SECTION 1
CULTURE AND SOCIETY

READING BABY BOOKS: MEDICINE, MARKETING, MONEY AND THE LIVES OF AMERICAN INFANTS

By Janet Golden — Rutgers University - Camden
Lynn Weiner — Roosevelt University

Poor Charlie Flood! In 1914 at the age of four months he burned his face with quicklime and three months later caught a buttonhook on his tongue. As a toddler there were more accidents – a nail in his foot, and then a fall while holding a bottle that left glass in his hand. We learn of these calamities not from court records reporting neglect or from hospital files but from his mother, who carefully recorded each event in his baby book.[1] Like Charlie many babies had accidents and hurt themselves – falling down stairs, off porches, and out of high chairs and cribs. In the first half of the twentieth century mothers lovingly recorded these misadventures, and one baby book—defined simply as item with one or more printed pages for recording information about newborns—even included an entry page for "first tumble."[2] By the post World War II era, accounts of accidents largely vanished. Was it better baby-proofing? More vigilant parenting? Had infants become less curious and accident-prone? Or, in the context of new accident prevention and home safety programs, had what had once seemed commonplace or amusing become evidence of neglect, abuse, or bad parenting, leading mothers to stop recording such events?[3]

As the case of the vanishing accident reveals, baby books are a rich historical source, detailing the lives of babies and the changing expectations and practices of parents. These ephemeral publications—formatted with one or more printed pages for recording information about infants—were sold or distributed as keepsakes and were commonplace in the United States throughout the twentieth century and remain in use today. Not all baby books were, in fact, books. They ranged from expensive, large, hardbound volumes to cheaply printed pamphlets designed largely as advertising or as health department advice manuals.[4]

Situated between biographies—with their accounts of lives lived within particular historical contexts—and scrapbooks—with their displays of accumulated materials deliberately arrayed for presentation—baby books can be said to be like birder's notebooks.[5] They record information, but also include personal observations. For historians they serve as records of individual experiences seen at close range and as field guides to nursery experiences as the entry pages change. Mothers (the writers of all the baby books we viewed) were clearly conscious of writing for themselves and for the children who would inherit the books. In addition, baby books present useful accounts of daily nursery life and serve as a counterweight to information found in prescriptive literature—a source that has dominated historical analysis.[6] In some cases, mothers wrote about their attempts

to follow prescribed or culturally-sanctioned childrearing practices; in other instances they clearly and consciously eschewed the advice of experts.

This article examines American baby books from the late nineteenth through the late twentieth century. We argue that these overlooked volumes are a significant historical source that both challenges and supports the current historiography. Although babies appear and are discussed extensively in the writings of reformers and physicians as well as in family papers, and while they have been studied collectively by demographers and historians examining families, motherhood, medicine and social welfare, the existing literature reveals little about the diverse and changing daily lives of infants—which we are defining as those up to one year of age. Even in the emerging field of the history of childhood, infants receive little attention, because of the emphasis on children's agency and on the larger social, political, and economic forces shaping young lives.[7] Using baby books we can place infants at the center of historical accounts, allowing us to see how medical, market and cultural forces shaped the ways they were cared for and in turn how their own behavior shaped family lives.

We begin with a typography of baby books, charting their shift from items purchased by well-to-do families to their widespread availability as an advertising medium and as a means of promoting scientific motherhood. We then turn to their contents and examine accounts of domestic health regimens, religious practice, and the role of money. The baby books we examined are preserved in a number of libraries and archives, most importantly, in the collection of the UCLA Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, which holds about 1200 volumes. Unlike baby books located in family papers that highlight the lives of infants from wealthy families or baby books belonging to individuals who became famous adults, many in the UCLA collection came from middle and working class families.[8]

These baby books are not a representative sample; Euro-American infants are vastly overrepresented, the majority are dated before 1970, and almost all of them come from first-born children and singletons. In some cases, children shared baby books; for example, Millie (best known now as Amelia) born in 1897, and Grace Earhart born in 1899 shared a baby book, which allowed their mother to note the contrast between the two girls.[9] Perhaps mothers caring for several children or twins were too busy or too tired to make entries in baby books. Even a single baby could be taxing and thus many of the baby books have only minimal entries—commonly the date of birth, height and weight, names of parents and doctor, and the date of christening. Others are even more spotty. One mother, living in the oil fields of Texas in the early 1920s and using a baby book given away by the Borden Company, wrote an extensive account of her baby after neglecting his earliest months. As she noted, "No cards were sent as Baby came sooner than expected and no one thought he would live."[10] By contrast, some baby books are filled with decades of entries and function as life books. Daniel Roebuck's baby book begins with his birth in 1904 in Vermont, details his childhood battles with "summer complaint," mumps, chicken pox and whooping cough, and follows him through college, marriage, and the beginning of a career as a civil engineer in 1927.[11] The family of Jane Smith, an African American woman born in southern California in 1945, kept a memory book that documented decades of her life, from the champagne brunch that followed her christening to her return to col-

lege at UCLA after a summer spent in Mexico in 1963.[12] Despite the variations among them, baby books collectively offer insights into how social class, family customs, and maternal practices shaped the lives of babies.

Baby Books: A Typology

Fancy Baby Books

Baby books served four main purposes—the recording of gifts, the charting of physical and developmental milestones, the documenting of religious ceremonies and holiday traditions and the preservation of photographs and other items such as locks of hair, palm and footprint tracings, quarantine cards, birth announcements and certificates from doctors, schools and houses of worship. The most elaborate ones featured lavish illustrations from popular (mostly female) illustrators. The 1898 *Baby's Record*, for example, contained twelve color and thirty black-and-white illustrations by Maud Humphrey (now best known as the mother of actor Humphrey Bogart, who reputedly was dressed in both boy's and girl's clothes as a model for the illustrations). It included 36 pages of entries for such events as first outing, first short clothes, and first appearance at table, as well as medical and developmental milestones, including weight, first tooth, first laugh, and first step.[13] The whimsical pastel illustrations in ornate baby books typically displayed plump, often blond, babies as well as cherubs, angels, flowers, storks, puppies and kittens, white-capped nursemaids, solicitous older siblings, and loving, serene mothers. Saccharine poetry and prayers often accompanied the illustrations; for example, *Our Baby* (1909) by Frances Brundage and May Sandheim included a picture of four babies with a poem:

> Head of flaxen ringlets;
> Eyes of Heaven's blue;
> Parted mouth – a rosebud-
> Pearls just peeping through.[14]

At least one mother was inspired to write all her entries in rhymes in 1906 in her daughter's copy of Alice Bray's poetry-filled baby book, *The Baby's Journal* (1885):

> Five weeks have passed since I was born
> Quite uneventful thus far each morn
> But today I go to Auntie I's
> A trip quite long for a girl my size[15]

Other mothers as well made entries in the first person echoing its use in the text. Illustrator Josephine Wheeler Weage's 1918 *All About Me: Baby's Record* with pages such as "My Daily Nap," prompted the mother of a boy born in 1925 to make her entries in the first person: "Many of the ladies at church said I was so cute and pretty and I had been such a good boy. Everybody that sees me says, oh what pretty big eyes."[16]

Early fancy baby books were keepsakes and often given as gifts in well-off circles. Books such as *My Baby's Book* published in 1915, bound in pink or blue moiré silk, cost $1.50 – the equivalent of about $32.00 today.[17] Their growing popularity and use among middle- and working-class families over the twentieth

century certainly reflected the perception that babies were increasingly likely to survive. Infant mortality declined during this period, although it remained highest among the poorest families.[18] A material reflection of this transition occurred as families replaced infant postmortem photographs with snapshots of living babies taken with new, affordable Brownie cameras.[19] In some instances baby books overflowed with photographs; many families pasted in at least two or three. For upper class infants the photographs could include images of nurses, pets, and houses along with family portraits.

