Newsletter ***Society for the History of Children And Youth***	
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To Our Readers:

SHCY is the theme for this issue of the *Newsletter* – fitting for a publication that is now five years old. We think this issue of the *Newsletter* demonstrates how much SHCY has grown in the few years since the first, small meeting in 2000 held at the Benton Foundation in Washington, DC.

For those of you who missed the conference in Norrköping, " 'In the Name of the Child': The Social and Cultural History of Children and Youth," and those who want to savor the memories we have included a report from the conference program and planning committee, three essays describing papers from some of the many sessions, an announcement of the publication prizes, the keynote speeches of Hugh Cunningham and Linda Gordon, Kris Lindenmeyer's Presidential Address, and a photo album of conference images.

Readers looking for news about the organization will find a message from our new president, Paula Fass, the minutes of the biennial business meeting, and an update on the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth.*

You'll also find news from members about recent accomplishments, accounts of conferences and museums some of us have visited, recent publications in our field, and calls for papers for conferences we might want to attend in the future.

The next issue – Teaching the History of Children and Youth. The *Newsletter* editors want to make your successes in the classroom as much a part of society "news" as the many research, presentation, and publication successes we've highlighted in the past.

> And, by the way, the *Newsletter* editors are looking for help. This issue of the *Newsletter* includes a plea for assistance. Please consider volunteering your services.

Enjoy,

The *Newsletter* Editors

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Message from SHCY President Paula Fass

It is with great pleasure that I welcome readers to this newest edition of our newsletter and extend my personal greetings as president to members of our SHCY community. I had the good fortune to attend the meeting of the society in Norrköpping, Sweden in June and to receive the "baton" from our wonderful past president, Kriste Lindenmeyer.

Let me first describe this "baton." It is a fairy's wand in bubble gum pink with a glitter filled post and a five-pointed star at the top. Meant to remind us of Tinkerbell's wand in Peter Pan, the baton plays three well-known Disney songs, including "When You Wish Upon A Star." Sometimes this happens unexpectedly. An uncannily appropriate baton for the President of the Society for the History of Children and Youth, that immediately differentiates us from all other historians' organizations, it was acquired by our first President Joe Hawes, who passed it on to Kriste, who passed it to me at our business meeting on June 29th. I lived in fear of losing it so I kept it close to me on the various plane trips as I left Sweden for Poland, then the Czech Republic, Atlanta, Georgia, and finally San Francisco. A good thing, too, since my checked luggage did not make it to California with me. This is the wand that I will pass to Steve Mintz in two years, and for now it is now my most valued possession.

The meeting, organized by our Swedish contingent at Linköpping University, Bengt Sandin, Judith Lind, and Petra Andreaason, was a great success. The sessions were thoughtfully organized, the events extremely lively and engaging, the trip to Ellen Key's house, personally overseen by Bengt Sandin in his inimitable style, a real treat. We had good food, good friends, and good fun. We also learned a lot about children and childhood in many places and many times. The several sessions I attended were excellent and succeeded in crossing national boundaries. In one of the session that I chaired, we had papers that not only compared legislation about children in twentieth century Britain and Italy, but included a paper on Mandate Palestine that discussed various Moslem, Jewish, and Druze sub-communities. Indeed, Norrköping fulfilled one of our aims of the past several years—to make the SHCY a truly international organization where historians of children and youth from all parts of the world and those who study all parts of the world feel very much at home.

As an organization, we are committed to continuing along this path into a future that will continue to expand our North American membership while also enlarging our scope to include members from many other parts of the world. And we have changed our bylaws in order to institutionalize this direction in the constitution of our Executive Committee. On June 29th, the membership voted to pass the following resolution regarding the Executive Committee. (Note also the new inclusion of a graduate student member): AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MUST BE A GRADUATE STUDENT AT THE TIME OF ELECTION. NO MORE THAN THREE AT LARGE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NOT INCLUDING THE GRADUATE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE) CAN RESIDE IN THE SAME COUNTRY DURING ANY TWO-YEAR PERIOD."

This change effectively diversifies our executive committee and aims to assure that in the future, we will remain a truly international organization. After the completion of our membership renewal drive this summer, Jim Marten will send out a slate of candidates so that we can fulfill this new mandate. So watch your emails and be part of the process of expansion and enrichment.

Please remember to renew your subscription to the organization so you can participate in the election. From now until *September 1st*, you can do so at the bargain basement rate of $40 (an additional $15 for those who have already resubscribed). After that, SHCY membership rates will become $50. The new rate includes a subscription to our new journal, as well as the usual benefits of being part of the most vibrant and friendly organization around and the only one that acknowledges and encourages work in the history of children, childhood and youth. Our organization is also interdisciplinary and welcomes members actively working in this area in anthropology, sociology, art history, literature, and other associated fields who are also now moving strongly into childhood studies. We are an organization committed to its member's needs and interests. We look forward to opening our future meetings a variety of new professionally-geared subjects, and expanding the range of panels to include mentoring sessions for doctoral students and recent PhDs. Please send me suggestions about other formats that could be helpful and stimulating.

In the meantime, enjoy our new journal, which should arrive in your mailboxes in January, and remember to keep us informed about children's history meetings you have attended or heard about as well as related matters you would like to bring to our attention. The newsletter has not and will not disappear. It is a vital part of our organizational life.

We have grown and are on our way to new things, because we have been enormously fortunate in the voluntary and invaluable service of members on various committees of the organization. I would like to acknowledge the excellent work done by the following and to thank them for their efforts on our behalf:

Publications Committee: Laura Lovett, Michael Grossberg, James Marten, chair: Jon Pahl;
Nomination Committee: Luke Springman, Rachel Cleves, chair: Michael Grossberg;
Best Article Prize Committee: Birgitte Soland, Heather Muno Prescott, chair: Joe Austin;
Grace Abbott Book Prize Committee: Gary Cross, Dewar Macleod, chair: Miriam Forman-Brunell;
Conference Committee: Judith Lind, chair: Bengt Sandin, Petra Andreasson, Conference Secretatiat.

Our excellent newsletter is overseen by Mona Gleason, Moira Hinderer, chair: Kathleen Jones.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Journal of the History of Children and Youth who have been working so hard to make it a reality: Brian Bunk, Laura Lovett, Jon Pahl,

Karen Sánchez-Eppler, and Martha Saxon.

I am also pleased to congratulate the winners of our two prizes announced at our meeting in Sweden: Julia Mickenberg (University of Texas, Austin) has won the first annual book prize named in honor of Grace Abbott and endowed by Joe Hawes, for *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2005). Tamara Myers (University of British Columbia) won for her article, "Embodying Delinquency: Boys' Bodies, Sexuality, and Juvenile Justice History in Early-Twentieth-Century Quebec." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14(4), October 2005: 383-414. These are two outstanding examples of the wonderful work that is now regularly coming out in our exciting field.

Finally, our existence depends very much on the unfailing and faithful work of Jim Marten, Secretary of SHCY, and to the untiring work of our outgoing president, Kriste Lindenmeyer. We owe both of them our thanks and appreciation. Kris has been an extraordinary leader, overseeing the inception of the journal, the decision to go into our first foreign venture and chosing Norrköping as the venue for our meeting. She has been an intrepid advocate for the organization and for its members, overseeing it with great solicitude and wisdom. She has been fundamental to our growth and, dare I say it, our maturation as a subfield of history that has an important organization supporting it. We are truly in her debt.

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CONFERENCE NEWS

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Reviewing the Fourth Biennial Conference of the *Society for the History of Children and Youth* Norrköping, Sweden

Ning de Coninck-Smith, Patrick Ryan
Bengt Sandin, and Judith Lind

In April 2006, at our first organizing meeting for the fourth biennial conference of the *Society for the History of Childhood and Youth*, the program committee struggled with our initial task - to find a title theme that could give the conference a consequential focus. We settled on the innocuous, "In the Name of the Child." This less than memorable title did not stem from a lack of purpose, but a desire to signal to others that all work in the history of childhood and youth was welcome. We hoped the title might suggest the problematic relationship between the act of speaking for children and searching for children's voices in history. We also held a less subtle understanding of the role of this conference and believed that holding it in Sweden promised to foster greater *international, interdisciplinary, and interactive* engagement among those studying childhood historically. And our ambition was to create such a meeting. With the conference fresh in our memories, we would like to reflect upon how the event fared.

What has the Norrköping conference taught us about the possibilities and challenges of international, interdisciplinary engagement in the history of childhood and youth?

The first and most important lesson of this conference is unsurprising; holding it outside of the United States, along with the growth of the field, greatly diversified national representation in the program and therefore has (at least temporarily) internationalized our membership in one fell swoop. At *SHCY*'s first conference in 2001, held in Milwaukee at Marquette University, and organized by Jim Marten, we numbered 78 participants of whom 7 came from outside the United States and Canada. Four years later in 2005, the conference had grown to 112 participants, but mustered only six presenters working outside U.S. and Canadian institutions. By contrast, in 2007 the majority (119 of 198) participants came from outside North America. This was mostly a product of location, of course; forty-seven participants were Scandinavian (most of these Swedes), but there was a robust spread from the U.K. and Ireland (17), other European countries (37), Asia (10), and Australia and New Zealand (7). An equally important fact was that the North American representation remained strong: U.S. (67); Canada (12).

We did, however, note some limits to this shift toward representation outside of North America. First, all three of our plenary talks (though excellent in-and-of themselves) were centered on the British/Anglo-American world. Second, we hoped for more participants from continental Europe, and unfortunately we garnered only one paper from Africa and only a few participants from all of Latin America. It may be that factors outside of the *Society's* control (such as differences in travel funding, shifts in the currency of childhood studies, and linguistic diversity) will continue to limit our reach or relevance in certain areas of the world. It also could be that the annual *International Standing Conferences for the History of Education*, which sponsored a meeting on the history of childhood and youth in July of 2007, drew central Europeans away from our Norrköping event. This conference was held in Hamburg, Germany and carried the title *Children and Youth at Risk. Approaches in the history of education*. About 150 scholars, primarily from continental Europe, attended this conference. The concurrence of these two highly successful conferences on the history of childhood is wonderful news for us, but it also signals the importance and potential benefits of collaboration with other organizations. The scope of the success in Sweden has opened a window of opportunity and demonstrated the feasibility of the *Society*'s international aspirations. It remains to be seen whether we will be able to sustain this over a series of years in a way that might allow us to construct a robust and permanent transnational intellectual dialogue in our field of study. It will be important in the future to seek ways to financially support cooperation participants for other parts of the world as well as to seek closer cooperation with other international organizations that have an interest in the history of childhood to attain a greater degree of visibility.

Whether the international diversity present in the 2007 conference created fruitful dialogue among participants across national boundaries is a more complex issue. We all had our own experiences at the conference. The committee tried to facilitate engagement in a number of ways. We purposely internationalized panel composition by signaling the value of this in the call for papers, by matching single paper proposals on topical (rather

than national) grounds, and by whom we recruited to serve as chairs and discussants. As a result, all but one of the fifty sessions included content from or participants residing in more than one nation state. We also tried to encourage participants to approach their papers and sessions in new ways. We repeatedly asked chairs and presenters to uphold shorter time-limits on paper presentation in order to open more time in the sessions for discussion, questions, and debate. If presenters followed the time restrictions, they very likely could not read whole papers. Thus, the conference provided a secure site online where registered participants could exchange papers. We encouraged participants to do some reading in advance, and to present their research findings in a more conversational mode based on the knowledge that the text was available to all. The online paper exchange was a success if judged by the fact that almost all papers were submitted to it, and most papers where downloaded by 15 and 35 times. A few papers were downloaded up to 80 times. We certainly hope (this will be done again) that the next conference can create a similar system.

Looking over the papers it was clear the a substantial number of papers could be clustered around common themes as child labor, culture - visualization of childhood, normalcy and guidance, education, children and war, children and sexuality, children's bodies, children and space/geographies etc. These naturally also became partial names of sessions. These clusters may indicate the beginning of separate lines of interest within the history of childhood; it is a differentiated scholarly field with diverse methodologies and theoretical aspirations. As a consequence it is clear that the field as such has a special potential to relate to other disciplines that have a vested interest in children; use theory and methods otherwise foreign to some historical traditions. We chose not to mark these clusters especially in the program, as sub networks, because we wanted to encourage interaction and a commitment to the development for the whole field as such. However, the facilitation of a more discussion-centered academic culture through the implementation of stricter time-limits was only partially successful in our estimation. The tradition of reading one's paper is well entrenched; and depending on the quality of the reading, it has its merits. It is obvious that there is more than one best way to organize a session, but we think more emphasis on discussion and exchange is merited in the future.

The challenge of creating an interactive environment at the conference was complicated by our overall success, and the way the Program Committee responded to it. Should we have squeezed 198 papers into four days, which resulted in 17 panels (1 out of 3) with four papers and left too little time for discussion, or should we have turned more applicants away? Do we need some truly "working" sessions built around the discussion and debate of major theoretical or methodological questions which the whole community should attend? Though we are grateful to all our round-table discussants, did we schedule too many; was there too much concurrent competition from ordinary sessions? Would it be possible to create seminars designed not around the presentation of work, but as an attempt to articulate areas of study where we think more work is needed? A session where the outcome is a list of ideas on the blackboard after two hours discussion among participants and audience might be something to consider in the future. These are

questions for the next Program Committee to confront, but it is clear from this conference that history of childhood and youth is growing up.

Our hope for greater interdisciplinary exchange through the conference was the most forbidding of our goals, and it is the one where we believe there is room for the most improvement. The Program Committee received many great panel proposals, but they tended to be rooted in one discipline or even one field of a discipline, *with some notable exceptions*. It appears to us that social history is predominant among our members, with smaller representation from intellectual and cultural history, gender studies, media studies and ethnography, and the sociology of childhood. We had very little representation from scholars working from the perspective of critical psychology, the geography of childhood, or work directly appealing to current questions in public policy, politics, or the law. This is not surprising given *SHCY*'s origins, and since most of us work in departments organized around specific disciplines. Yet it seems to us that the history of childhood, including the line of work that has developed within social history itself, is precisely the sort of enterprise that should be concerned with what scholars in other disciplines are saying about children and youth. Though this is easier said than done, we also believe that our work should have relevance for how the current politics and cultures of childhood our understood. On this count, the conference session on youth, media, and violence grabbed front-page headlines, complete with a large photograph in a local paper. Unfortunately, the article did not adequately convey the debate within the session over the sources of violence to and by young people, but simply reduced the problems of violence and youth to a product of recent video games. On this issue we can not offer much in the way of a positive advice except to repeat Paula Fass' call (her 2005 keynote address to the *Society*) that we continue to think creatively, to research and to write in ways to challenge our insulation from a wider scholarly, and even a public discourse on childhood.

We would be remiss, if we failed to acknowledge the extraordinary quality of this conference's social agenda and the extravagant support we all enjoyed from Linköping University and the City of Norrköping as well as The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. SHCY also found means to give some support some participants, and the old textile mills in the centre of Norrköping, now housing the university of Linköping proved to be a wonderful venue for the conference. The meeting was graced with several fine meals and even a wonderful student choir. There were two well attended tours: a walk through Norrköping's industrial district accompanied by an amusing dramatic performance and an excursion to the home of Ellen Key. The Key' tour was complemented by stunning lakeside scenery, the viewing of a prominent medieval rune stone, visiting a sixteenth-century castle and a cathedral dome from the Middle-Ages at Vadstena; all of this laced with interesting commentary on Swedish political history. From the social perspective this conference, we feel, was permeated by a close, collegial atmosphere; it was wonderful, engaging – and exhausting at the same time. We have received many very positive appraisals of the conference expressing such opinions. There can be no doubt that lasting friendships were being formed and maintained through these experiences.

In sum: *SCHY* has come a long way since its conceptualization in 2000 in Washington, D.C., and its founding in 2001 in Milwaukee. We currently boast over 200 dues paying members; and our list on H-Net, H-Childhood (est. 1998), links together 730 childhood historians from all over the world. The recent establishment of a peer-reviewed journal, *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, is a crowning achievement. This year's conference in Sweden was easily our most international, and we passed important constitutional changes to require international representation on our executive board. We utilized interactive technologies to mutual benefit, and the facilities and social events of this conference will be difficult to beat. Yet, building a locus for an internationally engaged interdisciplinary study of the history of childhood is a significant challenge, and future advancement will require a self-conscious, concerted effort. We will need to continue to reach out to organizations of scholars with origins outside of the United States, and to think of creative ways to make *SHCY* the international, interdisciplinary, and interactively engaged scholarly community which we believe it can become.

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	SHCY Publications Awards Go to **Mickenberg and Myers**	
Julia Mickenberg		Tamara Myers

At its recent meeting the Society for the History of Children and Youth made two awards for outstanding publications, the Grace Abbott Book Prize made possible by a grant from former SHCY president, Joe Hawes, and the SHCY Award for the best article in English on the history of children, childhood, or youth (broadly construed) and published in a print or on-line journal during the prior two years. Julia Mickenberg, associate professor of American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, was awarded the Book Prize; the article prize went to Tamara Myers, assistant professor of History, University of British Columbia

Best Article Award

The committee responsible for the 2005-2006 SHCY Best Article award consisted of Joe Austin (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Heather Munro Prescott (Central Connecticut State University), and Birgitte Soland (Ohio State University); they received 20 submissions from 16 different journals, an increase of roughly 25 percent over the previous submissions. The competition for the 2005-2006 award was sharp, and required significant discussion among the committee to select a winner. Among the several excellent submissions at the top of the list, the committee selected Myers's article
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"Embodying Delinquency: Boys' Bodies, Sexuality, and Juvenile Justice History in Early-Twentieth-Century Quebec" for the award. The winning article was published in the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* (14: October 2005, 383-414). According to the committee, Myers's article displayed exemplary scholarly form and clarity, as well as a thoughtful and grounded approach to the archival evidence. Joe Austin, chair of the awards committee, stated that the committee was particularly impressed with Meyer's careful analysis of the structural forces shaping the experiences of children and youth in the court, weighed against the traces of children's own historical agency. "I recommend this article to all scholars in our field," Austin said.

