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The Child-Woman to the Woman-Child : Mourning Etiquette for Girls and Women in 19th Century Britain.

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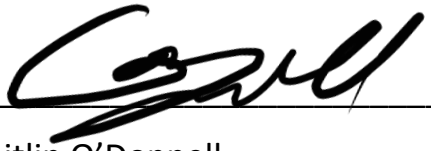
Declaration of Originality

This dissertation is submitted by the undersigned to the Institute of Art Design and Technology, Dun Laoghaire in partial fulfilment for the BA (Hons) in Design for Stage and Screen. It is entirely the author's own work, except where noted, and has not been submitted for an award from this or any other educational institution.

Signed 

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the pedagogy and gender roles within C19th Britain, through the lens of mourning etiquette to show how young girls were being conditioned to follow societies expectations and become a mother. I focus on the time from mid to late C19th, where during this period, within the typical structure of a family, the journey from girlhood to womanhood was a cyclical process occurring in each generation. This discussion looks at ways in which C19th ideas of domesticity were instilled in young girls, particularly those from a middle-class social standing. I have considered their surroundings of their home environment when in mourning, their outward appearance during a time of mourning and how they were taught to mourn. I have used their ritualistic practices at a time of mourning to focus on one aspect of a young girl's life in order to identify the steps that were taken to prepare a young girl for womanhood.

Keywords: mourning, etiquette, gender, nineteenth century.

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Introduction

Mourning etiquette has become a lost tradition in modern society, however, in the C19th it was a prominent part of the everyday lives of the people, particularly when involving women and young girls. In this thesis I discuss a process that happens throughout a young girl's childhood and how she was constantly being prepared to follow in the footsteps of her mother. I have done so through looking at one of women's key roles at the time: the responsibility she held surrounding a death in the family and the etiquette she was to adhere to throughout the process. This discussion represents a cycle where a girl was born into a family, cared for, and educated by her mother as she grew up in a society fixated on the idea of death and ritual until she herself inevitably became a mother and the cycle of conditioning was continued. Through looking at the culture of death in the C19th, as well as the gender roles in place, I have structured my discussion under three topics, each highlighting an area of the child's upbringing within the culture of mourning.

To begin, it is important to know the standing of women in the C19th: women were expected to remain within the home, conforming to the roles of the submissive housewife through caring for her children and running the household.[1] Women in much later parts of the century began to rebel against this conservative role, however, for this dissertation I

[1] In my findings in C19th sources when a woman was referred to as a 'wife' it was in the possessive context of "his wife" or "the wife". In contrast, when referring to a woman's role within the home she was called a 'housewife', the differentiation between the words makes being a housewife sound more like a job, rather than just being married, and suggests that a certain level of education is needed in order to take on the responsibilities of being a housewife. However, some old ideas argue that housework was a way to keep a woman occupied, and much like a child, to keep her out of trouble. For the purposes of this dissertation I am going to use the term 'woman of the house' rather than 'housewife' as the meaning of housewife has since changed and represents a different idea in present day culture. See Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*. Yale University Press, 1957. Print. p.348. and Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p. 210.

decided to focus on the woman of the house, as it is through her and how she is represented in periodicals, that we can see ideologies of perfect womanhood and conforming to society's expectations.[2]

Martin Danahay, in his study of work and gender, notes that in particular during the 1840s, an effort was made to restrict a woman's employment outside of the home, the idea of working in the public became a role that was only suitable for men to undertake.[3] Men were recognised as the sole breadwinners for the home, leaving the women in charge of running the home and being responsible for anything within this private sphere. As a result of this, domestic life in the home became increasingly popular, with literature idealising the woman within the home and reinforcing these gender roles. Deborah Gorham has discussed how the end of the 18th century brought about ideas of femininity being associated with natural qualities of a woman.[4] These ideas of femininity were seen most prominently in the era when a woman was referred to as the 'Angel in the House', this was the most idealised image of a woman.[5]

Gorham argues the symbolism of the angel suggests that, even as a woman grows and matures, she would still be idealised as a childlike figure keeping an air of innocence around her.[6] This childlike maturity was a sign that she was removed from the harshness of the outside world and informing others around her that she remained in what was considered

[2] Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*. Yale University Press, 1957. Print. p.348.
[3] Danahay, Martin A. *Gender At Work In Victorian Culture*. Routledge, 2016. Print. p.7.
[4] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.5.
[5] Ibid. p.5.
[6] Ibid. p.6.

her space, the home.[7] Walter Houghton comments that even though a woman was expected to remain in this childlike state, as a wife she would still be a strong driving force behind her husband with one of her roles being to assist in his intellect, but doing so from the home to ensure she doesn't intrude into the man's world.[8]

Houghton's contention is reflected in Coventry Patmore's popular 1858 poem *The Angel in the House* where it was suggested that it was love that caused the woman to fall back in to her childlike state where her main purpose was to support her husband, he writes:

> "There's nothing left of what she was:
> Back to the babe the woman dies,
> And all the wisdom that she has
> Is to love him for being wise."[9]

As a result of the woman's perceived innocence, she was often likened to a child as well as children compared to young adults with both being referred to as the child-woman and the woman-child.[10] Patmore's infantilisation of women is also aligned to the perception that one of the other major roles of a woman was being a mother, this was seen as one of the most fulfilling acts in a woman's life.[11] Women and young children were considered together as they were both occupying the same space, protected from the outside world within the feminine sphere. The 'feminine sphere' was that of domesticity, existing within the home and being in charge of all the responsibilities that were associated with it.[12]

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[7] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.6.
[8] Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*. Yale University Press, 1957. Print. p.350.
[9] Patmore, Coventry. *The Angel in the House.* John W. Parker and Son, West Strand, 1858. Print.
[10] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.211.
[11] Draznin, Yaffa Claire. *Victorian London's Middle-Class Housewife: What She Did All Day.* Greenwood Publishing Group Incorporated, 2000. Print. p.97.
[12] Dyhouse, Carol. *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England.* Taylor & Francis Group, 2012. Print. p.98.

During this time, ideas about childhood development were more prevalent in society and resulting in developing child-focused homes.[13] Pedagogy particularly for young girls, was that of an informal nature as often young girls were not sent to receive formal education but rather expected to stay within the home to help with domestic duties.[14] These pedagogical interactions with her mother served as training in many areas that would set her up to exist in an appropriate manner both inside and outside of the home.[15]

Striving to achieve the same standards of the upper classes was particularly acute for the middle-classes. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert set the standards for the idyllic family life in C19th society and the way in which their family presented themselves to the public had a huge influence on contemporary fashions.[16] The reproduction and circulation of Royal portraits in popular form, along with the development of photography, meant that visual images were in public circulation giving people ideas as to what was proper or fashionable when it came to menswear and womenswear, as well as styling for children. When Prince Albert died in 1861, Queen Victoria remained in mourning until her own death in 1901, and throughout these forty years of mourning she would heavily influence every aspect of mourning etiquette. When it came to children there was no exception; Lou Taylor notes a letter where Victoria scolded her own daughter for not putting her infant child in correct mourning attire.[17]

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[13] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.xxii.
[14] Draznin, Yaffa Claire. *Victorian London's Middle-Class Housewife: What She Did All Day.* Greenwood Publishing Group Incorporated, 2000. Print. p.6.
[15] Pedagogical interactions: Face to face interactions practitioners engage in with children; they may take the form of cognitive or social interactions. See Siraj-Blatchford, Iram et al. *Researching Effective Pedagogy in the Early Years.* Queen's Printer, 2002. Print. p. 8.
[16] Otnes, Cele C. and Maclaran, Pauline. *Royal: Fever: The British Monarchy in Consumer Culture*. University of California Press, 2015. Print. p.47.
[17] Taylor, Lou. *Mourning Dress A Costume and Social History.* George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1983. Print. p.179.