Fancy books broadcast the social standing of the family with their long list of gifts received and social rituals observed. The *Baby's Record* of Helen Dane, born in Toledo, Ohio in 1898, describes gifts of gold and silver jewelry as well as clothing, and takes note of the 100 letters of congratulations sent to her family. Her baby book lists the names of her various nurses and such milestones as her first appearance in short clothing.[20] Another baby book, for a girl born in 1917, includes pictures of her large Victorian home in Montclair, New Jersey and includes information about the family's summer house in Portland, Maine. Among her gifts at birth were a $10 gold piece used to purchase a silver bowl, a $25 bank account opened for her by her grandfather, and another $25 gift from a great aunt to purchase something for her room, such as "a desk or writing table."[21]

Gift lists in baby books reveal changes in the material culture of infancy over the course of the twentieth century and point to shifting cultural practices. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, well-off babies received gold jewelry and fancy clothing items, including dresses for boys. Thomas Johnson, at his birth in 1885, received, among other things, eight lap robes, eight long dresses, seventeen worsted jackets, six gold pins, and other items made of silver, tortoise shell, and Valenciennes lace.[22] In subsequent decades toys and dolls became popular, and practical nursery items replaced gifts of jewelry and gold and silver tableware. When celluloid, first developed as a substitute for ivory, began to be used in the manufacture of toys, a number of baby books were careful to note items made with this new, apparently "must-have" substance. Jeannie Blue, born in Cadillac, Michigan in 1925 received celluloid dolls and rattles, as well as rubber and cloth dolls, and a teddy bear.[23] A small (11 x 16 centimeters) celluloid cover baby book appeared in 1916.[24] By the second half of the twentieth century, baby books recorded gifts of practical items such as strollers and cribs. While Rachel Bigger, born in 1900 received gifts made of silver and silk, her granddaughter Susan Walton, born in 1947, received a bassinette, bibs, and a bottle warmer along with a lot of clothes.[25] Similarly, Irma Frell born in Jersey City in 1911 received clothes, gold pins, a little diamond ring, a gold locket and chain, as well as rattles, blankets, toys, a hand-painted trinket box and $50.00.[26] Alvin Bedford, born during World War II, received mostly gifts of money (ranging 50 cents to $5) as well as sweaters, blankets and booties.[27] The shift in gifts tracks with the growth in the children's clothing industry—which made the purchase of a layette for a newborn an increasingly common practice—and with the rise of the domestic toy industry and the department store toy department which promoted the latest gift items for infants and children.[28]

The varieties of baby books increased substantially over the twentieth century. With the growth of scientific medicine the entry pages in fancy baby books devoted more pages to health and to the attainment of developmental milestones, providing places for mothers to record inoculations, episodes of illness, and

checkups. In addition, doctors and social welfare organizations entered the baby book business. The Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital published a baby book in 1928 that went through numerous editions. The volume covered the first seven years of life and included height and weight tables and entries for "illness" and "mental health." The text stated "Baby doctors and experts in Child Study have pointed out the importance of a regular schedule daily." The book was revised and expanded several times; the 1989 edition, for example, included "allergies" among the health record pages.[29] Ray Allen Dafoe—a medical celebrity thanks to his role as physician to the Dionne quintuplets born in 1934, was listed as author of a book covering the first seven years of life.[30] His role as baby book author, physician and advertising icon (along with the quintuplets) underscored the emergence of a new kind of baby book that melded health advice and advertising to a traditional and popular form of family record keeping.

Commercial and Public Health Baby Books

Fancy baby books with numerous entry pages for mothers to record the minutia of infant life represented one end of the spectrum of baby books; at the other end were baby books distributed by local health departments—which were essentially advice pamphlets with a few pages for entering weight, height and medical information—and commercial baby books distributed for free by manufacturers, insurance companies, and merchants. Commercial baby books—typically cheaply produced volumes with pages of advertising that fused medicine and marketing—aimed to encourage mothers to become both vigilant nursery managers and effective consumers. As historian Nancy Tomes noted, fear of germs and the creation of new products for household sanitation created a "Gospel of Germs." In an era of ascendant bacteriology and modern advertising, new rituals of cleaning transformed the way Americans lived and reared their infants.[31]

While commercial baby books said little about germs *per se*, they aimed to sell products to Americans who had learned that personal behavior and careful household practices were keys to health. In the nursery this meant sustained attention to infant feeding. Not surprisingly then, infant formula manufacturers were among the earliest distributors of baby books and their content echoed both contemporary medical advice and the marketing ploys used by other producers of health-related items.[32]

Initially, commercial baby books mimicked the more elaborate ones sold by publishers. Just's Food Company of Syracuse, New York, published *Baby's Red Letter Day* in 1901, featuring the art of the well-known painter and illustrator Jessie Wilcox Smith.[33] The Imperial Granum Company used Mary Cassat's painting "La Nourrice," on the cover of *Our Baby's Own Book* (1914), which it distributed through physicians. While the fancier baby books often contained saccharine verse by romantic poets, the Imperial Granum Company despite the visual artistry of its cover, achieved an artistic low with its doggerel:

> Don't have one bit of hesitation
> Insist on fresh air and ventilation
> Don't fail to show that you're perturbed
> If your sleep and rest time is disturbed. . . .
> Demand Imperial Granum, baby's best food
> It won't tax Daddy's economical mood.

The poem effectively illustrates the marriage of medical advice and modern advertising that characterized many twentieth century baby books. The marketing to professionals was even more direct. A postcard sent to doctors promoting the book included the line "We hope the accompanying Rules for Nursing Mothers will meet with your approval and that you will clinically test Imperial Granum for such cases."[34]

In addition to infant food purveyors, life insurance companies were among the earliest businesses to use baby books to promote their products. And, like food advertisers, they offered plenty of health advice. In 1900 the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company provided customers with a 12-page pamphlet to record both insurance payments made to company representatives and health information. The next to last page began "I was vaccinated against smallpox on_____was vaccinated against diphtheria on_____was physically examined by the doctor on_____." They suggested as well that "If there is a nearby baby welfare station, you should enroll your baby there…"[35] The company issued updated editions in 1923, 1936 and circa 1942, and distributed a staggering three billion pamphlets on health subjects in an effort to ensure that men, women, and children holding small industrial insurance policies remained payers rather than collectors of payments.[36] The later editions parroted contemporary medical advice, such as "When I cried without reason, I was not taken up, jounced up and down, or rocked. My parents wished me to learn to control myself and be happy without too much attention. They knew that babies are often spoiled or made excitable when they are fussed over."[37] Other insurance companies also provided pamphlets and baby books to customers.[38] In many cases, the baby books record insurance payments or the purchase of a policy without making clear whether it was a hedge against burial costs or served another purpose. Thus one family noted on their baby's bank account page for a child born in 1925 "We took out an insurance of about $300 or over at 3 months old in the Prudential Co. Later took out much more of the same company." Perhaps they were prompted to do so by their child's propensity for accidents; in his baby book his mother recorded his fall out of a high chair at 5 months and subsequent tumbles down the cellar stairs and an episode at 20 months that knocked off a piece of his tooth.[39]

The cultural practice of recording an infant's life in a baby book merged seamlessly with the public health command to record growth, development and medical care. *Infant Care*, the federal government's publication for mothers that began distribution in 1914 (and was revised and reprinted numerous times, with millions of copies in circulation), contained a page for record keeping. Local health departments also promoted this practice in pamphlets distributed to mothers. The baby book of a boy born in 1939 held a letter of congratulations (and health advice) from the Department of Public Welfare of Portsmouth. Virginia along with a little booklet for "baby's record."[40] In the mid twentieth century the authors of infant care books similarly emphasized the importance of record keeping and a number of them included pages similar to those found in baby books in which mothers could note height, weight and health details.[41] In asking mothers to keep records, doctors and public health authorities and baby books spoke with one voice and perhaps helped institute this custom among families unused to such practices. In short, baby books—items that once served largely to record gifts exchanged among the elite—became primers in infant care and mass consumption.