Grace Abbott Book Prize

Members of the Grace Abbott Book Prize committee, chair, Miriam Forman-Brunell (University of Missouri at Kansas City), Gary Cross (Penn State University) and Dewar Macleod (William Patterson University) reviewed 18 books concerned with the history of childhood and youth across the globe (though admittedly mostly in the US and Canada) that were published in the past two years by a wide variety of North American presses. Julia L. Mickenberg's *Learning from the Left: Children,s Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States* (Oxford, 2006) was selected as this year's winner. According to committee members, Mickenberg offers a subtle and well-researched analysis of how the American left, especially during the postwar period of McCarthyite persecution, provided a rich array of messages in children's books, promoting racial understanding, critical and scientific thinking, peaceful solutions to problems, and respect for labor that eluded repression and created a set of values that may have laid the groundwork for the social activism of those children when they grew up in the 1960s. Altogether, the book offers a fresh look at children's literature and its relationship to society.

The committees invite SHCY members to keep an open eye for articles and book worthy of nomination for awards (for publications from 2007-2008) to be made at the next SHCY meeting.

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CONFERENCE REVIEWS

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Review Essay: 'In the Name of the Child' SHCY Conference, Norrköping, Sweden June 2007

Åsa Pettersson & Johanna Sjöberg
Linköping University, Sweden

We, Åsa Pettersson and Johanna Sjöberg, were honoured to take on the task, given to us by the SHCY-newsletter editors, to write a review of the conference, 'In the name of the Child'. This was the first SHCY conference held outside the USA but also the first for us to participate in. During the opening session of the four day long conference professor Bengt Sandin, Department of Child Studies, Linköping University, and member of the

executive committee of SHCY, welcomed everyone and outlined the aims and hopes for the conference but also for the field of history of children, childhood and youth. (Sessions referred to are listed at the end of the review). The emphasis was laid on the importance of an interdisciplinary, international, inclusive and interactive approach. These themes could also be found in Kriste Lindenmeyer's presidential address, where she pointed out that the history of children and childhood is an eclectic field already but not as much as it could be. The aims, stated above, are the point of departure for this review.

In one of the two roundtable discussions, Harvey Graff, James Block, Bengt Sandin, and Pavla Miller focused on the issue of the future of the history of childhood. The title 'How can the history of children and childhood grow up? Revision and Redefinition?' was quickly altered by Harvey Graff to 'What is wrong with the history of children and childhood?'

But is there anything wrong with the field or is the future perhaps already here? We took on this question as part of our focus for this review but with a somewhat limited approach to the massive conference program. As our research interests are linked to issues of media, images and the visual in the study of children and childhood, we chose to attend sessions on these topics. A few of the different genres represented in the sessions were literature studies, research regarding computer games, film studies, photographs as a means for outlining a historical era, Chinese toy advertisements bridging the creation of a new national identity, and consumerism and multimedia tools for teaching history.

Within the sessions the research questions could be argued to belong to different themes. One of these themes was: *The child in the media*. In the session on "Youth, Media, Violence and Protection in History," John Pahl outlined the development of adolescence in American films from 1936-1996. Eileen M. Ford discussed, in a later session, how media pictures of children were used in raising a critique of the state in Mexico from the 1940 to 1968. Analysing the representations of children was also a topic in the roundtable discussion, "Children and the Visual Arts," where Patricia Holland argued that her research on contemporary pictures of children in the media was 'not about the children but about adults' attitudes towards children'. Hence the research within this theme sheds light on the attitudes regarding children that children themselves would and will have to relate to.

Within the same roundtable session another theme with a different approach towards children occurred: *Children's use of media and visual artifacts*. This theme is unique as it focuses on the child's own point of view. Anna Sparrman showed that the children she interviewed were highly competent consumers of visual culture. They reinterpreted the imagery according to their own needs and negotiated meaning based on both their own views and the views of adults. Elena Jackson Albarrán presented how the child audiences' reactions to the socialistic puppet theatre in Mexico (in the 1930s) could be studied in photographs taken of the children and drawings done by them. In this way she showed that children's voices could be studied in a historical material as well.

Jackson Albarrán's research project also links to a different theme: *Media for children*. In the session on children's literature several researchers showed how fictional media can be used as a source for childhood history. Doris Bühler-Miederberger presented, in the session regarding children's taste, a project on cooking books for children and in her analysis viewed several notions of childhood linked to the rules and advices presented regarding the preparation of food.

Another way of finding sources for the writing of a more traditional childhood history could be seen in the research made by Loren Lerner and Luminita Dumanescu. Though not in the same session, they showed the use of pictures as essential for understanding the lives of the children in the past in Canada and Rumania, respectively. They represented a theme called: *History of children and childhood through visual sources*.

All these themes were, as shown, not located within the same sessions but running trough the ones we attended. The sessions themselves where held together by other headline topics such as region, genre and/or usage, but one that seemed to be of importance, implicit or explicit, to all the sessions was the issue of childhood socialisation over time. The conference shows that the visual and its artifacts are interesting sources for bringing forward the history of children and childhood.

The focus chosen, media, images and the visual is, we would like to argue, an interdisciplinary field in itself. This may have resulted in that the sessions on visuality where more interdisciplinary than the others may have been. Though according to the conference program the diversity of papers and the interesting mix of sessions also points out how strong the interdisciplinary ambitions of the field already are. We can therefore conclude that the papers showed that much of the hopes for the future of the field already are in progress.

But obviously improvements can always be done and the wishes for the field of history of children, childhood and youth are not only to be an interdisciplinary field but also an international one. Several voices were raised during the conference for the field to grow more comparative and become even more open for global approaches. A comment during the roundtable discussion, 'How can the history of children and childhood grow up?' was that few scholars from non-western countries were present at the conference and that this should be kept in mind when finding locations for forthcoming conferences. Making it easier for scholars to attend the conference might help the field to gain a more extended awareness of the diverse experiences of children. Pavla Miller put forward the importance of recognizing that growing up can be something of great difference and that the research to be conducted within the field actually should be studying childhoods and not childhood. This also relates to what both Hugh Cunningham and Linda Gordon raised in their keynote addresses. Hugh Cunningham stressed that there still is a living myth of an ideal childhood. This myth dichotomises children, making some of them invisible. He argued for a more differentiated view on childhood beyond the myth, allowing for all children's everyday lives to be researched.

Linda Gordon discussed the mainstream traditional stereotype of children as innocent. She pointed out that this view can lead to violations of children's rights. She would like the research of this field to reach out and influence the society when it comes to policymaking regarding children. The issue of children used in the rhetoric for a variety of political purposes, were brought up by both Bengt Sandin and Harvey Graff during their roundtable session. This stresses the importance for the historical field of reaching out beyond the academy towards the public. To reach out was a topic that was stressed during several discussions and it was pointed out to be one of the most challenging tasks for the future of the field. It is therefore important for the teaching within this field to move in new directions. Examples of this could be seen in the session on teaching the history of children and childhood. The discussant of that session, Steven Mintz, argued that the public actually is interested when it comes to the research done on children and childhood. He stressed that anyone who is interested in the best interests of the child should therefore also be interested in the field of history of children since it has the opportunity to provide new perspectives on understanding the conditions and lives of children, past and present.

So is there anything wrong with the history of childhood? As shown so far in this review, this conference has proved to give good examples of its aims but there are naturally things that we have found wanting. This regards discussions and reflections on theory and methodology. These were not topics of discussion during any of the sessions we attended and it seems a difficult task to manage to be both an interdisciplinary field and an interactive one if issues regarding the explicit research done are not on the agenda. According to this we were somewhat surprised that gender was not a topic often used to shed light on the different research questions. Childhood is always gendered and depending on age, ethnicity etc. and, as stated earlier, we are to be researching childhoods.

This conference has shown how very interdisciplinary the field of history of children, childhood and youth are. It has also in an interesting way brought forward an interactive solution for the conference sessions in short presentations and extensive time left for discussions. When it comes to the international approach the conference has provided many interesting research projects form a variety of countries but the Western dominance still remains and will have to be revised if the field is to reach its goals. The inclusiveness of this meeting can, however, not be questioned. A lot of interesting discussions about the development of the field have taken place in a friendly and all embracing way. So, the future is at least in some ways already here. After this conference we are very much looking forward to follow the development of the field of history of children, childhood and youth and even more so we are looking forward to the next (SHCY) Conference.

Sessions attended on the SHCY Conference in Sweden June 2007:

The opening of the conference Bengt Sandin, Linköping University

Keynote address: Professor Hugh Cunningham, University of Kent

Keynote address Professor Linda Gordon, New York University

SHCY President Kriste Lindenmeyer Address

Roundtable 1 Children and the Visual Arts
Paper 1: Patricia Holland, "Picturing Childhood: The Myth of the Child in Popular Imagery"
Paper 2: Anna Sparrman, "Looking through the eyes of young people: children and youth's everyday visuality"
Paper 3: Loren Lerner. "Depicting Canada's Children"
Chair: Patrick Ryan

Roundtable 2 How can the history of children and childhood grow up? Revision and Redefinition?
Harvey Graff
James Block
Bengt Sandin
Pavla Miller

Session 1 Youth, Media, Violence and Protection in History
Paper 1: Jon Pahl, "Spectacles of Sacrifice. The cinema of Adolescent Abjection in America from "Reefer Madness" to "Scream" 1936-1996"
Paper 2: John Pettegrew, "Growing Up a First-Person Shooter: "Close Combat: First to Fight & Learning to Kill on the Virtual Streets of Beirut"
Paper 3: Daniel Biltereyst, "Censorship in the name of the child. The discursive construction of children and the growth of the film censorship system in Belgium (1912-1939)"
Paper 4: Karen Stanbridge, "Free "citizens" or "fragile" creatures: Children and the child protectionism debate"
Discussant: Anne-Li Lindgren

Session 11 Cultivating children's taste – socialization in individualized societies
Paper 1: Alexandra König, "Build up one's own taste – children's clothes"
Paper 2: Doris Bühler-Niederberger. "'Eating individually' - individualization in the advice of cooking books"
Paper 3: Régine Sirota, "A big day for a small individual. The child's birthday ritual: tradition and individualization"
Chair: Marta Gutman

Session 22 Being Seen and Heard: Growing up in Modern Mexico
Paper 2: Eileen M. Ford, "Protecting Children and Critiquing the State: Images of Childhood in Mexico City, 1940-1968"
Paper 3: Elena Jackson Albarrán, "Comino Vence al Diablo and other Terrifying Episodes: Children's Puppet Theater in Mexico, 1930s"
Discussant: Valentina Tikoff
Chair: Tamara Myers

Session 36 Childhood in the fictional world of literature
Paper 1: Lotta Paulin, "Message and rhetoric in an early, Puritan text for Children and Youth"
Paper 2: Nina Christensen. "Fictive facts? The use of children's literature as source for childhood histories"
Paper 3: Shane McCorristine, "'This Broken Dream': The Supernatural Place of Children and Childhood in the Fictional Works of Walter de la Mare"
Paper 4: Maria Sundkvist. "Class, gender and family life in the world of children's literature in Sweden 1950's"
Discussant: Margot Hillel
Chair: Paul Fass

Session 43 Children's Agency, Consumption and Play
Paper 1: Valentina Boretti, "Playful but not Childish: Toy Advertising in Republican China"
Paper 2: L.M. Verstrate, "Fun and Games in the Public Domain: Play Spaces in the Dutch City"
Paper 3: Jeanine Graham "'Sibling Worlds': an exploration of the social and cultural worlds created by young New Zealanders, 1900-1940"
Discussant: Gary Cross
Chair: Doris Bühler Niederberger

Session 48 Teaching the History of Childhood
Paper 1: Pennee Bender & Andrea Vasquez, "Youth and the Great Depression: An Online Multimedia Teaching and Learning Experiment"
Paper 2: Luminita Dumanescu, "Visualizing Romanian childhoods"
Paper 3: Sara Carter, "Hands-on History: The Americana Collection at the Boston Children's Museum, 1913-1937"
Discussant: Steven Mintz
Chair: Jeanine Graham

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SHCY Conference and Children's Literature
Margot Hillel, Australian Catholic University

As was appropriate for a conference of this sort, there were delegates and speakers from many disciplines. I was lucky enough to be the discussant for a session entitled Childhood in the fictional world of literature which had four presentations on children's literature. Linking all the papers was an understanding of the importance of the value of literature as a way of considering constructions of childhood. In the spirit of the conference, each of the speakers considered this idea in rather different ways and discussed literature from different places and very different times. All the books discussed can be used, especially by the literary historian, as a valuable source of ideas on childhood.

It was intriguing to hear **Lotta Paulin** (of Stockholm University) discussing James Janeway's puritanical and, to modern eyes at least, quite terrifying book *A Token for Children* and to find that it was translated into Swedish in 1746. (Janeway's work was first published in 1671 and 1672). Somewhat problematic to a contemporary audience is Janeway's declared intention of bringing joy to children through his stories which dealt with the death of children. Such an intention indicates for us a number of changes in the constructions of childhood since then and an indication too, of the reality of infant mortality in the lives of many families. There was, for them, a certain comfort, as Janeway intended, in contemplating a holy death and the certainty of resurrection. Janeway, as Lotta points out, regarded children as 'a gift from God' who, on their deaths, were returning 'home'. Lotta, through her paper, showed us how Janeway's rhetoric was designed to bring children to this understanding. He was, as she points out, also quite willing to use threats along the way. The importance of children's literature in cultural and social formation was clear from Lotta's paper as she gave us an insight into how Janeway's particular construction of the pious child, was designed to inspire readers to emulate it.

The influence of children's literature was highlighted by **Maria Sundquist** from Malmo University who examined children's books published in Swedish in 1955. She argued that the depictions of childhood in books published for children then strongly influenced the attitudes of the children who read them. She convincingly indicated the ongoing effects such reading had as it influenced readers who grew up to be influential themselves in the areas of childhood. She demonstrated how a whole generation of readers encountered a number of stereotyped constructions of family, childhood and gender roles in their reading. Mothers stayed at home, fathers were the breadwinners and families without two biological parents were seen as outside the norm and therefore problematic. Middle-class children still predominated as did the ethnic Swedish majority; any character outside these groups was constructed as 'other' to the norm. The apprehension of what childhood is, was for many of those now in positions where decisions are made regarding children and childhood, Maria argued, shaped by the literature they read when they were young and by the forms of childhood depicted there.
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A new look at some of Walter de la Mare's work came through **Shane McCorristine**'s paper on the supernatural place of children and childhood in de la Mare's fiction. Shane, who has recently completed a doctorate at University College Dublin, again asked us to consider the constructions of childhood in literary works. I was particularly intrigued by de la Mare's differentiation between 'boyhood' and 'childhood', states which would normally be seen as synonymous. He also explored the construction of aunts in de la Mare's work and showed how they could often be construed as 'monster mothers'. The importance of the mother is societal constructions of the child is also elucidated through such a discussion. (One aunt he discussed in detail was, he showed, less sympathetic to childhood than puppyhood!). Some of the stories examined challenged ideas of what is meant by a 'children's' story . Further, Shane described a sort of 'juvenalisation' of de la Mare's work, a belittling attitude which would have resonances with many contemporary authors for children and young adult who are still frequently asked when they are going to write a 'real' book, a statement which itself reveals an interesting 'othering' of children and childhood.

The late **Mitzi Myers** demonstrated how close readings of texts in context can give us new ways of re-visiting and re-evaluating the works of writers such as Maria Edgeworth. **Nina Christensen** did a similar thing in her paper entitled 'Fictive Source: Discussions of fact and fiction in relation to children's literature and concepts of childhood in the 18th century'. She gave us new ways of reading eighteenth-century texts for children which allowed for these works to be read in the context of a pre-romantic time. Current reception theory could also be applied to the books Nina discussed as a way of understanding the lives of children reading them in the eighteenth century. Nina's way of looking at the books challenged the education/entertainment dichotomy which is often applied to texts of that time and suggested that the lines are rather more blurred than that.

Another thread which ran through these papers is the idea of what is deemed suitable for children to read. **Kim Reynolds** from Newcastle University UK, was unable to present her paper but it is still available on the website. She also considers this question, particularly in the light of books for young adults about despair, depression and self-harm. In her conclusion, Kim reminds us that children's literature is one of the ways in which 'children and young people receive stories about how the world works and ways of thinking about themselves and the things they do'. Books for young adults about self-harm may thus 'prove a valuable antidote to the current conditions that lead young people to harm themselves'. Arguments about what books are suitable for young readers also reveal societal constructions of children and young people as innocent and in need of protection and may well avoid the realities of the lives of many young people.

Kim's paper was part of a panel on 'children at risk' which included the papers of two Australian colleagues, **Shurlee Swain** and **Belinda Sweeney**, discussing the construction of childhood and concerns for children in the child rescue literature of the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and Australia. My own paper examined the way writers for children constructed children at risk through their description of clothing and the child's body. Such constructions were designed to evoke responses of pity and charity

from young readers and supported the constructions written for an adult audience. Young readers were expected to reflect on their own lives and to see themselves as young helpers in the fight to rescue children from lives of poverty, degradation and ignorance of Christianity.

It was great to see the interest shown in all the papers on children's literature and to see this as quite a strong stream in a SHCY conference. May it continue (and grow!).

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Child Health and Medicine at the SHCY Conference
Kathleen W. Jones, Virginia Tech

Experiences of illness, medical care and treatment, and norms for child health, mental and physical, are subjects that combine many of the questions posed by the history of children and youth. The significance of these subjects was amply represented in the papers presented at the 2007 SHCY conference.

The session "Child Health and Medicine, 18th century to the 1930s" featured papers by three scholars, **Alysa Levene**, **Lisa Grant**, and **Anna-Karin Frih**, that addressed the various ways children were incorporated into medical institutions and medical discourse. In "Children and Hospitals before Children's Hospitals: Eighteenth-Century Institutional Care for the Young Sick in Provincial England," Levene argues that despite regulations that prohibited admission of children, children were admitted and treated. Hospital care, she concluded, played a greater role in child care in the 18th century than historians have previously thought. However, this finding did not suggest a pediatric specialization rather children and adults received similar treatment. The hospital, Levene suggested, had not caught up with the sensitivity to pediatric care in 18th-century medical literature. In "Institutions and Innovations: The Development of Paediatrics in England and France, 1830-1894, Grant discusses the process of medical specialization. By comparing both medical education and specialized medical institutions in 19th century England and France, Grant concluded that pediatrics was a specialty before the end of the century when "pediatrics" had a name. Frih's paper, "The Girls are Sick, Week and Over Strained: Sickness amongst Girls and Boys in Swedish Physical Examinations, 1870-1930," argued that prior to 1900 the poor health of Swedish girls was a popular medical topic, but after 1900, popular and scientific medical discourse verged. While physicians continued to be obsessed by the poor health of girls, in popular discourse, the healthy girl was the more widely described figure. **Mona Gleason**'s comments on this session pointed to the tension between the history of childhood and the history of children. She noted that the child patient was both central and incidental to all three essays, and wondered what would happen if the authors included children as well as ideas about children in their papers. How, Gleason asked, might the inclusion of children contribute to theorizing about age as a category?