Figure 1 Queen Victoria and her daughter Princess Alexandra, John Jabez Edwin Mayall, 1862. Royal Collection

Figure 2 Fashion Plate - The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine. Samuel Orchart Beeton, 1864. Print. Page 68.

In Figure 1, Queen Victoria and Princess Alexandra are wearing mourning clothes as they would have still been in a period of deep mourning for Prince Albert. Looking at Figure 2, a fashion plate published in a periodical two years later, the royal influence can be seen in the clothing through the similar silhouettes and styling. The likeness can be seen between Princess Alexandria in Figure 1 and the woman on the left in Figure 2, sharing similarities in the cape like coat and the bonnet as well as the materials used and the layering of the fabrics.

The rules of mourning etiquette were applied to women far more heavily than they were for men, the strict mourning rules that women were expected to adhere to, socially

discouraged women from remarrying, unlike men who were encouraged to remarry.[18] Since women were associated with the home, their grief was used as an outward expression to their peers of the family's social standing.[19] Through looking at children's methods of learning, these being toys, books, and games, the pedagogical practice can be seen in areas such as etiquette and life skills.

Accordingly, I have explored this topic throughout three chapters: Chapter One 'Death Within the Feminine Sphere' looks at the home environment occupied by women and children and looking at it as a space where girls learned from, Chapter Two 'The Child-Woman in Mourning' looks at how the children began to adhere to etiquette through the way in which they are dressed and Chapter Three 'From Mourning to Mother' explores the various ways in which knowledge on the mourning process was put into action and furthered by active learning through their books and toys.

[18] Taylor, Lou. *Mourning Dress A Costume and Social History.* George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1983. Print. p. 61.
[19] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.341.

Chapter One – 'Death Within the Feminine Sphere'

In this chapter, I look at the role of the woman of the house in regards to an illness or death that occurs. I explore how she cares for a sick relative and how she deals with the aftermath of a death within the home space. A woman was considered the primary caregiver in the home and with this she was expected to care for her sick and dying relatives, regardless of her age or her social standing.[20] The hospital system was slowly growing and by 1930 medicine as a career was established, this meant that hospitals became more accessible to people of all classes and we begin to see a move from the sick being treated at home to going to hospitals for treatment.[21] However, before this change came about, sickness and death happened in the home. Every home had a sickroom, which was likely to be a bedroom. In the C19th there were professional nurses, often working-class women, but Judith Flanders argues that they were looked down upon as they were seen to be going against their womanly nature, carrying out their natural role as a caregiver for financial gain.[22] As a result of this stigma surrounding professional nurses, the duty was often placed upon the woman of the house.

It was assumed that all women at some point in their lives would be called upon as a nurse, be it for their parents, children, husband or another relative, and if they avoided this, they would be judged by other women for neglecting their duty.[23] Linda Ballard records a series of tasks that were to be carried out long before a person falls ill, in preparation for a

[20] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.29.
[21] Wasley, Terree P. *Health Care in The Twentieth Century: A History of Government Interference and Protection.* Business Economics, vol. 28, 1993. Print. p.11.
[22] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.302.
[23] Ibid. p.304.

woman's inevitable nursing duties. Every household was to have a special set of sheets that would be kept until the passing of a relative when they would then be used. These sheets were sometimes given as wedding presents and if not, the woman was expected to source them soon after the wedding so that she would be prepared to deal with a death in the home.[24] It was important for a household to be prepared for an illness or a death since instances as these were more common and it could not be predicted when it would happen. When someone fell ill, the woman of the house would remove all clutter from the room, following the advice that a sickroom should only contain a bed and the equipment needed to clean the sick person or heal any wounds.[25] The sick would be tended to in this room, fed, cleaned, and treated, as they wanted to contain the area of infection to try to avoid the spread to others in the household. Eventually, due to lack of adequate medicinal practices and after failed treatments, the sickroom would become the area that held the deathbed, where the sick person would inevitably pass away. When it became clear that a person was close to death, the correct deathbed behaviour was to be followed, these rules were set out by the Evangelical ideas of dying a good death.[26] With the help of the family the dying person would carry out any unfinished business and the family would pray by their side for the salvation of their soul.

[24] Ballard, Linda M. *Dressing for Death.* North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 1992. Print. p.90.

[25] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.316

[26] The beliefs and practices of the Evangelical Church led its followers to lead a good life which would secure their place in the afterlife. While on their deathbed the sick would be required to carry out any unfinished business to ensure a good death and peaceful afterlife, often the help of the family would be needed to carry out the final tasks. This idea of the 'deathbed scene' was then romanticised in literature and accepted as custom when faced with a person on their deathbed. See Jalland, Patricia. *Death in the Victorian Family.* Oxford University Press, 1996. Print. p.28. and Masur, Margo. *"Inhumanly Beautiful": The Aesthetics of the Nineteenth-Century Deathbed Scene.* Buffalo State College, 2015. Print.

Figure 3 - Lithograph on Paper, Unknown, 1880-1890. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Figure 3 was created for a song sheet cover, it illustrates a deathbed scene of a young girl who has passed away, the phrase 'gone to sleep' was used when speaking of children as it had more of a light heartedness to it. The illustration gives an idea of the surroundings of one in their deathbed, a mostly empty room with the surfaces being used to hold medicinal equipment and the family by their side, both adults and children.

Death and dying were a part of everyday life, due to the life expectancy being lower and infant mortality rates being high. Ritualistic behaviour was highly involved in the lives of

C19th people and the death of someone was no exception. When a household member died the woman of the house was to carry out a series of tasks throughout the house as well as with the corpse of the deceased. One of these tasks would be to stop all the clocks in the house to record the time of death, Ballard notes that this was almost symbolic of the lives of the living put on pause during the rigorous ritual, the clocks would then be restarted as the body left the house to be buried, although this did not signify the pause being lifted on the family.[27] There were many other minute details to be dealt with and the funeral became something that was obsessed over, from the choice of stationery to the grave-digging every aspect of a mourners life was overcome with rigorous planning of the funeral and preparation to enter a period of mourning. Flanders observes it was believed that this strict etiquette surrounding the death in a family would distract the mourner from the reality and help them to deal with their loss.[28]

When it came to preparing the body for the funeral the responsibility was once again left to the women of the household. The body was to be washed with soap and water under a sheet, to protect the deceased's modesty, this sheet would later be disposed of and the body would be tightly bound from the waist down.[29] The body would be posed appropriately, sometimes binding certain features like the jaw and closing the eyes, until rigor mortis would occur.[30] The body would be dressed in the appropriate clothing and set out for the viewing. Anything used to clean the body, the water and cloths, would be kept under the bed until the

[27] Ballard, Linda M. *Dressing for Death.* North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 1992. Print. p.82.
[28] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.333.
[29] Jalland, Patricia. *Death in the Victorian Family.* Oxford University Press, 1996. Print. p.212.
[30] Rigor Mortis is a process that causes the muscles in the body to stiffen so the deceased would remain as posed See Hayman, Jarvis and Oxenham, Marc. *Human Body Decomposition*. Academic Press, 2016. Print. p.1-12.

body had left the house and disposed of after.[31] Exposure to these processes would have been hard for other family members to avoid these steps in the ritual as they took place within the home, between what was the sickroom and the room in which the wake was held.