A boom in baby books with advertisements from local merchants occurred after World War I. In 1921 William Darby's mother recorded his early life in a book from the Dillingham & Alexander Ice and Ice Cream Manufacturers of Breckenridge, Texas. A 1950 baby book from Oklahoma City featured advertisements from two of America's newer ventures: a supermarket and a drive–in.[42] Publishers of these mid-century books sometimes included advice copied from public health pamphlets or even reprinted brochures from health departments, the Children's Bureau, or advertisers. A 1939 baby book mailed by the Gertz Nursery Shop in Jamaica, New York included materials from both the New York City Department of Health reminding parents to get their baby a medical check-up and a brochure "Training is Fun with Little Toidey" providing instructions on the use of soap suppositories beginning at age three weeks and a list of Little Toidey products to buy.[43]

The expanding power of advertising in American life and commerce, the rise of health marketing spurred by germ theory, the vigorous public campaigns to lower infant mortality and the growing cultural authority of scientific motherhood opened up new opportunities for baby book publishers. What united them all was the concept that babies were investments. They were collective investments for a nation struggling to lower its infant mortality rate and they were individual investments made by families seeking to protect the life and health of their most vulnerable members. And, as advertisers suggested, part of the family's responsibility was buying the right items for the nursery.

The perfect embodiment of the advertisement-filled baby book was the *Book of Baby Mine*, illustrated by Melcena Burns Denny and published by the Simplicity Company in Grand Rapids, Michigan. It first appeared in 1915 and its enormous success led to the formation of the Book of Baby Mine Company. While some of these books were sold to individuals, most families received them gratis from area merchants who paid for advertisements in locally distributed volumes. Typically bound in embossed reddish-brown leather, this 96-page book included 38 pages for recording information, including notes on development, "firsts" and events such as birthdays and holidays. The *Book of Baby Mine* mimicked more elaborate baby books with places to record "first short clothes" and "first time at Dancing School," and it embraced the custom of taking family photographs, with nearly every other entry page set aside for them. Distributed throughout the country, the *Book of Baby Mine* typically included advertisements from between three and nine local businesses. A girl born in 1915 in Youngstown, Ohio received one as a gift from Oster Bros. Furniture. It included a page with "Hints to Mothers" and "Proper Care of Baby" from the Infant Welfare Society. The first bit of advice was "Be sure to get a comfortable baby carriage at Oster Bros" followed by suggestions on feeding and bathing. Her book noted that her father paid five cents a week on her insurance policy.[44] Another copy included the reminder to recipients that: "Though the book would sell for $2.50, remember—it is given to you absolutely free by the advertisers," quickly followed by a suggestion that they patronize these generous local businesses.[45]

With its long history, wide distribution, and use by many middle- and working-class families, the *Book of Baby Mine* offers a window into the lives of ordinary American infants. The one kept for Darcy King born in 1929, records her father's death from "blood poison" when she was three months old and her subsequent

upbringing on her grandparent's Nebraska farm.[46] Jane Jensen, born in 1935, has a book recording her first outing at the Polish-American Citizen's Club in Albany New York. Like many other baby books, hers notes the first animals she petted – a cow and a chicken – and held a sepia photograph of her very young parents. There were advertisements for seven Albany businesses including the Keller Baking Company—"Bread is your best food. Eat more of it."—, Central Dairy, the Little Folks Shop for baby garments, blankets and bonnets, and the Home Savings Bank of the City of Albany.[47] The 1935 edition of the *Book of Baby Mine* for Ronald Temple, born in Toledo in 1937, gave an account of his birth at home before the doctor arrived and stated: "My big brother saved my life by covering me with a warm blanket." While Ronald's family seems to have been quite comfortable at the time of his birth – there was a long list of gifts, a bank account at the Toledo Trust Company and mention of a beach vacation – a later entry notes that he attended a WPA nursery school – perhaps a sign that his family was facing economic pressure as the Great Depression deepened.[48] New editions of the book appeared in 1938, 1940, 1955, 1962, 1974 and 1981. Its longevity spoke to its value to advertisers and its widespread use indicated its popularity with consumers.

In the postwar baby boom years, new kinds of baby books appeared reflecting both the rise in group identities and an expanding economy, as well as the market segmentation that resulted from both developments. Eschewing advertisements, they contained entry pages similar to those of other fancy baby books and targeted African American babies, premature babies, adopted babies, and twins, as well as those of particular religious groups.[49] Gender, of course, had long been distinguished in baby books, initially with the use of blue or pink covers, later with different names and entries. *All Her Life* (1946) offered a place to record "My beau for life," "showers" and "wedding day" while *All His Life* (1946) offered entries for "Fraternities" and "Bachelor Dinner."[50] Among the fanciest of postwar volumes was the *Better Homes and Gardens Baby Book*, a 258-page tome with 191 pages of information about prenatal care, and children up to age six, with the rest being entry pages for recording "physical and mental growth, personality, interests and abilities."[51]

Themes in Baby Books

Scientific Medicine and Infant Psychology

The entry pages in baby books reveal the influence of the child study movement, the findings of developmental psychologists and the growing power of scientific medicine as well as older beliefs about personality formation. One popular late nineteenth century baby book, for example, included a phrenological chart—so that parents could read their baby's head bumps for revelations about character.[52] In the twentieth century, horoscope pages in baby books offered clues to infant personality.[53] To appeal to the broadest range of interests many baby books incorporated both lay and scientific theories regarding infants' temperaments. Bonnibel Butler's *The Baby's Record of Mental and Physical Growth and His Horoscope* (1912) also included entries for "First Definitive Signs of Emotion at Visible Things," and "First Signs of Memory," reflecting prevailing beliefs about the stages of infancy.[54] As Americans became familiar with the insights of Freud

and as American psychologists turned their attention to infancy, a focus on psychological milestones and age-appropriate activity began to appear in the advice literature and the entry pages of baby books. Nevertheless, many mothers continued to fill in only the most traditional (and observable) milestones, such as first words and first steps. And the most commonly recorded medical information was height and weight, items that physicians urged mothers to record and that were an important part of pediatric practice.[55] As this suggests, the entry pages and entries in baby books reveal both the penetration of new ideas and the persistence of longstanding traditions in infant care.

It is a mistake to read baby books as accurate accounts of nursery practices and events. The lack of records of accidents in baby books in the post World War II years, as discussed earlier, most likely says more about cultural beliefs about good parenting than about the experiences of babies. After all, while accounts of accidents may have disappeared from baby books, they remained in emergency room records. Similarly, the disappearance of "discipline," from baby book entries is also suspect. Although few in number, they did appear in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, a 1907 baby book contained a poem entitled "The Spanking."[56] And, in 1908 one mother wrote of her month-old infant: "Baby received some discipline this morning. She refused to go to sleep before breakfast and also refused to be good." [57] A 1918 baby book noted under the heading "My first discipline"—an important clue to cultural expectations—that "Mamma smacked me for taking my ring off."[58] By the second half of the twentieth century, however, the term discipline had an entirely new meaning. It referred to the attainment of self-control and reflected the expanding interest in the intellectual and emotional development of babies.[59]

In many instances, mothers recorded their own violations of experts' assessments of proper parenting. They wrote, for example, of playing with their babies at a time when experts judged this to be dangerous rather than intellectually stimulating. Nellie, born in 1922, had her every activity recorded: she could "sit on the floor in my bathtub alone and wave bye-bye and play peek-a-boo, play patty-cake," and pat herself on the chest when asked where she was.[60] Susan Ensign Hilles, born in 1933, had two "tricks" according to her mother: playing patty-cake and pointing to her curls when asked.[61] Why did these mothers ignore expert advice about restricting play? Hilles' mother, despite playing with her baby, carefully filled in her height and weight chart each month for her first year. Yet she ignored common admonitions such as "Do not encourage your baby to play before the second year."[62] Later such advice would be couched in medical terms, such as that offered in the 1930 edition of the *Book of Baby Mine*:

> All young infants are extremely nervous so avoid exciting them, playing with them, or handling them too much . . . Baby's bones are soft for a long time and even holding the baby habitually may cause spinal curvature.[63]

The proliferation of advice pages in baby books mirrored the increasing detail demanded on entry pages. Reminders included scheduling feedings and fresh air outings, hygiene tips—such as regular use of boric acid to wash an infant's eyes—discouraging the use of pacifiers and the vital importance of early toilet training. A number of baby books included printed advice or pamphlets from the Children's Bureau, showing the long reach of this agency.[64] Some mothers

responded as medical authorities would have wished, following the advice of experts and recording medical information in detail. One wrote that her daughter was "sitting on her little chamber at five months" and keeping her drawers clean by age one.[65] Joyce Anne Mahoney's mother kept a record of her weight from her birth in 1948 until age 4.[66] As these suggest, baby book entries may have prompted some mothers to conform—at least in writing—to expected patterns of child rearing.

