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This exhibit was presented by the State Board of Health's Division of Child Welfare at a Portsmouth fair in 1919. It showed how the health services of one or more small towns might be economically centralized at a single location. Fortieth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island for the Two Years Ending December 31, 1919.

infancy welfare programs; since 1919 it did so through a division it set up called the Division of Child Welfare. Largely prompted by major women's groups in the state, in recent years the General Assembly had passed several pieces of legislation to provide medically sound prenatal and obstetrical care for Rhode Island women, a component of which involved licensing and training midwives.[6] Expending time and money on maternal and infant welfare was clearly a priority in Rhode Island.

Given this history, one might assume that Rhode Island quickly agreed to participate in the Sheppard-Towner program, but this did not in fact happen. Of the twelve state legislatures that met in 1922, only the Rhode Island General Assembly failed to adopt the program. In 1923 an additional twenty-nine states accepted Sheppard-Towner funds, but Rhode Island was not one of them. Owing to a lengthy battle about whether or not federal funding for maternity and infancy programs was an unlawful invasion of state prerogatives, the Rhode Island General Assembly did not accept the Sheppard-Towner program until 1925. The Assembly had fought bitterly over the Eighteenth Amendment, with many claiming that federal prohibition violated states' rights, and it fiercely debated the acceptance of Sheppard-Towner on the same grounds.[7]

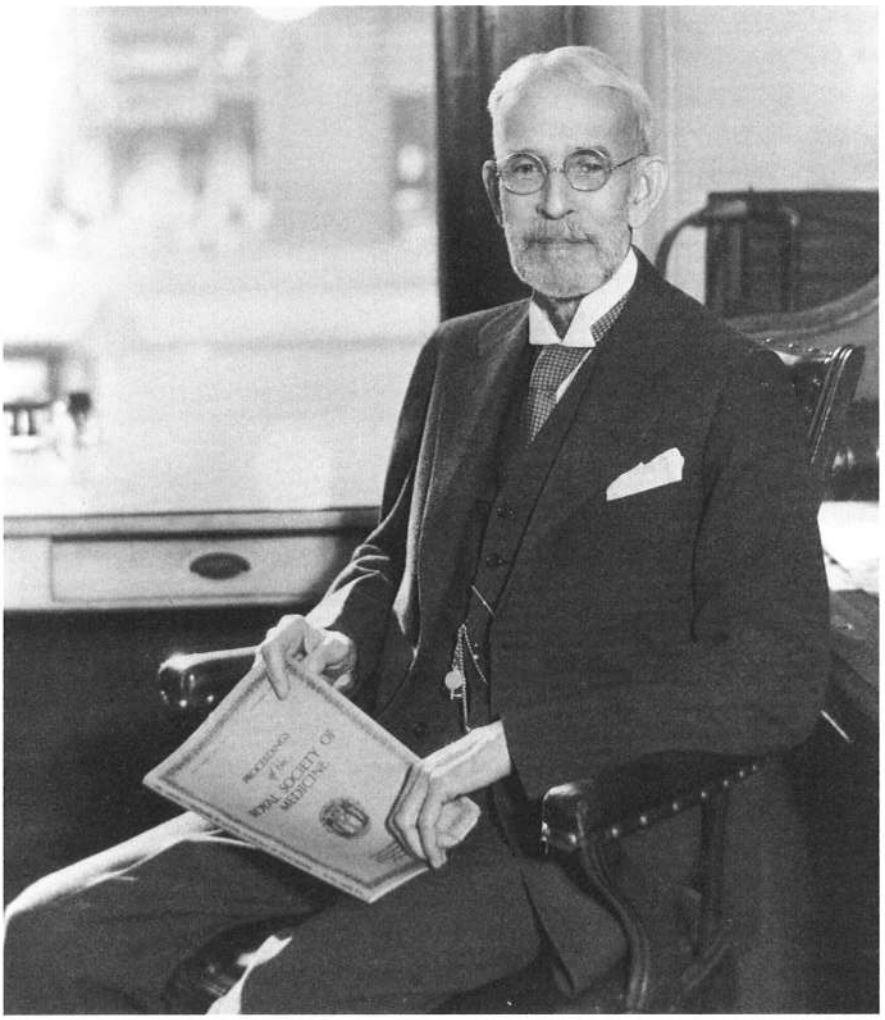
Maternal and child health was largely neglected in the United States prior to the mid-nineteenth century. At that time reformers—most of them women—gradually began directing attention to these concerns, first through private organizations and municipal agencies, then at the state level, and eventually within the federal government. Historian Richard Meckel classifies the evolution of this movement into three phases: in the first (1850-1880), reformers "discovered" infant mortality and attempted to control it; in the second (1880-1900), reformers focused on infant nutrition, specifically working to eliminate harmful bacteria in the milk supply; in the third (1900-1930), reformers shifted their focus to motherhood and mothering. It was this third phase of the infant welfare movement that gave rise to the impulse behind the Sheppard-Towner Act: to improve the quality of, or "medicalize," prenatal care and birth conditions.[8]

