

The chant of the WCTU youth branch children on the Ideal playground may have been, to them, a subjectively inconsequential part of their activities that day. Or, it may have been the climax of a highly formalized program that was carefully staged in Shoetown's most visible park. In either case, what remains significant is that an uncomplicated chant of playing children was transformed into two different images of social alliance by separate social groups.

The liquor license issue was not the primary concern of Shoetown's residents in the autumn of 1916. The liquor debate, and even Woodrow Wilson's brief visit to Shoetown, were eclipsed by Shoetown's celebration of the advent of the eight-hour work day in E-J factories in October. For this, a holiday was declared, and thousands of E-J workers marched behind their factory workshop banners in a mammoth parade. George F. Johnson marched with the children beside a banner which declared that there were 398 children in the E-J family in 1892. (Exhibit 71) Another banner declared that there were 12,000 "children" in 1916.<sup>44</sup> In the context of Shoetown's paternalism, this living picture represents more than hyperbolic metaphor. It is the visual portrayal of one of Shoetown's fundamental civic myths, as it recognizes the affective relationship between the corporate father and his loyal working dependents.<sup>45</sup> This portrayal documents the critical role of children in representing the identity of Shoetown, in this case the affective underpinnings of its authority relationships.

While the eight-hour day freed workers from some of the demands of the work place, it did not necessarily free them from the influence of the company. No sooner had the shortened work week been introduced than George F. announced a new project to fill the time. Both adults and children were invited to participate in a musical expression of community solidarity: a community chorus of 800 was to be organized permanently, with company money, and was to meet in converted factory space under the supervision of a full-time company-paid director. While the community chorus was certainly not a youth-dominated group as were so many in Shoetown, its first production, a choral presentation of "Joan of Arc," bears the imprint of Shoetown's ever-present youth emphasis. The local press extolled the virtues of Joan, and viewed the production as a reflection of the war in Europe. There is no mention of Joan's unusual historical role as a young girl leading a nation of adults. In Shoetown, this was not worthy of special comment, as children's prominence was a common fact of social life.

Shoetown's children functioned not only internally, as representatives of constituent communities and broader civic or corporate loyalties. They were also Shoetown's representatives in external relationships. When plans were made in January 1917 to send a group of 300 people in Pullman railway cars to Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, children were to be a large part of this delegation. Little ambassadors were not only worthy of standing before George F. Johnson, but also before the President.

In the spring of 1917, Shoetown's young men began to march off to war. While the war effort brought business to Endicott-Johnson factories, it also brought food shortages to the local community. When President Wilson called for "Thrift Gardens" as a nation-wide effort to combat hunger, Shoetown responded by mobilizing its children first. Just weeks before the community chorus presented the triumphs of young Joan of Arc, a local newspaper printed: "Call to Service for Boys and Girls — They can do nearly as much for the cause as men in khaki." Included in the same headline, as if to warn a population grown too dependent upon its children, there is a reminder: "Work is not confined to children."<sup>46</sup> Despite its own warning however, the entire article describes the heroic achievements of New Orleans children, and the possibilities for local children. With a typical Shoetown metaphor, the article likens children's efforts to "win" at gardening to playground games, concluding that "the boy who shovels the most bushels of potatoes into his father's cellar next fall will know he has won a game worth while." Here Shoetown is introducing a new form of child's play, not to affirm civic identity, but to win the war and save the country.<sup>47</sup> Lacking only a child prophet to complete a modern application of Joan of Arc to Shoetown, the newspapers obliged by reporting:



Baby Gurgles Patriotic Outburst While Mother Seeks for Garden Plot

Poking his chubby hands out from the covers of his baby carriage and loosing a glorious smile, a tiny infant, whose mother is Mrs. S. E. Parsons of Vermont and Tracy Streets, Endicott, made a perfectly good speech for agricultural mobilization in front of the Union-Endicott High School Tuesday afternoon.

"Um-ga, dada umga, ugh ish dada umda!" came from the baby's lips.

And that literally translated means: "Mother is inside getting a garden plot."<sup>48</sup>

The adult community was quick to respond to the hundreds of children who were portrayed as spearheads of the thrift garden movement. Within days of the children's mobilization, it was reported that:

Businessmen, civic organizations, clubs and various other organizations are rallying to the support of the thrift garden movement.<sup>49</sup>

The sequence of events in the newspaper suggests that children were widely active before adults became involved on a mass scale. The impression is at least partly an artifact of news reporting, since the newspaper, like the adult organizers of the children's garden program, appreciated the importance of using children as behavioral models for Shoetown adults.

## *Images of Shoetown Childhood: Historical Reflections*

Developmental psychologists and historians have analyzed how the suspension of adult role expectations separates childhood experience from that of adulthood in modern societies.<sup>50</sup> Sociologists have examined how this separation creates youth groups with clearly defined social identities.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, most of these studies of childhood and youth groups have emphasized social and cultural isolation within adult society to the point where modern childhood and youth are commonly characterized as subcultures or even counter-cultures.<sup>52</sup>

However, the experience of Shoetown suggests that the highly distinct identity of youth groups need not act as a socially divisive force, but may instead serve to foster social integration. The fact that Shoetown's immigrant children were used to represent corporate and national loyalty, and also that they spoke a language that their parents didn't know well, did not isolate them from their parent's generation even though the latter maintained relative autonomy and a strong sense of ethnic identity. Rather, these separate generational identities functioned in a mutually complementary fashion which bonded parents and children and provided both with recognition and acceptance in the social life of Shoetown.

The very images and living pictures of Shoetown's children which socially differentiated young and old also reveal the nature of Shoetown's intergenerational bonding. The visual forms of children's public behavior can be recognized as reflections of the adult community's aspirations and needs. Shoetown's immigrant parents sought recognition and legitimacy in an alien culture, but did not necessarily seek cultural assimilation for themselves. They acknowledged corporate, municipal, and national authority through the agency of their children's formalized play. To accomplish this, Shoetown's worker population thrust its offspring into the limelight of political and social life, where children were used to create images which adults could not willingly or credibly present themselves, but which would nevertheless reflect back upon and benefit them.

The visual trappings of ethnic life were consequently preserved so that the actions of children could be associated with their proper community. However, the behavioral performance affirmed national and corporate loyalty. The resulting ambiguous social status of Shoetown's children is, paradoxically, the source of their distinctive identity and prominence. Belonging exclusively to no world, but participating in and representing many, the children



alone could act as the standard bearers<sup>53</sup> of Shoetown as a whole community.

Not only are modern scholarly assumptions about the social isolation of childhood challenged by the Shoetown experience, but also even more fundamental assumptions about the nature of modern industrialization. The creation and operation of a clear working class identity and interests are obscured in Shoetown by networks of kinship and clientage, forms of social organization not generally associated with modern industrial life. Social relationships, including those between workers and owners, were characterized by intensely personal ties rather than a sense of alienation.<sup>54</sup> The continual depersonalization traditionally associated with capitalism on a massive scale did not occur in the shadows of the world's largest shoe company in its early decades. Children, so often the image of abuses and exploitation in urban industrial life, emerge in Shoetown as the dominant representation of this successful application of benevolent corporate paternalism. While the industrial experience of Shoetown may be unusual and extreme in its form, it should not be considered unique. Industrial communities organized as artificial kinship systems, using children as a means of constructing solidarity, seem to have occurred elsewhere. The exchange of children among "strike mothers" during the Paterson strike suggests that workers also understood the importance of adoptive or artificial kinship bonds in creating solidarity.<sup>55</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s, Shoetown's corporate paternalism was challenged by organized labor. Declining corporate profits and a depression had undermined the system of clientage that helped to support a paternalistic social structure. The old kinship and client relationships that had created social solidarity were giving way to a growing sense of class interests. The shift, however, was very slow. Endicott-Johnson management and many shoeworkers mounted an ambitious effort to save "The E-J Family." Union leaders confronted legal barriers and intense public hostility, which was expressed in the form of anti-union rallies where effigies of union leaders were hung. The efforts to unionize Shoetown failed. Before the members of the old order triumphed, however, they pulled out all of the stops. In the mid-forties when the union threat seemed particularly great, schools were closed for a day and children filled the streets to circulate petitions against the unions. Shoetown's children had been marshalled once again to save the social order.



# Notes

1. "Shoetown" is a localized term which refers to the social system that grew up around the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company between 1890 and 1920. Although without any official legal status, the social relationships of Shoetown provided the foundations upon which the municipalities of Johnson City and Endicott, New York were formed.
2. J. Huizinga's theoretical essay, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (New York, 1970), remains the classic statement on the role of play in culture. While he correctly eradicates many of the distinctions between adults' and children's play, Huizinga creates analytical problems by defining play as outside of ordinary life. This problem has been solved by modern anthropological studies such as Clifford Geertz's "Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight" in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973). Geertz views adult play as a means by which members of a society interpret their own culture by telling themselves a story about themselves (p. 448). While this idea of "deep play" sheds light on the representative function of child's play in Shoetown, unfortunately such notions are too rarely used to analyze the play behavior of children.
3. David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy* (New York, 1969).
4. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 97-123, and Richard Trexler, "Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation" in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman, eds. (Leiden, 1974), pp. 200-64.
5. The industrial village of Endicott, New York was created by the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company in the first decade of the twentieth century. Its neighbor to the east, Lestershire, later renamed Johnson City, was created by the Lester Shoe Company a generation earlier, before the company had changed hands and become the E-J Shoe Company. Thus, the early history of Shoetown involves communities in the act of organizing themselves, establishing traditions, and creating an urban identity.
6. "George F. Day" was known elsewhere as Labor Day. In fact, the Labor Day designation was used in Shoetown, but between 1915 and 1925 the holiday was known popularly and primarily as George F. Day.
7. Anthropologists have distinguished between the blood ties of genetic kinship and the ritual ties of 'fictive' or artificial kinship. Jacques Heers' *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas* (trans. Barry Hesbert, New York 1977) has examined the role of blood-based kinship ties in Medieval Genoa. Ronald Weissman's *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982) has examined the role of artificial kinship ties in Renaissance Florence. American historians have not systematically investigated these relationships as aspects of urban social life in the United States.
8. Clientage is a form of reciprocal social bonding practiced since antiquity. E. Badian describes the ancient practices as a client who was "an inferior entrusted, by custom or himself, to the protection of a stranger more powerful than he, and rendering certain services and observances in return for protection." *Foreign Clientelae* (264-70 B.C.), (Oxford, 1958), p. 1. While often only analytically separate from the institution of artificial kinship, client-patron relationships are capable of functioning independently in an urban society. An excellent account of clientage and its relationship to networks of kinship is Brian Pullan's *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State to 1620* (Cambridge, 1971).
9. These symbolic gifts themselves created a social bond between the child's parents and his parents' employers. Mrs. Johnson's gift of a gold coin to the new mother is a clear gesture of this intention. Indeed, the amounts of these gifts make them more than merely symbolic. Totalling twenty dollars in cash, they rivaled or exceeded the average worker's weekly salary and must have left the parents, who had just received free medical care, feeling quite indebted. The nature of social bonds generated by gift-giving is examined in Marcel Mauss's *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Glencoe, 1954). However, this exchange obligation is probably less important than the adoptive gesture behind it which suggests that the Johnsons are assuming protectorship over a new member of their E-J family. They are indeed acting as godparents, an institution which Shoetown's predominantly Catholic and Eastern Orthodox immigrants would have well understood. The financial obligations of godparents are discussed in Julian Pitt-Rivers' "Ritual Kinship in Spain," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 20 (1958), pp. 424-34, and George M. Foster's "Confratria and Compadrazco in Spain and Spanish America" in the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 9 (1953).
10. A child named after George F. Johnson was front page news in the company-dominated *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, July 15, 1918.
11. This information was related to me in a personal interview with John Prantis, an E-J factory manager who often discussed family relationships with his workers. He described the average worker as coming from a "small rural village where the land was owned mostly by one individual who had tenants working for him."
12. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, November 14, 1916.
13. This window was unfortunately discovered too late to be included in the exhibit.
14. *The Binghamton Sun*, February 10, 1934.
15. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, August 15, 1916.
16. *Endicott Bulletin*, January 25, 1917.
17. Pitt-Rivers, pp. 424-34.
18. Barnet Phillips, "At Play in New York Streets," *Harper's Weekly*, July 6, 1895, p. 636.
19. Charles W. Burkett, "Playgrounds for Country Children," *American Agriculturist* 85, #15, October 10, 1908.
20. *Ordinances of the Villages of Johnson City, New York* (Johnson City, New York, 1918), article XV, Sect. 228.



21. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, October 7, 1916.
22. This *New York Times* commentary is cited along with other newspaper reviews of the I.W.W. pageant in "The Pageant as a Form of Propaganda," *Current Opinion*, 35, (1913), 32.
23. Paul C. Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education* (Chicago, 1978), p. 68.
24. Joseph Lee, *Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy* (New York, Macmillan, 1902), p. 123.
25. Sadie American, "The Movement for Small Playgrounds," *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept. 4, 1898, p. 159.
26. Seth T. Steward, "Recreation Centers in the City of New York," *Proceedings of the Playground Association of America*, 1907, pp. 40-42.
27. Caroline H. Davis' *Pageants in Great Britain and the United States* (New York, 1916), an extraordinary bibliography of popular articles on pageants published between 1900 and 1916, documents the attention directed toward civic ceremony in American cities and villages before World War I.
28. Myra Emmons, "Pageantry for Children," *The Outlook*, 98 (1911), 659.
29. Emmons, p. 663.
30. *Binghamton Evening Herald*, June 4, 1910.
31. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, September 16, 1916.
32. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, September 16, 1916.
33. *Ordinances of the Village of Johnson City, New York* (Johnson City, New York, 1918). Cited as introduction to this section. This section of the ordinance (#228) is a complement to other ordinances (#135, #137) controlling public assembly and street life in general. The "iconography" of the published ordinance book, with its photographs of George F. Johnson, playgrounds, and E-J factories, makes it clear that the laws of Johnson City were but another extension of company authority.
34. A statue of George F. Johnson in Recreation Park on Binghamton's West Side portrays this same double theme. Situated in a park which he donated, George F. is receiving flowers from an appreciative little girl while a shoemaker works at his feet.
35. *Endicott Bulletin*, February 24, 1916.
36. The role of the local clergy in proclaiming the virtues of cultural assimilation and other dramatic parallels with Shoetown are evidenced in Rev. Herbert A. Jump's description of "A Pageant of Brotherhood," in *The Independent*, 68 (1910), 1062-65. According to his description, the celebrants marched through the main streets of New Britain, Connecticut, where a great banner proclaimed "Above All Nations is Humanity." Opposite that legend as it swings in the wind is a great schoolhouse, where every night of the winter strange and often uncouth specimens of humanity from all parts of Europe come to be taught the English tongue." (p. 1062). As in the patriotic civic celebrations of Shoetown, New Britain's schoolchildren, over 3,000 we are told by Rev. Jump, marched to proclaim patriotic themes. There is also an "International Tribute" to the town's prophet of brotherhood, Elihu Burritt, which resembles Shoetown's Float of the Nations tribute to George F. Johnson, (p. 1064). Like the Float of the Nations tribute, the Burritt honor also bestows recognition upon New Britain's immigrant participants, who portrayed the accomplishments of their national heroes. Even the adoptive themes of Shoetown's paternalism are in evidence; one New Britain child born in "the Persian colony" a week before the pageant was named "Burritt Boba" (p. 1065).
37. *Endicott Bulletin*, February 24, 1916.
38. Imrich Mázár, *Dejiny Binghamtonských Slovákov 1879-1919* (Chicago, 1919), p. 26.
39. Mázár, p. 27.
40. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, November 4, 1916.
41. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, September 16, 1916.
42. Though partisan, George F. Johnson maintained the public image of himself as politically non-involved. When the celebration of an eight-hour work day was being prepared in the autumn of 1916, George F. Johnson requested that the participants "not wear any campaign buttons. This is our own family party and there's no politics in it." William Inglis, *George F. Johnson and His Industrial Democracy* (New York, 1935). Posters promulgating this "no politics" policy can be seen in many of the photographs of the eight-hour day celebration, published in "A Family Affair: 8-Hour Day Parade and Celebration by Endicott-Johnson's Big Family" (Johnson City, New York, The Corporation, 1916).
43. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, November 4, 1916.
44. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, November 4, 1916. See also "A Family Affair: 8-Hour Day Parade and Celebration by the Endicott-Johnson's Big Family" for a photo of this sign.
45. Geertz's notion of "deep play" as a story we tell ourselves about ourselves is particularly appropriate to this Shoetown pageant. See Geertz, p. 448.
46. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, April 14, 1917.
47. The role of youth in saving the city and state is analyzed in Richard Trexler's article on Florentine adolescent confraternities, see note 4, above.
48. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, April 14, 1917.
49. *Johnson City-Endicott Record*, April 14, 1917.
50. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962). This is perhaps the most important assertion of the status of childhood as separated from adult life. While Ariès's chronology on this matter is very controversial, if anything the criticism directed at it only affirms the isolated status of children by locating this relationship deeper in the past than Ariès asserts. The developmental theories of Erik H. Erikson, particularly his notion of adolescence as a moratorium, affirm this separateness.
51. S.N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure* (Glencoe, 1956).
52. Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977).



53. The standard bearer was a ceremonial official in the Renaissance city or state. This official was entrusted with literally bearing the insignia of the city, typically a flag, in public ceremony and battle. The visible affirmation of a city or state was so important that the capture of a royal banner or the fall of a royal banner in battle could trigger a retreat of the troops. While it is an anachronism to apply this label to Shoetown's children, it accurately captures their identity bearing and creating roles.
54. The sociologies of Marx and Weber both affirm the intensifying impersonalization of modern life. For Weber this is a function of bureaucratization. For Marx, "alienation" is a function of a social order that appropriates a worker's labor and divorces him from that which he produces.
55. Other labor conflicts in New England cities appear to have used exchanges of children to create solidarity and extend the scope of worker involvement.



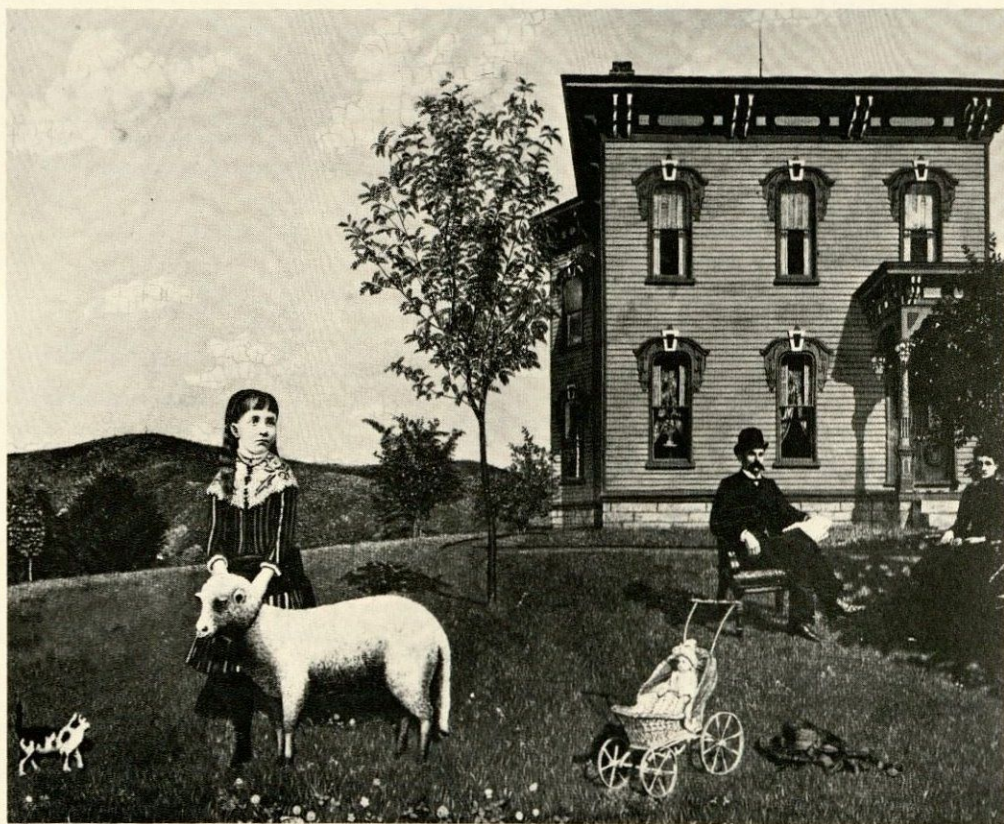


Figure 1. Edwin Romanzo Elmer, *Mourning Picture*, 1890, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts.



# From Household To Cemetery

## *Representing the Death of the Child*

Lynne Kirby

**E**DWIN R. ELMER's *Mourning Picture* (1890) (Fig. 1) is in many respects a curious artifact in the genre of what Phoebe Lloyd calls posthumous mourning portraiture.<sup>1</sup> Painted to commemorate Elmer's only child, Effie, who died suddenly at an early age, the picture is one of many Elmer executed in the 1890s around Shelburne Falls, Mass., where Elmer worked as a farmer, carpenter, and painter.<sup>2</sup> *Mourning Picture* stands historically at the end of one aesthetic mourning tradition and at the beginning of another, signaling the decline of one mode of representation and the growth of another. On the one hand, Elmer's image functions as a resume of traditional tropes memorializing the death of the child in the 19th century U.S.: the domestic setting as space of figuration; the cluster of flowers at the dead child's feet; an isolated article of the child's clothing; the ubiquitous lamb; a doll-child/carriage-cradle configuration; the dead child represented as living. The front yard of Elmer's house serves as a displaced cemetery, a repository of the dead girl's image-double and of morbid iconography.

Embedded within a landscape of heavenly rolling hills, the domestic space interrelates with a figurative rural cemetery, while all signs point to the absence of the cemetery as the topos for recognizing the child's death. Yet something else is ajar, unhinged, disjunct about disinterring these funereal motifs and depositing them as a display of so many items from a hypothetical Sears catalog of 19th century middle class investments in a no-longer-living child. For one thing, the catalog is incomplete; missing from the resumé is at least one major image which appears throughout the 19th and on into the 20th centuries in American and European cemeteries: the infant angel figure, perched praying or dispersing flowers for the tiny corpse buried below it. Wanting also is an image of a dove, popularly used to decorate infants' graves in light of the rich associations with innocence, peace, and heaven. In other words, what is noticeably lacking in *Mourning Picture* is a religious dimension once central to the meaning of the child's death.

The specific configuration of images in *Mourning Picture* locates for us a shift not so much in the kind of imagery used to commemorate dead children, although differences are discernible, as in the significance of traditional images that first appeared in the early to mid-19th century. In 1890 the patterns for expressing grief have altered, and different social forces have come to bear on the meaning of losing offspring for the middle class. It would be misleading, however, to describe the changing attitudes in terms of different discourses competing to assert dominance; rather, the newer tradition acts as an overlay of significance which emerges from the older tradition, and enriches it as it dislocates its characteristic emblems from their original contexts.

The representation of the lamb in Elmer's picture operates paradigmatically in relation to this shift in mourning discourse. Probably the most common monument to a child's death in the mid-19th century cemetery, the lamb as tombstone sculpture appeared with miniature angels in conjunction with a Protestant ideology of the innocence of the child during life, and the child as vehicle of resurrection/regeneration for those left on earth.<sup>3</sup> The lamb, like the



angel and the other major type of monument honoring the dead child, the figure of the child asleep, was bathed in Romantic religious significance.

In *Mourning Picture* the lamb has metamorphosed into a sheep displaced from its heavenly hierarchical position. No longer functioning as a metaphor, the lamb/sheep accompanies Effie, shepherding as well as being shepherded, and becomes incorporated into a narrative construct. Instead of symbolizing a deceased child, and instead of setting off a reservoir of "lamb of God" references, the sheep in the position of attribute of the child can only lend a displaced innocence, if not a "dumb animal" expression to its mistress, in a newly secularized representation. The sheep-form's double alienation from cemetery and church marks a passage from Romantic poetic metaphor to realistic "narrative."<sup>4</sup> By 1890, the lamb, angel, and sleeping child had multiplied as mass-produced, stock representations divested of spirituality and stylized as ready-made gestures of mourning.

Other motifs in the painting register the secularization and "narrativization". In place of the tearful women found in many early mourning pictures,<sup>5</sup> sits a calm Mrs. Elmer, continuing domestic duties, even in mourning garb, and giving no indication of the hysteria she was reported to have suffered at the loss of Effie.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the father, whose presence in almost any kind of mourning representation is rare, looks up from his newspaper as if momentarily distracted from a daily activity. The "empty cradle" and the child "asleep in the arms of Jesus"<sup>7</sup> are rearticulated as a recumbent yet awake baby doll in a tiny pram, while the mystery and sanctity of the Romantic rural cemetery dissipate in the incorporation of a pastoral landscape into the family property within the purview of parental authority. Here the seepage of domestic references into the cemetery—in the form of family plot organization, domestic furniture, and monuments to the dead child—comes full circle and is directed back into the living family's plot.