Individual baby books present wonderfully detailed descriptions of episodes of illness (and death), serving as counterpoints to the clinical descriptions in the medical literature. Mothers describe bouts of measles, mumps, chicken pox and whooping cough—"My poor little children caught that dreadful disease 'whooping cough' from Rick Wrode and had it dreadfully. The baby had a particularly hard time and lost flesh & spirit until I was worried to death" wrote one concerned woman.[67] Baby books document as well the transformation of birth from home to hospital and as this transition occurred hospitals became active distributors of baby books.[68] The entries make clear that birth, sickness, and death were medicalized over the course of the twentieth century, but they also show how individual families framed the experiences of these events within their religious beliefs and domestic customs.

The growing cultural authority of medicine can be seen in the kinds of health ephemera saved in baby books. By the second decade of the twentieth century "Better Baby" contests took place at state and county fairs and civic gatherings, as a means of educating parents by assessing infants brought before expert judges who employed complex score sheets to evaluate their mental and physical status.[69] Mothers of highly ranked infants proudly preserved the contest memorabilia. The baby book of Belle Cook of Marietta, Georgia, for instance, included her Better Babies Certificate of Examination from a 1915 gathering sponsored by the Equal Suffrage Association.[70] The 1918 book of Lee Smithson of Austin, Texas included the note: "There was a baby contest held here last week and Lee Jr. is the most perfect boy in his class." His mother also pasted in the newspaper clipping naming him the winner.[71] Did winning, or good health matter the most? One young boy from a well off California family had a baby book with both his "baby week" development chart and copies of advertisements in which he appeared as a representative of a local creamery—a job that earned him $10.[72] Baby health campaigns also took place in department stores, which sponsored "baby weeks" and "baby days" that combined health promotion (with nurses on site and advice booklets distributed) and sales of baby items.

These activities reinforced the message of baby books linking mothers' jobs as consumers with their work as protectors of family and especially, infant health.[73] Among the other types of medical ephemera were prescriptions for infant formulas, notes about height and weight following check-ups and inoculation records. A not-so-lucky boy had a 1906 baby book with two quarantine cards and a certificate of disinfection (for measles) and a certificate for release (from scarlet fever) as well as notices from the health department about his decayed teeth.[74] The impact of federal programs to register births can be seen in the inclusion of birth certificates alongside or in place of formal printed birth announcements, while concerns about the identities of babies collectively housed in hospital nurseries can be seen in the growing inclusion of hospital bracelets and infant footprints.

Even the increasing cost of medical care is documented in baby books. A book for a baby boy born in Fort Worth, Texas in 1952 included his identification bracelet, formula instruction and the hospital bill.[75]

God and Mammon

If the entry pages in baby books for incidents of illness, feeding practices, growth measurements, and developmental milestones reveal the growing power of scientific medicine, the persistence of other pages—family trees, records of pets, and most importantly places for recounting religious ceremonies and celebrations—shows the enduring place of these elements in American life. The majority of baby books included places for religious entries, most commonly baptisms, christenings, first prayer, first Christmas, first Easter and first day at Sunday School. A number had places for pasting in cradle roll and baptism certificates and a few included places for listing gifts received at these events. In a few cases, the producers of baby books eschewed references to baptisms and christenings and chose a more ecumenical approach referring to religion in general terms. Both *Our Baby's First Seven Years: A Baby Record Book Including Scientific Charts Which Will Prove of Great Practical Service to the Mother and Growing Child* (1928) published by the Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital and *Log-o'-life: A Monument to the Faithful Cooperative Spirit and Parental Interest of Our Fathers and Mothers*, a life book published in 1933, exemplified this. The former had entries for "Prayers," Questions Pertaining to Religion," and "Religious Education;" for the latter merely offered a place to record "Religious Affiliations."[76]

Mothers recorded religious ceremonies as carefully as they described gifts, illnesses, nursery practices and developmental milestones. The Baby Roll Certificate from the Women's Home Mission Society Methodist Episcopal Church, South Texas Conference from a girl born in 1909 appeared in her baby book along with her confirmation certificate from 1923.[77] C. R. Skates, another Texas baby, had his christening in the Methodist Church in 1911 similarly recorded in his baby book.[78] The book *All About Me: Baby's Record* had entries for "I was christened at" and "Was I good?" sparing the need to write a lengthy description of the event. Thus, one boy's mother filled in "First M.E. Church, October 4th, 1925 by Rev. Walter Athinson" and "Very good. Sleeping all the time."[79] Such entries underscore the profound and significant place of religion in American life. However, the baby book entries referring to baptisms and christenings fail to answer the question of whether the arrival of an infant induced families to become more involved in organized religious life or whether it was the religious families that were most likely to engage in these rituals. Parental concern for their children's spiritual upbringing led many to attend services, although religious observance declined in the post World War II years.[80] Was this the reason religious denominations began to produce more baby books? Some Protestant denominations produced baby books, such as the 24-page *Nursery Log* from the Lutheran Brotherhood published around 1920 and the 8-page *A Book for the Cradle-Roll Baby* (1929).[81] After World War II, books for Catholic babies and Jewish babies appeared as part of the larger trend to produce baby books for specific groups of consumers. Among the new ones were *A Catholic Baby Record Book* (1945) and *Our Baby: A Record Book for the Jewish Child Covering the First Five Years* (1950).[82]

Religious holidays received as much or more attention in baby book entries as religious ceremonies. Sometimes mothers described "baby's first Christmas," and preserved the Christmas cards sent to their babies along with lists of gifts. The mother of Dorothy Eloise Primer born in Waterloo, Iowa in 1914 pasted into her baby book both her Cradle Roll Certificate and her many Christmas cards.[83] Richard Opal born in December 1931 received a two and a half dollar gold piece, a bathtub and many other gifts for his first Christmas.[84] Santa Claus, and particularly the department store Santa, became a key advertising figure in America and the custom of preserving holiday cards was established well before the twentieth century. Baby books serve as expressions of the commercialization of Christmas and document precisely what that meant in families of varying means.[85]

Mammon as well as God had a prominent place in baby book. Infants' lives involved many kinds of investments—spiritual, medical, and commercial. Indeed, one baby book followed an entry for "I pray" with "I open a bank account."[86] Many babies in wealthy families received large gifts of money from relatives and the custom of giving cash—in far lesser amounts—soon appeared in the baby books of ordinary Americans. Matthew Babson, born in 1899, received a $15 gold piece from his grandparents. The baby book of Ellen Huntress, born in 1914 included a humorous and detailed account for the entry "First Creeping," which was observed by her parents and grandparents: "Her grandmother Elliot put a dollar on the floor and she immediately went for it. P.S. She is starting early after the dollars."[87]

In some cases, baby books encouraged the opening of bank accounts by offering savings account entries or because the books were gifts of local thrift institutions. The Imperial Granum baby book for a Virginia girl born in 1916 noted on the page for "first savings" that she had $25.85 in Merchant's National Bank.[88] Other baby books had entries such as "Contributors to baby's bank account," "Into my bank account went…." and "Finances."[89] In many cases these savings amounted to very little—one boy born in 1930 in Water Valley, Kentucky had only a dollar—in others a bit more appeared.[90] Undoubtedly the bank foreclosures of the 1930s wiped out the $12.50 first deposited for Bernice Ranger in Fifth Avenue Trust and Savings Bank in Moline, Illinois in 1920 and the $15 placed in the Canton, Ohio First Trust and Savings Bank for William Dorn in 1921. At least William got his picture taken for free after this deposit was made for him. Both William and Bernice's records appeared in the *Book of Baby Mine*, which included an entry page for savings bonds and cash gifts, along with a poem:

> I'm a real lucky baby when folks save for me
> But I shall repay them for trying to be
> The Success that they hoped when they asked for a part
> In giving my education a start.[91]

The Home Savings Bank of the City of Albany provided a page in the 1930 *Book of Baby Mine* stating "this bank is especially interested in teaching children to save . . . Have "the Baby" get the savings habit. It may mean a College Education or business start."[92] Contributions to babies continued through the hard times of the Great Depression, during World War II and into the baby boom that followed. Elizabeth Mary Deeds, born at a Fort Benning, Georgia military hospital in 1941 received five dollars from Sargeant Lee, evidently a friend of

her father's.[93] An African American girl, born in New York City in 1948 began her savings with $100.[94] The savings message—one that appeared most often in baby books with advertising—developed as years of schooling increased and as advice to parents stressed the costs of rearing a baby. While some families could look forward to their offspring contributing to the household through farm labor or employment, participation rates in both declined over the course of the twentieth century and the costs of rearing children grew.[95] More importantly, babies posed an immediate expense. Despite this, many families contributed money to bank accounts for them—a sign of their aspirations and, perhaps, of the effective efforts of the banking industry.

As high school completion rates increased baby books touted the need to save for college.[96] The 1926 *Baby's Bank and Record Book* included a discussion of college savings, citing the *Harvard University Economic Review's* discussion of the cost of college—about $1,000—a figure based upon the University of Pennsylvania catalog. It also included a chart showing that saving $1 a week would result in $1065.72 in fifteen years.[97] The First National Bank of Peoria, Illinois was one of many financial institutions giving away baby books consisting mostly of a brass bank with a coin slot surrounded by 20 pages of milestone entry pages and advertisements.[98] In 1960, a similar sort of baby book appeared – *Our Baby's Chest of Memories* – a white leatherette box with a pink velvet interior for girls and a blue one for boys. Both included a receptacle for depositing coins in "My College Savings Bank."[99] This was one of the last baby books to incorporate a place for savings. Ironically, as American's grew wealthier in the postwar years and thus better able to provide for their children, both entries for savings accounts and notes of gifts of money largely disappeared from baby books.

Baby Books as History Books

Baby books remind us that babies had a history; they were not simply a demographic group to be assessed by the numbers—births, deaths, household size—but rather their upbringing embodied the practices, beliefs, and hopes of their parents, of the corporations aiming to provide them with goods and services, and of government and charitable agencies striving to protect their health. The entry pages and entries in baby books are rich and overlooked historical resources that offer insights into the interplay of family childrearing practices and larger social movements. In doing so, they provide clues as to how to sort out description from prescription and how to see the variations among babies' experiences across time and region. Entries in baby books confirm arguments made about the medicalization of everyday life, the rise of scientific motherhood, the growth of consumer culture and the role of religion in American society but they offer a more nuanced reading. Even if the accounts are to be trusted—and of course they must be read with deep skepticism—they suggest how some mothers rejected, for example, the prescriptions of health advisors regarding play or the warnings of religious authorities about the secularization of Christmas. The emphasis on money in the baby books suggests a need to examine more thoroughly what the opening of bank accounts meant to families, and how the banking industry, like others, used concern for the well being of infants to stimulate business. Did bank advertising make families become aware of future expenses or did it simply capi-

talize on a cultural transformation of rising expectations as infant mortality rates fell and educational attainment increased? As this question suggests, baby books require further and deeper scrutiny as does the history of American babyhood.

Ironically, some baby book purveyors recognized their historical value. The Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying In Hospital pointed out in their 1949 preface to *Our Baby's First Seven Years* that:

> A record of all the phenomena which transpire during these years will have a value that grows with time, and increases greatly with the number of babies upon whom such observations are made. For example, a study of 1000 baby books such as this, carefully filled out, will give valuable information in every department of medicine, will guide the teacher, the physical culturist, the eugenist (sic), and the statesman, in their broad efforts to improve the race, as well as the physician in the treatment of the individual case.[100]

Not least, baby books are a neglected source into comparative analysis with other histories and cultures. For example, mothers in late twentieth century Japan kept "Maternal and Child Health Hardbooks" provided by local governments to record prenatal care and family work practices, preserve infant health records and provide child rearing advice.[101]

Today baby books remain as popular as they were in the last century. There are dozens of keepsake books available, many of them continuing the tradition of highlighting the work of popular children's illustrators, such as Beatrix Potter and Eric Carle. These books continue to provide opportunities to record a baby's physical, developmental, and social milestones. Many current books in addition provide spaces to record items not charted in the last century, including places for sonograms and spaces to record such contemporary information as "favorite video."[102] The public health baby book genre continues through the Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital. Eighty years after they first published a baby book, they now offer for a seventh edition a loose-leaf volume that allows parents to choose the entry pages they desire for a "more personal and complete record," with a comprehensive journal for "memorable firsts," medical test results, "safe shopping" advice for cribs and car seats, and childrearing advice from the physicians at the University of Chicago hospitals."[103] Commercial baby books have at least to some degree migrated on line; the infant food companies Similac and Gerber, for example, offer on-line advice, discussion boards, and milestone charts, and Gerber provides printable growth trackers and feeding journals.[104] There are also spoofs, including *My Middle-Aged Baby Book* (1995) with places to record cholesterol counts, PIN numbers, and waist size, *Baby's First Tattoo* (2002) with "Disciplining the Problem Grandparents" and *The Inappropriate Baby Book* (2002) with the subtitle *Gross and Embarrassing Moments From Baby's First Year*.[105] Even pet owners can buy "baby books" for their animal companions, with entries such as "my paw print" and "I went to a dog show."[106]

A recent innovation is the proliferation of online baby books and baby blogs, with titles like "About My Baby" and "Baby Story."[107] With so many baby books now existing solely online or in digitized formats, we must find a way to preserve them in some accessible format. This will enable future generations to examine lives of ordinary Americans, like Charlie Flood, the accident-prone boy born in 1914. What happened to him? He survived his childhood mishaps, graduated

from college with a master's degree in mathematics, and taught school until he was drafted. Sadly, he died in 1944, killed in action while fighting in Europe. His loving mother recorded it all in his baby book.

Department of History
Camden, NJ 08102

Department of History & Philosophy
Chicago, IL 60605

ENDNOTES

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1. Frances Brundage, *Our Baby* (London, 1914) UCLA Biomedical Library, Los Angeles, California (hereafter UCLA) HQ 779.B894o 1914 copy 2. Pseudonyms are used for all names in the UCLA collection. In order to allow other researchers to locate the materials we are including call and copy numbers of the books whose entries we quote or refer to.

2. Bonnibel Butler, *The Baby's Record of Mental and Physical Growth and His Horoscope* (Chicago, 1913). The entry in one of these editions for a boy born in 1916 read: "Tumbled off the bed at Peach Lake…no ill effects." UCLA, HQ779 .B985ba 1913. For another example of carefully recorded mishaps see Jessie Alma Pierson, *Babyhood Days* (New York, 1915) UCLA, HQ779, P624 1915 copies 1 and 3. A rare exception to the silence about accidents in the postwar period is the baby book of Noel Neri from 1962 kept by his mother, the artist Joan Brown, who wrote of his falling off the bed twice at six months old—"didn't get hurt" and of his eating a painting she titled "girl, dog, clouds" at nine and a half months—"no toxic paints." Joan Brown papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

3. Historical accounts of infants and accidents note the mid-century transition in blame and understanding. However, in focusing on the writing of experts and the role of technology—such as electricity and automobiles—historians have paid insufficient attention to how mothers understood infant accidents. On the topic of home accidents see Joel A. Tarr and Mark Tebeau, "Housewives as Home Safety Managers: The Changing Perception of the Home as a Place of Hazard and Risk, 1870-1940," in Roger Cooter and Bill Luckin, eds. *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations* (Amsterdam, 1997): 196-233; and John C. Burnham, "Why Did the Infants and Toddlers Die? Shifts in Americans' Ideas of Responsibility for Accidents: From Blaming Mom to Engineering," *Journal of Social History* 29 (1996): 817-837.