As well as looking after her family and adhering to ritual within her household, a woman was to follow extremely strict etiquette regarding her own clothing in a period of mourning. The rules surrounding etiquette were constantly developing and changing. In order to keep up with the mode in fashions, women turned to periodicals and magazines for advice. These magazines gave a good framework for how young women were expected to style themselves in their everyday lives as well as at times of mourning.

The idea of fashionable mourning outfits popularised mourning wear as a trend, especially to people who desired to be presented at court.[32] Mourning clothes became more attainable and thus more affordable with the opening of specifically dedicated fashion warehouses. Some of the most well known mourning warehouses were; Jay's London General Mourning Warehouse, Pugh's Mourning Warehouse and Peter Robinson's Court and General Mourning Warehouse.[33] All of these warehouses sold appropriate mourning clothing considered fashionable and provided quick supply in the event of a death. Peter Robinson's warehouse kept a carriage stocked ready to send to the mourner's house for them to choose

[31] Ballard, Linda M. *Dressing for Death.* North Munster Antiquarian Journal, 1992. Print. p.88.
[32] There were two different categories of mourning with different rules to follow, these being court mourning and general mourning. Court mourning applied to the death of a monarch or their relatives, it involved set rules on how to present oneself and was worn by those who had direct connections to the court, this would include royals, nobility, judges, magistrates and many others. General mourning was for everybody who could afford to do so, ranging from the working class to upper class, and with the increasing commercialisation of a mourning industry it became much easier for everyone to participate in mourning regardless of social status. See Davey, Richard. *A History of Mourning.* Jay's Regent Street, W., 1890. Print. p.84.
[33] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.342

their outfits and be measured for fitting, providing a quick turn around.[34] In my research, I have found that these mourning warehouses regularly advertised their services through women's magazines, for example, Fig 4 shows an advertisement for mourning wear from The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine:

COURT AND COMPLIMENTARY
MOURNING.
BLACK SILKS.—SPECIAL NOTICE.
PETER ROBINSON, Regent-street,
Black Silk Mercer, by Appointment,
would invite the special attention of purchasers to the superior Make and Qualities of his Black Silks, and the very reasonable Prices at which they are sold.
Good, useful Black Silks, from 35s. to 50s. the Full Dress
Superior and most enduring Qualities, from 3 to 6 guineas.
Patterns free on application to
THE COURT AND GENERAL MOURNING WAREHOUSE,
256 to 262, Regent-street, London.

Figure 4 Peter Robinson Advertisement - The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine. Samuel Orchart Beeton, 1864.

Robinson's advertisement highlighting their quality black silks was listed alongside many others for regular everyday clothing. This piece also notes the affordable prices they are selling the clothing for, this makes it seem as though they are more accessible to people of different social standards and encouraging everyone to dress a particular way when in mourning. Any illustrated advertisements for mourning wear depicted a woman, as she was the image of grief, and oftentimes they would depict a child often a young girl, for example, the advertisement at Fig 5.

[34] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.342.

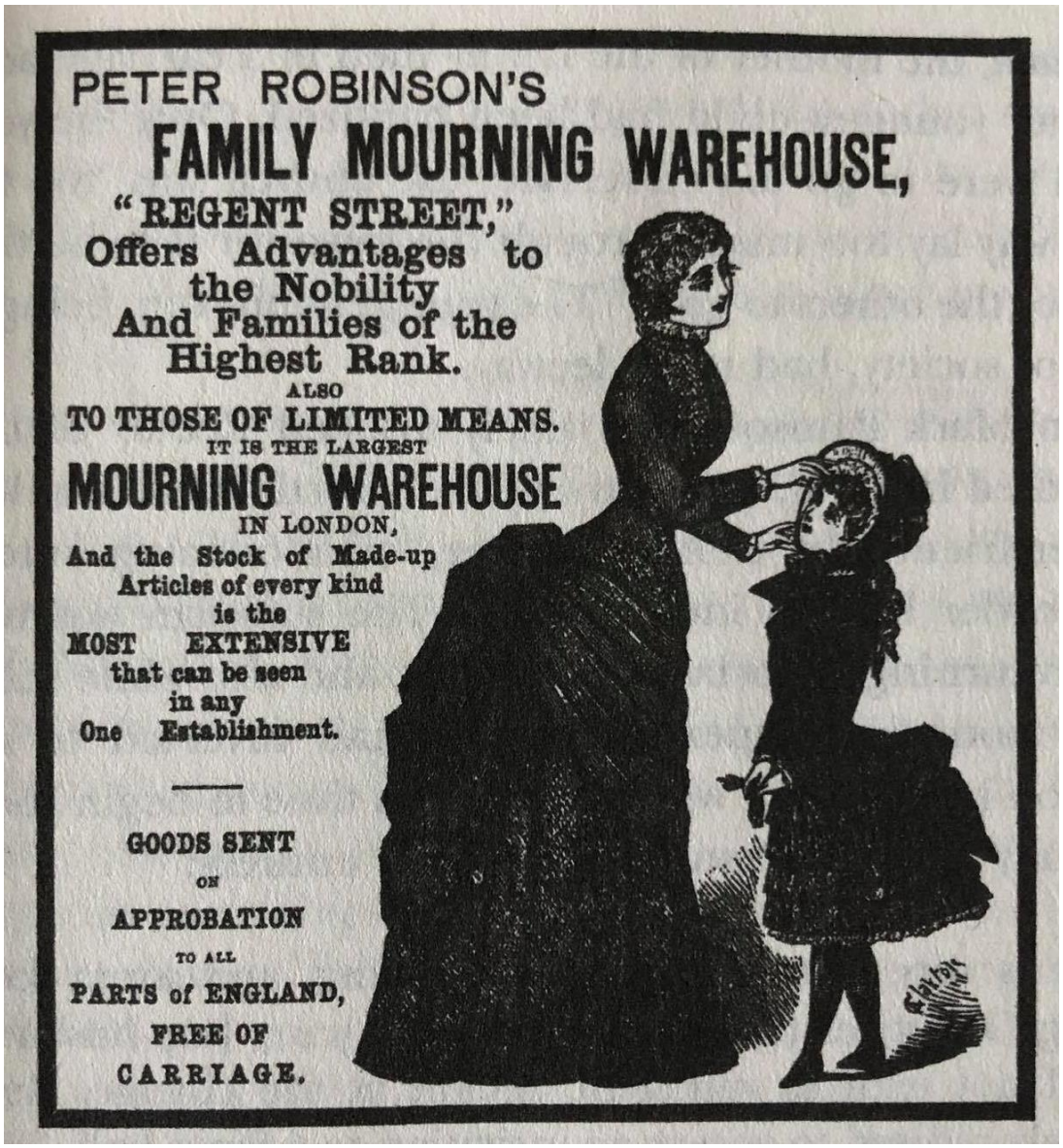

Figure 5 - Peter Robinson Advertisement - The Victorian House, Judith Flanders, 2003. Print. Page 339.

