

Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past
8th Annual International Conference
DePaul University, Chicago IL
September 11-13, 2015

Abstracts

Abstracts are presented alphabetically using the last name of the senior author.

The New Child: The Birth of a Psychological Subject

Jutta Ahlbeck, University of Turku, Finalnd

The paper examines changing notions of childhood in Finland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Following scholars who argue that children and childhood started gaining intense medical and psychological attention in the mid-1900th century, the paper scrutinizes when and how notions of children's psychological development entered Finnish scientific discourses. Whereas children's somatic health (infant mortality, contagious diseases, malnutrition) had long been a societal concern, the new 'child sciences', child psychiatry and child psychology, addressed the importance of children's minds and mental capacities as crucial to the normal development of the child. Scholars such as Wilhelm Preyer (1882), James Sully (1895) and Stanley G. Hall (1894, 1904) introduced new psychological theories on children's minds, and their works reached and influenced Finnish educators and psychologists. The notion that the child's mind is different from that of an adult, and that children are in need of special care and protection, resulted in intellectual, but also sentimental investments in childhood. The paper analyzes early Finnish child-psychological writings and looks at how the child as a psychological subject is conceptualized at the turn of the century. How was the child's mind to be understood, how should a 'normal' child develop, in other words, what is a child?

Paper Traces Childhood: Print Representations and Personal Reappropriations of an Idealized American Girlhood, 1900-1919

Diana Anselmo-Sequeira, University of Pittsburgh

At the turn of the twentieth century, scientists began defining adolescence as a key developmental phase, distinct from childhood and adult age. By arguing that sexual awakening marked the onset of adolescence, G. Stanley Hall, Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud, among other leading psychologists, cemented a long-lasting cultural notion that childhood was an idealized life-stage, signified by discovery, playfulness, and sexual unawareness. Seeking to explore the discrepancies between how young female development was represented and experienced in early-twentieth-century America, this paper surveys images, articles, and films mass-produced between 1900 and 1919 in tandem with scrapbooks handcrafted by girls growing up in the US during that period. I propose that the invention of adolescence created an ambiguous cultural discourse regarding female development, simultaneously

praising female children's sexual innocence while condemning women's inability to mature past adolescence. By examining the personal scrapbooks of white, middle-class girls, I set out to investigate how individual female actors negotiated their lived childhoods, peer relations, and burgeoning sexual identities through the reappropriation (and at times subversion) of mass print sources, the same sources psychologists and educators claimed should teach American girls how to grow from idealized daughters into ideal wives.

From Boys to Men: the Role of Men's Houses and Gaming in the Construction of Classic Maya Masculinities

Traci Ardren, University of Miami

Age-based and gendered ideals are often grounded in ideas about how bodies work which often translates into how bodies circulate through space. This paper looks at how spatial arrangements within Classic Maya civic buildings, especially men's houses as described in 16th century ethnohistoric sources, contributed to a sense of gender difference and how gendered ideals in turn contributed to architectural designs. Men's houses provided a framework for the transformation of Maya children into adult men, and activities such as gaming and competitive sports circulated notions of ideal adult masculinity. Using ethnohistoric sources and archaeological data from Classic period Maya cities, I explore how age-based social identities of 'child' and 'adult male' were negotiated and solidified. Such social relationships were enmeshed within an architectural space of heightened significance and unfolded in partnership with material objects that reinforced messages of all male competitive performance.

The Bioarchaeology of Children beyond the Bones

Brenda J. Baker, Arizona State University

Bioarchaeologists typically study indicators of physiological stress in the skeleton as a measure of population health. Because most of these stress indicators form in childhood, adult skeletons are often used for such assessments while those of children are frequently neglected. Even when preadults are incorporated into bioarchaeological studies, rarely are they considered beyond the bones. This emphasis on a few indicators of stress is pervasive in the literature. Although bioarchaeologists are beginning to move into broader considerations of weaning and childhood diets and diseases, providing a fuller understanding of past childhoods, contextualization of the infants and children within the archaeological and cultural sphere they inhabited is still largely lacking in these studies. A more holistic approach must consider the treatment of children in both life and death, moving beyond the bones. Examples from Abydos, Egypt, and el-Ginefab, Sudan, are used to illustrate this approach. Specifically, I will consider how the treatment of children in death in these contexts may affect our understanding of the life course, biological development, and health status in the past.

Toy Soldiers from Vilnius, Lithuania, 15th – 19th centuries

Povilas Blaževičius, National Museum, Palace of the Grande Dukes of Lithuania, Vilnius, Lithuania

Themes of toys, today and in the past periods, reflects various everyday life activities of the adults – crafts, economic, household activities, care and certainly warfare. By observing hunters and warriors children understand the power of the weapons. Warfare and hunting skills were important not only for survival, but also as the evidence of social status. That vital and social importance of hunting and warfare could cause also the huge popularity of warfare toys. The aim of presentation is to explore and present to the scientific community a group archeological finds directly associated with military weapons - toy soldiers. Although toy soldiers found in Vilnius (Lithuania) do not constitute a substantial group of archeological finds, however these 15th – 19th AC artifacts deserve a proper attention of researchers. Different forms and appearances of soldiers allow to learn more about various toy manufacturing machinery and materials, their chronological and geographical spread. The examination of these figurines reveals significant costume and weapons details that helps in determining the typology and chronology of these finds. The studying of warfare toys might provide additional knowledge about the relevant era of fashion and military developments.

The Ideal Child in the Andes: A Bioarchaeological and Biogeochemical Study of the Constructions of Childhood among the Tiwanaku

Deborah E. Blom, University of Vermont and Kelly J. Knudson, Arizona State University

Despite their importance, little attention has been paid to childhood and the roles of children in the ancient Andes. Here, we focus our case study on the Tiwanaku polity of the South Central Andes, which expanded across parts of Bolivia, Peru, Chile and Argentina between ca. 500-1100AD. We construct the “ideal child” based on ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources as well as mortuary treatments of juveniles compared to adults at Tiwanaku-affiliated sites. We then use bioarchaeological and biogeochemical data to better understand the construction of age identities and “childhood”, contrasting our studies of the ideal child with data on the lived experiences of individuals in the past. These data include bioarchaeological and paleopathological data, such as linear enamel hypoplasia (LEH), as well as biogeochemical indicators of paleodiet, such as isotopic indicators of the weaning process. By combining multiple lines of ethnographic, ethnohistoric, bioarchaeological and biogeochemical evidence, we can elucidate the complex interplays between idealized childhoods and actual lived experiences of children in the past.