In the compositional center of the painting a sapling tree structures the division between the idyllic realm of the dead girl, whose shadow is discrepant with those of her parents, and the household space of the surviving parents. Yet both spaces are continuous as well as contiguous; the nuclear family triangle survives by virtue of pictorial features linking the family members: a common ground, a shared green background color scheme, and a trail of objects leading from Mr. Elmer through the doll, pram, and hat to the rigidly posed daughter and lamb. The doll/pram group stands as a pivot between the two realms, and overdetermines the ongoing presence of Effie in the parents' world, whether as infant-substitute to be played with, or as the child gone off to play with her pets.

Although every effort is made to represent a "normal" state of familial intercourse, all three family members exhibit the frozen postures typical of studio portrait photographs in the 19th century. Thus, they index another shift in the predominant modes of portraying both living and dead families: from oil paintings to photographs. As a token of the posthumous mourning portraiture prevalent in the mid-19th century, *Mourning Picture* annexes to this genre the younger one of photography. Consistent with mourning portrait conventions, the picture exhibits the dead child as living.<sup>8</sup> However, as Lloyd observes, the painting "achieves a complete fusion of the living and the dead;"<sup>9</sup> that is, in the continuum of posthumous mourning portraiture, a genre which existed in part to recuperate the dead as living presences, *Mourning Picture* stands out as an especially strong statement of the denial of death. The picture thus takes up a position as part of the larger social phenomenon that has been called "the spiritual upheaval of the Gilded Age," the effort to reduce the threat of death, to deny and contain it.<sup>10</sup>

In *Mourning Picture*, Elmer deployed a time-honored vocabulary of child-oriented funereal images marked by shifting middle class attitudes toward the death of a child. The painting affords an opening into various discourses shaping those attitudes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the northeastern U.S. In general, the cult of the child represented a considerable financial, moral, psychic, and social investment in both the living and the dead offspring.



While the interest in death constituted a focal point in Victorian social life generally, whether urban or rural, the death of the child was awarded special significance by the child's surviving family and culture.<sup>11</sup> The phenomenon of "baby worship" in relation to both high infant mortality rates and the growth of family planning practices in the middle class serves as a point of departure for assessing the importance assigned to commemorating dead children.<sup>12</sup> As Mary Ryan argues, "The narrower social spaces of middle class urban homes permitted women to concentrate more of their psychic energies on private relationships, particularly their ties to their fewer children. The whole purport of maternal culture was to weave tight bonds between women and children, which would, in turn, make an infant's death all the more painful."<sup>13</sup>

However, retracing the trajectories of representations and practices centered on deceased children indicates that the articulation of parental grief, especially the mother's, is more complex than such simple correlations suggest. For example, the post-Civil War shift in mourning discourse—from Romantic to more realistic representation, from poetic metaphor to prosaic narrative metonymy, from a devoutly religious to a more secular and materialist focus, from open acknowledgement of the beauty of death to greater attempts to conceal the ugliness of death—coincides with broader changes in American economic and social life. Among these changes are an accelerated rate of urbanization in the Northeast and the growth of the industrial city, a series of severe economic depressions (mostly notably those of 1873 and 1893), significant waves of immigration to the U.S., the increasing specialization and rationalization of business enterprises and social institutions (including the funeral industry), etc.<sup>14</sup> In general, changing expressions of mourning form part of an ideology more concerned with life on this earth than with the hope of salvation in the afterlife.<sup>15</sup>

It is not my intention to analyze here the multifarious social and artistic practices drawing the changes in mourning representation and those in their concrete historical context into the same space of interpretation. Many such analyses have been argued elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> while others can only begin to be sketched out. However, in what follows I would like to do two things: augment an established literature on ways in which a middle class ideology of domesticity directed rituals of commemoration of the deceased by focusing on the child-centeredness of that ideology, and suggest avenues for interpreting the effects of broader discourses on social power on middle class attitudes toward the death of the child. This essay represents an attempt only to outline a few important features of issues raised in examining some late 19th and early 20th century Northeastern mourning expressions.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, I will emphasize general ideological trends and their appearance throughout the region, to the neglect of specifically local articulations of such trends. Like any method, this approach has its advantages and its limitations; in this sense, my effort is meant to serve as a point of departure for asking further questions about the material involved.

## *I. The Domestic Nexus*

It is commonly accepted that death-related imagery, paraphernalia, and practices in both large cities and small town and rural areas in the 19th century Northeast registered the impact of a cult of domesticity governing the appearance of household and/or familial mourning representations.<sup>18</sup> Beginning roughly in the 1830s, there emerged two basic sites for the establishment of this funereal domestic discourse: the rural cemetery and popular consolation literature. The rural cemetery movement, initiated with Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831, and influential on cemetery design across the Northeast, was initially a hygienic response to the crowded, unsanitary chaos of intramural burials.<sup>19</sup> Functioning as a com-



bination sculptural museum, public park, and school of moral instruction, the Romantic rural cemetery was designed to inspire a sense of peace, calm, and “‘perpetual home.’”<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, plots were organized by families, and typically indexed the hierarchy that obtained in the living family through grouping around the parents and the inscription of kinship terminology: “Mother,” “Father,” “Baby,” etc.<sup>21</sup> And, as Barbara Rotundo notes, “The same cast-iron furniture used in gardens was used in cemeteries: benches, chairs, tables, and urns filled with flowers. These secluded lots were outdoor sitting rooms where the family met to talk about the past and plan the future.”<sup>22</sup>

In David Stannard’s view, not only the cemetery, but “Heaven literally became home to much of 19th century America,” that is, a “haven in a heartless world.”<sup>23</sup> This conception of the afterlife found greatest expression in consolation literature, a popular literary genre authored mainly by women and liberal Protestant clergymen between roughly 1820 and 1880.<sup>24</sup> These texts of sympathy—mourning manuals, obituary poetry, fictional accounts of children’s deaths and of a mother’s loss, prayer books, even etiquette manuals on epistolary condolence—appeared for a reading public of middle class mothers who had lost a child or knew someone who had.<sup>25</sup> As Ann Douglas has demonstrated, this huge body of literature came increasingly in the post-Civil War period to describe the afterlife in domestic terms. Heaven became a glorified home populated by children, women, and ministers, described mainly in relation to the deaths of children.<sup>26</sup> Death as defined in mourning literature was drenched in domestic perfume to overdetermine its opposition to and refuge from the male world of competitive commerce and production.<sup>27</sup> As in the home, mother ruled over the coveted sphere of the afterlife, a territory shared only reluctantly with liberal clergymen.<sup>28</sup> Male adults received only a fragment of the attention of consolatory authors, who focused mainly on children and emphasized the mother-child axis.<sup>29</sup>

Domestic images of heavenly afterlife and of life on earth without the deceased child provided the figurative space of overlap for mother on earth and child in heaven. The household arena (in the sense of dwelling, not relations among residents) generated a variety of images and activities centering on the bereavement. The most common image to be transferred from the home of the living to the home of the dead was the figure of the child asleep (Fig. 2). Widespread in Romantic America’s rural cemeteries, representations of infants comfortably sound asleep on some ideal bed or pillow-monument to the state of suspension between death and resurrection which funereal sleep signified were commonly used until the end of the century.<sup>30</sup> The tradition of infantile sleep imagery emphasized pure, innocent slumber in an ideal home away from home.



Figure 2. *Tomb Sculpture*, [n.d.], Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.



More than any other image that of the child's bed and the sleeping infant did much to advance the view of the rural cemetery as a "vast dormitory" of comatose dreamers.<sup>31</sup> Although dormitory was meant to refer to all who slept there, it is children's tombs that define the cemetery imagery of sleep. Indeed, the pervasiveness of child-related furniture—beds, pillows, cradles, chairs—renders many a family plot more a simulacrum of the nursery than of an "outdoor sitting room."

The sleep image as a deathbed scene found popular expression in "The Mother's Dream," a painting by an English artist that was first engraved in 1853 and appeared in U.S. illustrated magazines like *The Ladies Repository* in a version by Currier and Ives.<sup>32</sup> "The Mother's Dream" depicts a woman dozing next to a sofa on which rests a dying infant asleep. Above the mother-infant couple hovers a female angel clasping the infant's dead double to her breast and taking off for heaven in a brilliant ray of light.<sup>33</sup> The mother in this highly romanticized image is shown at peace, content with the fulfillment of her wish that the infant be transported to "joys that never end."<sup>34</sup>

By the 1870s, "The Mother's Dream" had evolved into the empty cradle, highlighting the bed from which the infant is now missing. The more secular image focuses on the household vacancy, routing emotional excess through a literal receptacle anchored in the bedchamber. The empty cradle received popular attention in baby's books, women's magazines, songs, and consolation literature; it even crept into the cemetery.<sup>35</sup> In 1884 in Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery, the Wigglesworth family erected a stone replica of a cradle to commemorate their infant Mary interred beneath (Fig. 3). On a comfortable pillow where the baby's head theoretically lay is an inscription with the name and dates of the little girl. This plushly upholstered, realistic baby's bed lacks any accompanying verse that might identify it as a launching pad for heaven. Instead, the fascination with detail focuses attention on the material residue of spiritual flight. The very intricacy of decoration, a combination of basket weave and herringbone patterns, with a miniature arcaded balustrade and a crowning cluster of lush foliage at the pinnacle of the cradle, announces the representation as an expensive object, a specially commissioned item suggesting the material status of the surviving family. The craftsmanship of the piece connotes the quality, whether real or imagined, of the life-world interior of the Wigglesworths and of the preciousness of the child absent from the crib. Simultaneously, the deep void in the elaborate resting place heightens the absence of the child's body and accentuates the idea of the loss of the infant.

Attachment to objects or attributes associated with the domestic space of the lost child becomes more exaggerated in the case of toys and clothing left behind by the deceased. "And



Figure 3. *Tomb Sculpture*, c.1884, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



oft, as through the lonely house she goes/ Her heart shall bleed to find the empty clothes," predicts an 1886 consolation poem of the bereaved mother's behavior.<sup>36</sup> The mother in "My Little Boy That Died" (1880), still believing her child to be alive, cherishes the things the boy left behind: "Look on his pretty face for just one minute, his braided frock, his dainty buttoned shoes,/ His firm-shut hand, the favorite plaything in it. . ."<sup>37</sup> This carefully drawn portrait of a reasonably well-off middle class child who wore "dainty buttoned shoes" finds a funereal complement in a late 19th century type of tombstone configuration that uses sartorial motifs taken from the world of the living child.

In Cortland's Rural Cemetery, monuments to children from the 1890s feature tiny shoes and socks sprawled atop a scroll covering an orderly pile of carved stones. In the case of one such sculpture marked "Earl," the stone baby shoes are arranged in what seems to be a random design, with one shoe placed upright, one on its side, and a pair of socks traced neatly below. The gently cascading path of objects suggests the spontaneity and casualness associated with the nightly ritual of removing children's socks and shoes before putting them to bed at night. Such is the connotation of "Little Daughter's Shoes" (1872), infantile verse to be read to baby at bedtime. Worn out and full of holes, these tiny shoes are priceless to the mother speaking in the poem: "And why? Because they tell of her/Now sound asleep above,/Whose form is moving beauty and/Whose heart is beating love."<sup>38</sup>

Fixing on the moment just before sleep with a focus on the child's clothing introduces a narrative and metonymic dimension into sleep-oriented posthumous commemoration. Like Effie's hat carelessly left in the front yard in *Mourning Picture*, the shoes and socks, 19th century reliquaries of sorts, provide a concrete contiguous link to the dead baby in a childish messy trail leading from earthly to heavenly spheres.<sup>39</sup>

Maternal sentimental attachment to an image like Earl's socks and shoes is encouraged by mourning literature. In "A Little Pink Shoe," an obituary poem by Kate Tyson Marr published in *The Owego Gazette* (June 29, 1905), the mother traces the contours of her grief in retracing the topography of her deceased girl's feet and shoes.<sup>40</sup> All that is left to the mother is "a little pink baby shoe/That is stained and wrinkled and worn," described in the language of the paeans to living babies' shoes. The size of the slipper is disproportionate to the amount of attention it commands: "But my tears have deluged the little pink shoe/And stained it a deeper stain." This saccharine obsession with the toddler's footwear harbors the hope of reunion with the child through the medium of the shoe, which takes on talismanic significance as a pivot of passage between one realm and another: "So when I am dead, lay the little pink shoe/Near my heart that is silent and cold,/And perhaps up above, in the sunlight of love,/I shall kiss the pink toe as of old." Although the thin line between "up above" in the nursery ("Little Daughter's Shoes") and "up above" in heaven is consistent with the tradition of representing the dead child as asleep, these later 19th century images focus more on the state of the mother after the child has departed than was previously the case.

