared for by women even poorer than themselves. The custom was so pervasive among all classes that cities like Paris and Lyon literally became cities without babies.

As demand burgeoned, the cost of hiring a wet nurse soared while the quality of care plummeted. Upper-class families responded to ENLIGHTENMENT critiques of the custom and its concomitant dangers not by ending the practice, but by bringing wet nurses into their homes to closely supervise them. Poor working families, on the other hand, could only afford the cheapest wet nurses, who lived at ever-increasing distances. Despite the relatively low cost, working-class families often found themselves in arrears to the wet nurse. Infants paid the price.

Given the ubiquitous demand for the service and the high infant mortality the practice engendered, wet-nursing became a publicly organized venture during the second half of the eighteenth century. As FOUNDLING hospitals, wet-nurse bureaus (employment agencies for wet nurses), and the working poor competed for fewer and more expensive nurses, Parisian police authorities stepped in to combine the four existing wet-nurse bureaus into a municipal Bureau of Wet Nurses, which guaranteed wet nurses a minimum wage. The Bureau served a dual function: it assured parents an adequate supply of wet nurses and it persuaded nurses not to neglect their charges by advancing them their monthly salary. The Bureau, and not the wet nurse, then collected the wet nurses' wages from infants' fathers.

The Bureau of Wet Nurses was one of the few institutions to survive the French Revolution. Bureau records indicate that of the 66,259 nurslings placed between 1770 and 1776, 31 percent died while in wet nurses' care, a considerably lower rate of infant mortality than wet-nursed infants had suffered previously. Until its demise in 1876, the Bureau of Wet Nurses of the City of Paris provided an alternative both to the inferior service offered by private wet-nurse bureaus and the expense of public charities caring for foundlings. With the passage of the Roussel Law in 1874, the supervision of wet-nursed infants became a national, rather than a municipal, responsibility. The Roussel Law mandated that every infant placed with a paid guardian outside the parents' home be registered with the state. In this way the French government was able to monitor how many children were placed with wet nurses (eighty thousand a year between 1874 and World War I) and how many of those infants died (15.1 percent).

The ubiquitous custom of wet-nursing did not wane in France until World War I. The war's tumult disrupted access to wet nurses and demonstrated to urban families, long reluctant to consider any alternative to maternal nursing other than wet-nursing, that safe, inexpensive, and easy artificial infant feeding options now existed. A decline in working mothers after World War I, passage of a law granting a

monthly bonus of fifteen francs to working women if they breast-fed their babies for twelve months, the routine pasteurization of milk, and the availability of canned milk all contributed to the virtually instantaneous extinction of wet-nursing in France.

Wet-Nursing in England

In other western European countries wet-nursing was not as pervasive as it was in France, but it was a significant cultural practice nonetheless. In England, wealthy married women customarily hired wet nurses while working-class mothers breast-fed their own babies. Historians have gleaned this fact from the stark difference in birth rates between English upper- and working-class women. Parish records show that wealthy women customarily gave birth annually while working-class women gave birth at considerably longer intervals, about every three years. Scholars attribute this dichotomy to the difference in upper- and lower-class infant feeding practices. Breast-feeding—specifically, exclusive, prolonged

breast-feeding—suppresses ovulation and thus is a relatively reliable contraceptive.

Reasons for the class differentiation in infant feeding practice are not clear, although scholars speculate that breast-feeding was linked exclusively with the lower class as early as medieval times. This association made breast-feeding an inappropriate activity for upper-class women. The consequence of this custom for the health of well-to-do women, however, was never acknowledged. In preindustrial England, it was not uncommon for wealthy women to have as many as eighteen children during the first twenty years of their marriages. The near-constant pregnancy experienced by these women was quite debilitating, certainly more incapacitating than breast-feeding would have been. Poor women had far fewer children and were apparently the healthier for it.

Upper-class demand for wet nurses was great enough that wet-nursing constituted the major industry in some rural

counties. Two types of wet nurses predominated in England: parish nurses who were on poor relief and rarely able to provide adequate care for their charges, and professional wet nurses who were well paid and well respected. This contrast is evidenced in the dual ramifications of wet-nursing in England. In seventeenth-century England, unlike France, some wet nurses were well known to the well-to-do families who hired them, as they were often former servants who had left the household to marry. In these cases wet nurses were trusted, reliable, well-paid employees and infants were properly cared for. Most wet-nursed infants, however, were raised far from their families for up to three years. In these cases there is evidence that as many as 80 percent of them died during infancy.

Wet-Nursing in Germany

In no other country did infant feeding customs vary more starkly by region than in Germany. In some areas almost all babies—regardless of class, the urban/rural divide, or the availability of animal milk—were breast-fed. In other areas the opposite was equally universal: maternal breast-feeding was nonexistent and all infants were either wet-nursed (if parents could afford that luxury) or fed pap (some combination of meat or rice broth, cows' milk, sugar, and water). One consequence of the homogeneity of infant feeding practices within regions was apparent. Although infant mortality varied between regions in Germany, it did not fluctuate among classes within regions. Demographers have argued that this uniformity in the infant death rate between socioeconomic groups within regions suggests that infant feeding method was a key, if not the key, determinant of infant morbidity and mortality during this era.

Breastfeeding in Germany was least common in the south and southeast—southern and eastern Bavaria and Bohemia—and most common in the northwest—northern and western Bavaria, Baden, and Hessen. Wherever *Nichstillen* (never breast-feeding) was practiced the custom apparently dated back to the fifteenth century, when infants were routinely fed pap instead of human milk and breast-feeding mothers were openly threatened and ridiculed.

Whether wet-nursing or pap was the predominant substitute for maternal feeding likewise depended on region. In seventeenth century Hamburg, for example, wet nurses were common and social critics complained that the possibility of a job as a wet nurse in a comfortable home encouraged immorality among the poor. By the eighteenth century, as it became common knowledge in the medical community that wet-nursed infants died in greater numbers than maternally breast-fed babies, eighteenth-century pediatricians united in their condemnation of the practice. Their disapproval had no discernable impact, however. Hamburg, a city populated by ninety thousand at the time, continued to house almost five thousand wet nurses. Wet nurses lived in the homes of the rich, as well as the homes of merchants and artisans.

Only foundlings were sent to wet nurses in the countryside, where 22 percent of them died their first few weeks there.

By the late nineteenth century, German health officials, alarmed over the country's high infant mortality rate in comparison to other European countries, began to collect data on local infant feeding customs and their effects. All resulting studies showed a strong inverse relationship between maternal breast-feeding and infant mortality. This finding prompted an infant welfare movement whose varied facets all emphasized the benefits of maternal breast-feeding and the risks of feeding infants pap and wet-nursing babies. Infant welfare centers, whose primary purpose was to encourage mothers to breast-feed their own babies, burgeoned. Working mothers not only came to enjoy legal protection so they could stay home and nurse their babies, the state paid allowances to these mothers while they nursed their infants.

By 1937 sharp regional differences in infant feeding had all but disappeared and breast-feeding was becoming the norm in all areas of Germany. In Munich, for example, the percentage of breast-fed infants rose from 14 percent in 1877 to 91 percent in 1933. The resurgence in the initiation of breast-feeding, however, was accompanied by a reduction in the duration of breast-feeding. Women rarely breast-fed their babies beyond the twelve-week nursing allowance provided by the state.

Wet-Nursing in the United States

English colonists brought to colonial North America the practice of **PLACING OUT** babies to live with wet nurses. Puritans in particular criticized this custom, charging that mothers who did not nurse their children were merely "half-mothers." Yet the well-to-do mothers who customarily hired wet nurses did not seem significantly embarrassed by the accusation, as wet-nursing remained a conspicuous practice in the United States well into the early twentieth century.

By the nineteenth century the practice had changed somewhat—wet nurses now lived in infants' homes rather than vice-versa. While previous living arrangements were directly responsible for a high death rate among wet-nursed infants, the new custom of the wet nurse living in the infant's home engendered a high death rate among wet nurses' own infants, as employers rarely permitted a wet nurse's baby to accompany her. These infants lived instead in foundling homes where caretakers fed them artificially. Their death rate exceeded 90 percent.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise extent of the use of wet nurses in the United States because, unlike Europe, no official records pertaining to wet nurses were ever kept. Instead, their use is evidenced by help-wanted ads in urban newspapers and bitter complaints about the inadequacy of wet nurses in women's and infant-care magazines. Both ads and letters pertaining to wet nurses appeared regularly in newspapers and magazines into the early twentieth century.

There is also evidence in medical journals that urban pediatric societies and medical charities ran employment agencies for wet nurses through the 1910s.

In Gilded Age and Progressive-era America, when employers denigrated all household servants without compunction, wet nurses were among the most maligned of servants. While physicians argued that wet nurses were indispensable when it came to saving the lives of sick, artificially fed infants, including ORPHANS, these same doctors and the women who employed wet nurses were united in their belief that wet nurses were ignorant, uncouth, unclean, unruly, and immoral. Yet the quandaries inherent in wet-nursing in the United States were far more difficult for wet nurses. In addition to being regarded with disdain, they were the ones forced to abandon their babies to institutional living and artificial food in return for unstable jobs. Employers customarily fired wet nurses after a few months of work due to the pervasive belief that the quality of their milk deteriorated over time.

Wet-nursing in the United States waned slowly in proportion to the growing safety of artificial food. The passage of laws governing the production and sale of cow's milk was instrumental in ending the practice by the 1920s.

Maternal and Infant Illness and Death

In all countries where the custom was common, wet-nursing arguably contributed to more ill health and death among mothers and babies than any other practice. Lactation is nature's way of spacing human pregnancies. The mothers who did not breast-feed, and instead hired other women to suckle their children, found themselves perpetually pregnant during their childbearing years, a fact that contributed to their own ill health and premature deaths. Wet-nursed infants who lived in wet nurses' homes died in much higher numbers than those infants who lived with their parents, whether they were maternally breast-fed or wet-nursed. When employers did hire wet nurses to live in their homes so they could supervise them, they customarily (particularly in the United States) forced wet nurses to board their infants elsewhere. As a result, death rates among these wet nurses' infants exceeded 90 percent. In these situations poor babies were effectively sacrificed so rich babies could live. The custom of employing a wet nurse debilitated many more mothers than breast-feeding would have and likely killed many more infants than it saved.

See also: **Baby Farming; Infant Feeding.**

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JACQUELINE H. WOLF

White House Conferences on Children

The first White House Conference on Children, called in 1909 by President Theodore Roosevelt, was a watershed event in the history of American child welfare. Roosevelt charged the conference to consider the care of DEPENDENT CHILDREN—that is, children who depended for support on any person or institution other than their parents or other relatives—and to make recommendations regarding them.

In the nineteenth century, dependent children were cared for primarily in ORPHANAGES. Before the U.S. Civil War, orphanages were small, located in towns rather than rural settings, and run almost invariably by women. A typical Protestant orphanage was headed by a board of "lady managers," religiously motivated and usually elite women. A typical Catholic orphanage was run by the Sisters of Charity or a comparable women's religious order, who also ran a school for poor children from the parish (and often paying boarders) as well as the orphans. Heavy Catholic immigration and the formation of many new dioceses led after the war to a reorganization of the Catholic orphanages. The orphanages became larger diocesan institutions, physically dissociated from parish life. Protestant orphanages also increased in size after the war and their lady managers became increasingly distracted by other social and charitable activities.

The major alternative to the women-run orphanages was found in the foster-family movement, begun on a grand scale by the ORPHAN TRAINS of CHARLES LORING BRACE and the NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY. Late in the century,

men whose experience lay in corrections, joined by early social workers, also mainly men, adopted Brace's approach, advocating that orphanages be replaced by "home-placing agencies" run by men, and championing women as foster mothers, not lady managers.

A direct challenge to the orphanages came after the turn of the century. In September 1907, the *Delineator*, a women's magazine edited by the novelist Theodore Dreiser, launched a campaign to "rescue" children from orphanages and place them in foster families. In December 1908, Dreiser and others wrote President Roosevelt, asking him to call the first White House Conference. A month later, the conference assembled, hosting 185 men and 30 women. The conference's conclusions would become a foundational text for the then-emerging profession of social work: "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. . . . Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty. . . . As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes or have no homes, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable" (Hart et al., pp. 9–10).

The second White House Conference, titled "Child Welfare Standards," was called by President Woodrow Wil-

son in 1919. The standards recommended by the conference were more general but similar to those of a decade earlier. The standard on maternity and infancy was incorporated in the SHEPPARD-TOWNER MATERNITY AND INFANCY ACT of 1921, which authorized grants-in-aid to the states to support child health and prenatal conferences, primarily for poor and rural women.

Sheppard-Towner was administered by the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, which had been created in 1912 following strong recommendations by the first White House Conference. Sheppard-Towner represented an early step toward a more active role for government in welfare matters and was intensely controversial, as was the Children's Bureau, for the same reason. Congress's refusal to renew Sheppard-Towner in 1929 set the stage for the third White House Conference, "Child Health and Protection," called by President Herbert Hoover in 1930. Controversy over child welfare in the late 1920s turned on not just the role of government but also on which agency within the federal government should administer federal programs. On the one side stood the male-dominated Public Health Service and on the other, the female-dominated Children's Bureau. The issue was debated to a dramatic but inconclusive standstill at the 1930 conference.

Passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 reoriented the White House Conferences for the rest of the century. The 1940 conference was titled “Children in a Democracy,” and the next four conferences, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980, were equally noncommittal, three of them being called “Children and Youth” and the fourth “Families.” The focus on poor children gave way to a general concern with problems and issues that affected all children: how best to rear them for citizenship in a democracy, the role of family, religion, community, and government in children’s lives, current research in developmental psychology. Specific problems covered included juvenile DELINQUENCY, school failure, drug use, CHILD ABUSE, daycare centers, racial and religious discrimination, TEEN PREGNANCY, single-parent families—all problems which, while linked with poverty, placed nonpoor as well as poor children at some degree of risk. As conference concerns widened, committees proliferated, recommendations increased in number, and conference proceedings were published in multiple volumes over a period of years. The increase in scope and volume was inversely related to its impact. References in the scholarly literature to any White House Conference after the third are rare.

1990 passed without a presidential call for another White House Conference on Children. When the next conference, on early childhood development and learning, was called in 1997 by President Bill Clinton, it continued the pattern set in 1940 by focusing on issues and problems of possible relevance to all children.

See also: Child Care: Institutional Forms; Foster Care; Progressive Education; Social Welfare: History.

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MARSHALL B. JONES

Wizard of Oz and L. Frank Baum

Lyman Frank Baum found his stride with just his third major book for children *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900). His

narrative style, direct and unadorned, and the tale of a simple Kansas farm girl whisked by cyclone to a magical country inhabited by small adults, animated mannequins, and talking animals, captured the public’s fancy. The whimsical main characters, who longed for qualities they manifestly already possessed, became American classics. William Wallace Denslow’s profuse colored illustrations made the book one of the most elaborate of its era. *Oz* proved to be Baum’s most enduring work, which he was slow to recognize—perhaps not surprising, for between 1897 and 1903 he produced more than a dozen popular books for children. Baum’s books were unusually lavish in design and production. Striking bindings, illustrations by prominent book artists of the era (Denslow, Maxfield Parrish, Frank Ver Beck, Fanny Cory, Frederick Richardson, John R. Neill), novel characters, and magical lands (*Oz*, *Ev*, *Yew*, *Ix*, *Mo*) enhanced demand.

Only in 1904 did Baum return to *Oz* with *The Marvelous Land of Oz*. This sequel offered further adventures of the Scarecrow and the Tin Woodman and introduced a boy protagonist, Tip, who helped provide humor and action. Even so, Baum still did not envision *Oz* as part of an extended fantasy cycle. His subsequent book-length fantasies, *Queen Zixi of Ix* (1905) and *John Dough and the Cherub* (1906), explored other realms.

Finally in 1907, acknowledging popular demand, Baum began writing an *Oz* book a year, reintroducing Dorothy and the Wizard as well as other American and fantasy characters to share her adventures inside and outside the borders of *Oz*. His 1909 *Oz* book, *The Road to Oz*, incorporated figures from his earlier non-*Oz* fantasies, suggesting that *Oz* was part of a larger magical realm and preparing readers for books about new places and characters. In 1910 Baum ended the *Oz* series with *The Emerald City of Oz*, in which he relocated Dorothy, Aunt Em, and Uncle Henry permanently to the land of *Oz*.

Baum’s next two fantasy novels, *The Sea Fairies* (1911) and *Sky Island* (1912), did not enjoy the success of the *Oz* books, so Baum resumed the series, expanding his sense of *Oz* as part of a larger fantasy world. Colorful maps in the 1914 book *Tik-Tok of Oz* showed places not yet described, and some of these appeared in later books, but Baum’s death in 1919 cut short his exploration and development of America’s first major extended fantasy series. From 1897 to 1919 he had written more than sixty books, fourteen of them about the land of *Oz*.

The Baum family and the publisher contracted with other authors to continue the *Oz* series until it totaled forty titles. Authors of the series include Ruth Plumly Thompson, who wrote nineteen books between 1921 and 1939; John R. Neill, who wrote three books between 1940 and 1942; Jack Snow, who wrote two books in 1946 and 1949; Rachel Cosgrove, who wrote one book in 1951; and Eloise Jarvis McGraw and

Lauren Lynn McGraw, who together authored one book in 1963.

Oz on Stage and Screen

In 1902 *The Wizard of Oz*, a musical extravaganza, enjoyed unprecedented success in New York. Baum's efforts from 1905 to 1914 to mount another major Oz hit on stage or screen proved disappointing. However, the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer movie version in 1939 enjoyed such popularity (especially after 1956 when it was shown regularly on television) that the main characters became worldwide icons. Indeed, several aspects of the book have largely been overshadowed by those of the movie: Dorothy's magical silver shoes became ruby slippers in Technicolor; the book's straightforward fantasy became only a dream; and the final resolution of the book, confirming how Dorothy's companions would employ their special talents, was eliminated when she awoke from her dream.

In 1975 *The Wiz*, a Broadway musical that reinterpreted the story in urban, African-American terms, enjoyed great success. Later Oz-related movies and television shows failed to achieve the popularity of the 1939 classic.

See also: **Children's Literature; Movies; Series Books.**

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INTERNET RESOURCE

International Wizard of Oz Club. Available from <www.ozclub.org>.

PETER E. HANFF

Women's Colleges in the United States

In the United States throughout the nineteenth century, a fierce debate raged concerning the wisdom of allowing women access to higher education. Proponents argued that women were the intellectual equals and cultural superiors of men, and that the fulfillment of women's duties as mothers

and elementary school teachers necessitated they receive the best and most advanced education available. Those opposed maintained that higher education would “unsex” women, rendering them physically and emotionally unfit for traditional roles.

Despite the controversy, as early as the 1830s and 1840s, women gained access to seminaries, ACADEMIES, and normal schools, some with curricula comparable to those at colleges for men. In the Midwest and West, these institutions tended to be both coeducational and more accessible to middle-class students. Single-sex schools, usually catering to the upper-middle and upper classes, were more common in the South and the Northeast. Not surprisingly, then, the first women's schools to call themselves “colleges” were Georgia Female College (1836), Mary Sharp College in Tennessee (1853), and Elmira College in New York (1855). Indeed, the antebellum South—the nation's most conservative region—was home to the largest number of women's colleges in America, staffed by women teachers from the North. Ironically, the strength of Southern gender norms encouraged wealthier parents to support women's higher education, as their daughters were unlikely to be led astray if they received a college degree. Historians disagree as to the rigor of the education offered at these institutions, however, and the Southern women's colleges did not survive the disruption and devastation caused by the Civil War.

In the post-Civil War era, pressure from tax-paying parents who wanted their daughters to have a means of economic self-support led to the admission of women to the new state universities in the West and the Midwest, created under the terms of the Morrill Land Grant Act (1862). In the South and the East, however, neither well-established prestigious men's colleges nor new state universities accepted women students. In 1870, only one-third of American colleges and universities were coeducational. Thus, between the 1860s and the 1930s, new women's colleges were founded by a variety of individuals and organizations.

The most prominent and prestigious women's colleges were those designated as the “women's Ivy League” or the “Seven Sisters” schools: Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Barnard, Radcliffe, and Mt. Holyoke. These East Coast colleges were founded between 1865 and 1893 by individual philanthropists or by private organizations of influential women. In the South, individual philanthropy and church support led to the establishment of Goucher (the Woman's College of Baltimore); Sophie Newcomb (the women's college of Tulane University); and Agnes Scott in Decatur, Georgia; among others. Catholic orders of sisters founded nineteen women's colleges between 1900 and 1930, and many more thereafter.

While a few Eastern women's colleges admitted a very small number of African-American students, Southern colleges were exclusively white until the civil rights era. Virtual-

ly all the historically black colleges were coeducational, however, although white women missionaries established Spelman Seminary for African-American girls and women in 1881; it became a college in 1923. Other black institutions—Bennett, Barber-Scotia, and Houston-Tillotson—were women's colleges at various times in their history.

Other demographic features of women's colleges also remained relatively constant until the 1970s. Some schools, particularly the Catholic institutions, had a more diverse student population, but most restricted admission to those who could pay their own way—usually the Protestant daughters of upper-middle-class families. As college attendance became a less unusual choice for young women, more of the socially elite families sent their daughters as well. The Seven Sisters colleges restricted the admission of Jewish students, and probably Catholics as well, until after World War II. Only in the past few decades have financial aid and affirmative action made it possible for women from a wider range of backgrounds to attend women's colleges.

Women's colleges have always prided themselves on offering an education fully as rigorous as that provided by the best men's colleges. Not content to reproduce the Amherst, Notre Dame, or Morehouse curricula, however, women's colleges pioneered in offering laboratory science and fine arts courses. Some established special opportunities for "returning" older students, and programs designed to encourage women scholars and professionals (e.g., the Bunting Institute at Radcliffe). A few women's colleges offer graduate degrees; Bryn Mawr's program in classics and Smith's in social work are particularly well known. Moreover, women's colleges usually have a large number of women faculty and administrators, who encourage their students to excel and to undertake advanced work. Sometimes criticized for not offering a more vocationally oriented education, such as domestic science courses, the women's colleges have successfully maintained the liberal arts curriculum. Indeed, their historic concern about intellectual separatism led these colleges to be followers of the coeducational universities, rather

than leaders, in establishing women's studies programs in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the late nineteenth century, motivated by the need to demonstrate their respectability, women's colleges placed many social restrictions on their students; as a result, ambitious and independent young women often preferred coeducational universities. By the early twentieth century, however, students at women's colleges enjoyed many advantages over their coeducated sisters, including the full attention of the faculty; the opportunity to run their own student governments; control of the publication of the campus newspapers, literary magazines, and yearbooks; and a chance to engage in a wider range of activities, such as debate and competitive athletics. Some women's colleges had sororities; most did not, however, and others eventually abolished them as too socially divisive for small homogeneous campuses. Although administrators often frowned upon official support of the suffrage movement and other controversial causes, many students participated in such movements, albeit sometimes clandestinely. In the 1920s, Calvin Coolidge criticized the Seven Sisters as hotbeds of radicalism. At Southern and Catholic women's colleges, however, strict social regulations remained in place for a much longer period, and students were less likely to become politically engaged. Historians have not yet assessed campus activism at women's colleges between the 1920s and 1970s, but anecdotal evidence indicates that at least some students maintained the tradition of political commitment.

Despite their protestations of social conservatism, women's colleges produced a substantial minority of graduates who adopted nontraditional lifestyles. Many alumnae became career women, participated in politics, remained single, had smaller families, and otherwise modified or defied middle-class gender norms. Recognizing this, the public has periodically attacked the women's colleges for producing spinsters (1890–1920); encouraging lesbian relationships (1920s and 1970–1990); and teaching women to be discontented with domesticity (1930–1960).

Since the advent of the second wave of feminism, women's colleges have seemed anachronistic to many Americans. As the colleges of the men's Ivy League and even the service academies began to admit women, the numbers of women's colleges dropped rapidly—from 233 in 1960 to 90 in 1986. All Catholic men's and women's colleges became coeducational, as did Vassar, Sarah Lawrence, and other prestigious single-sex institutions. In 1960, 10 percent of women college students attended single-sex institutions; by 1986, less than 2 percent did so. And yet recent social science research demonstrates that alumnae of women's colleges, even those from the less prestigious institutions, include a greater percentage of "achievers" than graduates of coeducational schools, especially in nontraditional fields. Scholars argue that superior mentoring and a more supportive envi-

ronment at women's colleges account for this disparity. Thus, while it is unlikely that new women's colleges will be established, it is equally unlikely, and undesirable, that the remaining ones will disappear.

See also: **Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling; Education, United States; Girls' Schools.**

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LYNN D. GORDON

Work and Poverty

In the late twentieth century it was estimated that up to 250 million children under fourteen were at work across the world. Such figures aroused deep concern, and numerous international organizations and national governments declared their wish to end child work, or, at the very least, to eliminate the most hazardous and exploitative forms of it. Yet the idea that childhood might be a time without work is relatively recent. For most of history most families have seen nothing unusual in expecting their children to contribute to the family economy as soon as they are able: without that contribution the poverty amid which they lived would be deepened.

Children and Poverty

Children have always made up a disproportionate percentage of those categorized as living in poverty. The reason is



The Old Musician (c. 1861–1862), Édouard Manet. Children who found no financial support at home were sometimes forced to wander the streets, begging and stealing in order to survive. The Art Archive/National Gallery of Art Washington/Album/Joseph Martin.

not hard to find. Children when young cannot be anything other than a cost to a family economy: they need care, shelter, food, and clothing, and cannot begin to make even the smallest contribution until at least age five. And though the eldest child in a family might from that age progressively contribute more and more to a family economy, more children are probably being born. For seventeenth-century England it has been calculated that a family would only begin to get a net gain from having children in the eighteenth year of a marriage; by then there would be a sufficient number of older children who would be contributing positively to the family economy, and the wife's child-bearing years would be over. These elementary facts, well-known through hard experience to the poor, were publicized by B. Seebohm Rowntree in 1901 in a famous study entitled *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. In it he argued that there was a family life cycle. A married couple might start off in relative prosperity, but once the children started arriving the family would enter a trough of poverty, emerging from it only when a sufficient number of the children were earning. Then, when the children left home and the parents' earning potential was re-

duced, there would be another trough of poverty lasting through old age to death. The good times came when you were a teenager and again when your children were teenagers.

In premodern societies, and in developing societies in the contemporary world, children constitute a much higher proportion of the population than they do in twenty-first-century Western society, but the proportion of them among the poor is even higher. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England about half of those listed as poor were children, a figure identical to Rowntree's findings at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The extent of child poverty is brought home to us by the responses to it by parents, children themselves, and public authorities. In the Western world and in China parents frequently abandoned children—from the medieval period onward, normally in FOUNDLING hospitals—where their chances of survival were not very great. The illegitimate were much more likely to be abandoned than the legitimate, but especially in hard times, legitimate children were also abandoned in huge numbers.

Overall, in mid-nineteenth-century Europe about one hundred thousand babies were abandoned every year, probably about half of them legitimate, by families who felt that their resources could not stretch to take in another dependent member.

Children themselves, finding no sustenance at home, or perhaps orphaned or half-orphaned, sometimes formed gangs. In southern France in the eighteenth century gangs of children roamed the roads, begging and pillaging. In Prussia one-third of all beggars were said to be children. As to the authorities, they were aware, as JOHN LOCKE put it at the end of the seventeenth century, that a man and his wife could not “by their ordinary labor” support more than two children, and as a result many families were impoverished simply because they were “overburdened with children.” What could be done for them? Locke thought that parishes ought to set up workhouses where children from three or four years of age could begin to engage in productive labor, normally spinning. The solution, that is, seemed to be to provide work opportunities for children, or, perhaps more accurately, to put children to work with a greater or lesser degree of compulsion. Schemes proliferated to provide employment for children in Schools of Industry, in lace making, and in straw plaiting, all with the aim of structuring the time of children, preventing idleness, inuring children to a life of labor, and increasing family income.

The perception of authorities in the eighteenth century, on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, was that the problem of child poverty was primarily a problem of lack of employment for them. Where children were in the care of philanthropic organizations or of the state it was axiomatic that they should be put to work; they were imported into Leiden in the Netherlands to work in the cloth industry in the seventeenth century; from Germany it was reported that manufacturers in eighteenth-century Potsdam and Berlin relied on children from the orphanage. That children should work as soon as age permitted was taken for granted. Their earnings were crucial to family survival, and perhaps to national economies.

Such a perception of the desirability of child work was not confined to the authorities: it would have been shared by parents and probably by children. Ideally the family itself would constitute a work unit. Where there was land to be worked, the prevailing situation for the vast majority of families in premodern times and in the developing world today, children could be gradually initiated to work for the family: scaring crows off the crops, collecting firewood, helping around the home (which itself might be a productive unit), looking after younger siblings. In sixteenth-century Castile, for example, both boys and girls helped collect firewood, herd livestock, assist with ploughing, collect or destroy aphids or worms on the vines, and rear silkworms. Work of this kind can seem rooted in nature and not far from idyllic,

but from a parental point of view there was a set amount of labor which needed to be carried out, and the number and gender of children might match those needs less than perfectly. Extra labor might need to be brought in from outside the family, or conversely, family (i.e., child) labor might be exported to other families. Where, as in England, an economy of peasant holdings had been replaced by one where agricultural laborers were hired by farmers, children might well be surplus to family requirements; in parts of England boys left home at the age of nine and were apprenticed out to farmers until the age of twenty-one. In the pre-Industrial Revolution economy of Europe child work within the family might be the desired norm, but it was not always available.

Early Industrial Society

Household industrial production, commonly known as cottage industry, increased rapidly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and provided an alternative to work in the agricultural economy. There was nothing new about child work in industry. Archaeological evidence from Bonn in Germany, dating back to the early thirteenth century, shows children's fingerprints on pots, indicating children's role in carrying freshly turned pots to drying areas in a business which was exporting to England, Scandinavia, and Poland; there is also evidence from a number of sources of children working in coal mines. What was new in the early modern era was the increase in the number of opportunities for household industrial production where children's usefulness was undeniable. Most of the work was in textiles, with production serving international as well as national and regional markets. In the early eighteenth century in parts of England Daniel Defoe was delighted to find occasional examples of children as young as four apparently earning their keep. Household production of this kind was frequently combined with agricultural work, sometimes on a seasonal basis, sometimes with some family members working on the land while others concentrated on industry. These essentially rural industries provided a much wider range of employment opportunities for children than were available in purely agricultural areas. Indeed, it was an assumption in England as late as the 1830s that where there was local cottage industry children were likely to be employed, whereas in purely agricultural areas child unemployment was to be expected.

In rural industries production might be based on the household, but the labor employed was not always confined to family members. Children might be surplus to the labor requirements of their own family, but could find work in someone else's household. The coming of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries furthered this process of separating children at work from family and household. Now the new work opportunities were in textile factories, the early ones driven by waterpower and so necessarily sited near fast-flowing streams, and perhaps far from any locally available labor. In Britain, the pioneer of this new form of work organization, the child

labor came from “pauper apprentices,” children who had been left in the care of the Poor Law and were dispatched from London to work in the factories of the Midlands and north of England, where they were often very cruelly treated. By the early nineteenth century steam power began to replace water power, and textile towns grew up in the vicinity of coal supplies. The wages on offer in these factories, higher than those available in agricultural work, attracted families to them, and women and children came to constitute a high proportion of the factory workforces. In Alsace in France in the 1820s one-third or more of the workforce in mills were under sixteen; in Glasgow at much the same time 35.6 percent were under fourteen and 48.3 percent under sixteen. The extent of the use of child labor was dependent much more on the labor strategies of employers than on technology. In mills in northern Massachusetts and in New Hampshire, young women rather than children were preferred, and child labor was rare. Sometimes, but by no means always, family members might work together within a factory. A frequent complaint was that the work opportunities for women and children were at the expense of those offered to adult men who might find themselves, against all tradition, as homemakers.

Child Labor in Industrial Society

The child labor practices of the early Industrial Revolution, both at the time and since, have been widely condemned. Children were taken out of their homes, starting full-time work often before they were ten years of age, and subjected to long hours and unremitting DISCIPLINE; it was hardly surprising that their health was jeopardized. Those who defended the system made three main points: first, children were better able than adults to carry out some of the more delicate work necessary in textile factories or to work their way along narrow seams in coal mines. Second, in a system of national and international competition, cheap child labor was a crucial ingredient for success. Third, factory work had the benefit of preventing children from being idle and protecting them from all the evils that followed from idleness. Advocates of child labor also cast doubt on the statistics about the ill-health of child factory workers and child miners that those who opposed the system so frequently produced. The defenders of child labor were, however, outgunned by those who drew attention to the cruelties inflicted on children and who for the first time in human history began to question whether childhood should be a time for work. Under the influence of a view of childhood proposed by the Romantic poets, in particular William Wordsworth, opponents of child labor in factories and mines argued that childhood should be a time of self-discovery and happiness, in communion with the natural world. Childhood should be extended, and work delayed, for “when labor begins,” as an American put it, “. . . the child ceases to be” (Zelizer, p. 55). The work of children from this perspective was, in a word frequently invoked, “slavery.”

Although child work in factories and mines attracted an immense amount of attention it was not, even at the height of the Industrial Revolution, the most common form of child employment. In England and Wales in 1851, for boys aged five to nine, agricultural workers were more than two and a half times as numerous as cotton workers, and for those aged ten to fourteen the disproportion was even greater. For girls aged ten to fourteen the twenty-nine thousand cotton workers were far outnumbered by the fifty thousand domestic servants. In other words, well-entrenched forms of gendered child work—agriculture for boys, domestic service for girls—remained the dominant forms of child work even after half a century and more of industrialization. The same is true in the developing world today: in India in 1981 over 80 percent of child workers were engaged in agriculture.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the industrializing countries passed laws to restrict the employment of children in what had been the cutting-edge industries of the Industrial Revolution. Textiles and coal mining were normally the first to become subject to regulation, followed by many others, such as pottery work and brick making. The legislation raised the permissible age of entry, restricted hours, laid down safety regulations, and sometimes insisted on evidence of schooling. It was a response to the outcry about conditions, combined with a realization by some leading manufacturers that productivity might be impeded rather than enhanced by the use of child workers. At the same time governments sought to strengthen and upgrade legislation compelling children to attend school (in some countries such legislation dated back to the eighteenth century). Both labor legislation and, to a lesser extent, schooling legislation was difficult to enforce, but by the early twentieth century in most industrializing countries, children’s work was distinctly part-time up to the time they left school somewhere between the ages of twelve and fourteen. And when they did leave school, except in some distinctive local economies, they were much more likely to find work as messengers, shop assistants, or domestic servants than as factory or mine workers. In effect, the labor market had become segregated by marking out certain types of work as belonging to children, and these were now on the margin of the economy, rather than at its center. The typical child worker would be delivering newspapers or milk, or cleaning, not tending a machine.

Family Economies

In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries a distinctive family economy linked together urban working-class families in Europe and North America. Adult males were ideally, and normally in practice, the main wage earners; their wives, particularly once children started to be born, rarely worked for wages on a regular basis outside the home; children found waged work as soon as they were able, or as soon as the law allowed, and turned over most of their earnings to their mothers for family use. In Belgium, for example, children were contributing 22 percent of family income in

1853, and 31 percent in 1891. In the United States toward the end of the nineteenth century, by the time the adult male in a family was in his fifties, children were contributing about one-third of the family's income; in Europe, it was rather more: 41 percent. The deep-rooted assumption, inherited from an agricultural economy, was that children should contribute to the family economy as soon as possible. Factory laws and laws enforcing schooling raised the starting age over time, but there is much evidence that children themselves felt proud to be able to start making a contribution to family welfare. Their mothers, the only alternative wage earner in the family, were fully engaged in child rearing, housekeeping, and sometimes bringing in further income through casual work or taking in lodgers. No one could be in any doubt that children's earnings improved a family's economic position, and children who might have continued at school often did not take up the opportunity, aware of the family's need for income.

The majority of working-class children in Western society lived in families whose economies were structured in this way. There were, of course, many differences from country to country and within them; they were most visible in the United States where immigrant and ethnic communities had different traditions and different responses to the changing economic situation. Italian immigrant families in New York, for example, made much more use of child labor than did Jewish immigrants, in part because of traditions in the countries they came from, but perhaps mainly because the earning power of Italian adult males was less than that of Jewish ones: extra income was needed, and children were the obvious source of it. The same argument holds true for Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century: the children of Irish and German immigrant families were more likely than those of native whites to be in the workforce, but this was mainly because the fathers in these families earned less than those of native whites. As the income levels of immigrant families rose the dependence on child labor declined. By the early twentieth century a common white American response to the economic situation was becoming apparent: an increasing emphasis on the desirability that the adult male should be the sole wage earner and that children should be in school. In hard times, for example in the depression of the 1930s, there would be a return to the use of child labor, but legal restrictions on its use meshed with values and norms that made child labor undesirable. The situation for black families was rather different. In Philadelphia, for example, black children were less likely to be employed than immigrant Irish or German children, not because their families were better off, but because of ethnic structuring in the labor market which denied access to blacks. Partly for this reason, partly because black families seem to have placed a higher value on the education of their children than immigrant families, black married women were, in a range of U.S. cities, between four and fifteen times more likely to be employed than immigrant wives. Unlike white communities, whether native

or immigrant, black families put the emphasis on mothers rather than children as the key supplementary wage earners.

Street Children

Children in families headed by two adults were the lucky ones. For others—in one-parent families (some 20 percent of English children born in the mid-eighteenth century would lose one parent to death by the age of fifteen), or where one or both parents were economic failures, or where the local economy offered few jobs either to adults or to children—other solutions to earning a living had to be sought, and they were likely to involve leaving home. From Savoy since the sixteenth century children had traveled through France and England as chimney sweeps. In the nineteenth century in poor villages in the Apennines in Italy, families apprenticed their children to padrones who put the children to work on the streets of Paris, London, New York, Moscow, and many other cities to perform with animals or with musical instruments; the children, perhaps as many as six thousand of them at the height of the business in the late 1860s, were expected to earn a set sum for the padrone each day. In the cities in which these Italian children performed, there were already many street children, both those who sought a living from the street, selling goods, performing as acrobats, offering services such as cleaning crossings, and those whose sleeping quarters were under some rough shelter. The former were often from migrant families, and were working to support their families. The same thing could be found in the late twentieth century: in Istanbul the forced migration of Kurds from southeast Turkey led to many children of these families working on the streets selling tissue papers.

Philanthropists and governments were keen to rescue street children for what was seen as a better life, and to remove the scourge of mendicancy from the public gaze. Many such children were sent to institutions. In the United States the 77 private ORPHANAGES of 1851 had increased to 613 by 1880 and to over a thousand by 1900; and if there is one generalization one can confidently make about the inmates of "orphanages" it is that the majority of them were not orphans, but children perceived to be in need of care. Institutionalization was not always the preferred way of "saving" these children; ideally they might be transported to some better environment away from what were seen as corrupting cities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries eighty thousand British children were "emigrated" to Canada, where they were mostly allocated work on farms. In New York CHARLES LORING BRACE'S Children's Aid Society in the second half of the nineteenth century sent out sixty thousand children to farms in New York State and to midwestern states. In the existence of all these schemes to rescue children we can see evidence of the failure of the ideal that all children should be raised in well-functioning families and that local economies should provide suitable work opportunities so that children could contribute to the family economy. Families themselves failed, and local economies did not always

provide the kind of work opportunities which were thought suitable: children, in consequence, became mobile, some traveling thousands of miles in search of work, and, whether under the control of a padrone or in the care of a philanthropic society, often had minimal control over their own destinations and destinies.

The Mid- to Late Twentieth Century

Around the middle of the twentieth century in Western society the assumption that children's prime responsibility was to contribute to the family economy as soon as they were able began to be questioned. This was probably largely due to rising living standards which made the child's contribution less crucial. For the good of the family as a whole, investment in a child's education beyond a minimum required level began to make sense. At much the same time married women began to play an increasing role in the workforces of the Western world, thereby providing an income stream which had simply not been available or not tapped until then. But it would be wrong to see this as simply the substitution of adult female wages for children's wages. Within the home itself children were expected to do less and less in terms of chores; their status and ranking within the family rose. The goal of many parents came to be an improvement in the life-chances of their children; the "slaves" now seemed to be the parents, in particular mothers, who catered to their children's needs.

There were indications, however, that this child-centered phase in the history of Western white families was coming to an end by the late twentieth century. Within it the dominant thrust was the segregation of children from the adult world, which was defined, among other criteria, as the world of work. From the 1980s, however, there was accumulating evidence that child labor in the developed as well as in the undeveloped world was on the increase, an outcome of the meshing of the needs of rapidly changing family forms and of the international global economy. Children were working, largely on the margins of the economy and in service industries, in a context where the deregulation of controls on labor was paramount. They were also contributing to the functioning of the household, in part because mothers were now much less likely to see their sole or main function as homemaking. Mothers continued, in addition to paid labor, to contribute the most to homemaking, but, as a Norwegian study showed, girls in particular, but also boys, were more likely than adult men to contribute to housework in the course of a day. Children supported mothers in the functioning of the home.

International Perspectives

In the first half of the twentieth century it was widely hoped and assumed that the Western pattern of a diminution, and perhaps elimination, of children's work would spread to the rest of the world. The International Labor Office (ILO), established in the aftermath of World War I, had assigned to

it as one of its tasks "the abolition of child labor," and countries signed conventions which laid down minimum ages for participation in a variety of industries. Colonial powers were under pressure to apply these limitations to their colonies, and appropriate laws appeared on their statute books. There was, it is true, a certain amount of bending of what might be thought desirable within the ILO to local conditions—in Indonesia, for example, restrictions on night work were evaded by redefining night to encompass fewer hours. It is also true that the will to enforce these laws was often lacking. But at an international level, as late as 1973 the ILO set down a norm of fifteen as the minimum age for entry to the labor force, with fourteen for developing countries, and with a recommended target age of sixteen.

The experience of the last quarter of the twentieth century made this look quite unobtainable—and perhaps not even desirable that it should be attained. The GLOBALIZATION of the world economy enabled employers to seek out the cheapest labor markets—and no labor is cheaper than that of children—and the impoverishment of many families in so-called developing countries increased the pressure to make use of all potential family labor. Observers in the 1980s were reporting an increase in child work in countries such as Ghana, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Peru. Concurrent with these international trends, though more muted, was a questioning of the deeply entrenched Western reflex that there is something morally wrong with child work. The focus of international organizations became the control or elimination of the manifestly exploitative forms of child work, whether in terms of the age of the child, the type of work, the contract involved (the bonded labor of children to pay off adult debts received much attention), or the amount of pay, rather than an attempt to stop all child work, and to enforce a segregation of children from the world of production. Advocates began to listen to what child workers themselves said, rather than assuming that all child work was wrong.

These reassessments were accompanied by an ongoing discussion about the cost of children. In a situation where the world population had doubled within a generation, but where the means to control it were available, it was natural to ask why people had children—or did not have them. As we saw at the outset, children are unquestionably a cost to families in their early years, and it may be many years before they can, in economic terms, become a net benefit. Considered as an "investment good," children are a very long-term form of saving. In many developing countries many of them did not survive long enough to become assets, and this might encourage families to have large numbers of children on the assumption that not all of them would live. Other economic factors could encourage people to have children, in particular the assumption in countries where welfare was negligible or nonexistent that children would look after parents in their old age. There might well be a gender preference, normally

for boys rather than girls, since boys would be less of a cost (no dowry on marriage) and more of an economic benefit. But the idea that parents had children for economic reasons, in the sense that children would be an economic asset to them, though often expressed, rarely looked plausible. On the contrary, the assumption in nearly all societies, developed and undeveloped, was that the income stream would be from parents to children rather than vice versa. In the better-off sections of developed countries so much was this so that the selfish act was not to have children at all or to keep their numbers low, since at no time would they contribute to the family economy, and at all ages through to their early or mid-twenties they were likely to be a cost. Although taxation systems could help meet some of those costs, it remained the case that in developed countries children were disproportionately numbered among the poor. The same was true in developing countries, and there family survival dictated an early recourse to the child employment market.

In both undeveloped and developed parts of the world children worked, at least in part, through a desire to have the means to purchase goods for themselves; that appeared to be true for Indonesia as well as for the United States. The existence of a global market producing goods aimed at children and young people was both testimony to that and a reinforcement of it. This fact needs to be seen alongside the profound reassessment of attitudes to child work in the late twentieth century. In these circumstances it became possible to imagine a future in which children who so desired worked for money which would enable them to purchase the goods they wanted or to improve their sense of well-being in other ways. This may be one form the future will take. But anyone who surveyed, on a global scale, the circumstances in which children worked in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was forced to admit the profound and enduring relationship between poverty and child work: It took different forms in different cultural traditions, but family poverty remained by far the biggest inducement toward child work. Most child workers in the developing world saw as an ideal some combination of work and school, rather than either one or the other, and they accepted the necessity of a contribution to the family economy. That was also the case in most of the centuries of recorded history. Only since the Industrial Revolution encouraged reflection on the experience of children at work in the early nineteenth century has it been possible to envisage a world in which children do not work at all. That legacy left people confused about the morality of child work. What it did not do was to break the relationship between child work and poverty.

See also: **Apprenticeship; Child Labor in Developing Countries; Child Labor in the West; Compulsory School Attendance; Economics and Children in Western Societies: From Agriculture to Industry; European Industrialization; Placing Out.**

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HUGH CUNNINGHAM

Working Papers

When societies decide to curb or abolish CHILD LABOR, they confront a number of problems. In addition to the lack of available alternatives, especially schooling, and the cultural and economic incentives that make child labor attractive to employers and parents, a number of more practical issues must be addressed. If age limits are to be imposed, or if hours are to be limited for those under a certain age, there must be some method to document a worker's age. Many methods have been attempted and some have been more effective than others. While age documentation provides one vehicle for enforcing child labor restrictions, it cannot, by itself, solve the child labor problem. Documents attesting that the child is of legal age for employment are referred to as working papers.

A requirement for legal working papers presupposes an adequate system of birth records. Before birth records became important, many parents had only a general recollection of the actual age of their children. Some parents kept birth records in family Bibles and other records; parents of modest means might have records in insurance policies; but many parents did not know the precise age of their children. Further, a private system of birth records was vulnerable to abuse. Many parents, often under the coercive influence of their employers, were willing to deliberately misstate the age of their children in order to get them work. Requiring working papers for children could only become fully effective when public birth records had been kept long enough to cover the current cohort of working children.

In America, where, until 1938, "states' rights" precluded a federal role in regulating who should work, each state experimented with age documentation regimes to find a preferred approach. While each state had to find its own way, a more or less orderly evolution took place. Some of the first age limits adopted by northern states required no documentation whatsoever. For example, Pennsylvania had a long-standing minimum age of fourteen for work in mining (sixteen for underground work), but did not require documentation until 1905. Thus, when the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission began holding hearings on the great

strike of 1902, the nation was stunned to learn that 10,000 or more children under fourteen were working in the mines and breakers of eastern Pennsylvania. The first laws requiring age documentation typically required only the parent's oath taken by a notary public. Many mines, mills, and factories had their own notaries on staff to handle the paperwork. Some early laws provided for "hardship" exceptions, so that in 1907 there were at least five hundred children under twelve working legally in the cotton mills of South Carolina. The system was fraught with problems and proved an utter failure in eliminating child labor.

Parents had numerous incentives to commit perjury, and many who spoke no English did not even realize they were committing perjury. Employers had little interest in effective enforcement—so long as the children provided papers "that lets us out." Notaries themselves confronted numerous conflicts of interest, for some it was petty corruption in selling work papers, for others they were simply too closely related to the employers who hired children. Eventually laws began to require independent "proof" of age. Various records could suffice including insurance records or statements from ministers, rabbis, and priests, but until reliable systems of public birth records came into use, these methods were not fully effective. For example, in 1916 a priest in eastern Pennsylvania reported he was losing parishioners because he would not issue false birth certificates. In the United States, state and local birth registration laws were adopted on a piecemeal basis, typically lagging enactment of the first child labor laws by several years. Even where the laws were adopted, their application to rural areas and immigrant children remained problematic.

Ultimately, responsibility for issuing and tracking work permits shifted to the schools. When coupled with systems of reliable birth records, this provided a more effective documentation regime. By the end of the twentieth century local schools and health departments bore primary responsibility for administering programs of working papers for youth workers. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, working papers became a common means for young people to find summer and part-time employment.

See also: Age and Development; Economics and Children in Western Societies; Law, Children and the; Work and Poverty.

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HUGH D. HINDMAN

Wright, Henry Clarke (1797–1870)

Henry Clarke Wright devoted his life to overturning structures of domination, including those within the family. His support for the rights of children challenged parental power at a time when American law and society still recognized the complete authority of parents within the domestic sphere. He had no children of his own, having married a wealthy older widow in 1823, but he had a wonderful rapport with the many youths to whom he ministered during his decades of reform work.

Wright was born in Connecticut to a farming family. When he was four, his parents moved the family to western New York, a region swept so often by religious revivals that it was known as the Burnt-Over District. His mother died a couple of years after the move, a loss he always felt. In his teens he trained briefly as a hat maker, before British imports crippled the American trade. Afterwards Wright decided to become a minister. He attended Andover Seminary from 1819 to 1823, then served as minister to the Congregationalist church in West Newbury, Massachusetts. In 1833 Wright left his ministry to become an itinerant reformer, representing a series of causes over the next forty years.

An interest in education first led Wright to become involved in the network of antebellum reform groups known collectively as the Benevolent Empire. Initially he expressed the standard conservative support for schools as an instrument of social order. But his experiences as a reformer soon radicalized him, and he began to question the justice of the order he had hoped to ensure. In a few years, Wright progressed from raising money for Amherst College (1833), to serving as an agent for the American Sunday School Union (1833 to 1834), to ministering to the poor children of Boston

(1834 to 1835), and finally to organizing juvenile antislavery societies for the American Anti-Slavery Society (1836 to 1837). He was dismissed from the AASS for endangering the cause with his radical social views after he published a series of “domestic scenes” that challenged parental dominion over children. Later Wright would extend his critique of force within the family to the conjugal relationship, depicting sexual intercourse itself as a form of violence. He advocated that married couples limit their conjugal relations to procreative instances, directing their energies into loving sentiment instead of passion.

In 1837 Wright helped William Lloyd Garrison establish the New England Non-Resistance Society, a radical pacifist organization that opposed any use of force. As an official agent for the society, and later under his own auspices, Wright traveled in the United States and Europe lecturing for his many causes. These included the antislavery movement, Christian anarchism, marriage reform, temperance, and healthy living. However, childhood remained his core concern. In 1842 he published *A Kiss for a Blow*, a collection of anecdotes intended to teach children not to quarrel. He instructed children to suppress their anger, and to answer aggression with love. In Wright’s later books including *Marriage and Parentage* (1854), *The Unwanted Child* (1858), and *The Empire of the Mother* (1863), he revised his views to stress the importance of the uterine environment in shaping children’s personalities. If fetuses were subjected to passions, resentments, or other negative influences in the womb, then no amount of behavioral training might later be able to reform them.

See also: **Anger and Aggression; Child Development, History of the Concept of; Child-Rearing Advice Literature; Children’s Rights; Discipline.**

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RACHEL HOPE CLEVES

Y

YMCA. *See* YWCA and YMCA.

Youth Activism

The desire of some university students to emphasize recreational pursuits over academics has been a constant over the centuries. Another historical constant has been the tension between students and those they interact with off the campus. Moreover, it has usually required extraordinary events outside the university to move youths to act in a political manner. For example, with the isolated exception of antislavery organizing before the Civil War (1861–1865), it took until the twentieth century for political activism to become a rite of passage for a small portion of American students.

Premodern Europe

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries universities such as Bologna, Oxford, and Paris took the lead in reviving higher education in Europe. At Bologna foreign students enjoyed no civil rights and often found themselves at the mercy of price-gouging landlords and merchants. In spite of their apparent powerlessness, however, Bologna students could easily migrate to other universities.

The lack of residential campus accommodations and classroom buildings gave students enormous mobility, as well as economic leverage over their schools. Bologna students, for instance, could withhold payment if faculty failed to show up for lectures. Once medieval universities began to construct housing and lecture halls, however, students became more rooted and fell under the authority of campus administrators.

Student discipline was a major issue at medieval universities. Bologna's rectors prohibited students from patronizing gambling establishments and conducting business with moneylenders. Oxford banned students from keeping bears and falcons in their campus quarters and prohibited them from

consorting with prostitutes. In addition, Oxford punished students for assaulting faculty and entering townspeople's homes to commit violent acts. Since students representing a variety of nationalities attended Oxford in the 1300s, the university also enacted speech codes to prohibit anyone from making disparaging ethnic remarks.

Sanctions against student offenders could range from expulsion to being required to purchase rounds of wine for the aggrieved parties. When student offenders came from the aristocracy, offers of financial restitution from their fathers served as substitutes for expulsion and flogging.

Relations between students who were engaged in scholarly pursuits and townspeople who toiled for little reward could turn sour in medieval Europe. On Saint Scholastica's Day, February 10, 1354, Oxford students instigated a tavern brawl. This brawl turned into a riot as townspeople armed with bows and arrows battled sword-wielding students and faculty. As the second day of the riot commenced, townspeople invaded the Oxford campus, killing scores of students and faculty.

Although the lethal combat ensuing from the Saint Scholastica Day riot was disproportionate to the immediate provocation, the seeds of discord had deep roots. Isolated incidents of assaults between students and locals had occurred for years. Indeed, between the years 1297 and 1322 nearly half the murders in the community had been committed by Oxford students.

Noting that in 1200 King Philip Augustus had given the University of Paris jurisdiction over its students and faculty, the English crown—following the Saint Scholastica Day riot—went a step further. Oxford received legal jurisdiction over the townspeople. The universities of Paris and Oxford established a precedent whereby campuses were regarded by governing authorities as intellectual sanctuaries whose territory was nearly inviolate.



Students throw stones at the police, May 1968. Protests by students at the University of Paris in May 1968 coincided with strikes being held by French workers, leading to massive unrest that quickly spread to other French cities. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS.

Colonial and Early America

In light of Harvard's founding mission to train Congregational ministers, it is not surprising that 130 years passed before the school experienced a student riot. Harvard's 1766 riot, however, was decidedly apolitical. At a time when large numbers of Bostonians were criticizing Great Britain's colonial policies, Harvard students protested the quality of the campus food service.

In contrast, by the eve of the American Revolution (1775–1783), students at the College of Rhode Island (later Brown), the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), Dartmouth, Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale had become caught up in colonial politics. In 1772 Princeton students hung in effigy politicians whom they viewed as allies of the Crown. For the most part, however, as historian Steven Novak concluded, students played little role in the events leading up to the Revolution.

Following the Revolution, American colleges faced economic hard times, which were accompanied by an expansion

of the number of institutions of higher education. Between 1782 and 1802 nineteen new colleges came into existence, and the resulting competition for a limited pool of students forced a lowering of academic standards. In order to remain viable, and confronted by threats from students who insisted they would take their tuition money elsewhere, Dickinson College (in Pennsylvania), the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), and Princeton awarded a bachelor's degree after two years of attendance instead of four. Dickinson students went so far in 1798 as to go on strike until a bachelor's degree was granted after just one year of classroom instruction. Dickinson administrators gave in to student demands.

Issues of student discipline and violence in early America seemed reminiscent of medieval Europe. In 1799, students at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), angered over the expulsion of two disruptive students, horsewhipped the president and stoned two professors. Three years later, William and Mary students, upset over college regulations forbidding duels to the death, instigated a riot in which they



College students in the United States strongly supported Eugene McCarthy's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968, leading some to call it McCarthy's "Children's Crusade." © Bettmann/CORBIS.

broke windows on campus, tore up Bibles, and vandalized the homes of professors.

At Princeton in 1807, students occupied a university building in protest over the expulsion of three students. At that point, Princeton and Harvard administrators created a blacklist among the nation's colleges to prevent habitual troublemakers from enrolling elsewhere. While North Carolina, Dartmouth, and other colleges embraced the blacklist, Penn undermined its effectiveness by admitting that it could not afford to turn away students, regardless of their disciplinary records.

Along with mounting disciplinary problems and declining academic standards, universities were finding somewhat larger numbers of politically active students. At William and Mary in 1798, students observed Independence Day by burning Federalist President John Adams in effigy. They believed Adams was trying to provoke war with revolutionary France. Most college students in the North who took an interest in politics staged protest rallies against Thomas Jefferson and his Republican followers. Williams College student (and future poet) William Cullen Bryant penned a Federalist screed in 1808 that depicted President Jefferson as an incompetent leader as well as a sexual predator.

The Era of the Civil War

Although in the decades preceding the Civil War the four-year bachelor's degree made a comeback, discipline remained problematic. In 1842 Harvard students and working-class Bostonians stoked longstanding "town-gown" tensions into a full-blown riot. The proximate cause of the 1842 riot was apolitical. Harvard students resented locals who mocked their English-inspired apparel choices. Seeing lower-class townspeople wearing cheap imitations of the coveted Oxford cap, Harvard students assaulted the offenders. Enraged, a mob of three hundred attempted to invade the Harvard campus, where they were met by fifty students armed with pistols, clubs, and knives. Faculty and police intervened but neither could quell the random beatings and property destruction that ensued off-campus for the next nine days.

Even as Harvard students and townies traded insults during the 1830s and 1840s, the antislavery movement sank its roots on a few northern campuses. At Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, antislavery students and faculty in 1834 confronted trustees who did not want to antagonize community residents sympathetic to the South. Ordered to disband their abolitionist group, a number of Lane students and faculty migrated to Oberlin College. Estab-

lished in 1834 and located in the northern region of Ohio that had been settled by New Englanders, Oberlin College became a hotbed of antislavery activism.

In 1835 Oberlin College announced its intention to admit women and African Americans, creating the only gender and racially integrated campus in the United States. (Five percent of Oberlin's student body in the years before the Civil War was black.) Students and faculty established the Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society and became members of the abolitionist Liberty Party and, ultimately, of the Republican Party. The spirit of Oberlin's antislavery zeal spread to the University of Michigan, as well as to Dartmouth and Williams.

With the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, requiring citizens not to interfere with the capture of runaway slaves, Oberlin became a literal battlefield. In the summer of 1858, on three separate occasions southern slave hunters were warned away by Oberlin students, faculty, and community residents. In the fall of 1858, after slave hunters captured a fugitive slave near Oberlin, abolitionists stormed the building where he was being held and rescued him. The federal government subsequently indicted thirty-seven members of the Oberlin community under the Fugitive Slave Act. Their trials captured national news media attention—the first time student and faculty political activists at an American college had ever done anything to merit such coverage.

While Americans debated the morality of slavery, western European reformers—including some students and professors—contested the political and economic future of their homelands. In 1848 the German manufacturing and university town of Cologne became the epicenter of social discontent. Some professors-turned-radical-journalists—notably Karl Marx—looked for a socialist workers' revolution. Skilled craftsmen, fearful that industrialization was eroding their economic standing, looked backward toward an era without machinery. Still others called for a unified German nation built around free trade or protectionism, capitalism or socialism, and democracy or a constitutional monarchy. Ultimately the kingdom of Prussia ended the debate with grapeshot. (By 1871 a unified Germany became an army with a nation built around it.)

Early-Twentieth-Century America

Between 1869 and 1900 the number of students enrolled in American universities increased from 52,000 to 237,000. That figure rose to 1.1 million by 1929. In 1900, 4 percent of the college-age cohort (18 to 22) was enrolled as students, compared to 12.5 percent thirty years later. The universities of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, and Stanford had come into existence even as land-grant colleges such as Ohio State—which were originally geared more toward instruction in agricultural and engineering than toward instruction in the liberal arts—expanded their student bodies.

At the same time, more women entered higher education. In 1870 women had represented one fifth of those enrolled in college. By 1900, one-third of college students were female. In 1900 women earned 60 percent of the nation's HIGH SCHOOL diplomas but accounted for just 19 percent of students granted college degrees. Overall, the greater likelihood that female students would drop out—whether to find employment or to get married—helped depress the pool of college graduates.

Setting aside the somewhat greater proportion of women enrolled in higher education by 1900, the profile of the typical American college student had changed little since the Revolution. Most students came from middle- and upper-middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestant families. What had changed, however, was the desire among larger numbers of students to grapple with social issues. Where mere handfuls of students had protested against slavery in the 1850s, in 1911 over ten thousand volunteered to work in settlement houses in an effort to improve education and health care among the urban poor. Such student volunteers included the future socialist activist Norman Thomas.

In 1905, according to historian Philip Altbach (1974), the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS) became the first nationally organized vehicle for student activism. With the encouragement of novelists Upton Sinclair and Jack London, the ISS established chapters at Chicago, Columbia, Michigan, the University of California-Berkeley, Wisconsin, and Yale. In 1904 at Berkeley, a year before the founding of its ISS chapter, some students had violently protested the presence of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program (ROTC) on campus. Altbach identifies this incident as Berkeley's first student riot.