Children in ancient world: gender and ritual in Mesoamerica and Andean Territory

Gracia Sara Vargas Carbajal, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México

Using historical evidence from the descriptions of chroniclers (Peru) and colonial codices (Mexico), many researchers make designations of gender activities corresponding to each social sector, considering it in the past used to be highly hierarchical and specific in their categorizations. Through this, I have done correlation of the executed activities in the daily evolution of the infants, a fundamental but relegated sector from the official history as an active agent, with much more information about the ritual contexts linked to burial spaces. However, this information results insufficient given the large amounts of available material both in museum collections and within the same archaeological contexts, that since their registration, excludes the active social participation of the infant, both in the consumption as well as in the production. The questioning of archaeological materials and historical sources of the Basin of Mexico for the Late Postclassic, and Late Horizon in the Central Andes, must clarify how children are represented on the archaeological context in very distant spaces, and the forms of ritual who used to have for their daily needs.

The 18th Century Ideal Child: Romance and Reality

Suzanne Conway, Chestnut Hill College

John Locke, followed half a century later by Jean Jacques Rousseau, defined a “new child”, an ideal child, as they set forth a new construct of childhood and the nature of the child. This “new child” was defined as innately innocent and pure, yet vulnerable physically, emotionally, morally and intellectually thus needing careful and specific nurturing and education that only a loving family could properly provide. My paper will argue that following the publication of *Emile* in 1762 Rousseau’s concept, building on Locke’s, of the new child resonated so intensely within the upper middle class and some of the aristocracy in England and France that it resulted in new subject matter in painting and prints: sentimentalized portraits of mothers nurturing children and of families united by ties of mutual affection. Reynolds’ painting of the Duchess of Devonshire delightedly playing with her daughter and Moreau’s “Les délices de la maternité”, however, had counterparts in the images of what was the actual early childhood experience of most children, being put out to a wet nurse. The resulting alienation from family and endangerment by potential neglect and possible outright infanticide was portrayed in imagery such as Morland’s *Visit to the Wetnurse* and multiple representations by Greuze of the emotionally charged sending to and the conflicted return of a child, should it survive, from the wet nurse.

A Victorian Family Album: gazing at posterity

Sally Crawford, Oxford University

In 2014, a donor gave the Institute of Archaeology Historic Environment Image Resource a box of glass plate lantern slides which he had recently found in a sale. The box contained 150 glass plate negatives, which were the product of a photographer in one anonymous English family. The subject of the photographs fell into two distinct categories: the first, 'arty' landscape images imitating many of the popular etchings and paintings prevalent in the art of this period. The second part, which covers the majority of the images, recorded family life and activities. The Victorian family, and the Victorian child, has been the subject of much description and discussion. However, this newly-found collection gives us a fresh opportunity to think about how those closest to their children – a member of the family – chose to record and represent family life. The images show one or more amateur photographers prioritizing images of the family above other potential subjects. This case study will approach the collection in a theoretical and methodological way, looking at the place of children in the images, how maternity, paternity, and alloparenting are depicted, how and when emotions are recorded, and how different members of the family are connected to each other through their poses in the images. The paper will also consider the different gazes at play in the photographs: the photographer's gaze, the gaze of the subjects back at the camera, the gaze of the intended audience for these images, and the modern academic gaze.

Cold War Kids: Shaping an Ideal “Citizen” in America’s Schools, 1945-1960

Thomas W. Devine, California State University Northridge

This paper will explore the Cold War's impact on notions of "citizenship" as they applied to young people. At a time when government officials, educators, and even parents believed that raising the next generation of "ideal" citizens could literally be a matter of life and death given the international tensions the Cold War had precipitated, many young people had to (or felt they had to) play a double game. In public, they could be the enthusiastic, patriotic, glad-handing, "other directed" personality ready to assume the burdens of Cold War citizenship, yet in private they voraciously consumed publications like *Mad* magazine and the horror comics of William Gaines that satirized the very values and priorities that they had been taught to celebrate. Similarly, in the classroom they were schooled in the virtues of democracy and good citizenship – becoming engaged, asking questions, thinking critically – while at the same time they were warned about the grave consequences of appearing disloyal or being open to "un-American" ideas. From this context emerged a concept of citizenship that seemed to be inherently contradictory. The ramifications of this development would play out in unexpected and – for many – troubling ways in the decade to come.

"A Crowd of Giants Looked on as the Little Folk Played Make-Believe:" Tom Thumb Weddings, the Brides, the Grooms, and the Guests

Gayle V. Fischer, Salem State University

For most of the nineteenth century, little gender distinction existed in the clothing of children six years old and younger. In contrast to the ambiguity of young children's clothing, the sartorial boundaries between women and men or between children and adults were clear and unambiguous. In the middle of the nineteenth century, February 10, 1863, to be precise, two of Phineas T. Barnum's most famous exhibits—Tom Thumb and Lavinia Warren—became husband and wife in a nuptial extravaganza. Many of those who stood outside Grace Church or who later purchased copies of the wedding photographs commented on how the bride and groom looked like children imitating adults. Those words were prophetic. By 1882, "Tom Thumb Weddings"—with their elaborate costumes and cast of children under ten years old—became a popular fundraiser for schools and churches. This paper examines Tom Thumb weddings and children dressed as miniature grownups performing an adult ceremony and reveals how adults constructed, envisioned, and idealized children...and marriage.

