

facilities, and instead launch a frontal assault against segregation. He also continued to work on his history of Lincoln University, which he had actually started around 1945. He would spend his last years enjoying his grandchildren (perhaps in an attempt to make up for the time that he did not spend with his children), following the career of his son Julian (who was by now a well-known civil rights activist and politician), and planning to write a history of the Bond family, a project that never materialized. Bond died in 1972, at the age of sixty-eight.

While Bond had a record of mixed success as a scholar, Urban implies (and I think correctly) that Bond's career would have been more productive had he not been shackled by racism. And though the reader gets the impression that Bond often placed his work above his family—as he is portrayed as something less than a family man—it is clear that at least some of Bond's career decisions were made with his family in mind, such as his decision to leave Georgia in 1945. While far from flattering, Wayne Urban's portrait of Horace Mann Bond is provocative and highly readable, and helps to illuminate the plight of black academics for most of the twentieth century. The book's greatest strength, though, is that it delivers yet another black pioneer from obscurity, and in this case helps to remove the father from under the shadow cast for so long by the son.

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**Hugh Cunningham.** *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992. Pp. 283. \$48.95 U.S., cloth.

*The Children of the Poor* is an account of the changes that have occurred in social attitudes towards childhood in Western industrialized society. The author defines intellectual attitudes towards children in the period 1680-1810 and then describes the social solutions that were prescribed to obviate what came to be perceived as a threat. In doing so he dwells on the general perception of the idleness of the poor which made them dissatisfied. This, together with their increased numbers, made them a threat to society, particularly in the late eighteenth century, when political events at home and abroad rendered notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity (particularly as they might be applied to children) highly suspicious. School provided "discipline," training, and highly observable "order," and was a popular solution to this danger. Cunningham also discusses the responses to child labour in the period 1780-1850 in those fields in which children were principally employed, the perception of them as savages—noble and otherwise, the variety of the attempts to rescue these waifs and strays, and the equally unsuccessful attempts to put such children on pedestals where they could be worshipped by a romantic (but unrealistic) adult world. In the final section of the book, which takes us from the late

nineteenth century to the present, Cunningham deals with child labour under capitalism and the gradual assumption by the state of responsibility for the well-being of children. This process is illustrated by carefully chosen plates and copious notes. The latter are, thank heavens, collected at the end of the book and amount to a substantial part of it (43 pages out of a total of 225). Had they appeared at the foot of the appropriate page, little space would have been left for text in some cases.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries children expected, and were expected, to work from an early age. Later, when the cruelties and exploitation that were heaped on working children were exposed to the susceptibilities of a more sensitive public, the notion arose that children and nation, alike, had been saved by the philanthropy of Lord Shaftesbury and his like. Cunningham refers to this as "the story," that is, the generally accepted explanation, which he rejects. This raises the question of the audience at which the book is aimed. The professional historian has rejected the notion of the "story," but will the general reader be motivated enough to buy this book? I don't know, but I am impressed by the way in which Cunningham has gone about his task and his collection of sources is impressive if not exhaustive. Of particular interest and value is the use he has made of the poetry and fictional literature of the period he is describing. This is done particularly well in his chapter on waifs and strays, in which good use is made of Dickens, of course, but also Hesbe Stratton, Mrs.

Marker, and even (readers of *Private Eye* will note with glee), Brenda! It is also evident in the chapter on Order where he rightly points out that amidst the welter of self-congratulation that society indulged in when it contemplated the demonstration of order which masked the "poverty, misery and lack of sunshine in their lives," it was Blake, alone, who perceived the reality of the situation.

In drawing together the dispersed literature which deals with the condition of children in society, Cunningham performs a number of services. Not the least of them is that of determining just when it was that "new" attitudes towards child labour began to emerge. Quite rightly he distinguishes between a questioning of the need for such labour at all as being contrary to the very nature of childhood, and those who merely considered the conditions under which it should take place. Clearly for the English reader (and the book is exclusively English in its orientation) the climbing boys and the factory children are the most visible examples of child exploitation and Cunningham deals extensively with them. In doing so he draws an extended parallel between their treatment and that of "official" slaves and the fact that whilst slavery was undeniably wrong, the conditions under which slaves functioned was in no way worse than that of poor children in the factories and mines. It was this realization that led to them being attacked jointly as different aspects of a single problem in the years after 1780. Of particular interest is the author's claim, and I am sure he is right, that there was more demand for child labour than is gener-

ally appreciated and that parents connived at its being supplied. Once again, Cunningham relies to a large extent on literature (particularly, of course, the Romantics) to supply the evidence, though his claim that their influence was limited should be treated with caution. Apportioning degrees of "influence" is a notoriously difficult task for the historian.