By 1912 Harvard claimed one of the largest campus ISS chapters, with fifty members. In 1917, on the eve of America's entry into World War I, the ISS nationally had nine hundred undergraduate members. The ISS, like its close relative the Young Peoples' Socialist League (YPSL), which had been created in 1907 and had the backing of the Socialist Party, opposed U.S. involvement in World War I. Both the ISS and YPSL, which had few college-student members, experienced schisms over the 1917 Russian Revolution. ISS leaders were suspicious of communist revolutionaries and sought to salvage the fortunes of socialism. Toward those ends they created the League for Industrial Democracy (LID). Disaffected radicals in 1922 created the Young Communist League (YCL).

Both the YCL and LID, along with the crippled YPSL, competed for student followers at Chicago, the City College of New York, Hunter (in New York), Temple (in Philadelphia), and Wisconsin. Student activists in the 1920s managed to organize the disruption of ROTC drills at forty universities. The objective of such protests was to abolish compulsory ROTC for male students. How much of this an-

tiwar activism was motivated by the desire to create a peaceful new world order and how much was the expression of deeply rooted American isolationism—as well as a desire among young men to avoid physical exercise—is, as Altbach notes, unclear.

The decade of the 1920s was not an era of student activism. For every Columbia student such as Whittaker Chambers who joined the Communist Party—and later achieved fame before the House Committee on Un-American Activities—tens of thousands of students remained apolitical. However, as historian Paula Fass observed, male and female students in the 1920s were more likely to embrace new hair and clothing styles, and openly consume alcohol and smoke cigarettes, than had previous generations.

Although female students retained a strong dose of traditionalism, as evidenced by a 1923 poll of Vassar women which revealed that 90 percent preferred marriage over a professional career, they were far more likely to endorse BIRTH CONTROL than the general population. It was in reaction to a perceived loosening of morals among students in the 1920s that the dean of women at Ohio State lamented that youths selfishly valued their individual rights over their obligations to society.

If college administrators could not change how students balanced individual freedom and societal duty, they could attempt to regulate moral behavior on campus through the strict enforcement of *in loco parentis*. University leaders, regarding themselves as acting in the absence of parents, segregated the sexes in campus dormitories after nightfall and banned alcohol. While *in loco parentis* worked well at small, somewhat isolated residential colleges, administrators discovered that rapidly expanding urban campuses and large commuter institutions such as City College were more challenging.

The Era of the Great Depression

The GREAT DEPRESSION (1929–1941) proved to be the best of times and the worst of times for American education and college students. As a result of a high national unemployment rate (e.g., 25 percent in 1932), many youths were forced out of the job market and back into the classroom. By 1936 the greatest proportion of TEENAGERS in American history, 65 percent, were attending HIGH SCHOOL. The proportion of Americans with college degrees went from 3.9 percent in 1930 to 4.6 percent in 1940 while enrollment increased from 1.2 million to 1.5 million. At the same time the share of bachelor's degrees awarded to women topped 40 percent.

On the other hand, the unemployment rate among college graduates in the early years of the Depression was at least two times higher than the national average; providing incentive to remain sheltered on the campus if possible. Thanks to creation of the National Youth Administration

(NYA) in 1935, the federal government for the first time subsidized part-time jobs for 600,000 students who might have otherwise left college without their degrees. Another 1.5 million high school students and 2.6 million unemployed youths who were no longer in the education system also received NYA assistance.

Although the 1930s became known as the Red Decade on the college campus and in society at large, radicalism was not the dominant political strain at most universities. A 1932 survey of 56,000 university students revealed that less than a third had voted for the victorious Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin Roosevelt. (Eighteen percent did, however, vote for the Socialist Party nominee, Norman Thomas.) Upon the occasion of Harvard's three hundredth anniversary in 1936, students turned their backs on Roosevelt when he began to speak.

In 1932 the LID opted to step up its campus organizing, establishing a youth affiliate which it called the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID). Within a year SLID claimed fifty campus chapters, moving beyond the activist footholds of City College, Harvard, and Swarthmore to include Wayne State University in Detroit. Both Victor and Walter Reuther—the future organizers of the United Automobile Workers union—belonged to the Wayne State chapter. At Swarthmore, SLID activist Molly Yard helped organize a series of protests that culminated in the banning of sororities that practiced racial and religious discrimination. Decades later, Yard served as president of the National Organization for Women.

Hoping to raise its campus profile, the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) created the National Student League (NSL) in 1931. In 1935, as the Soviet Union became more concerned with the military threat posed by Nazi Germany, Communists were ordered to form a Popular Front with socialists and “progressive” Democrats. Toward that end, the NSL, the NCL, and SLID forged the American Student Union (ASU), whose leaders included Molly Yard and Joseph Lash—later an admiring biographer of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. The CPUSA also kept an active interest in youth organizing off campus through the American Youth Congress (AYC). YPSL, while willing to cooperate with the ASU, focused the bulk of its efforts on organizing young workers rather than college students.

While comprehensive data on the demographics of the 1930s student movement is not available, Altbach and other historians (e.g., Brax and Cohen) have been able to reconstruct a general profile of collegiate activists. Most student activists came from middle- and upper-middle-class households. The exceptions to this were second-generation Jewish-Americans, who tended to cluster at City College, which was free and which did not have discriminatory religious admissions quotas in place, as the Ivy League schools and some major state universities did.

Most student activists of the 1930s pursued study in the social sciences and the humanities, not in business, the sciences, and technical fields. It may be that students who sought employment in the public sector were more liberally inclined than those hoping to land jobs in the private sector. Thus a 1934 poll of 700 students at Kansas State teachers College (in Manhattan) showed that 65 percent regarded themselves as antibusiness New Dealers. Though located in the heartland of American conservatism, students intending to become public school teachers perhaps had a vested interest in the expansion of government, as well as a suspicion of Republican politicians who often appeared to seek budget cuts in education first.

Public sentiment, either in spite or because of increasing Nazi and Japanese military aggression, remained markedly isolationist. A 1937 Gallup Public Opinion Poll reported that 70 percent of Americans thought that becoming involved in World War I had been a mistake. Campus attitudes were, if anything, even more intensely hostile toward war as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Cornell activists in 1933 distributed anti-ROTC pins that bore the inscription, "Duck the Goose Step," equating student cadets with Nazis.

After the Oxford University Student Union in 1933 adopted a pledge not to defend Britain in the event of war, both SLID and the NSL encouraged students to adopt an equivalent American oath. In 1934 SLID and the NSL organized a national peace strike in support of the Oxford Pledge. Campus activists claimed that twenty-five thousand students—of whom fifteen thousand resided in New York City—had participated in the strike.

In 1935 the ASU and the AYC, along with the pacifist National Council of Methodist Youth, mounted a second, and purportedly larger, peace strike. Organizers claimed that anywhere from 150,000 to 500,000 students supported the Oxford Pledge. Berkeley, Chicago, City College, Columbia, Smith, Stanford, and the University of Virginia witnessed student rallies of varying size and militancy. At Penn, Vassar, and the universities of Idaho, North Dakota, and Oklahoma, sympathetic administrators worked with the ASU to sponsor antiwar events.

By 1936 the ASU, responding to the competing agendas of its socialist, communist, and religious pacifist constituencies, ended up reaffirming the Oxford Pledge and simultaneously championing U.S. military intervention in Europe if Germany attacked the Soviet Union. That meant the ASU would not have supported war in the event that Germany declared war on the United States. This position was untenable and by 1938 the ASU repudiated the Oxford Pledge and called upon students to defend the Soviet Union and the western democracies from fascism. The pacifist and SLID factions were irate. Then after the 1939 Stalin-Hitler Pact, which paved the way for the invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II in Europe, New Deal liberals and

communists clashed within the ASU. As communists defended the Stalin-Hitler Pact and called upon Americans to stay out of the war, the ASU fell apart.

After Japan bombed the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, only 49,000 draftees out of 10 million men registered for the draft claimed conscientious objector status. American students, regardless of class, ethnic, racial, and regional origins, marched off to war. With the exception of a clash between Hispanic teenagers and sailors in Los Angeles—the ZOOT SUIT RIOT of 1943—American youths focused on the task at hand.

The 1960s

As the United States entered the post-World War II era, its universities grew in number, ultimately topping out at 3,535. The number of students enrolled in college reached 10 million by 1970, with the proportion of women increasing until they became a majority in 1979. In spite of the rapid growth of higher education in the 1960s, however, the class profile of students remained little changed from the 1930s. Just 17 percent of all college students in the 1960s came from working- and lower-middle-class backgrounds. Given such demographics, and the generous provision of student deferments from Selective Service, 80 percent of the men who went to fight in the Vietnam War (1965–1973) were working class. Antiwar protest on the campus in the 1960s inevitably provoked resentment in many blue-collar communities.

Four key issues confronted college students after the relative calm of the 1940s and 1950s, helping to spark the largest campus protests in American history. First there was the insistence of university administrators on maintaining *in loco parentis* and, in deference to conservative state legislatures, upholding bans on political activities on the campus. (This ban sparked the 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement, which historians have credited for inspiring student activism at other campuses.)

Second, the civil rights movement in the 1950s South drew northern students into the struggle for racial justice by the early 1960s. White activists played a supporting role in the civil rights movement. In 1964 students at Berkeley, for example, staged sit-ins at local business branches whose main offices did not challenge segregation in the South; they also went to Mississippi to register blacks to vote.

Third and fourth, the specter of military service in Vietnam after graduation—or after flunking out—fed the ranks of campus peace protestors, as well as contributed to youthful alienation from a Democratic Party committed to the policy of communist containment. For youths who were not prepared to support a radical critique of U.S. foreign policy, Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign to capture the Democratic presidential nomination was a veritable children's crusade.

The year 1962 witnessed the birth of a campus-based New Left and New Right. SLID officially became the Stu-

dents for a Democratic Society (SDS) at its Port Huron, Michigan, convention. SDS carried on much of the ASU's opposition to an interventionist U.S. foreign policy as well as its hostility to corporations and ROTC. This was perhaps not surprising given that at least a third of the approximately 100,000 students who joined SDS or participated in other leftist organizations in the 1960s were "red diaper babies," the children of 1930s socialist and communist activists.

SDS, which grew out of elite institutions such as Chicago, Harvard, Michigan, Oberlin, and Swarthmore, was an organization mainly of middle and upper-middle-class youths. Their parents were most frequently lawyers, doctors, and academics. In terms of religion, 60 percent of SDSers hailed from secular Jewish households, 35 percent from white Protestant families, and 5 percent from Catholic homes. Although the proportion of Jewish students in SDS varied according to the academic quality of the institutions they attended—a majority at Chicago, a minority at Kent State University in Ohio—residential origins held constant. Many leftist student activists who attended universities such as Michigan and Wisconsin came from out of state. A sizeable proportion of student activists in general hailed from metropolitan areas. Nearly all were liberal arts and social science majors.

As universities abandoned *in loco parentis* and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which had been established in 1960 by black and white southern students, embraced racial separatism, activists and growing numbers of students turned their attention to the escalating Vietnam War. Antiwar protest, even at its height in the late 1960s, seldom mobilized more than a third of any particular student body—and those high proportions were true only at the Berkeleys, Columbias, and Harvards. The greatest student uprising only took place in response to the slaying of four Kent State students by the Ohio National Guard on May 4, 1970, when 4 million students across the country went on strike.

Once it became clear that the April 1970 U.S. incursion into Cambodia—which had triggered antiwar protests at Kent State and had led to the Ohio National Guard occupying the campus—was not going to lead to escalation of the Indochina war, student protest evaporated. President Richard Nixon in 1969 had already instituted the draft lottery, which, by eliminating college deferments and assigning young males a draft number, significantly reduced student anxiety. With reduced troop levels in Vietnam, most college students knew that they were not going to be drafted if they had a high enough lottery number. Student support for antiwar protest melted away, leaving such organizations as SDS, which in 1969 had split into a Maoist faction (the Progressive Labor Party) and a terrorist sect (the Weather Underground), adrift.

It is often overlooked that the 1960s witnessed the first large conservative student movement on American college campuses. Meeting in 1962 at the Sharon, Connecticut, estate of *National Review* editor William F. Buckley Jr., the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) was born. YAF's membership included anticommunists who wanted a more muscular response to the Soviet Union and China than the one provided by President John F. Kennedy, as well as religious conservatives and free-market libertarians.

Although YAF grew to over 60,000 members, like SDS it tore itself apart in 1969 as libertarians demanded an end to the draft, condemned the Vietnam War, and argued for the legalization of narcotics and abortion. Libertarians, who often attended elite universities and hailed from professional families, clashed with religious conservatives, many of whom were lower-middle-class Catholic students at less prestigious state universities.

In the long haul, the one advantage YAF had over SDS was its greater commitment to entering the institutional political process—ideological schisms and all. This meant, as sociologist Rebecca Klatch and historian Gregory Schneider have argued, that by the 1980s YAF's alumni played a growing role in the national Republican Party—whether serving in local, state, or federal elective office or working as advisors in the administration of President Ronald Reagan. In contrast, many SDSers remained on the college campus, moving from graduate liberal arts programs into (if they were lucky) tenure-track faculty positions.

The disruptions being played out on some of America's campuses in the 1960s had their counterparts in the United Kingdom, West Germany, and France. Western European students—whose overall numbers were less than their American counterparts given the smaller and more academically selective university systems in which they were enrolled—also protested the Vietnam war and the administrative regulation of their sexual conduct. Most famously in May 1968, at the newly constructed Nanterre campus of the University of Paris—which was located in an impoverished, segregated Arab neighborhood—thousands of students took to the streets.

Following the lead of Nanterre sociology major Daniel Cohn-Bendit—himself an admirer of the German Socialist Students' League (known by its German initials, SDS)—students threw cobblestones at police as they protested the American war in Vietnam and university restrictions on their sexual behavior. This coincided, but was not coordinated, with a strike by workers protesting the managerial reorganization of their economically uncompetitive industries. In this turbulent milieu, revolution appeared inevitable. French leader Charles DeGaulle, however, persuaded workers and students to return to their jobs and desks with the promise of reform.

Since the 1960s

The collapse of large-scale student protest after 1970 coincided with declining public confidence in higher education. In 1966, 61 percent of the public expressed approval of higher education, as compared to 25 percent by 1994. Beyond a public backlash against higher education, Philip Altbach has argued that one of the most important legacies the protest movements of the 1960s gave to the American university was the “politicization of the campus” (1997, p. 32).

Most campus activism after the Vietnam era centered around U.S. foreign policy and identity politics, as organizations based upon gender, sexual preference, and race competed for influence over the curriculum. Outward appearances to the contrary, however, the people who drove the debates over such issues as affirmative action and military disarmament were not students but faculty members who had experienced the 1960s as graduate students and junior instructors.

By the 1980s newly created campus organizations in opposition to America’s foreign policy often centered upon a single nation—for instance, the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and the Students for a Free South Africa. There were, however, efforts to create a multi-issue and transnational clearinghouse for the campus left through the Progressive Student Network.

Campus activism in the 1980s was nonviolent and mainly low-key, involving no more than several thousand students on a consistent basis. Youths who were opposed to U.S. support for the white apartheid (segregationist) regime in South Africa gained some national media attention in 1987 by erecting shanties on their campuses. (The shanties were to symbolize the conditions black South Africans endured as a result of apartheid.) College Republican chapters sometimes responded by constructing Berlin Walls around the shanties and posting “communist” border guards.

In 1997 the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) came into existence. Liza Featherstone, a journalist and supporter of the USAS, reported in 2002 that a number of the student activists at Berkeley, Columbia, Duke, and Wisconsin had parents who belonged to SDS and grandparents who had joined the ASU and NCL in the 1930s.

While ostensibly opposed to the labor conditions of people working in U.S.- and multinational-owned garment factories overseas, the USAS joined other groups to disrupt meetings of the World Trade Organization. Protest moved off the campus and became more violently confrontational. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, which killed 3,000 people, campus activists linked their opposition to GLOBALIZATION and capitalism to President George W. Bush’s Afghanistan phase of the War on Terrorism.

While antiwar organizations rallied tens of thousands of people in Washington, D.C., few campuses outside Berkeley

and Michigan experienced demonstrations involving more than two hundred students. Although protests in spring 2003 against the war in Iraq attracted larger numbers of participants, demonstrators were largely faculty and community residents who had marched against the war in Vietnam thirty years earlier. Few American students oppose the war on terror, unlike their western European counterparts. Explanations as to why this is so include: Americans were attacked on their own soil; the absence of a draft to move apathetic students to antiwar action; and finally, Jewish students and faculty, who were disproportionately represented within the ranks of the Vietnam protestors, were divided over what many perceived to be the anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli stances of antiwar organizations. Historical lessons from earlier student movements are of some analytical value for understanding political dynamics on the campus of the early twenty-first century, but the inescapable reality is that American youths are venturing into an uncertain future.

See also: **Campus Revolts in the 1960s; Communist Youth; Fascist Youth; Hitler Youth; School Shootings and School Violence; Youth Culture.**

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KENNETH J. HEINEMAN

Youth Agencies of the New Deal

The GREAT DEPRESSION threatened the futures of tens of millions of Americans, but perhaps none so enduringly as the young. In keeping with the cultural pluralism of the times and the response of the federal government to World War I, Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration attacked the Depression with a host of "alphabet agencies" targeting the group identities of the unemployed. But whether the nature of what was called "the youth problem" lay in the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution, by the Depression, or by a world careening toward fascism was a source of dispute. Hence, the youth problem was a catch-all phrase encompassing a variety of concerns. Writers spoke of "boy and girl tramps," the millions of youth doomed to idleness in an industrial world where job prospects required more job training, not less. But many also feared that youth as a whole might lose their faith that the democratic way of life could meet people's basic needs.

The New Deal (1933–1939) wove a tapestry of programs to deal with this danger. Since the late nineteenth century, reformers were certain that charities and government both had to provide the out-of-doors physical activity that nature alone had once provided the young. As the nation aged, so did the youth group that social experts considered endangered, centering first on children and then moving to young people aged eighteen to twenty-five. During the 1930s, when the percentage of female college students rose from 33 percent to 39 percent, the youth problem focused less on physical and more on emotional health, less on athleticism and more on the alienation and lack of purpose felt by the young. Increasingly physical conditioning and exposure to nature seemed a pointless answer to a problem that appeared more psychological than physical, a matter of morale more than morals. The concern for youth, spurred by the fear of

the wild and unsupervised youth of the "Roaring Twenties," was redirected as the Depression politicized the attitudes of many young people. With the crisis of capitalism and the popularity of radical ideologies, New Dealers sought ways to preserve the political morale of youth by demonstrating the practical efficacy of an organized and compassionate democracy.

Those federal programs that aided youth before 1935 (the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, or FERA, and the Civilian Conservation Corps, or CCC) did so incidentally, in the course of helping such causes as college budgets and conservation. While the CCC, for example, aided 250,000 young (eighteen to twenty-five), mostly urban men in 1933, the men worked mostly at bucolic tasks that were noncompetitive with adult labor and ill suited to prepare them for industrialized work. Young men received little from the CCC that was formative, but the nation secured the removal of an incendiary element from the city streets without worsening the adult unemployment problem. In addition, critics wondered why the CCC did not aid women and why the New Deal, in their words, had no "she-she-she." Meanwhile, the National Recovery Administration's efforts to prohibit child labor ran headlong into the unwillingness of children to accept schools that offered no job training as alternatives to work. With state cuts pressuring college budgets, the New Deal responded with ideas for addressing multiple problems in inexpensive ways. By February 1934, the New Deal authorized the FERA to provide one hundred thousand college students the part-time jobs they needed to remain in school. The youth programs of 1933 and 1934 were cobbled together largely to plug the holes in the adult unemployment problem created by other New Deal ventures.

While some officials in the Office of Education favored the use of emergency programs to fund the ideas and aims of traditional educators, relief officials won the struggle in 1935 for the soul of the New Deal youth policy. The resulting National Youth Administration (NYA) was curious. Viewed one way, it appears decentralist; viewed another, it seemed to transform Uncle Sam into a schoolmaster himself. Half of the program extended the FERA student-aid program to high school students as well as college students, aiding 390,000 in the first year. The NYA's innovation was an out-of-school training program that served, in the initial year, 210,000 youth's need for job training. Yet, even here, decentralization was the watchword as all jobs were noncompetitive with private labor and selected and supervised by local leaders. The NYA was signed into law by executive order in 1935 and received \$50 million its first year (compared to the CCC's almost \$300 million in the same year). The NYA was, until the war, a poor relation of the CCC, receiving a pittance of what Congress earmarked for the "tree army." Not until 1941 did the NYA's funding approach the

amount received by the CCC (\$119 million and \$155 million, respectively).

Yet because of its timing and administrative provenance, the NYA would be far more progressive, reformist, and “youth-centered” than either the CCC or FERA. Led by the liberal Aubrey Williams, the NYA gave charge of a Division of Negro Affairs to Mary McLeod Bethune, head of the New Deal’s unofficial “black cabinet,” making her then the highest-ranking black American ever to serve in an official government post. Unlike the segregated CCC camps, NYA work projects were frequently integrated. State administrators, in part because of their own relatively young ages, often possessed an energy that endeared them to their charges and served their own future careers well (one was Texas State Director Lyndon B. Johnson).

But the rise of another youth movement, Nazism, also lent urgency and focus to the NYA’s work. When FDR gave the agency an extension in 1936, he declared tellingly, “no greater obligation faces the government than to justify the faith of its young people in the fundamental rightness of our democratic institutions.” In its later years, many of the NYA programs, from aid to a scattering of Jewish refugee youths to training for national defense work, would be designed to quietly support the cause of democracy in an increasingly dangerous world.

Ironically, the war effort that it served so well from 1939 to 1942 rendered the NYA seemingly obsolete, as jobs and industrial training opportunities mushroomed following Pearl Harbor. The NYA was helpless before Congressional budget-cutters, who saw to it that its funding lapsed in 1943. By then, nearly five million youths (nearly twice as many as were aided through the CCC) had received jobs without which they could not have remained in school or received valuable job training. Although the connection was indirect, the NYA was the first national agency to possess the same federalized approach to *both* funding and administration that would later characterize the G.I. Bill and the student aid programs of the Great Society and the present. In a sense, it was historically fitting that the New Deal’s most lasting service to young people would be largely forgotten by the generation that had received so much from it, and by their children. Although the Roosevelt administration eventually came to respond to the plight of the young, it did so quietly, after first subsuming it within the vast, amorphous problem of “unemployment.”

See also: **Social Welfare; Work and Poverty.**

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RICHARD A. REIMAN

Youth Culture

Culture is among the most complicated words in the English language. It refers to the processes by which the symbolic systems (e.g., common sense, “usual way of doing things”; traditions and rituals, frameworks for understanding experience, etc.) characteristically shared by a group of people are maintained and transformed across time. Despite the appearance of stability, culture is a dynamic, historical process. Youth culture refers to those processes and symbolic systems that young people share that are, to some degree, distinctive from those of their parents and the other adults in their community.

Youth cultures have not been part of all societies throughout history; they appear most frequently where significant realms of social autonomy for young people become regularized and expected features of the socialization process. Most scholars would agree that the conditions necessary for the mass youth cultures recognizable today appeared after the formation of modern nation-states and the routinization of the human life course in the industrializing nations of the nineteenth century. The mass institutions of the nation-state, which separate young people from adults and gather them in large numbers for education, religious instruction, training, work, or punishment have been consistent locations in which youth cultures have developed. There is some evidence suggesting that youth cultures may have existed in certain circumstances during the medieval period. Also, it is important to recognize that there are significant gaps in our historical understanding, particularly for populations outside of Europe and the United States. Youth cultures have been clearly evident in the twentieth century, particularly since the end of World War II. The history of this period is notably marked by significant social and cultural influences of youth cultures on society at large, a trend that continues in the contemporary period.

Research into youth cultures has been most prolific in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and anthropology; it is readily apparent in criminology of juveniles, demographic analyses, studies of the family and adolescent social development, and the study of ritual. The analytic frameworks and debates about youth cultures that have emerged from the three major disciplines have been taken up in other areas of study, including history. Like most fields in the humanities and social sciences, youth studies is marked less by the certainty of its knowledge than by a series of long-running debates. To what extent are youth cultures functional for a liberal capitalist society? To what extent is the formation of

youth cultures an unintended disruption in social systems? How is the range between contributory and resistive youth cultures socially negotiated and contained? To what extent are youth cultures separate and different from the cultures of their parents? What role do other social identities (race, ethnicity, and social class) play in the formation of youth cultures? Are the youth cultures of young men different from those of young women? To what extent are young people willing agents of social, cultural, and political change? What are the effects of consumer goods and the consumer marketplace on youth cultures? How do the major institutions of socialization (e.g., family, religion, and schools) shape and reflect youth cultures? Although there are numerous earlier studies, these questions are the products of research from the late twentieth century; the discipline of history has entered these debates most significantly during years since then. There is some question, therefore, about whether descriptions and theories of contemporary youth cultures are adequate for historical studies that reach back as far as five hundred years.

Youth Culture before the Modern Period

Evidence of youth cultures before the early modern period is piecemeal and suggestive at best, and it is usually found in the public records describing young men's misbehaviors. There are innumerable complaints of rowdy young men disturbing the peace at night in villages and towns throughout the medieval period. Young men having conflicts with adult authorities is no clear indication that a distinctive male youth culture was in place, of course. Many premodern societies regularly allowed young people who were nearing the age of marriage to congregate separately after the workday or during community celebrations and festivals. Local youth peer groups formed, and in some circumstances, some aspects of a youth culture emerged. On the other hand, these accounts often include mention of roguish adults, and the incidents and offenses may be nothing more than youthful boisterousness, overindulgence, impatience with social strictures, or the cultural disorientation caused by the progressive loss of established outlets for young men's energies (for instance, knighthood).

Most societies of this period integrated young people into the labors of everyday family and community life on a more or less continuous basis, including community-sanctioned events and associations for young people. Still, the repeated complaints over long periods during the medieval period in Europe suggest that young men were "claiming the night" as a realm of their own in a new way, and their elders were deeply concerned about it. During this period, young men replaced women (of all ages) as the audiences that the clergy perceived to be most in need of moral and religious instruction. Scholars of medieval Italy have argued that self-initiated elite youth associations, with their own rituals and cultural rules, did form and sustain themselves for a significant time in some Italian cities. Young men in some areas



In the early modern period, young men were often the chief participants in charivaries, rowdy gatherings held to punish or otherwise call attention to those who transgressed community standards. The participants in William Hogarth's early-eighteenth-century engraving beat sticks together in a mocking allusion to the tailor's supposed beating by his wife. Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Art Library.

were given the task of organizing festivals, which again allowed a significant realm of freedom both in planning and in presentation. European CHARIVARIES—informal, rowdy evening parades in which cuckolded husbands, scolding wives, or other offenders of community standards were mocked or sanctioned (sometimes physically)—were initiated and led by village youths with the tacit approval of (and sometimes participation from) local adults. There is also some evidence that youth cultures may have formed in institutions such as monasteries and ACADEMIES, where large numbers of young people were separated from most other adults for purposes of extended training and instruction. For instance, aspects of a youth culture are evident in the reports



Cars revolutionized youth culture, giving teenagers not only mobility, but a space in which they could do as they pleased. This photograph appeared in a 1953 *McCall's Magazine* article depicting a day in the life of the American teenager. © Genevieve Naylor/CORBIS.

of academy students collectively tossing unpopular teachers and professors from classroom windows.

Youth Cultures in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

As the institutions and practices of civil life within modern capitalist nation-states began to take their characteristic shape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several cultural, social, and economic trends emerged that formed the material basis for modern notions of mass youth culture.

Protestantism came to understand the period in the life course that would later be categorized as ADOLESCENCE as a particularly vulnerable time in moral development and thus open to collective supervision by trusted adult authorities. SUNDAY SCHOOLS served this purpose. As industrialization proceeded and expanded, rural populations migrated and concentrated in urban areas. No longer connected to long-standing, stable communities in which the responsibilities for the socialization and oversight of the young were collectively shared, the youth peer group often became a substi-



The influence of youth culture was almost inescapable by the late 1950s and early 1960s as the baby boomers reached their teenage years, making groups popular among young people, such as the Beatles, household icons. Archive Photos, Inc.

tute, particularly for ORPHANS, youths of marrying age, and runaways. Cities offered employment for wages for young people and a more or less open marketplace in necessities and leisure to people of any age. What many criminologists now recognize as YOUTH GANGS had appeared in major European cities as early as the Middle Ages; they appeared in New York City before the mid-nineteenth century, along with non-violent working-class youth cultures centered around volunteer fire departments. As these examples indicate, a distinction between a cultural realm created for youth and monitored by adults on the one hand (an “approved” youth culture), and a cultural realm sustained primarily by young people themselves on the other (a “rogue” youth culture) is useful, although it must be recognized that the boundary separating the two is fluid and permeable.

The emerging social stratum of middle-class professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers) whose legitimacy was dependent upon formal education grew and expanded as the scientific and industrial revolutions placed secular experts alongside those from religious institutions. Reflecting the professional classes’ power base in education, their children were sent to school rather than to APPREN-

TICESHIPS in the trades. In the schools, large numbers of young people were segmented by age and placed under the supervision of adults that exercised very different relationships with these youths than those of their parents and community elders. The professional middle classes increasingly became the cultural and social standard bearers in many of the leading democratic capitalist countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As this group moved to assume responsibility for the unintended and unattended consequences of urbanization and industrialization, it took up an advocacy role for those young people who had been socially and economically displaced by the transition from agriculture to industrialization. In taking this advocacy role (through charitable and religious organizations and later through governmental agencies), their views of children and adolescence became the dominant and institutionalized view.

These developments began to coalesce to form a new understanding of the “place” of young people in leading industrial societies after the mid-nineteenth century. A period of public education was made mandatory for young people in many parts of Europe and the United States; increasingly,

schooling became an expected and routine part of the life course. At roughly the same time, the field of medicine and the emerging discipline of psychology began to differentiate the stages of the human life course more precisely, determining a “normal” standard for biological and social development based on chronological age. The influx of migrants and immigrants to industrializing cities relieved some of the demand for the labor of young people, pushing young people to assume new roles outside the workplace. As concerns for the integration of immigrant children became a public issue, the schools took up this task as well. In 1904 American psychologist G. STANLEY HALL attempted to synthesize and codify the contradictory biological, psychological, and social understandings of youth that had emerged during the nineteenth century in a two-volume work entitled *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. This work laid a “scientific” basis for the collective socialization of the young in large institutions, justifying the social segregation of young people by age. With progressive shift in the identity of young people from workers to students in the late nineteenth century, the process for the creation of mass youth cultures was in place.

The uneven rate and extent of this shift both within and across national boundaries is important to bear in mind. Slaves, indigenous peoples, and colonial subjects did not proceed along this timeline. For instance, young African-American slaves were chattel property in the United States until emancipation in 1865, a clear divergence from the experiences of even the most destitute of white youths. Despite these limits, however, elements of a youth culture in the form of games, rituals, and stories did develop among young slaves, particularly during the period of their lives (sometimes as late as fifteen years old) before they entered the regulated agricultural work of adulthood. Indigenous Inuit youth in north-central Canada did not pass through a period of adolescence before contact with Europeans, instead experiencing a swift transition between childhood and adulthood. Parents arranged marriages for their children, sometimes at birth, leaving scant space for a youth culture to emerge. Even the homogeneity of the shifts within Europe and the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be overemphasized. As many contemporary scholars note, there have been many “pathways” from childhood to adulthood.

The institutional structures and practices of mass socialization in place at the end of the nineteenth century created a new place (both figuratively and literally) for young people to emphasize their common bonds over other mediating differences. Identities connected to parent communities—class, ethnicity, gender, religion, and later, SEXUALITY and race—were often partially (but rarely completely) subsumed under the common experiences of youth and the rituals of the new mass socialization. The autonomous realms in which youth cultures developed in these institutions were not always in-

tionally granted to them by adults. Adults have only limited abilities to constrain the activities of their youthful subordinates, and young people across history have demonstrated great resourcefulness in collectively exploiting those limitations to gain some self-directed social space. Drawing on that shared experience, the peer group became an (unintended) mass social institution in its own right, at times creating alternatives that were visibly opposed to adult cultural and social norms. Schools took young people away from the daily activities of most adults, opening the possibility for a youth social system, even if that social system was limited and constrained.

Youth Cultures, 1900–1940

New distinctions are needed to understand the development of youth cultures in the twentieth century. First, while the conditions for mass youth cultures to emerge were in place, young people did not become a homogenous social group; there has never been a singular youth culture in complex societies, but rather a wide variety of youth (sub)cultures. Second, a distinction needs to be made between the wide variety of commercial products (including forms of entertainment) marketed to youth and the unique ways in which young people took up the opportunities of these activities and products to produce a separate sphere of cultural processes and practices. It has become commonplace to refer to youth-marketed products as “youth culture,” but this tells us little about the cultural lives of young people themselves. While the development of national markets did offer new connections between youth people across great distances, the youth market did not lead to a homogenization of youth cultures. Third, the definition of youth itself changes, as more young people extend their period of semi-dependence on family to attend colleges and universities.

Scholars have argued that the first authentically independent mass youth culture in the twentieth century emerged among these college students, who fashioned new rituals and customs that have since marked memories of that period in American history. While these new rituals and customs often were (and still are) seen as a more radical departure from the parent culture than they really were, the college youth of this period did set the example for other developments. Youth clubs and youth cultures appeared in HIGH SCHOOLS, as education beyond the elementary level became more common, and many of the new customs were borrowed from college youth and adapted to the high schools. With the loss of employment during the Great Depression of the 1930s, even more young people entered high school. Since its appearance in the late nineteenth century, commercial popular culture had accepted youths’ money, but many of the new forms of urban popular culture, particularly film, explicitly catered to young people. The consumption of MOVIES, novels, and music (and later, COMIC BOOKS and TELEVISION) became an expected part of youth. While the majority of research has focused on the effects of commercial popular culture on

youth, popular culture's role as a shared and identity-generated commodity among youth has been investigated to a much lesser degree. Youth cultures do not consume popular culture commodities in a vacuum; their consumption forms the basis of affiliations (e.g., fans and collectors), a wide variety of social rituals (e.g., FRIENDSHIP and DATING), and the everyday stuff of common conversations.

Youth Cultures, 1940–1970

Although the commercialization of youth as a consumer market did not end with the 1920s, college youth's role as the avant-garde of consumerism diminished significantly during the Depression. That role was passed on to another group of consumers, high school students, during the early 1940s, when the word TEENAGER came into common usage among marketers. This trend coincided with America's entrance into World War II. During the war, youth cultures in high schools became a national social problem, initiated through a series of moral panics about their sexual activities (especially between high school girls and GIs), DELINQUENCY, and the influence of mass popular culture, particularly COMIC BOOKS, films, and ROCK-AND-ROLL music. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the existence of a mass youth culture itself was widely recognized, although mostly ridiculed. Youth cultures adopting unusual and spectacular clothing and hair styles appeared in the United States (the Beats) and Great Britain (the Teds). Fears of urban youth gangs and their potential influence on the less-threatening teenager initiated some of the first studies of youth culture. Besides the expansion of popular culture and the commonality of high school, the automobile had a dramatic effect on youth culture, particularly in the United States. The car not only provided a means for suburban and rural youth to travel to central cities, but it also created a kind of portable "private space" that enhanced other customs, including courtship, sex, drinking, and listening to the RADIO.

The number of youth cultures proliferated in the 1960s. College-age youth once again took the public (and world) stage as "hippies" and as organized radical groups, which often spread to the high schools. Spectacular subcultures continued to appear in Great Britain as well, notably mods, rockers, and near the end of the decade, skinheads. These subcultures, along with the participation of young people in mass protests and radical politics, signaled some realization of the cultural, social, and economic influence of young people. That this had been true for almost forty years is not a coincidence, since most young people had participated in those formations that seemed the least threatening to adults. The mass mobilization of youth against military service and restrictions on their speech, among other issues, signaled a mass refusal of the social terms accepted by their parents. This mobilization did not only apply to white middle-class youths, but also was apparent in a wide variety of social groups. For instance, young African Americans were key players in the dramatic civil rights demonstrations of this

era; young central-city residents of all races and ethnicities took part in the urban riots that followed later in the decade.

While youthful drug use and sexual experimentation had been cause for hysteria among adults for at least fifty years, these practices became much more widespread during this period. Drug use was associated with rock music and visual culture (films, posters, and art of all sorts), both their consumption by youth and their production by popular musicians and artists. "Hippies" (including high-school students) took hallucinogenics and smoked marijuana in public. Drug use, like drinking rituals, became an expected part of youth, although the majority of young people did not participate. Sexual experimentation appears to have been rising steadily throughout the century, but the public emphasis on "free love" and recreational sex broke new boundaries, particularly after the development of oral contraceptives.

Youth Cultures since 1970

In the aftermath of the 1960s' youth rebellion, youth culture became a normalized feature of life in many developed nations, and the youth cultures in those countries often set the terms for emulation by other nations. Parents and adults continued to try to control their wards, but if they found a son or daughter dressed in strange clothing (often self-fashioned) or with a strange haircut, they no longer panicked. Recognizing that the most rebellious of youth cultures of the 1960s had been commodified by entrepreneurs and later by mundane retail outlets, some youth cultures searched for identities that could either not be quickly co-opted or that embraced CONSUMER CULTURE for its own ends. Punk, with its trash-heap, "do-it-yourself" aesthetics and its claim that anyone could be a musician was an open attack on the hippie subculture of the previous generation. Despite its best efforts to resist mass marketing, punk too became a style available in shopping centers around the world. Glam rockers and disco dancers moved in the other direction, openly embracing some aspects of popular culture, particularly fashions borrowed from marginalized social groups. Most young people did not formally "join" a subculture, although they may have bought the records and adopted some of the clothing styles when they became available in stores.

Three trends developed in youth cultures formed after the 1970s. First, as marketers moved more definitively to segment pre-adolescents as a separate market, a mass "kid" culture has begun to emerge. Because of the limits on this group's mobility and autonomy, new analytical tools are needed for investigations. However, it is important to note that this group is segmented from adult and adolescent culture at an early age, often within the context of institutions such as day care and school, and the preconditions necessary for many aspects of youth culture to emerge are in place. At the very least, the shared experience of consumer goods (TOYS, foods, movies, radio stations, clothing), adult authority in socializing institutions, and common activities (skate-

boarding, scooters) strengthen the cultural connections between young people at an earlier age while further distancing them from the experiences of their parents and older siblings. Youth culture has gotten younger. At the same time, youth culture has taken on new meanings and gotten older: In particular, there is strong evidence that some people are continuing their youth culture affiliations into adulthood, so that youth cultures become “lifestyles.” This raises some interesting questions. What are we to make of a forty-year-old punk? A sixty-year-old hippie? Finally, new communication and media technologies, particularly the Internet, create spaces for new youth cultures to emerge. Teenage computer hackers and phone “phreaks” had already appeared during the 1980s, but the Internet allows for a much more expanded notion of cyber-cultures detached from everyday off-line identities. The Internet, like “lovers’ lane,” is a more or less unpatrolled wilderness that has allowed new cultural affiliations (e.g., netGoths) to be formed.

See also: Adolescence and Youth; Bobby Soxers; Campus Revolts in the 1960s; Charivari; Drugs; Flappers; Teen Drinking; Teen Magazines; Victory Girls; Youth Activism.

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JOE AUSTIN

Youth Gangs

Youth gangs are self-identified, organized groups of adolescents, banded together under common interests and a common leader in activities that typically are regarded as menacing to society or illegal. Gangs, or their prototypes, have existed for hundreds of years in a number of cultures, however many scholars locate the emergence of the modern youth gang in the nineteenth century, during the shift from agrarian to industrial society. Most youth gangs arise among the

urban poor, though not always. Although gangs participate in unlawful activities associated with controlling a territory or illegal enterprise, most of their pursuits remain purely social and within the law.

Gangs and youth groups have existed since at least the Middle Ages. Accounts from England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe criminal gangs that robbed, extorted, and raped. In France, England, and Germany, medieval juvenile groups known as *abbeys of misrule* participated in violent sports and fights against rival groups in honor of the abbeys from which they were recruited. Other youth groups rioted and intimidated deviant villagers, and were sanctioned by adults for enforcing the social order. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English gangs wore colored ribbons to mark their allegiances, battled rivals, and terrorized communities. In the American colonies, people complained about troublesome groups who caroused, fought, and stole, as well.

Although these earlier prototypical gangs possessed characteristics associated with the modern youth gang, quintessential urban street gangs only emerged in the nineteenth century. In the United States, the social and economic pressures associated with rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration gave rise to organized criminal gangs that thrived under these conditions. Gangs like the “Pug Uglies” and the “Dead Rabbits” conducted illegal activities in slums and recruited youths and adults. They were linked with the criminal underworld, saloons, and political machines. As new immigrants arrived and ethnic conflicts increased in the late 1800s, ethnic youth gangs battling for turf and status became more prevalent.

Urban reformers interpreted the gang phenomena as part of the depravity and degradation of city life. Alarmed by the tenacity and success of some of these organizations, they began to study the causes of gangs. Significantly, researchers focused on the role of juvenile DELINQUENCY in the development of adult criminal gangs. Partly as a result of these studies, many reformers throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries promoted child welfare services and education as a means of stemming gang activity and reestablishing social order.

Frederic M. Thrasher’s work *The Gang* (1927) epitomized this new trend in the study of gangs. Thrasher located the roots of criminal groups not only in the miserable living conditions and economic disadvantages of the poor, but also in adolescent development. He proposed that gangs were a normal adaptation to slums and an extension of natural adolescent bonding. Young gang members entered into adult organizations only when social conditions remained inadequate and social mobility was unattainable. Influenced by Thrasher’s study, public officials and experts throughout the 1920s and 1930s largely either dismissed juvenile gangs as adolescent play or elevated them to the level of adult orga-

nized crime, rather than recognizing them as menacing, independent entities of their own.

Youth gangs received heightened attention during World War II. In Europe, the disastrous upheaval of war caused a significant rise in delinquency. Acting out of necessity, juvenile gangs participated in the black market, prostitution, and theft. In the United States, the increase in youth gang activity was as much a product of Americans' new awareness of the problem as it was of true increases in numbers. Public officials and the press blamed wartime conditions, like disruptions in family life, for contributing to juvenile delinquency. At the same time, people became concerned with ethnic youth subcultures and fads, like the zoot-suit fashion. The style, and its connection to a series of race riots in 1943, created a situation in which minority youths began to band together into ethnic gangs for protection, and which also crystallized the public's conception of youth gang violence. By the end of the war, the combined awareness of the juvenile delinquency problem and of interethnic clashes solidified American's fears about youth gangs.

In the postwar period, American youth gangs were a major social dilemma on the streets and in the public consciousness. In the 1950s gangs were characterized by their ethnic and racial affiliations, their control of territory, and their greater use of violence against rivals. Law enforcement and social services targeted gangs for research, surveillance, and interventions, and the popular media portrayed youth gangs in movies like *The Wild Ones*. However, by the mid-1960s, adolescent gang activities slowed. Gang intervention programs and public policy did much to disrupt gangs. Scholars also suggest that political involvement in civil rights issues and the anti-war movement drew many youths away from gang participation, or redirected gang activities into militant groups like the Black Panthers. Moreover, the increased use of DRUGS such as heroin by gang members destroyed gang cohesion and created loose drug subcultures in its place.

Youth gangs resurfaced in the 1970s in response to the economic downturn in inner cities and to the growing drug culture. A number of returning veterans from Vietnam reorganized gangs and provided new leadership and experience. Though youth gangs actually fought against the prevailing drug culture at first, many juvenile gangs increasingly turned to drug trafficking for profit. By the 1980s, gangs were involved in more predatory crimes, and battled for control of illegal markets as well as turf. Gang activity was marked by brutal violence as gang members began to carry and use guns.

Modern juvenile gangs have been a problem around the world. Various youth gangs in Great Britain and Germany have emerged in response to ongoing class rivalries and rising immigrant populations, including rowdy and nationalist soccer hooligans and racist, violent skinheads. Studies in Af-

rican youth gangs have also turned up groups like the skollie gangs of South Africa, who provide protection, support, and economic survival for their members. In Jamaica, posses recruit members living in extreme poverty, and commonly use violence and torture in their drug trafficking operations, and in Colombia, adolescent gangs protect territory and carry out murders for drug cartels.

See also: **Juvenile Court; Law, Children and the; Soldier Children; Zoot Suit Riots.**

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Laura Mihailoff

Youth Ministries

Youth ministries—or religious programs and organizations for adolescents—are among the most notable institutional innovations in the modern history of religion. They have involved millions of young people as members, especially from among Protestant Christianity in Europe and the United States, but also from other Christian denominations around the globe as well as JUDAISM, ISLAM, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Of course, religious leaders have always tried to communicate their beliefs and practices across generations. RITES OF PASSAGE and coming-of-age rituals are ancient. But focused religious attention to a group of young people located in age between childhood and adulthood developed along with the notion of ADOLESCENCE, and shortly after SUNDAY SCHOOLS, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The earliest religious youth societies appeared in Europe, but youth ministries grew most dramatically in contexts of religious voluntarism and pluralism, such as existed in the United States. Observers had long noted the predominance of young people among converts at American religious revivals. As some American religious leaders began to note an absence of young people among active members in the late nineteenth century, the revivalist strategy of targeting youth for conversion became a pattern for more enduring programs and organizations. The most notable organizations to develop this strategy were the Young Men's Christian Asso-

ciation (YMCA), founded by George Williams in 1844 in London, and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), founded in Boston and New York in the 1850s by women such as Mrs. Marshall Roberts and Lucretia Boyd. Both youth movements were connected in sometimes general, sometimes quite specific, ways to local Protestant churches. They also established numerous links with business and industry, and occasionally with labor. Both movements also sought to engage youth in wholesome activities such as recreation, missionary endeavor, and education, and to protect young people from what experts considered unsavory elements in cities. Over the course of the twentieth century, the Ys developed a tripartite focus on programs for "body, mind, and spirit," and offered a wide range of social services for young people, including several radical initiatives in the 1960s. In the last decades of the twentieth century, both the YMCA and YWCA largely transformed themselves into family-serving recreational centers with services for individuals of all ages, regardless of religious affiliation.

As their organizational structure suggests, the YMCA and YWCA movements were initially committed to a rigid separation of the genders. The same was true of ethnicity. African-American young people were segregated by the Ys into separate but not equal facilities until the 1940s, and much longer in some settings. This rigid gender and racial separation was characteristic of the early years of many youth ministries, and often provided occasions for women and minorities to lead organizations in ways that, ironically, overturned the assumptions of white male superiority that had led to the segregation. Consequently, segregation softened considerably over the decades, as did the evangelical zeal and Protestant dominance of the Ys. The YWCA especially eventually embraced an ideology of ethnic and cultural pluralism as part of a "global women's movement," as Judith Weisenfeld and Nancy Boyd have documented. The Ys also spawned, beginning in the 1920s, a number of other significant Christian youth movements and agencies that were very influential in the global ecumenical movement, such as the World Christian Student Federation, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the youth bureau of the World Council of Churches (see Ans van der Bent's *From Generation to Generation*). These movements often linked missionary activity with political activism of a "progressive" stripe, as young people began to confront the global consequences of European and American colonialism.

Along with the emergence of the YMCA and YWCA in the late nineteenth century came many other Protestant youth ministries. Some of them welcomed African Americans, although most traditionally black denominations also developed their own youth boards and bureaus. The nondenominational Christian Endeavor was the largest of the numerous Protestant youth ministries. Christian Endeavor began at Williston Congregational Church in Portland, Maine, under the direction of Dr. Francis E. Clark, on Feb-

ruary 2, 1881. By 1887 the organization boasted seven thousand societies with five hundred thousand members, mostly from Presbyterian and Congregationalist Protestant churches (the so-called mainline churches) around the globe, although members were also drawn from other denominations. The structure of Christian Endeavor established a much imitated pattern: weekly meetings for prayer, devotions, education, and recreation in local societies (usually a congregation), a publication, *The Christian Endeavor World*, annual conventions or gatherings, and a board of directors. Christian Endeavor was also distinguished by its pledge, which committed young people to daily bible reading and prayer, active membership in a local congregation, and missionary activism. Christian Endeavor continued to operate into the twenty-first century, although membership declined dramatically as particular denominations developed their own in-house youth boards, publications, and offices.

If Christian youth ministries began as ventures among mainline Protestant groups, evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants after World War II founded many enduring nondenominational youth ministries. Youth for Christ adapted the well-known revival format into radio broadcast rallies for young people at sporting arenas around the country in the 1940s, featuring up-tempo white gospel music and testimony by war heroes and sport stars. Billy Graham was the first traveling evangelist for Youth for Christ. Young Life was another enduring evangelical youth ministry begun in the 1940s, but it was quickly followed by Campus Crusade for Christ, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Youth Specialties, Group Publishing, and many others.

These Protestant youth ministries in the United States shared many features and a common historical trajectory. They generally began in urban settings, triggered by the migrations of young people to cities for industrial and other specialized work. They were organized in conjunction with local congregations, and established networks through national conferences, publications, and SUMMER CAMPS. They originated to meet needs among young people for employment assistance, housing, education, recreation, and spiritual fellowship, but were quickly tailored by religious leaders to specific agendas. They were generally middle class in mentality and morality, proved strongest in the Midwest, and increasingly took on the trappings of a profession as trained and certified youth ministers began to be placed in congregations in the 1950s and after.

By the twenty-first century, youth ministries and ministers were conventional features of religious traditions in the United States, with institutional presence in buildings, denominational offices, publications, congregations, web pages, and campgrounds. Through their missionary activity, some youth ministries have spun off or collaborated with international organizations committed to social justice and en-

vironmental causes, akin to the Peace Corps. Among the most notable to engage youth in this way are the youth and campus chapters of Habitat for Humanity, the Jesuit Volunteer Corps, the Lutheran Volunteer Corps, and the youth internships and other programs of the Mennonite Central Committee. All in all, GLOBALIZATION has become a contested topic among the leaders of Christian youth ministries in the early twenty-first century. Of course, conversion-oriented missions also continue among some Protestant youth ministries and among Mormons, whose two-year mission requirements for college-aged young people and daily “seminary” programs for youths aged fourteen to eighteen continue to be supported by broad social pressures among Mormons.

Among Roman Catholics, youth ministry has often been connected to parish-based catechesis, or education to prepare for the sacraments of confirmation, communion, and marriage. Nevertheless, specific organizations and programs, such as World Youth Day, have also developed among Catholics to target particular groups of young people. In the United States these organizations and programs grew slowly and sporadically in local venues, due in part to the competing ethnic enclaves into which Catholics tended to cluster after immigration. The Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) was the first movement to bridge some of these groups into a pan-ethnic youth-serving organization. CYO began in the 1930s under the leadership of Bishop Bernard Sheil of Chicago, initially as youth BOXING leagues, but eventually spinning off into a range of ministries, and continuing in some locales into the twenty-first century under Archdiocesan auspices. The Young Christian Workers (YCW) and the Young Christian Students (YCS) were part of the international Catholic Action movement that revitalized mid-twentieth-century Catholicism, and drew thousands of lay Catholic youth into particularly formative programs until the energy behind that movement was absorbed in the reforms of the second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

Outside of the United States, church–state unity or religious and ethnic homogeneity lent youth ministries a different political dynamic. German youth movements, and especially the relationships between both Protestant and Catholic youth groups and the rise of National Socialism, have been closely studied, as have the connections between YMCA missionaries and traditional religious and political practices in Japan (see Mark Roseman and Jon Davidann, respectively). Elsewhere, relationships forged between the international missionary activity of youth ministries and cultural developments were complex and variable. One recurring phenomenon is the appearance of young people in new religious movements, such as the flourishing Pentecostalism across the Southern Hemisphere. Religious youth have also often been implicated in religious extremism and violence, although historical causality is anything but clear in these cases. What is clear is that some malleable but dura-

ble myths or cultural conventions about the life stage known as youth, with young people represented as both problems (devils) and with potential (angels), have become cross-cultural currency, and that the international presence of Christian youth ministries played a role in the construction and dissemination of these conventions.

It is therefore not surprising that what began as an innovation within Christian traditions has also spread to other religious groups. For instance, Jewish youth have organized throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most notably in the B’nai B’rith Youth Organization and B’nai B’rith Girls, but also in Hillel, a campus-based organization, the Federation of Zionist Youth, and others. Muslim youth have founded the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Muslim Youth of North America (affiliated with the Islamic Society of North America), and the Muslim Student Association, among others. Buddhist youth could by the late twentieth century participate in a range of activities through the Dharma Realm Buddhist Youth organization and the World Federation of Buddhist Youth, and Hindu high schoolers could join the Hindu Students Council. Many local synagogues, temples, and mosques also ran programs tailored specifically to adolescents.

The significance of these youth ministries for the history of childhood cannot be measured singly, but some broad generalities may pertain. Throughout the twentieth century, youth ministries clearly extended the span of childhood and solidified middle-class desires and status across traditions. They often had links to business. Connections with labor were less frequent. Youth ministries have also tended to be bastions of conservative gender and racial ideologies, although they often unwittingly provided space for experimentation in gender roles, and sometimes explicitly encouraged leadership among women and racial minorities. Usually intended to preserve religious traditions, youth ministries have also been marked by fuzzy ideological boundaries, and have been located on the social margins of official traditions, thus allowing ecumenical and interfaith experimentation on the part of young members. Generally nationalist in politics, if not colonialist or imperialist, youth ministries have also multiplied opportunities for young people to gain international experience, and thus have indirectly (especially in the late twentieth century) promoted multicultural awareness, when they have not motivated religious extremism.

All in all, little evidence remains to support the judgments of Joseph Kett that youth ministries vanished in America during the late twentieth century, or were only banal and culturally confirming. In fact, the significance of these movements deserves careful historical investigation in both local and international contexts, in discrete periods. Recent studies have clarified that the organizations nurtured future leaders for religious groups throughout the twentieth century, and that they sometimes radically reshaped traditions and

cultures through visionary leadership and through the agency of the young people who joined them.

See also: **Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; YWCA and YMCA.**

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JON PAHL

YWCA and YMCA

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) both began in London, England in the mid-nineteenth century as prayer unions aimed at saving the souls of young men and women who had gone to the city in search of employment. Concerned with the immoral influences of urban life, both organizations expanded to provide new migrants with wholesome recreation, religious instruction, and, eventually, supervised housing. The movement came to the United States in 1852

when the first YMCAs were established in New York City and Boston. Six years later a group of women formed a prayer union in New York City that would lead to the formation of the first American YWCA. Although the two organizations shared similar ideological roots, their structures, funding, and leadership remained separate on the national level.

Initially, the YMCA concentrated on recruiting its membership from the ranks of young middle-class businessmen, but realizing that the future depended on a new generation, work among boys began in the 1880s. By this time, the YMCA had moved from its earlier revivalist phase of the prayer union and evangelical meetings to one that stressed character building. The gymnasium was the centerpiece of this new approach. By 1900, 77 percent of YMCAs had gyms, and many also added libraries, meeting rooms, and classrooms. Young boys were attracted to the new facilities and the recreational activities they provided. YMCA leaders grasped the opportunities to entice boys into their facility where they could instill Christian middle-class values through Bible classes and team sports. Beginning in the 1880s the YMCA sponsored SUMMER CAMPS for boys. By 1930, the YMCA boasted of a youth membership of over 300,000 boys, many of who belonged to Hi-Y or county wide boys clubs. Recruitment among grade school boys was most successful in the twentieth century as the YMCA formed groups of Friendly Indians (boys under twelve) in America's elementary schools. However, the YMCA's reliance on large urban facilities, a reputation of Protestant conservatism, and relatively expensive membership and camping fees limited its ability to attract a wide diversity of boys.

Individual YWCAs engaged in work with various groups of girls beginning in 1881 with the Little Girls' Christian Association, but the national association did not regulate this work until the Girl Reserve movement was organized in 1918. Members voted to change their name from Girl Reserves to Y-Teens in 1946, and membership was open to any girl between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The YWCA stressed group work and opened its doors to various youth groups, providing space for dances, clubs, and athletic activities. Just as the YMCA had done, the YWCA constructed gymnasiums and swimming pools. The YWCA also had a camping program for youth that stressed wholesome outdoor recreation and survival skills. During World War II, the YWCA sponsored youth canteens, attracting high school boys and girls. In 1949, Y-Teens took part in the YWCA's national convention for the first time, sitting on various committees and voting on association proposals. For both associations, youth work was vital to the future of the movement.

See also: **Organized Recreation and Youth Groups; Youth Ministries.**

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MARGARET A. SPRATT

Z

Zoos

The word *zoo* first appeared in the 1867 music hall hit *Walking in the Zoo on Sunday*, which includes the observation: “the OK thing to do / On Sunday afternoon is to toddle in the Zoo.” An abbreviation of zoological garden, “zoo” sounds cute and childlike. From the start the zoological garden had a special appeal to children. In 1828 the Zoological Society of London opened the zoological garden in Regent’s Park, and its very first guidebook, *Henry and Emma’s Visit to the Zoological Gardens*, addressed children as the main guests.

For centuries, various societies have established collections of wild and exotic animals. Ancient Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Chinese civilizations all had magnificent collections of animals. Aristotle based his zoological studies on menageries in ancient Greece, and in ancient Rome enormous menageries were established to furnish the sanguine spectacles with exotic animals. Medieval princes marked their symbolic power by having various types of animals in their castles and surrounding grounds. The great discoveries of the sixteenth century incited a new interest in exotic animals, and the princes of the Renaissance and the Baroque gathered these animals in well-defined spaces, buildings, or gardens, thus establishing the forerunners of the modern, public zoological garden. But at this time any notion of a special relationship between children and animals seems to have been absent.

The menagerie was a symbol of power, and the king would define himself as the center of the world by having the animals gathered around his feet. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century menageries of Austria and France were based on radiating plans with a pavilion in the center and paddocks radiating from there. In 1765 the menagerie at Schönbrunn opened to the public as the oldest continuous animal collection. At Versailles the menagerie also was constructed to appeal to the royal gaze. The French Revolution in 1789 changed the royal menagerie to a public institution.

The animals were moved from the court to Paris’s Jardin des Plantes. At first the revolutionaries wanted this zoological garden to represent bourgeois values such as utility and reason, but the Napoleonic Wars reintroduced the need for power display. On July 27, 1798, French troops entered Paris in a triumphal march with exotic animals among the war booty.

The first director of the Jardin des Plantes organized the facility according to the principles of the picturesque English landscape garden: no fixed center, sinuous paths, nature as a symbol of freedom. The landscape garden became the dominant model for the exhibition of animals in the nineteenth century, and the term *zoological garden* was coined when the Zoological Society of London in 1828 opened its collections.

After the founding of the London Zoo hardly a year passed without a new zoo being established in the major European and American cities. In Copenhagen the zoological garden opened 1859, at the same time when the ramparts around the medieval city were demolished. The zoological garden was a symbol of modernity—but was also “an ark in the park,” where nature could be protected in the midst of the ongoing process of urbanization.

These collections of animals were established for different purposes, and the specific character of a collection may be used as a key to the understanding of the culture within which the animals were collected. The ancient and medieval menageries were sites of worship and power-display, whereas the main purposes of the modern zoological garden are research, education, and entertainment. In the modern era, the process of rationalization has taken away the spell animals once had. In earlier times they entered the imagination as magic beings, messengers with supernatural powers. In the zoological garden any children would understand that they were the masters of the universe.



From their very beginning, zoological gardens, or zoos, have been considered to have a special appeal for children. Jim McElhom.

By the nineteenth century animals had become objectified as meat, fur, or exotic spectacles. However, animals maintained traces of their traditional significance as humanity's partner in nature as PETS, and the brutal expansion of civilization's dominance over nature was accompanied by a growing sentimentalism. Animals became "worthy" of human feelings; the loyalty of dogs became a popular motive in the arts. A market for pets came about, and the growing distaste for cruelty against animals led to legal measures against such behavior.

Zoos also promoted a more tender view of animals. One famous animal attraction was Jumbo the elephant. He was captured in the African jungle in 1861, sold to a Paris zoo and after that to the London Zoo, where he was given the name Jumbo after an African word for elephant. In 1881 the London Zoo decided to sell Jumbo to the American showman P. T. Barnum, and this caused a Jumbo-mania on both sides of the Atlantic. Jumbo's keeper in the London Zoo declared: "He has been engaged in carrying around the children of the human family almost daily for twenty years."

If animals were treated as a kind of human beings, it was only natural that they should live like human beings. In the nineteenth century zoos excelled in exotic architecture for

animals: Indian pagodas for the elephants, Moorish temples for the monkeys, Gothic towers for the owls. This environment offered entertaining information on the geographical origin of the animals, and it also witnessed the new fraternity between man and beast. The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* in 1859 only enhanced such sentiments.

The call for a return to nature had been answered by early romantic landscape gardeners who invented the sunken, and therefore invisible, fence called the "ha-ha." The "ha-ha" made possible the revolutionary innovations in zoo design patented by the great German zoo director Carl Hagenbeck. In 1907, near Hamburg, he opened a zoo where the bars between man and beast were replaced by concealed moats, and where the animal houses were replaced by theatrical scenery. These "panoramas" with animals roaming "freely" in African or Arctic landscapes paved the way for later efforts to show the animals in their natural surroundings.