Wolves, Bears and Little Girls on the Nineteenth-Century At-Home Stage

Heather Fitzsimmons Frey, University of Toronto

The popularity of juvenile at-home theatricals in nineteenth-century middle class England meant that playwrights frequently re-worked fairy tales for the home stage. Writers could interpret tales and characters in ways that encouraged children to experiment with different visions of childhood and especially versions of girlhood, and they embedded ideas that could be thought provoking for both the performers (who were embodying the possibilities) and the spectators, who saw the children they knew performing in unexpected or unfamiliar ways. Drawing on Marah Gubar's discussion of conflicted views of childhood in the Victorian era (2009), and employing contrary nineteenth-century observations about girls and girlhood (Mitchell 1995; Moruzi 2012), this paper analyses the potential to kindle audience and thespian imaginations in two tales featuring girls, children and childhood: "Snow White and Rose Red" as re-imagined and scripted by Kate Freiligrath-Kroeker (1881) and Clara Ryland(1896); and "Little Red Riding Hood" by Keith Angus (1879) and Florence Bell (1896). Children's further re-interpretations of the scripts could allow very young people to participate in nineteenth century debates about the ideal childhood identities they were supposed to perform in daily life, and the identities they might choose for themselves.

Early Suburbia: The Promise of the Ideal Childhood along the Crabgrass Frontier

Michael M. Gregory, DePaul University and Jane D. Peterson, Marquette University

Depictions of children in 19th-century images of suburbia reveal a childhood freed from the chores of rural and urban life. Suburban children are shown enjoying their surroundings as they pursue leisure time for their physical benefit. These depictions reveal children pursuing activities conspicuously divorced from any type of subsistence productivity. Perhaps this is the ideologically draw of suburbia defined as a place for leisurely activities that exercise the mind, body, and spirit while not directly benefitting household maintenance. Is this the idealized, soft-sell of suburbia contrasted in county plat books and suburban directories? Or does this represent a real shift in attitudes and actions of families as they redefine childhood in suburban settings? Preliminary answers to these questions create the basis of this study, which uses historical records and material culture drawn from Illinois sources, to explore the interplay between real and imagined childhood experience along the suburban frontier separating rural from urban landscapes.

Creating the Ideal Colonial Child: Moral Education in the American Period Philippines, 1900-1935

Olivia Anne M. Habana, Ateneo de Manila University

Moral justification for American colonial rule of the Philippines in the early 20th century was the benevolent mission to civilize, Christianize and uplift the Filipinos. The main program to achieve this was through widespread public primary education. American colonial officials, however, were bewildered by the children they encountered. They looked, behaved and even smelled differently, and were perceived as lacking attributes and attitudes considered prerequisites for progress. As such, one of the goals of the American colonial education was to transform the strange Filipino child into the ideal colonial child: America's "little brown brother" (in the words of William H. Taft). Thus, aside from lessons in English and mathematics, attempts were made to reform the behavior, speech, manners, values and emotions of Filipino children through textbooks and classes. Using textbooks, memoirs, and other documents from the period, this paper will look at American image of the Filipino child and the attempts to mold him/her into their own image. It will also look at children's reactions to these, and the effect on indigenous communities.

Infants in the bioarchaeological record: who cares?

Siân E. Halcrow, University of Otago, New Zealand.

There has been a recent surge of interest in modeling the social implications of care provision for the seriously disabled in the bioarchaeological and palaeopathological literature. Human infants are born in an extreme state of helplessness compared with all other primates, and require significant care, yet an acknowledgement of the role of care for infants is lacking in the bioarchaeological literature. This paper presents a heuristic tool for assessing the impact that infant care provision has on past societies considering variables including maternal and infant health and mortality, infant feeding practices, fertility, family and social structure, and population size.

Shaping the child body: cultural discourses of play and child-rearing in Ireland 1800-1860

Mary Hatfield, Trinity College, Dublin

This paper will explore the variety of meanings attached to childhood and play in Ireland during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth-century. During this period, Irish writers developed new ideas about childhood development and the physical attributes which characterized the ideal child body. This paper will examine medical discourses, didactic tracts, and children's literature to consider how the physical characteristics of childhood development were conceptualised. The Irish child body was often compared to its superior counterpart, the English child. Religious and didactic writers, seeking to address the disparity of childhood experiences within the British Empire, criticised Irish child-rearing practises as the cause of moral failings, poverty, and disease. By the end of this period childhood had become more than simply a timespan; it was an experience defined by certain behaviours, physical characteristics, rights, and responsibilities. This paper will focus on how child-rearing discourses idealized physical activity as emblematic of childhood health, and how the language of play highlighted class and gender distinctions within nineteenth-century Ireland.

In Search of the 'Ideal Child': Investigating Commemoration, Kinship and Population Mobility in Early Medieval Wales

Katie A. Hemer, University of Sheffield

Commemorative funerary practices from early medieval (5th-10th century AD) Wales are represented by an extensive corpus of inscribed stone funerary monuments, first compiled by V.E. Nash-Williams (1950). Of particular interest to this paper are the stone monuments dating from the fifth to seventh centuries AD, some of which commemorate named individuals using a Latin or bilingual (Latin/Ogham) inscription that follows a patronymic formula, 'X son/daughter of Y'. Scholars including Charles-Edwards (1976) have suggested that such inscribed funerary monuments were used as territorial boundary markers by kin groups seeking to

legitimise their claim to land following the withdrawal of the Roman Empire. Whilst insightful, such interpretations unfortunately move the focus away from the use of these stones as monuments to the dead, and consequently overlook the potential insights that these monuments can provide into society's attitudes towards its 'sons' and 'daughters', i.e. children. In seeking to present a new perspective on the use of these funerary monuments, stable isotope data for localised mobility in Wales shall be considered in the context of historical evidence for society's patriarchal structure in order to explore the possibility that inscribed stone monuments were, in fact, used to commemorate the 'ideal child' in early medieval Wales.