Young girls, if they were literate, would spend a lot of their time reading girls' magazines and learning about the expected social norms. These magazines would try to appeal to all different personalities, but it was obviously seen that they would encourage the more traditional values of domestic duty.[35] These traditional ideas were further encouraged through periodicals that included fashion plates for mourning wear, written

[35] Moruzi, Kristine and Nelson, Claudia. *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodical Press, 1850 – 1915.* Routledge, 2012. Print. p.2.

pieces on what was acceptable to wear as well as outlining the periods for which one should remain in mourning. These articles, although talking about a universal topic, were primarily aimed at women to set standards within the household to be observed and followed.[36]

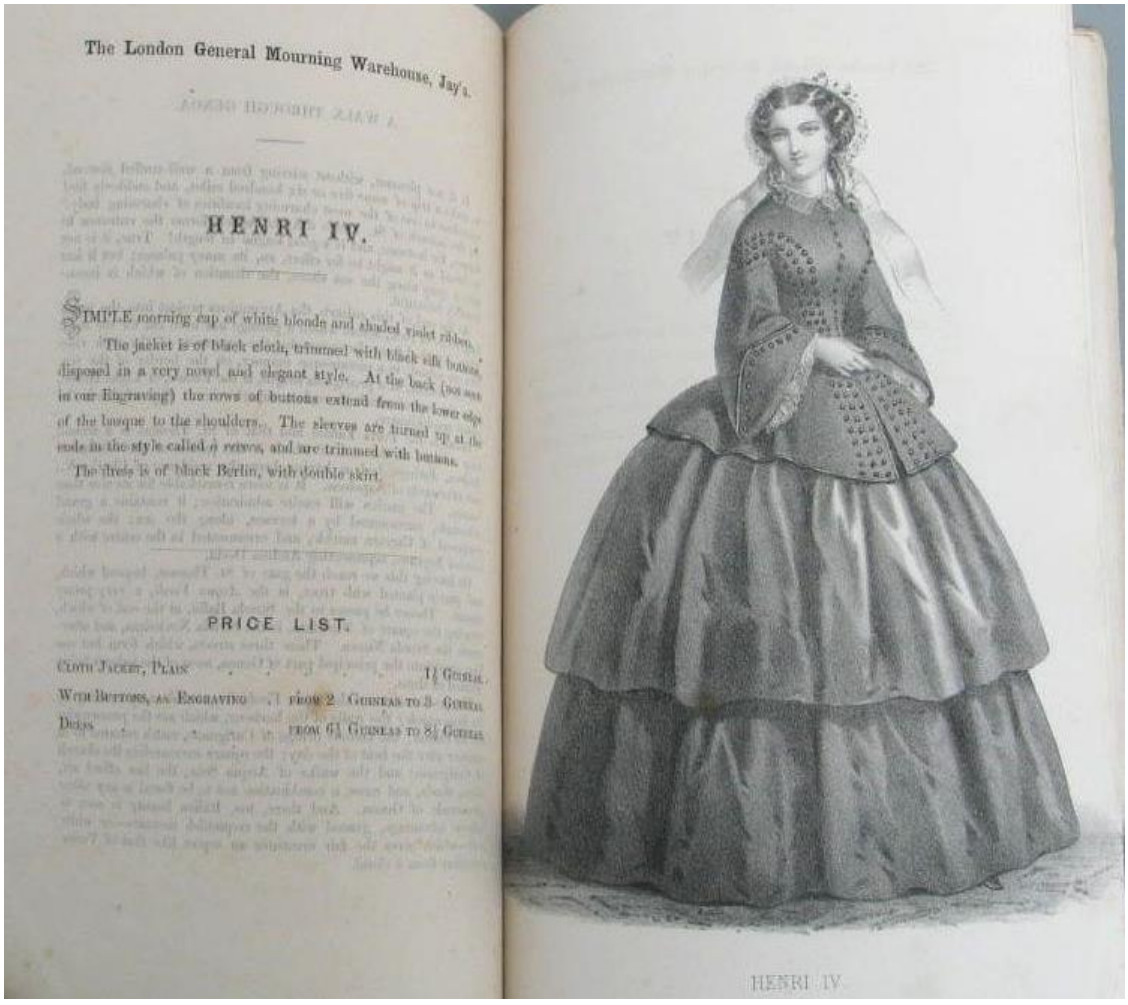

Figure 6 -Fashion Plate, Jay's Manual of Fashion/The London General Mourning Warehouse, W C Jay & Co, 1865. Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences.

The fashion plate at Figure 6 was published in the catalogue for Jay's London General Mourning Warehouse in 1865. On the left, it gives a description of the outfit including a white bonnet, black trimmed jacket completed with rows of buttons in what they describe as a "very

[36] Draznin, Yaffa Claire. *Victorian London's Middle-Class Housewife: What She Did All Day.* Greenwood Publishing Group Incorporated, 2000. Print. p.36.

novel and elegant style". This outfit was deemed respectable for a widow given the black colouring with the exception of the white bonnet.

There were four different mourning periods, these were: first mourning, second mourning, ordinary mourning, and half-mourning. The type of mourning clothes a woman would wear, and the amount of time spent in mourning depended on the relationship she had with the deceased. For the first stage of mourning, also known as deep mourning, a widowed woman would be dressed in drapes of all black fabrics with the exception of the indoor cap which was white.[37] A widow would remain in deep mourning for one year and one month before entering second mourning for six months, ordinary mourning for another six months and half mourning for a final six months.[38] Each stage of mourning saw a small relief in the restrictions and women could introduce more jewellery, ribbons or colours in to their outfits. This would be just over two and a half years of mourning, although the woman could choose to remain in mourning for longer – an example we see with Queen Victoria who remained in mourning for Prince Albert for the remaining forty years of her life. Not only was the mourning period restricting to her clothing but also her lifestyle. A widow would not be expected to leave the house nor have visitors for the first year after her husband's death, she was enveloped in her home life during this period.[39]

The clothing worn for the ceremonial aspects of a death was made of crape, this material could be damaged easily so it was only worn during any important ritual or when a woman knew that she was going to be seen publicly. Otherwise, within the household, a

[37] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.343.
[38] Ibid. p.378-379.
[39] Ibid. p.338.

woman would dress in dark or dull fabrics that had a trim applied to it, this would symbolise that she was still in a period of mourning without risk of damaging her best mourning garments.[40]

Since dealing with death was a part of their everyday lives both in the outside world and in their home sphere, young girls often developed a desensitisation to this aspect of life. Judith Flanders gives an example of children in Sunday school referring to the flies that hatched in the decaying bodies under the floorboards of the church simply as the "body bugs".[41] Children observed the mourning rituals carried out in the home and how their mother presented herself during the extended periods of time that she was to be in mourning and even more so if she was newly widowed, spending at least a whole year at home. It is through dealing with a death within the home that we see a young girl gain an understanding of the ritual involved, whether that be carrying out the physical tasks that come with a death or noting the changes to their clothing.

This chapter has looked at how death was dealt with in the home and how the children being exposed to this gained an understanding of the ritual involved with mourning through observational learning. In Chapter Two, I will follow on from looking at their surroundings to looking at how mourning directly affected the children through the ways in which they were dressed and the etiquette they were expected to follow while in a period of mourning.

[40] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.345.
[41] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian City.* Atlantic Books, 2013. Print. p.221.