The tendency to remove the barriers between nature and culture had a great impact on efforts to make the zoo relate to children. Three strategies were adopted: the farm strategy where children could look at and play with cows, pigs, goats, and the like; the fairy tale strategy where the children could

identify with fairy tales about animals behaving like man (or kids); and the pedagogical strategy which attempted to make it possible for children to experience the world from the perspective of different animals.

The farm strategy was introduced by the Philadelphia Zoo, which in 1938 was the first zoo to introduce a petting zoo for children, with small cages built like farm stables, where children could see and sometimes play with ducks, pigs, calves, turtles, mice and even baby lions.

The fairy tale strategy has been used by a number of zoos. In 1958 the San Francisco Zoo opened Storyland with twenty-six animated action and audio sets in two and three dimensions depicting scenes from Little Red Riding Hood, Snow White, and other fairy tales and nursery rhymes. This was the first “fairy tale” zoo. In Catskill Game Farm Inc., New York, the children’s zoo was built as a kindergarten with fairy tale houses where the young animals could live with their mothers.

Pedagogical considerations have been a part of the zoo history since its beginning. The farm strategy may be considered a pedagogical method offering urban children an opportunity to see cows, goats, horses, and other animals. When the Children’s Zoo of London Zoo was founded in 1938, the idea was to give urban children a chance to come into close contact with young and domesticated animals. A more explicit pedagogical strategy could be found in San Diego Zoological Garden. Here education was the aim of the children’s zoo, and it even had its own school with teachers, several school buses, and other similar features. An extreme version of the efforts to make children understand the world of animals may be found in zoos where children can romp on giant spider webs or crawl through a meerkat tunnel (such as at the San Francisco Zoo), spend a night in an animal house (the Lincoln Park Zoo), or see the world through the eyes of a prairie dog by peering through a fiberglass prairie dog burrow (the Bronx Zoo).

In the first zoos bars made the difference between children and animals visible, and the zoo experience was primarily one of wonder, fear, and pride of man’s dominance over nature. In the modern zoo the bars have been removed or concealed, thus stressing the connections between all living things and emphasizing education and identification. Now most zoos offer schools an extension of their classrooms and define their mission as that of fostering curiosity, empathy, and learning about animals in order to stimulate a sense of responsibility for the natural environment.

See also: **Vacations.**

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MARTIN ZERLANG

Zoot Suit Riots

The “zoot suit riots” occurred in Los Angeles, California, between June 3 and June 10, 1943, and were the largest upheavals in that city’s history up to that time. During the riots American soldiers, sailors, and civilians stationed around Los Angeles attacked Mexican-American boys and young men. Attackers roamed the streets and entered bars, theaters, and restaurants in search of victims wearing distinctive zoot suits (very baggy pants and oversized, almost knee-length coats with wide lapels and heavy shoulder pads), and when they found them, beat them and tore off their suits. By the end of the riots, the servicemen were assaulting Mexican-American youths between their teens and early twenties indiscriminately, whether or not they wore zoot suits. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) did little to stop the upheaval, instead arresting over six hundred Mexican-American youths during the riots. The riots subsided only after the U.S. War Department declared the city off-limits to military personnel.

The zoot suit riots resulted from intense bias against the growing Mexican-American community, exacerbated by anxieties generated by World War II. Sensationalized press coverage of alleged crimes by Mexican-American TEENAGERS helped generate public hysteria over a perceived crime wave. The LAPD also contributed to ethnic tensions by both blaming Mexican Americans for the apparent outbreak of crime and mistreating Mexican-American youth. During the war years, the LAPD routinely pulled over cars driven by Mexican Americans to conduct “field interrogations.” In 1942 they began making mass arrests, blockading streets in the barrios and detaining teenagers and young adults on vague charges, such as vagrancy or unlawful assembly.

The precipitating cause of the riots was the placement of a Navy training facility in a Mexican-American neighborhood. As thousands of military personnel came and went from the facility, they inevitably transgressed the mores of the surrounding immigrant communities. Local men and boys responded to perceived disrespect and violations of neighborhood standards by physically challenging and verbally threatening the servicemen. While no specific incident sparking the riots is known, these confrontations between military personnel and civilian youth accelerated in the wartime crisis atmosphere of the spring of 1943. In early June, sailors who had apparently been accosted by Mexican-American youths decided to search for zoot suiters, initiating the ensuing violence.

For Mexican-American youth, wearing zoot suits could highlight their resistance to a discriminatory culture. Jazz

musicians such as Cab Calloway had popularized the fashion among African-American hipsters in East Coast cities in the early 1940s before West Coast youth adopted it. During the war years, when Americans prized the neat look of servicemen and were urged to conserve cloth, the outlandish zoot suits rejected conventional values. For Mexican-American youth, wearing zoot suits and indulging in the associated wild life of dancing and drinking helped to construct their own subculture and rejected assimilation into mainstream America. At the same time, white Los Angeles identified zoot suits as signs of inherent criminality.

See also: **Fashion; Youth Culture.**

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DAVID WOLCOTT

Primary Sources

Primary Sources

Table of Contents

Advice through Sermons and Letters

| | |
|---|-----|
| A Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to His Son Ted, Advice and News, 1901 | 929 |
| Excerpt from <i>Christian Nurture</i> Horace Bushnell, 1847 | 930 |
| A Letter from Rufus W. Bailey to His Daughters at School, 1857 | 931 |
| A Letter from Jeanette Hulme Platt to Samuel C. Damon, 1861 | 932 |
| Excerpt from <i>Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young</i> Jacob Abbott, 1871 | 934 |

Poetry and Memoir

| | |
|---|-----|
| “Before the Birth of One of Her Children” Anne Bradstreet, c. 1645 | 936 |
| Excerpt from <i>Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl</i> Harriet Jacobs, 1861 | 936 |
| Excerpt from a Letter from William Penn to His Wife and Children, 1682 | 938 |
| “The Barefoot Boy” John Greenleaf Whittier, 1855 | 940 |
| “Sleep, Sleep, Happy One” Christina Rossetti, c. late nineteenth century | 941 |
| Excerpt from <i>The Souls of Black Folk</i> W.E.B. DuBois, 1903 | 941 |
| “Stormy Nights” Robert Louis Stevenson, 1922 | 943 |

Children’s Literature

| | |
|---|-----|
| “Rosalie and Hetty” from <i>Little Ferns for Fanny’s Little Friends</i> Fanny Fern (Sara Willis), 1853 | 945 |
| Excerpt from <i>Ragged Dick</i> Horatio Alger, 1868 | 945 |
| Lesson Eight from <i>McGuffey’s Fifth Eclectic Reader</i> William Holmes McGuffey, 1879 | 948 |
| Excerpt from <i>Tarzan of the Apes</i> Edgar Rice Burroughs, 1914 | 948 |

Child Protection: Government and the Courts

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Ex parte Crouse</i> , 1839 | 951 |
| Excerpt from “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” W. T. Stead, 1885 | 953 |
| Excerpt from a Report Issued by the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909 | 955 |
| <i>Hammer v. Dagenhart</i> , 1918 | 957 |
| <i>Meyer v. State of Nebraska</i> , 1923 | 959 |
| Children’s Bureau Pamphlet #189, <i>Public Dance Halls</i> , 1929 | 962 |
| <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> , 1954 | 965 |
| Excerpt from <i>In re Gault</i> , 1967 | 967 |
| Excerpt from California Megan’s Law, 1996 | 970 |

English Language Education for
Immigrant Children, California
Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998 972

Classics

Excerpt from *The Republic*
Plato, 370–375 B.C.E. 974

Excerpt from *A Brief Account of the
Destruction of the Indies*
Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1552 976

Matthew 2, King James Bible, 1611 977

Kings 1:3, 15–28, King James Bible, 1611 978

The Qur’an, 2:233, 4:11, Pickthall
translation, 1930 979

Educators

Excerpt from *Some Thoughts Concerning
Education*
John Locke, 1693 979

Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education*
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762 981

Excerpt from *How Gertrude Teaches Her
Children*
Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, 1801 982

Excerpt from “A Treatise on Domestic
Economy for the Use of Young Ladies
at Home and at School”
Catharine E. Beecher, 1841 984

Excerpt from *Schools of To-Morrow*
John Dewey, 1915 985

Human Rights of Children

Excerpt from *Report on the Physical Welfare
of Infants and Mothers*, 1917 986

United Nations Declaration of the Rights
of the Child, 1959 988

United Nations Convention on the Rights
of the Child, 1989 990

Excerpt from *The Child Soldiers Global
Report*, 2001 1000

Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A
Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report
on Orphan Estimates and Program
Strategies*, 2002 1003

Modern Studies of the Child

Excerpt from *Adolescence*
G. Stanley Hall, 1904 1004

Excerpt from *The Spirit of Youth and the
City Streets*
Jane Addams, 1909 1007

Excerpt from “The Origin and
Development of Psychoanalysis”
Sigmund Freud, 1910 1008

Excerpt from “Conditioned Emotional
Reactions”
John B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner,
1920 1010

The Working Child

Isaiah Thomas’s Indenture Papers, 1756 1012

Two Interviews with English Workhouse
Children from the *Ashton Chronicle*,
1849 1013

Excerpt from *Germinal*
Émile Zola, 1885 1015

Excerpt from *A New England Girlhood,
Outlined from Memory*
Lucy Larcom, 1889 1017

Excerpt from a Report on Child Labor in
New York City Tenements
Mary Van Kleeck, 1908 1019

Advice through Sermons and Letters

A Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to His Son Ted, Advice and News, 1901

SOURCE: Roosevelt, Theodore. 1919. *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Introduction

President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) wrote prolifically throughout his lifetime, publishing books on nature, history, hunting, American politics, the family, and society. In the year of his death, a collection of his letters to his children was published, offering American readers insight into the personal life of this famous father to six children. In the following excerpt, Roosevelt advises his son Ted on his performance at school, and offers him glimpses into life at home. The letter reveals both the purposeful effort that Roosevelt put into shaping his son's character and his simple pleasure in his children's antics. To Roosevelt, children were both a joy and a heavy responsibility.

Oyster Bay, May 7th, 1901

BLESSED TED:

It was the greatest fun seeing you, and I really had a satisfactory time with you, and came away feeling that you were doing well. I am entirely satisfied with your standing, both in your studies and in athletics. I want you to do well in your sports, and I want even more to have you do well with your books; but I do not expect you to stand first in either, if so to stand could cause you overwork and hurt your health. I always believe in going hard at everything, whether it is Latin or mathematics, boxing or football, but at the same time I want to keep the sense of proportion. It is never worth while to absolutely exhaust one's self or to take big chances unless for an adequate object. I want you to keep in training the faculties which would make you, if the need arose, able to put your last ounce of pluck and strength into a contest. But I do not want you to squander these qualities. To have you play football as well as you do, and make a good name in boxing and wrestling, and be cox of your second crew, and stand second or third in your class in the studies, is all right.

I should be rather sorry to see you drop too near the middle of your class, because, as you cannot enter college until you are nineteen, and will therefore be a year later in entering life, I want you to be prepared in the best possible way, so as to make up for the delay. But I know that all you can do you will do to keep substantially the position in the class that you have so far kept, and I have entire trust in you, for you have always deserved it.

The weather has been lovely here. The cherry trees are in full bloom, the peach trees just opening, while the apples will not be out for ten days. The May flowers and bloodroot have gone, the anemones and bellwort have come and the violets are coming. All the birds are here, pretty much, and the warblers troop through the woods.

To my delight, yesterday Kermit, when I tried him on Diamond, did excellently. He has evidently turned the corner in his riding, and was just as much at home as possible, although he was on my saddle with his feet thrust in the leathers above the stirrup. Poor mother has had a hard time with Yagenka, for she rubbed her back, and as she sadly needs exercise and I could not have a saddle put upon her, I took her out bareback yesterday. Her gaits are so easy that it is really more comfortable to ride her without a saddle than to ride Texas with one, and I gave her three miles sharp cantering and trotting.

Dewey Jr. is a very cunning white guinea pig. I wish you could see Kermit taking out Dewey Sr. and Bob Evans to spend the day on the grass. Archie is the sweetest little fellow imaginable. He is always thinking of you. He has now struck up a great friendship with Nicholas, rather to Mame's (the nurse's) regret, as Mame would like to keep him purely for Quentin. The last-named small boisterous person was in fearful disgrace this morning, having flung a block at his mother's head. It was done in sheer playfulness, but of course could not be passed over lightly, and after the enormity of the crime had been brought fully home to him, he fled with howls of anguish to me and lay in an abandon of yellow-headed grief in my arms. Ethel is earning money for the purchase of the Art Magazine by industriously hoeing up the weeds in the walk. Alice is going to ride Yagenka bareback this afternoon, while I try to teach Ethel on Diamond, after Kermit has had his ride.

Yesterday at dinner we were talking of how badly poor Mrs. Blank looked, and Kermit suddenly observed in an

aside to Ethel, entirely unconscious that we were listening: "Oh, Effel, I'll tell you what Mrs. Blank looks like: Like Davis' hen dat died—you know, de one dat couldn't hop up on de perch." Naturally, this is purely a private anecdote.

Excerpt from *Christian Nurture* by Horace Bushnell, 1847

SOURCE: Bushnell, Horace. 1847. *Christian Nurture*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co.

Introduction

In the nineteenth century ministers, not doctors, were seen as the experts in child rearing. The American liberal evangelical minister Horace Bushnell (1802–1876) broke with two centuries of American Christian thought when, in his 1847 book *Christian Nurture*, he refuted the accepted doctrine of infant damnation. The American Protestant tradition, until then, had emphasized the centrality of the conversion experience in Christian faith. Born into a state of sin, man had to receive grace before he was saved. Bushnell rejected this tenet. He argued that children were born innocent and that if they were raised Christian (a responsibility that fell primarily on their mothers), there would never be a need for conversion. Bushnell's program of *Christian Nurture* represents a larger change in attitudes regarding childhood during the nineteenth century, toward viewing children as innocents and mothers as nurturers.

What then is the true idea of Christian or divine nurture, as distinguished from that which is not Christian? What is its aim? What its method of working? What its powers and instruments? What its contemplated results? Few questions have greater moment; and it is one of the pleasant signs of the times, that the subject involved is beginning to attract new interest, and excite a spirit of inquiry which heretofore has not prevailed in our churches.

In ordinary cases, the better and more instructive way of handling this subject, would be to go directly into the practical methods of parental discipline, and show by what modes of government and instruction we may hope to realize the best results. But unhappily the public mind is preoccupied extensively by a view of the whole subject, which I must regard as a theoretical mistake, and one which will involve, as long as it continues, practical results systematically injurious. This mistaken view it is necessary, if possible, to remove. And accordingly what I have to say will take the form of an argument on the question thus put in issue; though I design to gather round the subject, as I proceed, as much of practical instruction as the mode of the argument will suffer. Assuming then the question above stated, What is the true idea of Christian education?—I answer in the following proposition, which it will be the aim of my argument to establish,

viz:

That the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise.

In other words, the aim, effort, and expectation should be, not, as is commonly assumed, that the child is to grow up in sin, to be converted after he comes to a mature age; but that he is to open on the world as one that is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years. I do not affirm that every child may, in fact and without exception, be so trained that he certainly will grow up a Christian. The qualifications it may be necessary to add will be given in another place, where they can be stated more intelligibly.

This doctrine is not a novelty, now rashly and for the first time propounded, as some of you may be tempted to suppose. I shall show you, before I have done with the argument, that it is as old as the Christian church, and prevails extensively at the present day in other parts of the world. Neither let your own experience raise a prejudice against it. If you have endeavored to realize the very truth I here affirm, but find that your children do not exhibit the character you have looked for; if they seem to be intractable to religious influences, and sometimes to display an apparent aversion to the very subject of religion itself, you are not of course to conclude that the doctrine I here maintain is untrue or impracticable. You may be unreasonable in your expectations of your children.

Possibly, there may be seeds of holy principle in them, which you do not discover. A child acts out his present feelings, the feelings of the moment, without qualification or disguise. And how, many times, would all you appear, if you were to do the same? Will you expect of them to be better, and more constant and consistent, than yourselves; or will you rather expect them to be children, human children still, living a mixed life, trying out the good and evil of the world, and preparing, as older Christians do, when they have taken a lesson of sorrow and emptiness, to turn again to the true good?

Perhaps they will go through a rough mental struggle, at some future day, and seem, to others and to themselves, there to have entered on a Christian life. And yet it may be true that there was still some root of right principle established in their childhood, which is here only quickened and developed, as when Christians of a mature age are revived in their piety, after a period of spiritual lethargy; for it is conceivable that regenerate character may exist, long before it is fully and formally developed.

But suppose there is really no trace or seed of holy principle in your children, has there been no fault of piety and constancy in your church? no want of Christian sensibility and

love to God? no carnal spirit visible to them and to all, and imparting its noxious and poisonous quality to the Christian atmosphere in which they have had their nurture? For it is not for you alone to realize all that is included in the idea of Christian education. It belongs to the church of God, according to the degree of its social power over you and in you and around your children, to bear a part of the responsibility with you.

A Letter from Rufus W. Bailey to His Daughters at School, 1857

SOURCE: Bailey, Rufus William. 1857. *Daughters at School Instructed in a Series of Letters*. Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Introduction

Published collections of letters from parents to children were a very popular form of advice literature during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lord Chesterfield's letters to his illegitimate son, first published in the 1770s, defined the genre and attracted many readers in Europe and America. While Chesterfield's letters were concerned with the social graces required to succeed in aristocratic society, many of his imitators geared their advice to less elevated social spheres. In a series of letters to his daughters published in 1857, the American Presbyterian minister and educator Rufus W. Bailey (1793–1863) gave instruction on how to meet the challenges of ordinary life by practicing the American virtues of pragmatism, temperance, honesty, and independence. In the letter excerpted below, Bailey addresses behaviors that were perceived at the time as typically female—for example, his injunction not to gossip—but the basic values he promotes were prescribed to both men and women of the middle class in nineteenth-century America.

LETTER XL.

PRACTICAL ADVICE.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,— AS you are advancing to maturity, and now begin to mingle with mixed society, allow me to throw into a narrow compass some practical rules and maxims which you may find of great use, and the importance of which you will begin immediately to feel.

In the first place, I will say then, endeavour always to look at things as they are. Avoid visionary views. You will always have to do with the realities of life. All, therefore, which magnifies or diminishes things beyond reality, unfits the mind for safe and efficient action. Avoid, therefore, all prejudice, passion, strong party feeling, personal hatred, a spirit of envy, malice, or revenge, which always unfit the mind to judge soberly and truly. Every unnatural excitement pro-

duces this effect, and this may not only come of intemperance, but from any one of the sources just enumerated. In a state of excitement, things are made to appear different from what they really are, and if, under the illusion, you are not urged on to high crimes, you may do some indiscreet act, which will embitter life, and require to be repented of.

Never permit yourselves to be out of humour, especially with a dumb animal, or inanimate object. The brute acts from impulse or instinct, and when you act from passion, you put yourself on a level with him. Consider, too, that when you permit yourselves to be displeased with an inanimate object, you take a still bolder stand to act a more depraved part. You fight against Providence. Did you ever figure to yourselves Xerxes chastising the waves of the Hellespont? I have sometimes wondered that scene has never, among other objects, employed the pencil of the painter. How pigmy-like Xerxes would appear in the picture, giving, with feeble voice, command to the elements, amid the roar of the angry Bosphorus, lashing the shore and rolling its surges mountain high! How puny his uplifted arm applying the whip to chastise their insolence! How contemptible, throwing the chains, which are immediately swallowed up by the element that bids defiance to his threats and rage! Then to see him contending with the Almighty who rides on the whirlwind, and directs the storm, daring heaven to single combat! It is a subject which language imperfectly reaches, but I think it might be put upon canvass, and made to speak expressively. Now what Xerxes was, in his rage against the sea, you may consider a young lady to be, on a smaller scale, when she loses her temper, or frets against Providence.

Realities are what we have to meet. To know them is truth. To perform our duties under the government of God in every relation to that truth is religion. Avoid high wrought and extravagant feelings on every subject, even on religious subjects, except as truth leads the way, and that will ever make you sober, deliberate, concerned with things as they are.

Speak always with candour and consideration. Indiscreet speech makes more work for repentance, with most persons, than overt and flagrant acts of error. It creates more wars than all other causes. It originates, probably, nine-tenths of all the personal conflicts which occur. I have sometimes thought that if I could regulate my speech to exact propriety, I could easily regulate every other part of conduct. It is very easy to say a thing. But once said, it can never be recalled, and we usually feel that it must be maintained. Most persons talk too much. How rare a virtue is silence! Still more rare, the man or woman who never speaks inopportunistly, and always speaks what ought to be spoken. You know how it is in experience. "Miss B said so," and that starts the ball. Lazy as many may be in ordinary duties, here is all activity. There are enough volunteers to keep it in motion. It flies with accelerated velocity. And like a stone which the delicate touch of a single hand started from the top of a mountain, it soon

acquires a force which no human power can resist. It bears down all in its way, and spreads desolation in its track. Be careful how you start these stones. While on the poise, they are in your power. Once moved, they soon become beyond control. So are words—little words. So may be a touch, a gentle touch, a pointing of the finger, or a cast of the eye. Such is the tongue among our members; such is our conversation in society. If you learn to govern the tongue, and regulate your speech, you gain a victory, and may avoid many conflicts.

Be especially careful not to report in one family what you have heard said in another; nor to one friend what may have been imprudently whispered to her disadvantage, except when truth and vital interests demand it. The tale bearer and informer is a mischief-maker, and although he may be listened to with earnestness, he cannot but be despised. In your social relations, avoid a suspicious temper; yet presume on the friendship of no one. Be always ready to grant all the favours you can, consistently with your duties to yourselves and others; but never do favours on the supposition that others are equally ready to reciprocate them. If you commence otherwise, you will be painfully taught that a warm heart bestows its charities on a cold world.

Be not too confiding. There is one inference which has done much injury. Because a man is regarded as a good man, it is therefore presumed that he will always do what is right. Let your own view of what is right be always higher authority than that of any mortal, whose opinion conflicts with your principles.

If a particular friend offers you special favours, use them not too liberally. If he puts a favourite article at your disposal, the strength of his friendship may prove to be weak should you practise too freely on his indulgence. When a friend that you wish to retain offers special favours, it is well for you if you are not obliged to use them.

Be indulgent toward the faults of others, severe towards your own. We are often impatient of the infirmities of others, forgetting that what in them offends us, may pertain, in a great degree, to ourselves. The same weak, and offensive, and erring natures pertain to all, and we are frail, feeble and offensive to others, wherein we often congratulate or excuse ourselves.

A Letter from Jeanette Hulme Platt to Samuel C. Damon, 1861

SOURCE: Platt, Cyrus. 1882. *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jeanette H. Platt*. Philadelphia, PA: E. Claxton and Co.

Introduction

This personal letter from a married woman to an old friend eloquently captures a portrait of family life in mid-nineteenth-century America. Jeanette Hulme

Platt (1816–1877) describes her hopes and aspirations for each of her six children and offers reflections on her own passage from light-hearted youth to mature adulthood. Platt includes her beloved aunt, who shares their home, in her letter, thus completing the vision of multigenerational domestic harmony. Her letter also suggests the central role that religion played in nineteenth-century domesticity. Platt's most important maternal responsibility is to guide her children along the path to salvation. This letter is collected along with many more in the 1882 volume *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jeanette H. Platt*.

Delaware, Ohio, January 14, 1861

Rev. S. C. Damon [Honolulu.]

My Dear Old Friend:—"There is a Providence that shapes our ends." Does not the same guide the pen?—prompt it? Or why should I write to you to-day? My heart is not a bit warmer, truer, or more full of interest for you and yours, than it has been these twenty-two years. The desire and intention to write is no stronger than for five years, since when your last has been looking me in the face every time my portfolio opened. Here are the "second causes." Delaware, Ohio, a half-country, half-village home; dinner time; a pattering rain, with January sleet, all over the lawn and old oak trees; a bright wood fire in the little back bedroom—*aunty's* room. A dear old aunt in the great rocking-chair, with knitting and newspaper on the stand at her elbow. A plate, with knife and half-pared great apple, is brought in from the dinner-table by a little "mother," who fills the small rocking-chair, coaxing "father" to sit down and eat his apple, too. "No, must get back to business."

The door closes, and the apple-paring goes on for one minute; put down to open the door for a three-year old curly head, leading in baby F—, fourteen months old to-day. The latter, after pulling about the tongs, and trying to get the shovel, was sent off to the dining-room to get dinner with his nurse, Mary. The former, never still, climbed up into the rocking-chair, and made piano of mother's back. Then the apple was finished, divided, and handed round with the remark, "Only think, Aunt Clara, that young lady I met the other evening, just from Connecticut, never heard of Holden, Mass., or Oxford! I was hunting up something to say to the Quaker stranger, and spoke of dear old friends coming from these places. Martha's old school friend, Celia Campbell, came from Oxford, and my Honolulu friend, Mr. Damon, from Holden. Do you know anything about Holden? Why, I have a book on the shelves that will tell about it! Jump down, H—; let me get it,—'History of Holden.' 'Jeanette and Martha, with the author's kind regards, 1841.' You must see the letter he wrote me, June 24, 1846, so very kind and brotherly. It is in my portfolio. I have been *always* going to answer it." With moistened eyes the letter was read,

and then the pen came on this sheet, and would turn words to say, "Just as warm and true is the regard (why not say affection?) 'Jeanette' retains for her friend, 'S. C. D.,' this day, as when they rambled over the lanes and fields of old Burlington, or knelt together in the little Presbyterian prayer-meeting: just the same."

The form, the features, and heart of my old friend are before me, fresh as in daily intercourse. It seems as if he could step in this very afternoon and take that vacant chair. How pleased and interested in this old aunt he would be, to hear her say, as she did to me just now, "Tell him I am just as much interested in his Holden history as if I was a Massachusetts woman." Ah, there are hearts that never grow old! and this aunty is one of them. Old age is beautiful in her. In the hushed evening hour He spares her to us to show us how full of comfort and support He can make life's close, when from the days of youth the Creator has been remembered. (Here she comes to my table, looking for a pencil to make some extracts from your book.) Twenty years taken down, dusted, and put back, has this little book passed through my hands, scarcely opened; now it comes fresh with interest, almost hallowed with never-dying associations of the past. Yes, never-dying! My precious sister! it seems but yesterday that we three were together.

You want to take a peep at my children? I wish you could after they are all asleep for the night; that is the time I most enjoy looking at them. Come up into the boys' room, and see if they are not two fine-looking fellows. No need to step lightly; school all day, with skating and sliding, and home chores, give sound slumber. Is not that shaggy head big enough for a Webster? Sound-looking enough for a President? I hope not. Their mother's only prayerful wish is, that God will accept her boys; call and fit them for ambassadors for Christ. This is quiet, thoughtful H. See mirthful, laughter-loving F.! His face is hardly at rest even when asleep; arm over his brother's neck, promptings of a heart full of affection. His hair is soft and light, with blue eyes. H— has soft, brown eyes,—the gentle expression, some think, of his Aunt Martha. His hair is as brown as his mother's *used* to be.

But come across the hall and see our girls. Take them to your heart as your own, too, if God has not lent you any. E., my eldest, first born! words can never tell how dear is this child to me. I have from the first hour of taking her to my bosom tried to hold her lightly, as loaned a little while only to be trained for the Master's service, here or there, as He will. Should her life be prolonged you may have her as a fellow-worker for Christ in the Sandwich Islands. Shall she be educated for a teacher? or what post will you assign her? I could not let her go to any other foreign field without much grace being given; but your Islands have seemed very near and very inviting ever since you made home there. And the little fingers have traced out their bearings ever since the geography came into her hands. "O mother, do write that letter to your friend Mr. Damon!" she has said a thousand times.

This little sister by her side, J. we call her, but she has not a bit of mother about her; very beautiful as a baby, but now baby loveliness has given place to a strong-willed, determined, quiet, self-reliant look. "Our oaken twig," I often call her, and wonder what are the storms and tempests that little heart is to brave. With religious principle she will be fully able to bear all that the providence of God lays upon her. Will you have her, too?

But here in the nursery come. Here is your old friend herself, with curly head, nestled among the pillows—I cannot describe *her*. In her I see myself as others see me. God sparing her life there will be another Jeanette Hulme. Will you like her?

And now the *crib*. Ah, this is the child among them all! Months of ill health and tedious confinement to the house and couch preceded the birth of this precious baby boy. His mother looks upon him as coming for some special mercy and comfort, and regards him as all the Lord's. I wish you could see him—see us all! Now, my children are just like all other children, doubtless, only in their mothers' eyes. Remember this, and when you come to see them don't expect too much. You know well just what an impulsive, undisciplined mother they have.

Twenty-two years!—the changes, "sundry and manifold changes of the world," as one of our collects beautifully says—what record shall this page bear? "Whoso offereth thanks he honoreth me;" with thanksgiving must begin and end all my testimony of "all the way which the Lord God hath led me these forty years," to humble and prove me. Ah, dear friend, I am the same; I have only all this time been learning more and more of His long-suffering patience. Oh, the power, the fulness, the preciousness of a Saviour's love! The thirteen years of married life have been full of blessings, though chequered with care and disappointment in regard to outward prosperity. My husband is not rich; a golden portion is not to be our lot, I often assure him. But that does not belong to *happiness*. Discipline, trial, must come in some form; and want of riches is the very least ill earth can know.

What of the outward changes in your old friend Jeanette? She often gives a look, not a sigh, saying, "This is Mrs. Platt, I suppose." Jeanette Hulme has gone, I told you; you may find her hereafter in her daughter H. I do not know that the mother is *sobered* a whit; and if the eye is dimmed, so that I hear talk of "spectacles coming," not a sunbeam can stray into her apartment, or flower open at her feet with tint unseen or unfelt. The chestnut curls are gone, turned into thin bands that are marbled over with silver threads. Never mind; in half an hour's time you would get used to all changes, and have just as pleasant times with her as twenty-two years ago. Come, try it. Is it not time to visit the States again? Does not friend Julia want to see her friend again? Is it not time to bring the boys for school to prepare for college? Their college is in Ohio, Gambier, Knox County, good for sound

learning, better for healthy moral influences, best for the quickening graces of the Holy Spirit that year after year are showered upon that institution. There is a good grammar school connected with it. May I not have your boys to go to school, and spend vacations with me? I will make them Episcopalians? Certainly. Their father ought to have been one.(?) I have learned to value our church more and more, year by year; not others less, but her more. What has become of your prayer-book? Don't you want a new one? Is the "Daily Food" worn out? Mine is now open before me, the daily companion since childhood. This little collection from the "exceeding great and precious promises," how enriched and hallowed by associations of the past! What helpers in time of need! The Psalms for the day, as appointed in the prayer-book, have made my daily Bible reading now for the last few years. Meet me here with fervent prayer for each other's soul's welfare, and for the families committed to our care.

I say nothing on the state of our beloved country, so torn with dissensions; the newspapers can better show you this. God reigneth. I am, though no longer a Quaker, nor a "peace" woman, yet for peace, and tell my husband we will run away to Canada or the Sandwich Islands.

But I must stop; my pen has run freely as if you were at my side. Can you read these outpourings of an old friend's heart?

Excerpt from *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young* by Jacob Abbott, 1871

SOURCE: Abbott, Jacob. 1871. *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Introduction

In *Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young* (1871), Jacob Abbott instructs parents how to manage their children with love and discipline. Abbott (1803–1879) was a Congregational clergyman and well-known author of children's books. His Rollo series, beginning with *The Little Scholar Learning to Talk* (1834), featured a young boy named Rollo who learned moral lessons with the guidance of love and discipline. Abbott's emphasis on gentleness distinguished him from earlier religious authorities, who instructed parents to break their children's wills. Abbott did not endorse the orthodox doctrine of infant depravity, but thought that children were morally neutral. He discouraged frequent or harsh punishment. Yet Abbott's child-rearing advice is far stricter than the permissive attitudes common in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. He always maintained the

primacy of authority and obedience in the parent-child relationship.

CHAPTER I.

THE THREE MODES OF MANAGEMENT.

IT is not impossible that in the minds of some persons the idea of employing gentle measures in the management and training of children may seem to imply the abandonment of the principle of authority, as the basis of the parental government, and the substitution of some weak and inefficient system of artifice and manoeuvring in its place. To suppose that the object of this work is to aid in effecting such a substitution as that, is entirely to mistake its nature and design. The only government of the parent over the child that is worthy of the name is one of authority complete, absolute, unquestioned authority. The object of this work is, accordingly, not to show how the gentle methods which will be brought to view can be employed as a substitute for such authority, but how they can be made to aid in establishing and maintaining it.

Three Methods.

There are three different modes of management customarily employed by parents as means of inducing their children to comply with their requirements. They are,

1. Government by Manoeuvring and Artifice.
2. By Reason and Affection.
3. By Authority.

Manoeuvring and Artifice. 1. Many mothers manage their children by means of tricks and contrivances, more or less adroit, designed to avoid direct issues with them, and to beguile them, as it were, into compliance with their wishes. As, for example, where a mother, recovering from sickness, is going out to take the air with her husband for the first time, and—as she is still feeble—wishes for a very quiet drive, and so concludes not to take little Mary with her, as she usually does on such occasions; but knowing that if Mary sees the chaise at the door, and discovers that her father and mother are going in it, she will be very eager to go too, she adopts a system of manoeuvres to conceal her design. She brings down her bonnet and shawl by stealth, and before the chaise comes to the door she sends Mary out into the garden with her sister, under pretense of showing her a bird's nest which is not there, trusting to her sister's skill in diverting the child's mind, and amusing her with something else in the garden, until the chaise has gone. And if, either from hearing the sound of the wheels, or from any other cause, Mary's suspicions are awakened—and children habitually managed on these principles soon learn to be extremely distrustful and suspicious—and she insists on going into the house, and thus

discovers the stratagem, then, perhaps, her mother tells her that they are only going to the doctor's, and that if Mary goes with them, the doctor will give her some dreadful medicine, and compel her to take it, thinking thus to deter her from insisting on going with them to ride.

As the chaise drives away, Mary stands bewildered and perplexed on the door-step, her mind in a tumult of excitement, in which hatred of the doctor, distrust and suspicion of her mother, disappointment, vexation, and ill humor, surge and swell among those delicate organizations on which the structure and development of the soul so closely depend—doing perhaps an irreparable injury. The mother, as soon as the chaise is so far turned that Mary can no longer watch the expression of her countenance, goes away from the door with a smile of complacency and satisfaction upon her face at the ingenuity and success of her little artifice.

In respect to her statement that she was going to the doctor's, it may, or may not, have been true. Most likely not; for mothers who manage their children on this system find the line of demarkation between deceit and falsehood so vague and ill defined that they soon fall into the habit of disregarding it altogether, and of saying, without hesitation, any thing which will serve the purpose in view.

Governing by Reason and Affection. 2. The theory of many mothers is that they must govern their children by the influence of reason and affection. Their method may be exemplified by supposing that, under circumstances similar to those described under the preceding head, the mother calls Mary to her side, and, smoothing her hair caressingly with her hand while she speaks, says to her,

“Mary, your father and I are going out to ride this afternoon, and I am going to explain it all to you why you can not go too. You see, I have been sick, and am getting well, and I am going out to ride, so that I may get well faster. You love mamma, I am sure, and wish to have her get well soon. So you will be a good girl, I know, and not make any trouble, but will stay at home contentedly won't you? Then I shall love you, and your papa will love you, and after I get well we will take you to ride with us some day.”

The mother, in managing the case in this way, relies partly on convincing the reason of the child, and partly on an appeal to her affection.

Governing by Authority. 3. By the third method the mother secures the compliance of the child by a direct exercise of authority. She says to her—the circumstances of the case being still supposed to be the same—

“Mary, your father and I are going out to ride this afternoon, and I am sorry, for your sake, that we can not take you with us.”

“Why can't you take me?” asks Mary.

“I can not tell you why, now,” replies the mother, “but perhaps I will explain it to you after I come home. I think there is a good reason, and, at any rate, I have decided that you are not to go. If you are a good girl, and do not make any difficulty, you can have your little chair out upon the front door-step, and can see the chaise come to the door, and see your father and me get in and drive away; and you can wave your handkerchief to us for a good-bye.”

Then, if she observes any expression of discontent or insubmission in Mary's countenance, the mother would add,

“If you should not be a good girl, but should show signs of making us any trouble, I shall have to send you out somewhere to the back part of the house until we are gone.”

But this last supposition is almost always unnecessary; for if Mary has been habitually managed on this principle she will not make any trouble. She will perceive at once that the question is settled—settled irrevocably—and especially that it is entirely beyond the power of any demonstrations of insubmission or rebellion that she can make to change it. She will acquiesce at once. She may be sorry that she can not go, but she will make no resistance. Those children only attempt to carry their points by noisy and violent demonstrations who find, by experience, that such measures are usually successful. A child, even, who has become once accustomed to them, will soon drop them if she finds, owing to a change in the system of management, that they now never succeed. And a child who never, from the beginning, finds any efficiency in them, never learns to employ them at all.

Conclusion.

Of the three methods of managing children exemplified in this chapter, the last is the only one which can be followed either with comfort to the parent or safety to the child; and to show how this method can be brought effectually into operation by gentle measures is the object of this book. It is, indeed, true that the importance of tact and skill in the training of the young, and of cultivating their reason, and securing their affection, can not be overrated. But the influences secured by these means form, at the best, but a sandy foundation for filial obedience to rest upon. The child is not to be made to comply with the requirements of his parents by being artfully inveigled into compliance, nor is his obedience to rest on his love for father and mother, and his unwillingness to displease them, nor on his conviction of the rightfulness and reasonableness of their commands, but on simple submission to authority—that absolute and almost unlimited authority which all parents are commissioned by God and nature to exercise over their offspring during the period while the offspring remain dependent upon their care.

Poetry and Memoir

"Before the Birth of One of Her Children" by Anne Bradstreet, c. 1645

SOURCE: Bradstreet, Anne. 1678. *Several Poems Compiled with Great Variety of Wit and Learning*. Boston: Printed by John Foster.

Introduction

Historically, one of the greatest dangers facing children has been the death of a parent. Before mortality rates declined in the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon for a child to be orphaned before he or she reached adulthood. The death of a father could bring impoverishment to a family; the death of a mother could leave the child without nurturance, and if the father remarried, subject the child to a potentially hostile stepparent. The Puritan poet Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672) expresses these fears for her children in the following poem, probably composed in 1645 while she was nine months pregnant. In its verses she begs her husband to protect their children should she die in labor and not allow them to suffer abuse.

Before the Birth of One of Her Children

All things within this fading world hath end,
Adversity doth still our joys attend;
No ties so strong, no friends so dear and sweet,
But with death's parting blow is sure to meet.
The sentence past is most irrevocable,
A common thing, yet oh, inevitable.
How soon, my Dear, death may my steps attend.
How soon't may be thy lot to lose thy friend,
We both are ignorant, yet love bids me
These farewell lines to recommend to thee,
That when that knot's untied that made us one,
I may seem thine, who in effect am none.
And if I see not half my days that's due,
What nature would, God grant to yours and you;
The many faults that well you know
I have Let be interred in my oblivious grave;
If any worth or virtue were in me,
Let that live freshly in thy memory
And when thou feel'st no grief, as I no harms,
Yet love thy dead, who long lay in thine arms.
And when thy loss shall be repaid with gains
Look to my little babes, my dear remains.
And if thou love thyself, or loved'st me,
These O protect from step-dame's injury.
And if chance to thine eyes shall bring this verse,
With some sad sighs honour my absent hearse;
And kiss this paper for thy love's dear sake,
Who with salt tears this last farewell did take.

Excerpt from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs, 1861

SOURCE: Jacobs, Harriet. 1861. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*. Ed. L. Maria Child. Boston: Published for the Author.

Introduction

In the opening pages of her memoir, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), Harriet Jacobs indelibly renders the slave child's utter vulnerability to the interests of her white masters. As a young girl, Jacobs is lucky and does not experience the brutality of slavery, but her family is powerless to protect her from eventual exploitation. After the death of her mother and then of her first "kind" mistress, Jacobs learns the meaning of her status as chattel. Her welfare has no weight in her owner's decisions concerning her future. In the following chapters, Harriet is sent to live with the cruel Dr. Flint, who torments her with sexual advances while she is still a child. Eventually she flees, spending seven years concealed in a crawlspace above a shed attached to her grandmother's house, before she escapes north.

I.

CHILDHOOD.

I WAS born a slave; but I never knew it till six years of happy childhood had passed away. My father was a carpenter, and considered so intelligent and skilful in his trade, that, when buildings out of the common line were to be erected, he was sent for from long distances, to be head workman. On condition of paying his mistress two hundred dollars a year, and supporting himself, he was allowed to work at his trade, and manage his own affairs. His strongest wish was to purchase his children; but, though he several times offered his hard earnings for that purpose, he never succeeded. In complexion my parents were a light shade of brownish yellow, and were termed mulattoes. They lived together in a comfortable home; and, though we were all slaves, I was so fondly shielded that I never dreamed I was a piece of merchandise, trusted to them for safe keeping, and liable to be demanded of them at any moment. I had one brother, William, who was two years younger than myself—a bright, affectionate child. I had also a great treasure in my maternal grandmother, who was a remarkable woman in many respects. She was the daughter of a planter in South Carolina, who, at his death, left her mother and his three children free, with money to go to St. Augustine, where they had relatives. It was during the Revolutionary War; and they were captured on their passage, carried back, and sold to different purchasers. Such was the story my grandmother used to tell me; but I do not remember all the particulars. She was a little girl when she was captured and sold to the keeper of a large hotel. I have often heard her tell how hard she fared during childhood. But as

she grew older she evinced so much intelligence, and was so faithful, that her master and mistress could not help seeing it was for their interest to take care of such a valuable piece of property. She became an indispensable personage in the household, officiating in all capacities, from cook and wet nurse to seamstress. She was much praised for her cooking; and her nice crackers became so famous in the neighborhood that many people were desirous of obtaining them. In consequence of numerous requests of this kind, she asked permission of her mistress to bake crackers at night, after all the household work was done; and she obtained leave to do it, provided she would clothe herself and her children from the profits. Upon these terms, after working hard all day for her mistress, she began her midnight bakings, assisted by her two oldest children. The business proved profitable; and each year she laid by a little, which was saved for a fund to purchase her children. Her master died, and the property was divided among his heirs. The widow had her dower in the hotel, which she continued to keep open. My grandmother remained in her service as a slave; but her children were divided among her master's children. As she had five, Benjamin, the youngest one, was sold, in order that each heir might have an equal portion of dollars and cents. There was so little difference in our ages that he seemed more like my brother than my uncle. He was a bright, handsome lad, nearly white; for he inherited the complexion my grandmother had derived from Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Though only ten years old, seven hundred and twenty dollars were paid for him. His sale was a terrible blow to my grandmother; but she was naturally hopeful, and she went to work with renewed energy, trusting in time to be able to purchase some of her children. She had laid up three hundred dollars, which her mistress one day begged as a loan, promising to pay her soon. The reader probably knows that no promise or writing given to a slave is legally binding; for, according to Southern laws, a slave, *being* property, can *hold* no property. When my grandmother lent her hard earnings to her mistress, she trusted solely to her honor. The honor of a slaveholder to a slave!

To this good grandmother I was indebted for many comforts. My brother Willie and I often received portions of the crackers, cakes, and preserves, she made to sell; and after we ceased to be children we were indebted to her for many more important services.

Such were the unusually fortunate circumstances of my early childhood. When I was six years old, my mother died; and then, for the first time, I learned, by the talk around me, that I was a slave. My mother's mistress was the daughter of my grandmother's mistress. She was the foster sister of my mother; they were both nourished at my grandmother's breast. In fact, my mother had been weaned at three months old, that the babe of the mistress might obtain sufficient food. They played together as children; and, when they became women, my mother was a most faithful servant to her

whiter foster sister. On her death-bed her mistress promised that her children should never suffer for any thing; and during her lifetime she kept her word. They all spoke kindly of my dead mother, who had been a slave merely in name, but in nature was noble and womanly. I grieved for her, and my young mind was troubled with the thought who would now take care of me and my little brother. I was told that my home was now to be with her mistress; and I found it a happy one. No toilsome or disagreeable duties were imposed upon me. My mistress was so kind to me that I was always glad to do her bidding, and proud to labor for her as much as my young years would permit. I would sit by her side for hours, sewing diligently, with a heart as free from care as that of any free-born white child. When she thought I was tired, she would send me out to run and jump; and away I bounded, to gather berries or flowers to decorate her room. Those were happy days—too happy to last. The slave child had no thought for the morrow; but there came that blight, which too surely waits on every human being born to be a chattel.

When I was nearly twelve years old, my kind mistress sickened and died. As I saw the cheek grow paler, and the eye more glassy, how earnestly I prayed in my heart that she might live! I loved her; for she had been almost like a mother to me. My prayers were not answered. She died, and they buried her in the little churchyard, where, day after day, my tears fell upon her grave.

I was sent to spend a week with my grandmother. I was now old enough to begin to think of the future; and again and again I asked myself what they would do with me. I felt sure I should never find another mistress so kind as the one who was gone. She had promised my dying mother that her children should never suffer for any thing; and when I remembered that, and recalled her many proofs of attachment to me, I could not help having some hopes that she had left me free. My friends were almost certain it would be so. They thought she would be sure to do it, on account of my mother's love and faithful service. But, alas! we all know that the memory of a faithful slave does not avail much to save her children from the auction block.

After a brief period of suspense, the will of my mistress was read, and we learned that she had bequeathed me to her sister's daughter, a child of five years old. So vanished our hopes. My mistress had taught me the precepts of God's Word: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." But I was her slave, and I suppose she did not recognize me as her neighbor. I would give much to blot out from my memory that one great wrong. As a child, I loved my mistress; and, looking back on the happy days I spent with her, I try to think with less bitterness of this act of injustice. While I was with her, she taught me to read and spell; and for this privilege, which so rarely falls to the lot of a slave, I bless her memory.

She possessed but few slaves; and at her death those were all distributed among her relatives. Five of them were my grandmother's children, and had shared the same milk that nourished her mother's children. Notwithstanding my grandmother's long and faithful service to her owners, not one of her children escaped the auction block. These God-breathing machines are no more, in the sight of their masters, than the cotton they plant, or the horses they tend.

Excerpt from a Letter from William Penn to His Wife and Children, 1682

Source: The American Colonist's Library, a Treasury of Primary Documents. Available from <<http://personal.pitnet.net/primarysources/pennletter.html>>.

Introduction

William Penn (1644–1718), the founder and proprietor of the colony of Pennsylvania, wrote this letter to his wife and children before he sailed for America in 1682. In the excerpt below, Penn offers his children advice on how to behave in his absence. He acknowledges the possibility that he might not survive the journey and return to England, so he writes in a tone of deep seriousness. As a committed Quaker, Penn's first concern was for his children's salvation. He reminds his children of their duties to obey the Lord and their mother. These stern injunctions are followed by practical rules to live by and finally by affectionate sentiments revealing his great love for the children, and his hope that they will treat each other, and their own children, with equal love. William Penn's letters to his children have been used to support claims that a more affectionate and less authoritarian mode of child rearing emerged within Quaker families during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, presaging broader child-rearing changes within Anglo-American society during the nineteenth century.

And now, my dear children that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel and lay it up in your hearts. Love it more than treasure and follow it, and you shall be blessed here and happy hereafter.

In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the 2d of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah, because he feared him in his youth! And so He did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Oh! my dear children, remember and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother, that you may live to Him and glorify Him in your generations. To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find Him, remembering His great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that He has kept you and given you His grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that

you may be kept from the evil of the world; for, in age, it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts that shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ, that He has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it, and never leaves such till it has brought them to the city of God that has foundations. Oh! that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it; hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts, the vain sports, pastimes and pleasures of the world, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. You are now beginning to live—what would some give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I as you, in the flower of youth. Therefore, love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings; and delight to wait upon the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done. And count it your honor to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship, which is enjoyed among them—for the experience of which your father's soul blesses the Lord forever.

Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honor to you; for she has been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding, qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore, honor and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors. And though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing in painfulness acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you before the Lord, honor and obey, love and cherish, your dear mother.

Next betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life; and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you. And being married, be tender, affectionate, and patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and He will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others, for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship; neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

Let your industry and parsimony go no farther than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children (and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any). I charge you to help the poor and needy. Let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income, for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all His creatures, remembering that he that gives to the poor, lends to the Lord. Know well your incomings, and your outgoings may be the better regulated. Love not money, nor the world. Use them only and they will serve you; but if you love them, you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord. Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them; it may be your case, and as you mete to others, God will mete to you again.

Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your Heavenly Father.

In making friends, consider well, first; and when you are fixed, be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

Watch against anger; neither speak nor act in it, for like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

Avoid flatterers; for they are thieves in disguise. Their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak. They are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter and flatter to cheat, and, which is worse, if you believe them, you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous—though poor—love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, “Who shall abide in Thy tabernacle; who shall dwell in Thy holy hill?” answers, “He that walks uprightly, works righteousness, and speaks the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is condemned, but honors them who fears the Lord.”

Next, my children, be temperate in all things: in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some. Let your virtues be your ornaments; remembering, life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my *No Cross, No Crown*; there is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men, as you hope for the blessing of God, and the comfort of your father’s living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any; no, not of the

meanest, much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folks’ matters but when in conscience and duly pressed, for it procures trouble, and is ill-mannered, and very unseemly to wise men.

In your families, remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as [if] you have them for your examples. Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things, as becomes God’s chosen people. And, as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them, as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that He may bless you and yours, from generation to generation.

And as for you who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his only angels that—you be lowly, diligent, and tender; fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it, for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live; and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you; therefore do your duty; and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers; cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks, fly to no devices to support or cover injustice, but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in Him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

Oh! the Lord is a strong God; and He can do whatsoever He pleases. And though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men; and He builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, he that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make His enemies be at peace with Him.

If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evildoers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you, in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in His hand for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world—which my soul desires above all worldly honors and riches, both for you that go and you that stay, you that govern and you that are governed—that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

Finally, my children, love one another with a true and endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides; and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so [long] as it be

without the bounds forbidden in God's law. That so they may not, like the forgetting and unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God toward one another, as becomes brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

So my God, that has blessed me with His abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by His counsel, bless you, and bring you to His eternal glory, that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power, with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring Him, the God and Father of it, forever and ever. For there is no God like unto Him: the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; the God of the Prophets, the Apostles, and Martyrs of Jesus; in whom I live forever.

So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children. Yours, as God pleases, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains forever.

Worminghurst, 4th August, 1682. William Penn

"The Barefoot Boy" by John Greenleaf Whittier, 1855

SOURCE: Stedman, Edmund Clarence, ed. 1900. *An American Anthology, 1787-1900*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Introduction

The poet John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) wrote frequently on the theme of childhood. In "The Barefoot Boy" (1855), one of his most famous poems, Whittier rhapsodizes over the pleasures of his boyhood in rural New England. Whittier's vision of childhood is romantic; no hints of the fears or vulnerabilities associated with youth penetrate his poem. Childhood is represented as a time of innocence, before man is corrupted by knowledge, money, responsibility, or work. The optimistic tone and simple rhymes of Whittier's poems made them popular within classrooms throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whittier is also well remembered for his abolitionist poetry and his political work in support of antislavery. He ran for Congress in 1842 on the Liberty Party ticket, edited the Liberty Party newspaper, and participated in the founding of the Republican Party.

Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy, with cheek of tan!
With thy turned-up pantaloons,
And thy merry whistled tunes;
With thy red lip, redder still
Kissed by strawberries on the hill;
With the sunshine on thy face,
Through thy torn brim's jaunty grace;
From my heart I give thee joy,—
I was once a barefoot boy!

Prince thou art,—the grown-up man
Only is republican.
Let the million-dollared ride!
Barefoot, trudging at his side,
Thou hast more than he can buy
In the reach of ear and eye,—
Outward sunshine, inward joy:
Blessings on thee, barefoot boy!
Oh for boyhood's painless play,
Sleep that wakes in laughing day,
Health that mocks the doctor's rules,
Knowledge never learned of schools,
Of the wild bee's morning chase,
Of the wild flower's time and place,
Flight of fowl and habitude
Of the tenants of the wood;
How the tortoise bears his shell,
How the woodchuck digs his cell,
And the ground-mole sinks his well;
How the robin feeds her young,
How the oriole's nest is hung;
Where the whitest lilies blow,
Where the freshest berries grow,
Where the ground-nut trails its vine,
Where the wood-grape's clusters shine;
Of the black wasp's cunning way,
Mason of his walls of clay,
And the architectural plans
Of gray hornet artisans!
For, eschewing books and tasks,
Nature answers all he asks;
Hand in hand with her he walks,
Face to face with her he talks,
Part and parcel of her joy,—
Blessings on the barefoot boy!
Oh for boyhood's time of June,
Crowding years in one brief moon,
When all things I heard or saw,
Me, their master, waited for.
I was rich in flowers and trees,
Humming-birds and honey-bees;
For my sport the squirrel played,
Plied the snouted mole his spade;
For my taste the blackberry cone
Purpled over hedge and stone;
Laughed the brook for my delight
Through the day and through the night,—
Whispering at the garden wall,
Talked with me from fall to fall;
Mine the sand-rimmed pickerel pond,
Mine the walnut slopes beyond,
Mine, on bending orchard trees,
Apples of Hesperides!
Still as my horizon grew,
Larger grew my riches too;

All the world I saw or knew
 Seemed a complex Chinese toy,
 Fashioned for a barefoot boy!
 Oh for festal dainties spread,
 Like my bowl of milk and bread;
 Pewter spoon and bowl of wood,
 On the door-stone, gray and rude!
 O'er me, like a regal tent,
 Cloudy-ribbed, the sunset bent,
 Purple-curtained, fringed with gold,
 Looped in many a wind-swung fold;
 While for music came the play
 Of the pied frogs' orchestra;
 And, to light the noisy choir,
 Lit the fly his lamp of fire.
 I was monarch: pomp and joy
 Waited on the barefoot boy!
 Cheerily, then, my little man,
 Live and laugh, as boyhood can!
 Though the flinty slopes be hard,
 Stubble-speared the new-mown sward,
 Every morn shall lead thee through
 Fresh baptisms of the dew;
 Every evening from thy feet
 Shall the cool wind kiss the heat:
 All too soon these feet must hide
 In the prison cells of pride,
 Lose the freedom of the sod,
 Like a colt's for work be shod,
 Made to tread the mills of toil,
 Up and down in ceaseless moil:
 Happy if their track be found
 Never on forbidden ground;
 Happy if they sink not in
 Quick and treacherous sands of sin.
 Ah! that thou couldst know thy joy,
 Ere it passes, barefoot boy!

“Sleep, Sleep, Happy One” by Christina Rossetti, c. late nineteenth century

SOURCE: Unpublished.

Introduction

In previous centuries, when childhood mortality rates were much higher, the deaths of children inspired many poetic elegies. Christina Rossetti (1830–1894) wrote numerous poems about dying infants (none inspired by her own loss, Rossetti had no children herself). In “Sleep, Sleep, Happy One,” Rossetti writes sentimentally about the child’s death as a release from the pains and hardships of mortal life. Her poems are still frequently read today at funeral services for children. Her strong religious faith and her promise of a better life in heaven have provided comfort to countless bereaved parents.

Sleep, Sleep, Happy One

Sleep, sleep, happy one;
 Thy night is but just begun.
 Sleep in peace; still angels keep
 Holy watches o'er thy sleep.
 Softest breasts are pillowing,
 Softest wings are shadowing
 Thy calm slumber; little child,
 Sleep in thy white robes undefiled.
 There is no more aching now
 In thy heart or in thy brow.
 The red blood upon thy breast
 Cannot scare away thy rest.
 Though thy hands are clasped as when
 A man thou prayedst among men,
 Thy pains are lulled, thy tears are dried,
 And thy wants are satisfied.
 Sleep, sleep; what quietness
 After the world's noise is this!
 Sleep on, where the hush and shade
 Like a veil are round thee laid.
 At thy head a cross is hewn
 Whereon shines the Advent moon:
 Through all the hours of the night
 Its shadow rests on thee aright.
 In temptation thou wert firm;
 Now have patience with the worm.
 Yet a little while, and he
 And death and sin shall bow to thee.
 Yet a little while, and thou
 Shalt have a crown upon thy brow,
 And a palm branch in thy hand
 Where the holy angels stand.
 Sleep, sleep, till the chime
 Sound of the last matin prime:
 Sleep on until the morn
 Of another Advent dawn.

Excerpt from *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. DuBois, 1903

SOURCE: Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co.; Cambridge, MA: University Press John Wilson and Son.

Introduction

In this heartrending chapter from *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), W. E. B. DuBois’s seminal volume on the impact of race on the lives of African Americans, the author describes how the veil of the color line falls over black children at the moment of their birth. DuBois, himself a light-skinned man, recalls his emotional distress at the visual evidence of his son’s mixed heritage, as well as his anger that his son’s future must be constrained by classifications of race. When, at the age of eighteen months, his son dies from a childhood

illness, DuBois and his wife are swallowed by grief, yet DuBois also recognizes death as a liberation from the tyranny of the color line. That ending note illuminates how indelibly the lives of African-American children are marked by race.

Chapter XI.

Of the Passing of the First-Born

O sister, sister, thy first-begotten,
The hands that cling and the feet that follow,
The voice of the child's blood crying yet,
Who hath remembered me? who hath forgotten?
Thou hast forgotten, O summer swallow,
But the world shall end when I forget.
SWINBURNE.

"UNTO you a child is born," sang the bit of yellow paper that fluttered into my room one brown October morning. Then the fear of fatherhood mingled wildly with the joy of creation; I wondered how it looked and how it felt,—what were its eyes, and how its hair curled and crumpled itself. And I thought in awe of her,—she who had slept with Death to tear a man-child from underneath her heart, while I was unconsciously wandering. I fled to my wife and child, repeating the while to myself half wonderingly, "Wife and child? Wife and child?"—fled fast and faster than boat and steam-car, and yet must ever impatiently await them; away from the hard-voiced city, away from the flickering sea into my own Berkshire Hills that sit all sadly guarding the gates of Massachusetts.

Up the stairs I ran to the wan mother and whimpering babe, to the sanctuary on whose altar a life at my bidding had offered itself to win a life, and won. What is this tiny formless thing, this new-born wail from an unknown world,—all head and voice? I handle it curiously, and watch perplexed its winking, breathing, and sneezing. I did not love it then; it seemed a ludicrous thing to love; but her I loved, my girl-mother, she whom now I saw unfolding like the glory of the morning—the transfigured woman.

Through her I came to love the wee thing, as it grew and waxed strong; as its little soul unfolded itself in twitter and cry and half-formed word, and as its eyes caught the gleam and flash of life. How beautiful he was, with his olive-tinted flesh and dark gold ringlets, his eyes of mingled blue and brown, his perfect little limbs, and the soft voluptuous roll which the blood of Africa had moulded into his features! I held him in my arms, after we had sped far away to our Southern home,—held him, and glanced at the hot red soil of Georgia and the breathless city of a hundred hills, and felt a vague unrest. Why was his hair tinted with gold? An evil omen was golden hair in my life. Why had not the brown of his eyes crushed out and killed the blue?—for brown were his father's eyes, and his father's father's. And thus in the

Land of the Color-line I saw, as it fell across my baby, the shadow of the Veil.

Within the Veil was he born, said I; and there within shall he live,—a Negro and a Negro's son. Holding in that little head—ah, bitterly!—the unbowed pride of a hunted race, clinging with that tiny dimpled hand—ah, wearily!—to a hope not hopeless but unhelpful, and seeing with those bright wondering eyes that peer into my soul a land whose freedom is to us a mockery and whose liberty a lie. I saw the shadow of the Veil as it passed over my baby, I saw the cold city towering above the blood-red land. I held my face beside his little cheek, showed him the star-children and the twinkling lights as they began to flash, and stilled with an even-song the unvoiced terror of my life.

So sturdy and masterful he grew, so filled with bubbling life so tremulous with the unspoken wisdom of a life but eighteen months distant from the All-life,—we were not far from worshipping this revelation of the divine, my wife and I. Her own life builded and moulded itself upon the child; he tinged her every dream and idealized her every effort. No hands but hers must touch and garnish those little limbs; no dress or frill must touch them that had not wearied her fingers; no voice but hers could coax him off to Dreamland, and she and he together spoke some soft and unknown tongue and in it held communion. I too mused above his little white bed; saw the strength of my own arm stretched onward through the ages through the newer strength of his; saw the dream of my black fathers stagger a step onward in the wild phantasm of the world; heard in his baby voice the voice of the Prophet that was to rise within the Veil.