In the session titled "Children and Health" **Heloise Helena Pimenta Rocha** discussed school medical inspection in Sao Paulo, Brazil in the early twentieth century. Rocha
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argues that racial regulation was the goal of the school inspectors and that, as they fit children in categories of physical normality and abnormality the doctors' goal was the "regeneration of the Brazilian race." **Rosa Ballester and Maria Isabel Porras** presented "Child Protection as a Political Resource: The Influence of International Agency Advice on Sanitary Campaigns against Poliomyelitis in Spain (1940-1975)." They described the initial mistrust among Spanish officials toward the international campaign promoting polio vaccination followed by a government sponsored immunization campaign in in 1963-1964 associated with authoritarian political efforts at modernization. The results of this first effort were, the authors report, "excellent," but in the transition to democracy during the 1970s, the campaign stagnated. The authors concluded the presentation by showing a brief public health video on administering the polio vaccine. **Diego Armus** reported that the paper, "Discourses and Experiences in the Shaping Process of Healthy Children: Soccer, Physical Education, and Tuberculosis in Buenos Aires (Argentina), 1900-1950," was part of research for a history of TB. TB was not a children's disease, the author concluded, but children had a significant place in the discourse. Concerns about the future of the nation led to interest in the 1930s in the "pre-tubercular child," an emphasis on prevention, and a growing interest in a form of physical education that highlighted character building as well as physical health. But, the contrast between discourse and practice emerged as the author described oral histories with male students (who preferred playing soccer to character building experiences). In her comments **Marie Clark Nelson** pointed out that the papers raised the question: "the healthy body, for whom?" and noted that this session, and others at the conference, begged for a comparative framework.

Finally, the history of child guidance and child mental health was well represented in two sessions . John Stewart, Kari Ludwigsen, and Karin Zetterqvist Nelson presented papers in a session titled "The History of Child Guidance: A Comparative International Perspective." **John Stewart** related the origins of child guidance in Britain ("'The Dangerous Age of Childhood': Child Guidance in Inter-War Britain") concluding that as it crossed the Atlantic, child guidance (an American invention for the dealing with juvenile misconduct) underwent some transformations in form and function as it became an established part of the British health system. "What does this tell us?" about childhood in the interwar years, Stewart asked and concludes that child guidance exemplified the shift in the early twentieth century from focus on the child's body to focus on the mind, and the history of child guidance highlights the pathologizing of normal childhood. **Kari Ludwigsen** examined handbooks, textbooks, and government reports to trace changing concepts of healthy childhood in Norway and the meaning of "prevention." Ludwigsen found that by the early 1970s in Norway's mother and child health centers mental health issues had replaced nutrition as the subject of expert concern. **Karin Zetterqvist Nelson** examined "The Development of Swedish Child Psychiatry," 1945-2000, asking how the dominance of the psychodynamic approach was achieved. She traced the influence of two socialist physicians who helped to integrate child psychiatry into the modern welfare state. In her comments **Sibylle Brändli Blumenbach** pointed to the significance of the "post-war moment" when interest in mental hygiene shifted from the local to the national policy level, to the need for comparative work on the pathologizing of normal childhood, to the gender politics inherent in child guidance

history, and to the methodological question – should historians examine the theories behind the mental health institutions or the practice?

Brändli Blumenbach was then joined by **Dirk Schumann** on a panel titled "Children in Trouble, Experts in Conflict: Professional Help in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century." In her paper, "Healthy, Wealthy and Wise? Psychological Professions, the Affluent Society and the Perils of Children's Mental Health (Switzerland, 1960s-1980s)," she uses the concept of "intimacy" to examine changes in school psychology that resulted in the growth of counseling as well as diagnostic services. Schumann, too discussed school psychology in the second half of the twentieth century. In "Experts on the Margins: School Psychology in Germany from the 1950s to the 1970s," he suggested that school psychologists occupied a marginal position in the post-war German school system. Their goal of becoming "systemic" advisers on the structuring of schooling failed, although they were able to establish the profession as one of individual counseling for troublesome children and their parents.

In my own session on the "Historical Significance of the Child Developmentalists" **Emily D. Cahan** described a little-known utopian novel written by the child study expert, G. Stanley Hall. Hall drew on his sentimental ideas about adolescence to construct the values of his utopia. My paper, "'Monstrous and Unnatural': Child Suicide in the Late Nineteenth Century," argues moral statisticians and psychiatrists pulled from Victorian ideas about childhood to construct a separate category of "child" suicide and explain why children were led to complete acts of self-destruction.

Ideas about childhood and expert interpretations of child health dominated these discussions. As commenters pointed out, children, the subject of the expertise, are incidental in these presentations. But, can we have a complete picture of the history of child health until we look at health as the child saw it? How did children experience sickness; how did they understand death and dying? And, how can we research these elusive topics? Perhaps these are questions to be addressed by participants in the next conference of the Society for the History of Children and Youth.

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CONFERENCE ADDRESSES

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Keynote Address

Linda Gordon, New York University

THE PERILS OF INNOCENCE, or WHAT'S WRONG WITH PUTTING CHILDREN FIRST

[Please do not quote from this essay without permission from the author. Contact Linda Gordon at lg48@nyu.edu]

One of the most transcultural markers of what historians call modernity has been an ethical or at least discursive prioritizing of the welfare of children. While the neglect of children in traditional patriarchal societies has often been exaggerated, there is no question that the dominant contemporary ethic is to put children first. Some religious cultures California trace the roots of this priority to the rejection of the born-in-sin attitude toward children and its replacement by the notion of childhood innocence. In all culture this transformation accompanied the metamorphosis of children from useful to useless, from workers to objects of sentimentality. This sentimentality intensified the notion of children as innocents. With implications not only cultural and theological but also political and social, the concept of innocence worked by contrast with those not

innocent, who were in this case adults, tainted by knowledge, by surrender to temptation, by sin.

I want to argue that innocence has been an idea dangerous both for children and for the rest of us. It is a concept saturated with magical thinking and Manichean religiosity. I believe that in today´s company I can make this argument without being labeled a moral monster.

My evidence derives from outcomes. In the US, shaped by the most pious and hypocritical of political cultures, the sacralizing and prioritizing of children has produced terrible conditions for many, many American children. A few reminders: the second worst infant mortality rate in the advanced world (only Latvia does worse); 22 percent of children, 13 million of them, living in poverty, the worst record in the advanced world; and the lowest rate of overall social expenditure, at about three percent of gdp. Other nations have done better but the US model is spreading.

I will make this argument through looking back at several bodies of my previous research. But first allow me to tell a short story, one that some of you may be familiar with.

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In NYC in the 19th century, child welfare advocates developed a system of "rescuing" the city's so-called "orphans" by shipping them west on "orphan trains." In fact, most of the children shipped out were not orphans but children of poor single mothers who could not manage to support their children at a time when there were no welfare programs to help them. The "rescuers" were motivated not only by sympathy for the children but also by their desire to combat disorder and violations of what they considered proper family values among the poor, to rid the city of undesirables and to avoid spending tax money on aid to the poor.

Most of these orphans were Catholics, while the leading child-savers were Protestants, who placed the children in Protestant homes. To the Catholics this policy seemed a form of genocide. In response, Catholics opened an orphanage, the New York Foundling Hospital. Soon the numbers of their children outstripped the New York homes they could find and required a wider search for placements. They inaugurated their own orphan trains to place children in the west.

In 1904 a priest from two small towns in the Arizona territory persuaded his parishioners to volunteer to take 40 orphans. But the New York Catholics did not understand who the Arizona Catholics were. Indeed, at first the Sisters of Charity did not think they cared, because to them the all-important division was between Catholics and Protestants, and the priest had assured them that these families were all Catholics in good standing. The Arizona Catholics were, of course, Mexicans. Even had the New Yorkers known this in advance, they probably would not have been able to predict the response of the whites, or Anglos as they were known, because racial formations and boundaries were considerably different in NY than in the west. The New Yorkers would have described these orphans as being of the Irish "race" while in Arizona they were, simply, Anglo. The fact that the
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children were Catholic and the Anglos mainly Protestant seemed of no importance to the Anglos.

Something unexpected had happened to these orphans as they crossed the country: they became white. I picture their train puffing along, crossing rivers, then mountains, then desert, carrying them to whiteness.

The Arizona Anglo women, on the far frontier of the US in a territory not yet a state, responded to the situation from the same premises as the most well-known big-city Progressive women: they put the best interest of the child first. They felt certain that placing the white kids with Mexicans was a form of child abuse and they began to convince their fellow citizens that the children needed "rescue." They challenged men to show their manliness and soon a posse formed itself, traveled through the night to kidnap the orphans at gunpoint.

The suit went ultimately to the US Supreme Court which ruled, as had all lower courts, in favor of the vigilante kidnapers. The Supreme Court found that, although children did not have a habeas corpus right, they did have a claim to the protection of her/his best interests. This court then interpreted those best interests, of course, racially: "the child in question is a white, Caucasian child [who was] ... abandoned ... to the keeping of a Mexican Indian, whose name is unknown to the respondent, but one [who is]... by reason of his race, mode of living, habits and education, unfit to have the custody, care and education of the child ..."

The Arizona orphan abduction was by no means unique. Between 1910 and 1975, white Australians stole 100,000 children from their aboriginal parents, giving the light-skinned children to white couples to adopt and the dark-skinned to orphanages. In Israel, Ashkenazi (European) Jewish women, with the help of doctors, stole from hospitals babies born to Sephardic Yemeni Jewish mothers. Inuit and other Native American children were forcibly removed from their families by US and Canadian governments. Irish children were stolen by the British, children of murdered and imprisoned Argentinian dissenters stolen by the ruling military. There are many more examples. It turns out that elites often believed that the best interest of the child often justified taking children away from the poor and those they consider inferior.

After my book about this case was published, another struggle–this time over a single child–made me feel as if the Arizona story was being re-enacted. A group of Cubans tried to reach the US by boat and a woman passenger drowned. Her 5-year-old son, Elián González, survived and was taken in by some relatives in Miami, somewhat distant relatives whom he had never seen. They refused to surrender him to his father in Cuba on the grounds that he would have a much better future in the US. This claim, as I am sure you can see, was dubious on its face. Were it to be operative, any of us who live in rich countries could descend on any family in a poor country and take one or more of their children. Is it not obvious that a child in Sweden would have a better education, better health, better living conditions than a child in the Sudan?

Elián's case produced a huge and protracted international struggle, ended only when federal marshals finally enforced the entirely clear law, took the boy by force from his Miami relatives, and sent him back to his father.

These two stories concern custody disputes, and legal scholars have been studying critically the problems of finding justice in these matters, especially the dangers inherent in the best interest of the child principle. I want to turn instead to four other areas of policy designed to protect children, namely legitimacy, family violence, welfare and immigration. (I'm not going to spend equal time on all of them because I don't know an equal amount about all of them, but I hope to say enough to show their interconnection in produce perverse consequences for children.)

In most of the world, campaigns for children's wellbeing were led by women, and the political stance on which they based their activism was maternalist. (By this I mean, first, that they identified motherhood and love of children so closely with women's destiny, a destiny both biological and cultural, that second, they considered women the authoritative spokespeople for children's welfare. Third, and equally important, these campaigners were often elite women, from educated and prosperous classes, and they considered themselves the anointed guardians and uplifters not only of children but also of less fortunate women. In other words, their maternalism extended to their poor sisters and included responsibility for raising the moral and cultural level especially of poor mothers so that they would raise children properly. They were social mothers of the society. Fourth, they promoted the nationalist, democratic, and meritocratic notion that children– even poor children--were in some ways the wards of the public and thus the state, representing the nation's future). This well-meaning approach, arising from a deep and genuine concern for children, produced some perverse results.

As modern family norms increased the stigma on illegitimacy, maternalists became concerned with the injustice and stigma the category placed on innocent children—they should not be burdened by the sins of their mothers. The maternalists campaigned to abolish the category not because of its impact on women but strictly on the basis of its impact on children. They accepted, even sometimes promoted, the standard that sex and reproduction were acceptable only within marriage, a standard that caused material harm to many women but fewer men. At the same time the maternalists' commitment to women as mothers led to an understanding that fathers' responsibilities were limited to financial support. Among legitimate children, as custody shifted toward women and fathers were ordered to pay child support, fathers often resented the obligation to pay for children who had been taken from them. Outside of marriage, men could deny their paternity until very recently and the maternalists did nothing to challenge the stigma on unmarried motherhood. Relying on that stigma, many state and third parties refused assistance to the children of immoral women. It was only in 1968 that the US Supreme court ruled that illegitimate orphans were entitled to wrongful death payments.

Demands for proper motherhood became more exacting as regulation of "cruelty to children" developed starting in the 1870s. At first the anti-child-abuse discourse strengthened the women's-rights movement's critique of male domination in the private

sphere. As in temperance, the anti-child-abuse movement made male violence a powerful subtext. Child protection was in an important way antipatriarchal, because it intervened in fathers' and parents' authority over their children. Child abuse soon came to include sexual abuse of children, a virtually exclusively male crime which had long been protected by Victorian taboos of silence. Moreover, mothers often forced child-protection agencies to concern themselves with wife-beating and to recognize it as a social problem requiring public action. Overall, acknowledging that there was parenting so bad that the state needed to protect children, and that parental rights should sometimes be severed, changed the culture toward much greater acceptance of formal public responsibility for child welfare, which in modern society meant greater governmental responsibility.

Yet the results were mixed. The campaign had class and cultural consequences that were not always progressive. Anti-child abuse agencies targeted working-class or poor parents, often those perceived as racially different, and could not distinguish between cultural differences in parenting, poverty, and abuse. They prosecuted cases in which the alleged child neglect consisted of children's labor or nonattendance at school. But poor parents often needed their children at home or work; and to those from farm or peasant backgrounds, it seemed irrational and disrespectful that adult women should work while able-bodied children remained idle. The child savers opposed the common practice of leaving children unattended and allowing them to play and wander in the streets. But working-class children lived in tiny crowded hot tenements, and their mothers had no leisure to take them to parks.

I am not saying that child abuse was merely a figment of cultural bias or an inevitable result of poverty. On the contrary, child abuse was identified as a problem even by its perpetrators, many of whom, despite their awareness of the discrimination they might encounter, sought the help of child-protection agencies. In fact, the most common source of appeals was poor mothers themselves. For women and children, the biases of the agencies were often preferable to the abuse they experienced at home. Children sought help against their parents. Women manipulated agencies concerned with child abuse to get help against wife abuse. Mothers also sought help in their own child-raising, often coming to agencies because they felt themselves unable to provide what they considered good mothering. . Child-protection agencies saw themselves as teaching good standards to poor and ignorant parents, but in fact they were encountering people with their own views about good family life, who tried to use these agencies in their own interest.

Still, the paradigm for intervening in family violence was protecting children from their parents. There was little concern with nonfamilial cruelty to children–with factories and industrial agriculture that overworked children, with the physical and chemical hazards to children in these workplaces. The child protectors did not address physical punishment in the schools or decry the unsafe housing and public health hazards in the neighborhoods of the urban poor. They operated on the basis of an extremely ideological conception of a child's needs, a conception based on the view of a superior class toward an inferior one. And we must keep in mind that 90 percent of children in need of protection were

neglected rather than abused. The cases of terrible violence toward children that get publicity are e exceptional, not typical.

In the discourse about child abuse, their rhetoric characteristically referred to children as innocent victims. This language, familiar today as part of antiabortion talk, needs close attention because if the children were innocent then by implication the parents were suspect, at least potentially noninnocent. The greater the emphasis on the innocent child, the harder it was to avoid a presumption of parental guilt.

This parental guilt became most frequently maternal. Increasingly in the early 20th century the parents against whom children needed protection were specifically mothers. The discourse de-emphasized child abuse and sexual abuse, often or always male crimes, and featured instead child neglect, by definition a crime of mothers. (Fathers' only obligation to children was economic support, and their failure to supply this was defined as non-support, not neglect, with far different meanings and consequences.) Mothers were often double-binded–blamed for children's failures, but rarely credited for their successes. Child protection agencies did not often recognize the actual conditions of mothering, which so often included not only poverty but also women's own subordination and frequent victimization.

Thus child protection, although it arose from maternalism, tended to oppose mothers' to children's interests. Child protectors relied on a policing model of crime and punishment, in which children were innocent and mothers were not. Their non-innocence of Victorian sexual and gender standards flowed into non-innocence in parenting.

But what resources did the child protectors have to replace these defective mothers? When courts convicted parents, children were punished. Abused children might be sent to reformatories along with delinquents, or placed out with unsupervised foster parents eager to exploit their labor, typically separated from their siblings. Children regularly suffered more from the remedy than from the crime. Putting children first did not bestow adequate public funds on substitutes for parental homes. The child protectors were caught in a vice between miserable homes and miserable institutions or foster homes. (This is not to say that orphanages or foster homes were inevitably and necessarily bad; the truth is that they have always been so regularly underfunded that they never got a fair trial.) Public provision for children was abysmal for several reasons, but among them was a rhetoric of vile mothers, even as the family economy continued to rest on child-raising exclusively by mothers. To put it in modern policy-speak, mothers seemed to be the only way to "deliver" services to children. When mothers were no good, why should they be supported?

At several points in the history of child protection, experts recognized that prosecuting parents rarely helped children, and urged help for parents. But child protection always ran up against miserly welfare policy and this kind of help was rare and stingy. Thus child protection was enfeebled by the paradox that in sacralizing children, and thereby gaining widespread rhetorical support, protective efforts failed because the ignominy laid on parents reinforced a stingy attitude toward offering them aid. Yet what would have

benefited most neglected children most was helping their parents. In other words, overriding the *rights* of poor parents did not usually lead to better fulfillment of children's *needs*.