Chapter Two – 'The Child-Woman in Mourning'

This chapter explores mourning etiquette as it applied to children from mid to late C19th. In order to understand how children were presented during times of mourning it is important to understand the difference in how they were dressed in everyday life and how they were seen within society at the time. Children's clothing has a history of its own as it needed to be adjusted for a child throughout their stages of life: as a child grows up so too must their clothing.[42] Children's clothing, while still reflecting the trends of the time as well as mirroring their parents' image, had elements that made it suitable for a child, for example being looser fitting to allow for growth and movement. Their clothes began to be adapted to allow for the fact that they were children and seen differently to adults, compared to the children's clothing from the previous centuries. For a female child, there were three different stages in her life based on her age and milestones, these being childhood, girlhood, and adulthood.[43] With each of these stages came a development in the clothing that she would wear. Defining a 'girl' is often difficult because at this time someone would be referred to as a 'girl' if she were not married which could have a broad age range from infancy to girls in their twenties.[44]

[42] In the 16th and 17th Century children are depicted in portraiture and sculpture as miniature adults wearing a scaled down version of a typical adult clothing. With the development of the Romantic movement's ideas of innocence in the C19th ideas of childhood began to emerge. See Buck, Anne. *Clothes And The Child*. 1st ed., Ruth Bean Publishers, 1996. Print

[43] Moruzi, Kristine and Nelson, Claudia. *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodical Press, 1850 – 1915.* Routledge, 2012. Print. p.9.

[44] Ibid. p.9.

Children were not always included in the mourning process; however, they became more increasingly involved during the C19th when children of all ages were dressed in appropriate mourning attire as set out by the social etiquette. Queen Victoria had even her youngest of children adhere to the mourning etiquette which encouraged the rest of society to follow suit in order to be seen at a higher social class, although people from most social classes would follow the etiquette given they could afford to do so.

Figure 7 - Queen Victoria's Daughters, William Bambridge, 1862. Royal Collection Trust

This photograph at Fig 7 portrays Queen Victoria's daughters in mourning surrounding a bust of their late father, Prince Albert. As seen from left to right: Princess Alice aged 18, Princess Helena aged 15, Princess Beatrice aged 4, Princess Victoria aged 21 and Princess Louise aged 13. At this time Princess Victoria was the only one of her sisters to be married. Since she was a married woman, rather than an unmarried girl like her sisters, slight differences can be seen in her clothing, compared to the clothing her sisters are wearing, most noticeably the addition of a shawl and a bonnet.

Between the time of birth and the age of six all children were dressed similarly in frocks. There was very little to distinguish between a male and female child, one element that set them apart was the parting of their hair. Females' hair was parted down the middle whereas males' hair was parted to the side, this information is important to note when looking at photography from the time as it allows to correctly gender the subject.[45] The general style for an infant's frock was short sleeved and a low neckline and were generally made from materials such as linen or white muslin.[46] At the beginning of the C19th, it was more common to dress infants in white at times of mourning, children were seen as pure and innocent so dressing them in white promoted this idea. They were kept in their everyday clothing however elements of black would be added to indicate the child's grief over the dead relative. Black ribbons and bows were the most popular element added to the infant's clothing, the black reflected that worn by the adults during mourning. Their frocks had black ribbon threaded along the bottom, the waistline or along the sleeve cuffs. In addition, black

[45] Doyle, Marian I. *An Illustrated History of Hairstyles 1830 – 1930*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2003. Print. p.149.
[46] Buck, Anne. *Clothes And The Child*. 1st ed., Ruth Bean Publishers, 1996. Print. p.15.

bows were tied at the shoulders of their clothing or a bow tied to their back. These could be swapped out for a lighter coloured ribbon when entering half-mourning.[47]

Figure 8 - Scottish Mourner, Albumen Carte de Visite, Circa 1870, Adam Diston, Railway Cottage, Leven Fife.

[47] Leslie, Frank. *The Mode in Mourning Goods*. Frank Leslie's Ladies' Magazine, Volume 27, 1870. Print. p. 71.

In the photograph (Fig 8) a mother, in mourning, is holding her child who is also wearing mourning clothing. The infant is wearing a white dress with black bows tied on the shoulders as well as a black ribbon tied around the waist, other decorative elements of black threading can be seen on the frock. For many families, adding these elements to their everyday clothes was a more cost-effective alternative to buying new mourning wear for children. Since children rapidly grow it was a great cost to the parents to buy special mourning clothing for the children as by the next time they were required to enter a period of mourning they would have outgrown the outfit. The ribbons and bows could be added and removed when necessary, leaving them with their everyday wear relatively untouched.

In the later parts of the C19th, when putting children in mourning attire was more common, children were seen in clothes as dark as their parents; black, lilac or lavender being some of these colours used to indicate full and half mourning. Many parents chose to dye their children's existing clothing as it was a cheaper option. Fabric dyes came from natural sources such as plants, insects, and minerals, however in 1856 aniline dyes were introduced, these were the first completely synthetic dyes created by W.H. Perkin.[48] This marketed fabric dye was more readily available to the public so when the trend of black mourning clothes for young children came about, it was much easier for parents to alter the child's existing clothing.

[48] Watt, Melinda. *Nineteenth-Century European Textile Production.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art. n.p., October 2004. Web. 14th July 2020.

When it came to a funeral, young children were allowed to be in attendance whereas their mothers could not. It was thought that women could not control their emotions when it came to the burial of a loved one, so they remained at home and carried out the remaining duties of the ritual.[49] For example, Queen Victoria did not attend the funeral of her late husband, Prince Albert, and this became the social standard so other women would make sure to follow suit. At a typical adult funeral, all the mourning accessories would be black, this was the opposite for a child's funeral with everything being dressed in white, apart from the mourners, with the exception of some of the child mourners. Flanders notes how at the funeral of a young child, the child's young friends dressed in white mourning wear would carry the coffin.[50] It is an interesting observation that a woman, expected to have a childlike maturity, could not attend a funeral due to her supposed emotional instability but it was acceptable for a young child to be in attendance and even carry the coffin of their lost friend. This tradition was carried on from the early C19th up to the early C20th, see examples illustrated in Figures 9 and 10.

[49] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.333.
[50] Ibid. p.334.

Figure 9 - The Tolling Bell, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, circa 1840s.

Figure 10 - Class Mourning Classmate, Burns Archive, circa 1910s.

As children grew older, trends changed, mourning clothing in darker colours were specifically tailored for children. The fabric generally used to make the clothing was bombazine, this was a silk and worsted blend fabric; cheaper versions of bombazine could include cotton.[51] This blended material later began to be replaced by silk as it was a cheaper option as well as being easier to dye, so it was much more easily made a deep black. At around the age of 5 there was a distinct difference between girls and boys as boys went through the process of "breeching". Breeching was the process where boys left the care of a woman and became a man, they swapped their common frock for pants and a jacket.[52] Breeching separated the 'boys' from the 'men', whereas as previously mentioned the separation between a 'girl' and a 'woman' happened at marriage. All children began to dress more similarly to their parents around the age of male breeching, even though their clothes still had looser elements to allow for the fact that they were still growing children.[53] Figure 11 illustrates how the children's dress is much looser than that of a typical adult fitted silhouette.

[51] Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Bombazine." *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* 20th July 1998. Web. 15th July 2020.
[52] Buck, Anne. *Clothes And The Child*. 1st ed., Ruth Bean Publishers, 1996. Print. p. 153.
[53] Ibid. p.152.