And so we dreamed and loved and planned by fall and winter, and the full flush of the long Southern spring, till the hot winds rolled from the fetid Gulf, till the roses shivered and the still stern sun quivered its awful light over the hills of Atlanta. And then one night the little feet pattered wearily to the wee white bed, and the tiny hands trembled; and a warm flushed face tossed on the pillow, and we knew baby was sick. Ten days he lay there,—a swift week and three endless days, wasting, wasting away. Cheerily the mother nursed him the first days, and laughed into the little eyes that smiled again. Tenderly then she hovered round him, till the smile fled away and Fear crouched beside the little bed.

Then the day ended not, and night was a dreamless terror, and joy and sleep slipped away. I hear now that Voice at midnight calling me from dull and dreamless trance,—crying, "The Shadow of Death! The Shadow of Death!" Out into the starlight I crept, to rouse the gray physician,—the Shadow of Death, the Shadow of Death. The hours trembled on; the night listened; the ghastly dawn glided like a tired thing across the lamplight. Then we two alone looked upon the child as he turned toward us with great eyes, and stretched his string-like hands,—the Shadow of Death! And we spoke no word, and turned away.

He died at eventide, when the sun lay like a brooding sorrow above the western hills, veiling its face; when the winds spoke not, and the trees, the great green trees he loved, stood motionless. I saw his breath beat quicker and quicker, pause, and then his little soul leapt like a star that travels in the night and left a world of darkness in its train. The day changed not; the same tall trees peeped in at the windows, the same green grass glinted in the setting sun. Only in the chamber of death writhed the world's most piteous thing—a childless mother.

I shirk not. I long for work. I pant for a life full of striving. I am no coward, to shrink before the rugged rush of the storm, nor even quail before the awful shadow of the Veil. But hearken, O Death! Is not this my life hard enough,—is not that dull land that stretches its sneering web about me cold enough,—is not all the world beyond these four little walls pitiless enough, but that thou must needs enter here,—thou, O Death? About my head the thundering storm beat like a heartless voice, and the crazy forest pulsed with the curses of the weak; but what cared I, within my home beside my wife and baby boy? Wast thou so jealous of one little coign of happiness that thou must needs enter there,—thou, O Death?

A perfect life was his, all joy and love, with tears to make it brighter,—sweet as a summer's day beside the Housatonic. The world loved him; the women kissed his curls, the men looked gravely into his wonderful eyes, and the children hovered and fluttered about him. I can see him now, changing like the sky from sparkling laughter to darkening frowns, and then to wondering thoughtfulness as he watched the world. He knew no color-line, poor dear,—and the Veil, though it shadowed him, had not yet darkened half his sun. He loved the white matron, he loved his black nurse; and in his little world walked souls alone, uncolored and unclothed. I—yea, all men—are larger and purer by the infinite breadth of that one little life. She who in simple clearness of vision sees beyond the stars said when he had flown, "He will be happy There; he ever loved beautiful things." And I, far more ignorant, and blind by the web of mine own weaving, sit alone winding words and muttering, "If still he be, and he be There, and there be a There, let him be happy, O Fate!"

Blithe was the morning of his burial, with bird and song and sweet-smelling flowers. The trees whispered to the grass, but the children sat with hushed faces. And yet it seemed a ghostly unreal day,—the wraith of Life. We seemed to rumble down an unknown street behind a little white bundle of posies, with the shadow of a song in our ears. The busy city dinned about us; they did not say much, those pale-faced hurrying men and women; they did not say much,—they only glanced and said, "Niggers!"

We could not lay him in the ground there in Georgia, for the earth there is strangely red; so we bore him away to the northward, with his flowers and his little folded hands. In

vain, in vain!—for where, O God! beneath thy broad blue sky shall my dark baby rest in peace,—where Reverence dwells, and Goodness, and a Freedom that is free?

All that day and all that night there sat an awful gladness in my heart,—nay, blame me not if I see the world thus darkly through the Veil,—and my soul whispers ever to me, saying, "Not dead, not dead, but escaped; not bond, but free." No bitter meanness now shall sicken his baby heart till it die a living death, no taunt shall madden his happy boyhood. Fool that I was to think or wish that this little soul should grow choked and deformed within the Veil! I might have known that yonder deep unworldly look that ever and anon floated past his eyes was peering far beyond this narrow Now. In the poise of his little curl-crowned head did there not sit all that wild pride of being which his father had hardly crushed in his own heart? For what, forsooth, shall a Negro want with pride amid the studied humiliations of fifty million fellows? Well sped, my boy, before the world had dubbed your ambition insolence, had held your ideals unattainable, and taught you to cringe and bow. Better far this nameless void that stops my life than a sea of sorrow for you.

Idle words; he might have borne his burden more bravely than we,—aye, and found it lighter too, some day; for surely, surely this is not the end. Surely there shall yet dawn some mighty morning to lift the Veil and set the prisoned free. Not for me,—I shall die in my bonds,—but for fresh young souls who have not known the night and waken to the morning; a morning when men ask of the workman, not "Is he white?" but "Can he work?" When men ask artists, not "Are they black?" but "Do they know?" Some morning this may be, long, long years to come. But now there wails, on that dark shore within the Veil, the same deep voice, Thou shalt forego! And all have I foregone at that command, and with small complaint,—all save that fair young form that lies so coldly wed with death in the nest I had builded.

If one must have gone, why not I? Why may I not rest me from this restlessness and sleep from this wide waking? Was not the world's alembic, Time, in his young hands, and is not my time waning? Are there so many workers in the vineyard that the fair promise of this little body could lightly be tossed away? The wretched of my race that line the alleys of the nation sit fatherless and unmothered; but Love sat beside his cradle, and in his ear Wisdom waited to speak. Perhaps now he knows the All-love, and needs not to be wise. Sleep, then, child,—sleep till I sleep and waken to a baby voice and the ceaseless patter of little feet—above the Veil.

"Stormy Nights" by Robert Louis Stevenson, 1922

SOURCE: Osbourne, Lloyd, and Fanny Van de Grift Stevenson. 1922–1923. *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Vailima Edition. New York: Scribners.

Introduction

In the poem "Stormy Nights," Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) captures the fears of childhood. He challenges the romanticized and nostalgic view of childhood proffered by his poetic contemporaries, such as William Wordsworth, recalling instead how terrifying the world appeared through his youthful eyes. Stevenson had been a sickly child and spent many weeks in bed both fantasizing about adventure and fearing the stormy nights. He recalled this experience frequently. His poem "Windy Nights" is a better known variation on the theme. The imagery also appeared in his novels; for example, in the opening chapter of *Treasure Island* the narrator recalls his childhood terror during stormy nights.

Stormy Nights

I cry out war to those who spend their utmost,
Trying to substitute a vain regret
For childhood's vanished moods,
Instead of a full manly satisfaction
In new development.
Their words are vain as the lost shouts,
The wasted breath of solitary hunters
That are far buried in primeval woods—
Clamour that dies in silence,
Cries that bring back no answer
But the great voice of the wind-shaken forest,
Mocking despair.
No—they will get no answer;
For I too recollect,
I recollect and love my perished childhood,
Perfectly love and keenly recollect;
I too remember; and if it could be
Would not recall it.
Do I not know, how, nightly, on my bed
The palpable close darkness shutting round me,
How my small heart went forth to evil things,
How all the possibilities of sin
That were yet present to my innocence
Bound me too narrowly,
And how my spirit beat
The cage of its compulsive purity:
How—my eyes fixed,
My shot lip tremulous between my fingers
I fashioned for myself new modes of crime,
Created for myself with pain and labour
The evil that the cobwebs of society,
The comely secrecies of education,
Had made an itching mystery to meward.
Do I not know again,
When the great winds broke loose and went abroad

At night in the lighted town—
Ah! then it was different—
Then, when I seemed to hear
The storm go by me like a cloak-wrapt horseman
Stooping over the saddle—
Go by, and come again and yet again,
Like some one riding with a pardon,
And ever baffled, ever shut from passage:—
Then when the house shook and a horde of noises
Came out and clattered over me all night,—
Then, would my heart stand still,
My hair creep fearfully upon my head
And, with my tear-wet face
Buried among the bed-clothes,
Long and bitterly would I pray and wrestle
Till gentle sleep
Threw her great mantle over me,
And my hard breathing gradually ceased.
I was then the Indian,
Well and happy and full of glee and pleasure,
Both hands full of life.
And not without divine impulses
Shot into me by the untried non-ego;
But, like the Indian, too,
Not yet exempt from feverish questionings
And on my bed of leaves,
Writhing terribly in grasp of terror,
As when the still stars and the great white moon
Watch me athwart black foliage,
Trembling before the interminable vista,
The widening wells of space
In which my thought flags like a wearied bird
In the mid ocean of his autumn flight—
Prostrate before the indefinite great spirit
That the external warder
Plunged like a dagger
Into my bosom.
Now, I am a Greek
White-robed among the sunshine and the statues
And the fair porticos of carven marble—
Fond of olives and dry sherry,
Good tobacco and clever talk with my fellows,
Free from inordinate cravings.
Why would you hurry me, O evangelist,
You with the bands and the shilling packet of tracts
Greatly reduced when taken for distribution?
Why do you taunt my progress,
O green-spectacled Wordsworth! in beautiful verses,
You, the elderly poet?
So I shall travel forward
Step by step with the rest of my race,
In time, if death should spare me,
I shall come on to a farther stage.
And show you St. Francis of Assisi.

Children's Literature

"Rosalie and Hetty" from *Little Ferns for Fanny's Little Friends* by Fanny Fern (Sara Willis), 1853

SOURCE: Willis Parton, Sara Payson. 1853. *Little Ferns for Fanny's Little Friends*. Auburn: Derby and Miller.

Introduction

The following story appeared in *Little Ferns for Fanny's Little Friends* (1853), a collection of children's stories written by the enormously popular antebellum American newspaper columnist, Sara Willis (1811–1872), known to her readers as Fanny Fern. Willis was born in Maine and was educated at Catharine Beecher's seminary in Connecticut. However, her views on the circumscribed role of women in American society diverged from the traditionalist attitudes of her teacher. Willis criticized male dominance, supported the women's suffrage movement, and advocated less housework for women as well as smaller family size. She expressed great love for children, and her stories are filled with sympathy for their needs. Readers will recognize a resemblance between these stories and *Little Women* by Louisa May Alcott. In "Rosalie and Hetty," Willis teaches young girls the importance of cultivating their intellects, rather than their appearances. Willis, who was not an attractive woman, had a successful career and married three times.

Rosalie and Hetty

Everybody called Rosalie a beauty. Everybody was right. Her cheeks looked like a ripe peach; her hair waved over as fair a forehead as ever a zephyr kissed; her eyes and mouth were as perfect as eyes and mouth could be; no violet was softer or bluer than the one, no rose-bud sweeter than the other. All colors became Rosalie, and whatever she did was gracefully done.

Yes, everybody thought Rosalie was "a beauty." Rosalie thought so herself: So, she took no pains to be good, or amiable, or obliging. She never cared about learning anything, for she said to herself, I can afford to have my own way; I can afford to be a dunce if I like; I shall be always sought and admired for my pretty face.

So, Rosalie dressed as tastefully as she and the dress-maker knew how, and looked *up* to show her fine eyes, and *down* to show her long eye-lashes, and held up her dress and hopped over little imaginary puddles, to show her pretty feet; and smiled to show her white teeth; and danced to show her fine form and was as brilliant and as brainless as a butterfly.

Now, I suppose you think that Rosalie was very happy. Not at all! She was in a perfect fidget lest she should not get

all the admiration she wanted. She was torturing herself all the while, for fear some prettier face would come along, and eclipse hers. If she went to a party and every person in the room (but one) admired her, she would fret herself sick, because *that one* didn't bow down and worship her.

Never having studied or read anything, Rosalie could talk nothing but nonsense; so, everybody who conversed with her, talked nonsense, too, and paid her silly compliments, and made her believe that all she needed to make her *quite* an angel was a pair of wings; and then she would hold her pretty head on one side, and simper; and they would go away laughing in their sleeves, and saying, "What a vain little fool Rosalie is!"

Now, Rosalie's cousin Hetty was as plain as a chestnut-bur. She had not a single pretty feature in her face. Nobody ever thought of calling Hetty a beauty, and *she knew it!* She was used to being overlooked; but she didn't go whining round and making herself unhappy about it,—not she. She just put her mind on something else. She studied, and read books, and learned a great many useful things; so, she had a great deal in her mind to think of, and went singing about as happy as could be, without minding whether anybody noticed her or not.

So she grew up sweet-tempered, amiable, generous and happy. When she went into company, strangers would say, "What a plain little body Hetty is." If they could not find anybody else to talk to, they'd go speak to her. Then Hetty would look up at them with one of her quiet smiles, and commence talking. She would say a great many very sensible things, and some queer ones, and they would listen—and listen—and listen—and by and by look at their watch and wonder what *bad* made time fly so; and then go home, wondering to themselves *how they could ever call such an agreeable girl as Hetty "homely."*

So you see, everybody learned to love her when they found out what a *beautiful soul* she had; and while Rosalie was pining and fretting herself sick because her beauty was fading, and her admirers were dropping off one by one, to flatter prettier faces, Hetty went quietly on her way, winning hearts and—*keeping them, too.*

Excerpt from *Ragged Dick* by Horatio Alger, 1868

SOURCE: Alger, Horatio. 1868. *Ragged Dick; or, Street Life in New York With the Boot-Blacks*. Boston: Loring.

Introduction

Horatio Alger's *Ragged Dick* stories were published between 1867 and 1870. They are all sentimental tales of poor young heroes who, through a combination of good character and good luck, rise from their depressed circumstances and become successful.

Alger's stories were based on the lives of the New York City street children whom he met at the charitable Newsboys' Lodging House. The books were enormously popular among American boys, who learned from Dick and his companions the importance of virtue and perseverance. The *Ragged Dick* stories conveyed many of the same messages popular in children's advice literature from the period. In the following opening scene from the original *Ragged Dick*, the reader is introduced to the character of Dick and learns that some types of behavioral transgressions are acceptable, but there are certain values that a good boy can never compromise.

"WAKE up there, youngster," said a rough voice.

Ragged Dick opened his eyes slowly, and stared stupidly in the face of the speaker, but did not offer to get up.

"Wake up, you young vagabond!" said the man a little impatiently; "I suppose you'd lay there all day, if I hadn't called you."

"What time is it?" asked Dick.

"Seven o'clock."

"Seven o'clock! I oughter've been up an hour ago. I know what 'twas made me so precious sleepy. I went to the Old Bowery last night, and didn't turn in till past twelve."

"You went to the Old Bowery? Where'd you get your money?" asked the man, who was a porter in the employ of a firm doing business on Spruce Street. "Made it by shines, in course. My guardian don't allow me no money for the-ater, so I have to earn it."

"Some boys get it easier than that," said the porter significantly.

"You don't catch me stealin', if that's what you mean," said Dick.

"Don't you ever steal, then?"

"No, and I wouldn't. Lots of boys does it, but I wouldn't."

"Well, I'm glad to hear you say that. I believe there's some good in you, Dick, after all."

"Oh, I'm a rough customer!" said Dick. "But I wouldn't steal. It's mean."

"I'm glad you think so, Dick," and the rough voice sounded gentler than at first. "Have you got any money to buy your breakfast?"

"No, but I'll soon get some."

While this conversation had been going on, Dick had got up. His bedchamber had been a wooden box half full of

straw, on which the young bootblack had reposed his weary limbs, and slept as soundly as if it had been a bed of down. He dumped down into the straw without taking the trouble of undressing.

Getting up too was an equally short process. He jumped out of the box, shook himself, picked out one or two straws that had found their way into rents in his clothes, and, drawing a well-worn cap over his uncombed locks, he was all ready for the business of the day.

Dick's appearance as he stood beside the box was rather peculiar. His pants were torn in several places, and had apparently belonged in the first instance to a boy two sizes larger than himself. He wore a vest, all the buttons of which were gone except two, out of which peeped a shirt which looked as if it had been worn a month. To complete his costume he wore a coat too long for him, dating back, if one might judge from its general appearance, to a remote antiquity.

Washing the face and hands is usually considered proper in commencing the day, but Dick was above such refinement. He had no particular dislike to dirt, and did not think it necessary to remove several dark streaks on his face and hands. But in spite of his dirt and rags there was something about Dick that was attractive. It was easy to see that if he had been clean and well dressed he would have been decidedly good-looking. Some of his companions were sly, and their faces inspired distrust; but Dick had a frank, straightforward manner that made him a favorite.

Dick's business hours had commenced. He had no office to open. His little blacking-box was ready for use, and he looked sharply in the faces of all who passed, addressing each with, "Shine yer boots, sir?"

"How much?" asked a gentleman on his way to his office.

"Ten cents," said Dick, dropping his box, and sinking upon his knees on the sidewalk, flourishing his brush with the air of one skilled in his profession.

"Ten cents! Isn't that a little steep?"

"Well, you know 'taint all clear profit," said Dick, who had already set to work. "There's the *blacking* costs something, and I have to get a new brush pretty often."

"And you have a large rent too," said the gentleman quizzically, with a glance at a large hole in Dick's coat.

"Yes, sir," said Dick, always ready to joke; "I have to pay such a big rent for my manshun up on Fifth Avenoo, that I can't afford to take less than ten cents a shine. I'll give you a bully shine, sir."

"Be quick about it, for I am in a hurry. So your house is on Fifth Avenue, is it?"

"It isn't anywhere else," said Dick, and Dick spoke the truth there.

“What tailor do you patronize?” asked the gentleman, surveying Dick’s attire.

“Would you like to go to the same one?” asked Dick, shrewdly.

“Well, no; it strikes me that he didn’t give you a very good fit.”

“This coat once belonged to General Washington,” said Dick, comically. “He wore it all through the Revolution, and it got torn some, ‘cause he fit so hard. When he died he told his widder to give it to some smart young feller that hadn’t got none of his own; so she gave it to me. But if you’d like it, sir, to remember General Washington by, I’ll let you have it reasonable.”

“Thank you, but I wouldn’t want to deprive you of it. And did your pants come from General Washington too?”

“No, they was a gift from Lewis Napoleon. Lewis had outgrown ‘em and sent ‘em to me, — he’s bigger than me, and that’s why they don’t fit.”

“It seems you have distinguished friends. Now, my lad, I suppose you would like your money.”

“I shouldn’t have any objection,” said Dick.

“I believe,” said the gentleman, examining his pocket-book, “I haven’t got anything short of twenty-five cents. Have you got any change?”

“Not a cent,” said Dick. “All my money’s invested in the Erie Railroad.”

“That’s unfortunate.”

“Shall I get the money changed, sir?”

“I can’t wait; I’ve got to meet an appointment immediately. I’ll hand you twenty-five cents, and you can leave the change at my office any time during the day.”

“All right, sir. Where is it?”

“No. 125 Fulton Street. Shall you remember?”

“Yes, sir. What name?”

“Greyson,—office on second floor.”

“All right, sir; I’ll bring it.”

“I wonder whether the little scamp will prove honest,” said Mr. Greyson to himself, as he walked away. “If he does, I’ll give him my custom regularly. If he don’t as is most likely, I shan’t mind the loss of fifteen cents.”

Mr. Greyson didn’t understand Dick. Our ragged hero wasn’t a model boy in all respects. I am afraid he swore sometimes, and now and then he played tricks upon unso-

phisticated boys from the country, or gave a wrong direction to honest old gentlemen unused to the city. A clergyman in search of the Cooper Institute he once directed to the Tombs Prison, and, following him unobserved, was highly delighted when the unsuspecting stranger walked up the front steps of the great stone building on Centre Street, and tried to obtain admission.

“I guess he wouldn’t want to stay long if he did get in,” thought Ragged Dick, hitching up his pants. “Leastways I shouldn’t. They’re so precious glad to see you that they won’t let you go, but board you gratooitous, and never send in no bills.”

Another of Dick’s faults was his extravagance. Being always wide-awake and ready for business, he earned enough to have supported him comfortably and respectably. There were not a few young clerks who employed Dick from time to time in his professional capacity, who scarcely earned as much as he, greatly as their style and dress exceeded his. But Dick was careless of his earnings. Where they went he could hardly have told himself. However much he managed to earn during the day, all was generally spent before morning. He was fond of going to the Old Bowery Theatre, and to Tony Pastor’s, and if he had any money left afterwards, he would invite some of his friends in somewhere to have an oyster stew; so it seldom happened that he commenced the day with a penny.

Then I am sorry to add that Dick had formed the habit of smoking. This cost him considerable, for Dick was rather fastidious about his cigars, and wouldn’t smoke the cheapest. Besides, having a liberal nature, he was generally ready to treat his companions. But of course the expense was the smallest objection. No boy of fourteen can smoke without being affected injuriously. Men are frequently injured by smoking, and boys always. But large numbers of the news-boys and boot-blacks form the habit. Exposed to the cold and wet they find that it warms them up, and the self-indulgence grows upon them. It is not uncommon to see a little boy, too young to be out of his mother’s sight, smoking with all the apparent satisfaction of a veteran smoker.

There was another way in which Dick sometimes lost money. There was a noted gambling-house on Baxter Street, which in the evening was sometimes crowded with these juvenile gamblers, who staked their hard earnings, generally losing of course, and refreshing themselves from time to time with a vile mixture of liquor at two cents a glass. Sometimes Dick strayed in here, and played with the rest.

I have mentioned Dick’s faults and defects, because I want it understood, to begin with, that I don’t consider him a model boy. But there were some good points about him nevertheless. He was above doing anything mean or dishonorable. He would not steal, or cheat, or impose upon younger boys, but was frank and straight-forward, manly and self-

reliant. His nature was a noble one, and had saved him from all mean faults. I hope my young readers will like him as I do, without being blind to his faults. Perhaps, although he was only a boot-black, they may find something in him to imitate.

And now, having fairly introduced Ragged Dick to my young readers, I must refer them to the next chapter for his further adventures.

Lesson Eight from *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader* by William Holmes McGuffey, 1879

SOURCE: McGuffey, William Holmes. 1879. *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader*. New York: American Book Co.

Introduction

The McGuffey Readers, prepared by William Holmes McGuffey (1800–1873), were the second most popular American books of the nineteenth century, after the King James Bible. The readers, composed of previously published selections and organized by six different reading levels, were especially popular in the Midwest and sold over 122 million copies between 1836 and 1920. They were used to teach American children how to read as well as how to think. The following excerpt from *McGuffey's Fifth Eclectic Reader*, published in 1879, inculcates in students the ethic of hard work, a central moral value of American Victorian culture. Other values promoted by McGuffey readers included Christianity, personal responsibility, sobriety, and female domesticity. While some look back on McGuffey's readers with nostalgia, many recent historians have criticized the texts' moral lessons for serving the interests of late-nineteenth-century industrialism rather than the self-realization of individual students.

VIII WORK

Eliza Cook (1817–1889) was born in London. In 1837 she commenced contributing to periodicals. In 1840 the first collection of her poems was made. In 1849 she became editor of “Eliza Cook’s Journal.”

Work, work, my boy, be not afraid;
 Look labor boldly in the face;
 Take up the hammer or the spade,
 And blush not for your humble place.
 There’s glory in the shuttle’s song;
 There’s triumph in the anvil’s stroke;
 There’s merit in the brave and strong
 Who dig the mine or fell the oak.
 The wind disturbs the sleeping lake,
 And bids it ripple pure and fresh;
 It moves the green boughs till they make
 Grand music in their leafy mesh.
 And so the active breath of life
 Should stir our dull and sluggard wills;

For are we not created rife
 With health, that stagnant torpor kills?
 I doubt if he who lolls his head
 Where idleness and plenty meet,
 Enjoys his pillow or his bread
 As those who earn the meals they eat.
 And man is never half so blest
 As when the busy day is spent
 So as to make his evening rest
 A holiday of glad content.

DEFINITIONS.—3. Mesh, *network*. 4. Rife, *abounding*. Stagnant, *inactive*. Torpor, *laziness, stupidity*. 5. Lolls, *reclines, leans*.

Excerpt from *Tarzan of the Apes* by Edgar Rice Burroughs, 1914

SOURCE: Burroughs, Edgar Rice. 1914. *Tarzan of the Apes*. Chicago: McClurg.

Introduction

In the first half of the twentieth century a new genre of popular writing, known as pulp fiction, became popular. Printed on inexpensive paper, “pulp” magazines serialized tales of adventure, crime, and romance. *Tarzan of the Apes*, first published in *All-Story* magazine in 1912, is one of the genre’s greatest successes. Its enormous popularity inspired two dozen Tarzan novels, as well as radio programs, movies, television shows, and branded products. In the following chapter from the original novel, Tarzan the infant is taken by the female ape Kala after the ferocious ape Kerchak has killed his father. *Tarzan* attracted young readers because unlike many Victorian-era children’s books, it aimed at entertainment and not moral instruction. However, modern critics point out that the Tarzan stories are heavily weighted with ideological messages about masculinity, imperialism, and whiteness.

Chapter 4

The Apes

In the forest of the table-land a mile back from the ocean old Kerchak the Ape was on a rampage of rage among his people.

The younger and lighter members of his tribe scampered to the higher branches of the great trees to escape his wrath; risking their lives upon branches that scarce supported their weight rather than face old Kerchak in one of his fits of uncontrolled anger.

The other males scattered in all directions, but not before the infuriated brute had felt the vertebra of one snap between his great, foaming jaws.

A luckless young female slipped from an insecure hold upon a high branch and came crashing to the ground almost at Kerchak's feet.

With a wild scream he was upon her, tearing a great piece from her side with his mighty teeth, and striking her viciously upon her head and shoulders with a broken tree limb until her skull was crushed to a jelly.

And then he spied Kala, who, returning from a search for food with her young babe, was ignorant of the state of the mighty male's temper until suddenly the shrill warnings of her fellows caused her to scamper madly for safety.

But Kerchak was close upon her, so close that he had almost grasped her ankle had she not made a furious leap far into space from one tree to another—a perilous chance which apes seldom if ever take, unless so closely pursued by danger that there is no alternative.

She made the leap successfully, but as she grasped the limb of the further tree the sudden jar loosened the hold of the tiny babe where it clung frantically to her neck, and she saw the little thing hurled, turning and twisting, to the ground thirty feet below.

With a low cry of dismay Kala rushed headlong to its side, thoughtless now of the danger from Kerchak; but when she gathered the wee, mangled form to her bosom life had left it.

With low moans, she sat cuddling the body to her; nor did Kerchak attempt to molest her. With the death of the babe his fit of demoniacal rage passed as suddenly as it had seized him.

Kerchak was a huge king ape, weighing perhaps three hundred and fifty pounds. His forehead was extremely low and receding, his eyes bloodshot, small and close set to his coarse, flat nose; his ears large and thin, but smaller than most of his kind.

His awful temper and his mighty strength made him supreme among the little tribe into which he had been born some twenty years before.

Now that he was in his prime, there was no simian in all the mighty forest through which he roved that dared contest his right to rule, nor did the other and larger animals molest him.

Old Tantor, the elephant, alone of all the wild savage life, feared him not—and he alone did Kerchak fear. When Tantor trumpeted, the great ape scurried with his fellows high among the trees of the second terrace.

The tribe of anthropoids over which Kerchak ruled with an iron hand and bared fangs, numbered some six or eight families, each family consisting of an adult male with his females and their young, numbering in all some sixty or seventy apes.

Kala was the youngest mate of a male called Tublat, meaning broken nose, and the child she had seen dashed to death was her first; for she was but nine or ten years old.

Notwithstanding her youth, she was large and powerful—a splendid, clean-limbed animal, with a round, high forehead, which denoted more intelligence than most of her kind possessed. So, also, she had a great capacity for mother love and mother sorrow.

But she was still an ape, a huge, fierce, terrible beast of a species closely allied to the gorilla, yet more intelligent; which, with the strength of their cousin, made her kind the most fearsome of those awe-inspiring progenitors of man.

When the tribe saw that Kerchak's rage had ceased they came slowly down from their arboreal retreats and pursued again the various occupations which he had interrupted.

The young played and frolicked about among the trees and bushes. Some of the adults lay prone upon the soft mat of dead and decaying vegetation which covered the ground, while others turned over pieces of fallen branches and clods of earth in search of the small bugs and reptiles which formed a part of their food.

Others, again, searched the surrounding trees for fruit, nuts, small birds, and eggs.

They had passed an hour or so thus when Kerchak called them together, and, with a word of command to them to follow him, set off toward the sea.

They traveled for the most part upon the ground, where it was open, following the path of the great elephants whose comings and goings break the only roads through those tangled mazes of bush, vine, creeper, and tree. When they walked it was with a rolling, awkward motion, placing the knuckles of their closed hands upon the ground and swinging their ungainly bodies forward.

But when the way was through the lower trees they moved more swiftly, swinging from branch to branch with the agility of their smaller cousins, the monkeys. And all the way Kala carried her little dead baby hugged closely to her breast.

It was shortly after noon when they reached a ridge overlooking the beach where below them lay the tiny cottage which was Kerchak's goal.

He had seen many of his kind go to their deaths before the loud noise made by the little black stick in the hands of the strange white ape who lived in that wonderful lair, and Kerchak had made up his brute mind to own that death-dealing contrivance, and to explore the interior of the mysterious den.

He wanted, very, very much, to feel his teeth sink into the neck of the queer animal that he had learned to hate and fear,

and because of this, he came often with his tribe to reconnoiter, waiting for a time when the white ape should be off his guard.

Of late they had quit attacking, or even showing themselves; for every time they had done so in the past the little stick had roared out its terrible message of death to some member of the tribe.

Today there was no sign of the man about, and from where they watched they could see that the cabin door was open. Slowly, cautiously, and noiselessly they crept through the jungle toward the little cabin.

There were no growls, no fierce screams of rage—the little black stick had taught them to come quietly lest they awaken it.

On, on they came until Kerchak himself slunk stealthily to the very door and peered within. Behind him were two males, and then Kala, closely straining the little dead form to her breast.

Inside the den they saw the strange white ape lying half across a table, his head buried in his arms; and on the bed lay a figure covered by a sailcloth, while from a tiny rustic cradle came the plaintive wailing of a babe.

Noiselessly Kerchak entered, crouching for the charge; and then John Clayton rose with a sudden start and faced them.

The sight that met his eyes must have frozen him with horror, for there, within the door, stood three great bull apes, while behind them crowded many more; how many he never knew, for his revolvers were hanging on the far wall beside his rifle, and Kerchak was charging.

When the king ape released the limp form which had been John Clayton, Lord Greystoke, he turned his attention toward the little cradle; but Kala was there before him, and when he would have grasped the child she snatched it herself, and before he could intercept her she had bolted through the door and taken refuge in a high tree.

As she took up the little live baby of Alice Clayton she dropped the dead body of her own into the empty cradle; for the wail of the living had answered the call of universal motherhood within her wild breast which the dead could not still.

High up among the branches of a mighty tree she hugged the shrieking infant to her bosom, and soon the instinct that was as dominant in this fierce female as it had been in the breast of his tender and beautiful mother—the instinct of mother love—reached out to the tiny man-child's half-formed understanding, and he became quiet.

Then hunger closed the gap between them, and the son of an English lord and an English lady nursed at the breast of Kala, the great ape.

In the meantime the beasts within the cabin were warily examining the contents of this strange lair.

Once satisfied that Clayton was dead, Kerchak turned his attention to the thing which lay upon the bed, covered by a piece of sailcloth.

Gingerly he lifted one corner of the shroud, but when he saw the body of the woman beneath he tore the cloth roughly from her form and seized the still, white throat in his huge, hairy hands.

A moment he let his fingers sink deep into the cold flesh, and then, realizing that she was already dead, he turned from her, to examine the contents of the room; nor did he again molest the body of either Lady Alice or Sir John.

The rifle hanging upon the wall caught his first attention; it was for this strange, death-dealing thunder-stick that he had yearned for months; but now that it was within his grasp he scarcely had the temerity to seize it.

Cautiously he approached the thing, ready to flee precipitately should it speak in its deep roaring tones, as he had heard it speak before, the last words to those of his kind who, through ignorance or rashness, had attacked the wonderful white ape that had borne it.

Deep in the beast's intelligence was something which assured him that the thunder-stick was only dangerous when in the hands of one who could manipulate it, but yet it was several minutes ere he could bring himself to touch it.

Instead, he walked back and forth along the floor before it, turning his head so that never once did his eyes leave the object of his desire.

Using his long arms as a man uses crutches, and rolling his huge carcass from side to side with each stride, the great king ape paced to and fro, uttering deep growls, occasionally punctuated with the ear-piercing scream, than which there is no more terrifying noise in all the jungle.

Presently he halted before the rifle. Slowly he raised a huge hand until it almost touched the shining barrel, only to withdraw it once more and continue his hurried pacing.

It was as though the great brute by this show of fearlessness, and through the medium of his wild voice, was endeavoring to bolster up his courage to the point which would permit him to take the rifle in his hand.

Again he stopped, and this time succeeded in forcing his reluctant hand to the cold steel, only to snatch it away almost immediately and resume his restless beat.

Time after time this strange ceremony was repeated, but on each occasion with increased confidence, until, finally, the rifle was torn from its hook and lay in the grasp of the great brute.

Finding that it harmed him not, Kerchak began to examine it closely. He felt of it from end to end, peered down the black depths of the muzzle, fingered the sights, the breech, the stock, and finally the trigger.

During all these operations the apes who had entered sat huddled near the door watching their chief, while those outside strained and crowded to catch a glimpse of what transpired within.

Suddenly Kerchak's finger closed upon the trigger. There was a deafening roar in the little room and the apes at and beyond the door fell over one another in their wild anxiety to escape.

Kerchak was equally frightened, so frightened, in fact, that he quite forgot to throw aside the author of that fearful noise, but bolted for the door with it tightly clutched in one hand.

As he passed through the opening, the front sight of the rifle caught upon the edge of the inswung door with sufficient force to close it tightly after the fleeing ape.

When Kerchak came to a halt a short distance from the cabin and discovered that he still held the rifle, he dropped it as he might have dropped a red hot iron, nor did he again attempt to recover it—the noise was too much for his brute nerves; but he was now quite convinced that the terrible stick was quite harmless by itself if left alone.

It was an hour before the apes could again bring themselves to approach the cabin to continue their investigations, and when they finally did so, they found to their chagrin that the door was closed and so securely fastened that they could not force it.

The cleverly constructed latch which Clayton had made for the door had sprung as Kerchak passed out; nor could the apes find means of ingress through the heavily barred windows.

After roaming about the vicinity for a short time, they started back for the deeper forests and the higher land from whence they had come.

Kala had not once come to earth with her little adopted babe, but now Kerchak called to her to descend with the rest, and as there was no note of anger in his voice she dropped lightly from branch to branch and joined the others on their homeward march.

Those of the apes who attempted to examine Kala's strange baby were repulsed with bared fangs and low menacing growls, accompanied by words of warning from Kala.

When they assured her that they meant the child no harm she permitted them to come close, but would not allow them to touch her charge.

It was as though she knew that her baby was frail and delicate and feared lest the rough hands of her fellows might injure the little thing.

Another thing she did, and which made traveling an onerous trial for her. Remembering the death of her own little one, she clung desperately to the new babe, with one hand, whenever they were upon the march.

The other young rode upon their mothers' backs; their little arms tightly clasping the hairy necks before them, while their legs were locked beneath their mothers' armpits.

Not so with Kala; she held the small form of the little Lord Greystoke tightly to her breast, where the dainty hands clutched the long black hair which covered that portion of her body. She had seen one child fall from her back to a terrible death, and she would take no further chances with this.

Child Protection: Government and the Courts

Ex parte Crouse, 1839

SOURCE: Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District. 1839. 4 Whart. 9; 1839 Pa. Decided January 5, 1839.

Introduction

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Ex parte Crouse* (1839), asserted the right of the state to intervene in the private sphere of family by assuming custody of a child. The court affirmed the right of the county of Philadelphia to detain Mary Ann Crouse, a child, in the reformatory "by reason of her vicious conduct." Her father filed a habeas corpus petition to release Mary Ann because there was no evidence that she had committed any crime. The court rejected the petition citing the state's right as *parens patriae*—or political parent—to protect Mary Ann from continuing along a depraved course in life. Because Mary had been impounded for her protection, rather than as punishment, she was not entitled to the same due process that guided criminal lawsuits. The *Ex parte Crouse* decision initiated the development of a separate more informal justice system for child offenders, which was nominally designed for their protection yet often trampled their rights.

Ex parte Crouse
SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA, EASTERN
DISTRICT, PHILADELPHIA
4 Whart. 9; 1839 Pa.

January 5, 1839, Decided

PRIOR HISTORY: [**1] HABEAS CORPUS.

THIS was a habeas corpus directed to the keeper and managers of the “House of Refuge,” in the county of Philadelphia, requiring them to produce before the court one Mary Ann Crouse, an infant, detained in that institution. The petition for the habeas corpus was in the name of her father.

By the return to the writ it appeared, that the girl had been committed to the custody of the managers by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of Morton McMichael, Esq., a justice of the peace of the county of Philadelphia, which recited that complaint and due proof had been made before him by Mary Crouse, the mother of the said Mary Ann Crouse, “that the said infant by reason of vicious conduct, has rendered her control beyond the power of the said complainant, and made it manifestly requisite that from regard to the moral and future welfare of the said infant she should be placed under the guardianship of the managers of the House of Refuge;” and the said alderman certified that in his opinion the said infant was “a proper subject for the said House of Refuge.” Appended to the warrant of commitment were the names and places of residence of the witnesses examined, [**2] and the substance of the testimony given by them respectively, upon which the adjudication of the magistrate was founded.

The House of Refuge was established in pursuance of an Act of Assembly passed on the 23d day of March 1826. The sixth section of that act declared that the managers should, “at their discretion, receive into the said House of Refuge, such children who shall be taken up or committed as vagrants, or upon any criminal charge, or duly convicted of criminal offences, as may be in the judgment of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, or of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the peace of the county, or of the Mayor’s Court of the city of Philadelphia, or of any alderman or justice of the peace, or of the managers of the almshouse and house of employment, be deemed proper objects.” By a supplement to the act passed on the 10th day of April 1835, it was declared, that in lieu of the provisions of the act of 1826, it should be lawful for the managers of the House of Refuge “at their discretion, to receive into their care and guardianship, infants, males under the age of twenty-one years, and females under the age of eighteen years committed to their custody in either of the [**3] following modes, viz First: Infants committed by an alderman or justice of the peace on the complaint and due proof made to him by the parent, guardian or next friend of such infant, that by reason of incorrigible or vicious conduct such infant has rendered his or her control beyond the power of such parent, guardian or next friend, and made it manifestly requisite that from regard for the morals and future welfare of such infant, he or she should be placed under the guardianship of the managers of the House of Ref-

uge. Second: Infants committed by the authority aforesaid, where complaint and due proof have been made that such infant is a proper subject for the guardianship of the managers of the House of Refuge, in consequence of vagrancy, or of incorrigible or vicious conduct, and that from the moral depravity or otherwise of the parent or next friend in whose custody such infant may be, such parent or next friend is incapable or unwilling to exercise the proper care and discipline over such incorrigible or vicious infant. Third: Infants committed by the courts of this Commonwealth in the mode provided by the act to which this is a supplement.”

DISPOSITION: Remanded.

HEADNOTES: The provisions of the acts of 23d of March 1826, and 10th of April 1835, which authorize the committal of infants to the House of Refuge, under certain circumstances, and their detention there, without a previous trial by jury, are not unconstitutional.

COUNSEL: Mr. W. L. Hirst, for [**4] the petitioner, now contended, that these provisions, so far as they authorized the committal and detention of an infant without a trial by jury, were unconstitutional. He referred to the sixth and ninth sections of the Bill of Rights; and cited the Commonwealth v. Addicks, 5 Binn. 520; S. C. 2 S. & R. 174; Commonwealth v. Murray, 4 Binn. 492, 494.

Mr. Barclay and Mr. J. R. Ingersoll, for the managers of the House of Refuge.

OPINION: [**11] PER CURIAM.—The House of Refuge is not a prison, but a school. Where reformation, and not punishment, is the end, it may indeed be used as a prison for juvenile convicts who would else be committed to a common gaol; and in respect to these, the constitutionality of the act which incorporated it, stands clear of controversy. It is only in respect of the application of its discipline to subjects admitted on the order of the court, a magistrate or the managers of the Almshouse, that a doubt is entertained. The object of the charity is reformation, by training its inmates to industry; by imbuing their minds with principles of morality and religion; by furnishing them with means to earn a living; and, above all, by separating them from the corrupting [**5] influence of improper associates. To this end may not the natural parents, when unequal to the task of education, or unworthy of it, be superseded by the *parens patriae*, or common guardian of the community? It is to be remembered that the public has a paramount interest in the virtue and knowledge of its members, and that of strict right, the business of education belongs to it. That parents are ordinarily intrusted with it is because it can seldom be put into better hands; but where they are incompetent or corrupt, what is there to prevent the public from withdrawing their faculties, held, as they obviously are, at its sufferance? The right of parental control is a natural, but not an unalienable one. It is not excepted by the declaration of rights out of the subjects of ordinary legis-

lation; and it consequently remains subject to the ordinary legislative power which, if wantonly or inconveniently used, would soon be constitutionally restricted, but the competency of which, as the government is constituted, cannot be doubted. As to abridgment of indefeasible rights by confinement of the person, it is no more than what is borne, to a greater or less extent, in every school; and [**6] we know of no natural right to exemption from restraints which conduce to an infant's welfare. Nor is there a doubt of the propriety of their application in the particular instance. The infant has been snatched from a course which must have ended in confirmed depravity; and, [*12] not only is the restraint of her person lawful, but it would be an act of extreme cruelty to release her from it.

Remanded.

Excerpt from "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" by W. T. Stead, 1885

SOURCE: Stead, W. T. 1885. "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon I: The Report of Our Secret Commission." *The Pall Mall Gazette*, Monday, July 6.

Introduction

In 1885 the *Pall Mall Gazette* published a series of articles, collectively titled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," that exposed the existence of a busy trade in child prostitutes in the city of London. Their author, W. T. Stead, was a deeply religious journalist who had written many previous exposés of the evils afflicting poor Britons. But none shocked his middle-class readership as thoroughly as the "Maiden Tribute." The articles garnered public support for the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which raised the age of consent to sixteen, and led to the conviction of W. T. Stead himself, who had "purchased" a young girl to substantiate the claims in his articles. In the following excerpt from his first essay Stead expresses outrage not only over the events he describes, but at the tacit acceptance of their existence that he finds among the police and parliamentary authorities with whom he speaks.

In ancient times, if we may believe the myths of Hellas, Athens, after a disastrous campaign, was compelled by her conqueror to send once every nine years a tribute to Crete of seven youths and seven maidens. The doomed fourteen, who were selected by lot amid the lamentations of the citizens, returned no more. . . .

The fact that the Athenians should have taken so bitterly to heart the paltry maiden tribute that once in nine years they had to pay to the Minotaur seems incredible, almost inconceivable. This very night in London, and every night, year in and year out, not seven maidens only, but many times

seven, selected almost as much by chance as those who in the Athenian market-place drew lots as to which should be flung into the Cretan labyrinth, will be offered up as the Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon. Maidens they were when this morning dawned, but to-night their ruin will be accomplished, and to-morrow they will find themselves within the portals of the maze of London brotheldom. Within that labyrinth wander, like lost souls, the vast host of London prostitutes, whose numbers no man can compute, but who are probably not much below 50,000 strong. Many, no doubt, who venture but a little way within the maze make their escape. But multitudes are swept irresistibly on and on to be destroyed in due season, to give place to others, who also will share their doom. The maw of the London Minotaur is insatiable, and none that go into the secret recesses of his lair return again. . . .

Before beginning this inquiry I had a confidential interview with one of the most experienced officers who for many years was in a position to possess an intimate acquaintance with all phases of London crime. I asked him, "Is it or is it not a fact that, at this moment, if I were to go to the proper houses, well introduced, the keeper would, in return for money down, supply me in due time with a maid—a genuine article, I mean, not a mere prostitute tricked out as a virgin, but a girl who had never been seduced?" "Certainly," he replied without a moment's hesitation. "At what price?" I continued. "That is a difficult question," he said. "I remember one case which came under my official cognizance in Scotland-yard in which the price agreed upon was stated to be £20. Some parties in Lambeth undertook to deliver a maid for that sum—to a house of ill fame, and I have no doubt it is frequently done all over London." "But," I continued, "are these maids willing or unwilling parties to the transaction—that is, are they really maidens, not merely in being each a virgo intacta in the physical sense, but as being chaste girls who are not consenting parties to their seduction?" He looked surprised at my question, and then replied emphatically: "Of course they are rarely willing, and as a rule they do not know what they are coming for." "But," I said in amazement, "then do you mean to tell me that in very truth actual rapes, in the legal sense of the word, are constantly being perpetrated in London on unwilling virgins, purveyed and procured to rich men at so much a head by keepers of brothels?" "Certainly," said he, "there is not a doubt of it." "Why," I exclaimed, "the very thought is enough to raise hell." "It is true," he said; "and although it ought to raise hell, it does not even raise the neighbours." "But do the girls cry out?" "Of course they do. But what avails screaming in a quiet bedroom? Remember, the utmost limit of howling or excessively violent screaming, such as a man or woman would make if actual murder was being attempted, is only two minutes, and the limit of screaming of any kind is only five. Suppose a girl is being outraged in a room next to your house. You hear her screaming, just as you are dozing to sleep. Do you get up, dress, rush downstairs, and insist on

admittance? Hardly. But suppose the screams continue and you get uneasy, you begin to think whether you should not do something? Before you have made up your mind and got dressed the screams cease, and you think you were a fool for your pains." "But the policeman on the beat?" "He has no right to interfere, even if he heard anything. Suppose that a constable had a right to force his way into any house where a woman screamed fearfully, policemen would be almost as regular attendants at childbed as doctors. Once a girl gets into such a house she is almost helpless, and may be ravished with comparative safety." "But surely rape is a felony punishable with penal servitude. Can she not prosecute?" "Whom is she to prosecute? She does not know her assailant's name. She might not even be able to recognize him if she met him outside. Even if she did, who would believe her? A woman who has lost her chastity is always a discredited witness. The fact of her being in a house of ill fame would possibly be held to be evidence of her consent. The keeper of the house and all the servants would swear she was a consenting party; they would swear that she had never screamed, and the woman would be condemned as an adventuress who wished to levy black mail." "And this is going on to-day?" "Certainly it is, and it will go on, and you cannot help it, as long as men have money, procurers are skilful, and women are weak and inexperienced."

VIRGINS WILLING AND UNWILLING.

So startling a declaration by so eminent an authority led me to turn my investigations in this direction. On discussing the matter with a well-known member of Parliament, he laughed and said: "I doubt the unwillingness of these virgins. That you can contract for maids at so much a head is true enough. I myself am quite ready to supply you with 100 maids at £25 each, but they will all know very well what they are about. There are plenty of people among us entirely devoid of moral scruples on the score of chastity, whose daughters are kept straight until they are sixteen or seventeen, not because they love virtue, but solely because their virginity is a realizable asset, with which they are taught they should never part except for value received. These are the girls who can be had at so much a head; but it is nonsense to say it is rape; it is merely the delivery as per contract of the asset virginity in return for cash down. Of course there may be some cases in which the girl is really unwilling, but the regular supply comes from those who take a strictly businesslike view of the saleable value of their maidenhead." My interlocutor referred me to a friend whom he described as the first expert on the subject, an evergreen old gentleman to whom the brothels of Europe were as familiar as Notre Dame and St. Paul's. This specialist, however, entirely denied that there was such a thing as the procuring of virgins, willing or unwilling, either here or on the Continent. Maidenheads, he maintained, were not assets that could be realized in the market, but he admitted that there were some few men whose taste led them to buy little girls from their mothers

in order to abuse them. My respect for this "eminent authority" diminished, however, on receiving his assurance that all Parisian and Belgian brothels were managed so admirably that no minors could be harboured, and that no English girls were ever sent to the Continent for immoral purposes. Still even he admitted that little girls were bought and sold for vicious purposes, and this unnatural combination of slave trade, rape, and unnatural crime seemed to justify further inquiry.

I then put myself into direct and confidential communication with brothel-keepers in the West and East of London and in the provinces. . . .

THE CONFESSIONS OF A BROTHEL-KEEPER.

Here, for instance, is a statement made to me by a brothel keeper, who formerly kept a noted House in the Mile-end road, but who is now endeavouring to start life afresh as an honest man. I saw both him and his wife, herself a notorious prostitute whom he had married off the streets, where she had earned her living since she was fourteen:—

"Maids, as you call them—fresh girls as we know them in the trade—are constantly in request, and a keeper who knows his business has his eyes open in all directions, his stock of girls is constantly getting used up, and needs replenishing, and he has to be on the alert for likely "marks" to keep up the reputation of his house. I have been in my time a good deal about the country on these errands. The getting of fresh girls takes time, but it is simple and easy enough when, once you are in it. I have gone and courted girls in the country under all kinds of disguises, occasionally assuming the dress of a parson, and made them believe that I intended to marry them, and so got them in my power to please a good customer. How is it done? Why, after courting my girl for a time, I propose to bring her to London to see the sights. I bring her up, take her here and there, giving her plenty to eat and drink—especially drink. I take her to the theatre, and then I contrive it so that she loses her last train. By this time she is very tired, a little dazed with the drink and excitement, and very frightened at being left in town with no friends. I offer her nice lodgings for the night: she goes to bed in my house, and then the affair is managed. My client gets his maid, I get my £10 or £20 commission, and in the morning the girl, who has lost her character, and dare not go home, in all probability will do as the others do, and become one of my "marks"—that is, she will make her living in the streets, to the advantage of my house. The brothel keeper's profit is, first, the commission down for the price of a maid, and secondly, the continuous profit of the addition of a newly seduced, attractive girl to his establishment. That is a fair sample case of the way in which we recruit. Another very simple mode of supplying maids is by breeding them. Many women who are on the streets have female children. They are worth keeping. When they get to be twelve or thirteen they become merchantable. For a very likely "mark" of this

kind you may get as much as £20 or £40. I sent my own daughter out on the streets from my own brothel. I know a couple of very fine little girls now who will be sold before very long. They are bred and trained for the life. They must take the first step some time, and it is bad business not to make as much out of that as possible. Drunken parents often sell their children to brothel keepers. In the East-end, you can always pick up as many fresh girls as you want. In one street in Dalston you might buy a dozen. Sometimes the supply is in excess of the demand, and you have to seduce your maid yourself, or to employ some one else to do it, which is bad business in a double sense. There is a man called S—— whom a famous house used to employ to seduce young girls and make them fit for service when there was no demand for maids and there was a demand for girls who had been seduced. But as a rule the number seduced ready to hand is ample, especially among very young children. Did I ever do anything else in the way of recruiting? Yes. I remember one case very well. The girl, a likely “mark,” was a simple country lass living at Horsham. I had heard of her, and I went down to Horsham to see what I could do. Her parents believed that I was in regular business in London, and they were very glad when I proposed to engage their daughter. I brought her to town and made her a servant in our house. We petted her and made a good deal of her, gradually initiated her into the kind of life it was; and then I sold her to a young gentleman for £15. When I say that I sold her, I mean that he gave me the gold and I gave him the girl, to do what he liked with. He took her away and seduced her. I believe he treated her rather well afterwards, but that was not my affair. She was his after he paid for her and took her away. If her parents had inquired, I would have said that she had been a bad girl and run away with a young man. How could I help that? I once sold a girl twelve years old for £20 to a clergyman, who used to come to my house professedly to distribute tracts. The East is the great market for the children who are imported into West-end houses, or taken abroad wholesale when trade is brisk. I know of no West-end houses, having always lived at Dalston or thereabouts, but agents pass to and fro in the course of business. They receive the goods, depart, and no questions are asked. Mrs. S., a famous procuress, has a mansion at ——, which is one of the worst centres of the trade, with four other houses in other districts, one at St. John’s-wood. This lady, when she discovers ability, cultivates it—that is, if a comely young girl of fifteen falls into her net, with some intelligence, she is taught to read and write, and to play the piano.”

Excerpt from Report Issued by the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909

SOURCE: Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. 1909. *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909*. Washington, DC: GPO.

Introduction

Throughout the twentieth century, a series of national conferences on the subject of children and youth were held at the White House. The first conference convened in 1909, at the invitation of President Theodore Roosevelt. Its instigators were two early leaders in the field of social work, Lillian Wald from the Henry Street Settlement and Florence Kelly of the National Consumers League. They proposed the establishment of a federal children’s bureau to watch over the nation’s youth. This became the U.S. Children’s Bureau, which was established in 1912. Attendees of the first White House Conference included Theodore Dreiser, Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, and Booker T. Washington. The following excerpt from a report issued by the conference declares that children are deserving of special measures to ensure their protection and well being. The conference is an important landmark in the modern era’s shift in attitude toward the relationship between children and the state. While urging the importance of the home and the preservation of the family, it provides official recognition of the government’s responsibility for the welfare of the child and upholds the state’s right to intervene in the private sphere of family on their behalf.

First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children January 25, 1909 Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President

Sir: Having been invited by you to participate in a conference on the care of dependent children . . . we desire to express the very great satisfaction felt by each member of this conference in the deep interest you have taken in the well-being of dependent children. The proper care of destitute children has indeed an important bearing upon the welfare of the nation. We now know so little about them as not even to know their number, but we know that there are in institutions about 93,000, and that many additional thousands are in foster or boarding homes. As a step, therefore, in the conservation of the productive capacity of the people, and the preservation of high standards of citizenship, and also because each of these children is entitled to receive humane treatment, adequate care, and proper education, your action . . . will have, we believe, a profound effect upon the well-being of many thousands of children, and upon the nation as a whole. . . .

Our conclusions are as follows:

HOME CARE

1. Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. . . . It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy char-

acter, suffering from temporary misfortune and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity, rather than of public relief. Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality.

PREVENTIVE WORK

2. The most important and valuable philanthropic work is not the curative, but the preventive. . . . We urge upon all friends of children the promotion of effective measures, including legislation to prevent blindness; to check tuberculosis and other diseases in dwellings and work places, and injuries in hazardous occupations; to secure compensation or insurance so as to provide a family income in case of sickness, accident, death, or invalidism of the breadwinner; to promote child-labor reforms, and, generally, to improve the conditions surrounding child life. To secure these ends we urge efficient cooperation with all other agencies for social betterment.

HOME FINDING

3. As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. . . . Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency is essential.

It is recognized that for many children foster homes without payment for board are not practicable immediately after the children become dependent and that for children requiring temporary care only the free home is not available. . . . Contact with family life is preferable for these children, as well as for other normal children. It is necessary, however, that a large number of carefully selected boarding homes be found if these children are to be cared for in families. . . . Unless and until such homes are found, the use of institutions is necessary.

4. So far as it may be found necessary temporarily or permanently to care for certain classes of children in institutions, these institutions should be conducted on the cottage

plan, in order that routine and impersonal care may not unduly suppress individuality and initiative. . . . It secures for the children a larger degree of association with adults and a nearer approach to the conditions of family life, which are required for the proper molding of childhood. These results more than justify the increased outlay and are truly economical. . . . Cheap care of children is ultimately enormously expensive, and is unworthy of a strong community. Existing congregate institutions should so classify their inmates and segregate them into groups as to secure as many of the benefits of the cottage system as possible, and should look forward to the adoption of the cottage type when new buildings are constructed.

The sending of children of any age or class to almshouses is an unqualified evil, and should be forbidden everywhere by law, with suitable penalty for its violation.

INCORPORATION

5. To engage in the work of caring for needy children is to assume a most serious responsibility, and should, therefore, be permitted only to those who are definitely organized for the purpose, who are of suitable character, and possess, or have reasonable assurance of securing, the funds needed for their support. The only practicable plan of securing this end is to require the approval, by a state board of charities or other body exercising similar powers, of the incorporation of all child-caring agencies. . . .

STATE INSPECTION

6. The proper training of destitute children being essential to the well-being of the State, it is a sound public policy that the State, through its duly authorized representative, should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children. . . .

INSPECTION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK

7. Destitute children at best labor under many disadvantages. . . . It is desirable that the education of children in orphan asylums and other similar institutions or placed in families should be under the supervision of the educational authorities of the State. . . .

PHYSICAL CARE

8. . . . Each child . . . should be carefully examined by a competent physician, especially for the purpose of ascertaining whether such peculiarities, if any, as the child presents may be due to any defect of the sense organs or other physical defect. Both institutions and placing-out agencies should take every precaution to secure proper medical and surgical care of their children and should see that suitable instruction is given them in matters of health and hygiene.

COOPERATION

9. Great benefit can be derived from a close cooperation between the various child-caring agencies, institutional and otherwise, in each locality. . . . The establishment of a joint bureau of investigation and information by all the child-caring agencies of each locality is highly commended, in the absence of any other suitable central agency through which they may cooperate.

UNDESIRABLE LEGISLATION

10. We greatly deprecate the tendency of legislation in some States to place unnecessary obstacles in the way of placing children in family homes in such States by agencies whose headquarters are elsewhere, in view of the fact that we favor the care of destitute children, normal in mind and body, in families, whenever practicable. . . .

The people of the more prosperous and less congested districts owe a debt of hospitality to the older communities from which many of them came. . . .

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

11. The care of dependent children is a subject about which nearly every session of the legislature of every State in the Union concerns itself; it is a work in which State and local authorities in many States are engaged, and in which private agencies are active in every State. Important decisions are being made constantly. . . . Each of these decisions should be made with full knowledge of the experience of other States and agencies, and of the trend of opinion among those . . . able to speak from wide experience and careful observation. One effective means of securing this result would be the establishment of a permanent organization to undertake, in this field, work comparable to that carried on by . . . similar organizations in their respective fields. It is our judgment that the establishment of such a permanent voluntary organization, under auspices which would insure a careful consideration of all points of view, broad mindedness and tolerance, would be desirable and helpful, if reasonably assured of adequate financial support.

FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

12. A bill is pending in Congress for the establishment of a federal children's bureau to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children. In our judgment the establishment of such a bureau is desirable, and we earnestly recommend the enactment of the pending measure . . .

Hammer v. Dagenhart, 1918

SOURCE: Supreme Court of the United States. *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251. 1918. Argued April 15, 16, 1918. Decided June 3, 1918.

Introduction

The U.S. Supreme Court's 1918 decision in the case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* overturned the federal government's Keating-Owen Act, a Progressive-era law that limited the exploitation of child labor. The Keating-Owen Act—in order to impose limits on the age of child laborers and on the number of hours they were permitted to work—had called upon the federal government's power to regulate interstate commerce by preventing the passage of goods manufactured under unacceptable conditions. In *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, the five-person majority opinion, written by Justice William Day, maintained that the government had the power to limit only the means by which such goods were transported, not their movement—if the goods themselves were harmless. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote the dissenting opinion, arguing that “it does not matter whether the supposed evil precedes or follows the transportation. It is enough that, in the opinion of Congress, that transportation encourages the evil.”

Hammer v. Dagenhart, 247 U.S. 251 (1918) No. 704
 Argued April 15, 16, 1918; Decided June 3, 1918
 APPEAL FROM THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE
 UNITED STATES FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT
 OF NORTH CAROLINA

MR. JUSTICE DAY delivered the opinion of the court.

A bill was filed in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina by a father in his own behalf and as next friend of his two minor sons, one under the age of fourteen years and the other between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, employees in a cotton mill at Charlotte, North Carolina, to enjoin the enforcement of the act of Congress intended to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor. Act of Sept. 1, 1916, c. 432, 39 Stat. 675.

The District Court held the act unconstitutional and entered a decree enjoining its enforcement. This appeal brings the case here. The first section of the act is in the margin.

Other sections of the act contain provisions for its enforcement and prescribe penalties for its violation.

The attack upon the act rests upon three propositions: first: it is not a regulation of interstate and foreign commerce; second: it contravenes the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution; third: it conflicts with the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

The controlling question for decision is: is it within the authority of Congress in regulating commerce among the States to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of manufactured goods, the product of a factory in which, within thirty days prior to their removal therefrom, children

under the age of fourteen have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of seven o'clock P.M. or before the hour of 6 o'clock A.M.?

The power essential to the passage of this act, the Government contends, is found in the commerce clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States. In *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for this court and defining the extent and nature of the commerce power, said, "It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed." In other words, the power is one to control the means by which commerce is carried on, which is directly the contrary of the assumed right to forbid commerce from moving, and thus destroy it as to particular commodities. But it is insisted that adjudged cases in this court establish the doctrine that the power to regulate given to Congress incidentally includes the authority to prohibit the movement of ordinary commodities, and therefore that the subject is not open for discussion. The cases demonstrate the contrary. They rest upon the character of the particular subjects dealt with, and the fact that the scope of governmental authority, state or national, possessed over them is such that the authority to prohibit is as to them but the exertion of the power to regulate.

...

It is further contended that the authority of Congress may be exerted to control interstate commerce in the shipment of child-made goods because of the effect of the circulation of such goods in other States where the evil of this class of labor has been recognized by local legislation, and the right to thus employ child labor has been more rigorously restrained than in the State of production. In other words, that the unfair competition thus engendered may be controlled by closing the channels of interstate commerce to manufacturers in those States where the local laws do not meet what Congress deems to be the more just standard of other States.