The innocent-child, children-first orientation in the development of public assistance programs also ended badly for children. The first modern American public welfare programs, state aid programs for widowed mothers, pushed by the women's movement and adopted by 40 states between 1910 and 1920, looked promising at first. These stipends recognized and established mothers as heads of households, notwithstanding the fact that their headship was understood as a misfortune; and opponents of mothers' pensions accurately identified mothers' aid as a threat to male dominance. Mothers' pensions underlined interdependence between mothers and children--it was bad for children to lose their mothers and bad for women to lose their children; and the mothers' pensions recognized that mothering was socially valuable labor. At the beginning, the premise that mothers should not have to lose their children, or children lose their mothers, because of poverty seemed to become close to inaugurating a mutual *right* among children and mothers.

But suspicion and stigmatizing of lone mothers quickly dispensed with any rights talk for poor mothers or children. Perhaps it was impossible at the time for elite women to help less fortunate mothers without also condescending to them. Whether inevitable or not, most of the state mothers' pensions required that only "worthy" mothers should be supported--thus communicating that many other mothers were unworthy; so most states helped only widows. All the programs founded that recipient mothers *needed* counseling and supervising to make sure their mothering was good enough–a requirement imposed on widowed as well as separated or divorced mothers, thus communicating universal suspicion. In the two decades of the operation of the state mothers' pensions, the worthy-mother requirement--combined of course with puny financing and nativist and racist prejudice--deprived many children of help.

Then the Depression of the 1930s created a crisis and an opportunity to expand the welfare state. During the New Deal the putting children first strategy indelibly marked the American welfare state. The social security program for children emerged markedly inferior–not because of disregard for children but because of the very maternalist emphasis on protecting children. A major factor was the continued hostility to mothers's employment. Children needed protection now from mothers who worked outside the home, just as the economy forced more of them into wage labor. So, in line with the putting children first strategy, the program provided stipends only for children, not for their caretakers. But for the children to receive help, their mothers had to be screened and guided. By this time the planners had come to understand that the single-mother families who needed this help were composed not only of widows--who qualified as the deserving poor, i.e., in this case, innocent mothers--but increasingly of divorced and separated women and sometimes even of never-married women. Wishing to avoid the moralistic hostility such women provoked, the designers accepted the odd fiction that children's support could somehow be separated from their parents'. They continued the rhetoric about "innocent" children, arguing that they should not be burdened by the sins

of their parents. In the second half of the 20th century one can track intensifying stigmatizing of lone mothers as lazy and immoral. While children had once served as a surrogate for mothers, a means of increasing women's power, as in the campaign for maternal custody, they were now being given aid despite their mothers.

The almost ludicrous assumption here was that the caretaker could starve but the child would be well-nourished. In the US these assumptions continue today in bizarre ways. Several programs have attempted to deliver resources exclusively to children. Supplemental food programs, such as food stamps, have at times limited recipients to those under 18. In the crisis faced by the 47 million people without health insurance, one common proposal has been to provide care for children only. Consider the consequences: the children get orange juice and cheese but the law requires the parent not to drink or eat these. The child with asthma gets treatment but the parent does not.

Even if such invidious inequities were workable, their impact on family life might be odious. Among the many "family values" that have become political slogans, one that is unspoken but widely shared is that family is a site of generosity, caring, and sharing based on needs rather than earnings. Even over-the-top consumerism has not entirely eradicated the notion that material goods and services are to be shared in families and that family members look out for each other. Families try to provide medical care for the person who needs it; they no longer advocate allotting the best food to the male head of family; they try to promote responsibility for other relatives. Keeping a child in good health while her parents suffer would seem uncomfortable, to say the least. Not to mention the question of whether an unwell parent <u>can</u> provide for a child.

Another legacy of the American welfare program was the premise that government should have the responsibility to ascertain that the child was being raised in a healthy environment. Beyond issues of health and nutrition, the "suitable home" requirement became the basis for a great deal of snooping into the lives of "welfare mothers:" did they have boyfriends? were they buying clothes for themselves instead of for their children? did they have prohibited resources such as automobiles, telephones, or savings accounts? The constant surveillance had the effect of intensifying suspicion that most welfare recipients were undeserving. The premise was of course that an immoral or cheating mother could defile innocent children. The problem was that the punishment of the immoral mother was--cutting off support for the children.

This conundrum repeated the dilemma of protection from family violence, the question of how to "deliver" resources to a child. For better or worse, most children require adult care. And few social communities have provided systems of care that could substitute adequately for family adults–who in the main continue to be mothers. Public provision for children without a parent was usually so stingy that no matter how bad a parental home was--morally, economically, or in terms of abuse--institutional or foster-home placements were on average always worse. So the "innocent" child deprived of an "unfit" adult caretaker–even assuming that the determination of fitness was reasonable--typically suffered worse than the alleged wrongdoer.

The global increase in immigration presents new dilemmas in policy toward children, dilemmas that remind me of the problems of putting children first. I want to discuss here an issue prominent in the US which may become common throughout the developed world as global inequality becomes more visible. Among immigrants' reasons for coming to the developed world, a particularly strong motive is the search for opportunity for children. For some this means an individual adult who immigrates for the purpose of sending remittances back to the family. But the migration is also responding to one of the pro-child policies of the US-- that a child born in the US is a citizen of the US. This policy, which at first looks like favoritism for children, also results in perverse outcomes.

Consider one in a recent series of raids by the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)–now part of Homeland Security--to deport "illegal aliens." In New Bedford, MA, on March 6 of this year, ICE agents seized 361 employees of a low-wage manufacturing firm. Arrested without warning, they were put immediately on planes headed for a Texas prison to await deportation, not even allowed to make telephone calls. These immigrants left approximately 100 children in school or with babysitters, with no one coming to pick them up—they could not be deported because they were citizens. ICE agents released a few detainees who they established were sole caregivers to children and eight pregnant women "for humanitarian reasons." The rest were given the option of letting their children stay with a guardian or putting them in state care. Journalists reported absolute panic among children and adults of this immigrant community. One nursing infant had to be hospitalized for dehydration.

This was not an isolated case. Approximately 3.1 million American citizen children in the US have at least one non-citizen parent. Inversely, three of four children of immigrants are US citizens. 1 in 10 American families contain both citizens and noncitizens.[1] The current ICE raids had arrested 18,000 as of April 29, 2007.[2] Immigrant parents of citizen children are losing jobs, health care, welfare payments, drivers' licenses, access to schools. In this case one might say that both rights and needs claims have been overridden.

A similarly perverse outcome flows from the rhetoric of innocent victims in war. Perhaps there is a human, a pre-ideological sensibility that violence to children is worse than violence to adults. But we need to consider carefully who are the non-innocents. We know that decent, even gentle folk, including children, including women, can be made astonishingly brutal when organized into violence institutions and structures.

The innocent-child strategy has yielded mixed results. It proved difficult to "deliver" services that met children's needs except through parents. Promoting the "innocence" and deservingness of children did not get them much material help, and the maternalists' hope that kids could open the door to a maternal welfare state was disappointed. Giving to children while those around them did without proved unworkable. Using threats to their children's welfare to discipline women did not improve their effectiveness as mothers. Defining the interests of children separately from those of their parents did not help children. Allowing the needs of children to trump the rights of parents did not help

children. In fact, identifying children as uniquely deserving tended to undercut adults' claims to public help, which then made it more difficult to help children.

Moreover, from a global perspective the alleged favoring of children has done little to stop exploitation of child workers and has often promoted disrespect, to say the least, for patterns of parenting that differ from those of dominant cultures. In fact children's "innocence" has functioned to reproduce and even strengthen some forms of domination.

The children's rights movement sought bravely to protect children, and its achievements have been of great value. But its lasting victories have been mainly in connection with children's rights vis-à-vis their parents. Acceptance of public responsibility for child welfare has been much weaker in the US. As neo-liberalism advances, we should perhaps be alert to similar erosion of public responsibility elsewhere.

I find myself thinking back to the ideals of a social-democratic moment in US history—President Roosevelt's four freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Children need all these freedoms but achieving them, especially freedom from want and fear, may require, ironically, an end to the innocent-child rhetoric.

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NOTES

1. More than 3.1 million American children have at least one illegal immigrant parent, said Jeffrey S. Passel, a demographer at the Pew Hispanic Center. May 1, 2007 "As Deportation Pace Rises, Illegal Immigrants Dig In" By Julia Preston.

2. http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/chi-0704280308apr29,1,867797.story
[Story is no longer available at the *Chicago Tribune* website – ed.]
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Keynote Address
'The Children' and 'the Other Children': Dualism in the Social Construction of Childhood

Hugh Cunningham, University of Kent

In *A Child's Garden of Verses*, published in 1885, Robert Louis Stevenson attempted to recreate his own childhood. The book was, and has been ever since, a run-away success – the British Library lists nearly one hundred editions.

Running through the verses is an awareness of other and different children, some close at hand, some far away. In the four lines 'To Auntie', Jane Whyte Balfour, his mother's sister, Stevenson wonders how other children could have a childhood without such an aunt:

> *Chief of our aunts* – not only I,
> But all your dozen of nurslings cry –
> *What did the other children do?*
> *And what were childhood, wanting you? [1]*

In 'Foreign Children', he tries, unsuccessfully, to imagine what it would be like to be foreign:

> Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
> Little frosty Eskimo,
> Little Turk or Japanee,
> O! don't you wish that you were me? [2]

The idea that we gain a sense of who we are, both individually and as part of a collectivity, by placing ourselves in juxtaposition or opposition to an other, is now a commonplace. It is a notion that informs psychoanalytic thinking on the ego, and has been used widely by social scientists and cultural analysts in looking at, for example,

national identity. We are familiar with the idea that our sense of our gender or our ethnicity is unimaginable without some other with which to compare and contrast ourselves. This dualism implies and encourages a characteristic mode of thought: there is I/we and there is the other.

What I want to do is to explore how dualism, or the notion of otherness, has shaped and informed much of our thinking about childhood. Stevenson alerts us to the fact that the ways in which it has done so are not straightforwardly obvious. For a child the most obvious other is the adult just as for the adult it is the child. Each is constructed as in some ways the opposite of the other. The ways in which this child/adult dualism has been worked through in different historical circumstances would be a good topic, but it is not the one I am going to address. Stevenson found the other, not in adults, but in 'other children', and it is on this particular dualism, 'the children' versus 'the other children', that I want to focus.

In most studies of otherness, the other has to be maintained and sustained in order to build up the identity of the self or collective. In Linda Colley's analysis, for the British to be British, they had to imagine and re-imagine the French as other.[3] But 'the other children' have a different function. It is true that many children gained some sense of who they were, or where they stood in the social pecking order, by being told by adults that they should not play or mix with other children who were seen as socially different: in this sense otherness was to be preserved. But at the level of social action or philanthropy, the existence of 'the other children' was a call to do something about them, to strip away their otherness. Much social action to improve child life, I shall argue, was built on a rhetoric of the otherness of children in need, and of the undesirability of this otherness.

In 1912 Elizabeth Grierson, taking her cue from Stevenson, wrote a book entitled *What the Other Children Do*. The title itself is an indication of the power and influence of Stevenson who died in 1894, and became, at least in Scotland, a modern saint. 'There are', Grierson explained, '"the children" growing up in happy homes, loved, cherished, cared-for; and there are "the other children" living in conditions of which I have tried to give a slight, and by no means an exaggerated, description in the following pages – dirty, half-starved, and neglected …' The aim of the book was to persuade 'the children' to help 'the other children'. The narrator is a middle-class girl, Margaret, aged seventeen, and she and her younger sister help out at a settlement in Edinburgh, learning about kindergartens, about mothers' meetings, about cripple schools, about girls' clubs, about Play Centres, about making gardens. But despite all these efforts, the 'other children' remain disturbingly other. When Margaret comes out of a girls' club, 'rough boys and wild-looking girls – girls, not any older than I am – were standing about in groups, or chasing one another in and out of the close mouths, with wild shrieks of laughter, that sounded as if it came from rude savages.'[4]

With otherness we are confronted with a chicken and egg problem. Which come first, 'the children', happy and cared-for, or 'the other children', dirty and neglected? The answer is that these two social constructions feed on each other. But they feed on each

other in particular historical circumstances. The opposition Grierson in the early twentieth century sets up between the two has a history and a future, but it has not been a universal in the history of childhood. If we try to trace its origins, we will find in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a concern about neglected children. The Spanish humanist, Juan Luis Vives, in the 1520s, advocated a programme of action for the authorities in Bruges that would help to take children off the street and bring them up in institutions. Vives's recommendations spread throughout Europe, both Catholic and Protestant, and any city of any size built institutions to try to rescue these children. Here, in embryo, were 'the other children'. But in this rhetoric there were, as yet, no 'children' to be set against 'the other children'. Listen, for example, to Thomas Anguish, a former mayor of Norwich. He wrote about the need for a place for the 'keeping, bringing up, and teaching of young and very poor children' who were sleeping out in the streets, finding shelter wherever they could. But there is no contrast made with 'the children'. Anguish's concern was that many of these children 'fall into great and onerous diseases and lamenesses, as that they are fit for no profession, ever after'.[5] Pity for the children on the street sat alongside a concern for the future of the city unless these children were taken into care.

'The other children' could only be so-named, and so-imagined, when there was a firmer notion of 'the children' and of what childhood should be. That came only with the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth century. Childhood was then constructed as a time of happiness, protection and dependence – and the best part of life, 'the weary life's long happy holyday'. Armed with this vision, reformers looked with horror at what was happening to child life in the factories and mines of the early nineteenth century. They explicitly contrasted the lives of working children with the ideal childhood that Wordsworth had taught them about where 'heaven is around and within us in our infancy'.[6]

This contrast between the ideal childhood and what contemporaries called 'children without childhood' proved to be immensely powerful, and it lasts to this day. But the countering of an ideal childhood with the other childhoods which all too many actual children live necessitated a fiction. Very few, if any, children lived their childhoods according to the Wordsworthian ideal. Sometimes in adulthood they imagined that they had.

Stevenson provides a good illustration of the way the ideal childhood was constructed. His sense of the otherness of the 'little Indian', or of children deprived of the company of his aunt, helped him to build an idea of himself, and of what childhood should be. But this construction, as he acknowledged in adulthood, was built on deeply suspect foundations: it was a myth. In the myth Stevenson, like all proper children, was happy, playing much of the time in the garden, in touch with nature, and this was how it should be:

> Happy hearts and happy faces,
> Happy play in grassy places –
> This was how, in ancient ages,

Children grew to kings and sages.[7]

But childhood for Stevenson was, as he acknowledged, ‘in reality a very mixed experience, full of fever, nightmare, insomnia, painful days and interminable nights; and I can speak with less authority of Gardens than of that other “land of counterpane.”’[8] Yet in the verse, ‘The Land of Counterpane’, this experience of being ill is transformed:

When I was sick and lay a-bed,
I had two pillows at my head,
And all my toys beside me lay
To keep me happy all the day.

Stevenson, in bed, uses his imagination to march armies across the bedclothes, and send out navies through the sheets, he himself a ‘giant great and still/That sits upon the pillow-hill’.[9] Stevenson is here almost consciously distorting reality. Childhood was being constructed as a time of happiness: that construction made the otherness of the other children all the more distressing. The two fed off each other.

The dualism of ‘the children’ and ‘the other children’ informed and inspired numerous attempts to bring about a better life for the other children. There continued a deep anxiety for the future of society of the kind that Thomas Anguish had expressed in the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century and subsequently, alongside this kind of utilitarianism, there was an emotional drive to rescue other children that derived much of its force from a dualistic frame of thinking. I will come back later to what I see as its drawbacks. Its positive qualities were substantial. It is difficult to think of any of the individual champions of children, say Barnardo, or any of the organisations formed on behalf of children, such as the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, that were not inspired at some level by a concern for ‘the other children’ as contrasted to ‘the children’. Dualism was based on the idea that there was an essence of childhood, something that all children started with, but which some subsequently lost. To cite one autobiographical example of the sense of shock when a memory of happy childhood encountered ‘other children’, here is Emily Greene Balch, born in 1867 in a Boston Brahmin family: ‘Mine was a simple happy … home. Grass underfoot and a sky overhead were part of my birthright. It was a shock to me when I went through settlement experience when I realized many children have never spent a night in the dark, have never spent a night in silence.’[10]

We can get some sense of the otherness of the children who needed to be rescued by the metaphors and similes used to describe them. Consider Lord Ashley trying to awaken concern for the children of the streets in mid-nineteenth-century London. ‘Language’, he said, ‘is powerless to exhibit the truth’ – but language was all he had. Street children were, he wrote, a ‘tribe – bold, and pert, and dirty as London sparrows’. They were ‘a wild and lawless race’, ‘the wild colts of the Pampas’, ‘the Arabs of the metropolis’. Ashley was not alone in turning to the animal world and to images of savagery. In Paris the street children were said to be ‘as barbarous and as brave as North American Indians’.

In Britain, they were not only ‘street Arabs’, but also ‘English Kaffirs’, ‘Hottentots’, ‘ownerless dogs’, ‘like a wild-cat’, rats. They were as other as you could imagine.[11]

It was Dr Barnardo’s propaganda coup – though he was not alone in dreaming up the idea – to show through photographs that these other children could be turned into children. Dressing them up more raggedly than they actually were, he published his famous before and after photographs to show how the money people subscribed to keep his homes open could transform the most wretched of street arabs into a child.[12]

Comparison of children with animals or savages was not the only way to indicate their otherness. Equally telling, and a theme running through the late nineteenth century, was the depiction of the child as prematurely grown-up. ‘Can these be *children*?’ asked one investigator of delinquency. No, they were ‘diminutive men’. ‘[T]he boys and girls here’, wrote another, ‘are men and women at ten or twelve years of age.’ ‘London’, wrote Brenda in *Froggy’s Little Brother*, ‘has nothing more sorrowful to show us … than its old children, with their shrewd, anxious faces, and knitted brows, on which hard Care is stamped, instead of the glad expectancy and joyous carelessness which we generally associate with childhood.’[13]

A dualistic and essentialist mode of thinking was reinforced by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century search for a science of childhood. The issue came to the fore with the spread of mass compulsory schooling: some children seemed ill equipped to cope with the demands of school. They were not ‘normal’. The emphasis of scientific enquiry was on these not normal children, these other children. Their otherness prompted a search for what was normal. From the young science of statistics came the Gaussian curve, a bell-shaped jar, where most fall within the normal category, with exceptions at either end. Once the statistical law had taken root, children were accommodated within it, the normality of most children and the otherness of others a matter of scientific fact.[14] Whereas it is often easier to trace a shift from the children to the other children, in science the other children came first and then helped to establish what it was to be a child.