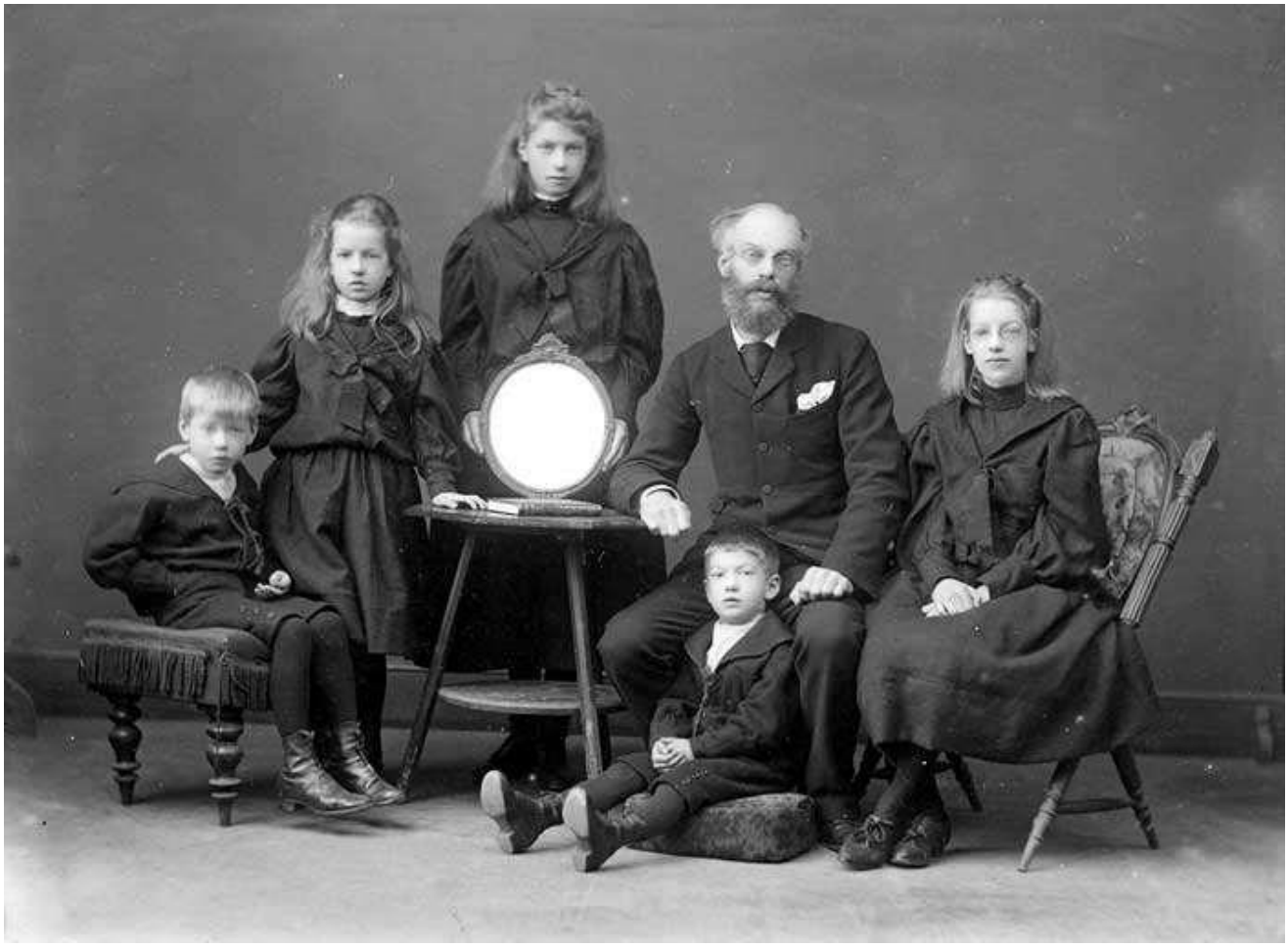

Figure 11 - Family Portrait, 1890-1899. Historic England.

Young girls, following the styles of their mothers, would often tie a black sash around the waist in order to mimic the silhouette of the bustle skirt, which became increasingly popular from around 1860.[54] They were dressed in heavier clothing, full black in colour, as well as wearing jet accessories. The young girls would almost be the complete image of a widow, minus the widow's cap.

[54] Fashion History Timeline. "Bustle". *Fashion History Timeline.* FIT Student, December 2017. Web. 15th July 2020.

Figure 12 - Miss Emily Wells, 1868. Lou Taylor 'Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History' Page 176.

In the photograph at Fig 12 Miss Emily Wells is seen posing alongside her father, both in a period of mourning. She is wearing a black outfit complete with jet earrings and a jet necklace. Her dress is still loosely fitting, which can be seen through elements of the garment.

As with mourning etiquette for adults', children are expected to remain in mourning for a certain period of time, depending on their relationship with the deceased. Unlike their mothers, who went through four stages of mourning, young girls were to follow the rules of mourning through three different stages. These stages were first mourning, second mourning and half-mourning, in some cases they would go from first mourning to a lesser ordinary mourning instead of the second mourning stage.[55] A young girl mourning the loss of a parent would remain in first mourning for six months wearing black or black and white, no cuffs or collars to be made of linen and no jewellery for the first two months.[56] Following this she would enter second mourning for four months reducing the amount of crape in her outfits, and finally two months in half-mourning wearing shades of lavenders, greys, and mauves.[57] This was a total of one year and two months that a young girl would spend in mourning after the death of a parent. If she were mourning the loss of a sibling, she had the choice of spending either four to six months in each of the three mourning stages, with either choice having different requirements to her outfits.[58] This could mean that she would spend between twelve months to eighteen months in mourning after the loss of a sibling.

In this chapter, I explored how a young girl in a period of mourning was dressed in a way that best represented the family's social standing. During this time, the young girl was observing the ritual very closely as it was a prominent aspect in her life, being something she needed to uphold every day. In doing so, she gained a strong understanding of how she needed to present herself in line with her mother's standard. Chapter Three explores how

[55] Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House.* Harper Perennial, 2004. Print. p.379.
[56] Ibid. p.379.
[57] Ibid. p.379.
[58] Ibid. p.380.

the young girl then used this knowledge and put it in to practice in her life in order to further her understanding of the social etiquette surrounding mourning ritual.

Chapter Three – 'From Mourning to Mother'

This chapter examines the natural training a young girl received in terms of the mourning process and how the things they were surrounded by, such as books and dolls, were used to further their understanding of mourning etiquette through their motherly instincts. Books were seen as an important aspect in childhood for the development of a child with many periodicals being marketed to either male or female children.[59] Young girls increased their knowledge of social etiquette through reading periodicals and Deborah Gorham notes how these periodicals were the main way that role differentiation was instilled in children as even their mutual readings would highlight the societal differences between males and females.[60] They promoted what was the social norm and encouraged young girls to follow the tradition of the domestic woman of the house, getting married, running her household and raising children.[61]

Children's books often had nursery rhymes or stories that would also instil in them these ideas from an even younger age. The practice of providing educational literature as well as toys increased throughout the C19th and by the late C19th two completely different aspects of childhood had developed – girlhood and boyhood.[62] For the purpose of my discussion I look at toys and literature that were used within girlhood, focusing on the doll and how it was used in their lives as well as how they were represented within their stories.

[59] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.18.
[60] Ibid. p.18.
[61] Moruzi, Kristine and Nelson, Claudia. *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodical Press, 1850 – 1915.* Routledge, 2012. Print. p.2.
[62] Ibid. p.18.

