

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.

Brian W. Taylor  
University of New Brunswick

**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

which explore: 1) the subtleties of class and minority relations; 2) family studies and the lives of women as well as children; 3) welfare policies and practices; 4) the character of schooling and educational policy; and finally, 5) the dynamics of the workplace and its regulation. This collection is especially useful in that it furthers the history of children of school age in relation to health policy rather than the more common examination of social medicine and the reduction of infant mortality in this period.

One inspiration for this volume is sociologist Viviana Zelizer's *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (1985). Zelizer analyzes the transformation of the "useful" labouring nineteenth-century child into the economically "useless," emotionally "priceless" and idealized child-scholar of the twentieth century. Zelizer refers to the passage of legislation restricting child labour and requiring compulsory education which occurred throughout the highly industrialized western urban world between 1870 and 1930. This same time period witnessed the professionalization of modern medicine as rooted in advanced training in the biological sciences and the attendant application of the medical sciences to public health problems. The ten studies presented in this collection are well integrated in their approach to the ideological transformations which occurred in response to these events. They all address related themes in: 1) the historical construction of childhood; 2) the importance of the role of the medical model in this construction; and 3) the

relationship between the ideology of childhood and social policy.

Carolyn Steedman begins the collection with a description of British welfare reformer Margaret McMillan's campaign for the improvement of the conditions and lives of working-class children. Steedman argues that McMillan helped foster the "sacralization" (Zelizer's term) of childhood in the twentieth century. McMillan's writings and orations, which were directed towards building public support for welfare reform, consistently conflated physical disease with the social blights of poverty, poor housing, and unsanitary conditions. Steedman notes that social reform directed towards alleviating the health problems of the children of the poorer classes also fostered policies directed towards the social control of these same populations. The campaign for basic education, the provision of health care, and the improvement of sanitary conditions initiated policies which stressed the inspection and regulation of schools and clinics as well as surveillance over community and family practices.

Cathy Unwin and Elaine Sharland expand upon the aspect of progressive reform in Britain which stressed self-regulation through the education of mothers which included "intervention into the lifestyles of the so-called poorer classes" (p. 178). The child-rearing practices which were considered ideal were justified as scientifically validated by evidence derived from research into child physiology and psychology. Parent-education and the distribution of popular parent-education literature elevated

the opinions of social workers, psychologists, medical personnel, and teachers over the common-place knowledge and the traditional child-care patterns dictated by cultural preferences. The new child care was heavily influenced by psychiatry and psychodynamic theory as a vital aspect of the medical model which sought to shape both the body and the mind. The rise of professionals in research and clinical practices as fostered by the child guidance and the mental hygiene movement is also described by Deborah Thom in a later chapter.

Reforms advocated by mental hygienists and directed toward the provision of public services were inspired by the turn-of-the-century "quest for national efficiency," which was in turn shaped by fears of the mental and physical deterioration of the general population. Children became a focus for policies based on prevention. In the view of reformers, solutions to larger social problems associated with health, poverty, and labour supply presupposed that school-age children be limited in their role as labourers and that the role of education be expanded. Harry Hendrich examines the ensuing politics of the debate in England over full and part-time child labour in relationship to school medical services. Schools became vital links in the provision for and regulation of the health of the working classes. Part of the original argument for compulsory schooling was that children were physically and mentally debilitated by the demands of work as well as in need of basic learning.

Linda Bryder elaborates on the similar theme of the school in relation-

ship to medical services in her study of the open-air school movement in Britain. In the case of the open-air school, advocates sought medical interventions in order to cure children with diseases such as tuberculosis, or other health problems such as malnutrition, which stemmed from poverty and poor living conditions. The open-air classroom solution to the problem of malnutrition reached an absurd level as reformers debated the relative effects of fresh air versus nutrition. Of course, the fact that the provision of fresh air is considerably less costly than the provision of healthy meals played a part in the policies. The argument also reflected the contemporary debate in resisting the intrusion of public services into an arena traditionally reserved for parental responsibility and choice.

Part of the construction of the idea of childhood as both precious and vulnerable was the construction of the concept of child protection, which necessitated a corresponding concept of child abuse. Harry Ferguson traces the history of this idea as it evolved in Cleveland county in the north-east of England between 1880 and 1914. On the flip side of this coin, in the perpetration of a kind of official abuse, was the relatively common use of orphaned children in medical experiments to test therapeutic interventions. Susan E. Lederer examines the use for these purposes of children in the United States between 1890 and 1930. Avoiding a presentist critique, she notes the contradictions in the fabric of the reconstruction of childhood which hierarchialized the worth of children by the institutions to which they became attached. Again, class and poverty ex-

posed working-class and poor children to exploitation for the benefit of professionals in the advancement of their knowledge.