4. We are not evaluating notebooks and diaries kept by mothers detailing their infants' development, although many exist. We seek to analyze simultaneously the changing content pages and written content of baby books.

5. On scrapbooks see Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler, eds. *The Scrapbook in American Life* (Philadelphia, 2006) and Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (New Haven, Conn., 2008).

6. The literature on scientific motherhood and on infant care advice is voluminous. Among the most important recent works are Rima D. Apple, *Perfect Motherhood: Science and Childrearing in America*

(New Brunswick, N.J., 2006), Jacquelyn S. Litt, *Medicalized Motherhood: Perspectives from the Lives of African-American and Jewish Women* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2000) and Julia Grant, *Raising Baby By the Book: The Education of American Mothers* (New Haven, Conn., 1998).

7. See, for example, the essays in the inaugural issue of *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* (2008).

8. For a brief description of the UCLA collection see http://www.uclababybooks.info/. Many of these baby books were "abandoned" and purchased for the collection on ebay.com. Another rich source of baby books is the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, Mass (hereafter Schlesinger).

9. Baby book of Amelia Mary Earhart and Grace Murial Earhart, Amelia Earhart Papers, Series II. Schlesinger. Among the comparisons were "Millie never sucked her thumb, Murial began to do this when about 7 months old" and Millie's first word "Papa" as compared to Murial's: "Mamma." For another example of a shared baby book see Dulah Evans Krebbiel, *Baby's Childhood Days: A Biography* (Chicago, 1908) UCLA HQ779.B1157 1908.

10. *The Best Baby* [Compliments of the Borden Company], (New York, c.1918) UCLA, HQ 779. B561 1918. copy 2.

11. A. O. Kaplan, *Baby's Biography* (New York, 1891) UCLA, HQ779.K14b 1891 copy 2.

12. Lawrence L. Foley, *Log-o'-life* (Cleveland, 1939) UCLA, HQ 779.L831 1939 copy 3. Other baby books with long records include one for a girl born in Elkhorn, West Virginia in 1908 that follows her through graduation from Ohio State University in 1931. See A. O. Kaplan, *Baby's Biography* (New York, 1891) UCLA HQ779.K14b 1891 copy 3.

13. Maud Humphrey, *Baby's Record* (New York, 1898). On baby book illustrators see Darrell Heppner, *Great Children's Illustrators: 1880-1930* (Atglen, PA, 2004).

14. Frances Brundage and May Sandheim, *Our Baby* (London, 1909). UCLA, HQ779 B827b 1885c.

15. Alice S. Bray, *The Baby's Journal* (New York, 1885) UCLA, HQ779. B827b 1885c.

16. Josephine Wheeler Weage, *All About Me: Baby's Record* (New York, 1918) UCLA, HQ779.A416 1918b. For another example of a baby book written in first person see C. M. Burd, *Baby's Biography* (Utica, N.Y., 1913) UCLA, HQ779.B1145 1913. The entries switch to third person when the child falls ill with pneumonia and dies. A more recent example of first person is the 1947 baby book of Linda J. Laubenstein, Linda J. Laubenstein Papers, Carton 1, Schlesinger.

17. Ella Dolbear Lee, *My Baby's Book: A Record of Interesting and Important Events* (Chicago, 1915). Cost calculated from U.S. Inflation Calculator: http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/

18. National measures of neonatal, infant, and child mortality did not appear until after the creation of a death registration area and the area did not include all states. For a discussion of infant mortality and efforts to lower it in the twentieth century see Richard A. Meckel, *Save the Babies: American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality, 1850-1929* (Baltimore, 1990); for infant and neonatal mortality rates 1915-1985 see p. 238.

19. On postmortem photography see Vincent Lavoie, "From the Final Sleep to the First Steps: Postmortem Portraiture and Childhood and Amateur Photography," in Cynthia Comacchio, Janet Golden and George Weisz eds. *Healing the World's Children* (Montreal, 2008): 282-293. Not surprisingly, the Eastman Kodak Company began publishing a book of instructions for parents photographing their babies. See C. H. Claudy, *The Kodak Baby Book* (Rochester, N.Y, between 1908-1913).

20. Maud Humphrey, *Baby's Record* (New York, 1898) UCLA HQ779.H926b 1898, copy 2.

21. Evelyn von Hartman, *Baby's Life* (New York, 1913). UCLA HQ779.H333b 1913 copy 2.

22. S. Alice Bray, *The Baby's Journal* (New York, 1885) HQ779.B827b 1882.

23. *Baby* (Chicago, 1914) UCLA HQ779.B112 1914.

24. *Little Baby's Big Days* (S.l., 1916). Two celluloid rings held the book together.

25. Baby Books of Rachel Bigger and Susan Walton in the private collection of Susan Walton, photocopies in possession of J. Golden.

26. *Babyhood* (S.l., not after 1911) UCLA HQ779.B1138 1911.

27. *Congratulations: A Magazine for Mothers* 7 (1943). We have deemed this magazine, distributed by hospitals, a baby book because of its entry pages; it was mostly articles and advertisements. UCLA HQ779.C7492. For a description of practical baby gifts received in the 1960s see Jolane Baumgarten Solomon Papers, Box 11, Folder 5 and Folder 6. Schlesinger. These are letters to her mother describing her adoption of a son in 1962 and birth of a daughter in 1964.

28. On the infant clothing industry see Daniel Thomas Cook, *The Commodification of Childhood: The Children's Clothing Industry and the Rise of the Child Consumer* (Durham, N.C., 2004). On children's toy departments see William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993); and Jan Whitaker, *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class* (New York, 2006).

29. Hermien D. Nusbaum, *Our Baby's First Seven Years* (Chicago, 1928); and Peggy Jo Ackley, *Our Baby's First Seven Years* [Published under the auspices of Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital] (Norwalk, Conn., 1989).

30. Roy Allen Dafoe, *Through Baby's First Seven Years* (St. Paul, Minn., 1942). Dafoe was the author of numerous guidebooks for mothers and books about the Dionne Quintuplets. There was, as well, a Dionne Quintuplet baby book: *Dionne Quintuplet Baby Book* (St. Paul, Minn., 1936). This was a 16-page booklet intended for distribution by advertisers.

31. Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs; Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). On the development of advertising and its impact see James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York, 1990); T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994); and Daniel Delis Hill, *Advertising to the American Woman, 1900-1999* (Columbus, Ohio, 2002).

32. On the history of infant feeding and infant health see Rima D. Apple, *Medicine and Medicine: A Social History of Infant Feeding, 1890-1950* (Madison, 1987) and Jacqueline Wolf, *"Don't Kill Your Baby:" Public Health and the Decline of Breastfeeding in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Columbus, Ohio, 2001).

33. Jessie Wilcox Smith, *Baby's Red Letter Days* (Syracuse, 1901).

34. *Our Baby's Own Book* (New York, 1914) The copy with the postcard to physicians is located in the Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

35. *Baby's Book* [Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.] (New York, 1900).

36. On metropolitan life and health education see ElizabethToon, "Managing the Conduct of Individual Life: Public Health Education and American Public Health, 1910-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998); and Diane Hamilton, "The Cost of Caring: The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Visiting Nurse Service, 1909-1953," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 63 (1989): 414-434.

37. *Baby's Book* [Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.] (New York, 1942).