Child-Citizen or Child-Pole? Competing Visions of Child Care in the Interwar Polish Republic

Melissa J. Hibbard, University of Illinois at Chicago

During the First World War, Polish statesmen and professional experts committed to child-saving in anticipation of Poland's rebirth as an independent state. Although social care of the interwar years adopted a more public character, the weakness of the Polish state (1918-1939) resulted in the decentralized, fragmented, and hybrid enactment of child welfare by a variety of actors. These actors can be grouped into a more progressive element of professionals and experts who demanded a public, state-organized system of child welfare, and a more conservative contingent of clergy and Catholic activists who advocated that child care remain firmly in the hands of charitable organizations. The former, inspired by left-wing politics and modernist ideologies, pursued the development of a "child-citizen," whereas the latter sought protection of the "child-Pole" and thus the ethnic Polish nation. In a country where only sixty-percent of the population was Polish-speaking Roman-Catholic, this debate had serious implications for the children and families of interwar Poland. Historians have considered the Catholic Church and right-wing, nationalist politicians to be among the most important forces shaping interwar Poland. However, no work has examined their influence in the crafting of Polish childhood. By comparing the writing of Catholic activists and medical and pedagogical experts, my paper examines competing visions for childcare in interwar Poland. Examining how projects to improve children's lives ran counter to more strident expressions of ethnic-exclusive nationalism helps us better understand the multiple interpretations, pursuits, and visions of Poland's future. Studying how children were valued and protected provides new insight into the hopes and intentions of the first modern Polish state and revises our understanding modern welfare state formation.

Could a child starve to death? The role of socio-economic background in childhood nutritional health, past and present

H.J. Hunt-Watts, J.E. Cade University of Leeds and D.M. Hadley University of Sheffield

The 19th century has long been viewed as a time of poverty and want, particularly amongst the working classes and those from low socio-economic backgrounds. However, recent interdisciplinary work involving historical and modern public health research suggests that the 19th-century British diet was superior to that of the current day. This research by health scientist Paul Clayton and historian Judith Rowbotham (An unsuitable and degraded diet? Part one: public health lessons from the mid-Victorian working class diet. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 101(6): 282-9 (2008)) revealed that the adult diet degraded as a result of the introduction of processed food, although the authors acknowledge that the nutritional health of children was inferior to that of adults during the 19th century. This paper will build on the insights from this earlier study, enhancing the approach by incorporating osteological evidence from 19th-century cemeteries, and focusing on the dietary health of the child. The skeletal remains of 473 children with known socio-economic status from 19th-century cemeteries in London and Birmingham provide direct evidence of the past through the interpretation of nutritional health indicators. These results will then be compared with modern national nutrition surveys for the UK which describe the nutrient intake of children from known socio-economic backgrounds. Through this interdisciplinary approach, this paper aims to identify changes in the diet of children from the 19th century to the present, and what influence socio-economic background can have on nutritional health.

Girls Growing into Women: Mary Kornman at the Hal Roach Studios

Eleanor Huntington, University of Southern California

The *Our Gang* shorts spanned the silent/sound film divide, showcasing childhood as a time of riotous antics. In these films, children practiced being adults, testing a variety of roles that they would one day adopt. In the earliest shorts, Mary Kornman plays a version of herself, the lone female figure surrounded by male compatriots. She would later be replaced by a series of young, feisty girls. This paper examines how the female Rascals demonstrate the changing attitude towards girlhood from the post-Great War period to the Great Depression. As the Hal Roach Studios replaced aging child actors, the girl characters reflected the changing expectations of females in both public and domestic spaces. The *Our Gang* series, due to its longevity and resurgence on television, in the 1994 film *The Little Rascals*, and in the 2014 direct-to-video movie *The Little Rascals Save the Day*, serves as an excellent entry point for an exploration of idealized childhood, as the kids cemented the understanding of childhood as a period of self-exploration and fun. Even as the series worked to contain and domesticate its female characters, *Our Gang* could not deny the fun, energy, and excitement little girls also possessed for chaos and quirks.

Idealized Misbehavior and Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive-Era

Oenone Kubie University of Oxford

Delinquency, in the juvenile courts of the early twentieth century, covered a whole range of activities from truancy and loitering to begging, drinking, and the all-encompassing 'incorrigibility'. Child savers and court officials worked together to correct these misbehaviors and transform the lives of Progressive Era children into their ideal of sheltered childhood. However, this group never had a monopoly on what constituted an ideal child. Instead, many Progressive-Era adults decried sheltered children who never misbehaved as molly-coddled and weak. Idealized misbehavior, embodied by such characters as Tom Sawyer and Ragged Dick, came to occupy an important place in cultural constructions of ideal boyhood, while the popular theories of G. Stanley Hall, which described boys' 'savage' or 'primitive' activities as a part of a natural evolutionary cycle, gave misbehavior a scientific credence. Nonetheless, despite the increasing cultural weight of idealized misbehavior, juvenile delinquency remained problematic throughout the Progressive Era. This paper will explore the tensions inherent in romanticizing some children's misdeeds and problematizing the activities of others. In particular, the paper will consider how categories including gender, race, class, age and space all worked to exclude large sections of the juvenile population from the ideal delinquent construction.

Learning through Play: The Emergence of Educational Table Games in Nineteenth-Century England

Samantha Lack, Texas Tech University

John Locke's *Some Thoughts on Education* dramatically changed the types of products parents and home-educators used to teach children, most notable was the emergence of children's literature in the middle of the eighteenth century. Table games and puzzles from 1780s to the 1850s are other types of sources that can be studied to glean information on how children were educated and what they were learning. How they were used? And, what the intended lessons of the games tell historians about nineteenth-century England. I will argue that the use of table games to reinforce learning was result of Locke's ideas on learning—children learned more if they were amused—and numerous games were produced and advertised to the public to help teach children in the early part of the nineteenth-century. I am particularly interested in what moral and educational lessons were presented in the games, as well as what the games tell us about the relationship between children and the British Empire. Answers to these questions will help historians better understand the perception of childhood in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries.