There is no power vested in Congress to require the States to exercise their police power so as to prevent possible unfair competition. Many causes may cooperate to give one State, by reason of local laws or conditions, an economic advantage over others. The Commerce Clause was not intended to give to Congress a general authority to equalize such conditions. In some of the States, laws have been passed fixing minimum wages for women, in others, the local law regulates the hours of labor of women in various employments. Business done in such States may be at an economic disadvantage when compared with States which have no such regulations; surely, this fact does not give Congress the power to deny transportation in interstate commerce to those who

carry on business where the hours of labor and the rate of compensation for women have not been fixed by a standard in use in other States and approved by Congress. The grant of power to Congress over the subject of interstate commerce was to enable it to regulate such commerce, and not to give it authority to control the States in their exercise of the police power over local trade and manufacture.

The grant of authority over a purely federal matter was not intended to destroy the local power always existing and carefully reserved to the States in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.

...

That there should be limitations upon the right to employ children in mines and factories in the interest of their own and the public welfare, all will admit. That such employment is generally deemed to require regulation is shown by the fact that the brief of counsel states that every State in the Union has a law upon the subject, limiting the right to thus employ children. In North Carolina, the State wherein is located the factory in which the employment was had in the present case, no child under twelve years of age is permitted to work.

It may be desirable that such laws be uniform, but our Federal Government is one of enumerated powers; "this principle," declared Chief Justice Marshall in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, "is universally admitted."

A statute must be judged by its natural and reasonable effect. *Collins v. New Hampshire*. The control by Congress over interstate commerce cannot authorize the exercise of authority not entrusted to it by the Constitution. *Pipe Line Cases*, 560. The maintenance of the authority of the States over matters purely local is as essential to the preservation of our institutions, as is the conservation of the supremacy of the federal power in all matters entrusted to the Nation by the Federal Constitution.

...

HOLMES, Dissenting Opinion

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES, dissenting.

The single question in this case is whether Congress has power to prohibit the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of any product of a cotton mill situated in the United States in which, within thirty days before the removal of the product, children under fourteen have been employed or children between fourteen and sixteen have been employed more than eight hours in a day, or more than six days in any week, or between seven in the evening and six in the morning. The objection urged against the power is that the States have exclusive control over their methods of production, and that Congress cannot meddle with them, and, taking the proposition in the sense of direct intermeddling, I agree to

it, and suppose that no one denies it. But if an act is within the powers specifically conferred upon Congress, it seems to me that it is not made any less constitutional because of the indirect effects that it may have, however obvious it may be that it will have those effects, and that we are not at liberty upon such grounds to hold it void.

· · ·

The Pure Food and Drug Act which was sustained in *Hipolite Egg Co. v. United States*, with the intimation that “no trade can be carried on between the States to which it [the power of Congress to regulate commerce] does not extend,” applies not merely to articles that the changing opinions of the time condemn as intrinsically harmful, but to others innocent in themselves, simply on the ground that the order for them was induced by a preliminary fraud. *Weeks v. United States*. It does not matter whether the supposed evil precedes or follows the transportation. It is enough that, in the opinion of Congress, the transportation encourages the evil. I may add that, in the cases on the so-called White Slave Act, it was established that the means adopted by Congress as convenient to the exercise of its power might have the character of police regulations. *Hoke v. United States*, *Caminetti v. United States*. In *Clark Distilling Co. v. Western Maryland R. Co.*, *Leisy v. Hardin*, is quoted with seeming approval to the effect that a subject matter which has been confided exclusively to Congress by the Constitution is not within the jurisdiction of the police power of the State unless placed there by congressional action. I see no reason for that proposition not applying here.

The notion that prohibition is any less prohibition when applied to things now thought evil I do not understand. But if there is any matter upon which civilized countries have agreed—far more unanimously than they have with regard to intoxicants and some other matters over which this country is now emotionally aroused—it is the evil of premature and excessive child labor. I should have thought that, if we were to introduce our own moral conceptions where in my opinion they do not belong, this was preeminently a case for upholding the exercise of all its powers by the United States.

But I had thought that the propriety of the exercise of a power admitted to exist in some cases was for the consideration of Congress alone, and that this Court always had disavowed the right to intrude its judgment upon questions of policy or morals. It is not for this Court to pronounce when prohibition is necessary to regulation—if it ever may be necessary—to say that it is permissible as against strong drink, but not as against the product of ruined lives.

The act does not meddle with anything belonging to the States. They may regulate their internal affairs and their domestic commerce as they like. But when they seek to send their products across the state line, they are no longer within their rights. If there were no Constitution and no Congress,

their power to cross the line would depend upon their neighbors. Under the Constitution, such commerce belongs not to the States, but to Congress to regulate. It may carry out its views of public policy whatever indirect effect they may have upon the activities of the States. Instead of being encountered by a prohibitive tariff at her boundaries, the State encounters the public policy of the United States, which it is for Congress to express. The public policy of the United States is shaped with a view to the benefit of the nation as a whole. If, as has been the case within the memory of men still living, a State should take a different view of the propriety of sustaining a lottery from that which generally prevails, I cannot believe that the fact would require a different decision from that reached in *Champion v. Ames*. Yet, in that case, it would be said with quite as much force as in this that Congress was attempting to intermeddle with the State’s domestic affairs. The national welfare, as understood by Congress, may require a different attitude within its sphere from that of some self-seeking State. It seems to me entirely constitutional for Congress to enforce its understanding by all the means at its command.

MR. JUSTICE McKENNA, MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS and MR. JUSTICE CLARKE concur in this opinion.

Meyer v. State of Nebraska, 1923

SOURCE: Supreme Court of the United States. *Meyer v. State of Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390. 1923. Argued Feb. 23, 1923. Decided June 4, 1923.

Introduction

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in the 1923 case of *Meyer v. the State of Nebraska* overturned a state law that prohibited teachers from using modern foreign languages in the classroom or from teaching those languages to children in grades one through eight. Nebraskan legislators passed the “Foreign Language Statute” to force the state’s German-speaking population to teach their children English. The Supreme Court did not reject the state’s interest in Americanizing the children of immigrants, but it found that the state law violated teachers’ individual liberties as protected in the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision limited the power of states to control the curriculums of private schools. *Meyer v. Nebraska* helped to establish the individual’s right to privacy in the United States and would later be cited in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) and *Roe v. Wade* (1973), two cases that secured Americans’ rights to access contraceptives and abortions respectively. The case also strengthened the cause of academic freedom.

U.S. Supreme Court
Meyer v. State of Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923) No. 325
 Argued Feb. 23, 1923. Decided June 4, 1923.

[262 U.S. 390, 391] Messrs. A. F. Mullen, of Omaha, Neb., C. E. Sandall, of York, Neb., and I. L. Albert, of Columbus, Neb., for plaintiff in error.

[262 U.S. 390, 393] Messrs. Mason Wheeler, of Lincoln, Neb., and O. S. Spillman, of Pierce, Neb., for the State of Nebraska.

[262 U.S. 390, 396]

Mr. Justice McREYNOLDS delivered the opinion of the Court.

Plaintiff in error was tried and convicted in the district court for Hamilton county, Nebraska, under an information which charged that on May 25, 1920, while an instructor in Zion Parochial School he unlawfully taught the subject of reading in the German language to Raymond Parpart, a child of 10 years, who had not attained [262 U.S. 390, 397] and successfully passed the eighth grade. The information is based upon 'An act relating to the teaching of foreign languages in the state of Nebraska,' approved April 9, 1919 (Laws 1919, c. 249), which follows:

'Section 1. No person, individually or as a teacher, shall, in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language than the English language.

'Sec. 2. Languages, other than the English language, may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides.

'Sec. 3. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25), nor more than one hundred dollars (\$100), or be confined in the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offense.

'Sec. 4. Whereas, an emergency exists, this act shall be in force from and after its passage and approval.'

The Supreme Court of the state affirmed the judgment of conviction. 107 Neb. 657, 187 N. W. 100. It declared the offense charged and established was 'the direct and intentional teaching of the German language as a distinct subject to a child who had not passed the eighth grade,' in the parochial school maintained by Zion Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, a collection of Biblical stories being used therefore. And it held that the statute forbidding this did not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment, but was a valid exercise of the police power. The following excerpts from the opinion sufficiently indicate the reasons advanced to support the conclusion:

'The salutary purpose of the statute is clear. The Legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting for [262 U.S. 390, 398] foreigners, who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners, who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents was to rear them with that language as their mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and, as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country. The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that, until they had grown into that language and until it had become a part of them, they should not in the schools be taught any other language. The obvious purpose of this statute was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state. The enactment of such a statute comes reasonably within the police power of the state. Pohl v. State, 102 Ohio St. 474, 132 N. E. 20; State v. Bartels, 191 Iowa, 1060, 181 N. W. 508.

'It is suggested that the law is an unwarranted restriction, in that it applies to all citizens of the state and arbitrarily interferes with the rights of citizens who are not of foreign ancestry, and prevents them, without reason, from having their children taught foreign languages in school. That argument is not well taken, for it assumes that every citizen finds himself restrained by the statute. The hours which a child is able to devote to study in the confinement of school are limited. It must have ample time for exercise or play. Its daily capacity for learning is comparatively small. A selection of subjects for its education, therefore, from among the many that might be taught, is obviously necessary. The Legislature no doubt had in mind the practical operation of the law. The law affects few citizens, except those of foreign lineage. [262 U.S. 390, 399] Other citizens, in their selection of studies, except perhaps in rare instances, have never deemed it of importance to teach their children foreign languages before such children have reached the eighth grade. In the legislative mind, the salutary effect of the statute no doubt outweighed the restriction upon the citizens generally, which, it appears, was a restriction of no real consequence.'

The problem for our determination is whether the statute as construed and applied unreasonably infringes the liberty guaranteed to the plaintiff in error by the Fourteenth Amendment:

‘No state . . . shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law.’

While this court has not attempted to define with exactness the liberty thus guaranteed, the term has received much consideration and some of the included things have been definitely stated. Without doubt, it denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint but also the right of the individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and generally to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men. *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36; *Butchers’ Union Co. v. Crescent City Co.*, 111 U.S. 746, 4 Sup. Ct. 652; *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356, 6 Sup. Ct. 1064; *Minnesota v. Barber*, 136 U.S. 313, 10 Sup. Ct. 862; *Allegeyer v. Louisiana*, 165 U.S. 578, 17 Sup. Ct. 427; *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 25 Sup. Ct. 539, 3 Ann. Cas. 1133; *Twining v. New Jersey* 211 U.S. 78, 29 Sup. Ct. 14; *Chicago, B. & Q. R. R. v. McGuire*, 219 U.S. 549, 31 Sup. Ct. 259; *Truax v. Raich*, 239 U.S. 33, 36 Sup. Ct. 7, L. R. A. 1916D, 545, Ann. Cas. 1917B, 283; *Adams v. Tanner*, 224 U.S. 590, 37 Sup. Ct. 662, L. R. A. 1917F, 1163, Ann. Cas. 1917D, 973; *New York Life Ins. Co. v. Dodge*, 246 U.S. 357, 38 Sup. Ct. 337, Ann. Cas. 1918E, 593; *Truax v. Corrigan*, 257 U.S. 312, 42 Sup. Ct. 124; *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital* (April 9, 1923), 261 U.S. 525, 43 Sup. Ct. 394, 67 L. Ed. —; *Wyeth v. Cambridge Board of Health*, 200 Mass. 474, 86 N. E. 925, 128 Am. St. Rep. 439, 23 L. R. A. (N. S.) 147. The established doctrine is that this liberty may not be interfered [262 U.S. 390, 400] with, under the guise of protecting the public interest, by legislative action which is arbitrary or without reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the state to effect. Determination by the Legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive but is subject to supervision by the courts. *Lawton v. Steele*, 152 U.S. 133, 137, 14 S. Sup. Ct. 499.

The American people have always regarded education and acquisition of knowledge as matters of supreme importance which should be diligently promoted. The Ordinance of 1787 declares:

‘Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.’

Corresponding to the right of control, it is the natural duty of the parent to give his children education suitable to their station in life; and nearly all the states, including Nebraska, enforce this obligation by compulsory laws.

Practically, education of the young is only possible in schools conducted by especially qualified persons who de-

vote themselves thereto. The calling always has been regarded as useful and honorable, essential, indeed, to the public welfare. Mere knowledge of the German language cannot reasonably be regarded as harmful. Heretofore it has been commonly looked upon as helpful and desirable. Plaintiff in error taught this language in school as part of his occupation. His right thus to teach and the right of parents to engage him so to instruct their children, we think, are within the liberty of the amendment.

The challenged statute forbids the teaching in school of any subject except in English; also the teaching of any other language until the pupil has attained and successfully passed the eighth grade, which is not usually accomplished before the age of twelve. The Supreme Court of the state has held that ‘the so-called ancient or dead languages’ are not ‘within the spirit or the purpose of [262 U.S. 390, 401] the act.’ *Nebraska District of Evangelical Lutheran Synod, etc., v. McKelvie et al.* (Neb.) 187 N. W. 927 (April 19, 1922). Latin, Greek, Hebrew are not proscribed; but German, French, Spanish, Italian, and every other alien speech are within the ban. Evidently the Legislature has attempted materially to interfere with the calling of modern language teachers, with the opportunities of pupils to acquire knowledge, and with the power of parents to control the education of their own.

It is said the purpose of the legislation was to promote civic development by inhibiting training and education of the immature in foreign tongues and ideals before they could learn English and acquire American ideals, and ‘that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state.’ It is also affirmed that the foreign born population is very large, that certain communities commonly use foreign words, follow foreign leaders, move in a foreign atmosphere, and that the children are thereby hindered from becoming citizens of the most useful type and the public safety is imperiled.

That the state may do much, go very far, indeed, in order to improve the quality of its citizens, physically, mentally and morally, is clear; but the individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution—a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means.

For the welfare of his Ideal Commonwealth, Plato suggested a law which should provide:

‘That the wives of our guardians are to be common, and their children are to be common, and no parent is to know his own child, [262 U.S. 390, 402] nor any child his parent. . . . The proper officers will take the offspring of the good parents to the pen or fold, and

there they will deposit them with certain nurses who dwell in a separate quarter; but the offspring of the inferior, or of the better when they chance to be deformed, will be put away in some mysterious, unknown place, as they should be.'

In order to submerge the individual and develop ideal citizens, Sparta assembled the males at seven into barracks and intrusted their subsequent education and training to official guardians. Although such measures have been deliberately approved by men of great genius their ideas touching the relation between individual and state were wholly different from those upon which our institutions rest; and it hardly will be affirmed that any Legislature could impose such restrictions upon the people of a state without doing violence to both letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The desire of the Legislature to foster a homogeneous people with American ideals prepared readily to understand current discussions of civic matters is easy to appreciate. Unfortunate experiences during the late war and aversion toward every character of truculent adversaries were certainly enough to quicken that aspiration. But the means adopted, we think, exceed the limitations upon the power of the state and conflict with rights assured to plaintiff in error. The interference is plain enough and no adequate reason therefor in time of peace and domestic tranquility has been shown.

The power of the state to compel attendance at some school and to make reasonable regulations for all schools, including a requirement that they shall give instructions in English, is not questioned. Nor has challenge been made of the state's power to prescribe a curriculum for institutions which it supports. Those matters are not within the present controversy. Our concern is with the prohibition approved by the Supreme Court. *Adams v. Tanner*, 244 U.S. 594, 37 Sup. Ct. 662, L. R. A. 1917F, 1163, Ann. Cas. 1917D, 973, pointed out that mere abuse incident to an occupation ordinarily useful is not enough to justify its abolition, although regulation may be entirely proper. No emergency has arisen which renders knowledge by a child of some language other than English so clearly harmful as to justify its inhibition with the consequent infringement of rights long freely enjoyed. We are constrained to conclude that the statute as applied is arbitrary and without reasonable relation to any end within the competency of the state.

As the statute undertakes to interfere only with teaching which involves a modern language, leaving complete freedom as to other matters, there seems no adequate foundation for the suggestion that the purpose was to protect the child's health by limiting his mental activities. It is well known that proficiency in a foreign language seldom comes to one not instructed at an early age, and experience shows that this is not injurious to the health, morals or understanding of the ordinary child.

The judgment of the court below must be reversed and the cause remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

REVERSED.

Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Sutherland, dissent.

Children's Bureau Pamphlet #189, *Public Dance Halls*, 1929

SOURCE: Gardner, Ella. 1929. *Public Dance Halls, Their Regulation and Place in the Recreation of Adolescents*. Washington, DC: United States Department of Labor, U.S. Children's Bureau.

Introduction

The U.S. Children's Bureau, established by the federal government in 1912, promoted the health and welfare of American children by administering programs, researching problems, publishing pamphlets, and promoting legislation. The following excerpts are from a Children's Bureau pamphlet published in 1929, which reported on the danger that public dance halls posed to adolescents. As in many of its publications, the Children's Bureau emphasized parental responsibility and advocated increased parental supervision. The report also offers an example of the tension underlying many Children's Bureau's programs; its initiatives to protect vulnerable young people often prompted reforms to restrict their behaviors. In the case of dance halls, the Bureau advocated tightening supervision, educating parents about the dangers, and providing more wholesome recreational activities for young people.

Inquiries received by the Children's Bureau as to methods of supervision of commercialized amusements, especially public dance halls, and public provision of recreational opportunities for boys and girls of adolescent age have increased during recent years. At the request of agencies in several cities the Children's Bureau, therefore, undertook to assemble information as to the legal machinery with which communities are endeavoring to protect young people from the evils of the unregulated commercial dance hall. An effort was also made to discover what features of their community recreation programs are successful in meeting the demands of young people of this age.

Until recent years the public dance hall was unregulated and regarded by many persons as impossible of successful regulation. In small towns as well as in large industrial centers it had a bad reputation. The stories of crime and debauchery which newspapers reported from time to time as having their origin in one of these "parks" or "academies" or "halls" revealed the fact that they were frequently connected with saloons and so-called hotels which encouraged immo-

rality on the part of the dance-hall patrons and tolerated the presence of criminals. Police attended these dances not as inspectors or supervisors but in order to be at hand to interfere in case of brawls or too flagrant disorder of any kind.

With the development of the community recreation movement studies were made of commercialized recreation, and with the facts as to the conditions in the dance halls made public, attempts were made at public control or regulation. The investigations revealed that the public dance halls offered almost the only opportunity for this form of social recreation to many farm boys and girls who came to the towns for their amusements, to large numbers of young people who were working in industrial centers away from their parents and childhood friends, and to many city boys and girls whose parents through poverty or ignorance made no provision for the social needs of their children. The movement for the regulation of commercialized recreation and the provision of community dance halls and other forms of recreation for young people developed almost simultaneously as a result.

The investigations did not reveal uniformly bad conditions in the public dance halls, and this fact furnished the best argument for successful regulation. Some dance-hall managers had demonstrated that it was profitable to offer well-conducted dances in attractive halls with good music; more, probably men with less business ability as well as with less character, sought to increase their earnings by tolerating excesses of one sort or another; and some exploited the innocent desire of young people for gayety and a good time by exposing them, through the dance hall, to the worst elements in the community.

The problem presented by the dance hall has two special phases in its relation to and effect upon young people. The first is its value or danger to very young boys and girls, those between 14 and 18. Should these children be admitted to the dance hall? If so, what safeguards should be thrown around them; and if not, how should they be excluded, and what counter attractions, if any, should be offered by parents, school, municipality, and other agencies? The second is the dancing of the older group of adolescents, those who are in school or employed but whose chief form of recreation it seems to be. For them the question has been how to keep the dance hall from becoming a demoralizing influence and how to make it a real recreational opportunity rather than a brighter form of boredom. This report describes some of the attempts that have been made to accomplish these purposes.

Regulation of public dances and methods of enforcement rather than dance-hall conditions were made the subject of the study. Officials in all cities of 15,000 population or more (approximately 500) were requested to send copies of their ordinances and regulations concerning public dances, reports on the administration of the ordinances, and on the recreation provided by the community. Replies were re-

ceived from 416 cities. Copies of State laws pertaining to the control of public dances were obtained from the 25 States that have passed such legislation, and these together with the city ordinances have been analyzed and summarized for this report.

Fifteen cities in different parts of the country which offer examples of different types of control of commercial dances and of provision for community recreation were visited by bureau agents in 1925 and 1926—Butte, Mont.; Chicago, Ill.; Dayton, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; Duluth, Minn.; Houston, Tex.; Los Angeles, Calif.; New Bedford, Mass.; Ottumwa, Iowa; Paterson N. J.; Portland Oreg.; Rochester, N.Y.; San Francisco, Calif.; Seattle, Wash.; and Wichita, Kans. Two other cities (Gary, Ind., and Oakland, Calif.) were studied from the standpoint of community provision for recreation only.

In these cities officials in control of public-amusement inspection and those in charge of community recreation were interviewed, and dances were visited in the regular dance academies, in rented halls, in outdoor pavilions, in amusement parks, in cafés, in cabarets, in closed halls, in schools, armories, and other public buildings and in halls outside the city limits. The opinions and experience of persons closely in touch with the boys and girls—teachers, juvenile-court officials, and other social workers—were sought as to the success of the existing program and as to needs which had not been adequately considered.

In 9 of the 15 selected cities the ordinances set an age limit under which young people might not attend public dances unless accompanied by a parent or legal guardian. This age limit was 18 years in all the cities, and in all but one, where girls only were excluded, it applied to both boys and girls. In Los Angeles no one under 18 was permitted even when properly chaperoned. In Wichita, instead of the requirement that each minor be accompanied by a parent or guardian, a group of young people could be accompanied by the parent of one member of the group. This arrangement had been found very satisfactory, it was reported.

The ordinances of 6 cities contained no age regulations. In one of them the inspector took home any girl under 15. In another the policewoman tried without the backing of a law to keep out girls under this age. The department of recreation in Detroit and the police department of New Bedford made special rules supplementing their ordinances. In both these cities 17 was set as the lowest age limit for entrance to dance halls. Of the two remaining cities Houston had made no ruling on the subject and in Chicago the association of ballroom managers had agreed to exclude anyone under 16 years of age.

The enforcement of these regulations depended in the majority of the cities upon the individual managers and their

employees, although the inspectors in several cities sent home those under the age limit and in some cases did follow-up work with them.

In Wichita each doorman was required to keep a register of the name, address, and age claimed, by any person who seemed under age. If the person insisted he was over 18 he was admitted and the supervisor checked up on it. If the supervisor found upon visiting the home that the boy or girl was under 18 the management had to see to it that he did not gain admission again.

Through an arrangement with the Portland juvenile court, the dance-hall inspector turned over young girls found in the dance halls to the night matron of the detention home, who took them home if they were first offenders or to the detention home if they were repeaters. The dance-hall inspector in Butte said that when she found very young girls in the dance halls she "just let them stay and dance for awhile—until 10.30. I think it's better for them to be there where we know what they're doing than to send them out on the streets." She felt that often the girls did not go home when they were sent and sometimes visited out-of-town places with "pick-ups." Her theory apparently was that having danced until 10.30 they would be ready to go home.

The hostesses in the Los Angeles halls, according to a regulation of the Dance Hall Managers' Association, were supposed to register anyone who seemed to be a minor. Registration blanks were used which required the patron's name, last school attended, teacher's name, and similar facts. When the hostess suspected that a patron was under 18 years of age he had to fill out one of these blanks. If the hostess was still in doubt after the blank was filled out as to whether the patron was 18, she sent a form letter of inquiry with a return stamped envelope to the school. If the reply showed that the person under investigation was 18 an admission card was issued to him, but if it showed that he was under 18 his description and name were given all the other halls. In the opinion of one of the police officials this method of enforcement was successful. One hall was reported to have filled out blanks for 7,000 young people during a year.

Some of the hostesses questioned closely a girl who seemed very young, and, if they believed she was under 16, sent her home at 10 o'clock, calling her parents to let them know she was on her way. Others telephoned the parents at once to ask if they wished their daughter sent home. One hostess permitted the girls to do the calling, listening to be certain that they told a straight tale. In one city the hostesses urged mothers to take their daughters to the better halls after they had been found at the dances. Although many of the mothers had been persuaded to take their daughters to the Saturday afternoon dances at one of the best halls, it was difficult to make them understand the basis of the child's demand for this kind of recreation.

The inspectors quite generally agreed that it was difficult to interest parents in their children's attendance at dance halls. Some parents were unable to control their children, others could see no harm in permitting them to attend the dances, although they were under the legal age. An inspector who had difficulty in gaining the cooperation of the mothers of girls said: "About 50 per cent of the mothers knew they were going to public dance halls and wanted to 'trust' them, etc.; the other 50 per cent were ignorant of their daughters' whereabouts." The chief inspector in one city said that the parents of the children with whom she worked were the greatest handicap that she had encountered.

Nearly all the officials responsible for dance-hall inspection felt that the exclusion of young persons was an extremely difficult regulation to enforce; a number of the authorities considered it the most difficult. "The short dresses and hair make it almost impossible to guess a girl's age," they said. Moreover, it is the boys and girls between 16 and 18 years old who are most eager for dancing, feel very confident of their ability to take care of themselves, and resent any parental or public control. Many officials had themselves little sympathy with the age provisions of the ordinance they were supposed to enforce. Some made the excuse that if these youngsters were sent out of the dance hall they might go to worse places, and many made it a practice not to enforce too drastically the age regulations, but endeavored to supervise the dancing carefully and to safeguard the trip between the hall and the home. Several officials in one city stressed the value of the requirement of a chaperone in safeguarding the boys and girls. As one of them explained the value of the chaperone, "It's not the dancing; it's the going and coming and the meeting up with bad characters in the halls, who will take advantage of the unaccompanied girl when they won't the girl who has a father, or mother, or brother with her."

When the ordinance of one city was amended to raise the age limit to 18, the problem was presented of excluding from the halls they had previously frequented a large number of girls, many of whom had been going to public dances since they were 14. Like many others, this city had made inadequate provision for boys and girls between 14 and 18 who wanted social activities, especially dancing. The city officials admitted that they excluded from the dance halls but added, "We can't make that an excuse for not ending what we know is a bad condition."

The real solution of the problem of minors in the dance halls lies in the education of parents and in the training of the children, according to several city officials. What they were doing was in the nature of a palliative rather than a cure. As young people can not be protected from contact with all sorts of people they should be taught by their parents how to meet them. Even so, the training given by parents would need to be reinforced by supervision of the halls, in the opinion of these officials.

Brown v. Board of Education, 1954

SOURCE: Supreme Court of the United States. *Brown v. Board of Education*. 347 U.S. 483. 1954. Argued December 9, 1952. Reargued December 8, 1953. Decided May 17, 1954.

Introduction

In the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, ruled that the segregation of public schools was unconstitutional. The court unanimously agreed that segregation deprived black school children of their right to equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The case dismantled the justification of segregation as “separate but equal,” which had been established in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), by arguing that segregated institutions were inherently unequal. The decision in *Brown v. Board* inspired many more legal attacks on segregation, based on the same constitutional reasoning, in public accommodations, including motels, lunch counters, public libraries, and beaches. *Brown v. Board* demonstrates the central role children have occupied both in the definition of the American racial caste system and in the ongoing effort to dismantle it.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

(USSC+)

Argued December 9, 1952

Reargued December 8, 1953

Decided May 17, 1954

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS*

Syllabus

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment—even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors of white and Negro schools may be equal.

(a) The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is inconclusive as to its intended effect on public education.

(b) The question presented in these cases must be determined not on the basis of conditions existing when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, but in the light of the full development of public education and its present place in American life throughout the Nation.

(c) Where a State has undertaken to provide an opportunity for an education in its public schools, such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

(d) Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal.

(e) The “separate but equal” doctrine adopted in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, has no place in the field of public education.

(f) The cases are restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the forms of the decrees.

Opinion

WARREN

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN delivered the opinion of the Court.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called “separate but equal” doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not “equal” and cannot be made “equal,” and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then-existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents

and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history with respect to segregated schools is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences, as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states, and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of **Plessy v. Ferguson**, supra, involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In **Cumming v. County Board of Education**, 175 U.S. 528, and **Gong Lum v. Rice**, 275 U.S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. **Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada**, 305 U.S. 337; **Sipuel v. Oklahoma**, 332 U.S. 631; **Sweatt v. Painter**, 339 U.S. 629; **McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents**, 339 U.S. 637. In none of these cases

was it necessary to reexamine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in **Sweatt v. Painter**, supra, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether **Plessy v. Ferguson** should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike **Sweatt v. Painter**, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868, when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896, when **Plessy v. Ferguson** was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In **Sweatt v. Painter**, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In **McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents**, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and

exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession.” Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of **Plessy v. Ferguson**, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in **Plessy v. Ferguson** contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

It is so ordered.

*Together with **No. 2, Briggs et al. v. Elliott et al.**, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina, argued December 9–10, 1952, reargued December 7–8, 1953; **No. 4, Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, et al.**, on appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, argued December 10, 1952, reargued December 7–8, 1953, and **No. 10, Gebhart et al. v. Belton et al.**, on certiorari to the Supreme Court of Delaware, argued December 11, 1952, reargued December 9, 1953.

Excerpt from *In re Gault*, 1967

SOURCE: U.S. Supreme Court. *In re Gault*, 387 U.S. 1. 1967. Argued December 6, 1966. Decided May 15, 1967.

Introduction

In the case of *In re Gault* (1967) the U.S. Supreme Court extended to American children the rights guaranteed to adult criminal defendants. The decision was based on the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. During the twentieth century, as a result of the introduction of the juvenile court in most states in the early twentieth century, a separate legal system for children had developed based on the premise that children deserved special protection by the state. However, in practice this more informal legal system often victimized disorderly youths, including fifteen-year-old Gerald Gault, who was sentenced to six years at an Arizona state industrial school for allegedly making an obscene phone call. Gault had been arrested without the notification of his parents, tried without the benefit of attorney, and sentenced without possibility for appeal. The Gault case is basic to a new modern emphasis on the rights of children. In the following excerpt from the decision, Justice Abe Fortas, writing for the majority, explains the court’s opinion.

From the inception of the juvenile court system, wide differences have been tolerated—indeed insisted upon—between the procedural rights accorded to adults and those of juveniles. In practically all jurisdictions, there are rights granted to adults which are withheld from juveniles. In addition to the specific problems involved in the present case, for example, it has been held that the juvenile is not entitled to bail, to indictment by grand jury, to a public trial or to trial by jury. It is frequent practice that rules governing the arrest and interrogation of adults by the police are not observed in the case of juveniles.

The history and theory underlying this development are well-known, but a recapitulation is necessary for purposes of this opinion. The Juvenile Court movement began in this country at the end of the last century. From the juvenile court statute adopted in Illinois in 1899, the system has spread to every State in the Union, the District of Columbia,

and Puerto Rico. The constitutionality of Juvenile Court laws has been sustained in over 40 jurisdictions against a variety of attacks.

The early reformers were appalled by adult procedures and penalties, and by the fact that children could be given long prison sentences and mixed in jails with hardened criminals. They were profoundly convinced that society's duty to the child could not be confined by the concept of justice alone. They believed that society's role was not to ascertain whether the child was "guilty" or "innocent," but "What is he, how has he become what he is, and what had best be done in his interest and in the interest of the state to save him from a downward career." The child—essentially good, as they saw it—was to be made "to feel that he is the object of [the state's] care and solicitude," not that he was under arrest or on trial. The rules of criminal procedure were therefore altogether inapplicable. The apparent rigidities, technicalities, and harshness which they observed in both substantive and procedural criminal law were therefore to be discarded. The idea of crime and punishment was to be abandoned. The child was to be "treated" and "rehabilitated" and the procedures, from apprehension through institutionalization, were to be "clinical" rather than punitive.

These results were to be achieved, without coming to conceptual and constitutional grief, by insisting that the proceedings were not adversary, but that the state was proceeding as *parens patriae*. The Latin phrase proved to be a great help to those who sought to rationalize the exclusion of juveniles from the constitutional scheme; but its meaning is murky and its historic credentials are of dubious relevance. The phrase was taken from chancery practice, where, however, it was used to describe the power of the state to act in *loco parentis* for the purpose of protecting the property interests and the person of the child. But there is no trace of the doctrine in the history of criminal jurisprudence. At common law, children under seven were considered incapable of possessing criminal intent. Beyond that age, they were subjected to arrest, trial, and in theory to punishment like adult offenders. In these old days, the state was not deemed to have authority to accord them fewer procedural rights than adults.

The right of the state, as *parens patriae*, to deny to the child procedural rights available to his elders was elaborated by the assertion that a child, unlike an adult, has a right "not to liberty but to custody." He can be made to attend to his parents, to go to school, etc. If his parents default in effectively performing their custodial functions—that is, if the child is "delinquent"—the state may intervene. In doing so, it does not deprive the child of any rights, because he has none. It merely provides the "custody" to which the child is entitled. On this basis, proceedings involving juveniles were described as "civil" not "criminal" and therefore not subject to the requirements which restrict the state when it seeks to deprive a person of his liberty.

Accordingly, the highest motives and most enlightened impulses led to a peculiar system for juveniles, unknown to our law in any comparable context. The constitutional and theoretical basis for this peculiar system is—to say the least—debatable. And in practice, as we remarked in the *Kent* case, *supra*, the results have not been entirely satisfactory. Juvenile Court history has again demonstrated that unbridled discretion, however benevolently motivated, is frequently a poor substitute for principle and procedure. In 1937, Dean Pound wrote: "The powers of the Star Chamber were a trifle in comparison with those of our juvenile courts. . . ." "The absence of substantive standards has not necessarily meant that children receive careful, compassionate, individualized treatment. The absence of procedural rules based upon constitutional principle has not always produced fair, efficient, and effective procedures. Departures from established principles of due process have frequently resulted not in enlightened procedure, but in arbitrariness. The Chairman of the Pennsylvania Council of Juvenile Court Judges has recently observed: "Unfortunately, loose procedures, high-handed methods and crowded court calendars, either singly or in combination, all too often, have resulted in depriving some juveniles of fundamental rights that have resulted in a denial of due process."

Failure to observe the fundamental requirements of due process has resulted in instances, which might have been avoided, of unfairness to individuals and inadequate or inaccurate findings of fact and unfortunate prescriptions of remedy. Due process of law is the primary and indispensable foundation of individual freedom. It is the basic and essential term in the social compact which defines the rights of the individual and delimits the powers which the state may exercise. As Mr. Justice Frankfurter has said: "The history of American freedom is, in no small measure, the history of procedure." But in addition, the procedural rules which have been fashioned from the generality of due process are our best instruments for the distillation and evaluation of essential facts from the conflicting welter of data that life and our adversary methods present. It is these instruments of due process which enhance the possibility that truth will emerge from the confrontation of opposing versions and conflicting data. "Procedure is to law what 'scientific method' is to science."

It is claimed that juveniles obtain benefits from the special procedures applicable to them which more than offset the disadvantages of denial of the substance of normal due process. As we shall discuss, the observance of due process standards, intelligently and not ruthlessly administered, will not compel the States to abandon or displace any of the substantive benefits of the juvenile process. But it is important, we think, that the claimed benefits of the juvenile process should be candidly appraised. Neither sentiment nor folklore should cause us to shut our eyes, for example, to such startling findings as that reported in an exceptionally reliable

study of repeaters or recidivism conducted by the Stanford Research Institute for the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. This Commission's Report states:

"In fiscal 1966 approximately 66 percent of the 16- and 17-year-old juveniles referred to the court by the Youth Aid Division had been before the court previously. In 1965, 56 percent of those in the Receiving Home were repeaters. The SRI study revealed that 61 percent of the sample Juvenile Court referrals in 1965 had been previously referred at least once and that 42 percent had been referred at least twice before." *Id.*, at 773.

Certainly, these figures and the high crime rates among juveniles to which we have referred (*supra*, n. 26), could not lead us to conclude that the absence of constitutional protections reduces crime, or that the juvenile system, functioning free of constitutional inhibitions as it has largely done, is effective to reduce crime or rehabilitate offenders. We do not mean by this to denigrate the juvenile court process or to suggest that there are not aspects of the juvenile system relating to offenders which are valuable. But the features of the juvenile system which its proponents have asserted are of unique benefit will not be impaired by constitutional domestication. For example, the commendable principles relating to the processing and treatment of juveniles separately from adults are in no way involved or affected by the procedural issues under discussion. Further, we are told that one of the important benefits of the special juvenile court procedures is that they avoid classifying the juvenile as a "criminal." The juvenile offender is now classed as a "delinquent." There is, of course, no reason why this should not continue. It is disconcerting, however, that this term has come to involve only slightly less stigma than the term "criminal" applied to adults. It is also emphasized that in practically all jurisdictions, statutes provide that an adjudication of the child as a delinquent shall not operate as a civil disability or disqualify him for civil service appointment. There is no reason why the application of due process requirements should interfere with such provisions.

Beyond this, it is frequently said that juveniles are protected by the process from disclosure of their deviational behavior. As the Supreme Court of Arizona phrased it in the present case, the summary procedures of Juvenile Courts are sometimes defended by a statement that it is the law's policy "to hide youthful errors from the full gaze of the public and bury them in the graveyard of the forgotten past." This claim of secrecy, however, is more rhetoric than reality. Disclosure of court records is discretionary with the judge in most jurisdictions. Statutory restrictions almost invariably apply only to the court records, and even as to those the evidence is that many courts routinely furnish information to the FBI and the military, and on request to government agencies and

even to private employers. Of more importance are police records. In most States the police keep a complete file of juvenile "police contacts" and have complete discretion as to disclosure of juvenile records. Police departments receive requests for information from the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies, the Armed Forces, and social service agencies, and most of them generally comply. Private employers word their application forms to produce information concerning juvenile arrests and court proceedings, and in some jurisdictions information concerning juvenile police contacts is furnished private employers as well as government agencies.

In any event, there is no reason why, consistently with due process, a State cannot continue, if it deems it appropriate, to provide and to improve provision for the confidentiality of records of police contacts and court action relating to juveniles. It is interesting to note, however, that the Arizona Supreme Court used the confidentiality argument as a justification for the type of notice which is here attacked as inadequate for due process purposes. The parents were given merely general notice that their child was charged with "delinquency." No facts were specified. The Arizona court held, however, as we shall discuss, that in addition to this general "notice," the child and his parents must be advised "of the facts involved in the case" no later than the initial hearing by the judge. Obviously, this does not "bury" the word about the child's transgressions. It merely defers the time of disclosure to a point when it is of limited use to the child or his parents in preparing his defense or explanation.

Further, it is urged that the juvenile benefits from informal proceedings in the court. The early conception of the Juvenile Court proceeding was one in which a fatherly judge touched the heart and conscience of the erring youth by talking over his problems, by paternal advice and admonition, and in which, in extreme situations, benevolent and wise institutions of the State provided guidance and help "to save him from a downward career." Then, as now, goodwill and compassion were admirably prevalent. But recent studies have, with surprising unanimity, entered sharp dissent as to the validity of this gentle conception. They suggest that the appearance as well as the actuality of fairness, impartiality and orderliness—in short, the essentials of due process—may be a more impressive and more therapeutic attitude so far as the juvenile is concerned. For example, in a recent study, the sociologists Wheeler and Cottrell observe that when the procedural laxness of the "parens patriae" attitude is followed by stern disciplining, the contrast may have an adverse effect upon the child, who feels that he has been deceived or enticed. They conclude as follows: "Unless appropriate due process of law is followed, even the juvenile who has violated the law may not feel that he is being fairly treated and may therefore resist the rehabilitative efforts of court personnel." Of course, it is not suggested that juvenile court judges should fail appropriately to take account, in their de-

meanor and conduct, of the emotional and psychological attitude of the juveniles with whom they are confronted. While due process requirements will, in some instances, introduce a degree of order and regularity to Juvenile Court proceedings to determine delinquency, and in contested cases will introduce some elements of the adversary system, nothing will require that the conception of the kindly juvenile judge be replaced by its opposite, nor do we here rule upon the question whether ordinary due process requirements must be observed with respect to hearings to determine the disposition of the delinquent child.

Ultimately, however, we confront the reality of that portion of the Juvenile Court process with which we deal in this case. A boy is charged with misconduct. The boy is committed to an institution where he may be restrained of liberty for years. It is of no constitutional consequence—and of limited practical meaning—that the institution to which he is committed is called an Industrial School. The fact of the matter is that, however euphemistic the title, a “receiving home” or an “industrial school” for juveniles is an institution of confinement in which the child is incarcerated for a greater or lesser time. His world becomes “a building with white-washed walls, regimented routine and institutional hours. . . .” Instead of mother and father and sisters and brothers and friends and classmates, his world is peopled by guards, custodians, state employees, and “delinquents” confined with him for anything from waywardness to rape and homicide.

In view of this, it would be extraordinary if our Constitution did not require the procedural regularity and the exercise of care implied in the phrase “due process.” Under our Constitution, the condition of being a boy does not justify a kangaroo court. The traditional ideas of Juvenile Court procedure, indeed, contemplated that time would be available and care would be used to establish precisely what the juvenile did and why he did it—was it a prank of adolescence or a brutal act threatening serious consequences to himself or society unless corrected? Under traditional notions, one would assume that in a case like that of Gerald Gault, where the juvenile appears to have a home, a working mother and father, and an older brother, the Juvenile Judge would have made a careful inquiry and judgment as to the possibility that the boy could be disciplined and dealt with at home, despite his previous transgressions. Indeed, so far as appears in the record before us, except for some conversation with Gerald about his school work and his “wanting to go to . . . Grand Canyon with his father,” the points to which the judge directed his attention were little different from those that would be involved in determining any charge of violation of a penal statute. The essential difference between Gerald's case and a normal criminal case is that safeguards available to adults were discarded in Gerald's case. The summary procedure as well as the long commitment was possible because Gerald was 15 years of age instead of over 18.

If Gerald had been over 18, he would not have been subject to Juvenile Court proceedings. For the particular offense immediately involved, the maximum punishment would have been a fine of \$5 to \$50, or imprisonment in jail for not more than two months. Instead, he was committed to custody for a maximum of six years. If he had been over 18 and had committed an offense to which such a sentence might apply, he would have been entitled to substantial rights under the Constitution of the United States as well as under Arizona's laws and constitution. The United States Constitution would guarantee him rights and protections with respect to arrest, search and seizure, and pretrial interrogation. It would assure him of specific notice of the charges and adequate time to decide his course of action and to prepare his defense. He would be entitled to clear advice that he could be represented by counsel, and, at least if a felony were involved, the State would be required to provide counsel if his parents were unable to afford it. If the court acted on the basis of his confession, careful procedures would be required to assure its voluntariness. If the case went to trial, confrontation and opportunity for cross-examination would be guaranteed. So wide a gulf between the State's treatment of the adult and of the child requires a bridge sturdier than mere verbiage, and reasons more persuasive than cliché can provide. As Wheeler and Cottrell have put it, “The rhetoric of the juvenile court movement has developed without any necessarily close correspondence to the realities of court and institutional routines.”

Excerpt from California Megan's Law, 1996

SOURCE: California Department of Justice. California Penal Code, Section 290.

Introduction

Many Americans grew concerned during the late twentieth century about the dangers that sex offenders posed to children. National and state governments attempted to respond to that concern through legislation. After seven-year-old Megan Kanka was raped and murdered in 1994 by a neighbor who was known to the police as a dangerous sex offender, grass-roots advocacy groups pushed New Jersey (Megan's home state) and then every other state in the union to pass laws permitting residents to gain access to information about the presence of sex offenders in their neighborhoods. In May 1996 President Bill Clinton signed the federal Megan's Law which encouraged states to register sex offenders and disseminate information about such offenders to the general public. The following excerpt from California's Megan's Law, passed in 1996, indicates the detailed level of information collected and published by authorities. While the main trend in American jurisprudence during the second half of the twentieth century was toward the protection of personal privacy, the public stake in children's welfare

produced an opposite dynamic in laws concerning their protection.

California Penal Code
Section 290

290. (a) (1) (A) Every person described in paragraph (2), for the rest of his or her life while residing in, or, if he or she has no residence, while located within California, or while attending school or working in California, as described in subparagraph (G), shall be required to register with the chief of police of the city in which he or she is residing, or if he or she has no residence, is located, or the sheriff of the county if he or she is residing, or if he or she has no residence, is located, in an unincorporated area or city that has no police department, and, additionally, with the chief of police of a campus of the University of California, the California State University, or community college if he or she is residing, or if he or she has no residence, is located upon the campus or in any of its facilities, within five working days of coming into, or changing his or her residence or location within, any city, county, or city and county, or campus in which he or she temporarily resides, or, if he or she has no residence, is located.

...

(2) The following persons shall be required to register pursuant to paragraph (1):

(A) Any person who, since July 1, 1944, has been or is hereafter convicted in any court in this state or in any federal or military court of a violation of Section 207 or 209 committed with intent to violate Section 261, 286, 288, 288a, or 289, Section 220, except assault to commit mayhem, Section 243.4, paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), or (6) of subdivision (a) of Section 261, or paragraph (1) of subdivision (a) of Section 262 involving the use of force or violence for which the person is sentenced to the state prison, Section 264.1, 266, 266c, subdivision (b) of Section 266h, subdivision (b) of Section 266i, 266j, 267, 269, 285, 286, 288, 288a, 288.5, or 289, subdivision (b), (c), or (d) of Section 311.2, Section 311.3, 311.4, 311.10, 311.11, or 647.6, former Section 647a, subdivision (c) of Section 653f, subdivision 1 or 2 of Section 314, any offense involving lewd or lascivious conduct under Section 272, or any felony violation of Section 288.2; or any person who since that date has been or is hereafter convicted of the attempt to commit any of the abovementioned offenses.

(B) Any person who, since July 1, 1944, has been or hereafter is released, discharged, or paroled from a penal institution where he or she was confined because of the commission or attempted commission of one of the offenses described in subparagraph (A).

(C) Any person who, since July 1, 1944, has been or hereafter is determined to be a mentally disordered sex offender

under Article 1 (commencing with Section 6300) of Chapter 2 of Part 2 of Division 6 of the Welfare and Institutions Code or any person who has been found guilty in the guilt phase of a trial for an offense for which registration is required by this section but who has been found not guilty by reason of insanity in the sanity phase of the trial.

(D) Any person who, since July 1, 1944, has been, or is hereafter convicted in any other court, including any state, federal, or military court, of any offense which, if committed or attempted in this state, would have been punishable as one or more of the offenses described in subparagraph (A) or any person ordered by any other court, including any state, federal, or military court, to register as a sex offender for any offense, if the court found at the time of conviction or sentencing that the person committed the offense as a result of sexual compulsion or for purposes of sexual gratification.

(E) Any person ordered by any court to register pursuant to this section for any offense not included specifically in this section if the court finds at the time of conviction or sentencing that the person committed the offense as a result of sexual compulsion or for purposes of sexual gratification. The court shall state on the record the reasons for its findings and the reasons for requiring registration.

...

(m) (1) When a peace officer reasonably suspects, based on information that has come to his or her attention through information provided by any peace officer or member of the public, that a child or other person may be at risk from a sex offender convicted of a crime listed in paragraph (1) of subdivision (a) of Section 290.4, a law enforcement agency may, notwithstanding any other provision of law, provide any of the information specified in paragraph (4) of this subdivision about that registered sex offender that the agency deems relevant and necessary to protect the public, to the following persons, agencies, or organizations the offender is likely to encounter, including, but not limited to, the following:

- (A) Public and private educational institutions, day care establishments, and establishments and organizations that primarily serve individuals likely to be victimized by the offender.
- (B) Other community members at risk.

(2) The law enforcement agency may authorize persons and entities who receive the information pursuant to paragraph (1) to disclose information to additional persons only if the agency does the following:

- (A) Determines that all conditions set forth in paragraph (1) have been satisfied regarding disclosure to the additional persons.
- (B) Identifies the appropriate scope of further disclosure.

(3) Persons notified pursuant to paragraph (1) may disclose the information provided by the law enforcement

agency in the manner and to the extent authorized by the law enforcement agency.

(4) The information that may be disclosed pursuant to this section includes the following:

- (A) The offender's full name.
- (B) The offender's known aliases.
- (C) The offender's gender.
- (D) The offender's race.
- (E) The offender's physical description.
- (F) The offender's photograph.
- (G) The offender's date of birth.
- (H) Crimes resulting in registration under this section.
- (I) The offender's address, which must be verified prior to publication.
- (J) Description and license plate number of offender's vehicles or vehicles the offender is known to drive.
- (K) Type of victim targeted by the offender.
- (L) Relevant parole or probation conditions, such as one prohibiting contact with children.
- (M) Dates of crimes resulting in classification under this section.
- (N) Date of release from confinement.

However, information disclosed pursuant to this subdivision shall not include information that would identify the victim.

English Language Education for Immigrant Children, California Education Code, Proposition 227, 1998

SOURCE: California Education Code. 1998. Education Code Sections 300–340, and California Code of Regulations, Title 5, Sections 4301–4320.

Introduction

Debate over the best way to acculturate immigrant children into American society has been ongoing for two hundred years. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when rates of immigration were very high, public schools were the primary tool in the Americanization of non-native children. In the 1960s and 1970s immigration again grew following the repeal of tight controls and quotas that had been set in the 1920s, but models of enforced assimilation were disavowed. Starting in the 1970s, federal legislation and federal courts began to require that school districts provide bilingual instruction to those who needed it. In many schools in California, a popular destination for immigrant families, bilingual classrooms offered instruction in both English and a second language. While many immigrants supported bilingual education because it nurtured their children's attachment to their cultures of origin, critics of bilingual edu-

cation have lambasted the system for failing to teach children fluency in English. In 1998, California voters passed an "English for Children" initiative, or Proposition 227, which sought to end bilingual education in the state.

SECTION 1. Chapter 3 (commencing with Section 300) is added to Part 1 of the Educational Code, to read:

CHAPTER 3. ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

ARTICLE 1. Findings and Declarations

300. The People of California find and declare as follows:

(a) WHEREAS the English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the state of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity; and

(b) WHEREAS immigrant parents are eager to have their children acquire a good knowledge of English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement; and

(c) WHEREAS the government and the public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of California's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society, and of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important; and

(d) WHEREAS the public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children; and

(e) WHEREAS young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age.

(f) THEREFORE it is resolved that: all children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible.

ARTICLE 2. English Language Education

305. Subject to the exceptions provided in Article 3 (commencing with Section 310), all children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language classrooms. Children who are English

learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year. Local schools shall be permitted to place in the same classroom English learners of different ages but whose degree of English proficiency is similar. Local schools shall be encouraged to mix together in the same classroom English learners from different native-language groups but with the same degree of English fluency. Once English learners have acquired a good working knowledge of English, they shall be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms. As much as possible, current supplemental funding for English learners shall be maintained, subject to possible modification under Article 8 (commencing with Section 335) below.

306. The definitions of the terms used in this article and in Article 3 (commencing with Section 310) are as follows:

(a) “English learner” means a child who does not speak English or whose native language is not English and who is not currently able to perform ordinary classroom work in English, also known as a Limited English Proficiency or LEP child.

(b) “English language classroom” means a classroom in which the language of instruction used by the teaching personnel is overwhelmingly the English language, and in which such teaching personnel possess a good knowledge of the English language.

(c) “English language mainstream classroom” means a classroom in which the students either are native English language speakers or already have acquired reasonable fluency in English.

(d) “Sheltered English immersion” or “structured English immersion” means an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language.

(e) “Bilingual education/native language instruction” means a language acquisition process for students in which much or all instruction, textbooks, and teaching materials are in the child’s native language.

ARTICLE 3. Parental Exceptions

310. The requirements of Section 305 may be waived with the prior written informed consent, to be provided annually, of the child’s parents or legal guardian under the circumstances specified below and in Section 311. Such informed consent shall require that said parents or legal guardian personally visit the school to apply for the waiver and that they there be provided a full description of the educational materials to be used in the different educational program choices and all the educational opportunities available to the child. Under such parental waiver conditions, children

may be transferred to classes where they are taught English and other subjects through bilingual education techniques or other generally recognized educational methodologies permitted by law. Individual schools in which 20 students or more of a given grade level receive a waiver shall be required to offer such a class; otherwise, they must allow the students to transfer to a public school in which such a class is offered.

311. The circumstances in which a parental exception waiver may be granted under Section 310 are as follows:

(a) Children who already know English: the child already possesses good English language skills, as measured by standardized tests of English vocabulary comprehension, reading, and writing, in which the child scores at or above the state average for his grade level or at or above the 5th grade average, whichever is lower; or

(b) Older children: the child is age 10 years or older, and it is the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s rapid acquisition of basic English language skills; or

(c) Children with special needs: the child already has been placed for a period of not less than thirty days during that school year in an English language classroom and it is subsequently the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that the child has such special physical, emotional, psychological, or educational needs that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s overall educational development. A written description of these special needs must be provided and any such decision is to be made subject to the examination and approval of the local school superintendent, under guidelines established by and subject to the review of the local Board of Education and ultimately the State Board of Education. The existence of such special needs shall not compel issuance of a waiver, and the parents shall be fully informed of their right to refuse to agree to a waiver.

ARTICLE 4. Community-Based English Tutoring

315. In furtherance of its constitutional and legal requirement to offer special language assistance to children coming from backgrounds of limited English proficiency, the state shall encourage family members and others to provide personal English language tutoring to such children, and support these efforts by raising the general level of English language knowledge in the community. Commencing with the fiscal year in which this initiative is enacted and for each of the nine fiscal years following thereafter, a sum of fifty million dollars (\$50,000,000) per year is hereby appropriated from the General Fund for the purpose of providing additional funding for free or subsidized programs of adult English language instruction to parents or other members of the community who pledge to provide personal English language tutoring to California school children with limited English proficiency.

316. Programs funded pursuant to this section shall be provided through schools or community organizations. Funding for these programs shall be administered by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and shall be disbursed at the discretion of the local school boards, under reasonable guidelines established by, and subject to the review of, the State Board of Education.

ARTICLE 5. Legal Standing and Parental Enforcement

320. As detailed in Article 2 (commencing with Section 305) and Article 3 (commencing with Section 310), all California school children have the right to be provided with an English language public education. If a California school child has been denied the option of an English language instructional curriculum in public school, the child's parent or legal guardian shall have legal standing to sue for enforcement of the provisions of this statute, and if successful shall be awarded normal and customary attorney's fees and actual damages, but not punitive or consequential damages. Any school board member or other elected official or public school teacher or administrator who willfully and repeatedly refuses to implement the terms of this statute by providing such an English language educational option at an available public school to a California school child may be held personally liable for fees and actual damages by the child's parents or legal guardian.

ARTICLE 6. Severability

325. If any part or parts of this statute are found to be in conflict with federal law or the United States or the California State Constitution, the statute shall be implemented to the maximum extent that federal law, and the United States and the California State Constitution permit. Any provision held invalid shall be severed from the remaining portions of this statute.

ARTICLE 7. Operative Date

330. This initiative shall become operative for all school terms which begin more than sixty days following the date at which it becomes effective.

ARTICLE 8. Amendment

335. The provisions of this act may be amended by a statute that becomes effective upon approval by the electorate or by a statute to further the act's purpose passed by a two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature and signed by the Governor.

ARTICLE 9. Interpretation

340. Under circumstances in which portions of this statute are subject to conflicting interpretations, Section 300 shall be assumed to contain the governing intent of the statute.

Classics

Excerpt from *The Republic* by Plato, 370–375 B.C.E.

SOURCE: Plato. 1910 [370–375 B.C.E.]. *The Republic*. Trans. Benjamin Jowett. New York: P. F. Collier and Sons.

Introduction

Plato's classic text, *The Republic*, written around 370–375 B.C.E., is an investigation into the nature of justice, and an effort to discover the moral truths that must guide men's actions. Plato used the form of Socratic dialogues to raise his questions about man and the state. In *The Republic*, he proposes establishing an authoritarian state led by guardians who have undergone special philosophical training. In Book III, the character of Socrates engages in a discussion with Glaucon and Adeimantus—brothers of Plato—regarding the proper childhood education for the guardians. In the following passage, Plato makes a strong argument for the strict censorship of literature to protect the morality of the republic's future leaders. In *The Republic*, the purpose of education is to secure the state, not to further the self-discovery of youth.

Then he who is to be a really good and noble guardian of the State will require to unite in himself philosophy and spirit and swiftness and strength?

Undoubtedly.

Then we have found the desired natures; and now that we have found them, how are they to be reared and educated? Is not this enquiry which may be expected to throw light on the greater enquiry which is our final end—How do justice and injustice grow up in States? for we do not want either to omit what is to the point or to draw out the argument to an inconvenient length.

SOCRATES–ADEIMANTUS

Adeimantus thought that the enquiry would be of great service to us.

Then, I said, my dear friend, the task must not be given up, even if somewhat long.

Certainly not.

Come then, and let us pass a leisure hour in story-telling, and our story shall be the education of our heroes.

By all means.

And what shall be their education? Can we find a better than the traditional sort?—and this has two divisions, gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul.

True.

Shall we begin education with music, and go on to gymnastic afterwards?

By all means.

And when you speak of music, do you include literature or not?

I do.

And literature may be either true or false?

Yes.

And the young should be trained in both kinds, and we begin with the false?

I do not understand your meaning, he said.

You know, I said, that we begin by telling children stories which, though not wholly destitute of truth, are in the main fictitious; and these stories are told them when they are not of an age to learn gymnastics.

Very true.

That was my meaning when I said that we must teach music before gymnastics.

Quite right, he said.

You know also that the beginning is the most important part of any work, especially in the case of a young and tender thing; for that is the time at which the character is being formed and the desired impression is more readily taken.

Quite true.

And shall we just carelessly allow children to hear any casual tales which may be devised by casual persons, and to receive into their minds ideas for the most part the very opposite of those which we should wish them to have when they are grown up?

We cannot.

Then the first thing will be to establish a censorship of the writers of fiction, and let the censors receive any tale of fiction which is good, and reject the bad; and we will desire mothers and nurses to tell their children the authorised ones only. Let them fashion the mind with such tales, even more fondly than they mould the body with their hands; but most of those which are now in use must be discarded.

Of what tales are you speaking? he said.

You may find a model of the lesser in the greater, I said; for they are necessarily of the same type, and there is the same spirit in both of them.

Very likely, he replied; but I do not as yet know what you would term the greater.

Those, I said, which are narrated by Homer and Hesiod, and the rest of the poets, who have ever been the great storytellers of mankind.

But which stories do you mean, he said; and what fault do you find with them?

A fault which is most serious, I said; the fault of telling a lie, and, what is more, a bad lie.

But when is this fault committed?

Whenever an erroneous representation is made of the nature of gods and heroes,—as when a painter paints a portrait not having the shadow of a likeness to the original.

Yes, he said, that sort of thing is certainly very blamable; but what are the stories which you mean?

First of all, I said, there was that greatest of all lies, in high places, which the poet told about Uranus, and which was a bad lie too,—I mean what Hesiod says that Uranus did, and how Cronus retaliated on him. The doings of Cronus, and the sufferings which in turn his son inflicted upon him, even if they were true, ought certainly not to be lightly told to young and thoughtless persons; if possible, they had better be buried in silence. But if there is an absolute necessity for their mention, a chosen few might hear them in a mystery, and they should sacrifice not a common [Eleusinian] pig, but some huge and unprocurable victim; and then the number of the hearers will be very few indeed.

Why, yes, said he, those stories are extremely objectionable.

Yes, Adeimantus, they are stories not to be repeated in our State; the young man should not be told that in committing the worst of crimes he is far from doing anything outrageous; and that even if he chastises his father when does wrong, in whatever manner, he will only be following the example of the first and greatest among the gods.

I entirely agree with you, he said; in my opinion those stories are quite unfit to be repeated.

Neither, if we mean our future guardians to regard the habit of quarrelling among themselves as of all things the basest, should any word be said to them of the wars in heaven, and of the plots and fightings of the gods against one another, for they are not true. No, we shall never mention the battles of the giants, or let them be embroidered on garments; and we shall be silent about the innumerable other quarrels of gods and heroes with their friends and relatives. If they would only believe us we would tell them that quarrelling is unholy, and that never up to this time has there been any quarrel between citizens; this is what old men and old women should begin by telling children; and when they grow up, the poets also should be told to compose for them in a similar spirit. But the narrative of Hephaestus binding

Here his mother, or how on another occasion Zeus sent him flying for taking her part when she was being beaten, and all the battles of the gods in Homer—these tales must not be admitted into our State, whether they are supposed to have an allegorical meaning or not. For a young person cannot judge what is allegorical and what is literal; anything that he receives into his mind at that age is likely to become indelible and unalterable; and therefore it is most important that the tales which the young first hear should be models of virtuous thoughts.

There you are right, he replied; but if any one asks where are such models to be found and of what tales are you speaking—how shall we answer him?

I said to him, You and I, Adeimantus, at this moment are not poets, but founders of a State: now the founders of a State ought to know the general forms in which poets should cast their tales, and the limits which must be observed by them, but to make the tales is not their business.

Excerpt from *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* by Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1552

SOURCE: Las Casas, Bartolomé de. 1552. *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. Available from <www.american-journey.psmmedia.com/>.