The Sheppard-Towner Act was passed largely through the efforts of women reformers and what has been called their "politics of maternalism." As defined by Sonya Michel and Robyn Rosen, maternalism is "a political concept that accepts the principle of gender difference, specifically, women's identity as mothers, but maintains that women have a responsibility to apply their domestic and familial values to society at large."[9] In supporting Sheppard-Towner from this perspective, female reformers, principally from the U.S. Children's Bureau, together with the relatively few female politicians of the time, bolstered the role of women in government, in public life, and in medicine.[10]

Perhaps most significant were the efforts of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, which was organized in 1920 and quickly became one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington. Predominantly made up of former suffragists, the WJCC included members from fourteen leading women's organizations, such as the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Consumers' League, and the League of Women Voters. WJCC members testified before countless legislative committees and bombarded members of Congress with petitions and letters supporting the maternity and infancy bill. These female lobbyists undoubtedly caught the attention of male politicians in both major parties, including the conservative President Warren Harding. When the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, newly minted female voters were an untested and potentially powerful voting bloc, and many politicians hoped to gain their support by backing maternalist legislation.[11]

The efforts of the bill's female proponents paid off. After what, in legislative terms, was

these cities to gather information, Providence mayor Joseph Gainer responded with praise of Chapin's work. Duly impressed, Lathrop included the text of three of Chapin's maternity and infancy pamphlets in the appendix of her nationally circulated report.[21]



Dr. Charles V. Chapin, Providence's superintendent of health from 1884 to 1932, won international recognition for his work in epidemiology and public health. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 1578).

Perhaps with Chapin's example in mind, in 1917 Dr. Byron Richards, the secretary of the Rhode Island State Board of Health, remarked that he could "imagine no better test of the progressive spirit and intelligence of a state than the care it takes of its children . . . and expectant mothers." Indeed, the board was serving mothers and children before its separate child welfare department was created. In 1916, for example, the board issued and circulated two pamphlets on infant care, held a clean-milk exhibit at a statewide fair, and commissioned several activities during "Baby Week" (March 4-11) to address the state's infant mortality rates.[22] Working in cooperation with the U.S. Children's Bureau during a national children's year campaign in 1918, the board had 26,333 (roughly 50 percent) of Rhode Island's children examined by physicians or nurses. Nevertheless, doctors at the State Board of Health insisted that a separate child welfare division was necessary to fully address maternity and infancy care.[23]

Like their counterparts elsewhere, Rhode Island clubwomen ultimately played a key role in establishing a state Division of Child Welfare. Their campaign actually began in 1914, when the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs set up the nation's first "mother's classes" focusing on infant hygiene. It was not until 1916's Baby Week, however, when the federation helped distribute health literature, that the women began taking concrete steps toward the creation of the new division.[24] When they learned that Rhode Island lost one in eight babies, the highest infant mortality rate of any state in New England, the women ended the week more determined than ever to see a dedicated child welfare division established.[25]

In February 1918 the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs convened a meeting that drew the largest attendance of any session in its history. There, women formally adopted a resolution to create a female-run child welfare division "to study the causes of maternal and infant mortality and to apply measures for the prevention and suppression of childhood diseases." The resolution was promptly submitted to the Rhode Island General Assembly, where it was sent to the House Finance Committee for review. By April the women had gathered thousands of signatures supporting the establishment of a child welfare division within the State Board of Health.[26] With Rhode Island's maternalist contingent working persistently throughout the remainder of the year, their resolution was approved by the General Assembly in January 1919. At that time Dr. Elizabeth Gardiner, who was scheduled to begin her job as the new division's director in July, thanked the women for their efforts. In her