Prescribed Girlhoods: Childhood, Gender and Nationalism

Nandini Manjrekar, Tata Institute of Social Sciences Mumbai

Childhood, as a sociohistorical category, is critically related to ideas of national identity and nationalism. Ideals of childhood are constructed through literary texts, the law, education systems and other social institutions as much as they are by notions of family, kinship and community. These ideals are defined and circumscribed by class, caste, gender, ethnicity and religion, identities intimately and intersectionally associated with cultural identities related to nation and nationalism. This paper seeks to examine constructions of an ideal Hindu girlhood, through analysis of one particular text (*Balika Shikshan, Education of Girls*) by the Vidya Bharati Shiksha Sansthan, the educational wing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a Hindu nationalist organization in India. The paper argues for deeper situated understanding of girlhood and nationalism in the Indian context within the historical contestations around religio-national identity and the education of girls, Hindu nationalist constructions of womanhood and the theories and praxis underlying the educational project of the Hindu Right.

Religion and the construction of the “ideal” child in Britain, 1740-1870

Mary Clare Martin, University of Greenwich

Whereas Alex Ryrie (2013) has argued that children were told they were “Firebrands of Hell” in Reformation Britain, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries offer intriguing contrasts. Thus, Hugh Cunningham (1995, 2005) characterized the period 1780-1850 as key in the secularization of childhood, with the popular construction of childhood innocence advocated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau as contrasting with earlier, “Puritan” views of original sin. Yet the image of the religious child as the ideal was pervasive in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. John Wesley, known for his reiteration of belief in original sin, nevertheless claimed in the 1780s that converted Sunday school children might regenerate whole areas. William Blake’s poem “Holy Thursday” (1794) demonstrated a sentimental attitude towards the “innocent” children of the poor. Moreover, texts such as Sunday school tracts about dying children and “Waifs’ stories” reiterated the belief, not only that the children of the poor could be perceived as religious and deserving, but that they could be exemplars for adults. This paper will analyse the emergence of this cross-class discourse and its implications for understanding perceptions of childhood in the period 1740-1870, which has been regarded as key in the transition to modernity.

Between a Pioneer and a Hero: A Perfect Child of the Soviet Culture

Svetlana Maslinskaya, Institute of Russian Literature (the Pushkin House)

For the Soviet children's literature an ideal child character can be equated with the child hero who commits an act which is both extraordinary and valuable for the community. The topic of heroism and heroic characters in children's literature can be linked to the state ideology, patriotic pedagogical discourse and the hagiographic literature. The notorious example of Soviet child hero character is Pavlik Morozov who betrayed his father to the authorities and was murdered by his relatives. In the Soviet period heroic narrative tradition was continued with the biographies of children as soldiers and revolutionaries, both fictional (Valentin Kataev's "The son of the regiment", Elena Verejskaya's "Tanya-revolutionary") and historical characters (Volodya Dubinin, Lara Mikheenko, Lenya Golikov and others). However, heroic narrative is not limited to a soldier child. Quite a lot of stories of heroic actions of children in peacetime (life-saving on the sea, in the fire etc.) can be discovered in the children's literature in the beginning of the 20-th century. Similar narratives about a friend saving the life of a child who fell in the water were produced during the whole Soviet period. At the same time, Soviet heroic narrative is typologically similar to biographies of child heroes in Nazi Germany (Karl Aloys Schenninger "Der Hitlerjunge Quex") which allows to treat the biography of a child hero as a genre characteristic of historical and cultural situations of a totalitarian type. The poetics of heroic narrative in Soviet children's literature since 1920-s retains features formed in the previous period (ordinary appearance of a child hero, death in a horrible setting, incremental description of a death scene, characters devoid of emotions and psychological interpretation) and invents some new features, in particular, a significant transformation of the category of the enemy can be attributed to the Soviet period.

An ideal for reference: "Rules for pupils" in Soviet schools

Kirill Maslinsky, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint-Petersburg, Russia

In August, 1943 the Soviet government and the highest party organ approved and published "Rules for pupils" — a document aimed at regulating school discipline. The document had quasi-legislative status: not being a law, it was to be used by teachers and school administrators as a reference in judging pupils' behavior and meting out punishments. The attention of the highest state officials to the modest genre of school rules is a conspicuous precedent that nevertheless has parallels in earlier Russian history, in both the 18th and 19th centuries. Unlike earlier cases, Soviet "Rules for pupils" were double ended: they set strict disciplinary standards for troublesome wartime schools and at the same time communicated a vivid image of an ideal disciplined child to Soviet schoolchildren. In a short list of 20 rules,⁹ recounted traditional features of classroom order and the rest were general moral ideals of subordination, conformity and politeness. The brevity of the list imposed by its symbolic function put serious limitations on the amount of details regulated

by the rules. Hence, "Rules for pupils" were insufficient to directly control disciplinary practice, which led to gradual loss of the disciplinary function by this text. In 1954 "Rules for pupils" were supplemented with longer and more detailed requirements to be locally approved by schools. Regarded as a desacralized legacy of Stalin's state, "Rules for pupils" were edited in 1960 and re-edited in 1972. They were split into three versions for different ages, and completely devoid of any particular conduct prescriptions while significantly broadening the range of character traits of the ideal child. Over time, disciplinary practice showed fewer and fewer references to "Rules for pupils". This case shows how discourse pragmatics of ideal representation is in conflict with more practical objectives communicated by the text.

The ghostly child in Mediaeval north-west Europe

Simon Mays, Historic England

Mediaeval ghost stories sometimes describe the dead returning as insubstantial apparitions sometimes as revenants - re-animated corpses who arise from their graves to menace the living. Most ghost stories relate to individuals dying an adult life, but some describe dead infants and children who return to the world of the living. This paper examines the role of infants and children in Mediaeval ghost stories, both as apparitions and as revenants, and discusses how idealized notions of childhood are reflected in this genre. Study of supernatural beliefs in Mediaeval times has traditionally relied on textual and iconographic sources, but methods of dealing with revenants, involving the exhumation of the corpse, and its dismemberment and burning, have the potential to leave archaeologically identifiable traces. The paper concludes with a discussion of some burnt and mutilated human skeletal remains, including some of children, recovered from an archaeological excavation at a Mediaeval village, which may represent residua from attempts to deal with revenant corpses.