Introduction

In his *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, or *The Tears of the Indians* (written 1542 and published in 1552), the Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas recorded the atrocities committed by his compatriots in the New World. The sadistic murders of infants and children are the most horrifying aspect of his narrative. According to Las Casas, Spanish soldiers killed Indian children for sport. The missionary also argues that enslavement caused enormous infant mortality and hampered the Indians' ability to have children. *Tears of the Indians* reveals that conquest is enacted not only on the battlefield, but in the family. The destruction of the next generation is perhaps the most effective way to defeat a people. Las Casas wrote *Tears of the Indians* to persuade the Spanish government to treat the natives of the New World with greater justice; but perhaps its most effective legacy was upon its English audience, who used its horrors to justify competing with the Spanish for control of the Western Hemisphere.

Of Hispaniola.

In the Island of Hispaniola, to which the Spaniards came first, these slaughters and ruines of mankind took their beginning. They took away their women and children to serve them, though the reward which they gave them was a sad and

fatal one. Their food got with great pain and dropping sweat, the Spaniards still consumed, not content with what the poor Indians gave them gratis out of their own want; One Spaniard consuming in one day as much as would suffice three families, every one containing ten persons. Being thus broken with so many evils, afflicted with so many torments, and handled so ignominiously, they began at length to believe that the Spaniards were not sent from Heaven. And therefore some of them hid their Children, others their Wives, others their Victuals in obscure and secret places; Others not being able to endure a Nation that conversed among them with such a boisterous impiety sought for shelter in the most abrupt and inaccessible mountains. For the Spaniards while they were among them did not only entertain them with cruel beating them with their fists, and with their slaves, but presumed also to lay violent hands upon the Rulers and Magistrates of their Cities: and they arriv'd at that height of impudence and unheard of boldnesse, that a certain private Captain scrupled not to force the Wife of the most potent King among them. From which time forward they began to think what way they might take to expell the Spaniards out of their Country. But good God! what fort of Armes had they? such as were as available to offend or defend as bul-rushes might be. Which when the Spaniards saw, they came with their Horsemen well armed with Sword and Launce, making most cruel havocks and slaughters among them. Overrunning Cities and Villages, where they spared nos sex nor age; neither would their cruelty pity Women with childe, whose bellies they would rip up, taking out the Infant to hew it in pieces. They would often lay wagers who should with most dexterity either cleave or cut a man in the middle, or who could at one blow footnest cut off his head. The children they would take by the feet and dash their innocent heads against the rocks, and when they were fallen into the water, with a strange and cruel derision they would call upon them to swim. Sometimes they would run both Mother and Infant, being in her belly quite through at one thrust. They erected certain Gallowses, that were broad but so low, that the tormented creatures might touch the ground with their feet, upon every one of which they would hang thirteen persons, blasphemously affirming that they did it in honour of our Redeemer and his Apostles, and then putting fire under them, they burnt the poor wretches alive. Those whom their pity did think fit to spare, they would send away with their hands half cut off, and so hanging by the skin. Thus upbraiding their flight, Go carry letters to those who lye bid in the mountains and are fled from us.

This Death they found out also for the Lords and Nobles of the Land; they stuck up forked sticks in the ground, and then laid certain perches upon them, and so laying them upon those perches, they put a gentle fire under, causing the fire to melt them away by degrees, to their unspeakable torment.

One time above the rest I saw four of the Nobles laid upon these perches, and two or three other of these kinde of

hurdles furnished after the same manner; the clamours and cries of which persons being troublesome to the Captain, he gave order that they should be hang'd, but the Executioner whose name I know, and whose parents are not obscure, hindered their Calamity from so quick a conclusion, stopping their mouthes, that they should not disturb the Captain, and still laying on more wood, till being roasted according to his pleasure, they yeelded up the ghost. Of these and other things innumerable I have been an eye-witnesse; Now because there were some that shun'd like so many rocks the cruelty of a Nation so inhumane, so void of piety and love to mankinde, and therefore fled from them to the mountains; therefore they hunted them with their Hounds, whom they bred up and taught to pull down and tear the Indians like beasts: by these Dogs much humane blood was shed; and because the Indians did now and then kill a Spaniard, taking him at an advantage, as justly they might; therefore the Spaniards made a Law among themselves, that for one Spaniard so slaine, they should kill a hundred Indians.

. . .

The wars begin now at an end, and the inhabitants all killed up, the women and children being only reserved, they divided them among themselves, giving to one thirty, to another forty, to one a hundred, to another two hundred, and those that had most, received them on this condition, that they should instruct them in the Catholick Faith, though commonly their Masters were a company of stupid, ignorant, and covetous fellowes, and defiled with all manner of vices. But the main care was to send the men to work in the Gold Mines, which is an intolerable labour, and to send the women to manure and till the ground; an exercise fit only for the sloutest men. These they fed with nothing but roots and hearbs, so that the milk of women with childe being dried up, by that reason the poor little infants died. And the men being separated from the women, there was no more issue to be expected from them. The men perished in the Gold Mines with hunger and labour, the women perished in the fields, being tired out with the same calamities: and thus was a vast number of the inhabitants of this Island wholly extirpated. Besides all this they caused them to carry great burdens of a hundred and fourscore pound, and to travell with it a hundred or two hundred miles. They were also forc'd to carry the Spaniards up and down in their Hamechs, using them in manner of beasts to carry their burthens and the necessaries of their journeys. And as for the blows which they gave them with whips, cudgels and their fists, wherewith they continually tormented them in their labour, I could be hardly able to finde either time or paper to make a narration large enough of those things.

Matthew 2, King James Bible, 1611

SOURCE: *The King James Bible*, 1611.

Introduction

The following verses from Chapter 2 of the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament tell the story of King Herod's hunt to kill Christ when he is born. Herod learns that Christ is in Bethlehem, so he orders the slaughter of all the male children in the city and its villages who are under two years of age. Jesus escapes with Mary and Joseph to Egypt. This is not the only passage in the Bible to describe the murder of infants. Matthew's story parallels the passages from Exodus that describe Pharaoh's order to slaughter all male Jewish children during the time of the Jews' enslavement in Egypt. Moses also escaped his fate, then led his people to freedom. Many critics have questioned the historical truth of Herod's "slaughter of the innocents" and instead have read these verses as Matthew's effort to legitimize Jesus using the Old Testament.

1: Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem,

2: Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.

3: When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

4: And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.

5: And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written by the prophet,

6: And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

7: Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently what time the star appeared.

8: And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9: When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.

10: When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

11: And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

12: And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way.

13: And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him.

14: When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt:

15: And was there until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.

16: Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wrath, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men.

17: Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,

18: In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

19: But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt,

20: Saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.

21: And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel.

22: But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judaea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee:

23: And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.

Kings 1:3, 15–28, King James Bible, 1611

SOURCE: *The King James Bible*, 1611.

Introduction

Many famous Bible stories involve children. In Kings 1, Chapter 3, King Solomon proves his wisdom by discovering the true parent of a contested child. When two women come before him each laying claim to the

same infant, Solomon threatens to divide the baby by the sword. His wisdom is revealed when the true mother renounces her claim on the child in order to preserve his life. The story suggests that parents should protect their children's safety over their own interests. In the Book of Proverbs, King Solomon offers more wisdom concerning children, including many injunctions for parents to discipline their sons and for sons to treat their parents with respect.

15: And Solomon awoke; and, behold, it was a dream. And he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and offered up burnt offerings, and offered peace offerings, and made a feast to all his servants.

16: Then came there two women, that were harlots, unto the king, and stood before him.

17: And the one woman said, O my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and I was delivered of a child with her in the house.

18: And it came to pass the third day after that I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also: and we were together; there was no stranger with us in the house, save we two in the house.

19: And this woman's child died in the night; because she overlaid it.

20: And she arose at midnight, and took my son from beside me, while thine handmaid slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid her dead child in my bosom.

21: And when I rose in the morning to give my child suck, behold, it was dead: but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son, which I did bear.

22: And the other woman said, Nay; but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son. And this said, No; but the dead is thy son, and the living is my son. Thus they spake before the king.

23: Then said the king, The one saith, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and the other saith, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living.

24: And the king said, Bring me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king.

25: And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other.

26: Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it.

27: Then the king answered and said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother thereof.

28: And all Israel heard of the judgment which the king had judged; and they feared the king: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgment.

The Qur'an, 2:233, 4:11, Pickthall translation, 1930

SOURCE: Pickthall, Muhammad Marmaduke William. 1930. *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*. New York: Knopf.

Introduction

In the Qur'an, the sacred scripture of Islam, verses revealed by God to the prophet Muhammed are arranged in sequence from the longest to the shortest. The verses take the form of stories, commands, spiritual teachings, and guides to practical behavior. In the following verses the Qur'an instructs parents in how to raise their children, specifying the length of time required for breast-feeding and the proper distribution of inheritances. The passages emphasize the parental obligation to provide for children. Other verses from the Qur'an emphasize children's duty to be obedient and to respect their parents. Muslim wisdom concerning the raising of children is also to be found in the Hadith, a collection of the Prophet Muhammed's sayings.

AL-BAQARA (THE COW) 002.233. Mothers shall suckle their children for two whole years; (that is) for those who wish to complete the suckling. The duty of feeding and clothing nursing mothers in a seemly manner is upon the father of the child. No-one should be charged beyond his capacity. A mother should not be made to suffer because of her child, nor should he to whom the child is born (be made to suffer) because of his child. And on the (father's) heir is incumbent the like of that (which was incumbent on the father). If they desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them; and if ye wish to give your children out to nurse, it is no sin for you, provide that ye pay what is due from you in kindness. Observe your duty to Allah, and know that Allah is Seer of what ye do.

AN-NISA (WOMEN) 004.11. Allah chargeth you concerning (the provision for) your children: to the male the equivalent of the portion of two females, and if there be women more than two, then theirs is two-thirds of the inheritance, and if there be one (only) then the half. And to each of his parents a sixth of the inheritance, if he have a son; and if he have no son and his parents are his heirs, then to his mother appertaineth the third; and if he have brethren, then to his mother appertaineth the sixth, after any legacy he may have bequeathed, or debt (hath been paid). Your parents and your children: Ye know not which of them is nearer unto you in usefulness. It is an injunction from Allah. Lo! Allah is Knower, Wise.

Educators

Excerpt from *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke, 1693

SOURCE: Locke, John. 1909–1914 [1693]. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. The Harvard Classics 37 (1). New York: P.F. Collier and Son.

Introduction

The seventeenth-century political philosopher John Locke is famous for his claim that human beings are born as *tabulae rasae*, or blank slates. Knowledge and moral sense, he argued, arose solely from experience. He therefore placed enormous importance on the process of education, which he discussed at length in his book *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). Locke's concern in this text is the proper education of gentlemen's sons but his reformist ideas had extensive influence beyond the sphere of the elite. In his *Thoughts* Locke rejected the tedious inculcation of scholastic knowledge that had defined his own education and instead emphasized students' moral instruction. Among the most notable reforms of traditional pedagogy that he advocated for in his treatise was a new style of discipline that substituted moral pressure for traditional corporal punishment. Although he limited use of the rod, Locke's disciplinary style should not be mistaken for soft—instilling moral sense was a rigorous process. In the following passage, Locke criticizes the old style of discipline.

§ 43. This being laid down in general, as the course that ought to be taken, 'tis fit we now come to consider the parts of the discipline to be us'd, a little more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a strict hand over children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough, what is due to their tender age and constitutions. But that opinion will vanish, when you have heard me a little farther: for I am very apt to think, that great severity of punishment does but very little good, nay, great harm in education; and I believe it will be found that, caeteris paribus, those children who have been most chastis'd, seldom make the best men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, that whatsoever rigor is necessary, it is more to be us'd, the younger children are; and having by a due application wrought its effect, it is to be relax'd, and chang'd into a milder sort of government.

§ 44. A compliance and suppleness of their wills, being by a steady hand introduc'd by parents, before children have memories to retain the beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them as if it were so, preventing all occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to 'till awe and respect be grown familiar, and there appears not the least reluctance in the submission, and ready obedience of their

minds. When this reverence is once thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it, and the more the longer it is deferr'd) 'tis by it, still mix'd with as much indulgence as they make not an ill use of, and not by beating, chiding, or other servile punishments, they are for the future to be govern'd as they grow up to more understanding.

§ 45. That this is so, will be easily allow'd, when it is but consider'd, what is to be aim'd at in an ingenuous education; and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger never to be good for anything. This temper therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawns of knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirm'd in them, by all the care and ways imaginable, by those who have the oversight of their education.

§ 46. 2. On the other side, if the mind be curb'd, and humbled too much in children; if their spirits be abas'd and broken much, by too strict an hand over them, they lose all their vigour and industry, and are in a worse state than the former. For extravagant young fellows, that have liveliness and spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great men; but dejected minds, timorous and tame, and low spirits, are hardly ever to be rais'd, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the danger that is on either hand, is the great art; and he that has found a way how to keep up a child's spirit easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming contradictions, has, in my opinion, got the true secret of education.

§ 47. The usual lazy and short way by chastisement and the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be us'd in education, because it tends to both those mischiefs; which, as we have shewn, are the Scylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other ruin all that miscarry.

§ 48. 1. This kind of punishment contributes not at all to the mastery of our natural propensity to indulge corporal and present pleasure, and to avoid pain at any rate, but rather encourages it, and thereby strengthens that in us, which is the root from whence spring all vicious actions, and the irregularities of life. For what other motive, but of sensual pleasure and pain, does a child act by, who drudges at his book against his inclination, or abstains from eating un-

wholesome fruit, that he takes pleasure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it, to govern his actions, and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any correction useful to a child, where the shame of suffering for having done amiss, does not work more upon him than the pain.

§ 49. 2. This sort of correction naturally breeds an aversion to that which 'tis the tutor's business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves whipp'd, and chid, and teas'd about them? And it is not to be wonder'd at in them, when grown men would not be able to be reconcil'd to any thing by such ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent recreation, in itself indifferent to him, if he should with blows or ill language be hale'd to it, when he had no mind? Or be constantly so treated, for some circumstances in his application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things which they are join'd with; and the very sight of a cup wherein any one uses to take nauseous physick, turns his stomach, so that nothing will relish well out of it, tho' the cup be never so clean and well-shap'd, and of the richest materials.

§ 50. 3. Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper. The child submits, and dissembles obedience, whilst the fear of the rod hangs over him; but when that is remov'd, and by being out of sight, he can promise himself impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination; which by this way is not at all alter'd, but, on the contrary, heighten'd and increas'd in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more violence; or,

§ 51. 4. If severity carry'd to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a cure upon the present unruly distemper, it often brings in the room of it a worse and more dangerous disease, by breaking the mind; and then, in the place of a disorderly young fellow, you have a low spirited moap'd creature, who, however with his unnatural sobriety he may please silly people, who commend tame unactive children, because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his friends, as he will be all his life an useless thing to himself and others.

§ 52. Beating them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal punishments, are not the discipline fit to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous men; and therefore very rarely to be apply'd, and that only in great occasions, and cases of extremity. On the other side, to flatter children by rewards of things that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his son apples or sugar-plumbs, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but

authorize his love of pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you gave his inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous man, 'tis fit he should learn to cross his appetite, and deny his inclination to riches, finery, or pleasing his palate, &c. whenever his reason advises the contrary, and his duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit by the offer of money, or reward the pains of learning his book by the pleasure of a luscious morsel; when you promise him a lace-cravat or a fine new suit, upon performance of some of his little tasks; what do you by proposing these as rewards, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for 'em, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus people, to prevail with children to be industrious about their grammar, dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their lives, by misapply'd rewards and punishments, sacrifice their virtue, invert the order of their education, and teach them luxury, pride, or covetousness, &c. For in this way, flattering those wrong inclinations which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the foundations of those future vices, which cannot be avoided but by curbing our desires and accustoming them early to submit to reason.

Excerpt from *Émile, or, On Education* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1762

SOURCE: Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1911 [1762]. *Émile, or, On Education*. Trans. Barbara Foxley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

Introduction

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile, or, On Education* (1762) has been perhaps the most influential educational text of the modern age. Written in the form of a novel, *Émile* traces the development of a fictional young man and provides Rousseau a platform to deliver his theories on the proper training of children. Rousseau abjured the pedagogical methods of his day, which relied on bribery and coercion to impose a body of knowledge upon the student. Instead, he proposed a child-centered education, where the student's curiosity and growing knowledge was encouraged through carefully contrived experiences that would allow learning to originate internally. Rousseau's pedagogy was founded on the then-radical assumption that human beings are innately good before they are corrupted by society; a good education fostered and protected the child's goodness. Since *Émile*, child-centered learning has become the standard of progressive education. In the following passage, Rousseau stresses the importance of treating children as children, not forcing them to be adults.

Nature wants children to be children before they are men. If we try to pervert this order we shall produce a forced fruit that will have neither ripeness nor flavor and that will soon spoil. We will have young doctors and old children. Childhood has its ways of seeing, thinking, and feeling that are proper to it. Nothing is less sensible than to try and substitute our ways. I would like no more to require a young child be five feet tall than that he have judgment at the age of ten. Indeed, what use would reason be to him at that age? It is the curb of strength, and the child does not need this curb.

In trying to persuade your pupils of the duty of obedience you add to this so-called persuasion force and threats, or still worse, flattery and bribes. Thus attracted by self-interest or constrained by force, they pretend to be convinced by reason. They see very well that obedience is to their advantage and disobedience to their disadvantage as soon as you perceive one or the other. But since you only demand disagreeable things of them, and since it is always painful to do another's will, they hide themselves so that they may do as they please, persuaded that they are doing well if no one knows of their disobedience, but ready, if found out, to admit they are in the wrong for fear of worse evils. Since the rationale for duty is beyond their age, there is not a man in the world who could make them really aware of it. But the fear of punishment, the hope of forgiveness, importunity, the difficulty of answering, wrings from them as many confessions as you want; and you think you have convinced them when you have only wearied or frightened them.

What is the result of all this? In the first place, by imposing on them a duty which they do not feel, you make them disinclined to submit to your tyranny and turn them away from loving you. You teach them to become deceitful, false, liars in order to extort rewards or escape punishment. Finally, by accustoming them to conceal a secret motive under an apparent one, you yourself give them the means of ceaselessly abusing you, of depriving you of the means of knowing their real character, and of answering you and others with empty words whenever they have the chance. Laws, you say, though binding on conscience, exercise the same constraint over grown men. I agree, but what are these men if not children spoiled by education? This is exactly what one must avoid. Use force with children and reason with men; this is the natural order. The wise man needs no laws.

Treat your pupil according to his age. Put him in his place from the first, and keep him there so well that he does not try to leave it. Then before he knows what wisdom is, he will be practicing its most important lesson. Never command him to do anything, whatever in the world it may be. Do not let him even imagine that you claim to have any authority over him. He must know only that he is weak and you are strong, that his condition and yours put him at your mercy. Let him know this, let him learn it, let him feel it. At

an early age let his haughty head feel the heavy yoke which nature imposes upon man, the heavy yoke of necessity under which every finite being must bow. Let him see this necessity in things, not in the whims of man. Let the curb that restrains him be force, not authority. If there is something he should not do, do not forbid him, but prevent him without explanation or reasoning. What you grant him, grant it at his first word without solicitations or pleading, above all without conditions. Grant with pleasure, refuse only with repugnance; but let your refusal be irrevocable so that no entreaties move you. Let your “No,” once uttered, be a wall of bronze against which the child may have to exhaust his strength five or six times in order not to be tempted again to overthrow it.

It is thus that you will make him patient, equable, resigned, peaceful, even when he does not get all he wants. For it is in man’s nature to bear patiently with the necessity of things but not with the ill-will of others. A child never rebels against “There is none left,” unless he thinks the reply is false. Moreover, there is no middle course; you must either make no demands on him at all, or else you must fashion him to perfect obedience. The worst education of all is to leave him hesitating between his own will and yours, constantly disputing whether you or he is master. I would rather a hundred times that he were master.

It is very strange that ever since people began to think about raising children they should have imagined no other way of guiding them other than emulation, jealousy, envy, vanity, greediness, cowardice—all the most dangerous passions, the quickest to ferment, and the most likely to corrupt the soul even before the body is formed. With each precocious instruction which you try to force into children’s minds you plant a vice in the depths of their hearts. Senseless teachers think they are doing wonders when they are making their pupils evil in order to teach them what goodness is. And then they tell us gravely, “Such is man.” Yes, such is the man that you have made.

Every means has been tried except one, the one precisely that could succeed—well-regulated freedom. One should not undertake to raise a child unless one knows how to guide him where one wants by the laws of the possible and the impossible alone. The limits of both being equally unknown, they can be extended or contracted around him at will. Without a murmur the child is restrained, urged on, held back, only by the bands of necessity. One can make him supple and docile solely by the force of things, without any chance for vice to spring up in him. For passions never become aroused so long as they have no effect.

Do not give your pupil any kind of verbal lessons; he should receive them only through experience. Do not inflict on him any kind of punishment, for he does not know what it is to do wrong. Never make him beg your pardon, for he does not know how to offend you. Deprived of all morality

in his actions, he can do nothing that is morally wrong, and he deserves neither punishment nor reprimand.

Already I see the frightened reader comparing this child with those of our time. He is mistaken. The perpetual annoyance imposed upon your pupils irritates their vivacity; the more constrained they are under your eyes, the more stormy they are the moment they escape. Whenever they can they must make up for the harsh constraint that you that you hold them in. Two schoolboys from the city will do more damage in the country than all the children of the village. Shut up a young gentleman and a young peasant in a room; the former will have upset and smashed everything before the latter has stirred from his place. Why is this, unless that the one hastens to abuse a moment’s license, while the other, always sure of freedom, does not use it rashly? And yet the village children, often flattered or constrained, are still very far from the state in which I would have them kept.

Let us lay it down as an incontestable maxim that the first movements of nature are always right. There is no original perversity in the human heart. There is not a single vice about which one cannot say how and whence it came. The only passion natural to man is amour de soi or amour-propre taken in an extended sense. This amour-propre in itself or relative to ourselves is good and useful, and since it has no necessary rapport to others it is in this regard naturally indifferent: it only becomes good or evil by what it is applied to and by the relations it is given. Until the appearance of reason, which is the guide of amour-propre, the main thing is that the child should do nothing because you are watching him or listening to him; in a word, nothing because of other people, but only what nature asks of him. Then he will only do good.

Excerpt from *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, 1801

SOURCE: Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich. 1894 [1801]. *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*. Trans. Lucy E. Holland and Frances C. Turner. New York: Gordon Press.

Introduction

The Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) attempted to reform pedagogical practice by applying the lessons of Rousseau’s *Émile* to the classroom. The Pestalozzi method, which has had great influence both in Europe and America, encourages children to learn from experience and emphasizes physical activities over reading. Pestalozzi’s 1801 text, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, describes his philosophy in a series of simple lectures. In the following excerpt, “Education According to Nature,” Pestalozzi explains why one should teach children “sense-impressions” prior to reading. He offers a romantic vision of children’s innate potential, as well

as a scathing indictment of the traditional classroom. Pestalozzi is also remembered for his dedication to social justice. Unlike many educational philosophers who preceded him, Pestalozzi strongly advocated the education of poor children and criticized traditional education for failing these students.

Education According to Nature

All instruction of man is then only the Art of helping Nature to develop in her own way; and this Art rests essentially on the relation and harmony between the impressions received by the child and the exact degree of his developed powers. It is also necessary in the impressions that are brought to the child by instruction that there should be a sequence, so that beginning and progress should keep pace with the beginning and progress of the powers to be developed in the child. I soon saw that an inquiry into this sequence throughout the whole range of human knowledge, particularly those fundamental points from which the development of the human mind originates, must be the simple and only way ever to attain and to keep satisfactory school and instruction books, of every grade, suitable for our nature and our wants. I saw just as soon that in making these books the constituents of instruction must be separated according to the degree of the growing power of the child; and that in all matters of instruction, it is necessary to determine with the greatest accuracy which of these constituents is fit for each age of the child, in order on the one hand not to hold him back if he is ready; and on the other, not to load him and confuse him with anything for which he is not quite ready.

This was clear to me. The child must be brought to a high degree of knowledge both of things seen and of words before it is reasonable to teach him to spell or read. I was quite convinced that at their earliest age children need psychological training in gaining intelligent sense-impressions of all things. But since such training, without the help of art, is not to be thought of or expected of men as they are, the need of picture-books struck me perforce. These should precede the A-B-C books, in order to make those ideas that men express by words clear to the children (by means of well-chosen real objects, that either in reality, or in the form of well-made models and drawings, can be brought before their minds).

A happy experiment confirmed my then unripe opinion in a striking way (in spite of all the limitations of my means, and the error and one-sidedness in my experiments). An anxious mother entrusted her hardly three-year-old child to my private teaching. I saw him for a time every day for an hour; and for a time felt the pulse of a method with him. I tried to teach him by letters, figures, and anything handy; that is, I aimed at giving him clear ideas and expressions by these means. I made him name correctly what he knew of anything—color, limbs, place, form, and number. I was obliged to put aside that first plague of youth, the miserable letters; he would have nothing but pictures and things.

He soon expressed himself clearly about the objects that lay within the limits of his knowledge. He found common illustrations in the street, the garden, and the room; and soon learned to pronounce the hardest names of plants and animals, and to compare objects quite unknown to him with those known, and to produce a clear sense-impression of them in himself. Although this experiment led to byeways, and worked for the strange and distant to the disadvantage of the present, it threw a many-sided light on the means of quickening the child to his surroundings, and showing him the charm of self-activity in the extension of his powers.

But yet the experiment was not satisfactory for that which I was particularly seeking, because the boy had already three unused years behind him. I am convinced that nature brings the children even at this age to a definite consciousness of innumerable objects. It only needs that we should with psychological art unite speech with this knowledge in order to bring it to a high degree of clearness; and so enable us to connect the foundations of many-sided arts and truths with that which nature herself teaches, and also to use what nature teaches as a means of explaining all the fundamentals of art and truth that can be connected with them. Their power and their experience both are great at this age; but our unpsychological schools are essentially only artificial stifling-machines for destroying all the results of the power and experience that nature herself brings to life in them.

You know it, my friend. But for a moment picture to yourself the horror of this murder. We leave children up to their fifth year in the full enjoyment of nature; we let every impression of nature work upon them; they feel their power; they already know full well the joy of unrestrained liberty and all its charms. The free natural bent which the sensuous happy wild thing takes in his development, has in them already taken its most decided direction. And after they have enjoyed this happiness of sensuous life for five whole years, we make all nature round them vanish from before their eyes; tyrannically stop the delightful course of their unrestrained freedom; pen them up like sheep, whole flocks huddled together, in stinking rooms; pitilessly chain them for hours, days, weeks, months, years, to the contemplation of unattractive and monotonous letters, and (contrasted with their former condition) to a maddening course of life.

I cease describing; else I shall come to the picture of the greater number of schoolmasters, thousands of whom in our days merely on account of their unfitness for any means of finding a respectable livelihood have subjected themselves to the toilsomeness of this position, which they in accordance with their unfitness for anything better look upon as a way that leads little further than to keep them from starvation. How infinitely must the children suffer under these circumstances, or, at least, be spoiled!

Excerpt from "A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School" by Catharine E. Beecher, 1841

SOURCE: Beecher, Catharine E. 1841. "A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School." *The United States Democratic Review* 9, no. 42: 605.

Introduction

Catharine Beecher (1800–1878) was an influential nineteenth-century advocate for the education of American girls. Beecher belonged to a large family notable for its commitment to social reform. Her father Lyman Beecher was a renowned evangelical preacher; her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe was a famous novelist; and her brother Henry Ward Beecher was an influential antislavery minister. In the following excerpt from her "Treatise on Domestic Economy" (1841), Catharine Beecher describes her program for female learning. Beecher argues that girls should learn proficiency in domestic skills; as future mothers they were responsible for nurturing the moral character of the American people. Although her vision is essentially conservative, situating girls in the private sphere of home and family, Beecher's agenda should not be underestimated. Her advocacy for female education extended beyond prescriptive writings to the founding of numerous schools and educational organizations, including the Hartford Female Seminary in 1823, the Board of National Popular Education in 1847, and the American Women's Educational Association in 1852. Curiously, Beecher herself never married, instead devoting her prodigious energies to public service.

Parents are little aware of the immense waste incurred by the present mode of conducting female education. In the wealthy classes, young girls are sent to school, as a matter of course, year after year, confined, for six hours a day, to the schoolhouse, and required to add some time out of school to learning their lessons. Thus, during the most critical period of life, they are for a long time immured in a room, filled with an atmosphere vitiated by many breaths, and are constantly kept under some sort of responsibility in regard to mental effort. Their studies are pursued at random, often changed with changing schools, while book after book (heavily taxing the parent's purse) is conned awhile, and then supplanted by others. Teachers have usually so many pupils, and such a variety of branches to teach, that little time can be afforded to each pupil; while scholars, at this thoughtless period of life, feeling sure of going to school as long as they please, manifest little interest in their pursuits.

The writer believes that the actual amount of education, permanently secured by most young ladies from the age of ten to fourteen, could all be acquired in one year, at the Institution described, by a young lady at the age of fifteen or sixteen.

Instead of such a course as the common one, if mothers would keep their daughters as their domestic assistants, until they are fourteen, requiring them to study one lesson, and go out, once a day, to recite it to a teacher, it would abundantly prepare them, after their constitutions are firmly established to enter such an institution, where, in three years, they could secure more, than almost any young lady in the Country now gains by giving the whole of her youth to school pursuits.

In the early years of female life, reading, writing, needlework, drawing, and music, should alternate with domestic duties; and one hour a day, devoted to some study, in addition to the above pursuits, would be all that is needful to prepare them for a thorough education after growth is attained, and the constitution established. This is the time when young women would feel the value of an education, and pursue their studies with that maturity of mind, and vividness of interest, which would double the perpetuity and value of all their acquisitions.

The great difficulty, which opposes such a plan, is, the want of institutions that would enable a young lady to complete, in three years, the liberal course of study, here described. But if American mothers become convinced of the importance of such advantages for their daughters, and will use their influence appropriately and efficiently, they will certainly be furnished. There are other men of liberality and wealth, besides the individual referred to, who can be made to feel that a fortune, expended in securing an appropriate education to American women, is as wisely bestowed, as in founding colleges for the other sex, who are already so abundantly supplied. We ought to have institutions, similar to the one described, in every part of this Nation; and funds should be provided, for educating young women destitute of means: and if American women think and feel, that, by such a method, their own trials will be lightened, and their daughters will secure a healthful constitution and a thorough domestic and intellectual education, the appropriate expression of their wishes will secure the necessary funds. The tide of charity, which has been so long flowing from the female hand to provide a liberal education for young men, will flow back with abundant remuneration.

The last method suggested for lessening the evils peculiar to American women, is, a decided effort to oppose the aristocratic feeling, that labor is degrading; and to bring about the impression, that it is refined and lady-like to engage in domestic pursuits. In past ages, and in aristocratic countries, leisure and indolence and frivolous pursuits have been deemed lady-like and refined, because those classes, which were most refined, countenanced such an opinion. But whenever ladies of refinement, as a general custom, patronise domestic pursuits, then these employments will be deemed lady-like. It may be urged, however, that it is impossible for a woman who cooks, washes, and sweeps, to appear

in the dress, or acquire the habits and manners, of a lady; that the drudgery of the kitchen is dirty work, and that no one can appear delicate and refined, while engaged in it. Now all this depends on circumstances. If a woman has a house, destitute of neat and convenient facilities; if she has no habits of order and system; if she is remiss and careless in person and dress;—then all this may be true. But, if a woman will make some sacrifices of costly ornaments in her parlor, in order to make her kitchen neat and tasteful; if she will sacrifice expensive dishes, in order to secure such conveniences for labor as protect from exposures; if she will take pains to have the dresses, in which she works, made of suitable materials, and in good taste; if she will rise early, and systematize and oversee the work of her family, so as to have it done thoroughly, neatly, and in the early part of the day; she will find no necessity for any such apprehensions. It is because such work has generally been done by vulgar people, and in a vulgar way, that we have such associations; and when ladies manage such things, as ladies should, then such associations will be removed. There are pursuits, deemed very refined and genteel, which involve quite as much exposure as kitchen employments. For example, to draw a large landscape, in colored crayons, would be deemed very lady-like; but the writer can testify, from sad experience, that no cooking, washing, sweeping, or any other domestic duty, ever left such deplorable traces on hands, face, and dress, as this same lady-like pursuit. Such things depend entirely on custom and associations; and every American woman, who values the institutions of her Country, and wishes to lend her influence in extending and perpetuating such blessings, may feel that she is doing this, whenever, by her example and influence, she destroys the aristocratic association, which would render domestic labor degrading.

Excerpt from *Schools of To-Morrow* by John Dewey, 1915

SOURCE: Dewey, John. 1915. *Schools of To-Morrow*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.

Introduction

The philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952) is regarded as the father of the American school of Progressive education but his influence has extended far beyond the United States. Dewey argued that education should encourage the self-realization of each child as an individual, thus enabling him or her to become an effective member of the democratic community. Dewey framed his pedagogy as a reaction against traditional attitudes toward education, which promoted conformity and taught children to be obedient citizens, rather than critical participants. Dewey implemented his educational ideas at the Laboratory School, which he founded at the University of Chicago in 1896, and later at Teachers College, Columbia University. Dewey also promoted his thought through his prolific writings. In the following excerpt from his book *Schools of To-*

Morrow (1915), co-written with his daughter Evelyn, Dewey acknowledges the influence of an earlier educational authority, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, upon his own pedagogical beliefs.

EDUCATION AS NATURAL DEVELOPMENT

“We know nothing of childhood, and with our mistaken notions of it the further we go in education the more we go astray. The wisest writers devote themselves to what a man ought to know without asking what a child is capable of learning.” These sentences are typical of the “Emile” of Rousseau. He insists that existing education is bad because parents and teachers are always thinking of the accomplishments of adults, and that all reform depends upon centering attention upon the powers and weaknesses of children. Rousseau said, as well as did, many foolish things. But his insistence that education be based upon the native capacities of those to be taught and upon the need of studying children in order to discover what these native powers are, sounded the key-note of all modern efforts for educational progress. It meant that education is not something to be forced upon children and youth from without, but is the growth of capacities with which human beings are endowed at birth. From this conception flow the various considerations which educational reformers since his day have most emphasized.

It calls attention, in the first place, to a fact which professional educators are always forgetting: What is learned in school is at the best only a small part of education, a relatively superficial part; and yet what is learned in school makes artificial distinctions in society and marks persons off from one another. Consequently we exaggerate school learning compared with what is gained in the ordinary course of living. We are, however, to correct this exaggeration, not by despising school learning, but by looking into that extensive and more efficient training given by the ordinary course of events for light upon the best ways of teaching within school walls. The first years of learning proceed rapidly and securely before children go to school, because that learning is so closely related with the motives that are furnished by their own powers and the needs that are dictated by their own conditions. Rousseau was almost the first to see that learning is a matter of necessity; it is a part of the process of self-preservation and of growth. If we want, then, to find out how education takes place most successfully, let us go to the experiences of children where learning is a necessity, and not to the practices of the schools where it is largely an adornment, a superfluity and even an unwelcome imposition.

But schools are always proceeding in a direction opposed to this principle. They take the accumulated learning of adults, material that is quite unrelated to the exigencies of growth, and try to force it upon children, instead of finding out what these children need as they go along. “A man must indeed know many things which seem useless to a child.

Must the child learn, can he learn, all that the man must know? Try to teach a child what is of use to him as a child, and you will find that it takes all his time. Why urge him to the studies of an age he may never reach, to the neglect of those studies which meet his present needs? But, you ask, will it not be too late to learn what he ought to know when the time comes to use it? I cannot tell. But this I know; it is impossible to teach it sooner, for our real teachers are experience and emotion, and adult man will never learn what benefits *him* except under his own conditions. A child knows he must become a man; all the ideas he may have as to man's estate are so many opportunities for his instruction, but he should remain in complete ignorance of those ideas that are beyond his grasp. My whole book is one continued argument in support of this fundamental principle of education."

Probably the greatest and commonest mistake that we all make is to forget that learning is a necessary incident of dealing with real situations. We even go so far as to assume that the mind is naturally averse to learning—which is like assuming that the digestive organs are averse to food and have either to be coaxed or bullied into having anything to do with it. Existing methods of instruction give plenty of evidence in support of a belief that minds are opposed to learning—to their own exercise. We fail to see that such aversion is in reality a condemnation of our methods; a sign that we are presenting material for which the mind in its existing state of growth has no need, or else presenting it in such ways as to cover up the real need. Let us go further. We say only an adult can really learn the things needed by the adult. Surely the adult is much more likely to learn the things befitting him when his hunger for learning has been kept alive continuously than after a premature diet of adult nutriment has deadened desire to know. We are of little faith and slow to believe. We are continually uneasy about the things we adults know, and are afraid the child will never learn them unless they are drilled into him by instruction before he has any intellectual or practical use for them. If we could really believe that attending to the needs of present growth would keep the child and teacher alike busy, and would also provide the best possible guarantee of the learning needed in the future, transformation of educational ideals might soon be accomplished, and other desirable changes would largely take care of themselves.

It is no wonder, then, that Rousseau preaches the necessity of being willing to lose time. "The greatest, the most important, the most useful rule of education is: Do not save time, but lose it. If the infant sprang at one bound from its mother's breast to the age of reason, the present education would be quite suitable; but its natural growth calls for quite a different training." And he says, again, "The whole of our present method is cruel, for it consists in sacrificing the present to the remote and uncertain future. I hear from afar the shouts of the false wisdom that is ever dragging us on, counting the present as nothing, and breathlessly pursuing a future

that flies as we pursue; a false wisdom that takes us away from the only place we ever have and never takes us anywhere else."

In short, if education is the proper growth of tendencies and powers, attention to the process of growing *in the particular form in which it goes on from day to day* is the only way of making secure the accomplishments of adult life. Maturity is the result of the slow growth of powers. Ripening takes time; it cannot be hurried without harm. The very meaning of childhood is that it is the time of growth, of developing. To despise the powers and needs of childhood, in behalf of the attainments of adult life, is therefore suicidal. Hence "Hold childhood in reverence, and do not be in any hurry to judge it for good or ill. Give nature time to work before you take upon yourself her business, lest you interfere with her dealings. You assert that you know the value of time and are afraid to waste it. You fail to perceive that it is a greater waste of time to use it ill than to do nothing, and that a child ill taught is further from excellence than a child who has learned nothing at all. You are afraid to see him spending his early years doing nothing. What! Is it nothing to be happy, nothing to jump and run all day! He will never be so busy again all his life long. . . . What would you think of a man who refused to sleep lest he should waste part of his life!" Reverence for childhood is identical with reverence for the needs and opportunities of growth. Our tragic error is that we are so anxious for the results of growth that we neglect the process of growing. "Nature would have children be children before they are men. If we try to invert this order we shall produce a forced fruit, immature and flavorless, fruit that rots before it can ripen. . . . Childhood has its own ways of thinking, seeing, and feeling."

Human Rights of Children

Excerpt from *Report on the Physical Welfare of Infants and Mothers, 1917*

SOURCE: Hope, E.W. 1917. *Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Report on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children*. Liverpool: C. Tinling and Co., Ltd.

Introduction

During the early twentieth century, European countries became concerned about the threat that declining rates of fertility posed to national health. Particularly during World War I, every "unnecessary" death in the population was seen as a threat to the country's future. In 1917 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust published a report on the physical welfare of children and mothers that stated the need for better health care. In the following passages from the report, researchers describe the problem of infant mortality in

the United Kingdom. Diarrhea, premature birth, and problems during labor, among other causes, killed ninety thousand infants every year. The report had a strong impact on policymakers in the United Kingdom, leading to the establishment of maternity and child-care clinics that became building blocks of the welfare state.

Causes of Infantile Mortality.

The chief causes of the deaths of infants may be arranged into groups, as follows, each being distinctly marked off as to its characteristics from the others, viz.:—

- 1. Developmental, wasting diseases, and convulsions.
- 2. Diarrhoea and enteritis.
- 3. Measles and whooping cough, bronchitis and pneumonia.

Under the first group of causes are classed prematurity, atrophy, debility and other associated conditions, due to developmental and other causes which constitute the largest proportion (30 to 50 per cent.) of the deaths of infants under the first year of age. An examination of Chart H following page 72, compiled from returns from various parts of the country, reveals this aspect of affairs very strikingly.

Recent statistics show that one-third of the deaths during the first year, occur in the first month of life. Further, it has been shown that seven-eighths of these deaths occur in the first two weeks. During the first month the diagnosis of disease is very difficult and the records of vital statistics for this period are, on the whole, unreliable.

Some accurate observations have, however, been made by Holt and Babbitt concerning the mortality of newly-born children in the Sloane Hospital for Women, New York. This is a modern lying-in hospital, and is established only to deal with emergencies. Here diagnosis has been made more accurate by the help afforded by autopsies when the occasion arose. These observers confirm the view that *prematurity* is the largest single factor in infantile mortality during the first fourteen days of life. Half the total deaths under fourteen days investigated by them were from this cause, and 66 per cent. of these deaths occurred on the first day.

The *causes* assigned are as follows:—

Congenital weakness: In half the total deaths under fourteen days, the cause is to be sought in the physical weakness of the mother during pregnancy.

Accidents of Labour: Difficult labour, persistent malpresentation and prolonged labour, causing intracranial haemorrhage, injuries to head, etc.

Malformations and Congenital Disease: Cardiac, intestinal and nervous malformation, status lymphaticus, etc.

Atelectasis: 8 per cent of all deaths due to undetermined causes.

Asphyxia: Laryngeal obstruction, knot in cord, cord round neck, etc.

Congenital Syphilis contributes only to a trifling extent; recognised cases of this disease are not admitted to hospital.

Haemorrhage of New-born:

Sepsis—Infection, phlebitis, etc.

Pneumonia—Caused nine per cent. of deaths in first fortnight, and ranks next to congenital weakness.

Stillbirths.—In 10,000 confinements there were 429 stillbirths, equalling 4 per cent. of the confinements, and the causes assigned were as follows:—

Prolonged, difficult or complicated labour 45%

Toxaemia of pregnancy 14%

Syphilis 9%

Prematurity 4%

Malformation 2%

Unknown 26%

Summary: Congenital Weakness and Atelectasis, together make up 58 per cent. of the total deaths during the first fourteen days. The number from conditions associated with delivery made up 20 per cent. of deaths during the first fourteen days. Malformations and congenital disease other than syphilis equalled 4 per cent. The only important disease developing after birth was pneumonia.

Regarding prematurity (or congenital weakness) there can be no doubt that the social condition of the parent has much to do with its production. The struggle for existence amongst the poor reacts on the foetus.

There seems to be very little doubt that there is a high proportion of stillbirths amongst those births recorded as illegitimate, as well as an excessive mortality amongst these children during the first year of life.

Much of this mortality in the first month of life is preventable; appropriate action might be taken to ascertain the number of stillbirths, and to trace the causes associated with them, and also the causes of the deaths of infants in the first month of life. A close application of all the powers under the Midwives Act and Notification of Births Acts, will be of especial service in revealing conditions directly causing or affecting this mortality, for example:—

- 1. The presence of some ante-natal condition in the mother, which requires treatment;
- 2. The need for emergency medical assistance before, during, and after confinement;
- 3. The prevalence of syphilis in the stillborn, or in the parents;

- 4. Skilled midwifery attendance;
- 5. Improvement and care in the feeding and management of infants; breast-feeding is best and artificial feeding should be undertaken only under medical advice.

The second group of causative factors, leading to deaths from diarrhoea and enteritis are those directly associated with the feeding of infants.

Formidable ailments arise from disease organisms gaining an entrance into the digestive tract by means of the infants' food. These germs are found in filth and dirt in neighbourhoods where there is defective sanitation and bad housing, and give rise to an extremely fatal choleraic diarrhoea.

It has been found, for example, that in towns where an out of date conservancy system is employed, or the pail closet system used, the infant mortality is excessive; conversely the lowest incidence of diarrhoeal disease occurs where the districts are supplied with a water-carriage system. In the case of several towns the conversion of a conservancy system into a water-carriage system has been associated with a great reduction of mortality from diarrhoeal diseases.

The importance of municipal cleanliness in street washing, supply of baths, etc., cannot be over estimated. In addition, the necessity for the regular and frequent removal of stable manure should be emphasised in order to prevent the breeding of the domestic fly, which has such a potent influence in carrying disease germs from filthy middens, etc., to milk and other infant foods.

The absence of personal and domestic hygiene and cleanliness are potent contributing factors in the spread of the intestinal diseases of infancy.

Amongst these contributing factors may also be included inadequate water supply, choked closets and drains, over-full dustbins, filthy courts and alleys, neglected sanitary defects, and the absence of proper facilities for the storage of food.

The campaign for the reduction of infantile mortality has had a marked effect in lowering the death rate, but especially in the case of deaths due to diarrhoeal diseases. The third group of causative agents in infantile mortality includes the infectious complaints, measles and whooping cough, with the associated complications of bronchitis and pneumonia. The majority of cases make a good recovery if adequate treatment and care be exercised; unfortunately, however, in many the after effects are bronchitis and pneumonia, often ending fatally; under better conditions these could have been avoided. By far the largest number of deaths from measles occur below two years of age; 21,000 deaths occurred at or below this age out of a total of approximately 36,000 in England and Wales during the three years (1913–15). Measles frequently causes permanent injury to the growing infant,

even if it survives the attack, and it will be seen therefore, why so many efforts are made to postpone measles to a later period of life when the child will have more strength.

Whooping cough is almost equally destructive of infant life, and is always a most painful and distressing disease.

Associated with the primary causes of death mentioned are certain contributory circumstances which have an important influence on or connection with them. The relative importance of these many factors is difficult to determine; they may be classified as :—

- (a) *Seasonal and climatic*. Epidemic diarrhoea, which, as already mentioned, is one of the most potent of all causes of infant deaths, only exerts its influence (always greatest where general sanitation is neglected) during the late summer and autumn months, and then only when the temperature of the air is high and the rainfall low: a wet and cool third quarter of the year is always associated with a low infant death rate from diarrhoea and enteritis. Measles and whooping-cough prevail to a varying extent in different years and in different districts in the same year. The associated bronchitis and pneumonia are most fatal in the first and last quarters of the year, and are influenced by temperature.
- (b) *Topographical and local conditions* are well illustrated by the variations in different districts of the same town. The question of good and bad housing conditions, industrial conditions, size of families, poverty and social conditions, municipal cleanliness, the extent of carelessness and lack of elementary knowledge among sections of the people, all these have their bearing.
- (c) *Domestic and personal hygiene* include personal and domestic cleanliness, disposal of house refuse, proper use of suitable food, individual care of the infant, and temperance. The extreme care of infancy, and the attention to maternal hygiene to be found amongst the Jewish race, find their reward in a low infant mortality.

United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959

SOURCE: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 1959. Available from <<http://193.194.138.190>>. Reprinted by permission.

Introduction

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child establishes the international principle that all children possess the rights to physical, mental, and spiritual development; to a name and nationality; to social security; to loving care; to education and play; and to protection from abuse or neglect. Child advocates pushed the League of Nations into passing an

earlier and more limited statement of children's rights in 1923, in response to concerns over the exploitation of child labor and the suffering of children during war. The horrors of World War II further impressed upon human rights advocates the need for the special protection of children. After many years of political pressure and negotiation, the United Nations passed the declaration unanimously in 1959, with only two abstentions. Its principles were not enforceable. However, thirty years later, the United Nations approved a Convention on the Rights of the Child, which outlined mechanisms of enforcement.

Declaration of the Rights of the Child
Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 1386(XIV) of
20 November 1959

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national Governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end, special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of State and other assistance towards the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general

culture and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

SOURCE: UNICEF. 1989. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 44/25. Available from <www.unicef.org>. Reprinted by permission.

Introduction

In 1989, thirty years after the passage of its groundbreaking Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the United Nations restated its commitment to the protection of children in even stronger terms in the international human rights treaty title the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention emphasizes the entitlement of all people under age eighteen everywhere, without discrimination, to the rights that it enumerates, including survival, protection, self-development, cultural heritage, family, education,

health, rest, and play. The Convention is also notable for including enforcement mechanisms intended to monitor its observance. In 2002 the UN agreed upon two optional Protocols to the Convention, which strengthened the treaty's statements against the use of children as soldiers, or in the prostitution trade. The parties to the 1989 Convention include all the member nations with the exception of the United States and Somalia, which have stated their intention to ratify the treaty, and Timor-Leste, a new nation.

Convention on the Rights of the Child

Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989

entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49

Preamble

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Bearing in mind that the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Recognizing that the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights, proclaimed and agreed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Recalling that, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has proclaimed that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance,

Convinced that the family, as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children, should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community,

Recognizing that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding,

Considering that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of

the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity,

Bearing in mind that the need to extend particular care to the child has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 and in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly on 20 November 1959 and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in particular in articles 23 and 24), in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (in particular in article 10) and in the statutes and relevant instruments of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Bearing in mind that, as indicated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,"

Recalling the provisions of the Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally; the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules); and the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict,

Recognizing that, in all countries in the world, there are children living in exceptionally difficult conditions, and that such children need special consideration,

Taking due account of the importance of the traditions and cultural values of each people for the protection and harmonious development of the child,

Recognizing the importance of international co-operation for improving the living conditions of children in every country, in particular in the developing countries,

Have agreed as follows:

PART I

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.

Article 2

1. States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of

the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.

Article 3

1. In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.

2. States Parties undertake to ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures.

3. States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.

Article 4

States Parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the present Convention. With regard to economic, social and cultural rights, States Parties shall undertake such measures to the maximum extent of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of international co-operation.

Article 5

States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents or, where applicable, the members of the extended family or community as provided for by local custom, legal guardians or other persons legally responsible for the child, to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 6

1. States Parties recognize that every child has the inherent right to life.

2. States Parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.

Article 7

1. The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.

2. States Parties shall ensure the implementation of these rights in accordance with their national law and their obligations under the relevant international instruments in this field, in particular where the child would otherwise be stateless.

Article 8

1. States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.

2. Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to re-establishing speedily his or her identity.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall ensure that a child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will, except when competent authorities subject to judicial review determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures, that such separation is necessary for the best interests of the child. Such determination may be necessary in a particular case such as one involving abuse or neglect of the child by the parents, or one where the parents are living separately and a decision must be made as to the child's place of residence.

2. In any proceedings pursuant to paragraph 1 of the present article, all interested parties shall be given an opportunity to participate in the proceedings and make their views known.

3. States Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests.

4. Where such separation results from any action initiated by a State Party, such as the detention, imprisonment, exile, deportation or death (including death arising from any cause while the person is in the custody of the State) of one or both parents or of the child, that State Party shall, upon request, provide the parents, the child or, if appropriate, another member of the family with the essential information concerning the whereabouts of the absent member(s) of the family unless the provision of the information would be detrimental to the well-being of the child. States Parties shall further ensure that the submission of such a request shall of itself entail no adverse consequences for the person(s) concerned.

Article 10

1. In accordance with the obligation of States Parties under article 9, paragraph 1, applications by a child or his or her parents to enter or leave a State Party for the purpose of family reunification shall be dealt with by States Parties in a positive, humane and expeditious manner. States Parties shall further ensure that the submission of such a request shall entail no adverse consequences for the applicants and for the members of their family.

2. A child whose parents reside in different States shall have the right to maintain on a regular basis, save in exceptional circumstances personal relations and direct contacts with both parents. Towards that end and in accordance with the obligation of States Parties under article 9, paragraph 1, States Parties shall respect the right of the child and his or her parents to leave any country, including their own, and to enter their own country. The right to leave any country shall be subject only to such restrictions as are prescribed by law and which are necessary to protect the national security, public order (*ordre public*), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take measures to combat the illicit transfer and non-return of children abroad.

2. To this end, States Parties shall promote the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements or accession to existing agreements.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Article 13

1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

2. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; or
- (b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

2. States Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Article 15

1. States Parties recognize the rights of the child to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 16

1. No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.

2. The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 17

States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media and shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health. To this end, States Parties shall:

- (a) Encourage the mass media to disseminate information and material of social and cultural benefit to the child and in accordance with the spirit of article 29;
- (b) Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of such information and material from a diversity of cultural, national and international sources;
- (c) Encourage the production and dissemination of children's books;

- (d) Encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous;
- (e) Encourage the development of appropriate guidelines for the protection of the child from information and material injurious to his or her well-being, bearing in mind the provisions of articles 13 and 18.

Article 18

1. States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.

2. For the purpose of guaranteeing and promoting the rights set forth in the present Convention, States Parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities and services for the care of children.

3. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that children of working parents have the right to benefit from child-care services and facilities for which they are eligible.

Article 19

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

Article 20

1. A child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment, or in whose own best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment, shall be entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the State.

2. States Parties shall in accordance with their national laws ensure alternative care for such a child.

3. Such care could include, *inter alia*, foster placement, *kafalah* of Islamic law, adoption or if necessary placement in suitable institutions for the care of children. When considering solutions, due regard shall be paid to the desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing and to the child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background.

Article 21

States Parties that recognize and/or permit the system of adoption shall ensure that the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration and they shall:

- (a) Ensure that the adoption of a child is authorized only by competent authorities who determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures and on the basis of all pertinent and reliable information, that the adoption is permissible in view of the child's status concerning parents, relatives and legal guardians and that, if required, the persons concerned have given their informed consent to the adoption on the basis of such counselling as may be necessary;
- (b) Recognize that inter-country adoption may be considered as an alternative means of child's care, if the child cannot be placed in a foster or an adoptive family or cannot in any suitable manner be cared for in the child's country of origin;
- (c) Ensure that the child concerned by inter-country adoption enjoys safeguards and standards equivalent to those existing in the case of national adoption;
- (d) Take all appropriate measures to ensure that, in inter-country adoption, the placement does not result in improper financial gain for those involved in it;
- (e) Promote, where appropriate, the objectives of the present article by concluding bilateral or multilateral arrangements or agreements, and endeavour, within this framework, to ensure that the placement of the child in another country is carried out by competent authorities or organs.

Article 22

1. States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties.

2. For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, as they consider appropriate, co-operation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental organizations co-

operating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child and to trace the parents or other members of the family of any refugee child in order to obtain information necessary for reunification with his or her family. In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention.

Article 23

1. States Parties recognize that a mentally or physically disabled child should enjoy a full and decent life, in conditions which ensure dignity, promote self-reliance and facilitate the child's active participation in the community.

2. States Parties recognize the right of the disabled child to special care and shall encourage and ensure the extension, subject to available resources, to the eligible child and those responsible for his or her care, of assistance for which application is made and which is appropriate to the child's condition and to the circumstances of the parents or others caring for the child.

3. Recognizing the special needs of a disabled child, assistance extended in accordance with paragraph 2 of the present article shall be provided free of charge, whenever possible, taking into account the financial resources of the parents or others caring for the child, and shall be designed to ensure that the disabled child has effective access to and receives education, training, health care services, rehabilitation services, preparation for employment and recreation opportunities in a manner conducive to the child's achieving the fullest possible social integration and individual development, including his or her cultural and spiritual development.

4. States Parties shall promote, in the spirit of international cooperation, the exchange of appropriate information in the field of preventive health care and of medical, psychological and functional treatment of disabled children, including dissemination of and access to information concerning methods of rehabilitation, education and vocational services, with the aim of enabling States Parties to improve their capabilities and skills and to widen their experience in these areas. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 24

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health. States Parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to such health care services.

2. States Parties shall pursue full implementation of this right and, in particular, shall take appropriate measures:

- (a) To diminish infant and child mortality;
- (b) To ensure the provision of necessary medical assistance and health care to all children with emphasis on the development of primary health care;
- (c) To combat disease and malnutrition, including within the framework of primary health care, through, inter alia, the application of readily available technology and through the provision of adequate nutritious foods and clean drinking-water, taking into consideration the dangers and risks of environmental pollution;
- (d) To ensure appropriate pre-natal and post-natal health care for mothers;
- (e) To ensure that all segments of society, in particular parents and children, are informed, have access to education and are supported in the use of basic knowledge of child health and nutrition, the advantages of breastfeeding, hygiene and environmental sanitation and the prevention of accidents;
- (f) To develop preventive health care, guidance for parents and family planning education and services.

3. States Parties shall take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children.

4. States Parties undertake to promote and encourage international co-operation with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the right recognized in the present article. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 25

States Parties recognize the right of a child who has been placed by the competent authorities for the purposes of care, protection or treatment of his or her physical or mental health, to a periodic review of the treatment provided to the child and all other circumstances relevant to his or her placement.

Article 26

1. States Parties shall recognize for every child the right to benefit from social security, including social insurance, and shall take the necessary measures to achieve the full realization of this right in accordance with their national law.

2. The benefits should, where appropriate, be granted, taking into account the resources and the circumstances of the child and persons having responsibility for the maintenance of the child, as well as any other consideration relevant to an application for benefits made by or on behalf of the child.

Article 27

1. States Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

2. The parent(s) or others responsible for the child have the primary responsibility to secure, within their abilities and financial capacities, the conditions of living necessary for the child's development.

3. States Parties, in accordance with national conditions and within their means, shall take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support programmes, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing.

4. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to secure the recovery of maintenance for the child from the parents or other persons having financial responsibility for the child, both within the State Party and from abroad. In particular, where the person having financial responsibility for the child lives in a State different from that of the child, States Parties shall promote the accession to international agreements or the conclusion of such agreements, as well as the making of other appropriate arrangements.

Article 28

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

- (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;
- (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;
- (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;
- (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;
- (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 29

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

- (a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
- (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
- (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
- (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;
- (e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Article 30

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.

Article 31

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.

2. States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity.

Article 32

States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of

the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

- (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
- (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
- (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

Article 33

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislative, administrative, social and educational measures, to protect children from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances as defined in the relevant international treaties, and to prevent the use of children in the illicit production and trafficking of such substances.

Article 34

States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

- (a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
- (b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;
- (c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

Article 35

States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form.

Article 36

States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare.

Article 37

States Parties shall ensure that:

- (a) No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Neither capital punishment nor life imprisonment without possibility of release shall be imposed for offences committed by persons below eighteen years of age;
- (b) No child shall be deprived of his or her liberty unlawfully or arbitrarily. The arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child shall be in conformity with the law and shall be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time;

- (c) Every child deprived of liberty shall be treated with humanity and respect for the inherent dignity of the human person, and in a manner which takes into account the needs of persons of his or her age. In particular, every child deprived of liberty shall be separated from adults unless it is considered in the child's best interest not to do so and shall have the right to maintain contact with his or her family through correspondence and visits, save in exceptional circumstances;
- (d) Every child deprived of his or her liberty shall have the right to prompt access to legal and other appropriate assistance, as well as the right to challenge the legality of the deprivation of his or her liberty before a court or other competent, independent and impartial authority, and to a prompt decision on any such action.

Article 38

1. States Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for rules of international humanitarian law applicable to them in armed conflicts which are relevant to the child.

2. States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities.

3. States Parties shall refrain from recruiting any person who has not attained the age of fifteen years into their armed forces. In recruiting among those persons who have attained the age of fifteen years but who have not attained the age of eighteen years, States Parties shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest.

4. In accordance with their obligations under international humanitarian law to protect the civilian population in armed conflicts, States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure protection and care of children who are affected by an armed conflict.

Article 39

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of: any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts. Such recovery and reintegration shall take place in an environment which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.

Article 40

1. States Parties recognize the right of every child alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law to be treated in a manner consistent with the promotion of the child's sense of dignity and worth, which reinforces the child's respect for the human rights and fundamental

freedoms of others and which takes into account the child's age and the desirability of promoting the child's reintegration and the child's assuming a constructive role in society.

2. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of international instruments, States Parties shall, in particular, ensure that:

- (a) No child shall be alleged as, be accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law by reason of acts or omissions that were not prohibited by national or international law at the time they were committed;
- (b) Every child alleged as or accused of having infringed the penal law has at least the following guarantees:
 - (i) To be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law;
 - (ii) To be informed promptly and directly of the charges against him or her, and, if appropriate, through his or her parents or legal guardians, and to have legal or other appropriate assistance in the preparation and presentation of his or her defence;
 - (iii) To have the matter determined without delay by a competent, independent and impartial authority or judicial body in a fair hearing according to law, in the presence of legal or other appropriate assistance and, unless it is considered not to be in the best interest of the child, in particular, taking into account his or her age or situation, his or her parents or legal guardians;
 - (iv) Not to be compelled to give testimony or to confess guilt; to examine or have examined adverse witnesses and to obtain the participation and examination of witnesses on his or her behalf under conditions of equality;
 - (v) If considered to have infringed the penal law, to have this decision and any measures imposed in consequence thereof reviewed by a higher competent, independent and impartial authority or judicial body according to law;
 - (vi) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if the child cannot understand or speak the language used;
 - (vii) To have his or her privacy fully respected at all stages of the proceedings.