In much late 19th century mourning poetry, loss, especially the mother's loss, and anguish at being left alone by the child are at the center of these intense preoccupations with empty chairs, cribs, and children's things.<sup>41</sup> Frequently this is articulated as the loss of maternal identity: "Little Clifford, will you know me/Up in heaven, where all is fair?/Will you know your lonely mother,/Will you call me mother there?" moans the mother in this obituary poem for Clifford Taylor of West Warren, Pa.<sup>42</sup> Loss in relation to the empty cradle is determined not only as absence of the child, but also as absence of the maternal role. The cradle's narrative position intersects with that of the "little pink shoe" in calling up an aspect of daily domestic ritual, that of putting the baby to bed and tending to its infantile needs. "She stood by the little cradle where her baby used to sleep,/Alas, like her arms, 'twas empty, and she bowed her head to weep." These lines are from a poem pasted onto a homemade mourning card that Mrs. Lelia Warren Angell of Cortland, N.Y. kept in a personal scrapbook along with other mementos to an infant son who died in 1898.<sup>43</sup> Other poems collected in this



testament to an obsessive private grief emphasize the loneliness of the mother and the recourse to religious comfort. But the empty cradle image stands out as an example of a representation of a mother's inability to deal not only with the loss of the child, but with the loss of her maternal function as the child's caretaker too. The poem continues: " 'What if she wakes from slumber, frightened and calling to me'/She cried, 'Oh Christ, have pity, but what is my grief to thee?' "

Connotations of grief over the loss of the mother's *raison d'être* also surface in making a fetish of the child's clothing. "Little Daughter's Shoes" not only tell of the beauty and cuteness of their slumbering mistress; they also tell of mother's need for identity and power in her position as provider for the child's immediate needs: "They tell me that her wavering steps/Will long demand my aid." Similarly, the messy train of socks and shoes evokes not only the chore of putting the child to bed, but that of cleaning up after it also. Thus are the conditions created for the sentimentalization of maternal duty in the context of the death of the child. This aspect of the domestic discourse on death focuses on the mother's dependence on the child for identity, encouraging a situation in which maternal grief is molded around the relationship between mother and child, instead of the mother and child as separate beings. A continuity of commitment is defined for the mother, as well as a warning of the emotionally painful consequences of the neglect of motherly duty.

The representation of mother's despair at the loss of the child and subsequent loss of identity would seem to be addressed in part by the consolation literature, which provided a literary surrogate community of sympathizers for mothers, and in part by the encouragement of a central role for women in mourning ritual, as "consolation activities," sublimatory substitutes for temporarily suspended domestic chores. Of course, traditionally in the 19th century, women stood at the heart of mourning rituals which centered on the funeral, typically held in the home.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the 19th century, even as some traditional female functions at funerals disappeared (for example, closing the eyes of the dead), the mourning industry targeted women as the primary consumers of fashions and practices associated with the melodrama of death.<sup>45</sup>

Social decorum demanded the most demonstrative public mourning behavior of women bereaved of a child or a husband.<sup>46</sup> Privately, the continuing bond between mother and child might express itself in such domestic activities as needlework.<sup>47</sup> In Tioga County, NY, for example, Mrs. Charles Brink maintained a commitment to her deceased son, Miles, in creating a small white satin pillow edged with lace and decorated with bows at each of the four corners of the cushion.<sup>48</sup> Besides calling up the network of sleep images associated with the child's death, the act of making the pillow speaks to later 19th century exhortations in etiquette books for the survivor to "interest himself or herself in accustomed objects of care as soon as it is possible to make the exertion."<sup>49</sup> Conditions for the possibility of the slide from crafting pillows for the living to fabricating them for the dead are provided on the very same pages of popular journals like the *American Agriculturist*, widely read in New York State: here mourning poetry could appear alongside directions for feeding baby or making pillowcases.<sup>50</sup>

The channeling of a mother's grief into practices that, through sentimental images, favored the domestic sphere and encouraged a continued emotional and material investment in the dead and living child allows us to see the domestic discourse on death as, among other things, a strategy for reinforcing the formal position of women as wives and mothers, as adhesives of the family. For Ann Douglas, the domestication of death represents an attempt by women to carve out a space of influence and power denied to them in daily life.<sup>51</sup> According to her thesis, the image of a domestic heaven functioned as a fragmented mirror of an earthly household in which a woman no longer enjoyed the kind of power she possessed in relation to "productive" domestic work in the preindustrial household. Hence, the heavenly home afforded her a sense of expanded power that could be juxtaposed to both the public, male realm and the subdued middle-class home of the Industrial Age.<sup>52</sup>



As indicated, however, the power to which Douglas refers should be seen as a double-edged sword; the discourse around the death of the child had as much to do with teaching the consequences of the failure of proper baby worship as it did with expanding woman's sphere of influence. The various practices and images informing the domestic nexus of 19th century mourning ritual in the Northeast continually direct women back to the home of the living. As Esther Katz and Anita Rapone have argued, the assumption that the ideology of domesticity represented a decline in status for women conflicts with evidence that women derived a redefined sense of self-worth and power in relation to their exalted functions within the home.<sup>53</sup> Certainly the way in which maternal mourning for dead offspring in the late 19th century implies a nostalgia for performing domestic duties suggests at least an ambivalence concerning the value of "woman's sphere" on earth. Besides, as I hope to show in the following section, the sphere of the death of the child was of interest not only to women and ministers, but to other social forces as well.

## II. *The Embalming of Memory*

Sometime during the second half of the 19th century, a different type of figurative monument to the child began to appear among the lambs, praying babies, and sleeping infants.<sup>54</sup> Alongside the ideal-type figures, realistic, individualized portraits of deceased children punctuated the classical landscape of the rural cemetery. With few exceptions, earlier portrait-statues of children de-emphasized particular detail in the interest of Romantic idealization. Even in the case of the specially commissioned statue of Grace Williams, daughter of the elite Williams family of Utica, NY, type took precedence over token. Sculpted by Erastus Dow Palmer in 1856-57, the marble figure located in Grace Church, Utica, subordinates specific details to general features of the girl, who died at age seven in 1854. Clothed only in a vaguely classical robe leaving the upper torso bare, the slumbering child rests on a draped sofa-like deathbed as an ideal-subject informed by spiritual value and the sense of resignation to the beyond.<sup>56</sup>



Figure 4. *Tomb Sculpture*, c.1900, Green Mount Cemetery, Montpelier, Vermont.



The shift that occurs gradually and quietly, never generating even a fraction of the number of monuments cluttering the hills of U.S. cemeteries, marks a transformation from the idealized sleeping child image to more specific images of children sculpted as wide-eyed living figures often taken from photos of the child alive.<sup>57</sup> The "Little Margaret," a statue of a little girl posing in fancy dress and shoes and leaning pensively on a wooden fence rail, represents a trend in commemorative tombstone sculpture that had been underway at least since the 1860s (Fig. 4). Located in Green Mount Cemetery in Montpelier, Vermont, the statue was crafted by Alfred Tornazzi, an Italian commissioned by the girl's parents to make the likeness after a studio portrait of Margaret when she was alive. Tornazzi considered it his masterpiece and took pains to reproduce exactly every minute detail of the photographic image.<sup>58</sup> This entailed the transposition of an intricate eyelet lace collar, a beaded necklace, tiny high-button shoes, and a flower-covered fence prop on which Margaret rests her elbow.

The specially commissioned portrait statue performed one of the principal functions of the rural cemetery as originally conceived: a museum showcase of fine art. It also fulfilled the social wishes of those who commissioned it as an index of wealth and status, whether real or imagined. In this sense, it forms part of a tradition long established in funereal sculpture.<sup>59</sup> A life-size effigy of Friederike Rollwagen, located in Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetery, acts as a testament to the inscription on the bust of her father buried in the adjacent grave: "He was beloved by all." Daughter of a well-to-do German immigrant, Friederike as a little girl in contemporary (1876) dress functions in part to index the American success of her family, as well as, perhaps, to signify its links with the old world and its 19th century cult of childhood.

Another kind of status emerges in the case of a portrait statue erected also in Greenwood Cemetery by a rear admiral to his little boy, deceased in 1881. Buried with his wife next to their son Frankie, the admiral evidently had the life-size sculpture of his three-year-old boy made after a studio portrait photograph, as was the Little Margaret. Clad in a sailor suit, the delicate boy with long curly hair carries a sword over his shoulder, posturing as if for a camera (Fig. 5). The naval iconography obviously refers to the father's occupation and links a common way of dressing little boys in the 19th century to the relationship of father and son, thereby structuring an exchange of significations between the two. Attributes of the father become attributes of the son; a monument to the son becomes a monument to the father. The



Figure 5. *Tomb Sculpture*, c.1881, Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.



specificity of clothing details, objects, and facial expressions is equally a display of particular, material values, not abstract, idealized sentiments.<sup>60</sup> As in life, "King Baby" in death was exhibited as an emblem of status, in an age in which "Our Pets" signified not only dogs and cats, but human creatures as well.<sup>61</sup>

Beyond considerations of the superficial relations between portrait commemoration and class, late 19th century portrait statues emerge in relation to other discursive formations having to do with the child's body and its broader social positioning as part of the "denial of death" referred to above. A mourning card for Ivan Wright, who died at age three in 1890 in Cortland, provides us with a blunt example of retreat from the spectacle of death: "There is no Death!" reads the card, "what seems so is transition;/This life of mortal breath/Is but a suburb of the life elysian,/Whose portal we call Death. . ."<sup>62</sup> This epitaph could also function as a caption to the sculpted likeness which uses substantive, tangible material to reproduce three dimensionally the body of the specific child, and to restore it as an almost living presence. Like the embalming techniques undertakers began to advertise in the early 1880s,<sup>63</sup> the portrait sculpture can be seen as an advance in terms of preserving the body and perpetuating an illusion. Illusion encompasses concealing, covering up, disguising the ugliness of death, much as the increasing use of flowers at funerals in the later 19th century aestheticized and visually cushioned the presence of decaying matter.<sup>64</sup>

To understand the position of the child's death in the context of the preservational illusion, we must first make a detour through a larger discourse on the denial and prevention of death.<sup>65</sup> Enjoying a currency throughout the Northeast, the post-Civil War reconceptualization of death's meaning appears early in an address delivered at the Methodist funeral of Judge Samuel Harager of Candor, N.Y. in 1871. Delicately interweaving traditional religious and community concerns with a more modern perspective on death, the speaker, Mr. I.V. Mapes, Esq. manages to turn issues of resurrection, nature, and recognition of loved ones in the after-life into secular, scientific concerns with a materialist bias, thus reflecting a growing interest in bringing Protestant doctrine into line with a developing popular discourse on scientific naturalism.<sup>66</sup> The scientific recontextualization of death in Mapes's address is evident: "As long as a man lives, his bodily substance is incessantly changing: the processes of secretion and absorption are constantly and rapidly going forward. . . . The true idea of man's future destiny obviously is, that no resurrection of the flesh is needed, because the real man never dies, but lives continuously forever." Mapes is adamant about the need for a new viewpoint: "We must . . . turn from the literally [sic] enquiry to the metaphysical and scientific method, to gain any satisfactory idea and definition of death."

Views like Mapes's became popular in the context of the dissemination of Spencerian and Darwinian ideas in the U.S. beginning in the 1860s.<sup>67</sup> What was later called Social Darwinism (incorporating Darwin's concepts of natural selection and struggle and Spencer's notion of survival of the fittest into theories of social and racial superiority) was immensely popular in the U.S., where these ideas ultimately found greatest acceptance.<sup>68</sup> The Social Darwinist positions that developed from popular thinkers like Edward L. Youmans of Albany, N.Y.,<sup>69</sup> show that the trajectory of natural selection theory was uneven and paradoxical: both conservative individualists and liberal progressive reformers drew fuel for their arguments from Darwin and, especially in the case of the former, from Spencer.<sup>70</sup> Reformers in the 1880s attacked conservative Darwinists for misapplying Darwin's concepts and glorifying the doctrine of survival of the fittest.<sup>71</sup> The last years of the Gilded Age and the first of the Progressive Era gave rise to the liberal social activism which feared the worst if natural forces of conflict in society were left to themselves. Darwinian ideas of adaptation to circumstances became inscribed in social welfare programs designed to combat problems of the immigrant and native working class, to enable the weak to become "fit" to survive as average, productive American citizens.<sup>72</sup>

Both survival of the fittest arguments for class superiority and an altruistic species



perspective, which framed human progress in terms of the survival of the race, channeled middle class fears of working class threats into various social behaviors. These included ways of dealing with the death of the child. In relation to the latter, for example, the image of the empty cradle became available for signifying something other than consolation or evidence of prior and continued investment in a precious child.