fertile ground for the Sheppard-Towner Act. When it was voted on in Congress, all of Rhode Island's congressmen in attendance voted for its passage.[31] After the bill was approved, first in the U.S. Senate and then, four months later, in the House of Representatives, tremendous bursts of applause exploded in the upper galleries, where large crowds of women had gathered to watch the proceedings. Ironically, one of the bill's thirty-nine opponents in the House was that chamber's lone female member, Oklahoma Republican Alice Robertson. An ardent antifeminist, Robertson voiced her disdain for such "resolutions designed to bring about a new order in governmental affairs."[32] But a new order was in fact being created in Washington as the country's first social welfare measure, one aimed at benefiting women and children, passed with wide support and was signed into law by President Harding on November 23, 1921. Then Sheppard-Towner went to the state legislatures for acceptance.[33]

On the day after Sheppard-Towner became law, the *Providence Journal* featured a front-page article consisting largely of the text of the act, but without mention of the act's support by Rhode Island's congressional delegation.[34] When the General Assembly convened in January 1922, West Warwick Democrat Frederick Tew, a member of the House Special Legislation Committee, became the act's initial advocate; on January 19 he introduced Resolution H-585, which stipulated Rhode Island's participation in the Sheppard-Towner program.[35] On February 21 Tew's resolution was reintroduced as Resolution H-719 by Barrington Republican Frederick Peck, the chairman of the House Finance Committee. Except for the latter resolution's inclusion of specific language authorizing Dr. Gardiner to administer federal Sheppard-Towner funds, there was little difference between the two resolutions.[36] Peck promptly delivered H-719 to his Finance Committee for review; and in April the committee amended it to limit Rhode Island's matching monetary contribution from $10,000 annually to "$7,500 or so much thereof as may be necessary" annually. With that change, the ensuing battle over states' rights ensured that the new resolution, H-719A, would remain stalled in the Finance Committee for the remainder of the 1922 session.[37]

Thus began Peck's frustrating three-year effort to garner Sheppard-Towner funds for the Rhode Island Division of Child Welfare. At every January session from 1922 to 1925, Peck introduced a House resolution calling for Rhode Island's acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner program. In an attempt to minimize conflict, beginning in 1923 his resolutions did not specify a dollar amount for the state's contribution, but until 1925 this compromise seemed futile.[38] Matching Peck's persistence, every year Francis Condon, a Democrat from Central Falls and the House minority leader, would lead the fight against Sheppard-Towner, claiming that its federal grants-in-aid were a violation of states' rights; "The State ought not to sell its principle for [the] $14,000" potentially provided to it by Sheppard-Towner funds, Condon once remarked.[39]

Condon's contingent was apparently aware of states' rights disputes beyond Rhode Island, as indicated by several *Providence Journal* clippings tucked into the House legislative files that have been preserved for public record.[40] Most of these newspaper clippings detail a 1923 Supreme Court case in which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, along with one of its private citizens, Mrs. Harriet A. Frothingham, unsuccessfully sued the federal government. The basis of their claim was that since Massachusetts did not vote to accept Sheppard-Towner funds, it was being unjustly taxed at the federal level to support the program in other states. The lawsuit threatened a wide range of federal direct aid and matching programs, although Massachusetts itself (like every other state) was then accepting federal funding for other programs, including those related to education, agriculture, venereal disease, and road construction. The case was dismissed by the Supreme Court in June 1923, much to the chagrin of Frothingham, who, like

Although a supporter of maternalist measures, Isabelle Ahearn O'Neill—the first female legislator in the General Assembly—was subjected to political constraints that led her to vote against Rhode Island participation in the Sheppard-Towner program. Courtesy of the Providence Journal Company.

the House two days later. Only one Democrat voted for Sheppard-Tower, and only eight of those opposed were Republicans. Reflecting the partisan division, even the sponsor of the original resolution, Democrat Frederick Tew, had by then withdrawn his support.[47]