3. States Parties shall seek to promote the establishment of laws, procedures, authorities and institutions specifically applicable to children alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law, and, in particular:

- (a) The establishment of a minimum age below which children shall be presumed not to have the capacity to infringe the penal law;
- (b) Whenever appropriate and desirable, measures for dealing with such children without resorting to judicial proceedings, providing that human rights and legal safeguards are fully respected.

- (c) A variety of dispositions, such as care, guidance and supervision orders; counselling; probation; foster care; education and vocational training programmes and other alternatives to institutional care shall be available to ensure that children are dealt with in a manner appropriate to their well-being and proportionate both to their circumstances and the offence.

Article 41

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions which are more conducive to the realization of the rights of the child and which may be contained in:

- (a) The law of a State party; or
(b) International law in force for that State.

PART II

Article 42

States Parties undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to adults and children alike.

Article 43

1. For the purpose of examining the progress made by States Parties in achieving the realization of the obligations undertaken in the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Rights of the Child, which shall carry out the functions hereinafter provided.

2. The Committee shall consist of ten experts of high moral standing and recognized competence in the field covered by this Convention. The members of the Committee shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution, as well as to the principal legal systems.

3. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.

4. The initial election to the Committee shall be held no later than six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention and thereafter every second year. At least four months before the date of each election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall subsequently prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties to the present Convention.

5. The elections shall be held at meetings of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations

Headquarters. At those meetings, for which two thirds of States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

6. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. They shall be eligible for re-election if renominated. The term of five of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election, the names of these five members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the meeting.

7. If a member of the Committee dies or resigns or declares that for any other cause he or she can no longer perform the duties of the Committee, the State Party which nominated the member shall appoint another expert from among its nationals to serve for the remainder of the term, subject to the approval of the Committee.

8. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure.

9. The Committee shall elect its officers for a period of two years.

10. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee. The Committee shall normally meet annually. The duration of the meetings of the Committee shall be determined, and reviewed, if necessary, by a meeting of the States Parties to the present Convention, subject to the approval of the General Assembly.

11. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

12. With the approval of the General Assembly, the members of the Committee established under the present Convention shall receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide.

Article 44

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Committee, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, reports on the measures they have adopted which give effect to the rights recognized herein and on the progress made on the enjoyment of those rights:

- (a) Within two years of the entry into force of the Convention for the State Party concerned;
(b) Thereafter every five years.

2. Reports made under the present article shall indicate factors and difficulties, if any, affecting the degree of fulfil-

ment of the obligations under the present Convention. Reports shall also contain sufficient information to provide the Committee with a comprehensive understanding of the implementation of the Convention in the country concerned.

3. A State Party which has submitted a comprehensive initial report to the Committee need not, in its subsequent reports submitted in accordance with paragraph 1 (b) of the present article, repeat basic information previously provided.

4. The Committee may request from States Parties further information relevant to the implementation of the Convention.

5. The Committee shall submit to the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, every two years, reports on its activities.

6. States Parties shall make their reports widely available to the public in their own countries.

Article 45

In order to foster the effective implementation of the Convention and to encourage international co-operation in the field covered by the Convention:

- (a) The specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund, and other United Nations organs shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their mandate. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other competent bodies as it may consider appropriate to provide expert advice on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their respective mandates. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund, and other United Nations organs to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities;
- (b) The Committee shall transmit, as it may consider appropriate, to the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other competent bodies, any reports from States Parties that contain a request, or indicate a need, for technical advice or assistance, along with the Committee's observations and suggestions, if any, on these requests or indications;
- (c) The Committee may recommend to the General Assembly to request the Secretary-General to undertake on its behalf studies on specific issues relating to the rights of the child;
- (d) The Committee may make suggestions and general recommendations based on information received pursuant to articles 44 and 45 of the present Convention. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be transmitted to any State Party

concerned and reported to the General Assembly, together with comments, if any, from States Parties.

PART III

Article 46

The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.

Article 47

The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 48

The present Convention shall remain open for accession by any State. The instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 49

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day following the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 50

1. Any State Party may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General shall thereupon communicate the proposed amendment to States Parties, with a request that they indicate whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposals. In the event that, within four months from the date of such communication, at least one third of the States Parties favour such a conference, the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of States Parties present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly for approval.

2. An amendment adopted in accordance with paragraph 1 of the present article shall enter into force when it has been approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and accepted by a two-thirds majority of States Parties.

3. When an amendment enters into force, it shall be binding on those States Parties which have accepted it, other States Parties still being bound by the provisions of the present Convention and any earlier amendments which they have accepted.

Article 51

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.

2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.

3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to that effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received by the Secretary-General.

Article 52

A State Party may denounce the present Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation becomes effective one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

Article 53

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.

Article 54

The original of the present Convention, of which the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS THEREOF the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, have signed the present Convention.

Excerpt from *The Child Soldiers Global Report, 2001*

SOURCE: Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. 2001. Available from <www.child-soldiers.org>. Reprinted by permission.

Introduction

In 2001 six international humanitarian organizations (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the International Save the Children Alliance, Jesuit Refugee Service, the Quaker UN Office—Geneva, and International Federation Terre des Hommes) released a jointly authored report on the global problem of child soldiers. The report points both to the continuing vulnerability of the world's children, and to the growing humanitarian recognition of their need to be protected. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, welcomed the report and called for the world's nations to ratify the protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the UN General Assembly on May 25, 2000, that prohibits the use of soldiers under age eighteen. The following ex-

cerpt from the introduction of the *Child Soldiers Global Report* gives a detailed account of the abuses suffered by child soldiers in many nations.

At any one time, more than 300,000 children under 18—girls and boys—are fighting as soldiers with government armed forces and armed opposition groups in more than 30 countries worldwide. In more than 85 countries, hundreds of thousands more under-18s have been recruited into government armed forces, paramilitaries, civil militia and a wide variety of non-state armed groups. Millions of children worldwide receive military training and indoctrination in youth movements and schools. While most child soldiers are aged between 15 and 18, the youngest age recorded in this report is seven.

These statistics represent only a 'snapshot' of the problem, as children are recruited, captured, demobilised, wounded or even killed every day. Many of today's adult soldiers started out as children, growing up in military ranks; in many countries, with inadequate systems of birth registration, age can be difficult to determine.

Conflicts come and go as well; the more protracted the armed conflict, the more likely children will participate. In recent years, large numbers of children fighting in Latin America and the Middle East region have been replaced as conflicts recede by new generations of child soldiers in Africa and Asia. In the industrialised world, there is general trend away from conscription and towards volunteer, professional armies; combined with economic and social change this has made enlistment levels more difficult to sustain and placed downward pressures on recruitment age.

While many children fight in the frontline, others are used as spies, messengers, sentries, porters, servants and sexual slaves; children are often used to lay and clear landmines or conditioned to commit atrocities even against their own families and communities. Most child soldiers suffer physical abuse and other privations within the armed forces; in extreme cases, child soldiers are driven to suicide or murder when they cannot bear the mistreatment any longer. When children are used as soldiers, all children in a conflict zone are often suspected and targeted by the warring parties.

While some children are recruited forcibly, others are driven into armed forces by poverty, alienation and discrimination. Many children join armed groups after having experienced or witnessed abuse at the hands of state authorities. The widespread availability of modern lightweight weapons has also contributed to the child soldiers problem, enabling even the smallest children to become efficient killers in combat. International political and military support for armed forces and armed groups using children, sometimes linked to the exploitation of natural resources like diamonds or oil, has in many cases deepened conflicts and the involvement of children.

Many governments and armed groups claim to use children because of a shortage of adult recruits. But often children are recruited because of their very qualities as children—they can be cheap, expendable and easier to condition into fearless killing and unthinking obedience. Sometimes, children are supplied with drugs and alcohol to achieve these aims.

Often child soldiers are recruited from second countries, among refugee communities or ethnic diasporas, and trafficked across borders. Children from Angola, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda have fought alongside their adult sponsors in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Children have been recruited from various countries of western Europe by Kurdish and Kosovar armed groups.

In many countries, military training and indoctrination is provided through schools and youth movements, often as a means of bolstering defence preparedness or recruitment levels. In Iraq, thousands of children aged 10 to 15 participate in the Ashbal Saddam (Saddam Lion Cubs) youth movement formed after the 1991 Gulf War; training reportedly includes small-arms use, hand-to-hand combat, and infantry tactics. In the United States of America, military-run programmes exist for children as young as eight. In the Young Marines, boys and girls from age 8–18 wear uniforms, are assigned military ranks, and participate in “boot camp” and rifle drills; the programme has over 200 units nation-wide, with 14,865 participants in early 2001.

THE IMPACT OF SOLDIERING ON CHILDREN

Child soldiers do not only lose their childhood and opportunities for education and development—they risk physical injury, psychological trauma and even death. Children are often at an added disadvantage as combatants in relation to adults.

Widely perceived to be a cheap and expendable commodity, child soldiers tend to receive little or no training before being thrust into the front line. In the early 1980s, during the Iran-Iraq war, thousands of Iranian children, many straight from school, were sent with popular militias to the frontline, often given a symbolic key to the paradise promised them as martyrs. More recently, during the border war with Eritrea in 1999–2000, Ethiopian government forces reportedly press-ganged thousands of secondary schools students from marketplaces and villages, some of whom were used in human wave attacks across minefields. Children’s immaturity may lead them to take excessive risks—according to one armed group commander in the Democratic Republic of Congo, “[children] make good fighters because they’re young and want to show off. They think it’s all a game, so they’re fearless.”

Children may begin participating in conflict from as young as seven. Some serve as porters (carrying food or am-

munition) or messengers, others as spies. In Myanmar, for instance civilians, including children as young as 10, are forced to porter for the military and even used as human shields and minesweepers: the International Labour Organisation reported in 1999 that children had been forced to sweep roads with tree branches or brooms to detect or detonate mines. As soon as children are strong enough to handle an assault rifle or a semi-automatic weapon (normally at 10 years of age), they may be used in frontline roles. One former child soldier from Burundi stated that: “We spent sleepless nights watching for the enemy. My first role was to carry a torch for grown-up rebels. Later I was shown how to use hand grenades. Barely within a month or so, I was carrying an AK-47 rifle or even a G3.”

When not actively engaged in combat, children can often be seen manning checkpoints. In Afghanistan, young students from religious schools in Pakistan perform military service with the Taleban, policing urban centres and checkpoints to free more experienced fighters for the front line. Others, such as 15-year-old Stevica in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia, perform domestic tasks: “I prepare the weapons, I write reports from the field and I cook. I work for the Serb Tigers. There are 100 of us from Macedonia but we are all Serbs.”

In many countries, girls too are used as soldiers, though generally in much smaller numbers than boys. Many governments and armed groups around the world are increasing the recruitment and functions performed by females in their armed forces, in many cases including girls under the age of 18. In Sri Lanka, for instance, young Tamil girls, often orphans, have been systematically recruited by the opposition Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) since the mid-1980s. Dubbed “Birds of Freedom”, many are reportedly trained as suicide bombers as they may better evade government security. In October 1999, 49 children, including 32 girls aged between 11 and 15 years of age were among the 140 LTTE cadres killed in a battle with the security forces at Ampakamam in the north.

Girls are at particular risk of rape, sexual slavery and abuse, although the exploitation of boys for these purposes is also reported. Concy A., a 14-year old girl abducted from Kitgum in Uganda by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and taken to camps in Sudan told how “we were distributed to men and I was given to a man who had just killed his woman. I was not given a gun, but I helped in the abductions and grabbing of food from villagers. Girls who refused to become LRA wives were killed in front of us to serve as a warning to the rest of us.” Grace A. gave birth on open ground to a girl fathered by one of her [LRA] abductors: “I picked up a gun and strapped the baby on my back” and continued to fight the government forces. In Colombia, girls fighting with armed groups are frequently subjected to sexual abuse. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) operates a “sexual freedom” policy and there are reports of

young girls being fitted with inter-uterine devices; one 15-year-old girl soldier who was killed was found to be pregnant.

Even in the supposedly sophisticated armed forces of industrialised countries, young recruits—especially girls—are subject to ‘hazing’, harassment and abuse. In recent years, cases of bullying and humiliation of under-18 recruits in the British Army have included mock execution, forced simulation of sexual acts, ‘regimental baths’ in vomit and urine and the forced ingestion of mud. In August 1997, a 17-year-old recruit to the British Army was forced to perform a sex act and raped by a drunken instructor while she was on manoeuvres. She told the judge that she “didn’t shout out because he is a sergeant and a higher rank. You don’t disrespect your boss”. (The instructor was jailed for seven years in November 1998.) In 1999, one school district in the US state of Washington banned recruiters from schools after several Army recruiters from a local recruiting station were investigated for sexual harassment of high school girls.

Besides the risk of death or injury in combat, child soldiers suffer disproportionately from the rigours of military life. Younger children collapse under heavy loads; malnutrition, respiratory and skin infections and other ailments are frequent. Child soldiers may also be at additional risk of drug and alcohol abuse (often used to recruit children or desensitise them for violence), sexually transmitted disease, including HIV/AIDS, and unwanted pregnancies. Auditory and visual problems are common, along with landmine injuries.

Harsh training regimes and other forms of ill-treatment often lead to casualties and even deaths among young recruits. In Paraguay, 56 under-18s died during their military service, six of them in 2000 alone. On 3 April 2001, 17-year-old Héctor Adon Maciel was shot by a fellow conscript after he refused to give him cigarettes. He died due to inadequate medical care as the Armed Forces argued that intensive care would be too expensive. Maciel was recruited at 16 after the armed forces reportedly falsified his mother’s signature on documents giving her consent. Between 1982 and 1999, 92 recruits aged 16 and 17 died during service with the British Army, including four deaths as result of battle wounds or injuries. In 1998 one 16-year-old Royal Marine recruit drowned wearing full kit during a river-crossing exercise during a 30-week commando training course; he was the fourth to die during training in two and a half years.

Children are often treated brutally and punishments for mistakes or desertion are severe. In May 2001 four children in the Democratic Republic of Congo, aged between 14 and 16, were sentenced to death by a military court under a special law designed to crack down on looting and robberies by gangs of child soldiers. In Ethiopia, young conscripts claimed that comrades who tried to escape during attacks were shot; others who returned alive after battles were reportedly ill-treated, charged with desertion and even impris-

oned in pits in the ground. In September 2000, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child raised a general concern about the application of military laws to under-18 recruits, in possible contradiction with the Convention on the Rights of the Child and international standards on juvenile justice.

In many countries, child soldiers who are captured, escape or surrender often face ill-treatment, torture and even death. On 26 May 2000 in Nepal, one girl aged 17 was killed with five other Maoist suspects in Urma village, allegedly after being wounded and captured. In Burundi, the government has imprisoned and tortured children, many accused of collaborating with armed opposition groups, for long periods without charge or trial. Others face retaliation from the community and are given little protection. On 25 October 2000 in Sri Lanka, a mob from nearby villages attacked Bindunuwewa rehabilitation camp killing 26 inmates between the ages of 14 and 23; an inquiry is underway into the circumstances. In Sierra Leone, many demobilised children have been re-recruited by armed groups, sometimes from rehabilitation camps themselves.

Whenever even a few children are involved as soldiers in a conflict, all children in that particular community or area—civilian or combatant—come under suspicion. For instance, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child and UN Special Rapporteurs have expressed concern about cases of extra-judicial execution, torture and ‘disappearance’ of juveniles suspected of involvement with armed groups in the northeast states of India. On 15 August 2000 in Colombia, an army unit near Pueblo Rico, Antioquia, mistook a party of schoolchildren for a guerrilla unit and opened fire, killing six children aged between 6 and 10 and wounding six others.

The full psychological impact on children of participation in armed conflict, especially for those who have witnessed or committed atrocities, is only beginning to be understood. According to one 14-year-old girl abducted by the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone in January 1999, “I’ve seen people get their hands cut off, a ten-year-old girl raped and then die, and so many men and women burned alive . . . So many times I just cried inside my heart because I didn’t dare cry out loud.” From Algeria, one report cites boys who appeared to be around the age of 12 decapitating a 15-year-old girl and then playing ‘catch’ with her head.

However there is growing experience today in many parts of the world with the physical and psycho-social rehabilitation of child soldiers and their successful reintegration into society, some of which is documented in this report. Often these programs combine the latest developments in psychology and child development with traditional custom and ritual. The adjustment from highly-militarised environments to civilian life can be extremely difficult, particularly for those who have lost or are rejected by their families or in societies where social infrastructure has been shattered by years of

war. Special attention needs to be paid in such programs to the experience and needs of girls, who have often been overlooked in assistance programs and disadvantaged by traditional patriarchal social values.

These programs are vitally important to peacebuilding efforts and the long term stability and development of post-conflict societies. The United Nations, including in Security Council Resolution 1314 of August 2000, has recognised the importance of incorporating the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former child soldiers into peace negotiations and agreements, and donors are committing more resources to this critical area. But a more consistent and long-term commitment is desperately needed if this problem is to be squarely addressed.

Excerpt from *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies, 2002*

SOURCE: Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS. (2002). Available from <www.unaids.org>. Reprinted by permission.

Introduction

Perhaps the most pressing issue facing the world's children at the beginning of the third millennium is AIDS. In 2002, UNAIDS, USAID, and UNICEF jointly issued a report entitled *Children on the Brink 2002*, that detailed the impact of the epidemic on youth. The introduction, excerpted below, offers readers a sense of the enormity of the crisis. The report calls for unified action to combat the epidemic and outlines ways to help its youngest victims. The report is also an example of the humanitarian imperative to protect children that became powerful during the twentieth century.

No other infectious disease of the modern era has had such a devastating impact on the world's youngest and most vulnerable citizens as HIV/AIDS. Since researchers first identified HIV/AIDS nearly a generation ago, more than 20 million people around the world have died from the disease. An estimated 40 million are living with HIV today, including almost 3 million children under age 15.

One of the most telling and troubling consequences of the epidemic's growing reach is the number of children it has orphaned or seriously impacted. Today more than 13 million children currently under age 15 have lost one or both parents to AIDS, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa. By 2010, this number is expected to jump to more than 25 million.

While the impact of this loss of life differs across families, communities and societies, one thing is clear: a child's life

often falls apart when he or she loses a parent. With infection rates still rising and adults continuing to succumb to the disease, HIV/AIDS will continue to cause large-scale suffering among children for at least the next two decades.

Children on the Brink 2002 contains statistics on children orphaned by HIV/AIDS from 88 countries, analysis of the trends found in those statistics, and strategies and principles for helping the children. The third in a series (earlier editions were published in 1997 and 2000), this document covers 1990 to 2010 and provides the broadest and most comprehensive statistics yet on the historical, current, and projected number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS. The report is a collaboration by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS).

Estimates of orphans from all causes are included to give a more realistic picture of the scale at which responses must be developed. By 2010, an estimated 106 million children are projected to lose one or both parents, with 25 million of this group orphaned due to HIV/AIDS. The report also stresses that the growing needs of other children made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS must be met.

Turning the tide of this emergency requires immediate and sustained action at all levels. This report hopes to convey a few critical points that can help develop well-coordinated and compassionate responses from families, communities, governments and others. They are:

HIV/AIDS has created an orphan crisis. This unprecedented orphan crisis will require radically scaled-up national, regional, and community responses for at least two decades—especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where children have been hardest hit.

Orphans due to other causes also demand attention. Increases in the number of orphans due to AIDS should be considered as part of a much larger problem of orphaning due to all causes. In 12 African countries, projections show that orphans will comprise at least 15% of all children under 15 years of age by 2010.

Other children are also vulnerable. The safety, health, and survival of all children in affected countries are increasingly jeopardized due to the effects of AIDS on families and communities. Increasing numbers of children are living with sick or dying parents or in households that have taken in orphans. Moreover, the pandemic is deepening poverty in entire communities, with children usually the first to suffer from the deprivation.

AIDS threatens children's lives. The impacts of AIDS on children are both complex and multifaceted. Children suffer psychosocial distress and increasing material hardship due to AIDS. They may be pressed into service to care for ill and

dying parents, required to drop out of school to help with farm or household work, or experience declining access to food and health services. Many are at risk of exclusion, abuse, discrimination, and stigma.

Communities with a high proportion of orphans require urgent assistance. Responses need to be focused and scaled up in communities with high proportions of orphans and children affected by HIV/AIDS. Because they are at the center of the crisis, these communities are the most overstretched.

Collaboration is key. The estimates on orphans due to AIDS presented here are the result of the first unified effort to provide a consistent set of numbers. This effort demonstrates the importance of strengthened collaboration and provides a springboard for expanded responses. No one can tackle this crisis alone.

Growing Global Commitment

Earlier editions of *Children on the Brink* helped break the silence about the effects of HIV/AIDS on children worldwide. With the pandemic's impact on children continuing unabated, contributors hope this year's edition will draw an even stronger response. The strategies and principles outlined in this report are designed to bolster national, regional, and local efforts by providing practical recommendations for action by policymakers, donors, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), religious leaders, and others who have a stake in securing the future of these children.

This report and its recommendations for action will add momentum to an international effort to confront HIV/AIDS that has taken root in the last couple years and is growing rapidly. A pivotal event was the June 2001 United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS, where member nations issued a Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS. It calls for new commitments to strong leadership at all levels of society, and specifies benchmarks for prevention, care, support, and treatment of HIV/AIDS. The Declaration established two goals specific to children affected by HIV/AIDS:

- Member countries will develop national policies and strategies that build and strengthen the ability of government, community, and family to support orphans and children infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS by 2003; and
- Member countries will implement these policies and strategies by 2005.

Reaching these goals will be difficult, but efforts are under way. For example, delegates from 21 West and Central African countries met for the first time in April 2002 to coordinate and strengthen their action to confront the crisis. And prominent African religious leaders met in Nairobi in June 2002 to commit themselves to concerted efforts on behalf of orphans and children made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS.

Modern Studies of the Child

Excerpt from *Adolescence* by G. Stanley Hall, 1904

SOURCE: Hall, G. Stanley. 1904. "Adolescent Girls and their Education." In *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, vol. 2. New York: Appleton.

Introduction

G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924) earned the first American Ph.D. in psychology and founded the field of child study. Influenced by the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin, Hall theorized that children's maturation progressed through three distinct stages: early childhood, late childhood, and adolescence. He further claimed that "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny," or in other words, that the child's development recreated the path of human societies from savagery to barbarism to civilization. Hall emphasized the significance of the adolescent period to the health of the greater society. Like most Victorian thinkers, Hall strongly distinguished the development of boys and girls. Adolescent boys, he believed, should be encouraged to be manly and strong-willed. Adolescent girls, he worried, were endangering their feminine vitality through overly rigorous study and other masculine pursuits. In the following excerpt from Chapter 17 of his seminal text *Adolescence* (1904), Hall encourages girls to study motherhood and domesticity, rather than risk their fecundity on more intellectual subjects.

CHAPTER XVII

ADOLESCENT GIRLS AND THEIR EDUCATION

From the available data it seems, however, that the more scholastic the education of women, the fewer children and the harder, more dangerous, and more dreaded is parturition, and the less the ability to nurse children. Not intelligence but education by present man-made ways is inversely as fecundity. The sooner and the more clearly this is recognized as a universal rule, not, of course, without many notable and much vaunted exceptions, the better for our civilization. For one, I plead with no whit less earnestness and conviction than any of the feminists, and indeed with more fervor because on nearly all their grounds and also on others, for the higher education of women, and would welcome them to every opportunity available to men if they can not do better; but I would open to their election another education, which every competent judge would pronounce more favorable to motherhood, under the influence of female

principals who do not publicly say that it is “not desirable” that women students should study motherhood, because they do not know whether they will marry; who encourage them to elect “no special subjects because they are women,” and who think infant psychology “foolish.” Various interesting experiments in coeducation are now being made in England. Some are whole-hearted and encourage the girls to do almost everything that the boys do in both study and play. There are girl prefects, cricket teams are formed sometimes of both sexes, but often the sexes matched against each other, one play-yard, a dual staff of teachers, and friendships between the boys and girls are not tabooed, etc. In other schools the sexes meet perhaps in recitation only, have separate rooms for study, entrances, playgrounds, and their relations are otherwise restricted. The opinion of English writers generally favors coeducation up to about the beginning of the teens, and from there on views are more divided. It is admitted that, if there is a very great preponderance of either sex over the other, the latter is likely to lose its characteristic qualities, and something of this occurs where the average age of one sex is distinctly greater than that of the other. On the other hand, several urge that, where age and numbers are equal, each sex is more inclined to develop the best qualities peculiar to itself in the presence of the other.

Some girls are no doubt far fitter for boys’ studies and men’s careers than others. Coeducation, too, generally means far more assimilation of girls’ to boys’ ways and work than conversely. Many people believe that girls either gain or are more affected by coeducation, especially in the upper grades, than boys. It is interesting, however, to observe the differences that still persist. Certain games, like football and boxing, girls can not play; they do not fight; they are not flogged or caned as English boys are when their bad marks foot up beyond a certain aggregate; girls are more prone to cliques; their punishments must be in appeals to school sentiment, to which they are exceedingly sensitive; it is hard for them to bear defeat in games with the same dignity and unruffled temper as boys; it is harder for them to accept the school standards of honor that condemn the tell-tale as a sneak, although they soon learn this. They may be a little in danger of being roughened by boyish ways and especially by the crude and unique language, almost a dialect in itself, prevalent among schoolboys. Girls are far more prone to overdo; boys are persistently lazy and idle. Girls are content to sit and have the subject-matter pumped into them by recitations, etc., and to merely accept, while boys are more inspired by being told to do things and make tests and experiments. In this, girls are often quite at sea. One writer speaks of a certain feminine obliquity, but hastens to say that girls in these schools soon accept its code of honor. It is urged, too, that in singing classes the voices of each sex are better in quality for the presence of the other. In many topics of all kinds boys and girls are interested in different aspects of the same theme, and therefore the work is broadened. In manual training girls excel in all artistic work; boys, in carpentry.

Girls can be made not only less noxiously sentimental and impulsive, but their conduct tends to become more thoughtful; they can be made to feel responsibility for bestowing their praise aright and thus influencing the tone of the school. Calamitous as it would be for the education of boys beyond a certain age to be entrusted entirely or chiefly to women, it would be less so for that of girls to be given entirely to men. Perhaps the great women teachers, whose life and work have made them a power with girls comparable to that of Arnold and Thring with boys, are dying out. Very likely economic motives are too dominant for this problem to be settled on its merits only. Finally, several writers mention the increased healthfulness of moral tone. The vices that infest boys’ schools, which Arnold thought a quantity constantly changing with every class, are diminished. Healthful thoughts of sex, less subterranean and base imaginings on the one hand, and less gushy sentimentality on the other, are favored. For either sex to be a copy of the other is to be weakened, and each comes normally to respect more and to prefer their own sex.

Not to pursue this subject further here, it is probable that many of the causes for the facts set forth are very different and some of them almost diametrically opposite in the two sexes. Hard as it is *per se*, it is after all a comparatively easy matter to educate boys. They are less peculiarly responsive in mental tone to the physical and psychic environment, tend more strongly and early to special interests, and react more vigorously against the obnoxious elements of their surroundings. This is truest of the higher education, and more so in proportion as the tendencies of the age are toward special and vocational training. Woman, as we saw, in every fiber of her soul and body is a more generic creature than man, nearer to the race, and demands more and more with advancing age an education that is essentially liberal and humanistic. This is progressively hard when the sexes differentiate in the higher grades. Moreover, nature decrees that with advancing civilization the sexes shall not approximate, but differentiate, and we shall probably be obliged to carry sex distinctions, at least of method, into many if not most of the topics of the higher education. Now that woman has by general consent attained the right to the best that man has, she must seek a training that fits her own nature as well or better. So long as she strives to be manlike she will be inferior and a pinchbeck imitation, but she must develop a new sphere that shall be like the rich field of the cloth of gold for the best instincts of her nature.

Divergence is most marked and sudden in the pubescent period—in the early teens. At this age, by almost worldwide consent, boys and girls separate for a time, and lead their lives during this most critical period more or less apart, at least for a few years, until the ferment of mind and body which results in maturity of functions then born and culminating in nubility, has done its work. The family and the home abundantly recognize this tendency. At twelve or four-

teen, brothers and sisters develop a life more independent of each other than before. Their home occupations differ as do their plays, games, tastes. History, anthropology, and sociology, as well as home life, abundantly illustrate this. This is normal and biological. What our schools and other institutions should do, is not to obliterate these differences to make boys more manly and girls more womanly. We should respect the law of sexual differences, and not forget that motherhood is a very different thing from fatherhood. Neither sex should copy nor set patterns to the other, but all parts should be played harmoniously and clearly in the great sex symphony.

I have here less to say against coeducation in college, still less in university grades after the maturity which comes at eighteen or twenty has been achieved, but it is high time to ask ourselves whether the theory and practise of identical coeducation, especially in the high school, which has lately been carried to a greater extreme in this country than the rest of the world recognizes, has not brought certain grave dangers, and whether it does not interfere with the natural differentiations seen everywhere else. I recognize, of course, the great argument of economy. Indeed, we should save money and effort could we unite churches of not too diverse creeds. We could thus give better preaching, music, improve the edifice, etc. I am by no means ready to advocate the radical abolition of coeducation, but we can already sum up in a rough, brief way our account of profit and loss with it. On the one hand, no doubt each sex develops some of its own best qualities best in the presence of the other, but the question still remains, how much, when, and in what way, identical coeducation secures this end?

. . .

Again, while I sympathize profoundly with the claim of woman for every opportunity which she can fill, and yield to none in appreciation of her ability, I insist that the cardinal defect in the woman's college is that it is based upon the assumption, implied and often expressed, if not almost universally acknowledged, that girls should primarily be trained to independence and self-support, and that matrimony and motherhood, if it come, will take care of itself, or, as some even urge, is thus best provided for. If these colleges are as the above statistics indicate, chiefly devoted to the training of those who do not marry, or if they are to educate for celibacy, this is right. These institutions may perhaps come to be training stations of a new-old type, the agamic or even agenic woman, be she aunt, maid—old or young—nun, school-teacher, or bachelor woman. I recognize the very great debt the world owes to members of this very diverse class in the past. Some of them have illustrated the very highest ideals of self-sacrifice, service, and devotion in giving to mankind what was meant for husband and children. Some of them belong to the class of superfluous women, and others illustrate the noblest type of altruism and have impoverished the heredity of the world to its loss, as did the monks, who

Leslie Stephens thinks contributed to bring about the Dark Ages, because they were [p. 633] the best and most highly selected men of their age and, by withdrawing from the function of heredity and leaving no posterity, caused Europe to degenerate. Modern ideas and training are now doing this, whether for racial weal or woe can not yet be determined, for many whom nature designed for model mothers.

The bachelor woman is an interesting illustration of Spencer's law of the inverse relation of individuation and genesis. The completely developed individual is always a terminal representative in her line of descent. She has taken up and utilized in her own life all that was meant for her descendants, and has so overdrawn her account with heredity that, like every perfectly and completely developed individual, she is also completely sterile. This is the very apotheosis of selfishness from the standpoint of every biological ethics. While the complete man can do and sometimes does this, woman has a far greater and very peculiar power of overdrawing her reserves. First she loses mammary function, so that should she undertake maternity its functions are incompletely performed because she can not nurse, and this implies defective motherhood and leaves love of the child itself defective and maimed, for the mother who has never nursed can not love or be loved aright by her child. It crops out again in the abnormal or especially incomplete development of her offspring, in the critical years of adolescence, although they may have been healthful before, and a less degree of it perhaps is seen in the diminishing families of cultivated mothers in the one-child system. These women are the intellectual equals and often the superiors of the men they meet; they are very attractive as companions, like Miss Mehr, the university student, in Hauptmann's *Lonely Lives*, who alienated the young husband from his noble wife; they enjoy all the keen pleasures of intellectual activity; their very look, step, and bearing is free; their mentality makes them good fellows and companionable in all the broad intellectual spheres; to converse with them is as charming and attractive for the best men as was Socrates's discourse with the accomplished hetæra; they are at home with the racket and on the golf links; they are splendid friends; their minds, in all their widening areas of contact, are as attractive as their bodies; and the world owes much and is likely to owe far more to high Platonic friendships of this kind. These women are often in every way magnificent, only they are not mothers, and sometimes have very little wifehood in them, and to attempt to marry them to develop these functions is one of the unique and too frequent tragedies of modern life and literature. Some, though by no means all, of them are functionally castrated; some actively deplore the necessity of child-bearing, and perhaps are parturition phobiacs, and abhor the limitations of married life; they are incensed whenever attention is called to the functions peculiar to their sex, and the careful consideration of problems of the monthly rest are thought "not fit for cultivated women."

Excerpt from *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* by Jane Addams, 1909

SOURCE: Addams, Jane. 1909. *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*. New York: Macmillan.

Introduction

Jane Addams (1860–1935) was a founder of the American settlement house movement and an influential social reformer, feminist, peace activist, moral leader and Nobel laureate. At Hull-House, the settlement in Chicago where Addams lived for forty-six years, she worked with countless poor children and families to better their lives. In essays and books, Addams advanced her social vision at the national level. In Chapter One of *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), Addams describes the particular difficulties experienced by America's urban youth. While they were eagerly courted by industrial employers, these young men and women had few structured opportunities for healthy recreation or practical education. Addams writes from a sympathetic perspective, demanding social change to benefit these disaffected youth.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that this industrialism has gathered together multitudes of eager young creatures from all quarters of the earth as a labor supply for the countless factories and workshops, upon which the present industrial city is based. Never before in civilization have such numbers of young girls been suddenly released from the protection of the home and permitted to walk unattended upon city streets and to work under alien roofs; for the first time they are being prized more for their labor power than for their innocence, their tender beauty, their ephemeral gaiety. Society cares more for the products they manufacture than for their immemorial ability to reaffirm the charm of existence. Never before have such numbers of young boys earned money independently of the family life, and felt themselves free to spend it as they choose in the midst of vice deliberately disguised as pleasure.

This stupid experiment of organizing work and failing to organize play has, of course, brought about a fine revenge. The love of pleasure will not be denied, and when it has turned into all sorts of malignant and vicious appetites, then we, the middle aged, grow quite distracted and resort to all sorts of restrictive measures. We even try to dam up the sweet fountain itself because we are affrighted by these neglected streams; but almost worse than the restrictive measures is our apparent belief that the city itself has no obligation in the matter, an assumption upon which the modern city turns over to commercialism practically all the provisions for public recreation.

Quite as one set of men has organized the young people into industrial enterprises in order to profit from their toil,

so another set of men and also of women, I am sorry to say, have entered the neglected field of recreation and have organized enterprises which make profit out of this invincible love of pleasure.

In every city arise so-called “places”—“gin-palaces,” they are called in fiction; in Chicago we euphemistically say merely “places,”—in which alcohol is dispensed, not to allay thirst, but, ostensibly to stimulate gaiety, it is sold really in order to empty pockets. Huge dance halls are opened to which hundreds of young people are attracted, many of whom stand wistfully outside a roped circle, for it requires five cents to procure within it for five minutes the sense of allurements and intoxication which is sold in lieu of innocent pleasure. These coarse and illicit merrymakings remind one of the unrestrained jollities of Restoration London, and they are indeed their direct descendants, properly commercialized, still confusing joy with lust, and gaiety with debauchery. Since the soldiers of Cromwell shut up the people's playhouses and destroyed their pleasure fields, the Anglo-Saxon city has turned over the provision for public recreation to the most evil-minded and the most unscrupulous members of the community. We see thousands of girls walking up and down the streets on a pleasant evening with no chance to catch a sight of pleasure even through a lighted window, save as these lurid places provide it. Apparently the modern city sees in these girls only two possibilities, both of them commercial: first, a chance to utilize by day their new and tender labor power in its factories and shops, and then another chance in the evening to extract from them their petty wages by pandering to their love of pleasure.

As these overworked girls stream along the street, the rest of us see only the self-conscious walk, the giggling speech, the preposterous clothing. And yet through the huge hat, with its wilderness of bedraggled feathers, the girl announces to the world that she is here. She demands attention to the fact of her existence, she states that she is ready to live, to take her place in the world. The most precious moment in human development is the young creature's assertion that he is unlike any other human being, and has an individual contribution to make to the world. The variation from the established type is at the root of all change, the only possible basis for progress, all that keeps life from growing unprofitably stale and repetitious.

Is it only the artists who really see these young creatures as they are—the artists who are themselves endowed with immortal youth? Is it our disregard of the artist's message which makes us so blind and so stupid, or are we so under the influence of our *Zeitgeist* that we can detect only commercial values in the young as well as in the old? It is as if our eyes were holden to the mystic beauty, the redemptive joy, the civic pride which these multitudes of young people might supply to our dingy towns.

The young creatures themselves piteously look all about them in order to find an adequate means of expression for

their most precious message: One day a serious young man came to Hull-House with his pretty young sister who, he explained, wanted to go somewhere every single evening, "although she could only give the flimsy excuse that the flat was too little and too stuffy to stay in." In the difficult role of elder brother, he had done his best, stating that he had taken her "to all the missions in the neighborhood, that she had had a chance to listen to some awful good sermons and to some elegant hymns, but that some way she did not seem to care for the society of the best Christian people." The little sister reddened painfully under this cruel indictment and could offer no word of excuse, but a curious thing happened to me. Perhaps it was the phrase "the best Christian people," perhaps it was the delicate color of her flushing cheeks and her swimming eyes, but certain it is, that instantly and vividly there appeared to my mind the delicately tinted piece of wall in a Roman catacomb where the early Christians, through a dozen devices of spring flowers, skipping lambs and a shepherd tenderly guiding the young, had indelibly written down that the Christian message is one of inexpressible joy. Who is responsible for forgetting this message delivered by the "best Christian people" two thousand years ago? Who is to blame that the lambs, the little ewe lambs, have been so caught upon the brambles?

Excerpt from "The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis" by Sigmund Freud, 1910

SOURCE: Freud, Sigmund. 1910. "The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis." *American Journal of Psychology* 21 (April): 181–218.

Introduction

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) argued that childhood experiences determined adult behaviors, thus revolutionizing the modern understanding of human personality. Freud was a medical doctor who lived in Vienna, where he specialized in the treatment of patients suffering mental disturbances. To help them, he developed the practice of psychotherapy, or the "talking cure," in which patients talked through their childhood memories in order to resolve present traumas. The perspective on childhood that Freud gained through talking with his patients diverged radically from the predominant assumptions of the late Victorian period. Most importantly, he believed that children were sexual beings, and that issues concerning childhood sexuality were at the root of most adult mental problems. In the following passage from "The Origin and Development of Psychoanalysis" (1910), Freud explains his theory of infantile sexuality. Freud expects his audience to receive his theories with disbelief; a century later, many people still have problems accepting the concept of infantile sexuality.

The work of analysis which is necessary for the thorough explanation and complete cure of a case of sickness does not stop in any case with the experience of the time of onset of the disease, but in every case it goes back to the adolescence and the early childhood of the patient. Here only do we hit upon the impressions and circumstances which determine the later sickness. Only the childhood experiences can give the explanation for the sensitivity to later traumata and only when these memory traces, which almost always are forgotten, are discovered and made conscious, is the power developed to banish the symptoms. We arrive here at the same conclusion as in the investigation of dreams—that it is the incompatible, repressed wishes of childhood which lend their power to the creation of symptoms. Without these the reactions upon later traumata discharge normally. But we must consider these mighty wishes of childhood very generally as sexual in nature.

Now I can at any rate be sure of your astonishment. Is there an infantile sexuality? you will ask. Is childhood not rather that period of life which is distinguished by the lack of the sexual impulse? No, gentlemen, it is not at all true that the sexual impulse enters into the child at puberty, as the devils in the gospel entered into the swine. The child has his sexual impulses and activities from the beginning, he brings them with him into the world, and from these the so-called normal sexuality of adults emerges by a significant development through manifold stages. It is not very difficult to observe the expressions of this childish sexual activity; it needs rather a certain art to overlook them or to fail to interpret them.

. . .

Lay aside your doubts and let us evaluate the infantile sexuality of the earliest years. The sexual impulse of the child manifests itself as a very complex one, it permits of an analysis into many components, which spring from different sources. It is entirely disconnected from the function of reproduction which it is later to serve. It permits the child to gain different sorts of pleasure sensations, which we include, by the analogues and connections which they show, under the term sexual pleasures. The great source of infantile sexual pleasure is the auto-excitation of certain particularly sensitive parts of the body; besides the genitals are included the rectum and the opening of the urinary canal, and also the skin and other sensory surfaces. Since in this first phase of child sexual life the satisfaction is found on the child's own body and has nothing to do with any other object, we call this phase after a word coined by Havelock Ellis, that of "auto-erotism." The parts of the body significant in giving sexual pleasure we call "erogenous zones." The thumb-sucking (*Ludeln*) or passionate sucking (*Wonnesaugen*) of very young children is a good example of such an auto-erotic satisfaction of an erogenous zone. The first scientific observer of this phenomenon, a specialist in children's diseases in Budapest

by the name of Lindner, interpreted these rightly as sexual satisfaction and described exhaustively their transformation into other and higher forms of sexual gratification. Another sexual satisfaction of this time of life is the excitation of the genitals by masturbation, which has such a great significance for later life and, in the case of many individuals, is never fully overcome. Besides this and other auto-erotic manifestations we see very early in the child the impulse-components of *sexual pleasure*, or, as we may say, of the *libido*, which presupposes a second person as its object. These impulses appear in opposed pairs, as active and passive. The most important representatives of this group are the pleasure in inflicting pain (sadism) with its passive opposite (masochism) and active and passive exhibition pleasure (*Schaulust*). From the first of these later pairs splits off the curiosity for knowledge, as from the latter the impulse toward artistic and theatrical representation. Other sexual manifestations of the child can already be regarded from the view-point of object-choice, in which the second person plays the prominent part. The significance of this was primarily based upon motives of the impulse of self-preservation. The difference between the sexes plays, however, in the child no very great rôle. One may attribute to every child, without wronging him, a bit of the homosexual disposition.

The sexual life of the child, rich, but dissociated, in which each single impulse goes about the business of arousing pleasure independently of every other, is later correlated and organized in two general directions, so that by the close of puberty the definite sexual character of the individual is practically finally determined. The single impulses subordinate themselves to the overlordship of the genital zone, so that the whole sexual life is taken over into the service of procreation, and their gratification is now significant only so far as they help to prepare and promote the true sexual act. On the other hand, object-choice prevails over auto-erotism, so that now in the sexual life all components of the sexual impulse are satisfied in the loved person. But not all the original impulse components are given a share in the final shaping of the sexual life. Even before the advent of puberty certain impulses have undergone the most energetic repression under the impulse of education, and mental forces like shame, disgust and morality are developed, which, like sentinels, keep the repressed wishes in subjection. When there comes, in puberty, the high tide of sexual desire it finds dams in this creation of reactions and resistances. These guide the outflow into the so-called normal channels, and make it impossible to revivify the impulses which have undergone repression.

The most important of these repressed impulses are koprophilism, that is, the pleasure in children connected with the excrements; and, further, the tendencies attaching themselves to the persons of the primitive object-choice.

Gentlemen, a sentence of general pathology says that every process of development brings with it the germ of

pathological dispositions in so far as it may be inhibited, delayed, or incompletely carried out. This holds for the development of the sexual function, with its many complications. It is not smoothly completed in all individuals, and may leave behind either abnormalities or disposition to later diseases by the way of later falling back or *regression*. It may happen that not all the partial impulses subordinate themselves to the rule of the genital zone. Such an impulse which has remained disconnected brings about what we call a perversion, which may replace the normal sexual goal by one of its own. It may happen, as has been said before, that the auto-erotism is not fully overcome, as many sorts of disturbances testify. The originally equal value of both sexes as sexual objects may be maintained and an inclination to homosexual activities in adult life result from this, which, under suitable conditions, rises to the level of exclusive homosexuality. This series of disturbances corresponds to the direct inhibition of development of the sexual function, it includes the perversions and the general *infantilism* of the sex life that are not seldom met with.

The disposition to neuroses is to be derived in another way from an injury to the development of the sex life. The neuroses are related to the perversions as the negative to the positive; in them we find the same impulse-components as in perversions, as bearers of the complexes and as creators of the symptoms; but here they work from out the unconscious. They have undergone a repression, but in spite of this they maintain themselves in the unconscious. Psychoanalysis teaches us that overstrong expression of the impulse in very early life leads to a sort of fixation (*Fixierung*), which then offers a weak point in the articulation of the sexual function. If the exercise of the normal sexual function meets with hindrances in later life, this repression, dating from the time of development, is broken through at just that point at which the infantile fixation took place.

You will now perhaps make the objection: "But all that is not sexuality." I have used the word in a very much wider sense than you are accustomed to understand it. This I willingly concede. But it is a question whether you do not rather use the word in much too narrow a sense when you restrict it to the realm of procreation. You sacrifice by that the understanding of perversions; of the connection between perversion, neurosis and normal sexual life; and have no means of recognizing, in its true significance, the easily observable beginning of the somatic and mental sexual life of the child. But however you decide about the use of the word, remember that the psychoanalyst understands sexuality in that full sense to which he is led by the evaluation of infantile sexuality.

Now we turn again to the sexual development of the child. We still have much to say here, since we have given more attention to the somatic than to the mental expressions of the sexual life. The primitive object-choice of the child, which is derived from his need of help, demands our further

interest. It first attaches to all persons to whom he is accustomed, but soon these give way in favor of his parents. The relation of the child to his parents is, as both direct observation of the child and later analytic investigation of adults agree, not at all free from elements of sexual accessory-excitation (*Miterregung*). The child takes both parents, and especially one, as an object of his erotic wishes. Usually he follows in this the stimulus given by his parents, whose tenderness has very clearly the character of a sex manifestation, though inhibited so far as its goal is concerned. As a rule, the father prefers the daughter, the mother the son; the child reacts to this situation, since, as son, he wishes himself in the place of his father, as daughter, in the place of the mother. The feelings awakened in these relations between parents and children, and, as a resultant of them, those among the children in relation to each other, are not only positively of a tender, but negatively of an inimical sort. The complex built up in this way is destined to quick repression, but it still exerts a great and lasting effect from the unconscious. We must express the opinion that this with its ramifications presents the *nuclear complex* of every neurosis, and so we are prepared to meet with it in a not less effectual way in the other fields of mental life. The myth of King Oedipus, who kills his father and wins his mother as a wife is only the slightly altered presentation of the infantile wish, rejected later by the opposing barriers of incest. Shakespeare’s tale of Hamlet rests on the same basis of an incest complex, though better concealed. At the time when the child is still ruled by the still unrepressed nuclear complex, there begins a very significant part of his mental activity which serves sexual interest. He begins to investigate the question of where children come from and guesses more than adults imagine of the true relations by deduction from the signs which he sees. Usually his interest in this investigation is awakened by the threat to his welfare through the birth of another child in the family, in whom at first he sees only a rival. Under the influence of the partial impulses which are active in him he arrives at a number of “infantile sexual theories,” as that the same male genitals belong to both sexes, that children are conceived by eating and born through the opening of the intestine, and that sexual intercourse is to be regarded as an inimical act, a sort of overpowering.

But just the unfinished nature of his sexual constitution and the gaps in his knowledge brought about by the hidden condition of the feminine sexual canal, cause the infant investigator to discontinue his work as a failure. The facts of this childish investigation itself as well as the infant sex theories created by it are of determinative significance in the building of the child’s character, and in the content of his later neuroses.

It is unavoidable and quite normal that the child should make his parents the objects of his first object-choice. But his *libido* must not remain fixed on these first chosen objects, but must take them merely as a prototype and transfer from

these to other persons in the time of definite object-choice. The breaking loose (*Ablösung*) of the child from his parents is thus a problem impossible to escape if the social virtue of the young individual is not to be impaired. During the time that the repressive activity is making its choice among the partial sexual impulses and later, when the influence of the parents, which in the most essential way has furnished the material for these repressions, is lessened, great problems fall to the work of education, which at present certainly does not always solve them in the most intelligent and economic way.

Gentlemen, do not think that with these explanations of the sexual life and the sexual development of the child we have too far departed from psychoanalysis and the cure of neurotic disturbances. If you like, you may regard the psychoanalytic treatment only as a continued education for the overcoming of childhood-remnants (*Kindheitsresten*).

Excerpt from “Conditioned Emotional Reactions” by John B. Watson and Rosalie Rayner, 1920

SOURCE: Watson, John, and Rosalie Rayner. 1920. “Conditioned Emotional Reactions.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 3, no. 1: 1–14.

Introduction

The behavioral psychologist John Broadus Watson (1878–1958) is notorious for the child-rearing advice he offered parents in the 1920s, including the injunction never to cuddle their infants. Watson instructed parents to treat their children as little adults, in order to prepare them psychologically to become independent adults. His lack of sympathy or affection for children extended into the design of his experiments in behaviorism. In the following excerpt from an article first published in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology* in 1920, Watson and his co-author describe a series of experiments performed on an infant to develop his fear reaction. Watson describes in clinical detail his efforts to make the child cry. His plans for more extensive experimentation on babies were fortunately interrupted by an embarrassing divorce and public revelations of adultery. Within Watson’s own family, his cold child-rearing style had a very damaging impact. One of Watson’s sons committed suicide; the other suffered a nervous breakdown.

In recent literature various speculations have been entered into concerning the possibility of conditioning various types of emotional response, but direct experimental evidence in support of such a view has been lacking. If the theory advanced by Watson and Morgan to the effect that in infancy the original emotional reaction patterns are few, consisting so far as observed of fear, rage and love, then there must be

some simple method by means of which the range of stimuli which can call out these emotions and their compounds is greatly increased. Otherwise, complexity in adult response could not be accounted for. These authors without adequate experimental evidence advanced the view that this range was increased by means of conditioned reflex factors. It was suggested there that the early home life of the child furnishes a laboratory situation for establishing conditioned emotional responses. The present authors have recently put the whole matter to an experimental test.

Experimental work had been done so far on only one child, Albert B. This infant was reared almost from birth in a hospital environment; his mother was a wet nurse in the Harriet Lane Home for Invalid Children. Albert's life was normal: he was healthy from birth and one of the best developed youngsters ever brought to the hospital, weighing twenty-one pounds at nine months of age. He was on the whole stolid and unemotional. His stability was one of the principal reasons for using him as a subject in this test. We felt that we could do him relatively little harm by carrying out such experiments as those outlined below.

At approximately nine months of age we ran him through the emotional tests that have become a part of our regular routine in determining whether fear reactions can be called out by other stimuli than sharp noises and the sudden removal of support. Tests of this type have been described by the senior author in another place. In brief, the infant was confronted suddenly and for the first time successively with a white rat, a rabbit, a dog, a monkey, with masks with and without hair, cotton wool, burning newspapers, etc. A permanent record of Albert's reactions to these objects and situations has been preserved in a motion picture study. Manipulation was the most usual reaction called out. *At no time did this infant ever show fear in any situation.* These experimental records were confirmed by the casual observations of the mother and hospital attendants. No one had ever seen him in a state of fear and rage. The infant practically never cried.

Up to approximately nine months of age we had not tested him with loud sounds. The test to determine whether a fear reaction could be called out by a loud sound was made when he was eight months, twenty-six days of age. The sound was that made by striking a hammer upon a suspended steel bar four feet in length and three-fourths of an inch in diameter. The laboratory notes are as follows:

One of the two experimenters caused the child to turn its head and fixate her moving hand; the other stationed back of the child, struck the steel bar a sharp blow. The child started violently, his breathing was checked and the arms were raised in a characteristic manner. On the second stimulation the same thing occurred, and in addition the lips began to pucker and tremble. On the third stimulation the child broke into a sudden crying fit. This is the first time an emotional situation in the laboratory has produced any fear or even crying in Albert.

We had expected just these results on account of our work with other infants brought up under similar conditions. It is worth while to call attention to the fact that removal of support (dropping and jerking the blanket upon which the infant was lying) was tried exhaustively upon this infant on the same occasion. It was not effective in producing the fear response. This stimulus is effective in younger children. At what age such stimuli lose their potency in producing fear is not known. Nor is it known whether less placid children ever lose their fear of them. This probably depends upon the training the child gets. It is well known that children eagerly run to be tossed into the air and caught. On the other hand it is equally well known that in the adult fear responses are called out quite clearly by the sudden removal of support, if the individual is walking across a bridge, walking out upon a beam, etc. There is a wide field of study here which is aside from our present point.

The sound stimulus, thus, at nine months of age, gives us the means of testing several important factors. I. Can we condition fear of an animal, *e.g.*, a white rat, by visually presenting it and simultaneously striking a steel bar? II. If such a conditioned emotional response can be established, will there be a transfer to other animals or other objects? III. What is the effect of time upon such conditioned emotional responses? IV. If after a reasonable period such emotional responses have not died out, what laboratory methods can be devised for their removal?

I. The establishment of conditioned emotional responses.

At first there was considerable hesitation upon our part in making the attempt to set up fear reactions experimentally. A certain responsibility attaches to such a procedure. We decided finally to make the attempt, comforting ourselves by the reflection that such attachments would arise anyway as soon as the child left the sheltered environment of the nursery for the rough and tumble of the home. We did not begin this work until Albert was eleven months, three days of age. Before attempting to set up a conditioned response we, as before, put him through all of the regular emotional tests. *Not the slightest sign of a fear response was obtained in any situation.*

The steps taken to condition emotional responses are shown in our laboratory notes.

11 Months 3 Days

1. White rat suddenly taken from the basket and presented to Albert. He began to reach for rat with left hand. Just as his hand touched the animal the bar was struck immediately behind his head. The infant jumped violently and fell forward, burying his face in the mattress. He did not cry, however.

2. Just as the right hand touched the rat the bar was again struck. Again the infant jumped violently, fell forward and began to whimper.

In order not to disturb the child too seriously no further tests were given for one week.

11 Months 10 Days

1. Rat presented suddenly without sound. There was steady fixation but no tendency at first to reach for it. The rat was then placed nearer, whereupon tentative reaching movements began with the right hand. When the rat nosed the infant's left hand, the hand was immediately withdrawn. He started to reach for the head of the animal with the forefinger of the left hand, but withdrew it suddenly before contact. It is thus seen that the two joint stimulations given the previous week were not without effect. He was tested with his blocks immediately afterwards to see if they shared in the process of conditioning. He began immediately to pick them up, dropping them, pounding them, etc. In the remainder of the tests the blocks were given frequently to quiet him and to test his general emotional state. They were always removed from sight when the process of conditioning was under way.

2. Joint stimulation with rat and sound. Started, then fell over immediately to right side. No crying.

3. Joint stimulation. Fell to right side and rested upon hands, with head turned away from rat. No crying.

4. Joint stimulation. Same reaction.

5. Rat suddenly presented alone. Puckered face, whimpered and withdrew body sharply to the left.

6. Joint stimulation. Fell over immediately to right side and began to whimper.

7. Joint stimulation. Started violently and cried, but did not fall over.

8. Rat alone. *The instant the rat was shown the baby began to cry. Almost instantly he turned sharply to the left, fell over on left side, raised himself on all fours and began to crawl away so rapidly that he was caught with difficulty before reaching the edge of the table.*

This was as convincing a case of a completely conditioned fear response as could have been theoretically pictured. In all seven joint stimulations were given to bring about the complete reaction. It is not unlikely had the sound been of greater intensity or of a more complex clang character that the number of joint stimulations might have been materially reduced. Experiments designed to define the nature of the sounds that will serve best as emotional stimuli are under way.

The Working Child

Isaiah Thomas's Indenture Papers, 1756

SOURCE: Thomas, Isaiah. 1756. Papers. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Introduction

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, American children were often "indentured" by their parents or guardians to potential employers. The indenture was a paper contract that was literally indented at one side and then torn in half through the notch, thus allowing each party to keep "matching" evidence of the agreement. Many immigrants signed indentures of servitude to pay for passage to the United States. Native-born children were more frequently indentured as apprentices, an agreement that guaranteed the child's services, for a set number of years, in return for room, board, basic education, and training in a craft. The following indenture, made for eleven-year-old Isaiah Thomas, offers a typical example. Printing was a difficult trade that relied on the forced contributions of dependent children like Thomas. Despite his inauspicious beginning, Thomas rose to become a very important publisher of the Revolutionary and early National eras. During this period, indentures fell out of practice because they were perceived as contrary to the newly enshrined rights of white men to liberty.

This Indenture Witnesseth,

That Jacob Wendell Andrew Oliver Esq. Isaac Walker Ebenezer Storer John Barratt Nathanael Greenwood Royall Tyler Thomas Flucker John Tudor and William Phillips Gentlemen

Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Boston in the County of Suffolk in New England, by and with the Consent of two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said County, Have placed and by these Presents do place and bind out Isaiah Thomas a poor Child belonging to said Boston unto Zerariah Fowle of Boston aforc.

Printer and to his Wife and heirs and with them after the Manner of an Apprentice to Dwell and Serve, from the Day of the Date of these Presents, until the Eighth day of January which will be in the year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Nine hundred Nineth said Apprentice if Living will Arrive to the Age of Twenty One Years

During all which said Time or Term, the said Apprentice his said Master & Mistress well and faithfully shall Serve, their Secrets he shall keep close, their Commandments lawful and honest every where he shall gladly obey: he shall do no Damage to his—said Master VP nor suffer it to be done

by others, without letting or giving seasonable Notice thereof to his—said Master VP he shall not waste the Goods of his said Master VP nor lend them unlawfully to any: At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game or Games he shall not play: Fornication he shall not commit: Matrimony during the E. Term he shall not contract: Taverns, Ale-Houses, or Places of Gaming he shall not haunt or frequent: From the Service of his said Master VP by Day or Night he shall not absent him self; but in all Things and at all Times, he shall carry and behave him self towards his said Master VP and all theirs as a good and faithful Apprentice ought to do to his utmost Ability during all the Time or Term aforesaid. And the said Master doth hereby Covenant and Agree, for himself his Wife and heirs to teach or Gauge the said Apprentice to be taught by the best way and means he can the Art and Mistery of a Printer also to Read write & Cypher. And also shall and will, well and truly find, allow unto, and provide for the said Apprentice, sufficient and wholesome Meat and Drink, with Washing, Lodging, and Apparrell and other Necessaries meet and convenient for such an Apprentice, during all the Time or Term aforesaid: And at the End and Expiration thereof shall dismiss the said Apprentice with two good suits of Apparrell for all parts of his Body One for the Lords days the other for working days suitable to his Degree.

In Testimony Whereof the said Parties have to these Indentures interchangeably set their Hands and Seals, the Fourth Day of June In the 29th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second King Over Great Britain VO Annoque Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Six.

Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presence of us

Samuel Edely William Seymour

Suffolk is Boston July 7th 1756

Assented to by John Phillips John Hill

Justices of the Peace

Jacob Wendell

Isaac Walker El: Storer

John Barrett

Nath Greenwood

Royall Tyler

Tho. Flucker

Wm. Phillips

Two Interviews with English Workhouse Children from the *Ashton Chronicle*, 1849

SOURCE: Stephens, James Raynor. 1849. Interview with Sarah Carpenter. *Ashton Chronicle*, June 23; Interview with John Birley. *Ashton Chronicle*, May 19.

Introduction

In 1849 the *Ashton Chronicle*, a newspaper that advocated radical social reform, published a series of interviews with adults who had been child laborers. In nineteenth-century England, many factories and mills relied upon the labor of poor children who were “apprenticed” to company owners by workhouses and orphanages under terms that closely resembled sale. Sarah Carpenter and John Birley explain the conditions under which they worked and make it clear that working in the country was no better than in the city, although city life was more notorious at the time. In both mills, overseers forced the children to labor ceaselessly for long hours, under threat of severe bodily punishment. For meals the children ate oat cakes and little else. The children received neither pay, skills, nor assets, for their years spent as apprentices. As both witnesses testify, all that the children took with them when their contracts ended was physical and emotional damage. Joseph Rayner Stephens, the publisher of the *Ashton Chronicle*, hoped the former apprentices’ testimony would influence the government to outlaw child labor.

Sarah Carpenter, interviewed in *The Ashton Chronicle* (23rd June, 1849)

My father was a glass blower. When I was eight years old my father died and our family had to go to the Bristol Workhouse. My brother was sent from Bristol workhouse in the same way as many other children were—cart-loads at a time. My mother did not know where he was for two years. He was taken off in the dead of night without her knowledge, and the parish officers would never tell her where he was.

It was the mother of Joseph Russell who first found out where the children were, and told my mother. We set off together, my mother and I, we walked the whole way from Bristol to Cressbrook Mill in Derbyshire. We were many days on the road.

Mrs. Newton fondled over my mother when we arrived. My mother had brought her a present of little glass ornaments. She got these ornaments from some of the workmen, thinking they would be a very nice present to carry to the mistress at Cressbrook, for her kindness to my brother. My brother told me that Mrs. Newton’s fondling was all a blind; but I was so young and foolish, and so glad to see him again; that I did not heed what he said, and could not be persuaded to leave him. They would not let me stay unless I would take

the shilling binding money. I took the shilling and I was very proud of it.

They took me into the counting house and showed me a piece of paper with a red sealed horse on which they told me to touch, and then to make a cross, which I did. This meant I had to stay at Cressbrook Mill till I was twenty one.