In an 1875 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, a nearly full-page engraving of an empty cradle image bespeaks a recoding of the popular middle class image.<sup>73</sup> The picture represents an austere interior in which a simply dressed woman drapes her grief-stricken body over a primitive cradle, as a shrouded female figure floats toward an open window, carrying a sickly infant. The text beneath the picture describes not the grief or relief of the mother, but the urgency of the problem of overcrowded tenements. "During the present hot and unhealthy season," begins the article, "the rate of mortality among children in this city (NYC) has attained alarming proportions. In one week it reached 700—at the rate of 100 a day. A large proportion of the little victims are under five years of age, children of the poor, who live in closely packed tenement houses where bad drainage, defective sewerage, and a general neglect of sanitary precautions lower the vitality of the dwellers. . . ." The author goes on to describe the hygienic horrors of lower class urban life, in which the cramming of more than one family into a household limits the ability of the individual family to control its own health and to screen out "unwholesome influences."

Introducing a social problem through an ideologically loaded, sentimental image serves a legislative purpose designed to impress on the middle class readers of *Harper's* the necessity of introducing bourgeois values into a working class milieu. The article contains a prescription: "Every large tenement house ought to be under the constant surveillance of the agents of the sanitary officials, and the tenants should be compelled to keep their rooms clean. A crusade should be at once begun against impure air and uncleanness in the streets, and in the large tenement-houses, where hundreds of men, women, and children are crowded together with scarcely breathing space." An originally middle class image of the empty cradle is now mobilized for its moral and emotional force to generate social action on the part of the middle class, especially female social do-gooders whose charitable works could now be programmed to comply with state intervention in the family. In an image-text relation such as this one, the death of the child passes from a familial to a directly social space newly impregnated with official concerns to preserve children in both the middle and lower classes.<sup>74</sup>

The variable usage of the empty cradle motif connects the domestic discourse on the death of the child with a broader discourse on what has been called the "preservation of children."<sup>75</sup> This discourse involved a combination of medical supervision and social institutional surveillance to ensure the efficient management of threats to the social order—both the threat of malfunctioning middle class families, and that of unintegrated working class families.<sup>76</sup> In the U.S., this discourse generated a network of attitudes and practices influenced by Social Darwinist, medical, criminological, and Protestant views, centered on the health of the child. From the 1870s to the 1920s, various middle class reform groups, described as the "child-saving movement," introduced into the public arena and under the auspices of the state educational, penal, and medical reform programs for urban lower class children.<sup>77</sup> Child-savers like Enoch Wines, Beverly Warner, and Sarah Cooper, and institutions like reform schools and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children supported educating potentially criminal children to be able to function as normal Americans.<sup>78</sup>

Health as a standard for reform appears as a refrain in child-saving discourse.<sup>79</sup> According to Anthony Platt, "Progressive reformers claimed that crime would diminish if children were controlled within their homes, thus restoring the 'natural' relationships which the city had destroyed."<sup>80</sup> At the middle-class end of the preservational continuum, this view of "natural relationships" is supported by images like *Mourning Picture*, in which a dead child is restored and preserved as rosy-cheeked and healthy, roaming in a domestic space controlled by



parental surveillance and set within a healthy, rural landscape. *Mourning Picture* refocuses our sights on funereal domestic ideology, allowing the father to take up a position in organic relation to his prize progeny, who is proudly displayed with the sheep as a champion pet and sound product of good breeding. Consistent with this perspective, individualized portrait statues also suggest the ideology which asserts the health of the middle class child as distinct from the unhealth of the social other. Their presence as fit, waking creatures is fundamentally different from that of the sleeping or praying infants articulated in a position of vulnerability, weakness, and submission to supernatural powers.

The strength of the discourse on the denial of death, and the preservation of the child's body it implies, links the portrait statue with late 19th century photography of dead children. The magic of preservation and even perpetuation of life was associated with early posthumous photos of the 1840s and 1850s, when the deceased was imaged in photographs as if asleep, in the classical configuration described above.<sup>81</sup> In the later 19th century, however, the religious-spiritual overtones of photographing the dead fade from memory, and photography is seen more as a "method for the obtaining the preservation, and the multiplication of records of fact," as Kenyon Cox wrote in 1898.<sup>82</sup> "Fact" in the case of an unidentified photo from upstate New York becomes a blunt assertion of the denial of death in its representation of a dead infant propped up on a pillow in a miniature carriage.<sup>83</sup> The infant rests wide-eyed in a white gown reminiscent of christening robes and clutches a small bouquet of flowers. A floral wreath displayed on its lap signifies the deceased state, as all other elements of the image affirm the opposite in an interplay of contradictions which also obtains in *Mourning Picture*. In the latter, Effie's doll and carriage also invite comparison with this posthumous photo; in both, a mechanism of substitution is set up in relation to an imaginary doll-child embalming the dead child as a still-living, waking presence.

The late 19th-/early 20th-century posthumous child's photo did more than just assert something about the denial of death and the health of the child. The image often expanded from an exhibition of the body photographed to a display of living members of the family or elements of the surviving family's home. An image taken in 1908 by an upstate New York photographer shows a dead infant laid out in an elegant casket exhibited in the family's parlor (Fig. 6). Subtly positioned in the upper left-hand corner of an image dominated by white cloth, flowers, and the infant's plush casket, inscribed with "Our Darling" on a plaque, is a display of family photos: individual and group shots, presumably of mother, father, and perhaps siblings and other kin. In addition to the display of a certain level of material comfort,



Figure 6. *Hawley Child in Casket*, 1908, Morton Collection of Photographs, DeWitt Historical Society, Ithaca, New York.



indexed by intricately patterned wallpaper, lace curtains, objects of various sorts, books, a fancy lamp glimpsed at the left, and even the "couch-style" coffin itself, the image of this middle class interior allows a set of familial relationships operative in life to persist after death. The continuity between bier and parlor decor underpins the continuity between dead and living implied by the inclusion of all of this in photographs. As in *Mourning Picture*, the inner family circle, as well as the larger familial context, survives unperturbed by the loss which is denied in its very articulation.

Triply embalming the precious infant, through the undertaker's art, and by embedding the child in the larger life-context, and by photographing the child, produces a situation structurally similar to that in *Mourning Picture*. In each image, display of death becomes an excuse for the display of life, and a tour through the home or property of the survivors.

*Mourning Picture* in particular opens up the domestic setting to include other spaces and figures of grief over the death of the child in the late 19th century. As such, the picture provides a site of intersection for two major discourses on middle class investment in the child's death, thus recontextualizing the domestic nexus within the larger framework of the "denial of death."

## Notes

1. Phoebe Lloyd, "Posthumous Mourning Portraiture," in *A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong (The Museums at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY, 1980), p. 71.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 85.
3. The death of Little Eva in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is exemplary in this regard; see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977), pp. 3-4, 12, 63, 245. See also Effie Brower, *In Memoriam. Greenwood Leaves* (Brooklyn, 1878), which sums up this attitude in relation to the numerous children's graves located in New York's Greenwood Cemetery; and James Walvin, *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914* (Suffolk, 1982), pp. 31-32, 37-38 for a discussion of similar attitudes in England.
4. See Lawrence Taylor, "Symbolic Death, An Anthropological View of Mourning Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," in *A Time to Mourn*, p. 46. Cf. David H. Wallace, "The Art of John Rogers: 'So Real and So True,'" *The American Art Journal*, IV, 2 (1972), 66.
5. See Sandra Brant and Elissa Cullman, *Small Folk: A Celebration of Childhood in America* (New York, 1980), pp. 60-62, and Lloyd, *A Time to Mourn*, plates 111-116, for illustration.
6. Lloyd, p. 85.
7. See Ann Douglas, "Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), pp. 56, 61.
8. Lloyd, p. 73.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
10. Charles O. Jackson, "'Reaching for the Choir Invisible,' The Nineteenth Century," in *Passing, The Vision of Death in America*, ed. Charles O. Jackson (Westport, CT, and London, 1977), p. 62.
11. See Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 50-51; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981), p. 460; and Lewis O. Saum, "Death in the Popular Mind of Pre-Civil War America," in *Death in America*, pp. 38-40, 47.
12. See Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," p. 50; and Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism," in *Women's Experience in America*, ed. Esther Katz and Anita Rapone (New Brunswick, NJ and London, 1980), pp. 236-340.
13. Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class, The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York, 1981), p. 220.
14. See Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York, 1980), pp. 237-40, 248, 259-61, 271-73; *City Life, 1865-1900: Views of Urban America*, ed. Ann Cook, Marilyn Gittell, and Herb Mack (New York, 1973), pp. 65-94; J. Potter, "The Growth of Population in America 1700-1860," in *Population in History*, ed. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (London, 1965), p. 677; James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 156-83; David M. Gordon, "Capitalist Development and the History of American Cities," in *Marxism and the Metropolis*, ed. William K. Tabb and Larry Sawers (New York, 1978), pp. 42-47; and William M. De Marco, *Ethnic Enclaves—Boston's Italian North End* (Ann Arbor, 1981).
15. See Farrell, pp. 44-62.



16. In *A Time to Mourn*, see especially David E. Stannard, "Where All Our Steps are Tending, Death in the American Context"; Taylor, "Symbolic Death"; and P.G. Buckley, "Truly We Live in a Dying World, Mourning on Long Island." See also Douglas, "Heaven Our Home"; Farrell; and Paul Carter, "If a Man Die, Shall He Live Again?" in *Passing, The Vision of Death in America*.
17. The question of the socialization of the child vis-à-vis death will not be taken up in this essay.
18. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home"; Stannard, "Where All Our Steps are Tending"; Buckley; Taylor. See Kenneth L. Ames, "Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 14, 4 (1981), 653-54; and Barbara Rotundo, "Victorians at Home in Their Cemeteries," *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, 5, 3, (1981), 5.
19. Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," in *Death in America*, pp. 70-73, 78-80. See Barbara Rotundo, "Mount Auburn Cemetery: A Proper Bostonian Institution," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XXII, 3 (1974), 272-273.
20. French, p. 81, citation from Gov. Levi Lincoln's 1838 address on the consecration of Worcester's rural cemetery.
21. See Ames, 653-644.
22. Rotundo, "Victorians at Home in Their Cemeteries," 5.
23. Stannard, intro. to *Death in America*, p. xiii.
24. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 49-52. See Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, pp. 200-226.
25. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," *ibid*.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 68; and Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, p. 85. Writers such as Mrs. Sigourney, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Mrs. Margaret Oliver Woods Lawrence, and the Rev. Nehemiah Adams wrote paeans to dead children in works with titles like "Twas But a Babe," *Between the Gates* (1887), *Fading Flowers* (1860), and *Agnes and the Key of Her Little Coffin* (1857). Descriptions of death and mourning for children appear in baby books, ladies' magazines, religious journals, popular songs, and even guides to cemeteries. See, for example, "The Little Grave" and "Our Baby's Grave" in *Our Baby* (New York, 1872); Asa Bullard, *The Children's Album of Pictures and Stories* (Springfield and Boston, 1872); *The Friendly Crook to Guide Young Lambs* (The American Sunday-School Union, Philadelphia, 1865); "Juvenile Department," *Godey's Lady's Book*, LXVI (1864); *Happy Hours with Our Little People* (New York, 1882); "Willie is Dead," in *Chatterbox* (Boston, 1887); and "The Young Mother's Dream," *The Ladies Repository*, 14, (July 1854), pp. 302-03. See also Brower's guide to Greenwood Cemetery, a tour defined by the numerous children's graves on which Mrs. Brower makes poetic eulogies. The *raison d'être* of the book is given in the preface: "In my own life-troubles, I could sympathize with the mourning mothers of the dear ones loved and lost." (Brower, *In Memorium*, preface.)
27. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 49-54-55, 65. In this view, both home and cemetery act as sanctuaries, sites of relief from the world of business. Along the "separation of spheres" thesis, then, the cemetery takes on a female character in its identification with the functions of the home, 19th century woman's "sphere of influence." See Ryan, pp. 190-91.
28. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 54-55. In *The Feminization of American Culture*, Douglas shows how the "feminization" breaks down historically into the two groups involved in the process, ministers and women: "The ministers began the process of sentimentalization; the women, sometimes quite literally the daughters, often the admirers and disciples, of the older ministerial group, carried on and accelerated the process. In the 1820s, 1830s, and part of the 1840s, the men were in charge; in the later 1840s, 1850s, and part of the 1860s, the women increasingly dominated their shared cultural terrain. The early period saw the initial liberalization of theology and its recourse to literature; the later, the assimilation and subordination of the theology to literature."
29. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 54-56.
30. The sleep image goes back to images from the later 18th century like Charles Wilson Peale's *Rachael Weeping* (1772/1776), which depicts Peale's wife tearfully mourning over the permanently sleeping child laid out on a bed. In the 19th century, the child-sleeper takes its cues from a blend of high and low popular culture. Ultimately disseminated as mass-produced figures, the idealized sculptures of sleeping infants were, from their inception, generalized ideal representations, able to function interchangeably as dead or sleeping babies. This is clearly the case in an image entitled "Sleeping Innocence," which shows a little girl asleep on a pillow and holding a broken-stemmed rose to betoken death. (Reproduced in *The Ladies Repository*, 13, 6 (1853), 96.) Mid-19th century sculptors like Erastus Dow Palmer and Thomas Crawford established the high art paradigms for a whole funerary genre of monuments to the dead child, in figures like Crawford's 1851 "Babes in the Woods," the subject of which is taken from the folk tale popular in English and American culture in the early 19th century. In the same tradition, William Rinehart created for Baltimore's Greenmount Cemetery *Sleeping Children* (1859-60), the popularity of which fueled the sculpture's reproduction twenty times over. See Milton W. Brown, *American Art to 1900* (New York, 1977), plates 496 and 497, for reproductions.
31. Rev. Theodore Cuyler, *The Empty Crib: The Memorial of Little Georgie* (1873), cited in Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," p. 61.
32. *The Ladies Repository*, 14, 33 (1854), 528. See *A Time to Mourn*, pp. 142-143.
33. This deathbed scene forms part of a discourse on what Ariès calls the "beautiful death" of the early to mid-19th century, which involved a spiritual melodrama of emotional extremes of suffering over dying loved ones, culminating in a kind of ecstasy and peaceful release (Ariès, pp. 409-411). In Saum's analysis of pre-Civil War American attitudes toward death, the "beautiful death" is described as the "triumphant death": "Grief, fatigue, pain and spiritual awe supplied the context for ecstasy, that last emotional balm acting in double sense [sic] as transportation—the easing of the living past a profoundly unnerving moment, and the easing of the departing from time to eternity." (Saum, p. 45.)
34. The entire accompanying verse reads: "The Great Jehovah full of love/An angel bright did send/Who took my harmless dove/ To joys that never end."
35. The "empty cradle" as subject for visual representation is epitomized by the English artist W. Archer's painting of the same name, which shows a dog sitting mournfully beside a vacant cradle bedecked with broken-stemmed flowers. For reproduction, see John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London, 1971), plate 1. For other examples of the motif, see "The Empty Cradle," an engraving reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*, 19, 973, (1875), p. 677; *Cradle's Empty, Baby's Gone*, a late 19th century song, repro-