Writing kinship: Children's memorials in post-Plantation communities in Ireland

Lynne McKerr and Eileen Murphy, Queen's University, Belfast

In the aftermath of the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), a plantation scheme saw newcomers from England and Scotland settled on lands confiscated from Gaelic Irish lords in the northern Irish province of Ulster. Previous research has suggested that, where competing populations share the same burial grounds, commemorative practices can serve to reinforce boundaries. To investigate whether or not this division could be identified through child memorials a preliminary study of 27 post-Plantation graveyards in Ulster was undertaken to ascertain whether or not differences existed in the form of commemoration for children used by established Gaelic Irish families and incoming settlers of Scottish or English descent ('planters'). The earliest ledger stones were for settler families and generally carried lengthier

narrative descriptions than the gravestones of their Gaelic Irish contemporaries. For an oral tradition, such as that of the Gaelic Irish, a lengthy narrative may not have been appropriate. In contrast, for settler families in an often hostile environment, memorials – even for infants – were statements about both ancestry and continuity. From the beginning of the 18th century, headstones and ledger stones were becoming increasingly frequent for children of all religions and ethnic origins; however only Gaelic Irish names were present on ringed cross memorials. This paper will prevent an overview of the trends and place the findings within their evolving socio-cultural context.

'The cherub hastened to its native home' – Memorials for Irish immigrant children in early nineteenth-century Lowell, Massachusetts

Eileen Murphy*, Dave McKean[^] and Lynne McKerr[~]

*School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast

[^]Historian, St Patrick's Parish and Cemetery, Lowell, Massachusetts

[~]School of Education, Queen's University Belfast

The opening of St Patrick's Church in July 1831 is testimony to the major impact that Irish Catholic immigrants had on Lowell in the early nineteenth century. The burial ground is a rich resource of information about the first generations of Irish in Lowell; the slate memorials are particularly well preserved, providing a wealth of information concerning demography and origins. This paper will focus on the evidence for child death as recorded in the memorials. The epitaphs and associated symbolism will be explored and compared to contemporary data from the adjacent 'Yankee' cemetery and contemporary burial grounds in Ireland to enable us to explore whether or not the Irish Catholics of Lowell had a different attitude towards the death of children compared to their Protestant neighbours and Catholics in their home country. We will investigate if evidence of Irish ethnicity can be identified in the memorials for children as would appear to be the case for some of the adults. The memorials will also be examined to see if characteristics are due to the immigrant status of the population. Was the burial and commemoration of children in St Patrick's used as a means of enabling the settlers to develop a family history in Lowell – removed from but referencing Ireland – and to reinforce their rights to settle there?

The "Best Interest of the Child" Standard as a Culturally Hegemonic Device: Family Fitness, the Ideal Childhood, and the American Indian Child Welfare Crisis

Margaret Boren Neubauer, Southern Methodist University

Since Europeans and Native Americans first encountered one another, an array of destructive forces has separated Native children from their parents. Centuries of war and displacement culminated in the boarding school movement of the late

nineteenth century. Perceived as a benevolent alternative to genocide, the establishment of federal boarding schools led to the whole-scale removal of Indian children from their communities for education in the ways of "civilization." By the mid-twentieth century, the federal government had changed tactics, but the end goal of cultural assimilation remained the same. In an attempt to discontinue federal social services to Indian people in the 1950s, the government began closing boarding schools. Employing culturally hegemonic interpretations of the "best interest of the child" legal standard, judges and state welfare departments disregarded traditional child-rearing practices and lifeways to legitimize the placement of Indian children with non-Indian caregivers. By 1969, 25 to 35 percent of all American Indian children lived apart from their families in foster care and adoptive homes. This paper argues that the Indian child welfare abuses of the mid-twentieth century were rooted in white, middle-class assumptions about the "ideal childhood," and they gave rise to a crisis that continues today.

The High School Extracurriculum as a Source of an Ideal of Adolescence in the Early 20th Century

Christen Opsal, University of Northern Iowa

Rates of student enrollment in high school increased sharply in the early 20th century, from about 10% of 14-17-year-olds enrolled in 1900 to about 70% by 1940 (NCES, 1993). Meanwhile, educators were taking "an entirely new interest" in school-sponsored student activities, also called extracurricular activities (Cubberley, 1931). These activities had heretofore been ad-hoc student-led clubs and teams, but as high school attendance transitioned from an elite phenomenon to a mass one, educators brought these activities under school control. They also articulated why the high school should sponsor extracurriculars, and thereby articulated a vision of an ideal high school student in the 20th century, an ideal attainable through extracurricular participation, not through exposure to the school curriculum: "[Extracurriculars] keep pace with and mirror the changing customs of the day. . . . They are infected with the spirit of the 20th century, whereas the curricular activities are tainted with the spirit of the past" (Miller & Hargreaves, 1925, pp. 343-344). This paper describes the idealized vision of youth articulated by proponents of school-sponsored extracurriculars, explores the implications of its association with optional school activities, and contrasts it with other contemporary visions of ideal youth, such as that of the scouting movement.

Stamp Sand Castles: Childhood on a Resource Frontier

Brendan Pelto, Michigan Technological University

European Americans settled the Keweenaw Peninsula, located at the northernmost point of Michigan, in the mid-19th century for its rich veins of native copper ore. The historiography of this area has focused much on the men who worked the mines, with little attention given to domesticity, and the reproduction of the household. In a

landscape altered by extreme human exploitation, children of these mining communities lived, learned, and played in an environment now deemed toxic by the EPA. Beaches and playgrounds sit on top of mining waste, and company funded local schools taught courses focused on mining operations, ensuring that the children of the Keweenaw Peninsula were fully indoctrinated into the mining way of life. Utilizing archaeological, ethnographic, and archival resources, this paper will explore the role of childhood in an isolated industrial zone of the past, and how traditions have carried forward into the deindustrialized contemporary.

Examining the settlement selection process of American Orphanages (children's homes): idyllic, practical, or something in between?