In the scientific discourse, normality was measured physically, in height and weight, and in brain size; mentally, in IQ tests; and morally, in behaviour. A failure to achieve normality in one domain often implied failure in another: the physically underweight were likely to be also mentally ‘feeble’, and morally weak. As Gillian Sutherland put it, there was an assumption in these enquiries that ‘there was a systematic relationship between physical characteristics, sensory perception and the higher mental processes’.[15] Few of us can have escaped being weighed, measured, and tested to see if we might be one of these unfortunate others.

The focus on the not normal was driven both by concern for them and by fear of them, but it is the concern for them, the wish to provide them with a childhood, that requires emphasis. When Edouard Seguin opened his first school for idiots in 1839 he did so with a conviction that, though they could not be cured, they could be educated. This implied a view that all children had potential access to childhood – that the other children on whom

psychology focused might become children. In the words of George Shuttleworth, a British disciple of Seguin, the education of both normal and defective children should follow as closely as possible 'the mode in which nature herself proceeds in the development of the faculties of perfect children'.[16] Science could reveal nature's ways – and 'perfect children' were what nature intended. When people used the phrase 'in the best interests of the child' to describe the kinds of policy aimed at these not normal children, they were at some level accepting that these children had a right to a childhood which could not be secured under normal conditions. All children shared a common essence of childhood. Margaret McMillan, for example, much influenced by Seguin, firmly believed, in Carolyn Steedman's words, 'that poor children were the same kind of children as more favoured ones' – that they could be rescued from their otherness.[17]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century attempts to establish a science of childhood and of pedagogy lay themselves open to criticism and ridicule. There is much over-blown rhetoric, uncomfortable connections with eugenicism, and a scarcely disguised wish for professional advancement. But there is also, with much reference back to Pestalozzi and Seguin and Froebel, a concern to try to see things from a child's point of view, and to allow a child to develop in accordance with what were seen as laws of nature. In 1916 a London County Council inspector called for 'far more attention to be given to the scientific study of the child' for this would lead to 'Greater freedom for the child's natural development and less imposition of adult methods.'[18] There is in this discourse an essence of childhood that science can unveil, bringing in 'the other children' from the alien world they were all too likely to inhabit.

The cast of mind of those who proclaimed and sought to secure the rights of children was fundamentally dualistic. The rights to which children were entitled were the rights to a childhood. An ideal of childhood as a time for natural growth, play and happiness in a protected garden was set against the reality of the lives of all too many children, 'the other children', whose rescue could be measured by the extent to which their lives came close to the ideal. There would have been no need to talk about the rights of children had there not been so many 'other children' who were without a childhood.

The notion that children have rights has a long history if we take it to mean that societies have generally made some provision for orphans, have imposed on parents obligations to maintain their children, and have protected children in law against ill-treatment. But the notion that children have rights to a childhood, rather than simply rights to some legal protection of their persons, is a specifically modern invention, dating in its origins from the 1830s and closely linked to the campaigns to rescue children from work in mills and mines. Those who invoked childhood for all children did not need to spell out what childhood was. In the words of Benjamin Waugh, prominent in the early history of the NSPCC, 'The rights of a child are its birthright. The Magna Carta of them, is a child's nature. The Author, its Creator.'[19] God had endowed children with a nature, and a child's rights could be read off from that nature. Some of those rights, and Waugh would have insisted on this, needed to be embodied in laws, but there was something about childhood rights that went beyond laws, that no laws could enshrine, and that was a child's right to the enjoyment of a childhood in touch with nature.

In the twentieth century, beginning with Eglantyne Jebb's 1924 Geneva Declaration of the rights of the child, there were successive attempts (1959, 1989) to set out rights of the child that would bring within their ambit every child in the world. The implication of them, the necessity for them, was that some, perhaps many or even most, children were not enjoying those rights: they were the other. A declaration of the rights of the child, universal in scope, offered the opportunity to bring all the other children over to the side of childhood.

The ambition and optimism that lay behind these efforts need to be emphasised. The twentieth century was to be 'the century of the child'. But at its outset not only were there all too many children in the western world who could not be said to be enjoying a childhood; there were also all the children of the undeveloped world, most of them in the empires that European countries ruled. Was it envisaged, was it feasible, to bring all these children within the compass of a proper childhood? To answer this, and to put it in context, we need to be aware of the profound sense of the otherness of children in the colonies that was inherited from the nineteenth century. We can best see this in the way children themselves were encouraged to think about other children – and it is a reinforcement of the suggestion that a sense of the otherness of other children originates in childhood. In 1842 some 6000 children gathered in London's Exeter Hall for the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society. There they sang a special hymn that went like this:

Lord! while the little heathens bend,
And call some wooden god their friend;
Or stand and see, with bitter cries,
Their mothers burnt before their eyes;

While many a dear and tender child
Is thrown to bears and tigers wild;
Or left upon the river's brink,
To suffer more than heart can think;

Behold, what mercies we possess!
How far beyond our thankfulness!
By happy thousands here we stand,
To serve thee in a Christian land.[20]

Hugh Cunningham, leading audience in song

That was in 1842. Forty years later, in 1882, some girls organised a fancy sale in support of missions, wanting 'to bring happiness to the women and children of India, who are kept shut up, and know nothing of the free happy life that most English girls lead, or worse still, know nothing of the blessed Saviour.'[21]

The otherness of these children was so profound that it was going to be difficult to bridge the gap. And yet in the twentieth century the attempt was made. The 1924 Declaration of Children's Rights aimed to promote children's rights 'beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality, or creed'. Its main promoter, the Save the Children International Union, tried to do just that. At the 1931 Geneva conference on 'The African Child' the emphasis was on the rights of all children to have access to decent standards of welfare, the belief widespread that the world was en route to that destination.[22] Or, consider child labour, already by the late nineteenth century seen as a stain on the reputation of countries like Britain, but not by any means eliminated. And yet, in 1919 the newly founded International Labour Office set as one of its goals the elimination of child labour. In the route to that goal, allowances were made for the special circumstances of the colonies and other undeveloped countries. Nevertheless, they were included in the overall goal. Child labour was to be abolished. The thing that had done most in the nineteenth century to stir people to campaign for a better life for children, the thing that had been most deeply sensed as denying a childhood to children, was now to be the focus of a campaign for its global elimination. That campaign reached its apogee in 1973 when the ILO set the target of fifteen as the age beneath which no child should work, hoping to raise it in due course to sixteen.[23]

1973 may be seen as the year in which the hopes for children in the century of the child themselves reached their peak. Thereafter it was downhill. The economic difficulties following on the oil price rise of that year were accompanied by a challenge to dominant Keynsian thinking by monetarism. As free market doctrines spread, so faded the protection of childhood that governments had begun to assume as their duty. In the undeveloped world, child labour began to increase, schooling rates often to decline as the IMF insisted on a return to payment of school fees.[24] In the developed world, there began a chorus of complaints that children were losing their childhood, Neil Postman's 1982 *The Disappearance of Childhood* perhaps the most famous. In the twenty-first century, children, it is often said, are being robbed of their childhood. In September 2006 in Britain a 'Hold on to Childhood' campaign was launched in the wake of a book entitled *Toxic Childhood*, its contents probably only too apparent from the title – children were being poisoned.[25] This turn of events and of mind post 1973 deeply affected the overall perception of childhood and of children. Whereas the hope in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century was that more and more children would come over from their otherness to enjoy a childhood, the fear in the last quarter and on into our own century has been that all children may become other: not really children at all.

Harry Hendrick drew our attention many years ago to the ways in which children were both idealised and feared.[26] The balance in recent years has swung towards fear. Take a simple measure, children's health. No one can doubt that the health of children in the developed world improved out of all recognition in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Yet by the end of the century obesity was posing a threat to many of those improvements. Rates of mental illness among children were also soaring. One in twelve British children was reported to self-harm.[27] From the point of view of a dualistic approach to the history of childhood, we are seeing a huge increase in the

proportion of children who are at some level deemed to be other, to be failing to live up to the ideal of childhood established over one hundred years ago.

I have so far presented as positive the ways in which a dualistic outlook on children inspired many people to try to bring about better conditions for children. But, as I hinted earlier, dualism also has its negative side. The childhood set up as an ideal – happy, healthy, in the country, dependent and protected - was really never much more than an ideal. Few children had childhoods that approximated to it. In an urban society, for example, it was unrealistic, if not impossible, to envisage a childhood for the masses that was rural and in touch with nature: the majority of children were inevitably going to have less than perfect childhoods. More fundamentally, the dependency and protection that were part and parcel of the ideal of childhood could come to seem a denial to them of rights to personhood. In the words of John Holt, campaigner in the 1970s for a different sort of children's rights, childhood had become a prison.[28]

What is surprising is the extent to which a (damaging) dualistic mode of thinking spread far outside the ranks of philanthropists or campaigners for children's rights. It became part of popular culture, and it remains so. Taking their inspiration from Joshua Reynolds's 'The Age of Innocence', artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries painted children in the countryside or at the seaside, in harmony with nature. These were 'the children'. The 'other children' were the urban waifs and strays. And these paintings sold.[29]

At another level, people became accustomed to think of their childhoods as happy or unhappy: they had been either children or other children. And they learned the consequences of unhappiness as a child, of being other: they would have perhaps insurmountable difficulties to cope with in adulthood. There were, in retrospect and memory, no childhoods falling into the great gulf between happiness and unhappiness: you either had a happy childhood, or you did not; you were either one of the children or of the other children.

Conclusion:

1. I have argued that a dualistic framework made sense to campaigners of what they were doing. But does it amount to any more than this? Surely there are other ways of understanding and explaining the child-saving movement? Of course there are. The most powerful of them is the one articulated forty years ago by Tony Platt in *The Child Savers*. For Platt the child savers have to be seen in the context of the overall attempt of capital to maintain and enforce social control.[30] I don't want to take explicit issue with that interpretation, but suggest that in rightly rejecting the progressivist assumptions that underlay previous accounts, Platt necessarily underplayed the understanding of themselves that child savers had, and that others had of them. Child saving was a crusade, its leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century imbued with saintliness. Take, for example, two British women whom I have mentioned in passing, Margaret McMillan, the pioneer of nursery education, who died in 1931, and Eglantyne Jebb, the founder of the Save the Children International, who died in 1929. People who

encountered them felt themselves to be in the presence of saints.[31] Child saving evoked that kind of response. And for both McMillan and Jebb a sense of the unnecessary and undeserved otherness of so many children was a driving force.

2. This dualistic framework was reinforced by what purported to be science. No one did more than McMillan to popularise the ideas of the science of childhood for a lay readership.

3. Acceptance of the importance of dualism alone makes sense of the campaigns for the recognition of the rights of children.

4. Dualism was associated with optimism in the period up to the 1970s, with a belief, that, allowing for setbacks and disappointments, the world was getting better for children. Since the 1970s dualism has been associated with pessimism, a view that more and more children are becoming other.

5. Dualism has unhealthily prolonged and perpetuated a romantic view of childhood as ideally innocent, happy and dependent.

Originating in the western world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a dualistic mode of thinking about children has become both dominant and, curiously, unrecognised. I have tried to demonstrate the dominance and to argue that we ought to be more aware than we are of its effects, both positive and negative. I am not suggesting a new one-paradigm-fits-all way of understanding the history of childhood in recent times, but I have found that dualism offers insights into that history, and in particular into the motivations and self-understanding of social actors. Most of my examples have been taken from British history, but I don't think dualism is unique to the British. For me, the mythologizing of the perfect childhood, to which Robert Louis Stevenson contributed in *A Child's Garden of Verses*, has had the effect of making many children, across the world, seem as 'other', as not really children at all. Children themselves, as Stevenson did, may think in this way, and adults certainly do. The author of *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, that classic of a dualistic split and of its consequences, has a lot to answer for.

NOTES

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4. Elizabeth Grierson, *What the Other Children Do* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1912), ix-x, 104.
5. Anguish quoted in Margaret Pelling, 'Child health as a social value in early modern England', *Social History of Medicine*, I (1988), 142-3.
6. Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 90-1.

7. Stevenson, *Garden of Verses*, 47.
8. To William Archer, 29 March 1885, Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew (eds), *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, 8 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994-5), V, 97.
9. Stevenson, *Garden of Verses*, 33.
10. Quoted in Elinor M. Despalatović and Joel Halpern, 'Emily Balch: Balkan Traveller, Peace Worker and Nobel Laureate', in John B. Allcock and Antonia Young (eds), *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: Women Travellers in the Balkans* (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1991), 37.
11. Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, 106-8.
12. Gillian Wagner, *Barnardo* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1979), 140-1, 144-6.
13. Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, 111, 140.
14. Gillian Sutherland, *Ability, Merit and Measurement: Mental Testing and English Education 1880-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 5-24; Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869-1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); AdrianWooldridge, *Measuring the Mind: Education and Psychology in England, c. 1860-c. 1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50-1.
15. Sutherland, *Ability, Merit and Measurement*, 115.
16. Quoted in Mark Jackson, '"Grown-up children": Understandings of Health and Mental Deficiency in Edwardian England', in Marijke Gijwijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 152.
17. Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931* (London: Virago, 1990), 198.
18. Quoted in Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, 85.
19. Hugh Cunningham, 'The rights of the child from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century', *Aspects of Education*, 50 (1994), 2-16.
20. F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* 9Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 92-3.
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26. Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England 1872-1989* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-15.
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29. See, e.g., Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998); *Children in Art* (London: Pavilion Books, 1989); J.J.H. Dekker, 'Family on the beach: representations of romantic and bourgeois family values by realistic genre painting of nineteenth-century Scheveningen beach', *Journal of Family History* 28 (2003), 277-96; J. Treuherz, *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art* (London and New York, 1987), esp. pp. 29-35, 107-8.
30. Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency*, 2nd edn (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
31. Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain*; Francesca M. Wilson, *Rebel Daughter of a Country House: The Life of Eglantyne Jebb, Founder of the Save the Children Fund* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1967)

President-Elect Paula Fass presenting President Kriste Lindenmeyer with a plaque in recognition of her many contributions to SHCY

Presidential Address

Moving Into the Mainstream: Childhood, Dependency, and Independence in U.S. History

Kriste Lindenmeyer
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

I am humbled to address this distinguished group. I could spend the next twenty minutes highlighting your important contributions and thanking you for helping to build the history of children, childhood, and youth as a viable field. Hum…that would probably go over fairly well. But instead, I am going to take more of a risk and ask for your reaction to some ideas I have about how to better integrate our field into the mainstream historical narratives. After all, it is the nature of modern historical methodology to be critical. This reminds me of a twist on an old joke. A new recruit, who happens to be a historian, enters

a monastery. There he is told the rules that must be followed for the next year before he can be a full member.

1) He would be required to get up an hour before dawn each morning for prayers.
2) He would be required to spend each day in the library until dusk.
3) He would receive a simple meal each evening and then go to bed.
4) And, most important, he must be entirely silent for a full year except during three meetings with the head of the monastery when the initiate would be allowed to utter two words ---so a total of six words for the entire year.

After the first four months our recruit, (I'll call him John) is asked about his experience.

"BED HARD" he responds.

And after the 2nd four months:

"FOOD BAD"

And after the 3rd

"I QUIT"

When the head monk was asked why John quit, he responded, "It isn't a surprise, after all, he was a historian and you know them, they criticize everything."

So, in that spirit, I ask for your constructive criticism.

As many people have pointed out at this conference, the history of children, childhood, and youth has matured from what some critics called the lunatic fringe of historical scholarship to a perspective that legitimately challenges the historical diversity mantra of interpretive subfields: race, gender, class, and ethnicity. I assume that for most of us this is progress, but it will not be easy to bring our work from inclusion in the subfield mantra to entrance into the inner circle of mainstream history. Some people at this conference have been able to cross this gap, but it is not the norm for the field.

Perhaps we can learn from other fields. Children are often used as key indicators for answering the big questions in many disciplines. For example, public health researchers and advocates generally accept infant mortality rates and child health data as the most important signals of a society's general health. Psychiatrist and psychologists look to children's lives for keys to understand human development. Sociologists and public policy scholars focus on efforts directed at children as evidence of a community's overall commitment to social welfare. Others note the successes and failures of public schools as predictors of the chances for future economic growth and prosperity. In a similar way, I believe that the history of children, childhood, and youth can serve as the, or at least a, major indicator of the primary trends encompassing the human experience. In other words, does the history of children, childhood, and youth provide special insights about historical themes already in the inner circle of mainstream history? Can the history of children, childhood, and youth provide a prism which intensifies insights for better understanding all history.

For the next few minutes I want to present a possible example from my own field, United States' history. (That sounds like an Alcoholics Anonymous confession---"My name is Kris and I'm an alcoholic"---I mean United States' historian). I am not suggesting that everyone use the specifics of my U.S. model. Instead, I want to urge you to use the idea

behind the model to illuminate the useful perspectives of children's history in your own specific areas of study, be they national, regional, or thematic. As an historian of the United States (and childhood in that country) I gravitate to two words that I think lie at the heart of American history:

Independence and Dependence

Some of the most successful (influential books) in U.S. history relate to the political and philosophical rhetoric that rests at the foundations of American identity. Words and phrases such as, freedom, democracy, the idea that all men are created equal, and the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (even if the later should probably say life, liberty and the purchase of happiness). As many historians have show, the history of the United States is the story of the struggle over the meaning and application of these ideas. Studying the history of children and adolescents (especially related to the development of public policy and America's semi-welfare state) has raised a new wrinkle for me in the traditional historiographical debate. In other words, I believe that using insights from the history of children, childhood, and youth offers a window to the fundamental core of American history; the power shifts overtime between the ideas and practical applications of INDEPENDENCE and DEPENDENCE.