For most children, their literature and toys were used as a way to naturally train them and instil within them the ideas of taste, social standings and behaviour as were set out by society.[63] As Gorham notes, through these methods of learning they gained a subconscious knowledge of what was right and wrong. For girls, the doll was the defining toy of their childhood as it was assumed all young girls would play with dolls.[64] Dolls were used as a way to further the child's understanding of a maternal role as through playing with a doll they would develop the necessary skills to be in the position of a caregiver. Children would mimic the behaviour they would see between women and children with their own dolls, acting in the same manner as their mothers. Dolls were used as a vessel for children to practice being a mother, through caring for their doll as if it were their own baby they were learning from a young age to care for something, which in the future would set them up to care for someone when they were needed to step in as a nurse. Young girls playing with dolls was seen as natural training as they weren't actively being taught how to care for it, they relied on their instincts, which was considered their feminine nature. Figure 13 depicts a girl dressed in clothes of a lesser mourning period carrying her doll. Dolls were often used as a comfort item which may be the case in this image, the young girl carrying her doll as a source of comfort during a time of mourning.

[63] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.18.
[64] Ibid. Print. p.76.

Figure 13 - Girl with her Doll, 1881. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

The most common dolls made and sold in the C19th were wax dolls. These dolls were made up of a wax head, wax arms and legs, and a fabric stuffed body. [65] As a result of the process of making a doll and the materials needed to make it, it was quite expensive. Sewing

[65] The wax pieces of the doll were made using one of two methods, the most popular of which was called the pouring method. Doll makers would sculpt the pieces, these were then casted in order to create a negative mould in which wax would be poured in and out of until the wax built up to a thick shell. The dolls eyes would be made of glass and set in to the wax face of the doll. In England, during this period the most popular dolls were those who had blue eyes, they were the most sought after as they resembled the eye colour of the queen, Queen Victoria. See Victoriana Magazine. "Antique English Poured Wax Doll". *Victoriana Magazine*, n.p., n.d. Web. 17th March 2020.

machines were not commonly used until roughly the 1870s so dolls before this were considered even more of a luxury item.[66]

Figure 14 - Doll, 1850-1851. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

The doll in Figure 14 is an example of a typical wax doll from the C19th. It was created by Madame Montanari, who was among the most well-known doll makers in the United Kingdom during the C19th. The doll has all the elements of a typical wax doll discussed above, the added inscriptions on the body give information about where the doll came from and who it belonged to.[67] However, wax dolls were a luxury item not every family could afford to buy

[66] The use of sewing machines allows for dolls to be dated better as the fabric stitching of the body would be much different when using a sewing machine compared to being hand sewn. See National Museum of Wales. "A History of Doll-Making: A Welsh Perspective". *National Museum Wales,* n.p, 10/08/2012. Web. 17th March 2020.

[67] Victoria and Albert Museum. "Doll." *Victoria and Albert Museum*. n.p., n.d. Web. 21st July 2020.

for their daughters, in some cases young girls were encouraged to make their own dolls, often doing so using cloths, rags, and other various fabrics.[68] By the age of twelve most girls had a strong set of sewing skills giving her the ability to create her own fabric dolls and dress them and not only that but those who had wax dolls had the skills to create new clothing for them.[69] Toy shops would sell basic doll bodies that were constructed but completely undressed with no accompanying accessories.[70] These basic dolls were bought with the idea that young girls would make the clothing for the doll and thus practicing their sewing skills while also indirectly teaching them about what was acceptable when dressing for an occasion. In playing with their dolls and acting out the scenarios from their literature they were gaining a deeper understanding of different situations or occasions that would happen in their later lives, thus learning how to act within these situations in terms of presenting themselves in the appropriate manner and clothing.

Using their dolls, young girls would carry out social rituals such as tea parties, weddings, birthdays, and funerals. Oftentimes, books included stories of dolls acting out different scenarios which encouraged the child to mimic these actions with their own dolls, so the inclusion of doll funerals was just an introduction to another way in which they could play with their dolls.[71] Miriam Formanek-Brunell notes that stories written for children included pieces about sick or dying dolls, see Figure 18 for an example of this.[72] A story of a

[68] Formanek-Brunell, Miriam. *Made to Play House Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830 – 1930.* The John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print. p.11.
[69] Ibid. p.11.
[70] National Museum of Wales. "A History of Doll-Making: A Welsh Perspective". *National Museum Wales,* n.p, 10/08/2012. Web. 17th March 2020.
[71] Formanek-Brunell, Miriam. *Made to Play House Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830 – 1930.* The John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print. p.23.
[72] Formanek-Brunell, Miriam. *Made to Play House Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830 – 1930.* The John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print. p.23.

dying doll suggests the discussion around deathbed manners as well as preparing for the death, putting the child in a position of a nurse, directly mirroring that of her mother. The combined learning gained from reading the stories as well as observing her mother at home meant that the child would have a good understanding of what to do in the situation of a sick or dying person and using the doll was a way of practicing those skills.

Figure 15 - Dolls' House, circa 1890s. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig 15 is an example of what was the most popular dollhouse that was in production in C19th, known as a box back house.[73] Dollhouses only started to be produced as toys for children in the late C19th as before this they were owned by wealthy women and used for decorative purposes.[74] M. Daphne Kutzer in her analysis of Beatrix Potter's writings has

[73] Victoria and Albert Museum. "Dolls' house." *Victoria and Albert Museum*. n.p., n.d. Web. 21st December 2020.

[74] Victoria and Albert Museum. "Victorian Children." *Victoria and Albert Museum*. n.p., n.d. Web. 23rd December 2020. p. 3.

noted how dollhouses were used as another way to encourage ideas of their future domesticity within young girls.[75] The purpose of the dollhouse began to be viewed differently to reflect their pedagogical strategies in relation to the home.

Fig 16 shows a photograph of two young girls, one of the girls is holding her doll and pictured in the right of the photograph is a dollhouse. As can be seen, the dollhouse in Fig 16 bears a resemblance to the one seen in Fig 15, sharing a similar external structure.

Figure 16 - Lambeth Sisters with their Doll and Toys, circa 1860s. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

[75] Kutzer, M. Daphne. *Beatrix Potter : Writing in Code*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2002. Print. p. 67.

It is possible that young girls may have used the bedrooms of their dollhouses as a sickroom to tend to their dying dolls. However, one thing that is evident from the images I have chosen to include is that the doll's bed is an important piece of furniture involved in playtime with the dolls. Above, in Fig 16, the dolls bed can be seen to the left of the photo, beside the youngest sister holding her doll. Likewise, in Fig 17 below, the bed is brightly coloured and central in the frame of the painting drawing the viewers' attention to it.

Figure 17 – 'The Sick Doll', 1885. William Powell Frith.

William Powell Frith's painting, at Fig 17, shows the young girl tending to her sick doll, she is seen to be spoon feeding the doll medicines as an attempt to cure it. The

unmade bed shows that the doll has just been picked up by the young girl which suggests that when not nursing the doll, the young girl places her to rest in the bed. As mentioned in Chapter One, the main thing kept in a sickroom is the bed, with very little other furniture. Even though there may not be a presence of a sick room in its entirety the dolls bed is used to symbolise it on a smaller scale in which the young girl can still practice her bedside manners and deathbed etiquette.

Figure 18 'Going for the Doctor', Pictures and Songs for Little Children, Griffith, Farran & Co, 1888. The British Library.

Figure 18 is an illustration from a children's book about a young girl's sick doll. In the story, the young girl is adamant to visit the doctor so he can tend to the illness. The adult beside her tries to stop her by suggesting various cures, of which she claims to have already tried, and even tries to sway her by saying the cost of a doctor can be quite high. The young girl, showing a sense of stubbornness as well as concern, continues in her journey as she is willing to do everything it takes to make her doll feel well again. This story can be seen as a light-hearted view on how children care for their dolls, which is true. However, on a deeper level, it was a story that many young girls would have read so it comes across as a subtle lesson in household medicines and home cures when caring for the sick, especially considering these home cures are listed within the story.