Paulina F. Przystupa, University of New Mexico

Between 1865 and 1935, American orphanages cared for children whose parents could not. They served the lower class but were subject to middle class ideologies because of who financed and founded these institutions. During the late 19th century, new cultural beliefs redefining childhood as an innocent and natural stage of life requiring rural environments, a natural nuclear family structure, and more involved parenting entered into middle-class American ideologies. However, these ideals contradicted the realities of the time. The communities that orphanages served were located within urban environments and could not afford a stay at home parent dedicated to raising their children. Additionally, most orphanages had communal rather than nuclear organization. This presentation examines if orphanages were able to adhere to this new idealized, supposedly "natural," childhood. I hypothesize that through time orphanages were built further from urban environments, to provide rural landscapes for children, with more buildings replicating family or house-like structures to try to adhere to these ideas. While selecting a rural location could be an economic choice, I hypothesize that to conform to this idyllic childhood the cost of building these institutions will increase as a proxy for investing more "parenting" time and resources in orphaned children.

"You Will Be the First President I Will Remember, John F. Kennedy"

Joel P. Rhodes, Southeast Missouri State University

As part of a broader examination of how the multiple social, cultural, and political changes between 1960 and 1974 – the "long sixties" – manifested themselves in the lives of American children, this paper explores the centrality of the Kennedy presidency to the developmental processes of political socialization. Specifically, I am concerned with the ways in which those elements of the New Frontier which had the most immediate consequences for children – the 1960 election, President's Council on Physical Fitness, and the Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation law – profoundly influenced preadolescent's idealized relationship with the "President-as-father-figure." Considering the curiously casual, yet tremendously durable, nature of children's political socialization, preadolescent adulation of John

F. Kennedy is in-and-of-itself hardly unexpected. Yet, I argue that the emotional bond between Kennedy and American youth is distinctive, and therefore by using developmental psychology the paper analyzes how children made meaning of the Kennedy presidency based on their particular developmental age. Ultimately, the paper traces not only the immediate historical imprint of the Kennedy presidency on children in the 1960s, but the causal developmental results which may have informed behavioral transitions and in turn potentially pointed toward more substantive trajectories across their later life course.

Bittersweet Childhood: Enslaved Children in Antebellum Louisiana

Alix Rivière, Tulane University

Against the backdrop of the idealized Romantic child of the nineteenth century, millions of enslaved children lived in North America's slaveholding states. Indeed, children under fifteen represented more than two-fifths of slaves in the antebellum South, and yet their presence is seldom discussed by slavery historians. The proposed research paper examines the lives of enslaved children on Louisiana's antebellum sugar plantations. It argues that although enslaved children, like all slaves in the antebellum South, were not completely sheltered from the horrors of the South's "peculiar institution," their age and status as children influenced their understanding of race relations and their experience of slavery. Indeed, new conceptions regarding childhood and children's innocent nature among nineteenth-century Americans inevitably affected the treatment of enslaved children in the South. Using WPA ex-slave narratives from Louisiana as well as plantation records, my paper shows how slave children clearly lived in a different realm than adults and had a distinct worldview influenced by their age. The central role of leisure in enslaved children's lives altered master/slave relationships and more generally race relations. Despite their status as children, young slaves were still compelled to labor and they were not guarded from experiencing and witnessing the violence inherent to an institution supported by forced labor.

The Ideal of Sexual Purity in the Mormon Girl Narrative

Natalie K. Rose, Michigan State University

Elizabeth Smart, the survivor of a childhood kidnapping and now activist, reflected upon how her sexual training as a young Mormon woman affected her sense of self-worth after kidnapping. She recalled how during an instruction period extolling abstinence, her teacher compared a woman engaging in premarital sexual activity to an unwanted chewed up piece of gum. After she was untethered from her kidnappers, she felt that she was "that chewed-up piece of gum...you no longer have worth. Your life no longer has value." Smart's narrative of her sexual training is one amongst many Mormon girlhood narratives dating from the early twentieth century that demonstrates the tensions between the Mormon sexual purity ideal promoted by the church and how that ideal collided with the realities of young women living

simultaneously in the mainstream and Mormon worlds. Using five published memoirs from 1910s to the early twenty-first century, this paper examines how these five women contended with balancing the profane and sacred: upholding their culture's sexual standards as their church and country embraced modernity. This study considers how these women's experiences and church prescription as published in religious publications corresponded and diverged from evolving mainstream interpretations of adolescent and girlhood sexuality in the United States throughout the twentieth century.

Consuming Bodies: Healthy Children, Fit Mothers, and Late-Nineteenth Century Advertising

Jaclyn Shultz, University of California, Santa Cruz

While late-nineteenth century mothers in the U.S. sought to conquer rates of child death that outpaced those before the Civil War, capitalists staked a claim to bodily knowledge that solidified a connection between nutrition and visible health on a child's body. During the Gilded Age, mothers received often-explicit guidance from advertisements in not only how to see health, but how to create it by feeding their children certain brand-name foodstuffs. The advertisements capitalists created worked as object lessons that reflected changing conceptions of the body and nutrition while refracting food choice as public health rhetoric. Hence, the fitness of both children's health and their mothers as parents was brokered by capitalists who taught Americans how to consume. However, certain people were privileged in this new understanding of public health; healthy children had white skin, rosy red cheeks, and light-colored wavy hair according to most Gilded Age advertisements that portrayed children alongside brand-name foods. Thus, the installation of children's nutrition as health rhetoric was imagined through the visibility of that health on *a particular* child's body. Furthermore, the late-nineteenth century mother's fitness as a parent was determined in part by her purchasing power and her ability to fulfill the consuming demands these advertisements taught.