As interesting, well-balanced, and informed as his chapters on Order, Savages, and Waifs and Strays are, I believe the strength of Cunningham's book is his treatment of the later stages of this evolutionary process—when he writes of child labour and capitalism and, more authoritatively still, of the child and the state. After all, this is the area in which the historical connections with "the story" are at their most tenuous.

The nub of the problem when the state entered the fray was that despite the mass agitation against child labour earlier in the nineteenth century, it continued because capitalist society required people who would work for very little. All that the campaign to end it had really achieved was to set minimum age limits for certain trades, and minimum hours of work. Henceforth the campaign against child labour would have to take a different tack: it did, but then, it had a new and powerful ally and was increasingly buttressed by influential friends in Parliament who were willing to use that power to effect changes. One of the problems, though, was that child labour was not, any longer, the emotive issue that it once had been, and so it became more difficult to end it. After all, the author explains, the worst abuses had ended

and the "half-time" solution to the problem of continuing the supply of suitable labour was seen as an acceptable one. This leads us to another sub-problem that emerged in the early years of the present century: the work children did whilst they continued to attend school. This became an issue because the school-leaving age was progressively raised, while there was no decrease in the demand for child labour. In addressing this problem the attitude of the Home Office—that government ministry principally responsible—was distinctly unhelpful but that of the Department of Education was supportive. Given the lack of uniform backing, it is hardly surprising that not a great deal was achieved quickly. One of the more ironic aspects of the problem to which Cunningham draws our attention is the different treatment accorded to boys and girls. The same arguments that were employed against the employment of boys, viz. that they should not grow up too quickly, that it was bad for their physique, and that it was monotonous and therefore bad for the mind, were precisely those arguments that were advanced in favour of girls working! After all, it was already bad for boys to work and yet the jobs had to be done, so what alternative was there?

One major service that Cunningham does his readers in the context of the state and its gradually increasing assumption of responsibility for the welfare of poor children (though he nowhere distinguishes between "poor" and "pauper") is to remind us that in the late nineteenth century, for the first time, scientific methods were

successfully applied to studying the condition of the poor, with two major results. The first was a realization that children (their number in a family and the work they did) were a significant factor in determining the family's lifestyle. The second was that the poor were no longer thought of "in a loomp." Both were, in part, responsible for taking the schools beyond their traditional role into that of providing custodial care.

The main fault with this book is really what is not there, and should be, even though its author has done a creditable job of drawing attention to such unsung heroes as Saddler, Alsop, and Gorst. There is no mention of the work of the Edgeworths, father and daughter. Above all, apart from one scant reference to "Benthamites," there is no mention of Jeremy Bentham despite the outstanding work that he did in this and related fields. It was Bentham, for example, who in the 1790s had first attempted to apply scientific methods to the study of the poor. He failed, but that was hardly his fault. It was Bentham who first proposed the establishment of a government ministry—not department—for education. It was Bentham who had campaigned so vigorously, and ultimately successfully, against "out relief." Not even when writing of the many schemes to promote work as an antidote to idleness in Houses of Industry—Bentham's term if ever there was one—is there so much as a nod in Jeremy's direction. Very curious.

In *The Children of the Poor* Hugh Cunningham has done historians of education a favour by drawing together, from diverse and fre-

quently under-utilized sources, the strands by which childhood as a universal stage of human development has come into being. He has done so in a way that is authoritative but not pontifical and in prose that is elegant and clear. One of his objectives was to tell the history of a story and he has certainly done that. We do not know what the waifs and strays and the street arabs thought about themselves and it is unlikely that we ever will, but we are certainly a great deal closer to understanding what perhaps they did think and what their contemporaries thought about them, and that is quite an achievement.

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**Roger Cooter, ed. *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare 1880-1940*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. Pp. 292. \$87.50 Cdn., cloth.**

Edited by Roger Cooter, this informative and well-integrated volume takes advantage of recently expanded historical scholarship which explores the history of childhood and the social history of medicine in the twentieth century. These two fields of study have become of increasing interest over the past few decades. The combination of the topic of health in relationship to the transformation of childhood is especially fruitful in that the combined subjects beg questions