Today as in the past, being labeled as dependent in America suggests inadequacy, incompetence, immaturity, and a lack of self-determination or free choice. Dependents are viewed as docile, well behaved, having limited free choice, but in exchange generally depicted (at least by proponents of the existing structure of dependency) as carefree and happy recipients of benevolent protections that keep them from being dirtied or corrupted by the full realization of independence (for example, think pro-slavery arguments, anti-female suffrage, and domestic sovereign status for American Indians). As an American ideal, dependency is a status to avoid.

Most of the mainstream narrative about U.S. history points to independence as key to American identity, but few use the word dependence as the comparative context for understanding the past. I believe this is the case because since the colonial period, various groups and individuals have used language about independence, freedom, and rights to displace the social, political, and economic limitations justified under the mantel of dependency by those that held power. Interestingly, very different from almost every other group I can think of, advocates for children have held up dependency (not independence) as a desirable ideal that is a right of all American children. In fact, looking at the relationship between independence and dependency seems to be at the root of why the modern ideal of a protected and extended childhood dependency through adolescence began to take root in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. [1]

The Root Meaning of Independence and Dependence in the United States

For American revolutionary leaders in 1776, the Declaration of Independence justified the thirteen colonies' rebellion against the king and parliament. The men that created the American Revolution equated independence with freedom. Many argued that by 1776, the once protective mother (Britain) had become a tyrant, partly due to changed policies in England, but also because the thirteen American colonies had matured into states

capable of making decisions on their own. In other words, the colonies had earned independence. What they did not mention, was the fact that there were a variety of groups labeled as dependent within the newly independent United States.

It is easy to understand how dependency was used to define the status of children in early America because we still accept that notion today. But other groups equated in public policy with children eventually won rejection of their dependent status. The changes did not come without struggle (in the case of slavery it took a bloody civil war). Many historians have told that story, but few pay attention to the fact that as a diversity of groups joined the circle of American independence, the idea of a childhood dependency changed and became an important marker of U.S. identity as a modern civilized nation.

The Modern Childhood Ideal and Dependency in the United States

Property ownership had initially been one of the most important markers of independence---and therefore full political and social citizenship. But after the revolution, American white men rejected property ownership as the key test of adult independence. Race and gender, not property ownership, became the chief marker of independence in the United States.

I do not think it is a coincidence that the modern middle-class ideal of a dependent and protected childhood emerged at the same time as the most important power shifts involving class, race, and gender in U.S. history. I also don't believe that it was simply a convenient opportunity for women like Jane Addams and Florence Kelley to embrace child welfare as what Robyn Muncy has called the female dominion of American reform. Instead, I believe that women understood that one efficient pathway to gain independent status for themselves was to clearly distinguish adult women from children; especially adolescent boys and girls. For most of American history, women and children were grouped together as dependents of husbands, fathers, and adult sons. The birth of the American women's rights movement in 1848 and its expansion into the mainstream in the 1890s demanded a distinct separation from children---especially adolescent girls that were not physically different from adult women.

The Modern Childhood Ideal

In 1905, Florence Kelley called for the federal government to protect "a right to childhood" for all American children. Within her argument, Kelley outlined the specifics of a dependent status for American children. She believed that this protected childhood dependency should extend from birth through at least age nineteen. Protected dependency for children, according to Kelley, "follows from the existence of the Republic and must be guarded in order to guard its life….the noblest duty of the Republic is that of self-preservation by so cherishing all its children that they, in turn, may become enlightened self-governing citizens." In other words, a modern, civilized republic could not continue to exist without creating a state of protected dependency for its children. As an independent adult, Kelley believed she could demand this benevolent status for children due to their incompetency and immaturity in a society that demanded self-sufficiency from adults. Dependency included limitations on the freedoms of young Americans that would have been rejected for adults. Restrictions such as compulsory school attendance

laws, limitations on wage-labor, laws prohibiting the sale of tobacco products and alcohol to minors, mandated state or parental guardianship, as well as a separate legal system (juvenile courts). These were trumpeted as essential protections (rights) for children able to take full responsibility for themselves; as I mentioned, up to at least age nineteen.

Adolescents and the Extension of Childhood Dependency

Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century popular culture celebrated men like Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Andrew Carnegie as American ideals. Each was applauded for their precocious self-sufficiency and ability to overcome life's difficulties while still in their teens. In 1906, G. Stanley Hall challenged that tradition by arguing that while valuable in the past, modern life created new challenges for adolescents that put them in danger of being unable to achieve adult independence. Hall claimed that modernity itself was the major threat. Hall argued that adolescence was as a period of incompetence, emotional inadequacy, and immaturity---therefore as state that necessitated dependence. Margaret Mead argued against that interpretation, but by the 1930s, Hall's notions won the popular and scholarly debate. Americans increasingly emphasized the extended dependency of childhood through adolescence as a right and as an inevitable consequence of modernity. As I write about in my book, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up,* the onset of the Great Depression further intensified this transition. Even young members of the American Youth Congress (AYC) declared that an extended dependency through adolescence was good for all young Americans. By 1940, the transition was universalized in law and popular.

School-based Education and Work

Supporters argued that school-based education was an important predictor of successful independence as an adult and assimilation to American values. By the early twentieth century, the movement was successful among elementary school children, but failed to reach most adolescents.

The 1930 census showed that 95 percent of children age six through thirteen were in school full time. Every state had a compulsory school attendance law for youngsters in that age group and a few extended the requirement to sixteen. Less than half of fourteen through seventeen year olds remained in school. Fifty percent unemployment rates among teens and adults' desire to remove young workers from the job market, encouraged a rise in high school attendance. In 1940, approximately 75 percent of fourteen through seventeen year olds were still in school and the proportion of high school graduates in the U.S. population doubled from 667,000 in 1930 to 1,221,000 in 1940 (the nation's overall population had only increased by 7 percent).

Outside the classroom, high school authorities encouraged teens to spend their time in extra curricular activities such as team sports, clubs, and school sponsored dances and socials---all activities overseen by adults. The New Deal's National Youth Administration formalized this prescription at the federal level by requiring the over enrollees to live at home and attend some form of full-time school-based education.

Hollywood movies provided larger than life images of the new ideal of American adolescence centered on school. The Andy Hardy film series, starring American's perpetual adolescent, Mickey Rooney, was first released in 1937. Andy and his friends spend their days engaged in a world focused on school and social activities with same-aged peers. Sex was limited to puppy love and problems were easily solved by the end of each film. Parents were loving and tolerant of the teens' extended dependency, but intolerant of precocious behavior reserved for adults. By 1960, 89 percent of seventeen-year olds remained in school and as early as the 1940s, the term "teenager" defined this definition of adolescence focused on school, same-aged peers, and extended dependency.

At the same time high schools expanded full time work for adolescents diminished and public opinion shifted. In 1933, adolescent garment workers in the Lehigh Valley region of Pennsylvania went on strike. Most were between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. The press dubbed the labor action, "The Baby Strike" and newspapers across the country condemned the companies' exploitive labor practices. The governor held special sweat shop hearings and the state's labor relations board lamented that Pennsylvania law made it impossible to force the young workers to quit their jobs and return to school full time. Many of the young strikers, however, seemed more interested in their rights as workers than returning to school. Most adults across the United States gained workers right in the 1935 Wagner Labor Act, but in 1938, President Franklin Roosevelt declared "the end of child labor" with passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The law prohibited the employment of anyone under sixteen in most industries throughout the United States (excepting agriculture and domestic service---which, unfortunately, I don't have time to discuss). The FSLA also limited the wage-work of sixteen and seventeen year olds and reinforced the idea that they should be in school. By the end of the 1930s, the message to adolescent boys and girls was clear: earning a high school diploma, not fulltime wage work, was the formula for American adolescence and adult independence.

The Anti-Child Marriage Campaign

Throughout American history adults have expressed angst about adolescent sexuality. So the attention social reformers paid to controlling adolescent sexuality, especially among girls (and also homosexual behavior with boys) is no surprise. However, the focus on raising age-of-consent laws (the age at which a female was considered by law capable of consenting to sexual intercourse) and minimum-age-of-marriage laws in this period underscores the relationship between independence for women (and other groups) and the extension of the modern childhood ideal for teens.

After the Civil War, black men and women understood that the right to state-sanctioned marriage helped legitimize their status as fully independent adults. (The recent demand by same sex couples in the U.S. to have state-sanctioned marriages is a similar effort.) In the decades following the Civil War, laws passed throughout the United States that raised the minimum age of consent and minimum age of marriage laws. As late as the 1880s, the age of consent in some states was a low as eleven. By 1900 all states had raised the age to at least sixteen.

In 1917, in her book *Social Diagnosis,* the Russell Sage Foundation's Mary Richmond

pointed to the nation's rising divorce and desertion rates as evidence of the need for reforms in state marriage laws. Modernity strikes again----

[In 1867, 10,000 American couples were granted legal divorce. An 1889 government report proclaimed the U.S. divorce rate "the highest in the world." Despite legal barriers passed by the states designed to discourage divorce, the number continued to climb. In 1920 more than 167,000 couples divorced, a rate of approximately one in fourteen. Cities owned the highest divorce rates. In Chicago one in seven marriages ended and in San Francisco the rate was one in four.]

Mary Richmond and Fred S. Hall argued that individuals judged too "immature, reckless, or unfit" should be prohibited to marry by state statute. All states prohibited the marriage of siblings, half-siblings, and first cousins. Twelve states outlawed marriage on grounds of miscegenation, the presence of mental defects, venereal disease, and addiction or drunkenness; and eighteen states included restrictions on the ability of divorced persons to remarry. Richmond and Hall also claimed that all adolescents were too immature to marry and called for a general rise in the minimum-age-of-marriage requirement to eighteen for both males and females. It seemed to be the last bastion of risk---as late as 1925 the allowable age at marriage was twelve (or as low as seven by judicial order) for females in fourteen states. Others set the minimum between fifteen and seventeen with only one state at eighteen and twenty-one for males.

Richmond and Hall failed to gain passage of a federal "Uniform Marriage Act" that would prohibit marriage for males under twenty-one and females under eighteen, but their movement did have success at the state level. By the mid-1930s (the same time that adolescents are legally defined as dependents for the first time in U.S. federal law), all states passed their own version of the law and raised their minimum age of marriage (Georgia as the lowest at fifteen for females and sixteen for males). In the 1970s, Georgia became the last state to change its standard to eighteen for both males and females. Marriage, the only universally socially acceptable status for parenthood, became a privilege restricted to adults.

Conclusion

Uniform compulsory school attendance laws, restrictions on wage work, increased age of consent laws, and prohibitions on adolescent marriage and parenthood are embraced as evidence of a more civilized and modern America that protects its children. These shifts have also been part of a United States that adapted to shifts in the meaning of independence in an increasingly diverse and gender neutral representative democracy. I believe that seeing how childhood dependency has been sold as a positive when dependency among other groups is viewed as a negative creates an ambivalence about adolescent dependency. Perhaps it helps to explain why public policies directed at teens seem inconsistent in the United States and better suited to the needs of adults than teens. I also believe that the emphasis on dependency as a right of childhood contributes to an ambivalence about the status of children in general; especially teens. In the United States, rights suggest access to privileges and dependency is not a prized status in American tradition. Perhaps this is why children and adolescents are not valued for their

contributions to American society. It may not be in the best interest of the nation's young people to define all children's status as a right of dependency in a society that values independency as the high watermark of representative democracy. I believe that this is increasingly problematic as the United States has expanded its social welfare state and its aging population is becoming more dependent on what is euphemistically called "entitlements."

In other words, I believe that most public policies are made in the best interests of adults—not children. Some have suggested that children are being treated as little adults. Instead, I think that the trend is that increasing numbers of American adults want to be treated like big kids---and this has created a problematic status for children and especially adolescents in the United States.

NOTE

1. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom,* (New York: Norton, 1998).

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SHCY NEWS

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Society for the History of Children and Youth
Biennial Business Meeting, June 30, 2007
Minutes

President Kriste Lindenmeyer called the meeting to order at 10:40 AM. Forty-eight members were in attendance.

Treasurer's Report: Jim Marten explained the new dues structure (which will now include a subscription to the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*) and reported that the SHCY currently has about $11,500 in the bank. Most members whose memberships expire in summer 2007 have not yet renewed, so that amount will go up significantly in the next few months.

Report on the Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth. Laura Lovett reported the successful completion of negotiations with Johns Hopkins University Press; stressed the international and interdisciplinary goals of the journal; introduced the other editors and several features of the journal; and asked members to encourage their university and college libraries to subscribe. Jon Pahl, book review editor, encouraged members to suggest books to review and solicited volunteers to review books.

Report on H-Childhood: Pat Ryan reported on the progress made in reviewing books on H-Childhood and encouraged members to ask publishers to send books to be reviewed. He also called for volunteers to become co-editors of the book reviews for H-Childhood; this will make it possible to review more books in a greater variety of fields.

Kriste led a short discussion of H-Net and invited members to volunteer to editors for H-Childhood.

Report on the SHCY Newsletter: Paula Fass, reporting for Kathleen Jones, thanked the editors of the newsletter. She solicited reactions to and summaries of the conference and of individual sessions and photographs from the conference and personal news of events and achievements for the August newsletter. The January/February issue will feature ideas about teaching the history of childhood; she solicited articles and brief notes about assignments, readings, etc. She also called for additional editors from outside North America (both in terms of residence and in terms of their research fields), for an editor to ensure that a teaching section appears in each newsletter, and ideas for future articles and themes.

Kriste proposed amendments to the By-Laws altering the makeup and size of the Executive Committee. After lengthy discussion and several friendly amendments, the proposals passed without dissent. The following are the pertinent sections of the By-Laws, with the approved changes in caps and bold font:

Section 2: The Executive Committee will govern the organization. Voting members of the Executive Committee include the President, Vice-President/President Elect, immediate past-president and **EIGHT** at-large members of the Society. **AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MUST BE A GRADUATE STUDENT AT THE TIME OF ELECTION. NO MORE THAN THREE AT LARGE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NOT INCLUDING THE GRADUATE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE) CAN RESIDE IN THE SAME COUNTRY DURING ANY TWO-YEAR PERIOD.** The Secretary-Treasurer, Liaison to H-Net, and **EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH** will serve as non-voting members of the Executive Committee. The President and President-Elect will serve two-year terms. At-large members of the Executive Committee will serve four year terms. The Secretary-Treasurer and Liaison to H-Net shall serve at the pleasure of the Executive Committee. In the event of an unexpired term, the President in consultation with the Executive Committee is empowered to appoint a member of the society to complete the term.

A discussion on the location for the 2009 meeting followed. Paula Fass suggested UC-Berkeley; she will conduct preliminary research on costs and viability and report back to the Executive Committee.

Kriste led the membership in thanking the members of the various SHCY committees, the Secretary-Treasurer, and especially the conference hosts and program committee. A motion was made, seconded, and passed unanimously officially thanking Linköping University and the city of Norrköping for hosting the conference.

The membership approved the minutes from the 2005 business meeting.

Kriste completed the ceremonial transfer of the magic scepter to the incoming president, Paula Fass.

The meeting adjourned at 12:05.

Submitted by James Marten, Secretary-Treasurer.

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Election Results Announced

In May Kris Lindenmeyer, then president of SHCY, announced the results of this year's election of officers.

Paula Fass---president (2007-2009)
Steven Mintz---president-elect (2007-2009)
Howard Chudacoff---executive council member (2007-2011)
Mona Gleason---executive council member (2007-2011)
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Current council members: **Julia Grant**, **Rachel Cleves**, and **Bengt Sandin** will remain until their terms expire in 2009. **James Marten** continues as the organization's secretary-treasurer.

All officers assumed responsibilities at the SHCY meeting in Sweden.

In an email to members, Kris wrote, "Please join me in thanking Harvey Graff and Sean Martin whose terms on the executive council expire at the upcoming meeting. On a personal level, I very much appreciate their leadership and dedication to the organization as we have taken on some very important new avenues of opportunity designed to raise SHCY's profile and status. Their service has been invaluable and I am sure that we will continue to benefit from their advice and service."

Michael Grossberg, Rachel Cleves, and Luke Springman were members of the nominating committee.

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News from the Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth

Message from the Editors, Announcing the Inaugural Issue

The editors of the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* are delighted to announce that Johns Hopkins University Press has agreed to publish the Society's new journal. *JHCY* will be published three times a year with the first issue released in January 2008. Studying the development of childhood and youth cultures and the experiences of young people across diverse times and places, *JHCY* will embrace a wide range of historical methodologies as well as scholarship in other disciplines that shares a historical focus. Membership in SHCY now includes an annual subscription to the journal.

The inaugural issue surveys the contours of this growing and important field with definitional essays by Jacqueline Bhabha, Wendy Ewald, Paula Fass, Julia Grant, Joseph Hawes, Ray Hiner, Alcinda Honwana, Ping-chen Hsuing, Stephen Lassonde, Kriste Lindenmeyer, Mary Jo Maynes, Steven Mintz, Bianca Premo, Pamela Reynolds, Bengt Sandin, and Peter Stearns. For more information, including a full table of contents and guidelines for submissions, visit the JHCY's website at: http://www.umass.edu/jhcy.

The success of this exciting venture depends both on the quality of our content and on our ability to expand our readership. For both we need the active support of Society members. Publication with Johns Hopkins University Press means that our journal will be widely available on-line through Project Muse and will be included in many of their packages to libraries. Institutional subscriptions are key to securing the economic and intellectual longevity of this project. Please use the attached flyer and urge the libraries at local colleges and universities to subscribe to *JHCY*. [Flyer inserted after *Journal* news.]
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Send us your new essays on the history of childhood and youth, and urge colleagues and graduate students to do likewise. Make sure that our Book Editor, Jon Pahl, knows about your new books in the field, and help us by writing book reviews and by serving as expert readers of submitted essays.

We are very grateful for all the knowledge, energy, and insight so many members of SHCY have brought to this new undertaking and look forward to all the fruitful and engaging collaboration ahead. SHCY is growing up!

The Editors,

Brian D. Bunk, University of Massachusetts
Laura Lovett, University of Massachusetts
John Pahl, The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia
Martha Saxton, Amherst College
Karen Sánchez-Eppler, Amherst College

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Submission Guidelines for the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*

The *Journal for the History of Childhood and Youth* welcomes submissions of original article length manuscripts devoted to the historical experiences of children and young people without geographic or chronological limitations. We are interested in empirical studies and theoretical approaches as well as those addressing the historical context of contemporary policy issues. All articles selected as appropriate will be anonymously peer-reviewed by experts in the author's field of study. The journal does not accept material that has been previously published or is under consideration for publication elsewhere. In general, manuscripts should be submitted in English with American usage and spelling but the journal also has a limited budget for translations. Please contact the editors if you would like to submit an article in a language other than English.