- duced in *A Time to Mourn*, p. 144; Abraham Perry Miller, "On the Death of Children," in his *Consolation and Other Poems* (New York, 1886), "In Memory of Little Albert C. Wood," obituary poem, *The Owego Gazette*, 100, 8, August 16, 1900; and the most famous work in this genre, the Rev. Theodore Cuyler's *The Empty Crib; The Memorial of Little Georgie*. The "empty cradle" should also be seen as the funeral counterpart to the many cradle songs popularized as baby's lullabies in books like *Our Baby* (see note 26, above) and *Babyland* (Boston, 1879).
36. Miller, "On the Death of Children."
  37. Anon., published in *Harper's Bazaar*, XIII, 10, March 6, 1880, 146.
  38. *Our Baby*, a collection of lullabies and baby's poems.
  39. These prosaic images signify differently from the idealized sleeping children from which tradition they derive; the sentimental investment now overlays innocence with cuteness. The attachment to cuteness celebrated in the cult of the baby was widely encouraged in relation to baby things and baby bodies. Coeval with the appearance of baby talk etched into children's tombstones (see Brower, p. 15), we find poems and vignettes with titles like "Those Little Hands," which describes a beloved child by its tiny bodily features (*The Land of Little People*, ed. Frederic E. Weatherly, London and New York, 1886); "Two Tireless Little Feet," which tracks the movement of the child through different rooms in the house and different times of the day (*Our Baby*); and "Little Feet," an homage to the "pattering of little feet" (*Sunshine for Little Children*, Philadelphia, 1880s). These paeans to the infant sounds of daily life suggest that if anything, children were to be heard as well as seen.
  40. *The Owego Gazette*, 105, 2, June 29, 1905.
  41. In "Take Me Too," published in the February 14, 1903 issue of the *American Agriculturist*, a mother misses the sound of her baby's voice whining "Take me, take me too": "Ah, those wee feet have climbed beyond the stars/ And left me here below,/ While all in vain with breaking heart I pray/ 'Oh take me, take me too.'" "In Memory of Little Albert C. Wood" also voices the concern with maternal identity; the boy whose "chair and . . . crib are so empty" waves a parting goodbye to his "loved mama." *The Owego Gazette*, 100, 8, August 16, 1900.
  42. *The Owego Gazette*, 99, 51, June 14, 1900.
  43. The scrapbook belongs to Cortland County Historical Society.
  44. Farrell, p. 147; Robert W. Habenstein and William Lamers, *The History of American Funeral Directing* (Milwaukee, 1963), pp. 393-94; Barbara Dodd Hillerman, "Chrysalis of Gloom, Nineteenth Century American Mourning Costume," in *A Time to Mourn*, pp. 101-104. The feminine connotations of lugubrious sentimentality clearly hover over descriptions of mourning etiquette in books of good manners and proper social decorum. The 1889 edition of *Good Manners*, published as part of the Metropolitan Culture Series (New York, 1889), represents the conventional view that mourning for men signified respect, while for women it meant an index of affection (p. 149). Couched in late 19th century terms signifying a retreat from the gloomy histrionics of mid-century funerals, the manual asserts the following: "The masculine interpretation of mourning attire is, perhaps, more nearly right than the meaning which is often ascribed to it by women, and to which the latter yield a sort of homage that they unconsciously allow to overrule their judgement." (149) See also *The Bazaar Book of Decorum* (New York, 1874), pp. 263-70.
  45. Habenstein and Lamers, p. 394; Hillerman, pp. 96-104.
  46. Hillerman, p. 101; *Good Manners*, pp. 149, 153, 156; Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," pp. 50-53; Habenstein and Lamers, p. 414. See also Martine's *Sensible Letter Writer* (New York, 1866), pp. 152-58, in which "Letters of Condolence and Sympathy" are overwhelmingly addressed to women (except in the case of widowers), and model letters concerning the death of a child are all addressed to mothers. Children's funerals generally were distinguished from those of adults by the use of white (for ribbons, gloves, the casket, etc.) and excessive floral decoration, a feature which increasingly appeared in adult funerals as the century drew to a close. See Habenstein and Lamers, p. 410, 418-20.
  47. Early 19th century mourning ritual reserved a place for the manufacture of home-made embroidered mourning pictures, the vogue for which extended from the late 18th century to about 1830. This genre of visual mourning figuration, not specifically associated with children, passed into another form as the engraved mourning picture popularly reproduced in women's magazines and the like. However, the private manufacture of hand-made images and objects persisted as a sentimental practice in various parts of the Northeast. See *A Time to Mourn*, pp. 67-68.
  48. The pillow belongs to the Tioga Historical Society.
  49. John H. Young, *Our Deportment or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society* (Detroit and Hamilton, Ontario, 1880), p. 295.
  50. See the "Mothers and Daughters" section of the *American Agriculturist* for the following issues: Feb. 21, 1892, Jan. 3, 1903, and Feb. 14, 1903.
  51. Douglas, "Heaven Our Home," p. 60.
  52. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 61-68.
  53. Katz and Rapone, "American Women and Domestic Culture: An Approach to Women's History," in *Women's Experience in America*, pp. 5-9. In a moral sense, the domestic position of women was seen as superior to the male-dominated world of economic power. Indeed, the colonization of death by women and ministers may be viewed as an outlet for otherwise "misdirected" energies. See Katz and Rapone, p. 7; and Ryan, p. 190.
  54. See Ariès, p. 536 ff.
  55. Louis V. Adrean, "Fine and Visual Arts," in *Made in Utica*, exhibition catalog, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute and Oneida Historical Society (Utica, NY, 1976), pp. 38-39.
  56. As J. Carson Webster notes, "When Palmer began the large figure . . . he referred to it as a figure of Grace Williams, that is, as a funerary portrait statue. By the time it was completed, he was referring to it as a 'monumental figure,' that is, a figure for a monument, and he used it, with no essential modifications of face or pose, for the statue 'Sleep.'" This figure, therefore, could, and did, function either as a portrait or as an ideal subject, such as 'Childhood Death,' or 'Sleep.'" (J. Carson Webster, "A Check List of the Works of Erastus D. Palmer," *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 2 (1967), 143. This grand tomb monument is displayed in the old European aristocratic space of memorialization, a church; the upper-class significance of the work resides both in the fact of its private commissioning and in its public display in a religious sanctuary, but not in the individuality of the likeness, its specificity as the girl Grace Williams.



57. An early example of this practice appears in a monument in Rochester's Mount Hope Cemetery. Erected in honor of Henry Lee Selden, who died in 1868 at age twenty-two, a shallow relief portrait of the youth holding a book and leaning against a vine-covered stump exhibits conventions of the portrait photograph. The accompanying epitaph reads, "He is not dead, this child of our affection,/But gone unto that school/Where he no longer needs our poor protection/And Christ himself doth rule."
58. Ann Banks, *First Person America* (New York, 1980); Tornazzi's name is fictitious.
59. Tornazzi's clients bear all the marks of small town *nouveaux riches*: the lofty yet superficial interest in quality, a profoundly pedestrian concern with cost. It seems the father tried to drive down the high price of the commission by claiming that the sculptor overlooked a button on one of the girl's shoes. To Tornazzi's relief, the precision of his realistic technique proved valuable not only in an aesthetic sense, as "A magnifying glass held over the picture showed that sure enough one button was missing on the shoe. Well, the short of it is the man stopped quibbling and paid the price I'd asked." (Cited in Banks.)
60. Here the permanent statue functions as a kind of return on the investment in the living child-commodity.
61. "Our Pets" is an inscription on a tombstone marker for three children—dead at ages 1 (1875), 3 (1883), and 1 (1885)—buried on the Frank Morgan plot in Greenwood. See Brower, p. 15, for additional references to children's graves marked as "pet."
62. The card belongs to the Cortland County Historical Society. Mourning cards such as this were fashionable in late 19th century mourning ritual. See Habenstein and Lamers, pp. 431-35.
63. In the 1883 Cortland-Homer Directory, R.B. Fletcher, "Funeral Director and Supplier, Manufacturer of Caskets and Coffins," also advertised his services for "Embalming and Laying out of the Dead." See also Farrell, pp. 151-62.
64. Habenstein and Lamers, pp. 418-21. An 1871 article on how to protect young children from the shock and horror of seeing the dead at funerals suggests covering the grave with flowers and evergreens, especially at the funerals of infants, since "it would be a kindness to the little ones, and kindness to all bereaved ones, if everything reasonable should be done to lessen the grim ghastliness of death and make it seem what it really is, only a natural change . . . from one department of our Father's universe to another." ("Very Young Children at Funerals," *The American Agriculturist*, XXIX, 11, November 1871, 425.) For an example of this kind of disguising, see Fig. 6 accompanying this essay. The use of flowers at adults' funerals in the late 19th century, coupled with the practice of laying out older adults in white burial robes, suggests a gradual infantilization of the dead adult, who was increasingly represented as asleep also. As W.A. Achenbaum has demonstrated, after 1880 attitudes toward the elderly began to shift away from veneration and praise of longevity à la "survival of the fittest" toward a pro-youth, anti-age, and anti-death position. The new concern with restoring corpses to a youthful appearance and hiding the effects of aging and decomposition coincides with the post-Civil War business practice of retiring people at age 65 and with the popularization of new medical findings on age-related diseases. In other words, as Achenbaum suggests, popular medical and business perceptions of economic health came to value youth as the key to good economic performance. (W.A. Achenbaum, "The Obsolescence of Old Age in America, 1865-1914," *Journal of Social History*, 8, Fall 1974, 48-62.
65. The standard explanation of the denial of death focuses on alienation and the absence of traditional community structures in an increasingly urban society, viewed as a destabilizing arena where traditional social networks of support and rituals for dealing with death wither and pass away. This view also emphasizes the assimilation of death by the developing medical establishment, and the resultant efforts to shield family members from the shock of death. In general, specialized institutions embodying extra-familial power—medicine, life insurance, undertaking—came to replace the voids left by the disappearance of traditions, especially in large cities. (See Ariès, pp. 559-88; and Farrell, p. 44-98). This explanation raises problems concerning the appearance of the discourse on the denial of death in small town and rural contexts, especially given the fact that the specialization of the undertaking business began in medium-size cities like Rochester, before its development in huge urban areas (Farrell, p. 150). However, since this essay does not address the differences between rural and urban mourning rituals and funereal customs, it leaves aside the question of origins and focuses on the ideological circulation of the discourse throughout the region as a whole.
66. I.V. Mapes, Esq., "An Address Delivered at the Funeral of Judge Samuel Haragar. . . ." *The Owego Gazette*, May 11, 1871. The pedigree Mapes cites to legitimize this balance of perspectives includes John Wesley, and leading contemporary liberal Protestant leaders like Henry Ward Beecher. According to James Farrell, after 1850 the critical impulse behind the "dying of death" was scientific naturalism, which affected 19th century Protestantism: "Religious liberalism combined elements of Romanticism and scientific naturalism in a cosmology which developed in America largely between 1850 and 1930. The liberal movement spanned almost all Protestant denominations, including evangelicals like Henry Ward Beecher and Episcopalians like Phillips Brooks. . . They tried to define the place of evolution in God's plan, and the place of death in evolution." (Farrell, p. 74.)
67. See Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism—Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought*, (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 4, 18-30; and Raymond Williams, "Social Darwinism," in *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, (London, 1980), pp. 86-93. Spencer's views first entered the mainstream American scientific world in the 1860s through the *New York Social Science Review*. The journal claimed as its intended audience "'publicists, legislators, editors, teachers, bankers, and merchants,'" that is, the emerging professional class (Bannister, p. 66).
68. See Bannister, pp. 16-18, 34-35, 45, 54-59; and Williams, pp. 87-96.
69. Bannister, p. 70.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 79 ff. At a dinner given for Spencer on his arrival in the U.S. in 1882, notes Bannister, "The presence of half-a-dozen clergymen—including Lyman Abbott, Henry Ward Beecher, Minot J. Savage, and R. Heber Newton—attested to Spencer's appeal in liberal theological circles" (p. 76).
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-39. Edward Bellamy, Henry George, Lester Frank Ward, and Henry Demarest Lloyd were among those late 19th-century reformers who warned of the dangers of the conservative Darwinist position as represented by people like William Graham Sumner. See Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (New York, 1960, orig. pub. 1888); and William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1952, orig. pub. 1883).
72. Bannister, pp. 80-82.