When a young girl's doll fell ill not only were her skills with deathbed manners being developed but her understanding of when it came to grieve and to appropriately enter a period of mourning. At play time, if young girls decided to act out a funeral, it was not a just a quick game but a well thought out ceremony. They prepared for it and acted it out as though it were a funeral for a recently deceased human. According to Formanek-Brunell there are examples of doll sized coffins made by the girl's father for the occasion, a leap from the typical dollhouse used in play.[76] In preparing for her doll's funeral, the young girl needed to appropriately dress her doll as though it were a deceased person and lay them out as if for a wake. If the girl did not have any appropriate clothing to dress the deceased doll, she possessed the required skills to make the outfit herself putting her sewing skills to use as well as using her personal experience of mourning and her understanding of appropriate attire.

[76] Formanek-Brunell, Miriam. *Made to Play House Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830 – 1930.* The John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print. p.20.

As well as preparing the doll for its funeral the girl needed to prepare herself as though she were entering a period of mourning for the doll as well as the other mourners, her other toys. It is at this time where she implements her knowledge of mourning etiquette that she has gained throughout her childhood years at home as well as having attended funerals as a child.

Figure 19 - Adult Doll, 1901. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

This doll at Figure 19 was dressed in mourning for Queen Victoria, even though it was not created by a child it is a good example of the kind of mourning clothing that was being created by women for dolls. The clothing construction displays the colour and overall silhouette of the time and includes details like the trimmings and the jet jewellery, common details identified in mourning outfits.

From being contained within the domestic setting of the home a girl was thought to remain morally pure and therefore would be responsible to guide her siblings in the same direction.[77] This is a small responsibility that daughters take on in place of or as well as their mothers. They are given an increasing number of responsibilities as they age, including helping their mother to teach their siblings as well as caregiving roles, they may have stepped in and helped with treatments when a family member was sick. Not every child had the same goals of growing up to be an image of their mother, but it was the most admired path with ideas of a domestic woman, running her household and being a caregiver, being passed down through generations and encouraging their daughters to follow suit. These ideas are very prevalent when looking at the toys of the children and they are clearly seen being reinforced within them, a girl and her doll mimicking the image of a mother and a child.

The illustration in Figure 20 is seen alongside a series of short stories following a girl through her different ages. At age nine she is looking after her baby brother, the story notes how he is not a doll but her books and toys "unheeded lie" and have prepared her to look after a child.[78]

[77] Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Routledge, 2009. Print. p.45.
[78] Griffith, Farran & Co. *Pictures and Songs for Little Children*. Griffith, Farran & Co, 1888. Print. p. 204.

Figure 20 - Nine Years Old - Baby Brother, Pictures and Songs for Little Children, Griffith, Farran & Co, 1888. British Library.

Mourning etiquette was a very important aspect of daily life as everyone is affected by a death at some point in their lives and with the rigorous rules that came with it, and when it occurred it remained a part of their lives for a long time, this could be at least a year in some cases. As a result of its importance within society, it is no surprise that they wanted children to understand it, not only to be able to function within the ceremony but to uphold the families social standing through presenting themselves appropriately. Through using the

dolls, they are reinforcing the family's standards of behaviour and tastes in fashion, using their play time as a way of natural training to subtly ingrain these ideas in the minds of the children. In doing this, they are ensuring that their children can continue to represent those ideas as they grow older. Girls would do so through helping with raising their younger siblings or by carrying these ideas into their own family when they marry and inevitably become a mother themselves. She would continue to upkeep the outward portrayal of her family's status during a period of mourning and pass on the ideas that were put on to her of the domesticated woman to her own daughters, thus creating a continuing cycle of preparing young girls to be mothers.

Conclusion

Through the process of researching for this thesis, I have been enveloped in C19th culture, in particular customs surrounding death. As my research started quite broadly, I looked into various aspects of this culture before narrowing down my research to this discussion, which happened naturally in my process. Prior to starting this project, I already had an interest in this side of history, which made it a more enjoyable process as I was researching from genuine intrigue. In doing so, I have gained in depth knowledge on a specific time in history having looked at the etiquette and the fashions associated with mourning, which is something that has disappeared from modern existence. Through looking at these areas of mourning as a social and gendered practice in relation to childhood development, I was able to establish a pattern of conditioning that happened within C19th culture which has led me to identify some points of similarity within our own culture.

Mourning rituals and etiquette as they existed in the C19th quickly changed in the early twentieth century and have almost completely disappeared in today's ritual. This was a result of the move of the sick to hospitals putting a separation between death and the family as it no longer occurred within the home. It is to no surprise that we are more removed from the idea of death. It is considered a taboo subject to talk about amongst adults in today's society, so the idea of involving children so heavily in such a discussion and ritual is completely absurd to a modern-day individual. Some elements of the ritualistic manner still exist within our funerary practices, merely as tradition that has remained from this time, but it does not hold the same significance as it did in the C19th. Today, there are still residual traces of this larger culture in local tradition, for example in West Clare a family is identified to be in mourning by

placing a black ribbon on the door of the deceased's home. Mourning dress etiquette no longer exists, unless you are close to someone you have no visual indicators that they may be grieving for a loved one, perhaps we would have a more empathetic society if these factors were still in existence. Black is still commonly worn as the colour of mourning when in attendance of a funeral, a tradition carried through time from as early as the Ancient Greeks, however, this is not enforced on anyone, but it is a common sign of respect.

However, upon reflection of the research I have conducted, not all of it is exclusive to the C19th. Although the traditional mourning practices and etiquette have disappeared within society many of the pedagogical ideologies still exist and are in place today. An example of this is how today's literature such as nursery rhymes are used in the upbringing of children as a way to encourage good behaviour and to warn of the consequences of their actions. As well as this, toys are used to encourage positive playtime that instils behavioural ideas in children and in some cases the doll is still used, and it is still very heavily gendered and marketed towards young girls. These ideas have existed throughout centuries and will most likely remain in our society as a core part of childhood development.

In carrying out this research I have gained an understanding of the importance of analysing information from a variety of different sources including books and articles from more modern sources but also looking at historical material from the timeframe such as magazines, images, and artefacts. The more I immersed myself in my research the more I was able to join dots and make connections between a multitude of sources to unravel the history and solidify my arguments. Reading and understanding the information in written pieces allowed me to be able to identify images that would be appropriate to accompany my

discussion. Images are rarely labelled with the specific details you are looking for so being able to identify an image as a good source is important, especially when discussing a topic that deals with visual aesthetics. Learning how to navigate online databases and archive collections then allowed me to easily find material that may be relevant. This is a skill that I can carry forward into my practice as a Character Makeup Designer. I can use my research and skills to analyse information and to identify reliable and good reference images for future projects. As a designer having thorough and reliable research to back up designs makes a character more real and gives the viewer a deeper understanding of where it is coming from.

The research that I carried out throughout this process involved cultural and historical areas within the C19th such as mourning practices and how gender roles in society have an impact on these practices causing them to differ from person to person, as well as looking at a time when childhood was a developing idea and how they adapted their ritualistic practices to fit in to childhood. It was these points of research that helped me in my discussion of looking at how a young girl develops from a child woman to a woman child.

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