The idea of the child as vulnerable was cousin to the idea of the child as delinquent and unruly. Deborah Thom completes the picture of the medicalization of childhood with her study on the child-guidance movement in England in the inter-war period. The effort to save the physical child was well integrated on an international scale with the notion of shaping the mental and emotional side of childhood as well. It is noteworthy that the mental-hygiene and child-guidance movement originated in the United States and that these movements were active in Canada from an early date.

While six of the ten studies in this collection focus on policies and practices in Britain, all are relevant to the broader issues implied in the topics. Three chapters specifically examine the international character of the transformation of childhood. Paul Weindling, for example, examines children's hospitals and diphtheria in Paris, London, and Berlin. John Macnicol does a masterful job in his study of the comparative history of family endowment policy. He integrates sources from a broad cross-national perspective.

Jennifer Beinart's study of colonial attitudes toward African children uses innovative and creative visual sources in photographs. Similar to Margaret McMillan's confusion between disease and the effects of poverty, colonists tended to attribute emaciation caused by exogenous malnutrition to the symptoms of disease.

Others saw the naked children as healthy nymphs of nature. Like the children in the American experiments, the African child as viewed in the early photographs was generally considered to be a largely expendable commodity. African children of the inter-war period fared better than their predecessors as they were increasingly identified as latent sources of adult labour and as potential consumers. Children between seven and fourteen were subsequently viewed as requiring formal education. Similar to the transformation of the idea of childhood in Europe and Britain, children reinterpreted as students became eligible for (European-style) medical treatment. Between 1920 and 1945, missionaries also pursued maternal and infant policies which followed Western models. Beinart argues that the children of Africa became a cultural go-between in the growing twentieth-century movement for the self-determination of the people of Africa.

The studies presented in this volume, along with Roger Cooter's informative introduction, make a very positive contribution to both the history of children in the origin of the modern concept of the child, as well as the social history of medical practices which were directed toward children. Both of these themes dovetail into the shadowy area of the changing political, social, and economic character of children's institutions and the importance of biological models in the reconceptualization of social policy directed toward children at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. This collection is highly recommended for social historians interested

in education, childhood, family studies, women's issues, and the influence of medical models in related social policies.

Theresa Richardson  
University of Victoria

**Richard Freeland.** *Academia's Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945-1970.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Pp. 532. \$69.95 Cdn., cloth.

New books on higher education with terms like "golden age" in their title generally give me a headache. Will I encounter yet another nostalgic lament to those bygone days, usually before the 1960s, when students supposedly were uniformly outstanding, and universities were untouched by the forces of politics and social change? No serious historian I know has actually managed to locate such an era; nevertheless, over the last decade, academic polemicists, unhappy with the current state of higher education, have propagated numerous myths about the purity of the university's past.

Thankfully, Richard Freeland's ambitious and intelligent volume is not part of this litany. It is, instead, an important scholarly study of higher education in Massachusetts during a period of prosperity and expansion. Some fifteen years in the making, the book draws from a massive base of research and explores the development of Massachusetts' eight universities:

Harvard, MIT, Boston College, Boston University, Northeastern, Tufts, Brandeis, and the University of Massachusetts. As well as recounting the major events in the history of these institutions from 1945 to 1970, Freeland provides three other valuable components: a history of higher education in Massachusetts before World War II; an overview of the growth of higher education in the U.S. during the post-war period; and an extensive epilogue covering post-secondary educational trends in Massachusetts and the nation during the 1970s and '80s. In form and substance, this book does not lack context.

Its thesis is both complex and provocative: that whatever their origins, universities in Massachusetts (and by implication everywhere else) were driven towards a culture of homogeneity by their relentless pursuit of "higher status" (p. 355). In the expansion period they competed in the academic and economic marketplace for resources that they believed would enhance their reputations. The most successful would be rewarded even more bountifully from both the public and private sectors. Touched by the democratic impulse and the myth of social mobility, all American universities in the post-war period promised to improve undergraduate education, serve their communities, and attract the poor. The reality was that universities, like Harvard and MIT, which privileged graduate training, contract research, and the children of the affluent prospered. Those, like Northeastern and the state University of Massachusetts, whose constituents were primarily undergraduates from