38. See, for example, Prudential Life Insurance Company of America, *The Baby Book* (Newark, N.J., ca. 1934) p. 5. This is an uncataloged pamphlet in the collection of the New York Academy of Medicine, New York City, New York; and *Our Baby* [Rio Grande Life Insurance Co.] (Dallas, Texas, not after 1941) and *My Baby Days* [American National Insurance Co.] (Galveston, Texas, 1956). Insurance companies, sociologist Viviana Zelizer argued, had both a fiscal and a political interest in promoting infant lives, as the sale of infant burial policies offended child savers who viewed them as rewarding infanticide. Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton, 1985).

39. *Baby's Health and Record: A Practical Handbook for the Young Mother* 29th ed. (Mount Vernon: N.Y, 1923) UCLA HQ779.B116 1923.

40. U.S. Children's Bureau, *Infant Care* (Washington D.C., 1914). Loose items from the baby book of Nathaniel Howell, Papers of Nathaniel Howell, Box 7, Folder 5, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

41. See, for example H. Kent Tenney, Jr., *Let's Talk About Your Baby* (Madison, Wisc., 1934) and Stella B. Applebaum, *Baby: A Mother's Manual* (Chicago, 1946).

42. *Our Baby's Book* (Newark, N.J., 1925) UCLA HQ779 .O922 1925 copy 2 and *Our Baby Album* (S.l., 1950) UCLA HQ779 .09214 1950.

43. *My Baby's Book* (St. Paul, Minn., 1939) UCLA HQ 779 M9945 1939. Toilet training at three weeks was the recommendation of experts as well. See, for example, Louise Zabriskie, *Mother and Baby Care in Pictures* 2nd ed (Philadelphia, 1941).

44. Melcena Burns Denny, *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915) UCLA HQ779.B724 1915b copy 14.

45. *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1930) in possession of L. Weiner.

46. Melcena Burns Denny, *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915) UCLA HQ779.B724 1915f copy 18.

47. *Book of Baby Mine* (1930) in possession of L. Weiner. Jane Jensen is a pseudonym.

48. *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1935) UCLA HQ779. B724 1935 copy 2.

49. See, for example, Clarence L. Holte, ed. *Our Baby's First Seven Years* (New York, 1971) for African American babies. An early effort to sell a baby book for African American infants failed. See Mildred Stock Research Collection, New York Public Library Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York. See also Kim Bryant, *Prematurely Yours* (Bailey, Colo., 1985) and Marion A. McLeod, *All About You: An Adopted Child's Memory Book* (Norwalk, Conn., 1959); *This is Me: Memories to Keep and Gather* (Bowie, Maryland, not after 2006); and Baker Ditzy, *Early Days* (New York, 1947) with the title cover "Our Twins" and two sets of text entries.

50. Edna Mason Kaula, *All Her Life* (New York, 1944) and Edna Mason Kaula, *All His Life* (New York, 1944).

51. Better Homes and Gardens Books, *Better Homes and Gardens Baby Book* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1946).

52. A. O. Kaplan, *Baby's Biography* (New York, 1891).

53. For horoscopes, see for example Ruth E. Newton, *Precious Moments: From Boyhood Through Childhood* (New York, 1937). For an example of a horoscope pasted into a baby book see Margaret Ann Meta Morris Grimball, *Baby* (S.l., 1915) UCLA HQ779.G861b 1915 copy 2. For an overview of studies on infant and child development see Alice Boardman Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children* (New Haven, 2006).

54. Butler, *The Baby's Record of Mental and Physical Growth and his Horoscope*.

55. On the history of height and weight charts see Jeffrey P. Brosco, "Weight Charts and Well Child Care: When the Pediatrician Became the Expert in Child Health," in Alexandra Minna Stern and Howard Markel, eds. *Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880-2000* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2002): 91-120.

56. Fanny Y. Cory, *Our Baby Book* (Indianapolis, 1907).

57. Josephine Bruce, *A History of the Doings and Sayings of Our Baby* (New York, 1908) UCLA HQ 779.B887h copy 1.

58. *All About Me*. UCLA HQ779.A416 1918b. For a late entry place for discipline see: Elizabeth B. Hurlock, *Baby's Early Years* (Norwalk, Conn., 1952)) UCLA HQ779.H965b 1952.

59. On the growing focus on infants' intellectual development see Julia Wrigley, "Do Young Children Need Intellectual Stimulation? Experts' Advice to Parents, 1900-1985," *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (1989): 41-75.

60. *All About Me*, UCLA HQ779.A416 1918b.

61. Baby book of Susan Ensign Hilles, in Susan Morse Hilles Papers, Series IV. Schlesinger.

62. Better Babies Bureau, *Woman's Home Companion*. "Hints to Mothers Who Want Better Babies" (New York, 1910s).

63. *Book of Baby Mine*, (1930) p. 50.

64. See, for example *Our Baby's Book* (Newark, N.J., 1925) UCLA HQ779.0922 1925 copy 1; *Baby's Own Book* (S.l., 1940) UCLA HQ779.B1184 1940. This book had advice on regularity from the Children's Bureau. See, also Elisabeth Robinson Scovil, *How to Bring Up A Baby: A Handbook for Mothers* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1906) UCLA HQ779.S432h 1906. This book included a weighing and measuring card distributed by the Children's Bureau. On the work of the Children's Bureau see Kriste Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood: The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-1946* (Champaign, Ill., 1997).

65. *Our Baby* (New York, 1916) UCLA HQ779.09215 1916.

66. Joyce Family Papers, Folder 1, Baby Book of Joyce Ann Mahoney, Schlesinger.

67. S. Alice Bray, *The Baby's Journal* (New York, 1885) UCLA HQ779.B827b 1885c.

68. Fewer than five percent of American babies were born in hospitals in 1900; by 1940 the figure was 50 percent and by the mid-1950s, 95 percent of babies were hospital born. See Richard C. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A History of Childbirth in America* (New York, 1977): 133-135; and Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Childrearing in America, 1750-1950* (New York, 1986): 269.

69. "Better Baby" contests preceded the custom of routine infant check ups with physicians and built upon the earlier nineteenth century sentimental "Baby Shows." See Susan J. Pearson, 'Infantile Specimens': Showing Babies in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Social History* 42 (2008): 341-370. On "Better Babies" contests see Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies and the Modern Farm Woman, 1890-1930* (Albuquerque, 1995); Lynne Curry, *Modern Mothers in the Heartland: Gender, Health and Progress in Illinois, 1900-1930* (Columbus, 1999); Annette K. Vance Dorey, *Better Baby Contests: The Scientific Quest for Perfect Childhood Health in the Early Twentieth Century* (Jefferson, N.C., 1999); and Alexandra Minna Stern, "Better Babies Contests at the Indiana State Fair: Child Health, Scientific Motherhood, and Eugenics, 1920-35," in *Formative Years*: 121-152.

70. Dulah Evans Krebbiel, *Baby's Childhood Days: A Biography* (Chicago, 1908) UCLA HQ779.B1157 1908b.

71. *Our Baby's Record* (S.l., 1917). UCLA HQ779095 1917.

72. Margaret Ann Meta Morris Grimball, *Baby* (New York, 1915) UCLA HQ779.G861b 1915b. See also Carolyn Noble, *Baby's Days* (New York, 1916) for a certificate of a girl from Stillwater, Oklahoma. UCLA HQ779.N747b 1916.

73. Leach, *Land of Desire* and Whitaker, *Service and Style*.

74. Edmund Vance Cooke, *The Biography of Our Baby* (New York, 1906) UCLA HQ779.C772b 1906.

75. *Baby's Own* (Oklahoma City, Okla., 1952) UCLA HQ779.B118 1952. For another example of a hospital identification bracelet see William Jessup Sholar, *Me and How I Grew* (S.l., 1944) UCLA HQ779.s559m 1944.

76. Nusbaum, *Our Baby's First Seven Years* and Foley, *Log-o'-Life*.

77. Cory, *Our Baby Book*, UCLA HQ779.C8330 1907.

78. *Congratulations* (St. Paul, Minn., 1911) UCLA HQ77.C749 1911.