Putting family first: commemorating children in early Anglo-Saxon England

Kirsty Squires, Staffordshire University, UK

Childhood in early Anglo-Saxon England has been the subject of many studies over the past two decades. Much of this research has focussed on the identity of juveniles belonging to households that favoured the inhumation rite with little consideration of their contemporaries from cremation practicing groups. However, more recent studies have redressed this balance resulting in a more rounded understanding of the representation of children and childhood in early Anglo-Saxon society. This paper will explore the commemoration of the ideal child and attitudes towards children in early Anglo-Saxon England. An examination of grave provisions, the spatial distribution of children's burials within cemeteries and the multiple burial rite will demonstrate that, despite the significant differences between the cremation

and inhumation rite, the youngest members of society were commemorated in a similar manner. Communities placed an emphasis on the care and protection of children in life and death while the lack of clear gender divisions and roles ascribed to juveniles highlights the attribution of a unique identity to these individuals. The burial evidence addressed in this paper will highlight that children formed an integral part of household units in early Anglo-Saxon England and were commemorated as such at the funeral.

The Corporeal Empire: Physical Education and the 'Seditious' Student In Late Colonial Bengal

Sudipa Topdar, Illinois State University

My paper deploys the Indian child's body as an analytical lens to explore the vexed relations between the British Empire and its colony in India. Scholars such as Kathleen Canning who theorize the "body as method" of history argue that bodies are imbued with meaning; they become stakes in power struggles, and are sites of knowledge and power. Drawing upon Canning, I highlight the corporeality of colonialism in India by analyzing the colonized body of the Indian child as a zone of cultural encounters and contestations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Bengal. I examine this theme by investigating a key locus of knowledge production for children-- the colonial school and its curriculum, specifically physical education. I explore, first, colonial ideologies governing physical education in colonial school curriculum to discipline the child's body and discourage students' "seditious" political activism. Second, I demonstrate that for the Bengali educated elites, the child embodied a political space for contestation and undertaking their project of remasculinizing the youth through a revival of indigenous martial sports such as wrestling, sword fighting and stick fighting. I suggest that the nationalist revisit of these indigenous sports primarily stemmed from the Swadeshi spirit of promoting regional and national cultural traditions. Finally, I argue that the nationalist project engaged with reclaiming a lost masculinity and inscribing gender roles on the bodies of Bengali children as part of the nation building process. By doing so, these colonial encounters restructured and redefined childhood in crucial ways in late colonial Bengal.

Childhood, Gender, and Ethnic Diversity at Teotihuacan: A Preliminary Investigation

Hugo Pérez Trejo, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia

Within the field of archeology research has been done in many ways on Teotihuacan, but children have been neglected by researchers and, in general, have not been taken into account in archaeological investigations in Mexico, except in recent years; which, personally, involves biased interpretations of a society and this is where this proposal becomes more important. Unfortunately theoretical-methodological ways to make visible children in the archaeological record are still

under construction, but one element that can provide information in many ways is at burials. That's why in this paper I will present the results of the bachelor's thesis, this in order to show an overview of who may have been the children of the big city through their bones and offerings, even the relation that they could have kept with their mothers and ethnic origin.

The world we have lost. Childhood in Finnish autobiographies, 1830s – 1950s
Kirsi Tuohela, University of Turku, Finland

In my paper I aim to investigate the idea of childhood in Finnish autobiographies from the early nineteenth century to the first half of twentieth century. I ask how childhood is understood as a part of personal life history from the time of enlightenment and romanticism to post-Freudian times of 1950s. I am going to focus on the transformation of the ideal child, the autobiographical child or the inner child in the commemorative practice of writing one's own life story. My material will be Finnish childhood autobiographies and autofiction from 1830s to 1950s. The context for the Finnish material is going to be the intellectual and cultural history of childhood in the broad western context from Locke, Hume and Rousseau to Freud and Piaget. My material includes autobiographies of early women writers such as Fredrika Lovisa Lindqvist's (1786-1841) *Anteckningar ur min inre och yttre lefnad* ("Notes on my inner and outer life") written in 1830s, and Fredrika Runeberg's (1807-1879) *Min pennas saga*, "The Story of my Pen" (manuscript of 1860s, first publ. 1946) but also later text such as Oscar Parland's (1912-1997) *Den förtrollade vägen* ("The enchanted road", 1953).

The Child in Harappan South Asia: Ideal, Practice and Experience
Supriya Varma, Jawaharlal Nehru University

The range of toys found in Harappan cities (2600-1900 BCE) provides a lens through which we can get a glimpse of childhood in ancient South Asia. Many of these artifacts that have been categorized as toys represent household chores that took place around children as well as objects (such as wheeled vehicles) and animals and birds that they routinely encountered. These artifacts have been recovered from rooms, corridors and courtyards within houses, as well as inside large storage jars within rooms and as part of funerary deposits in large earthen vessels in courtyards, streets and under drains. They are also found in spaces between houses and blocks, and on pavements, alleys, lanes and streets and in enclosures, possibly dustbins on streets. Those that were made by adults for children may give us insights about notions of the ideal child in the Harappan period. Many of these toys that were made for children's use could suggest an intention to socialize them into their roles not just as children but eventually as adults too. At the same time the archaeological data can also provide evidence of children possibly subverting some of these ideas. That some of these artifacts could have been made by children themselves suggest that they may have represented

their own perceptions of what they saw and experienced. There is also the possibility of objects that may have been made for use by adults which were subsequently discarded and these in turn were refashioned by children as toys.

Nineteenth-Century Melodrama's Child Heroines: A Fictional Ideal Set in Stone
Shauna Vey, New York City College of Technology

Emerging notions of idealized childhood fueled the popularity of mid-nineteenth century melodrama. Its angelic heroines spread goodness on all who came within their blessed sphere. Scholars have noted how the child actors playing these roles were often credited with the spiritual purity and power of the characters they portrayed. One such child actress was Little Mary Marsh, who performed Little Eva in Uncle Tom's Cabin, among other such archetypal roles. In contemporaneous writing, her off-stage personality was described in the sentimental language of melodrama. After her tragic on-stage death in 1859, she was buried in Rose Hill cemetery. In this paper I show how Marsh's persona and subsequent commemoration was woven from the complementary tenets of melodrama, childhood, and the rural cemetery movement. This case study illustrates the tenacious potency of the idealized child—on stage, in life, and after death.