73. See note 35.
74. See Bannister, pp. 79-80.
75. Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1979), pp. 9 ff. Donzelot's term refers to the development of a system of discourses and practices that emerged in France between the 18th and 20th centuries; I borrow the term here for its methodological value, although it is not without historical relevance for the U.S. as well.
76. Donzelot, pp. 22-25, 39-47.
77. Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago and London, 1972), pp. 15-41.
78. See Bannister, p. 80; Platt, pp. 27-43.
79. Platt, p. 36, 40. "Health" is normally juxtaposed here with the "unhealth" of lower class urban squalor.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
81. Richard Rudisill, *The Mirror Image, The Influence of the Daguerrotype on American Society* (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1971), p. 220. An interesting example of this kind of representation is given by photographer Gabriel Harrison, in an article entitled "Lights and Shadows of Daguerrean Life" (*The Photographic Art-Journal*, 1, 3, March 1851, 179-81. At the desperate behest of a grief-stricken mother left with no child and no photo of her, Harrison rushed to the impoverished home of the woman and set out photographing her "marble-like girl." Harrison and the mother pulled the death couch to the window to get the best light, and arranged the girl in a sleeping position. Then they witnessed a dramatic event: "All was still, I took the cap from the camera. About two minutes had elapsed, when a bright sun ray broke through the clouds, dashed its bright beams upon the reflector, and shedding, as it were, a supernatural light. I was startled—the mother rivetted with frightful gaze, for at the same moment we beheld the muscles about the mouth of the child move, and her eyes partially open—a smile played upon her lips, a long gentle sigh heaved her bosom, and, as I replaced the cap, her head fell over to one side." The camera's miraculous power to animate the dead was in this case also paralleled by its ability to soak up life as it drained from the dying child: "The camera was doing its work as the cord that bound the gently being to earth snapped [sic] and loosened the spirit for another and better world." Harrison's passage is noteworthy for what it tells us about early attitudes toward the daguerrotype, about the Romantic death of the child, and about the circulation among the lower as well as the middle classes of the practice of photographing the dead. The practice continued well into the 20th century partly as a lower class residual practice, and partly as a European tradition carried to the U.S. by immigrants. See James Van Der Zee, Owen Dodson & Camille Billops, *The Harlem Book of the Dead* (New York, 1978).
82. Kenyon Cox and Russell Sturgis, "The Lesson of the Photograph," *Scribner's Magazine*, 23, May 1898, 637, reproduced in *Victorian Culture in America, 1865-1914*, ed. H. Wayne Morgan (Itasca, Ill., p. 32). The full citation reads: "The time in which we are living might well be known as the age of photography. It is at least possible to believe that of all the wonderful discoveries or inventions of the nineteenth century that of photography is the most important. The invention of printing was the discovery of a method for the preservation and multiplication of the record of human thought; the invention of photography was the discovery of a method for the obtaining, the preservation, and the multiplication of records of fact. . . . Within its limits it is an accurate statement of what was."
83. In her book *On Photography* (New York, 1977), Susan Sontag puts the family at the origins of popular photography: "Memorializing the achievements of individuals considered as members of families (as well as of other groups) is the earliest popular use of photography. . . . Cameras go with family life. . . . Photography becomes a rite of family life just when, in the industrializing countries of Europe and America, the very institution of the family starts undergoing radical surgery. As that claustrophobic unit, the nuclear family, was being carved out of a much larger family aggregate, photography came along to memorialize, to restate symbolically, the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life" (pp. 8-9). Without taking Sontag's generalizations about the family as givens, we can still take seriously the notion that, especially in posthumous photography, the photograph and its use as a transparency on real or imagined family life worked to preserve certain familial interconnections, thus in a sense picking up where the posthumous mourning portrait left off. See Lloyd, pp. 75, 85.



# Exhibit List

## Paintings and Prints

Mary Cassatt, 1844-1926

1. *Gardner Held by His Mother*, c.1887  
Drypoint  
8.¼" × 5.7/16"  
Only known state  
Breeskin, no. 113  
S.P. Avery Collection, New York Public Library,  
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.
2. *Baby's Back*, 1890  
Drypoint, with a few soft-ground lines  
9.3/16" × 6.7/16"  
Third State  
Breeskin, no. 128  
Departments of Prints and Photographs, Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929; 29.107.91.
3. *In The Omnibus (The Tramway)*, c.1891  
Color print, with drypoint and soft-ground  
14.5/16" × 10½"  
First State  
Breeskin, no. 145  
S.P. Avery Collection, New York Public Library,  
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.
4. *Under The Horse Chestnut Tree*, c.1895  
Color print with drypoint and aquatint  
15.1/8" × 11.5/16"  
Fourth State  
Breeskin, no. 162  
Department of Prints and Photographs, Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929; 29.107.96.
5. *By The Pond*, c.1898  
Color print with drypoint and aquatint  
12" × 16.5/10"  
Fourth State (/ = new line)  
Breeskin, no. 161  
S.P. Avery Collection, New York Public Library,  
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.
6. *The Oval Mirror*, 1901  
Oil on canvas, 32.1/8 × 25.7/8"  
Signed lower left faintly: *Mary Cassatt*  
Breeskin, no. 338  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H.O. Havemeyer  
Collection, 1929.

James Wells Chapney, 1843-1903

7. *Boon Companions*, 1879  
Oil on canvas, 17¼" × 21¼"  
Signed and dated lower right: *Champ. . . '79*  
Purchased from the artist  
Smith College Museum of Art.

## Posters

8. *Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup For Children Teething*  
25¼" × 12¾"  
Lithograph on cloth-backed paper  
Printed by J. Ottman, Mayer, Merkel and Oltman,  
Puck Building, New York.  
The Bella C. Landauer Collection,  
The New York Historical Society.
9. *Galakton. A Nourishing Food for Infants, Invalids, Nursing Mothers, and the Aged.*  
18.7/8" × 12.5/8"  
Designed by Edward Penfield  
Lithograph on paper  
The Bella C. Landauer Collection,  
The New York Historical Society.
10. *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry*  
17.7/8" × 10.3/16"  
Lithograph on cheesecloth-backed paper  
The Bella C. Landauer Collection,  
The New York Historical Society.

## Journals, Magazines, Newspapers

(\*Enlarged print from the original journal)

11. *The Boston & Waterbury Clothing Herald*, (Fall, 1882, p. 4)  
"Charley's Opinion of Baby," illustrated by Boz.  
Courtesy of the Bella C. Landauer Collection,  
The New York Historical Society.
12. *The Youth's Companion*, (LIX, 52, December 30, 1886, p. 540)  
"Pears' Soap" advertisement.  
c.1886, Courtesy of A.&F. Pears Limited and  
Cortland County Historical Society.
13. *Golden Days*, (XIII, 44, October 1, 1887, p. 701)  
Alice P. Carter, "Baby's Correspondence".  
Cortland County Historical Society.
14. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, (X, 5, April, 1893, inside front cover  
"Woodbury's Facial Soap" advertisement.  
c.1893.
15. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, (XI, 1, December, 1893, p. 2)  
\* "Fauntleroy's Welcome Into the World", illustrated by R. R.  
Birch.  
c.1893.
16. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, (XI, 6, May, 1894, inside front  
cover)  
"Cuticura" advertisement.  
c.1894.
17. *Harper's Weekly*, (XL, 2065, July 18, 1895, p. 718)  
\*\* "Anheuser-Busch's Malt Nutrine" advertisement.  
c.1895. Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association.
18. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, (XII, 8, July, 1895, inside front  
cover)  
\*\* "Ivory Soap" advertisement.  
c.1895. Courtesy of Proctor & Gamble Company.



19. *Harper's Weekly*, (XXXIX, 2029, November 11, 1895, p. 1077)  
\*“Anheuser-Busch's Malt Nutrine” advertisement.  
Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association.
20. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, (XII, 12, November, 1895, inside front cover)  
\*“Ivory Soap” advertisement.  
c.1895. Courtesy of Proctor & Gamble Company
21. *Harper's Weekly*, (XL, 2080, October 31, 1896), p. 1088)  
\*Cartoon by Wilder.  
c.1896. *Harper's Weekly*.
22. Sears, Roebuck and Co., *Consumers' Guide*, Spring, 1902, Chicago, Ill., cat. no. 111, pp. 454, 807, 1076, spring, 1903, cat. no. 112, pp. 1004, 1006, 1007 and 1014.  
c.1902, 1903. Courtesy of Sears, Roebuck and Co.
23. *American Agriculturist*, (73, 19, May 7, 1904, p. 546)  
\*George Birdseye, “He Was a Stranger”.  
c.1904. *American Agriculturist*.
24. *Harper's Weekly*, (L, 2570, March 24, 1906, p. 425)  
\*“Anheuser-Busch's Malt Nutrine” advertisement.  
c.1906. Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association.
25. *Harper's Weekly*, (L, 2592, August 25, 1906, p. 1186)  
\*Cartoon, (Untitled).  
c.1906, *Harper's Weekly*.
26. *American Agriculturist*, (77, 25, June 23, 1906, p. 757)  
\*“Ivory Soap” advertisement.  
c.1906. Courtesy of Proctor & Gamble Company.

## Books - Illustrated Infants' Books

27. *Our Baby*; New York, American Tract Society, 1872; pp. 200.  
Used by Grace C. Walrad, born 1880.  
Parents: Calvin P. and Grace Chamberlain Walrad of Cortland, New York (father a secretary of The Cortland Savings Bank; 1891 elected bank president).  
Cortland County Historical Society, 68.63.5.
28. *Babyland*; Boston, D. Lothrop & Co., (1882, Vol. VI) pp. 106.  
Used by Arla E. Eggleston Mycroft, born 1878.  
Parents: Joseph Emmett and Alta Moore Eggleston of Cortland, New York (father, a lawyer in the firm of Waters and Eggleston, 1889, elected County Judge and Surrogate of Cortland County).  
Flyleaf inscription, “A Merry Christmas From Mamma, December 25th, 1882.”  
Cortland County Historical Society.
29. *The Land of Little People*; London, Hildesheimer and Faulkner, New York, Scribner and Welford, n.d.; Poems by Frederick E. Weatherly, Pictures by Jane M. Dealy; pp. 48. Rebound.  
Used by Grace C. and Anna Samantha Walrad; Anna born 1882.  
Flyleaf inscription, “Gracie & Annie from Uncle Jared (?), 1886.”  
Cortland County Historical Society, 68.63.7.
30. *Sunshine at Home*; Battle Creek, Mich., Oakland, Ca., The Review & Herald Publishing House. Pacific Press, 1883; pp. 124.  
Associated with a Binghamton-area family.  
private collection.
31. *All Sorts of Children*, by Alice Wallington Rollins; New York, Cassell Publishing Company 1886; pp. 132.  
Associated with Henry N. Hinckley, born 1888, son of an Ithaca, New York bank official.  
The Hinckley Foundation, 70.635.
32. *Babyland*; Boston, D. Lothrop Company, 1891, vol. XV, pp. 104.  
Used by Henry N. Hinckley.  
Flyleaf inscription: “Henry Hinckley from Cousin Addie, December twenty-fifth, '91.”  
The Hinckley Foundation, 70.629.
33. *Baby's Own ABC*; New York, McLoughlin Brothers; n.d.; pp. 12; printed on linen. Used by Robert Carpenter, born 1907.  
Parents: Dr. Paul and Lena Tubbs Carpenter of Cortland, New York.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 75.77.6.