Articles submitted for publication should conform to the editorial standards outlined in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th Edition. All text should be printed on one-sided pages and double spaced throughout, including footnotes and quotations. Author information, including an abstract that details the argument and significance of the piece, must be included on a separate page and all identifying information should be removed from the manuscript prior to submission. Manuscripts can not be returned.

Please send two copies of the manuscript as well as an electronic copy to:

Brian D. Bunk
The Journal for the History of Children and Youth
History Department – Herter Hall
University of Massachusetts
~~~~

161 Presidents Drive
Amherst, MA 01003

jhcy@history.umass.edu

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We will also be soliciting longer review essays on "classic" texts. If you would like to volunteer to do such a review, please suggest one (1) title that you would be qualified and able to review. We would especially value reviews of monographs used in teaching.

You may also contact Jon Pahl with questions/concerns at:
The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia
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NEW JOURNAL FOR 2008!

Journal of the History of CHILDHOOD *and* YOUTH

Editors:
BRIAN BUNK
LAURA LOVETT
KAREN SÁNCHEZ-EPPLER
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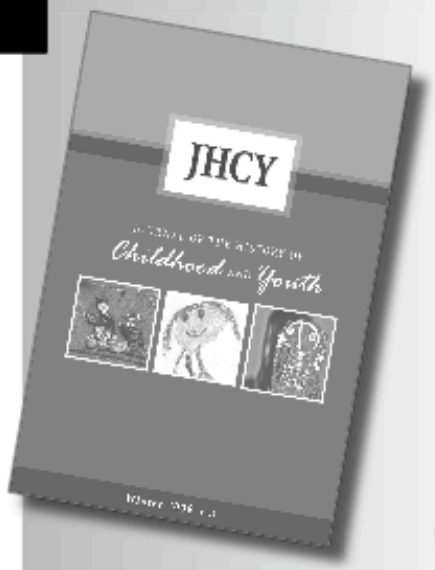

An international, scholarly, peer-reviewed journal, the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* explores the development of childhood and youth cultures and the experiences of young people across diverse times and places. *JHCY* embraces a wide range of historical methodologies as well as scholarship in other disciplines that share a historical focus. The journal publishes original articles based on empirical research and essays that place contemporary issues of childhood and youth in a historical context. Each issue also includes an "object lesson" on the material culture of childhood, contemporary policy pieces, and relevant book reviews. *JHCY* is the official journal of the Society for the History of Children and Youth.

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Newsletter Needs Your Help!!!

The editors of the *Newsletter* are looking for volunteers to join us in producing future issues.

Ways you can participate:

- Propose a theme for an issue and act as editor, soliciting articles and pulling together related columns.
- Create a column about the state of the field in your regional or chronological specialty.
- Write a column of news about people and events in your part of the world
- Take over as editor of "Websightings," our column devoted to web resources in our field.
- Work up a new column about your particular interest
- Report on conferences you attend and report on the activities of sub-groups in the big organizations
- Review museums you visit
- Keep the editors apprised of new developments – new groups, new opportunities.
- Develop a new web design for the newsletter. Or take charge of the electronic publishing.

We are looking for ideas – and folks to put the ideas into practice -- that will make the *Newsletter* a complement to our new *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* and help to keep our community connected between our biennial meetings.

Next Issue: Teaching the History of Children and Youth

Our Winter 2008 issue will be about teaching the history of children and youth. Consider this note our "call for papers."

We invite you to share your teaching experiences, the courses you have created (and student response), the resources you have used, your best (or worst, if you like) practices.

The editors hope that by focusing attention in one issue we will sustain the momentum in future newsletters, with an editor in charge of a regular pedagogy column.

Deadline for materials for the Winter issue is January 5, 2008

To volunteer, contact any of the current *Newsletter* editors

Margot Hillel M.Hillel@patrick.acu.edu.au
Colleen Vasconselles colleen@mail.h-net.msu.edu
Kathleen Jones kjwj@vt.edu
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JOIN SHCY! RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP!
SUBSCRIPTION TO NEW JOURNAL INCLUDED IN DUES
Special Offer for Renewals before September 1

Membership dues (including a subscription to the journal) will be $50 per year for regular dues and $25 for graduate students.

SHCY is offering the following savings to new members and renewing members who act before September 1, 2007:

> From now up to September 1, 2007 current members may renew and new members may join at a reduced rate of $40 for memberships that will not expire until December 31, 2008. This reduced rate for regular memberships will include 1) a one-year subscription to the new *Journal for the History of Childhood and Youth* and 2) SHCY membership through December 31, 2008.

All renewals and new memberships received after August 31, 2007 will be at the new standard rates of $50.00 for annual regular memberships and $25 for graduate student memberships. Both will extend through December 31, 2008.

Current members who paid dues under the old fee structure between January 1, 2007 and August 31, 2007 may take advantage of the special reduced renewal rate by paying an additional $15.00 before September 1, 2007.

Graduate students with current memberships under the old fee structure do not need to pay additional dues to receive the journal in 2008.

Please renew your subscription under the preceding terms no later than August 31.

Instructions and the necessary form for renewing your membership can be found at http://www.h-net.org/~child/SHCY/registration113.htm.
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MUSEUM AND CONFERENCE REVIEWS

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"Baby's on the Way"

Centre d'histoire de Montrèal at Bonsecours Market, Ville-Marie Hall
June 15 to November 4, 2007.
Free. Text in French; English translation card available.

Reviewed by: Janet Golden, Rutgers University

This small exhibit on the history of babies in Montreal celebrates the 100th anniversary of the Sainte-Justine Hospital, a francophone pediatric hospital. While the exhibit deals only with the French-speaking population of the city and each case presents some of the history of Sainte-Justine, it is far more than a celebration of a single institution

Organized chronologically, the exhibit opens with an examination of the history of birth before 1900 and explains early ideas about physiology and infertility. A colorful panel showcases folk beliefs about methods for determining the sex of an unborn child. A second set of cases explores the period from 1900 to 1940. Among the subjects covered are home births and efforts to combat infant mortality--from pasteurization to perinatal care to maternal education.

The second half of the twentieth century saw important changes in the lives of mothers and babies. Prosperity made mothers "Queens of the Home." Cases focused on the years from 1940 to 1970 describe the creation of medical insurance, advances in medical research and birth control practices--from the rhythm method to the pill--that helped transform motherhood. The viewer will find a copy of Spock's *Baby and Child Care* in French, as well as a panel presenting some of the products sold to mothers for their babies.

The concluding section covers 1970 to 2000 with the emergence of the "royal child." Here the exhibit acknowledges the critical influence of late twentieth century feminism on childbirth with the return of midwives and the transformation of hospital practices. Contemporary issues such as the continuing fight against premature births, genetic testing and the development of new reproductive technologies are also explored.

With a title like "Baby's on the Way" and a shopping center location, I entered the exhibit expecting to see a lot of pictures of cute babies, some layettes and toys, and a text full of sentimental platitudes. Shame on me! This is a fascinating exhibit that introduces viewers to critical themes in medical history, children's history, and Montreal history. Controversial matters such the role of religious institutions and beliefs in shaping the lives and deaths of babies are given full attention.

Credit goes to Denyse Baillargeon author of the book *Naître, vivre, grandir, Sainte-Justine 1907-2007* and the exhibit's historical consultant. She and all the others involved have done a terrific job, packing a lot of important ideas into a surprisingly small number of cases and panels. If you are going to Montreal, make sure to see this exhibit.

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The International Museum of Children's Art in Oslo
Reviewed by: Emily D. Cahan, Wheelock College

[While vacationing in Norway after the conference, Emily Cahan visited the Barnekunstmuseet. Photographs were not permitted inside the museum; the accompanying images are from the museum's courtyard – Ed.]

Just a short train ride outside of the center of Oslo, Norway lays a pretty blue house – much like many of its suburban neighbors. But the inside of this house is different; it is the International Museum of Children's Art. Founded in 1986 on a shoestring budget by a Russian Film Director, Rafeal Goldin and his wife, Dr. Alla Goldin, the museum collects, preserves, and promotes children's art and supports children's causes. The collection includes over 200,000 paintings, drawings, and sculptures by children from more than 180 countries around the globe and enjoys the support of both private and public funding. The works provide a window into the hearts and minds of children -- their hopes and fears as well as their ordinary and extraordinary experiences. Bucolic scenes of domestic life stand beside intimations of loneliness and fears of abandonment. One child dreamed of spending more time with her working parents as she painted a seaside scene of herself on her father's shoulder and by her mother's side. Snowy landscapes stand beside a stark sculpture of the 9/11 attack on the twin towers in New York. Children's commentaries sometimes accompany the works such as a child's wish that she do something right to please her mother who is graphically depicted at the doctor's office pregnant with twins.

Exhibits are often based on themes or places. Themes from past exhibits include: father, mother, family, disaster, children and nature, and society as seen through the eyes of
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children. Other exhibits have highlighted children's art from different nations or special populations of children such as orphans from Eshowe in South Africa, children with disabilities, or children from Singapore. Sri Lanka, Greece, or Iran. The ages of the child artists range from early childhood to adolescence. The art works are not dated in the museum's showcase book – certainly a major disadvantage to anyone who wishes to gain insight into the art in its own time and place. Curiously, and for reasons that are entirely unclear, not a single young artist from the U.S. was represented in the museum's collection.

Museum Garden

Many world-renowned artists such as Picasso, Klee, Matisse, and Miro long held children's art in high aesthetic esteem and as adults they tried to recapture its magic in their own art. They would surely be pleased with the existence of this museum. As noted by the president of the Norwegian Parliament "no one can visit the international museum of children's art without being moved."

Reference:

Goldin, Alla and Angela (no date, 1996 by inference), Wide Open Eyes. Oslo, Norway: Labyrinth Press.

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First Joint Meeting
ESHHS: The European Society for the History of Human Sciences and Cheiron: The International Society for the History of the Behavioral and Social Sciences
University College Dublin, Ireland, June 25-29, 2007

Heather Munro Prescott, Central Connecticut State University

The history of childhood and youth was represented by one poster, three papers, the keynote address by Ian Hacking, and one session on the history of child development at this year's joint meeting of ESHHS and Cheiron. Renato Foschi of the University of Rome displayed a poster entitled, "Engineering a Free Mind," which explored the history of the first Montesorri "Children's House" in Rome, founded in 1907. Foschi demonstrated that the children's house was supported by Eduardo Talamo, chief executive of the Roman Institute of Real Estates, with the two-fold aim of "moralizing" families in modern methods of child rearing and education, and more importantly, to make the estates of the Roman Institute more profitable. Thus, Talamo's economic motives and Montessori's scientific ideas merged to form the "educational experiment" in Rome.

Anna Christina Rose of the University of Oklahoma presented a paper entitled "Puberty and Passions: Ethnographies of Adolescence in French Anthropological Medicine" as part of a session on eighteenth and nineteenth-century human sciences. The main purpose of the paper was to show how comparative anthropology shaped modern understanding of puberty and human development. My paper, entitled "Cultivating Mature Minds and Healthy Personalities," explored the origins of mental health services at American colleges and universities since the 1920s. This paper built upon the work of Kathleen Jones on college suicides. I argue that G. Stanley Hall's ideas about late adolescence, as well as the mental hygiene movement more generally, played major roles in shaping the emergence of these services. Laura C. Ball of York University traced the origins and use of the term "genius" in her paper, "Is it All Semantics? The Genius versus Giftedness Debate." She gave a brief outline of the etymology of the word genius from its roots in the Roman Empire, and focused on the use of word in the psychological literature.

The session on Child Development was composed of three paper presentations which together gave an international perspective on developmental psychology.. The first, "Childrearing as the Behaviorist Views It: John B. Watson's Advice in Historical Perspective," by Edward K. Morris and Kathryn M. Bigelow of the University of Kansas, argued that criticism of Watson's ideas is usually based on selected examples and "predicated on presentist norms." Their central points were that Watson's advice "was consistent with that of his day," and that "purely presentist accounts do not provide a nuanced account of Watson's advice. The second paper, "A Breakthrough in Scientific Cooperation: Clara and William Stern's Project on Developmental Psychology," by Werner Deutsch and Christliebe El Mogharbel of the Technical University of
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Braunschweig in Germany, examined how the wife and husband team Clara and William Stern collaborated to produce the book "Die Kindersprache," (child language), published in 1907. The authors argued that the Sterns worked as equal scientific partners to create this work, based on their observations of their children Hilde, Guenther, and Eva. The third and final paper in the session, "Early Vygotskian Psychology after Vygotsky," by Anton Yasnitsky and Michel Ferrari of the University of Toronto, examined the history of the Kharkov School of psychology in the former Soviet Union. They argued that Vygotsky remained the "spiritual leader" of the Kharkov school even after his death in 1934.

The highlight of the conference was Ian Hacking's keynote address, "The Earliest Days of Autism," which traced the origins of this diagnosis and how it was distinguished from the category of childhood schizophrenia. Hacking examined how initially autism was linked with childhood schizophrenia, first by the Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuer in the 1910s, and later by Hans Asperger in 1944. He also examined the explosion autism diagnoses in recent years, and the growth of advocacy around the disorder in the late twentieth century. Hacking concluded that this "consciousness raising" by advocates – including individuals with autism – has "immeasurably improved the lives of autists not only by aiding the provision of better services but also by making it possible for others to accept them as they are."

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Children's Literature Association Meeting

Julia Mickenberg, University of Texas at Austin

I attended the 34th annual conference of the Children's Literature Association at Christopher Newport University this past June. The theme of the conference was Anniversaries, Histories, and Colonialisms. This theme got me thinking that some people active in the SHCY might like to get involved with the Children's Literature Association.

While I had a number of meetings that prevented me from attending as many panels as I would have liked, those I did attend were uniformly of high quality. On the first day I went to a standing-room-only 8:00 am session on Psychology in Children's Literature (the crowd attesting to the usual level of enthusiasm in this group), with an especially engaging paper that made links between Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are* and Freud's narrative of the "Wolf Man" (the paper, by Kenneth Kidd, was entitled "Sendak's Dream of the Wolves"). Another great panel on Politics and Children's Literature focused on children's film and performance, with a provocative paper on *Lilo and Stitch* ("Queering the Disney Version: Progressive Politics in Disney's *Lilo and Stitch*" by Kerry Mockler, as well as a fascinating discussion of child performers by Annette Wannamaker. I also caught an interesting paper by Anna L. Nielsen on popular constructions of girlhood in the 1940s, which drew upon several girls' series from the time. I unfortunately missed June Cummins' intriguingly-titled, "You are SO Not Sure of Your Jewish Identity: Contemporary Girls' Fiction and the Rise of the Kvetchfessional"
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(part of a panel on contemporary literature). In keeping with the conference theme, there were several panels on historical fiction, and also discussions of how particular issues, such as Japanese Internment or the Holocaust, have been portrayed in children's literature. Another theme that popped up several times was the idea of the "colonized child" in children's literature. At a panel on "Maleness," I heard some more excellent presentations, notably Eric Tribunella's discussion of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and Michelle Martin's discussion of an unpublished story by Arna Bontemps, a story she will hopefully bring into print.

I was especially interested in a panel on Modernism in Children's Literature, which was chaired by Karin Westman (who also gave an excellent overview of the entry points for thinking about both modernism and modernity in relation to children's literature). I missed two panels that were the talk of the conference: The first was a discussion of the Children's Studies Program at York University in Toronto. In general, as I could gather, the theme of this panel was how to bring children themselves into the field of children's and childhood studies. One scholar, Peter Cumming, even spoke of bringing "child experts" (that is, actual children) into his classes, for example, to talk about a children's book under discussion. The other hit panel that I missed was on Nonsense literature, with papers by Kevin Shortsleeve, Michael Heyman, and Kathleen Pendlebury.

I was part of a panel with Phil Nel, Katharine Capshaw-Smith and Kevin Shortsleeve on traditions of radical children's literature. Kate gave a fascinating paper from her new work on Black Nationalism ad children's literature. There were several panels addressing publishing, the job market, and other aspects of professional development, as well as panels of authors themselves.

This was my third ChLA conference. Each time I have attended these conferences I am struck by the camaraderie and the feeling of welcome; I am also struck by the exciting work being done on children's literature and media. I'd encourage SHCY members to consider submitting an abstract to organizers of the next conference: meeting next June 12-15 in Normal, Illinois (home of a distinguished children's literature program), the theme is "Re-imagining Normal." Proposals for papers and panels are due in January: http://www.english.ilstu.edu/ChLA2008/callforpapers/index.html

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CALLS FOR PAPERS

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Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting

University of British Columbia
Vancouver, British Columbia
June 2-4, 2008

The 2008 Programme Committee invites proposals for panels and papers dealing with the following:

Childhood, youth, and generations
Environments, cultures, and power
Migrations, place, and identities

For more information, please contact Tamara Myers (Tamara.myers@ubc.ca) or Mona Gleason (mona.gleason@ubc.ca)

International and comparative topics are strongly encouraged as the overall theme of the 2008 Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences is ***Penser sans frontières : Thinking Beyond Borders Global Ideas: Global Values / Idées mondiales : valeurs mondiales.***

Proposals for papers and panels must be submitted electronically, through the CHA website (http://www.cha-shc.ca/ Conference webpage: http://www.cha-shc.ca/english/activ/meeting_reunion/form/) Follow the links for information and instructions.

The absolute deadline for submissions is October 15, 2007. NO LATE SUBMISSIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED. The Programme Committee reserves the right to break up proposed panels and redistribute the individual presentations.

Questions about the CHA conference in general and the program in particular should be directed to the Program Committee, at cha2008@interchange.ubc.ca

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Children and Migration: Identities, Mobilities and Belonging(s)

9-11th April 2008
University College Cork, Ireland

Abstracts are invited for this international and interdisciplinary conference exploring childhood and migration. Deadline for submission of abstracts (max. 250 words) is 31st October 2007. Expressions of interest and offers of papers/posters are welcome prior to the deadline.

Keynote speakers:

Katy Gardner and Kanwal Mand (University of Sussex, UK):
"Migration and the life-cycle: what the study of transnational children in London can tell us"
Jill Rutter (Institute for Public Policy Research, UK)
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Title to be announced