79. *All About Me: Baby's Record* (New York: Saalfield Publ., c. 1918) UCLA HQ779.A416 1918b. For another example of replies to these entries see *All About Me: Baby's Record* UCLA HQ779.A416 1918.

80. Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion* (Princeton, N.J., 1999).

81. *Nursery Log* (Minneapolis, ca. 1920). See also, Theresa Howland Shute *A Book for the Cradle-Roll Baby* (New York, 1929).

82. Janet Robson, *A Catholic Baby's Record* (New York, 1945); *A Happy Child of God: A Catholic Baby Record Book*; Eve Rockwell *When You Were Very Small: A Catholic Baby's Record* (Norwalk, Conn., 1953) and Sadie Rose Weilerstein and Maurice Rawson, *Our Baby: A Record Book for the Jewish Child Covering the First Five Years* (New York, 1950). See also Sister Mary de Lourdes, *Baby Grows in Age and Grace, A Guide and Record for the Catholic Mother* (Norwalk, Conn., 1951).

83. Evelyn von Hartmann, *Baby's Life* (New York, 1913) UCLA HQ779.H333b 1913 copy 3.

84. *Our Baby* (Racine, Wisc., 1930) UCLA biomedical library HQ779.0921 1930. For another example of Christmas gifts see: *My Baby's Biography* (Philadelphia, 1916) UCLA HQ779.M994 1916 copy 2. One mother personalized a baby book by crossing out Christmas and writing "1st Chanuka." See Mabel Betsy Hill, *Our Baby* (New York, 1927) UCLA HQ799.H645o 1927.

85. Karal Ann Marling, *Merry Christmas!: Celebrating America's Greatest Holiday* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000) and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

86. *My Diary* (Joliet, Ill., 1936).

87. Maud Humphrey, *Baby's Record* (New York, 1898) UCLA HQ779.H926b 1898b and Maud Humphrey, *Baby's Record* (New York, 1898) UCLA HQ779.H926b 1898b copy 2.

88. *Our Baby's Own Book* (New York, 1918) Department of Treasury Unclaimed Property Personal Papers: Ruth Nimmo White Phillips Papers 1916-1938 Lot 349, Box 10 Folder 15, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

89. See *Our Baby's Book* (Newark, N.J., 1925) and subsequent editions of this book; *Baby's Own Book* (S.l., 1940); and Zabeth Selovar *Baby Days: The First Five Years* (Chicago, 1931) and subsequent editions.

90. Queen Holden, *Baby's Book of Events* (New York, 1930) UCLA HQ779.H726b 1930.

91. Melcena Burns Denny, *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915) UCLA HQ779.724 1915b Copy 2; and Melcena Burns Denny, *Book of Baby Mine* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915) UCLA HQ779.B724 1915b Copy 10.

92. *Book of Baby Mine* (1930). Copy in possession of L. Weiner.

93. Edith Lowe, *Year By Year Story of Our Baby* (Racine, Wisc., 1934) UCLA HQ779.L913y 1934.

94. See Janet Laura Scott, *Our Baby's Book: From Birth to Seven Years* (Norwalk, Conn., 1948) UCLA HQ779.S429ba 1948.

95. Some early studies of the costs of child rearing can be found in James D. Tarver, "Cost of Rearing and Educating Farm Children," *Journal of Farm Economics* 38 (1956): 144-153. The Children's Bureau pamphlet, *Infant Care* provided estimates of the cost of childbirth. Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, *Infant Care* Publ. No. 8 (Washington, D. C., 1914) and subsequent editions. For discussions by mothers of some of the costs see Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Raising a Baby the Government Way; Mothers' Letters to the Children's Bureau, 1915-1932* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1986).

96. On high school completion and its link to the expanding economy see Claudia Goldin, "America's Graduation from High School: The Evolution and Spread of Secondary Schooling in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Economic History* 58 (1998): 345-374; and Claudia Goldin, "The Human-Capital Century and American Leadership: Virtues of the Past," *Journal of Economic History* 61 (2001): 263-292.

97. *Baby's Bank and Record Book* (Minneapolis, 1926).

98. *Baby's Bank and Record Book*, (Peoria, 1926). There are many versions of coin bank baby books for sale on ebay.com but they have not yet entered library collections and been cataloged as books; these items are often quite expensive and are often bought by collectors of banking memorabilia.

99. *Our Baby's Chest of Memories* (Attleboro, Mass., 1960). We have defined this as a baby book because it includes a card for entering "My medical history."

100. The Mother's Aid of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital, *Our Baby's First Seven Years* (Chicago, 1949), foreword. photocopy in possession of L. Weiner.

101. See for example, City of Yokohama Immigration and Administrative Service *Maternal and Child Health Handbook*, 1983. Photocopy in possession of L. Weiner.

102. See, for example Beatrix Potter, *Peter Rabbit Baby Record Book* (London, 2009); Eric Carle, *Eric Carle: A Journal for Baby's First Year* (San Francisco, 2006); Eunice Moyle, *"Hello Baby! Baby Book* (San Francisco, 2006); and Dania Lebovics and Lam Quach, *Baby Chronicles: My Own Story* (Toronto, 2006).

103. Mothers' Aid, *Our Baby's First Seven Years* (Chicago, 2000).

104. See www.similac.com and www.gerber.com.

105. Mary-Lou Weisman and Paul Meiser, *My Middle-Aged Baby Book* (New York, 1995); Jim Mullen, *Baby's First Tattoo: A Memory Book for Modern Parents* (New York, 2000) and Jennifer Nan Stinson, *The Inappropriate Baby Book: Gross and Embarrassing Memories from Baby's First Year* (Kansas City, 2002).

106. Milo Grange Denlinger, *Our Puppy's Baby Book* (New York, 1961).

107. See, for example, www.babychapters.com, www.babysstory.com and www.aboutmybaby.com.

Janet Golden and Lynn Weiner, "Reading Baby Books: Medicine, Marketing, Money and the Live of American Infants"

This article examines American baby books from the late nineteenth through the twentieth century. Baby books are ephemeral publications—formatted with one or more printed pages for recording developmental, health, and social information about infants and often including personal observations, artifacts such as photographs or palm prints, medical and other prescriptive advice, and advertisements. For historians they serve as records of the changing social and cultural worlds of infancy, offering insights into the interplay of childrearing practices and larger social movements.

Baby books are a significant historical source both challenging and supporting current historiography, and they illustrate how medical, market and cultural forces shaped the ways babies were cared for and in turn how their won behavior shaped family lives. A typology of baby books includes the lavishly illustrated keepsake books of the late nineteenth century, commercial and public health books of the twentieth century, and on-line records of the present day. Themes that emerge over time include those of scientific medicine and infant psychology, religion and consumerism. The article relies on secondary literature and on archival sources including the collections of the UCLA Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library as well as privately held baby books.

Michael E. Woods, "'The Indignation of Freedom-Loving People': The Caning of Charles Sumner and Emotion in Antebellum Politics"

This essay illuminates the role of emotion in antebellum American politics and political culture through an analysis of the indignant northern response to the May 1856 caning of Charles Sumner. It begins by situating indignation in its antebellum cultural context, showing that popular beliefs about indignation's sympathetic and moral nature made it a uniquely respectable and highly valued type of anger. Indignation enjoyed additional political power when expressed collectively in a so-called "indignation meeting," a staple of antebellum American politics. This political ritual brought like-minded citizens together to respond to public problems and to influence elected officials. Scores of the meetings convened throughout the free states following the Sumner assault. As they met to express their shared indignation against Sumner's assailant and to demand retaliation against the southern slave power, many northerners experienced an intense feeling of sectional unity which appeared to bridge partisan and ideological divisions. This perceived unity, coupled with widespread belief in the need for northern unity against southern aggression, decisively aided the rise of he Republican Party. By appealing rhetorically to northern indignation, and by holding their own partisan indignation meetings, the Republicans harnessed northern indignation to their cause, an opportunity missed by their political rivals.