Our common food was oatcake. It was thick and coarse. This oatcake was put into cans. Boiled milk and water was poured into it. This was our breakfast and supper. Our dinner was potato pie with boiled bacon it, a bit here and a bit there, so thick with fat we could scarce eat it, though we were hungry enough to eat anything. Tea we never saw, nor butter. We had cheese and brown bread once a year. We were only allowed three meals a day though we got up at five in the morning and worked till nine at night.

We had eightpence a year given us to spend: fourpence at the fair, and fourpence at the wakes. We had three miles to go to spend it. Very proud we were of it, for it seemed such a sight of money, we did not know how to spend it.

The master carder's name was Thomas Birks; but he never went by any other name than Tom the Devil. He was a very bad man—he was encouraged by the master in ill-treating all the hands, but particularly the children. I have often seen him pull up the clothes of big girls, seventeen or eighteen years of age, and throw them across his knee, and then flog them with his hand in the sight of both men and boys. Everybody was frightened of him. He would not even let us speak. He once fell poorly, and very glad we were. We wished he might die.

There was an overlooker called William Hughes, who was put in his place whilst he was ill. He came up to me and asked me what my drawing frame was stopped for. I said I did not know because it was not me who had stopped it. A little boy that was on the other side had stopped it, but he was too frightened to say it was him. Hughes starting beating me with a stick, and when he had done I told him I would let my mother know. He then went out and fetched the master in to me. The master started beating me with a stick over the head till it was full of lumps and bled. My head was so bad that I could not sleep for a long time, and I never been a sound sleeper since.

There was a young woman, Sarah Goodling, who was poorly and so she stopped her machine. James Birch, the overlooker knocked her to the floor. She got up as well as she could. He knocked her down again. Then she was carried to the apprentice house. Her bed-fellow found her dead in bed. There was another called Mary. She knocked her food can down on the floor. The master, Mr. Newton, kicked her where he should not do, and it caused her to wear away till she died. There was another, Caroline Thompson. They beat her till she went out of her mind.

We were always locked up out of mill hours, for fear any of us should run away. One day the door was left open. Charlotte Smith, said she would be ringleader, if the rest would follow. She went out but no one followed her. The master found out about this and sent for her. There was a carving knife which he took and grasping her hair he cut it off close to the head. They were in the habit of cutting off the hair of all who were caught speaking to any of the lads. This head shaving was a dreadful punishment. We were more afraid of it than of any other, for girls are proud of their hair.

I was there ten years and saw a great deal more than I can think of. My brother, after he was free, came to Cressbrook and stole me away. But I was so frightened and dateless with the punishment I had received, that for a long time I was like a person with no wits. I could hardly find my way from one street into another. They said at Wright's Factory where I worked that they were sure that I was "none right".

John Birley interviewed in *The Ashton Chronicle* (19th May, 1849)

I was born in Hare Street, Bethnal Green, London, in the year 1805. My father died when I was two years old, leaving two children, myself and Sarah my sister. My mother kept us both till I was about five years old, and then she took badly and was taken to the London Hospital. My sister and I were taken to the Bethnal Green Workhouse. My mother died and we stayed in the workhouse. We had good food, good beds and given liberty two or three times a week. We were taught to read and in every respect were treated kindly.

The same year my mother died, I being between six and seven years of age, there came a man looking for a number of parish apprentices. We were all ordered to come into the board room, about forty of us. There were, I dare say, about twenty gentlemen seated at a table, with pens and paper before them. Our names were called out one by one. We were all standing before them in a row. My name was called and I stepped out in the middle of the room. They said, "Well John, you are a fine lad, would you like to go into the country?" I said "Yes sir".

We had often talked over amongst ourselves how we should like to be taken into the country, Mr. Nicholls the old master, used to tell us what fine sport we should have amongst the hills, what time we should have for play and pleasure. He said we should have plenty of roast beef and get plenty of money, and come back gentlemen to see our friends.

The committee picked out about twenty of us, all boys. In a day or two after this, two coaches came up to the workhouse door. We were got ready. They gave us a shilling piece to take our attention, and we set off. I can remember a crowd of women standing by the coaches, at the workhouse door, crying "shame on them, to send poor little children away from home in that fashion." Some of them were weeping. I

heard one say, "I would run away if I was them." They drove us to the Paddington Canal, where there was a boat provided to take us.

We got to Buxton at four o'clock on Saturday afternoon. A covered cart was waiting for us there. We all got in, and drove off to the apprentice house at Litton Mill, about six miles from Buxton. The cart stopped, and we marched up to the house, where we saw the master, who came to examine us and gave orders where we were put. They brought us some supper. We were very hungry, but could not eat it. It was Derbyshire oatcake, which we had never seen before. It tasted as sour as vinegar.

Our regular time was from five in the morning till nine or ten at night; and on Saturday, till eleven, and often twelve o'clock at night, and then we were sent to clean the machinery on the Sunday. No time was allowed for breakfast and no sitting for dinner and no time for tea. We went to the mill at five o'clock and worked till about eight or nine when they brought us our breakfast, which consisted of water-porridge, with oatcake in it and onions to flavour it. Dinner consisted of Derbyshire oatcakes cut into four pieces, and ranged into two stacks. One was buttered and the other treacled. By the side of the oatcake were cans of milk. We drank the milk and with the oatcake in our hand, we went back to work without sitting down.

We then worked till nine or ten at night when the water-wheel stopped. We stopped working, and went to the apprentice house, about three hundred yards from the mill. It was a large stone house, surrounded by a wall, two to three yards high, with one door, which was kept locked. It was capable of lodging about one hundred and fifty apprentices. Supper was the same as breakfast—onion porridge and dry oatcake. We all ate in the same room and all went up a common staircase to our bed-chamber; all the boys slept in one chamber, all the girls in another. We slept three in one bed. The girls' bedroom was of the same sort as ours. There were no fastenings to the two rooms; and no one to watch over us in the night, or to see what we did.

Mr. Needham, the master, had five sons: Frank, Charles, Samuel, Robert and John. The sons and a man named Swann, the overlooker, used to go up and down the mill with hazzle sticks. Frank once beat me till he frightened himself. He thought he had killed me. He had struck me on the temples and knocked me dateless. He once knocked me down and threatened me with a stick. To save my head I raised my arm, which he then hit with all his might. My elbow was broken. I bear the marks, and suffer pain from it to this day, and always shall as long as I live.

I was determined to let the gentleman of the Bethnal Green parish know the treatment we had, and I wrote a letter with John Oats and put it into the Tydeswell Post Office. It was broken open and given to old Needham. He beat us with

a knob-stick till we could scarcely crawl. Sometime after this three gentlemen came down from London. But before we were examined we were washed and cleaned up and ordered to tell them we liked working at the mill and were well treated. Needham and his sons were in the room at the time. They asked us questions about our treatment, which we answered as we had been told, not daring to do any other, knowing what would happen if we told them the truth.

Excerpt from *Germinal* by Émile Zola, 1885

SOURCE: Zola, Émile. 1894. *Germinal*. Trans. Havelock Ellis. Available from <<http://209.11.144.65/eldritchpress/ez/germinal.html>>.

Introduction

In the novel *Germinal* (1885), Émile Zola applied his naturalistic writing style to the lives of coal miners in northern France. Zola depicts his characters' experiences as unremittingly bleak. Low pay forced entire families, including children as young as eight, into the mines, where they confronted unsafe conditions and hard, tedious, labor. In the following passage, from Book Three, Chapter Four, Zola describes the horrors that could befall children in the mines. Jeanlin, age eleven, is trapped in a land slide. His sisters, brothers, and father, are also working in the mine, and they all rush to the scene of the landslide. Eventually Jeanlin is rescued, but his legs have been crushed. Physical injury is not the only damage suffered by children in *Germinal*. They are also psychologically brutalized by their deprived upbringing. Jeanlin himself is a brutal young man, an abuser, and a murderer.

Jeanlin, who closed the door, had remained behind. He bent down and looked at the mud through which he was paddling, then, raising his lamp, he saw that the wood had given way beneath the continual bleeding of a spring. Just then a pikeman, one Berloque, who was called Chicot, had arrived from his cutting, in a hurry to go to his wife who had just been confined. He also stopped and examined the planking. And suddenly, as the boy was starting to rejoin his train, a tremendous cracking sound was heard, and a landslip engulfed the man and the child.

There was deep silence. A thick dust raised by the wind of the fall passed through the passages. Blinded and choked, the miners came from every part, even from the farthest stalls, with their dancing lamps which feebly lighted up this gallop of black men at the bottom of these molehills. When the first men tumbled against the landslip, they shouted out and called their mates. A second band, come from the cutting below, found themselves on the other side of the mass of earth which stopped up the gallery. It was at once seen that the roof had fallen in for a dozen metres at most. The

damage was not serious. But all hearts were contracted when a death-rattle was heard from the ruins.

Bébert, leaving his train, ran up, repeating:

“Jeanlin is underneath! Jeanlin is underneath!”

Maheu, at this very moment, had come out of the passage with Zacharie and Étienne. He was seized with the fury of despair, and could only utter oaths:

“My God! my God! my God!”

Catherine, Lydie, and Mouquette, who had also rushed up, began to sob and shriek with terror in the midst of the fearful disorder, which was increased by the darkness. The men tried to make them be silent, but they shrieked louder as each groan was heard.

The captain, Richomme, had come up running, in despair that neither Négrel, the engineer, nor Dansaert was at the pit. With his ear pressed against the rocks he listened; and, at last, said those sounds could not come from a child. A man must certainly be there. Maheu had already called Jeanlin twenty times over. Not a breath was heard. The little one must have been smashed up.

And still the groans continued monotonously. They spoke to the agonized man, asking him his name. The groaning alone replied.

“Look sharp!” repeated Richomme, who had already organized a rescue, “we can talk afterwards.”

From each end the miners attacked the landslip with pick and shovel. Chaval worked without a word beside Maheu and Étienne, while Zacharie superintended the removal of the earth. The hour for ascent had come, and no one had touched food; but they could not go up for their soup while their mates were in peril. They realized, however, that the settlement would be disturbed if no one came back, and it was proposed to send off the women. But neither Catherine nor Mouquette, nor even Lydie, would move, nailed to the spot with a desire to know what had happened, and to help. Levaque then accepted the commission of announcing the landslip up above—a simple accident, which was being repaired. It was nearly four o’clock; in less than an hour the men had done a day’s work; half the earth would have already been removed if more rocks had not slid from the roof. Maheu persisted with such energy that he refused, with a furious gesture, when another man approached to relieve him for a moment.

“Gently! said Richomme at last, “we are getting near. We must not finish them off.”

In fact the groaning was becoming more and more distinct. It was a continuous rattling which guided the workers; and now it seemed to be beneath their very picks. Suddenly it stopped.

In silence they all looked at one another, and shuddered as they felt the coldness of death pass in the darkness. They dug on, soaked in sweat, their muscles tense to breaking. They came upon a foot, and then began to remove the earth with their hands, freeing the limbs one by one. The head was not hurt. They turned their lamps on it, and Chicot’s name went round. He was quite warm, with his spinal column broken by a rock.

“Wrap him up in a covering, and put him in a tram,” ordered the captain. “Now for the lad; look sharp.”

Maheu gave a last blow, and an opening was made, communicating with the men who were clearing away the soil from the other side. They shouted out that they had just found Jeanlin, unconscious, with both legs broken, still breathing. It was the father who took up the little one in his arms, with clenched jaws constantly uttering “My God!” to express his grief, while Catherine and the other women again began to shriek.

A procession was quickly formed. Bébert had brought back Bataille, who was harnessed to the trams. In the first lay Chicot’s corpse, supported by Étienne; in the second, Maheu was seated with Jeanlin, still unconscious, on his knees, covered by a strip of wool torn from the ventilation door. They started at a walking pace. On each tram was a lamp like a red star. Then behind followed the row of miners, some fifty shadows in single file. Now that they were overcome by fatigue, they trailed their feet, slipping in the mud, with the mournful melancholy of a flock stricken by an epidemic. It took them nearly half an hour to reach the pit-eye. This procession beneath the earth, in the midst of deep darkness, seemed never to end through galleries which bifurcated and turned and unrolled.

At the pit-eye Richomme, who had gone on before, had ordered an empty cage to be reserved. Pierron immediately loaded the two trams. In the first Maheu remained with his wounded little one on his knees, while in the other Étienne kept Chicot’s corpse between his arms to hold it up. When the men had piled themselves up in the other decks the cage rose. It took two minutes. The rain from the tubbing fell very cold, and the men looked up towards the air impatient to see daylight.

Fortunately a trammer sent to Dr. Vanderhaghen’s had found him and brought him back. Jeanlin and the dead man were placed in the captains’ room, where, from year’s end to year’s end, a large fire burnt. A row of buckets with warm water was ready for washing feet; and, two mattresses having been spread on the floor, the man and the child were placed on them. Maheu and Étienne alone entered. Outside, putters, miners, and boys were running about, forming groups and talking in a low voice.

As soon as the doctor had glanced at Chicot:

“Done for! You can wash him.”

Two overseers undressed and then washed with a sponge this corpse blackened with coal and still dirty with the sweat of work.

“Nothing wrong with the head,” said the doctor again, kneeling on Jeanlin’s mattress. “Nor the chest either. Ah! it’s the legs which have given.”

He himself undressed the child, unfastening the cap, taking off the jacket, drawing off the breeches and shirt with the skill of a nurse. And the poor little body appeared, as lean as an insect, stained with black dust and yellow earth, marbled by bloody patches. Nothing could be made out, and they had to wash him also. He seemed to grow leaner beneath the sponge, the flesh so pallid and transparent that one could see the bones. It was a pity to look on this last degeneration of a wretched race, this mere nothing that was suffering and half crushed by the falling of the rocks. When he was clean they perceived the bruises on the thighs, two red patches on the white skin.

Jeanlin, awaking from his faint, moaned. Standing up at the foot of the mattress with hands hanging down, Maheu was looking at him and large tears rolled from his eyes.

“Eh, are you the father?” said the doctor, raising his eyes; “no need to cry then, you can see he is not dead. Help me instead.”

He found two simple fractures. But the right leg gave him some anxiety, it would probably have to be cut off.

At this moment the engineer, Négrel, and Dansaert, who had been informed, came up with Richomme. The first listened to the captain’s narrative with an exasperated air. He broke out: Always this cursed timbering! Had he not repeated a hundred times that they would leave their men down there! and those brutes who talked about going out on strike if they were forced to timber more solidly. The worst was that now the Company would have to pay for the broken pots. M. Hennebeau would be pleased!

“Who is it?” he asked of Dansaert, who was standing in silence before the corpse which was being wrapped up in a sheet.

“Chicot! one of our good workers,” replied the chief captain. “He has three children. Poor chap!”

Dr. Vanderhagen ordered Jeanlin’s immediate removal to his parents’. Six o’clock struck, twilight was already coming on, and they would do well to remove the corpse also; the engineer gave orders to harness the van and to bring a stretcher. The wounded child was placed on the stretcher while the mattress and the dead body were put into the van.

Some putters were still standing at the door talking with some miners who were waiting about to look on. When the door reopened there was silence in the group. A new proces-

sion was then formed, the van in front, then the stretcher, and then the train of people. They left the mine square and went slowly up the road to the settlement. The first November cold had denuded the immense plain; the night was now slowly burying it like a shroud fallen from the livid sky.

Excerpt from *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* by Lucy Larcom, 1889

SOURCE: Larcom, Lucy. 1889. *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

Introduction

In this excerpt from her memoir, *A New England Girlhood, Outlined from Memory* (1889), Lucy Larcom describes how she began working at a mill in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1836, after her father died. Larcom was only twelve when she became a bobbin girl. At first she appreciated her escape from the classroom. But soon the tedium of industrial labor prompted Larcom to reevaluate her feelings about education. After working at the mill for ten years, Larcom became a schoolteacher and successful poet. Her poems often celebrated the outdoors, a subject of her daydreams during her hours in the mill. She also edited a magazine for children entitled *Our Young Folks*.

For the first time in our lives, my little sister and I became pupils in a grammar school for both girls and boys, taught by a man. I was put with her into the sixth class, but was sent the very next day into the first. I did not belong in either, but somewhere between. And I was very uncomfortable in my promotion, for though the reading and spelling and grammar and geography were perfectly easy, I had never studied anything but mental arithmetic, and did not know how to “do a sum.” We had to show, when called up to recite, a slateful of sums, “done” and “proved.” No explanations were ever asked of us.

The girl who sat next to me saw my distress, and offered to do my sums for me. I accepted her proposal, feeling, however, that I was a miserable cheat. But I was afraid of the master, who was tall and gaunt, and used to stalk across the school-room, right over the desk-tops, to find out if there was any mischief going on. Once, having caught a boy annoying a seat-mate with a pin, he punished the offender by pursuing him around the school-room, sticking a pin into his shoulder whenever he could overtake him. And he had a fearful leather strap, which was sometimes used even upon the shrinking palm of a little girl. If he should find out that I was a pretender and deceiver, as I knew that I was, I could not guess what might happen to me. He never did, however. I was left unmolested in the ignorance which I deserved. But

I never liked the girl who did my sums, and I fancied she had a decided contempt for me.

There was a friendly looking boy always sitting at the master's desk; they called him "the monitor." It was his place to assist scholars who were in trouble about their lessons, but I was too bashful to speak to him, or to ask assistance of anybody. I think that nobody learned much under that regime, and the whole school system was soon after entirely reorganized.

Our house was quickly filled with a large feminine family. As a child, the gulf between little girlhood and young womanhood had always looked to me very wide. I supposed we should get across it by some sudden jump, by and by. But among these new companions of all ages, from fifteen to thirty years, we slipped into womanhood without knowing when or how.

Most of my mother's boarders were from New Hampshire and Vermont, and there was a fresh, breezy sociability about them which made them seem almost like a different race of beings from any we children had hitherto known.

We helped a little about the housework, before and after school, making beds, trimming lamps, and washing dishes. The heaviest work was done by a strong Irish girl, my mother always attending to the cooking herself. She was, however, a better caterer than the circumstances required or permitted. She liked to make nice things for the table, and, having been accustomed to an abundant supply, could never learn to economize. At a dollar and a quarter a week for board, (the price allowed for mill-girls by the corporations) great care in expenditure was necessary. It was not in my mother's nature closely to calculate costs, and in this way there came to be a continually increasing leak in the family purse. The older members of the family did everything they could, but it was not enough. I heard it said one day, in a distressed tone, "The children will have to leave school and go into the mill."

There were many pros and cons between my mother and sisters before this was positively decided. The mill-agent did not want to take us two little girls, but consented on condition we should be sure to attend school the full number of months prescribed each year. I, the younger one, was then between eleven and twelve years old.

I listened to all that was said about it, very much fearing that I should not be permitted to do the coveted work. For the feeling had already frequently come to me, that I was the one too many in the overcrowded family nest. Once, before we left our old home, I had heard a neighbor condoling with my mother because there were so many of us, and her emphatic reply had been a great relief to my mind:—

"There isn't one more than I want. I could not spare a single one of my children."

But her difficulties were increasing, and I thought it would be a pleasure to feel that I was not a trouble or burden or expense to anybody. So I went to my first day's work in the mill with a light heart. The novelty of it made it seem easy, and it really was not hard, just to change the bobbins on the spinning-frames every three quarters of an hour or so, with half a dozen other little girls who were doing the same thing. When I came back at night, the family began to pity me for my long, tiresome day's work, but I laughed and said,—

"Why, it is nothing but fun. It is just like play."

And for a little while it was only a new amusement; I liked it better than going to school and "making believe" I was learning when I was not. And there was a great deal of play mixed with it. We were not occupied more than half the time. The intervals were spent frolicking around among the spinning-frames, teasing and talking to the older girls, or entertaining ourselves with games and stories in a corner, or exploring, with the overseer's permission, the mysteries of the carding-room, the dressing-room, and the weaving-room.

I never cared much for machinery. The buzzing and hissing and whizzing of pulleys and rollers and spindles and flyers around me often grew tiresome. I could not see into their complications, or feel interested in them. But in a room below us we were sometimes allowed to peer in through a sort of blind door at the great waterwheel that carried the works of the whole mill. It was so huge that we could only watch a few of its spokes at a time, and part of its dripping rim, moving with a slow, measured strength through the darkness that shut it in. It impressed me with something of the awe which comes to us in thinking of the great Power which keeps the mechanism of the universe in motion. Even now, the remembrance of its large, mysterious movement, in which every little motion of every noisy little wheel was involved, brings back to me a verse from one of my favorite hymns:—

"Our lives through various scenes are drawn, And vexed by trifling cares, While Thine eternal thought moves on Thy undisturbed affairs."

There were compensations for being shut in to daily toil so early. The mill itself had its lessons for us. But it was not, and could not be, the right sort of life for a child, and we were happy in the knowledge that, at the longest, our employment was only to be temporary.

When I took my next three months at the grammar school, everything there was changed, and I too was changed. The teachers were kind, and thorough in their instruction; and my mind seemed to have been ploughed up during that year of work, so that knowledge took root in it easily. It was a great delight to me to study, and at the end

of the three months the master told me that I was prepared for the high school.

But alas! I could not go. The little money I could earn—one dollar a week, besides the price of my board—was needed in the family, and I must return to the mill. It was a severe disappointment to me, though I did not say so at home. I did not at all accept the conclusion of a neighbor whom I heard talking about it with my mother. His daughter was going to the high school, and my mother was telling him how sorry she was that I could not.

“Oh,” he said, in a soothing tone, “my girl hasn’t got any such head-piece as yours has. Your girl doesn’t need to go.”

Of course I knew that whatever sort of a “head-piece” I had, I did need and want just that very opportunity to study. I think the resolution was then formed, inwardly, that I would go to school again, some time, whatever happened. I went back to my work, but now without enthusiasm. I had looked through an open door that I was not willing to see shut upon me.

I began to reflect upon life rather seriously for a girl of twelve or thirteen. What was I here for? What could I make of myself? Must I submit to be carried along with the current, and do just what everybody else did? No: I knew I should not do that, for there was a certain Myself who was always starting up with her own original plan or aspiration before me, and who was quite indifferent as to what people generally thought.

Well, I would find out what this Myself was good for, and what she should be!

Excerpt from a Report on Child Labor in New York City Tenements by Mary Van Kleeck, 1908

SOURCE: Van Kleeck, Mary. 1908. *Charities and the Commons*, January 18. U.S. Department of Labor, Wirtz Labor Library.

Introduction

The following excerpt is from a report on child labor in New York City prepared by Mary Van Kleeck in January, 1908. Van Kleeck, a member of the settlement house movement, studied women factory workers and child laborers in order to gather evidence to support state legislative reforms. In New York City during the early twentieth century, children were protected by law from working in factories. However, employers evaded this regulation by giving children piecework to do at home. In her report, Van Kleeck attempts to persuade readers that the exploitation of child labor in urban tenements is as harmful as their exploitation in more traditional workplaces such as factories, mills, and mines. For the next three decades, both from within government and without, Van Kleeck tried to improve laws for

the protection of children and women. Eventually she turned to socialism for answers, criticizing even New Deal measures for weakening workers and unions.

The following brief report gives the results of a joint investigation made during the months from October, 1906, to April, 1907, into the labor of children in manufacture in tenement houses in New York City. The National Consumers’ League and the Consumers’ League of New York City, the National and New York Child Labor Committees, and the College Settlements Association co-operated in the undertaking.

In the most thickly populated districts of New York City, especially south of Fourteenth street, little children are often seen on the streets carrying large bundles of unfinished garments, or boxes containing materials for making artificial flowers. This work is given out by manufacturers or contractors to be finished in tenement homes, where the labor of children of any age may be utilized. For the laws of New York state, prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories, stores, or other specified work-places, have never been extended to home workrooms. In this fact is presented a child labor problem,—as yet scarcely touched,—namely: How to prevent employment of young children in home work in manufacture?

So difficult has been the problem of regulating by law the conditions of employment in home workrooms, that advance in measures to protect children against premature toil in factories has had no parallel in provisions designed to regulate manufacture in tenement homes. Between these two systems of manufacture,—one carried on in factories and the other in the homes of the workers,—there are, therefore, some striking contrasts in the law. No maker of artificial flowers can employ in his factory any child under fourteen years of age, but he may give out work to an Italian family, in whose tenement rooms flowers are made by six children, aged two and one-half, five, eight, ten, fourteen and sixteen years. In another family Angelo, aged fourteen years, cannot work legally in a factory until he reaches a higher grade in school, nor can he work at home during hours when school is in session, but his little sister Maria, aged three years, because she is not old enough to go to school and because the home work law contains no prohibition of child labor, may help her mother pull bastings and sew on buttons. A public school teacher notices that Eva and Mary R., aged eleven and ten years, are pale and under-nourished, but although the compulsory education law supports her in requiring their attendance in school during school hours, she cannot prevent their making flowers at home from three o’clock until nine or ten at night. Many good citizens would demand the prosecution of a manufacturer who employed in his factory Tony aged four years, Maria aged nine, Rose aged ten, Lousia aged eleven, and Josephine aged thirteen years. For such an of-

fense the employer might be fined \$100 for each child under fourteen years of age found at work in his factory. Yet public has not raised an effective protest against the same employer when he turns these children's home into a branch of his factory and gives them work in which even the smallest child in the family joins through long hours under a necessity as imperious in its demand for the constant work and attention of the child as would be the commands of a foreman in a factory.

In brief, the law which regulates home work manufacture in New York City, contains no provisions to prevent the employment of children nor to restrict the working hours of minors or women. It provides merely that work on certain specified articles (forty-one in number) given out by manufacturers or contractors, may not be carried on in a tenement living room, unless the owner of the house has first obtained a license from the New York State Department of Labor. Any articles not named in the law may legally be manufactured in unlicensed houses.

That the law in New York state does not protect more effectively these child workers in tenement homes, is due not to a lack of opposition to premature employment of children, but to the impossibility of dealing with the problem merely as a child labor question apart from deep-rooted evils essential to the "sweating system," of which home work is an important part. The evils of the system,—intense competition among unskilled workers in a crowded district, low wages, unrestricted hours of work, irregularity of employment, and utilization of child labor,—are the very conditions which make the system possible and profitable to the employer. Any effective attempt to improve conditions must therefore be an attack upon the sweating system. The manufacturer or contractor, whose employees work in their home, escapes responsibility entailed by the presence of workers in his factory. He saves costs of rent, heat, and light; avoids the necessity of keeping the force together and giving them regular employment when work is slack. And by turning the workers' homes into branches of the factory, he escapes in them the necessity of observing the factory laws. Instead of the manifold restrictions which apply to employees working in the factory, he is here responsible only for keeping a list of his home workers and he may not send any goods, which are named in the home work law into a tenement which has not been licensed.

SOME TYPICAL CASES

The salient features of child labor in home work in New York City may best be illustrated by describing conditions of work of a few of the children so employed, indicating the baffling nature of the problem and at the same time disclosing the serious defect in the present law already described,—its failure to prevent child labor.

If fifty of these children could be gathered together to tell their stories, they would be found to illustrate very distinct conditions under which work is carried on in tenement homes. There is the child of the very poor family who, for various reasons, has fallen below the level of economic independence, and is receiving partial support from a relief society. Another child belongs to a family whose earnings from employment outside the home are entirely adequate for support, but who because of the custom of the neighborhood and a desire to earn a little extra money, take work from a factory to be done at home by members who would otherwise be non-wage earners, the mother and the younger children. In other cases supplementary income derived from home work enables wage earners in outside employments to work with less regularity or to underbid their competitors.

Aside from differences in family circumstances, the children's employment varies greatly in regularity. One child goes every day to school and works only when school is not in session. Another, although of school age, has been kept at home more or less regularly throughout the day, to make flowers or pull bastings. Others, ever since their arrival in the United States, have succeeded in escaping the truant officer, to add their daily earnings to the family income. And although living in the most crowded districts of New York City have never learned to speak or write the English language. Finally there are those who, although they take little part in work brought from the factories, nevertheless bear the burden of the home work system by being compelled to care for younger children or do house work while the mother sews or makes flowers or engages in some other of the numerous varieties of work carried on in tenement homes.

The children are found to illustrate also various phases of the law's application, according to their relation to compulsory education on the one hand and the attempted regulation of home work on the other. This relation of the child to the law demands especial emphasis as illustrating concretely the scope of present regulation.

Index

Page numbers in **boldface** indicate main article on subject. Those in *italics* indicate illustrations, figures, and tables.

A

AAMR (American Association for Mental Retardation), 712

The Abandoned Doll (Valadon), 460, 547

Abandonment, **1–3**

ancient Greece and Rome, 1, 54, 55, 348, 745

Brazil, 115

Christian thought, early, 8–209

inheritance and property, 487–488

Latin America, 531

medieval and Renaissance Europe, 591–592

reasons for, 424

work and poverty, 893–894

See also Foster care; Foundlings

Abbott, Grace, 763

ABC books, **3–5**, 4

Abduction, **5**, **5–8**, 6

See also Lindbergh kidnapping; Mortara abduction

Abduction in modern Africa, **8–10**

Ability grouping in schools, 309–310

Aboriginal children, Australian, 73

Abortion

adolescent girls, 187

Balkans, 293

and birth control, 97, 98, 99, 238–239

fetal imagery, 675

Germany, 239, 240

parental consent, 88–89

sonography, 778, 779

United States, 239, 240

Abraham (Biblical figure), 211, 212

Abstinence education, 742

Abuse, child. *See* Child abuse

Academies, **10–12**, 69, 851, 911–912

Accidents, **12–14**, 484, 593

See also Infant mortality

Accreditation of high schools, 851–852

ACE (American Council on Education), 724

Het achterbuis (Frank), 367–368

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. *See* AIDS

Action figures, 840

Activism, youth. *See* Youth activism

Adams, Harriet Stratemeyer, 521

Adams, John, 903

Adarand v. Pena (1995), 574

ADD (attention deficit disorder). *See* Hyperactivity

Addams, Jane, **14–15**, 149, 762, 763, 1007

Adjudication hearings, 518

Adolescence and youth, **15–20**

as concept, 15–16, 20, 40–41

drug use in, 284

formal study of, 16–17

Great Depression and World War II, 18

history of childhood, 425

homosexuality and sexual orientation, 442

in human growth, 43

Mead, Margaret, 583

postwar teen culture, 18–20

Samoa, 583

schooling and age grading, 17–18

sexuality, 17–18, 743, 746

See also Hall, Granville Stanley

Adolescence (Hall), 16, 413, 703, 812, 914, 1004–1006

Adolescentia, 40

Adolescent literature, 184

See also Children's literature

Adolescent medicine, **20–22**

The Adolescent Society (Coleman), 19

Adoption

ancient Greece and Rome, 55, 348

inheritance and property, 486

Japan, 486

orphans, 642

same-sex parenting, 722, 723

United States, **22–25**, 262, 265, 365, 541, 812

Adoption and Safe Families Act (1997) (U.S.), 365

Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act (1980) (U.S.), 24, 265

Adoration (Käsebier), 570

Adult Attachment Interview, 106–107

Adulthood, age of, 40, 532–533, 540, 545, 846

Adulthood, transitions to. *See* Life course and transitions to adulthood

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Twain), 845

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (Twain), 845

Advertising, **25–29**

to baby boom generation, 75

to children, 428

consumer culture, 243

economics and children in Western societies, 301–302

hygiene, 443, 445

photographs of children, 674–675

- smoking, 761, 761, 762
 television, 815
 toys, 840
See also Consumer culture
- Advice. *See* Child-rearing advice literature
- Aesopic fables, 337, 338
- Aesthetics, 523
- AFDC. *See* Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC)
- Africa, 29–33
 adolescence and initiation, 31–32
 from birth to infancy, 30–31
 female genital mutilation, 32, 356–357, 745
 gerontocracy, 30
 history, 29
 HIV/AIDS, 247, 326–327
 infant mortality, 477, 478
 Madonna, religious, 568
 orphans, 327
 scholarship on, 29–30
 sexuality, 744–745
 from weaning to puberty, 31
See also Abduction in modern Africa
- African-American children and youth, 33, 33–38, 34
 adoption, 24, 265
 boxing, 107
 coeducation and same-sex schooling, 215
 delinquency, 257
 dependent children, 264, 265
 discipline and family, 36–37
 emotional life, 318, 319
 fathering and fatherhood, 351
 foster care, 364, 365
 grandparents, 396
 hygiene, 445
 labeling of, 774
 law, 542
 love, 561
 Oberlin College, 904
 orphan trains, 643
 police, 690
 school buildings and architecture, 728
 school desegregation, 729–731
 school vouchers, 733
 scientific child rearing, 734
 siblings, 756
 slavery and, 33–35
 social settlements, 763
 vocational education, industrial education, and trade schools, 871
- work and poverty, 896
 youth ministries, 918
- African-American women, infertility and, 495
- Age and development, 38–45, 39
 adolescence, 43
 agrarian societies, 40–41
 childhood as perceived by the masses, 40
 cognitive development, 678
 grading and compulsory schooling, 42
 Industrial Age, 41
 medieval and Renaissance Europe, 39–40
 philosophical foundations, 42–43
 Piaget, Jean, 678
 Progressive education and social promotion, 43–44
 twentieth century, 44–45
See also Child development, history of the concept of; Life course and transitions to adulthood
- Age at marriage. *See* Marriage, age at
- Age grading. *See* Age and development
- Age of adulthood. *See* Adulthood, age of
- Age of consent, 45–47
 Britain, 166, 196
 child saving, 196
 England, 45–46, 142
 homosexuality and sexual orientation, 441
 United States, 748–749
- The Age of Innocence* (Reynolds), 453, 821
- Ages of man, 38–39, 39
- Aggression. *See* Anger and aggression
- AIDS, 47–48, 247, 326–327, 742, 805, 863
See also Venereal disease
- Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC), 48–49, 263–265, 398, 855, 883–884
- Alcohol. *See* Teen drinking
- Alcott, Bronson, 49–50, 555–556
- Alcott, Louisa May. *See* *Little Women* and Louisa May Alcott
- Alcuin of York, 249
- Alexander, J. Trent, 420
- Alfred Dedreux as a Child* (Géricault), 455–456
- Alice books (Carroll), 131, 132, 182
- Alice Liddell as the Beggar Maid* (Carroll), 675
- Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Carroll), 179, 182, 867
- Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet* (General pedagogics derived from the purpose of education) (Herback), 418
- Alliance Israélite Universelle (Universal Jewish Alliance), 603
- Allowances, 27, 50–51, 301
See also Piggy bank
- Almanac of Health* (Ibn Butlan), 444
- Alston, Lester, 684
- Altbach, Philip, 904, 905, 908
- Alternative schools. *See* Magnet schools
- AMA. *See* American Medical Association (AMA)
- Amaterasu (Shinto sun goddess), 568
- Amateur Athletic Union, 786
- Amateur publishing. *See* Juvenile publishing
- American Adoption Congress, 25
- American Anti-Slavery Society, 900
- American Association for Mental Retardation (AAMR), 712
- American Boy*, 26
- American Charities* (Warner), 639
- American College Testing Services, 724
- American Convention on Human Rights (1969), 514
- American Council on Education (ACE), 724
- American Eugenics Society, 328
- American Girl*, 811
- American Indian schools, 51, 51–53, 620
- Americanization movement, bilingual education and, 95
- American Legion, 83
- American Medical Association (AMA), 175, 437, 710, 854–855
- American Pediatric Society, 175
- American School for the Deaf, 780
- American Sign Language (ASL), 780
- American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA), 740, 741, 867–868
- American Society for the Promotion of Dentistry for Children, 259
- American Student Union (ASU), 905, 906, 907
- American Youth Congress, 905, 906
- American Youth Soccer Organization, 786
- Amniocentesis, 237
- Amphidromia ceremony, 54
- Amusement parks. *See* Theme parks
- Amytal, 710
- Anabaptists, 80, 700, 701
- Anal phase, 481, 835–836
- Anchor Building Blocks, 241

- Ancient Greece and Rome, **53–59**
 abandonment, 1, 54, 55, 348, 745
 adoption, 55, 348
 age of adulthood, 40
 age of consent, 45
 anger, 348
 art, 56
 boyhood, 226
 child prostitution, 745
 children's spaces, 187
 education, 55–56
 fathering and fatherhood, 348
 formation during pregnancy and early childhood, 58–59
 Greco-Roman cosmologies, 57–58
 higher education, 59
 hygiene, 443
 from infancy to prepuberty, 54–55
 infanticide, 227
 law, 56
 literacy, 55
 love, 560
 medicine, 56
 naming, 54, 55
 obstetrics and midwifery, 629
 overview, **53–57**
 parades, 646
 pediatrics, 657
 pedophilia, 663
 from puberty to adulthood, 56–57
 rape, 56
 religion, 56
 retardation, 712
 rites of passage, 56–57
 self-formation, **57–59**
 sexuality, 745–746
 sports, 782
 swaddling, 58–59
 theories of play, 827–828
 zoos, 923
- Andersen, Hans Christian, **59–60**
See also Children's literature
- Anderson, Karen, 868
- And to Think That I Saw It on Mulberry Street* (Seuss), 282
- Angelito* photographs, 401
- The Angel of the House* (Patmore), 571
- Anger and aggression, **60–62**
 ancient Greece and Rome, 348
 child-rearing advice literature, 171, 172
 discouraging anger, 61–62
 effect of television on, 814
 emotional life, 315, 317, 319
 gender and anger, 61, 62
 variations within and between cultures, 60–61
 Wright, Henry Clarke, 900
- Anglo-Saxon curriculum, 306
- Anguissola, Sofonisba, 314, 450
- Animals
 contagious diseases, 244–245
 cruelty to, 669, 670, 671, 924
 and sexuality, 745
 Watson, John B., work with, 881–882
See also Pets
- Anime*, 506
- Ankle socks, 105–106
- The Annotated Jules Verne* (Miller), 865
- Anorexia, **62–64**
- Anselm, Saint (archbishop of Canterbury), 250, 267
- Anthropology of childhood. *See* Sociology and anthropology of childhood
- Anthroposophy, 786–787
- Antioch College, 580
- Antiquity. *See* Ancient Greece and Rome
- Antislavery movement, 903–904
- Antiwar activism, 904–905, 906, 907, 908
- Apartheid, youth activism and, 908
- Apatouria festival, 54
- “Aphorisms” (Hippocrates), 657
- Apprenticeship, **64–66**
 child care, 145, 149
 early modern Europe, 331
 India and South Asia, 466
 law, 540, 541
 vocational education, industrial education, and trade schools, 871
- Arabia, pre-Islamic, 497, 499
- Architecture. *See* Children's spaces; School buildings and architecture
- Argentina. *See* Latin America
- Ariès, Philippe, 30, **66–68**
 adolescence, 425
 adoption, 486
 age and development, 38, 39, 40
 boyhood, 108, 109
 child abuse, 141
 history of childhood, influence on, 422–423, 426, 427, 449
 love, 425, 560
 medieval and Renaissance Europe, 590, 591
 play, 683, 828
 theories of childhood, 821
See also Comparative history of childhood; History of childhood
- Aristocratic education in Europe, **68–69**, 479–480
See also Education, Europe
- Aristotle, 16, 54, **69–71**, 712
- Armstrong, Myrna, 806
- Armstrong, Samuel Chapman, 871
- Arnold, Thomas, 704, 784
- Art
 ancient Greece and Rome, 56
 China, 205
 fine art photography, 672–673, 674
 games in, 450–451, 791
 Holocaust, 432
 images of childhood in, 449–463
 Netherlands, 451
See also Japanese art, contemporary; Victorian art
- Artificial insemination, **71**, 238
See also Conception and birth
- The Artist's Daughters Chasing a Butterfly* (Gainsborough), 754
- ASHA (American Social Hygiene Association), 740, 741, 867–868
- Asia. *See* China; India and South Asia; Japan
- ASL (American Sign Language), 780
- Assisted reproductive technologies (ART), 238, 494–495
- Asthma, hygiene and, 446–447
- Astuti, Rita, 669
- ASU (American Student Union), 905, 906, 907
- Asylums. *See* Houses of Refuge
- Atari Corporation, 843
- Atheists, Boy Scouts and, 111, 112
- Athens (Greece), 54, 55, 56, 57
See also Ancient Greece and Rome
- Attachment theory, 90, 106–107, 169, 173
- Attention deficit disorder. *See* Hyperactivity
- Aubry, Etienne, 885
- Auchtmuty, Richard Tylden, 871
- Auction game, 685
- Augustine, Saint (bishop of Hippo), 80, 208, 209–210, 441, 665, 828
- d'Aulnoy, Madame (Marie-Catherine), 181, 338, 339
- Au pairs, 145
- Australia, **71–73**, 680, 681
- Autobiographies, **73–74**
 Benjamin, Walter, 89–90
 fear mentioned in, 354, 355, 356
 Frank, Anne, 367–368
 Holocaust, 432, 434, 435
 Russia, 836–837
See also Children's literature

- Automobiles. *See* Cars as toys
Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse
 (Telemachus, son of Ulysses)
 (Fénelon), 357, 358
 Ayahs, 119, 120, 453
- B**
- Baby and Child Care* (Spock), 273, 578,
 735, 781, 782
 Baby boom generation, 75–76
 children's spaces, 189–190, 191
 consumer culture, 243
 fathering and fatherhood, 352
 manners, 578–579
 teen drinking, 810
 toys, 839–840
 Baby Einstein Company, 483
 Baby farming, 77
 See also Infant mortality
 Baby M, 802
 Baby-sitters, 77–78, 146
 See also Child care, in-home
Baccalauréat, 563, 564
The Backward Child (Burt), 202
 Baden-Powell, Robert, 78–79, 110–
 112, 111, 196
 See also Boy Scouts
 Badinter, Elisabeth, 423–424
 Bagellardo, Paolo, 657
 Bailey, Margaret, 577
 Bailey, Rufus W., letter to daughters
 at school, 931–932
 Baldwin, James Mark, 152, 153–154,
 167, 830
 Baldwin effect, 154
 Bali, 583
 Balkans. *See* Eastern Europe, Balkans
 Balthus (Balthasar Klossowski), 461,
 558
 Ban, Zhao, 227
 Baptism, 79–80
 Catholicism, 80, 134, 135
 Christian thought, early, 208, 209
 foundlings, 365
 godparents, 392
 Protestant Reformation, 700, 701
 as rite of passage, 714–715
 See also Communion, first;
 Confirmation
 Bara, Joseph, 453, 777
 Barak, Gregg, 436
 Barbie, 80–81, 281, 840
 “The Barefoot Boy” (Whittier), 940–
 941
 Bar mitzvah, bat mitzvah, 81–82, 508,
 511
 Barnard, Henry, 190, 223, 850
 Barnardo, Thomas, 680, 681
 See also Placing out
 Barrie, J. M. *See* *Peter Pan* and J. M.
 Barrie
 Barring out the master, 731–732
 Baseball, 82–83, 83, 637, 785–786
 See also Sports
 Basedow, Johann Bernhard, 84, 323
 Bashkirtseff, Marie, 74, 303, 457, 461
 Basil, Saint (bishop of Caesarea), 209
 Basketball, 84–85, 406, 783, 784
 See also Sports
 Basque Country, bastardy in, 85, 86
 Bass, Ellen, 709
 Bassett-Lowke, W. J., 844
 Bastardy, 85–87
 Basque Country, 85, 86
 law, 86, 540, 542, 544
 New France (Canada), 130
 orphans, 642
 Protestant Reformation, 700
 See also Children's rights; Law,
 children and the
 Bates, Ruby, 736
The Bath (Cassatt), 134
 Batman (comic book hero), 219, 221
 Bat mitzvah. *See* Bar mitzvah, bat
 mitzvah
 Battered-child syndrome. *See* Child
 abuse
 “The Battered-Child Syndrome”
 (Kempe and Silverman), 141, 143,
 364
 Battledores, 3, 179
 Baudelaire, Charles, 457, 461
 Baum, L. Frank. *See* Wizard of Oz and
 L. Frank Baum
 Baumrind, Diana, 87–88
 BBS (British Boy Scouts), 111, 112
The Beast in the Boudoir (Kete), 670–
 671
 Beatles, 913
 Beaumont, Marie, 181
 Beck, Charles, 785
 Becker, Gay, 313
 Beecher, Catharine E., 113, 387, 676,
 695, 984
 Beers, Clifford W., 595
 “Before the Birth of One of Her
 Children” (Bradstreet), 936
 Behaviorism
 child psychology, 167–168, 169
 child-rearing advice literature,
 172
 guilt and shame, 405
 scientific child rearing, 734–735
 toilet training, 835–836
 Watson, John B., 882
 Beijing Rules, 513
Being a Boy Again (Jacobson), 109
 Belgium, abduction in, 7–8, 663
 Bell, Andrew, 849–850
 Bellini, Giovanni, 449–450, 450
Bellotti v. Baird (1979), 88–89, 187
 Bendix, Bernhard, 634
 Bengal, smallpox in, 325
 Benjamin, Walter, 89–90
 Bergh, Henry, 771
*Berlin Childhood around 1900 (Berliner
 Kindheit um neunzehnhundert)*
 (Benjamin), 89
 Bertolucci, Bernardo, 480
 “Best interest of the child” doctrine
 challenged, 90
 children's rights, 186, 187
 dependent children, 262
 divorce and custody, 276, 277,
 278
 law, 541–542
 Bettelheim, Bruno, 339
Beyond the Best Interests of the Child
 (Goldstein, Freud, and Solnit), 90,
 369
Beyond the Pleasure Principle (Freud),
 831
 The Bible, 90–93, 211, 212, 555, 977–
 979
 Bicycles and tricycles, 94
 See also Play
 Big Man, 30
Bildungsroman, 74
 Bilingual education, 94–96
 Proposition 227 (California), 972–
 974
 See also Education, United States
 Bilingual Education Act (1968) (U.S.),
 95
 Binet, Alfred, 96, 201, 489, 495, 713
 See also Intelligence testing
 Bingham, George Caleb, 618
 Birkenau concentration camp, 433
 Birth. *See* Conception and birth
 Birth control, 97–99, 238
 Birth Control Research Bureau, 98
 Birthday, 42, 99–100, 216–217, 715
 Birth defects, 100–102, 101, 236
 Birth motherhood, 603, 604
 Birth order, 102–105, 103
 See also Family patterns
 Birth rates. *See* Fertility rates
 Bismarck, Otto van, 764, 765, 766
 Black, Hugo, 833
Black Children with White Doll (Parks),
 122, 461

- Black Death, 247, 326
 Blackmun, Harry, 539
 Blake, William, 142, 161, 454
 Blended sentencing, 516–517
 Blindness, special education and, 780
 Blood-letting in pediatrics, 658
 “Blow” (Goya), 453
Blue Boy (Gainsborough), 345
 Board books, 484
 Boarding schools, 151, 695, 696, 704
 Boas, Franz, 583
 The Bobbsey Twins series, 521
 Bobby soxers, **105–106**
 See also Teenagers; Youth culture
 Body memories, 710
 Body modification. *See* Tattoos and piercing
 Body organs, selling of, 391
 “Body Ritual among the *Nacirema*” (Miner), 446
 Boer War, 875, 877
 Bogeyman, 354
The Boit Children (Sargent), 383, 458
The Boko of Children (Phaer), 657
 Bolsheviks, Communist youth and, 224, 225
The Book and the Sword (Halvini), 435
 Book gingerbread, 3
 “The Book of Lost Tales” (Tolkien), 559
Book of Nonsense (Lear), 182
 Boston Children’s Aid Society, 262
 Boston Children’s Hospital Adolescent Unit, 20–21
 Boston Conference on Physical Training (1889), 676
 Boston Latin School, 393
 Boswell, John, 1, 424
 Bowlby, John, **106–107**, 169, 371
 See also Attachment theory
 Boxing, **107**
 See also Sports
 Boy-bishop celebration, 683–684
 Boyhood, **107–110**, 108
 ancient Greece and Rome, 226
 in the Bible, 91–92
 breeching, 118
 child labor in the West, 159, 160, 161
 children’s literature, 182–183
 creating, 108–109
 delinquency, 257
 fashion, 346, 346, 347
 friendship, 373
 masturbation, 747–748
 medieval and Renaissance Europe, 591
 nostalgia for, 109
 popular advice literature, 107–108
 puberty, 702, 703, 744
 rites of passage, 715
 shyness, 752
 United States, 109
 varieties, 109–110
 See also Gendering; Girlhood
Boyhood (Faed), 457
 “Boyology in the Twentieth Century” (Kidd), 107
 Boys Brigade, 110
 Boy Scouts, 78–79, **110–113**, 111, 196, 385, 386
 See also Girl Scouts
 Boy Scouts of America, 111, 112, 196, 406
Boys on Easter Morning (Lee), 34
The Boy’s Own Book (Clarke), 468
Boys Town, 256
Boy with a Clubfoot (Ribera), 101, 451
Boy with Toys on Porch (Underwood and Underwood), 839
 Brace, Charles Loring, **113–114**
 child saving, 195
 foster care, 364
 New York Children’s Aid Society, 622–623
 orphan trains, 643
 placing out, 261–262, 680, 887–888
 See also Child saving; Placing out
 Bradley, Milton, 468
 Bradstreet, Anne, 733, 936
 Branding, 345–346, 805, 806
 Brazil, **114–117**, 532
 contemporary, **116–117**
 history, **114–116**
 See also Latin America
 Breast-feeding. *See* Infant feeding; La Leche League
 Breech births, 234
 Breeching, 108–109, **118**
 See also Fashion
 Brewer, Dominic I., 733
A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies (de Las Casas), 976–977
 Brigandage, 6
 Briggs, Jean, 60
 Brigham, Carl Campbell, 724
 Britain
 adolescence and youth, 17
 age at marriage, 18
 age of consent, 166, 196
 child care, in-home, 146
 child labor, 159, 161, 195, 196, 332, 333, 765
 child prostitution, 166
 children’s libraries, 177
 child saving, 195
 child study, 202
 education, 305
 industrialization, 330
 juvenile delinquency, 196
 kindergarten, 524
 media, 587
 placing out, 680–681
 public health, 196–197, 764–765
 radio, 707, 708, 709
 relationship between state and family, 334
 social welfare, 764–765, 766, 767
 television, 707
 See also England; Scotland, literacy in
 Britain, William, 842
 British Boy Scouts (BBS), 111, 112
 British Child Study Association, 2
 British colonialism in India, **118–121**, 119, 466, 526
 British Psychoanalytical Society, 369, 527
 Brittany (France), inheritance and property, 485
 Brothers. *See* Siblings
 Brothers of the Christian Schools, 250
 Brown, Ford Madox, 457, 790
 Brown, Margaret Wise, 183, 184
 Brown, Sara A., 436, 437
 Brown Babies, 880
The Brownies Book, 184
 Brown University, 882–883
Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, **121–122**, 122, 545, 730, 965–967
 See also African-American children and youth; Education, United States
 Brueghel, Jan (the Elder), 188
 Brueghel, Pieter (the Elder), 450–451, 683, 791, 828
 Brumberg, Joan Jacob, 63
 Bruner, Jerome, 155, 831
 Bryn Mawr College, 890, 891
Bubbles (Millais), 443
 Bubonic plague, 247, 326
 See also Epidemics
 Bühler, Charlotte, **122–123**, 202
 Bundling, **123–125**
Bundling (Stiles), 124
 Bunyan, John, 179–180, 354
 Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S.), 51, 52
 Bureau of Wet Nurses (Paris), 884
 Burgess, Gelett, 577

- Burt, Sir Cyril, **125**
 Business curriculum. *See* Commercial curriculum
 Busing, school desegregation and, **730**
 Byzantium, **592**
- C**
 Caldwell, J. C., **361–362**
Calling All Girls, **811**
 Calvin, John, **700, 701**
 Calvinist Christianity, emotional life and, **315**
 See also Christianity
 Calvin Klein (company), **163, 163–164**
 Calyo, Nicolino, **346**
 Cameron, Julia Margaret, **453, 460, 672**
 Camp Fire Girls, **385, 386, 406–407**
 Camps, summer. *See* Summer camps
 Campus revolts in the 1960s, **127–129**
 See also Youth activism
 Canada, **129–131**
 child labor, **160**
 colonial period: New France, **130**
 fertility rates, **362**
 First Nations: Kwakiutl and Huron, **129–130**
 placing out, **680**
 schooling in the nineteenth century, **130–131**
 See also Native American children
 Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, **266**
 Capital punishment for youth, **515, 517**
 Capparoni, Jennie, **296**
 Captain America (comic book hero), **219, 220**
 Care, child. *See* Child care
The Care and Feeding of Children (Holt), **651**
 Caries, dental, **258–260**
 Carnegie, Andrew, **192**
 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, **724**
 Carnegie units, **511**
 Carroll, Lewis, **131–132**
 children's literature, **179, 182**
 images of childhood, **460**
 photographs of children, **162, 672, 675**
 Victorian art, **866**
 See also Children's literature
 Cars
 and accidents, **12, 14**
 as toys, **132–133**
 in youth culture, **912, 915**
 Carstens, C. C., **771**
 Cartoons, **273, 274, 274, 275**
 CAS. *See* New York Children's Aid Society (CAS)
Casa dei Bambini (Children's House), **602**
 Cassatt, Mary, **133–134, 458, 575**
 See also Images of childhood; Mothering and motherhood
 Castle Waiting series, **221**
 Catacomb of Priscilla, **566**
 Cathedral schools. *See* Convent schools (cathedral schools)
 Catherine of Siena, Saint, **63**
 Catholicism, **134–138, 135**
 American Catholicism and childhood, **136–137**
 artificial insemination, **71**
 baptism, **80, 134, 135**
 bastardy, **86**
 birth control, **97–99**
 Brazil, **114, 115**
 coeducation and same-sex schooling, **214**
 communion, first, **223–224**
 confirmation, **240**
 early Church, **134–136**
 education, Europe, **302, 303–304**
 fathering and fatherhood, **350**
 girls' schools, **387–388**
 Helene, **414**
 literacy, **553–554**
 Madonna, religious, **568**
 Mortara abduction, **603**
 naming, **614, 615**
 New York Children's Aid Society, **622–623**
 orphanages, **638, 887**
 orphan trains, **643**
 Reformation, **250, 288, 350, 614**
 self-starvation, **63**
 sexual abuse, **143–144**
 Sunday, **800**
 youth ministries, **919**
 See also Parochial schools; Protestant Reformation
 Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), **85, 107, 785, 919**
The Cat in the Hat (Seuss), **182, 282**
 Cavities, **258–260**
 CCA (Comics Code Authority), **220–221**
 CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) (U.S.), **909, 910**
 CDC (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention) (U.S.), **863**
 Cele, Joan, **536**
 Cells and bells schools, **727**
 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (U.S.), **863**
 Central America. *See* Latin America
Centuries of Childhood (Ariès), **66–67**
 age and development, **38**
 boyhood, **108**
 history of childhood, **422–423, 426**
 medieval and Renaissance Europe, **590**
 play, **683, 828**
 theories of childhood, **821**
Century of the Child (Key), **138, 523**
 See also Children's rights; Key, Ellen
 Cesarean section, **234, 235–236, 237, 631**
 Chadwick, Edwin, **764–765**
 Chairs, high and low, **375**
 Challenge Program (California), **737**
 Chambers, Robert, **153**
 Chapbooks, **4, 338**
 Charcot, Jean-Martin, **96**
 Charity schools, **849, 850**
 Charivari, **138–140, 911, 911**
 Charter schools, **140–141, 729**
 See also Education, United States; School choice
Cherry Ripe (Millais), **460, 865**
 Cherubs as images of childhood, **450**
 Chess, child prodigies in, **165**
 Chickamy (game), **792, 793**
 Child, L. Maria, **468**
 Child abuse, **141–144**
 child saving, **195**
 defining, **141–142**
 foster care, **364**
 Freud, Sigmund, **370, 371**
 incest, **463–464**
 innocence and abuse, **142–143**
 juvenile justice, **514**
 law, **544–545**
 preventing and prosecuting, **143–144**
 See also Sexual abuse; Sexual abuse; Violence against children
 Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (1972) (U.S.), **364**
 Child analysis, **369, 526–527, 595–596**
The Child and the Curriculum (Dewey), **268**
 Childbirth. *See* Conception and birth
Child Bitten by a Crayfish (Anguissola), **314, 450**
 Child care, **144–152**
 in-home, **144–146, 604–605**
 institutional forms, **146–149, 190**

- United States, **149–152**
See also Nursery schools; Placing out
- Child custody. *See* Divorce and custody
- Child development, history of the concept of, **152–156**, 483, 666–667
- Child guidance, **156–157**, 596
- Childhood
- cultural politics, 773
 - idealizing, 333
 - sentimentalizing, 38, 42
 - sexualizing, 162, 163, 164
 - and welfare state, 769–770
- Childhood* (Gorky), 837
- Childhood, theories of. *See* Theories of childhood
- Childhood and Society* (Erikson), 327–328
- Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth* (Tolstoy), 836–837
- influence of, in Russia, **836–838**
- Childhood in the Middle Ages* (Shahar), 424
- Child labor in developing countries, **157–159**
- combating, 158–159
 - comparative history of childhood, 231
 - globalization, 390–391
 - India and South Asia, 466
 - international law, 157
 - Latin America, 531, 532, 533
 - in practice, 157–158
 - See also* Work and poverty
- Child labor in the West, **159–162**, 160, 161
- accidents, 13
 - Britain, 195, 332, 333, 765
 - Catholicism, 136
 - as child abuse, 142
 - child saving, 196
 - development and change, 159–161, 160
 - early modern Europe, 331–332
 - economics and children in Western societies, 297, 298, 300
 - Europe, 331–332, 333–334
 - family patterns, 341
 - Great Depression and New Deal, 398
 - Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 414–415
 - history of childhood, 429
 - images of childhood, 454
 - industrial homework, 470–471
 - law, 543
 - National Child Labor Committee (U.S.), 616–617
 - New France (Canada), 130
 - new perspectives, 161, 161–162
 - photographs, 160, 296, 421–422
 - report on child labor in New York City tenements (Van Kleeck), 1019–1020
 - United States, 195, 296
 - U.S. Children’s Bureau, 855
 - violence against children, 869
 - work and poverty, 895
 - See also* Economics and children in Western societies, from agriculture to industry; Work and poverty
- Child pornography, **162–164**, 163, 673
- See also* Photographs of children
- Child Pornography Prevention Act (1996) (U.S.), 162–163
- Child prodigies, **164–165**, 211
- Child prostitution, 142, **165–167**, 391, 745
- See also* Pedophilia
- Child psychology, **167–170**, 651, 734
- See also* Child development, history of the concept of
- Child-rearing advice literature, **170–174**
- Baby and Child Care* (Spock), 273, 578, 735, 781, 782
 - the Bible, 92
 - boyhood, 107–108
 - Catholicism, 135
 - emotional life, 316–317, 320
 - fear, 354, 355
 - infant toys, 483–484
 - jealousy and envy, 507
 - manners, 577–579
 - Middle East, 600
 - permissiveness, 172, 173, 781
 - posture, 692
 - Protestant Reformation, 701
 - scientific child rearing, 734–735
 - self-esteem, 737
 - sexuality, 747–748
 - shyness, 753
 - siblings, 756
 - sleep, 759
 - toilet training, 835–836
 - United States, 649, 650
 - vacations, 860
 - See also* Parenting; *Parents Magazine*; Scientific child rearing
- Children and Adolescents Act (1990) (Brazil), 117
- Children in Chinese Art* (Wicks), 205
- Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Hawes and Hiner), 206
- Children Now, 21
- The Children of Edward Holden Cruttenden with an Indian Ayah* (Reynolds), 119, 453
- Children of the City* (Nasaw), 685
- Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint USAID/UNICEF/UNAIDS Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, 1003–1004
- Children Playing* (Kokoschka), 464
- Children’s Afternoon at Wargemont* (Renoir), 455, 458
- Children’s Bureau. *See* U.S. Children’s Bureau
- Children’s Code (1917) (Minnesota), 23
- Children’s Defense Fund, **174–175**, 265
- The Children’s Doctor* (Smith), 173
- Children’s Film Foundation (Britain), 609
- Children’s films, 609–610
- Children’s Games* (Brueghel), 450–451, 683, 791, 828
- Children’s Games* (Northwood), 624
- Children’s Games in Street and Playground* (Opie and Opie), 685
- The Children’s Holiday* (Hunt), 458, 858
- Children’s hospitals, **175–177**, 192–193, 237, 658, 658
- See also* Pediatrics
- Children’s libraries, **177–178**, 192
- Children’s literature, **178–185**
- contemporary, 182, 183, 184, 184–185
 - early history, 178–180
 - emotional life, 317
 - Enlightenment, 323
 - fairy and folk tales, 179, 181–182
 - fear, 356
 - media, 585–586
 - Victorian, 180, 181, 182–184
 - See also* ABC books; Comic books; Fairy tales and fables; Juvenile publishing; Series books
- Children’s rights, **186–187**
- child saving, 186
 - Enlightenment, 324
 - international organizations, 491–492
 - Key, Ellen, 138
 - law, children and the, 543–544, 545
 - Scandinavia, 768
 - United States, 833
 - See also* Law, children and the