While a wealth of research exists in the broad area of migration and childhood from a variety of perspectives and disciplinary backgrounds, there are few opportunities to bring this together in an integrated forum. This conference aims to provide such a forum by focusing on the intersection of these research and policy areas, focusing on children's own experiences and perspectives of migration, diaspora and transnationalism. One of the aims of the event is to facilitate a dialogue between academic, practitioner and policy-maker perspectives. It is hoped the conference will also be an opportunity to bring together related but distinct areas of research/policy, for example national dynamics of integration with transnational processes, and, children's experiences of migration with the experiences of children and youth in ethnic minorities.

Therefore we welcome papers which explore all aspects of children's migrations, transnational childhoods, diasporic childhood/youth, including internal and international migration, traveller and nomadic lifestyles, and return migration.

Papers using qualitative, quantitative and/or mixed methods approaches are welcome, particularly those using new participatory methodologies with children, as well as analyses of policy or practice.

We welcome papers or posters in the following and other related topics:
a.. Comparative approaches to children's experiences of different migration regimes, eg, children's experiences of forced migration and asylum-seeking processes, children in labour migrant families, experiences of documented/undocumented status in different national contexts, children and internal migration, separated children
b.. Children's transnational experiences; transnational families and lifestyles (including families fragmented by international migration, as well as mobile global elites, and return migrant families)
c.. Children's perspectives on ethnic, migrant and other identities, and their experiences of racialisation, integration, and peer networks (across different social spaces such as home, school, neighbourhood, and public spaces)
d.. Cross-cultural research methods and ethics in research on children and migration
e.. Analyses of policy responses to the needs of migrant children and youth, including education policies and practices incorporating intercultural dimensions
f.. Parenting in immigrant and ethnic minority families, children's roles in migrant families, children's participation in migration decision-making
g.. We also welcome offers for participation in a plenary panel discussion on meeting the needs of migrant children. Participants would give a 5-10 minute talk on an aspect of policy, practice or experience at local, national or international scale, on which they wish to raise awareness and open a discussion. These could include short case-studies, policy critiques or models of best practice.

The conference is supported by a Marie Curie Excellence Grant and is hosted by the Marie Curie Migrant Children Research Team, Department of Geography, University College Cork.

A limited number of bursaries for postgraduate students, unwaged and contract researchers will be made available (see details on website). Closing date for applications: 31st October 2007.

Abstracts, expressions of interest and enquiries should be sent to: Caitríona Ní Laoire, Migrant Children Research Team, Department of Geography, University College Cork, Cork, Ireland. Email: migrantchildren@ucc.ie

Conference information available at:
http://migration.ucc.ie/children/2008conferencecall.html

Information on conference fees and registration will be made available on the website from 1st September 2007.

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Childhood (Re)Discovered

July 3 and 4, 2008
Australian Catholic University
Melbourne, Australia

In recent years, public debate about the welfare of children – from the incidence of binge-drinking and obesity amongst young adults in the West, to the prevalence of child abuse and exploitation in developing and developed nations – illustrates the persistence of ideas about the specific nature of childhood.

Is it necessary or desirable to unpack these historical constructions? And if so, is this project useful for practitioners and campaigners seeking to defend the rights of young adults and children?

We invite abstracts for papers (200 words max.) related to the broad theme of 'Childhood (Re)Discovered,' from the disciplinary perspectives of history, literature, sociology, politics, social work and the law

Possible themes include:

- Indigenous children and colonial history
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- Medical practices and the child
- Child Trafficking and Child Labour
- Representations of Children in the Media
- Child custody and the law

The deadline for abstracts is **December 1, 2007.**

Selected papers will be invited to contribute to a special edition of the peer-reviewed journal, *Australian Historical Studies*, in 2009.

Contact: Dr. Belinda Sweeney
B.Sweeney@patrick.acu.edu.au

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Families, Constructions of Foreignness and Migration in 20th Century Western Europe

May 15-16, 2008
Leuven University

The Department of History at Leuven University in Belgium is organising a conference for 15-16 May 2008 on the theme of **Families, Constructions of Foreignness and Migration in 20th Century Western Europe.** The deadline for proposals is 1 October 2007. Further information is available from Leen Beyers at leen.beyers@arts.kuleuven.be.

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Society for the Study of Popular Culture and the Middle Ages
Western Michigan University
May 8-11, 2008

The Society for the Study of Popular Culture and the Middle Ages has issued a call for papers for a panel to be held at the **43rd International Congress on Medieval Studies**, which convenes at Western Michigan University from 8-11 May 2008. The themes invited include Children's culture and literature and the focus is on examining how creators of popular culture have appropriated medieval subjects, and the impact these have had upon disseminating ideas about the medieval to the non-medievalist public. Further information is available at http://PopularCultureandtheMiddleAges.org

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UPCOMING EVENTS

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History of Childhood and the American Studies Association
William Bush, University of Nevada – Las Vegas

Adam Golub and Bill Bush co-founded the Childhood and Youth Studies Caucus of the American Studies Association shortly after the 2005 annual meeting, in the hopes of fostering cooperation between scholars who studied childhood and youth from a variety

of disciplinary perspectives. At the 2006 ASA conference we held our first business meeting, and we currently have nearly two dozen members, ranging from pre-doctoral graduate students to senior scholars. We are in the process of developing a web site and listserv, and are sponsoring our first ASA panels at the fall 2007 meeting in Philadelphia (October 11-14: for more information see http://www.theasa.net/annual_meeting/)

Activities sponsored and/or organized (technically we are not sponsoring the juvenile justice panel because caucuses are only allowed to sponsor one panel per conference) by the American Studies Association Childhood and Youth Studies Caucus at this fall's annual meeting:

"Childhood and Youth Studies: Surveying an Emerging Interdisciplinary Field."
"Breakfast of Champions" Roundtable Panel for Graduate Students, co-sponsored with the ASA Students' Committee

Panel Participants:
Paula Fass, U. of California-Berkeley
Myra Bluebond-Langner, Rutgers University
William Bush, U. of Nevada-Las Vegas

I. Keywords in the Historical Study of Children and Youth

Chair: Lynne Vallone, Department of Childhood Studies, Rutgers U.
Panel Participants:
"Character": Jay Mechling, American Studies, U. of California, Davis
"Innocence": Leslie Paris, History, U. of British Columbia
"Consumer Culture": Daniel Thomas Cook, Department of Childhood Studies, Rutgers U.
"Politics": Julia Mickenberg, American Studies, U. of Texas-Austin
Comment: Lynne Vallone, Department of Childhood Studies, Rutgers U.

II. Forty Years of Juvenile Justice Studies in North America: Revisiting Anthony M. Platt's *The Child Savers* (1969, 1977)

Chair: Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, Chicana/o Studies, U. of California, Davis
Panel Participants:
Anthony M. Platt, School of Social Work, California State U., Sacramento
Mary Odem, Women's Studies and History, Emory University
Tamara Myers, History, U. of British Columbia
Geoff Ward, College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern U.
William Bush, History, U. of Nevada-Las Vegas
Comment: The Audience

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The Society for the Social History of Medicine is organising a multi-disciplinary conference entitled **Children, Disability and Community Care from 1850 to the Present Day** to be held on 24-25 October 2007. Further details are available from http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/medhist/conferences/children/index.shtml

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An academic symposium entitled, **Scouting: A Centennial History Symposium**, will be organised by the Department of History at Johns Hopkins University on 15 February 2008 celebrating and analyzing the development of Scouting, for boys and girls, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The keynote speaker is Professor John R. Gillis. Further information is available at:
http://userpages.wittenberg.edu/tproctor/scoutwebpage08.htm

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NEWS FROM THE FIELD

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News from SHCY Members
Compiled by Nancy Zey. Sam Houston State University

SHCY Members in New Places:

Hamilton Cravens reports. "I was fortunate enough to spend the spring 2007 semester at the Roosevelt Study Center, in Middelburg, The Netherlands, as the Fulbright-Dow distinguished chair in American history. I was paid a handsome stipend by the Dutch Fulbright organization, and all I had to do was to work on my own research and writing. While there, I completed a synthetic history of the American social and behavioral sciences."

> The Roosevelt Study Center is dedicated to the promotion of the study of American history in the period of the lives of the three Roosevelts, Theodore, Franklin, and Eleanor, whose ancestors hail from the area, and to Dutch-American relations ever since John Adams presented his diplomatic credentials at The Hague in 1783. This is a golden opportunity for a scholar who has a project in draft form to write, or to use the rather impressive resources of the R.S.C. and of the Dutch university libraries, which have ample resources, especially secondary materials, for the study of American history. More information is available on the website of the Council for the International Exchange for Scholars -- the American Fulbright organization.

Joanna B. Michlic has been appointed Associate Professor in the Department of History and Chair in Holocaust and Ethical Values at Lehigh University, a position that commences this summer.

Jacqueline Olich has accepted a new position as Associate Director of the Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies at the University of North Carolina-Chapel
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Hill. She has also begun a new research project on representations of the Slavic world in the work of J.K. Rowling.

In May, **Janet McShane Galley** completed her Ph.D. in American History with a dissertation entitled "Infanticide in the American Imagination, 1860-1920. She will begin teaching as a sessional instructor at the University of Guelph in Ontario in September.

Ben Jordan is starting a new job as a Visiting Instructor in the History Department at Kenyon College in Ohio.

This fall **Adam Golub** begins a new position in the American Studies Department at California State University, Fullerton. Among the courses he will be teaching are "Childhood and Family in American Culture" and "The Teenager in America."

Marie Jenkins Schwartz, Ph.D. has been appointed Chair of the History Department at the University of Rhode Island.

In May 2007, **Valentina Boretti** completed her Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, with a thesis entitled "Playing for Keeps: The Toy Culture in China, 1895-1949".

E. Wayne Carp (Pacific Lutheran University) has been selected as a Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer to Korea beginning in March 2008, where he will teach for a semester at Yonsei University. One of the courses Wayne will teach will be Children and Families in American History, 1607 to the present.

And finally, **Nancy Zey** completed her Ph.D. in History at the University of Texas at Austin in May 2007 with a dissertation entitled “Rescuing Some Youthful Minds: Benevolent Women and the Rise of the Orphan Asylum as Civic Household in Early Republic Natchez.” This upcoming academic year, she will be a visiting assistant professor in the Department of History at Sam Houston State University.

CONGRATULATIONS, ALL!!

New Member Spotlight:

José Bustamante Vismara is a doctoral candidate in El Colegio de Mexico, and his thesis project is about elementary schools in Mexico and Argentina in the first half of the nineteenth century. He is interested in hearing from others who work on the history of children in different regions of Latin America as well as sharing information about his own research. Feel free to contact him at jovisma@mdp.edu.ar. Welcome, José!

News from the Field:

Elise Ciregna (Doctoral Candidate, University of Delaware and Curator of Historical Collections at Forest Hills Cemetery in Boston) will be giving a talk on children's

memorials in Bath, England at a conference sponsored by the Centre for Death and Society at the University of Bath from 12-15 September, 2007. The talk is entitled "Sleeping Cherubs, Marble Lambs, and Empty Cradles: Children's Memorials in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America and England." More information about the conference can be found at http://www.bath.ac.uk/cdas/news/conferences/index.html.

Miroslava Chavez-Garcia (University of California-Davis) has organized a roundtable session for the upcoming American Studies Association Annual Conference, Oct. 11-14, 2007 in Philadelphia, PA, to discuss Anthony M. Platt's work and its influence in the field. The session is also designed to talk about future directions and the areas of study sorely needed, such as race and juvenile justice. "Forty Years of Juvenile Justice Studies: Revisiting Anthony M. Platt's /The Child Savers/" includes the following participants: Mary Odem, Tamara Myers, Geoff Ward, William Bush (ASA's Youth and Childhood Studies Caucus co-founder/co-leader), Anthony Platt, with Miroslava serving as chair.

Ben Jordan (Kenyon College) will be presenting a paper entitled, "Savages and the 'SHE PERIOD': The Boy Scouts of America's younger and older boy problems, 1910-1930" at Scouting: A Centennial Symposium. This history conference is being sponsored by Johns Hopkins University in February 2008.

Patrizia Guarnieri (University of Florence) would like to bring to members' attention the following symposium on schoolbooks: "Quaderni di scuola," which will take place in Macerata from 26-29 September 2007. For more information, please email Jury Meda at scientificboard1@unimc.it

Publications by SHCY Members:

Miroslava Chavez-Garcia (University of California-Davis) has authored, "In Retrospect: Anthony M. Platt's /The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency/," which will appear in the September 2007 issue of *Reviews in American History*. This essay examines the influence of Platt's work on the field of juvenile justice in history in the last forty years and argues that, despite great strides in the field, works that examine race and ethnicity are still wanting.

Andrew Hartman (Illinois State University) has a book coming out. *Education and the Cold War* will be published in April 2008 by Palgrave Macmillan.

This September, Stanford University Press will be publishing *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism, and Conservation, 1900-1940* by **John A. Williams** (Bradley University). The book examines, among other things, organized youth hiking.

Melissa Klapper (Rowan University) has a new book out. *Small Strangers: The Experiences of Immigrant Children in America, 1880-1925* is a volume in the *American Childhoods* series edited by Jim Marten, and it is now available from Ivan R. Dee, Publisher.

In the spring of 2008, New York University Press will publish **Julie Miller**'s (Bernard and Irene Schwartz Postdoctoral Fellow, New-York Historical Society) new book, tentatively titled *Abandoned: Foundlings in Nineteenth-Century New York City*.

In April 2007,The University Press of Mississippi republished *The Circle of Guilt* (1956) by the psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, about a teenage murder in New York City in 1955, which includes a new historical introduction written by **William Bush** (University of Nevada Las Vegas). Here is a link to the book description:
http://www.upress.state.ms.us/catalog/spring2007/the_circle_of_guilt.html
Bill reports that he is also completing a book manuscript for the University of Georgia Press entitled "The Origins of the Super-Predator: Race and Juvenile Delinquency in Twentieth-Century Texas". Should be under review by the end of summer.

Recommended Websites:

Anne Rubin (University of Maryland, Baltimore County) worked with students enrolled in her course on the American South to create a website on child labor using the photographs of Lewis Hine. The collection is available at:
http://www.research.umbc.edu/~arubin/HIST402_SP2007/index.php.

For those who have not yet seen it, **Jacqueline Olich** (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill) recommends the following website featuring a digital exhibition entitled "Children's Books of the Early Soviet Era": http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/Russian/.

Sharon McQueen (University of Wisconsin-Madison) would like to point out the Alise Youth Services SIG website:
https://mywebspace.wisc.edu/smcqueen/web/alise/youth_services/history.htm.

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Recent Publications Related to the History of Children and Youth
Compiled by David Pomfret, University of Hong Kong

This column provides a brief introduction to recent English-language publications potentially of interest to scholars working on the History of Childhood and Youth.

A recent survey of newly published work reveals the continued strong output of memoirs and autobiographies relevant to the History of Childhood and Youth. Amongst the latest works of note to appear are ***Chameleon days : an American boyhood in Ethiopia*** by Tim Bascom (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), which provides a personal narrative of events which impacted upon the author's childhood and youth, notably the revolution of 1974. Also on Africa, this time Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), Lauren St. John's, ***Rainbow's end : a memoir of childhood, war and an African farm*** (New York: Scribner, 2007) provides a first hand account of a white girl's experience during the Chimurenga (civil) war in the late 1970s.
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On the United States in the early twentieth century ***Little heathens: hard times and high spirits on an Iowa farm during the Great Depression*** by Mildred A. Kalish has recently been published (New York: Bantam, 2007). Another first hand account, also dealing with Iowa is Dwight W. Hoover's, ***A good day's work: An Iowa farm in the Great Depression*** (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007). Hoover's is an account of social life, customs and coming of age in Mahaska County in the depression years.

In Europe, David Gur's**, *Brothers for resistance and rescue: the underground Zionist youth movement in Hungary during World War II*** (Jerusalem ; New York : Gefen, 2007) is an insider's account of anti-fascist resistance in Eastern Europe. Also covering the Second World War in Europe is Beatrice Ost's, ***My father's house : a childhood in wartime Bavaria***, which has been translated from the German (New York : Helen Marx, 2007). Benno Benninga's, ***In hiding : surviving an abusive 'protector' and the Nazi occupation of Holland*** **(London/Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007)** is another recent addition to the Library of Holocaust Testimonies Series.

Recent noteworthy contributions to the field of the History of Childhood and Youth by professional historians include Luke Springman's ***Carpe Mundum: German youth culture of the Weimar Republic*** (Frankfurt am Main : P. Lang, 2007), a welcome addition to studies of youth culture in interwar Europe, focusing upon literature and other media. A pioneer in the field of the History of Childhood in modern France, Colin Heywood has recently contributed a new and valuable study, ***Growing up in France : from the Ancien Re´gime to the Third Republic*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Postwar era is continuing to attract attention from Historians of Childhood and Youth and, staying in France, Richard Ivan Jobs,' ***Riding the New Wave: Youth and the Rejuvenation of France after the Second World War*** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007) is an admirable example. His contribution to this relatively understudied field covers themes such as politics, reconstruction, delinquency, and cultural representations of youth in film and comic strips. Jaimey Fisher's ***Disciplining Germany : youth, reeducation, and reconstruction after the Second World War*** (Detroit : Wayne State University Press, c2007) meanwhile looks at some similar issues, while tackling the question of German Youth's role in Nazism afresh, discussing issues of guilt and memory, reconstruction and pedagogy into the Cold War epoch.

On the premodern period, ***Growing up in the Middle Ages*** is a new book published by Paul B Newman (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2007). Meanwhile offering some interesting insights into the burgeoning area of childhood and youth in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe is Mary Hilton's, ***Women and the Shaping of the Nation's young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain, 1750-1850*** (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Finally, a potentially valuable resource for the students of those teaching courses on childhood and youth is a new work with an interdisciplinary focus, edited by Vibiana Bowman, entitled, ***Scholarly resources for children and childhood studies : a research guide and annotated bibliography*** (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2007). The book contains a chapter on 'Defining the Field of Childhood Studies' and also covers issues of

research and writing in this field with contributions from the methodological perspectives of anthropologists, art historians, educationalists, historians, psychologists, and sociologists.