## Related Subject Books

34. *Mother, Nurse and Infant; A Manual*; by S. P. Sackett, M.D., New York.  
H. Campbell Co., 1889, preface dated, Ithaca, March 1889.  
Henry N. Hinckley's collection of Ithaca imprint books.  
The Hinckley Foundation, 76.12.
35. *Twentieth Century Etiquette*; Annie Randal White; Philadelphia, Elliott Publishing Co.  
Associated with Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Hinckley, Ithaca, New York.  
The Hinckley Foundation, 81.126.

## Photographs

(Dimensions are mount size, \*prints from original photographs)

36. *Cabinet Photograph*. Henry Noble Hinckley, born December 1888.  
Parents: Henry L. and Helen Mary Noble Hinckley of Ithaca, New York (father, a cashier of Tompkins County National Bank, elected 1st vice-president, 1907).  
Photographer: Howes Portrait Gallery, Ithaca, New York.  
6½" × 4¼"  
The Hinckley Foundation.
37. *Cabinet Photograph*. Henry N. Hinckley, born December 1888.  
Photographer: Robinson, Trumansburg, New York.  
6½" × 4.1/8" (trimmed edge)  
The Hinckley Foundation.
38. *Cabinet Photograph*. \*Helen Etheridge Jewett, born June 1891.  
Parents: Alden and Clara Jewett of Cortland, New York (father owned a jewelry store on Main Street, Cortland, New York).  
Photographer: M. De Ver Westcott, Cortland, New York.  
6½" × 4¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society, 81.130.5.



39. *Cabinet Photograph*. \* Clara Van Gordon and son, born, c.1905.  
Father, Gershom B. Van Gordon, a mason, of Cortland, New York.  
Photographer: Maxwell & Mason, Cortland, New York.  
6½" x 4¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society, 80.180.2.
40. *Cabinet Photograph*. \* Ralph A. Ladd, born August 1896.  
Parents: Ralph William Earl and Martha Ladd of Virgil, New York, tenant farmers.  
Photographer: Butler, Cortland, New York.  
6½" x 4¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society, 79.113.7.
41. *Amateur Photograph*. \* Ruel Mornay Parsons, born May 1897.  
Parents: Lorenzo and Etta Parsons of McGrawville, New York (father, a farmer and an undertaker).  
Inscription on reverse: "Ruel Mornay Parsons, Born May 20, 1897. Weight 8 lbs. 2 weeks old."  
Mounted: 5" x 5"  
Cortland County Historical Society.
42. *Cabinet Photograph*. \* Ruel M. Parsons, born May 1897.  
Photographer: Hyatt & Tooke, Cortland, New York.  
5¼" x 7¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society.
43. *Cabinet Photograph*. \* Kyle Parsons, younger brother of Ruel, born after c.1900.  
Photographer: Butler, Cortland, New York.  
9" x 5¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society.
44. *Amateur Photograph*. Frances Lighton, born August 7, 1905.  
Parents: Charles Francis and Catherine Helena Fitzgerald Lighton of Syracuse, New York (father, lawyer in the firm Hier and Lighton, Syracuse, New York).  
Photograph taken on the veranda of the Hon. J. Lawrence Fitzgerald's house, Tompkins Street, Cortland, New York.  
5" x 5"  
Cortland County Historical Society, A66.3481.
45. *Amateur Photograph*. Beatta Janette Kingsley, born September, 1898.  
Parents: Charles and Hattie Kingsley of Cortland, New York (father: a machine shop foreman).  
5" x 5"  
Cortland County Historical Society.
46. *Cabinet Photograph*. Clara Cheney and daughter Cora, born 1900.  
Father: Francis John Cheney of Cortland, New York, the principal of Cortland, New York State Normal and Training School.  
Photographer: Hyatt Studio, Cortland, New York.  
4.7/8" x 3½"  
Cortland County Historical Society.
47. *Professional Photograph*. Floyd Graves, born 1906.  
Parents: William and Jennie Graves of Groton, New York (father, a tenant dairy farmer of Groton).  
Photographer (and neighbor): Verne Morton, Groton, New York.  
Print from the original glass plate negative.  
DeWitt Historical Society, Ithaca, New York N.1637.
48. *Professional Photograph*. Floyd Graves, born 1906.  
Photographer: Verne Morton, Groton, New York.  
Print from the original glass plate negative.  
DeWitt Historical Society, Ithaca, New York, N.1642.
49. *Postcard*: Mothers and Babies; probably participants in a county fair baby contest (location unknown); "Plenty of Fresh Air (Heirs)".  
5.3/8" x 3.7/16"  
J. R. Burdick Collection, Department of Prints and Photographs, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
50. *Cabinet Photograph*. Charles Wickwire, Jr., born 1910.  
Parents: Charles Chester and Mabel Fitzgerald Wickwire of Cortland, New York (father, vice president of Wickwire Brothers, Cortland).  
6¼" x 4¼"  
Photographer: Harris, Cortland, New York.  
Cortland County Historical Society.
51. *Cabinet Photograph*. Curtis Kinney Thomas, born c.1905.  
Parents: Mr. and Mrs. Fred M. Thomas of Cortland, New York (father, a partner in a boot and shoe store, J. Wm. Angell and Fred M. Thomas, Cortland).  
Photographer: E. M. Hyatt, Cortland, New York.  
8½" x 4¼"  
Cortland County Historical Society.

## Christening Robe and Long Dresses

52. *Long Dress*: Probable attribution: worn by Alice Van Kirk, born 1875. Parents: Oliver and Harriet Van Kirk of Enfield, New York (father owned a farm of 32 acres, Enfield).  
Probably a professionally made dress.  
The DeWitt Historical Society, X76.53.848.
53. *Long Dress*: Worn by Grace C. Walrad, born 1880, Cortland, New York.  
Dress made at home from store-bought materials; pencilled on lace hem, "lace at 27¢ a yd. 2¼ yd."  
Cortland County Historical Society, 68.64.19K.
54. *Christening Robe and Slip*: worn by Edward C. Boynton, born 1882.  
Parents: Fitz and Anna Copeland Boynton of Cortland, New York (father the president of Second National Bank, Cortland).  
Professionally made dress.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 69.62.
55. *Long Dress*: Probable attribution: worn by Ignatus Dillon, born 1882.  
Parents: Michael and Mary Fitzgerald Dillon of Cortland, New York (father owned a grocery and notions store in Cortland).  
Dress probably made by Mrs. Dillon.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 76.30.1.
56. *Long Dress*: Worn by Dorothy Lovell Miller, born 1899.  
Parents: Harry T. and Nora Mae Hatfield Lovell (father a drug clerk, Cortland).  
D. L. Miller believes dress made by her mother.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 76.157.



57. *Long Dress*: Worn by Helen Ardell Wickwire, born 1906. Parents: Charles Chester and Mabel Fitzgerald Wickwire of Cortland, New York (father a vice-president of company of same name). Professionally made dress. Cortland County Historical Society, 68.72.45.

## Baby Carriage

58. Baby Carriage, late 19th century. Wicker, metal, velvet and wood, with detachable lace-covered parasol. Used by the Wicker family of Johnstown, New York. 38.½" x 56" The Albany Institute of History and Art, 1979.33.53.

## Annotated List of Exhibits

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59. "Future Shoe Worker," *E-J Medical Service*  
Lent by SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.  
This page of a 1928 E-J publication explaining the offerings of the company medical service focuses on the maternity clinic. It is a strange hybrid of homey family nursery and baby factory. Featured on the page is the "product" of the clinic—"a future shoe worker," a newborn snuggled in its crib.
60. *The Endicott-Johnson Family*  
Courtesy of Syracuse University, Arendt Library.  
The entire publication promotes the image of a company family. Here the image of worker and child is associated.
61. *Gifts to Child, E-J Medical Service*  
Lent by SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.  
Each of the gifts bestowed by the Johnsons is photographically reproduced in this company pamphlet laid out in the format of a family photo album.
62. George F. Johnson with E-J Babies, *Our Motto*  
Lent by George F. Johnson Memorial Library, Endicott, NY.  
In this two-page paste-up composite, Mr. Johnson holds one child and is surrounded by dozens of other infants. The caption reads "Mr. George F. Johnson with sons and daughters of E-J workers born in E-J Hospitals."
63. "The Snowball of the Season." *Harper's Weekly*, January 28, 1871  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.
64. "A Summer Night on the Asphalt." *Harper's Weekly*, July 6, 1895.  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.  
While crowded, these streets on the East Side of New York invite the viewer to join the gaiety of dance and festivity.
65. "Spoiling the Slide." *Harper's Weekly*, February 28, 1874.  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.

66. "Let Loose from School—A Sketch from Real Life." *Harper's Weekly*, July 4, 1874.  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.

67. "Factories and Playgrounds." Plate reproduced from William Inglis' *George F. Johnson and his Industrial Democracy* (New York, 1935).  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.  
Both factories and playgrounds are bordered by fields and meadows in this photograph.

68. *Ideal Park*  
Lent by George F. Johnson Memorial Library, Endicott, NY.

69. *Folk Dancing Behind the Ideal Library*  
Lent by George F. Johnson Memorial Library, Endicott, NY.

70. *A Holiday Reception Among the Juveniles. Harper's Weekly*, December 28, 1872.  
Courtesy of SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.

71. *A Family Affair: Celebration of the Eight-Hour Work Day*  
Lent by SUNY-Binghamton, Glenn G. Bartle Library, Special Collections.

## Funeral Pieces and Accessories

72. *Funeral Piece*  
White satin pillow, edged with lace, bows at four corners.  
"Miles Brink Born Sept. 8, '93, Died Mar. 11, '94, Age 6 mos. 3 days"  
Dimensions: 11½" x 13½" x 2"  
Tioga County Historical Society.
73. *Funeral Piece, 1887*  
Memorial wreath for Charles Tucker, age 4½  
Paper flowers in mahogany frame, silver plate in center  
Made by Mrs. Orin Tucker of Owego  
Dimensions: 14" x 16½" x 3½"  
Tioga County Historical Society.
74. *Hair wreath. 1876.*  
Tioga County Historical Society.
75. *Memorial card for Ivan Wright, Died Aug. 26, 1890, Age 3*  
Black with gold lettering and trim.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 80.180.2-22.
76. *Scrapbook of Mrs. Lelia Warren Angell, late 19th-early 20th century*  
Obituaries and mourning pieces.  
Cortland County Historical Society, 77.92.28.
77. *Child's casket. Late 19th century*  
"Our Darling" embossed on handles  
Dimensions: 42½" x 14" x 10"  
Cortland County Historical Society.



## Posthumous Photographs

- 78. *Horn child in casket*. 1908.  
Morton Collection of Photographs, DeWitt Historical Society,  
N1.1995.
- 79. *Hawley child in casket*. 1908  
Morton Collection of Photographs, DeWitt Historical Society,  
N1.1996.
- 80. *Unidentified postmortem photo*. Late 19th/early 20th century.  
Child in carriage.  
DeWitt Historical Society.

## Tomb Sculpture Photographs

- 81. *The Little Margaret*. c.1900  
Green Mount Cemetery, Montpelier, Vermont.
- 82. *Empty cradle*. c.1884  
Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass.
- 83. *Frankie*. c.1881  
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY
- 84. *Monument to Friederike Rollwagen*. c.1876.  
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY.
- 85. *Sleeping children*. n.d.  
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY.
- 86. *Angel group*. mid-19th century  
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY.
- 87. *Deathbed with relief of child ascending to heaven*. c.1834  
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY.
- 88. *Sleeping children*. 1860s  
Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass.



COVER ILLUSTRATIONS, left to right.

Cabinet photograph of Kyle Parsons, born after c.1900, taken in Cortland, New York.

*Float of the Nations*, 1920.

*Tomb Sculpture*, c.1881, Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.