The program's most notable dissenter in the House, however, was Providence Democrat Isabelle Ahearn O'Neill. As the first and only woman in the General Assembly at that time, O'Neill had in fact continually supported maternalist reforms. In 1923, on her first day in the House, she introduced a bill providing aid to mothers with dependent children. That April she became the first woman to preside over the House when, with her colleagues' full attention, she introduced Sheppard-Towner for yet another unsuccessful vote. O'Neill later worked to guarantee maternity leave for four weeks before and after childbirth. Women in government "have a more intimate relationship with welfare measures, while men are more concerned with general legislation," she said at the end of her first year in office. Yet when the Sheppard-Towner resolution finally came to a vote, she voted along party lines with Condon's Democratic opposition.[48] Considering the program's overall groundswell of female support, it seems ironic that the lone women in both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Rhode Island House, Alice Robertson and Isabelle O'Neill, did not vote for Sheppard-Towner. It may be noted, however, that O'Neill, unlike Robertson, was not antifeminist; she was, rather, a dedicated maternalist who was subjected to especially strong partisan pressure, with her seat in the General Assembly dependent upon the patronage of male Democratic political bosses in Providence.[49]

On April 7, 1925, the Sheppard-Towner resolution moved to the Rhode Island Senate, where a 33-5 GOP majority ensured it a hospitable welcome. After the Senate approved it by an overwhelming voice vote on April 16, the resolution was sent on to the governor's office, where Rhode Island's new Republican governor, Aram Pothier, signed it the next day.[50] With the stroke of a pen, Sheppard-Towner finally became law in Rhode Island. By then the state had missed the opportunity to set a national precedent; instead, Rhode Island was one of the last states to accept the nation's first social welfare measure. The *Providence Journal* was apparently not much impressed by the General Assembly's action on Sheppard-Towner; when the Assembly closed its 1925 session in April, a front-page article citing the year's "outstanding laws" ("outstanding" meaning noteworthy, not pending) did not include the Sheppard-Towner Act.[51]

Perhaps the *Providence Journal* did not consider Sheppard-Towner's passage "outstanding," but maternalists with a history of activism in the state did. In addition to the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs' institution of "mother's classes" in 1914 and the group's work from 1916 to 1919 in helping to create the Division of Child Welfare, the Women's Republican Club of Rhode Island, organized in 1919 to promote the party's agenda among newly enfranchised female voters, agitated for Republican-supported maternalist policy and arranged Jeanette Rankin's visit to Providence in 1921. The Republican club and other maternalist groups in the state were notable supporters of the creation and appointment of members to a Children's Law Commission to study child labor in 1924 and passage of the Rose Milk Bill for Infants, a measure aimed at cleaning up the milk supply, in 1925.[52]

Rhode Island maternalists from the GOP and groups affiliated with the State Federation of Women's Clubs continually supported Sheppard-Towner throughout its three-year legislative deadlock. The galleries of the General Assembly became their classroom, where they learned about legislative process and how to become became more effective lobbyists. Even seemingly apolitical women's groups like the Providence Mothers' Club, whose activities were generally limited to tea

Island's quick acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner program. In her division's 1921 annual report—which detailed increased birth registrations (from 5 percent to 9 percent of births) in response to tougher state legislation, more prenatal visits in cooperation with public nursing associations (from 28.8 percent to 31.5 percent of expectant mothers), and a busy year on the lecture circuit—she eagerly anticipated expanding her outreach with federal funds in 1922.[58]

But Rhode Island refused Sheppard-Towner funds that year, and Gardiner continued her work amidst mounting frustration.[59] Building on her successes in 1921, she worked with public nursing associations to provide visits to infants and expectant mothers across Rhode Island. In the town of Bristol, for example, nurses had 980 babies under their care, and from 1920 to 1922 only 34 (or less than 3.5 percent) of these infants died. Gardiner and her staff continued educating the public about better prenatal and infant care in 1922 by distributing three thousand pieces of literature, giving sixty-six talks to various local women's groups, attending 106 meetings and conferences, and holding 212 office consultations with expectant and current mothers.[60]

Yet without Sheppard-Towner funds Dr. Gardiner could not carry out one of her planned projects: the creation of state-run prenatal maternity clinics modeled on the nationally prominent clinics in New York City, clinics supervised by doctors and run primarily by public nurses and licensed midwives. Lamenting her lack of funding in her agency's 1922 annual report, she chastised state legislators for refusing "federal funds for a need so imperative, so free from partisan taint, particularly as we are already accepting Federal funds for Education, Agriculture, Roads, Venereal Disease Control and other purposes." By declining Sheppard-Towner funds, she felt, Rhode Island politicians—notably House minority leader Francis Condon—were unnecessarily "depriving mothers and babies of life itself, perhaps, because we love the sound of such catch phrases as 'Centralized Control,' 'State Rights,' and 'Social Medicine.'" To be sure, the Division of Child Welfare was still growing during this time; its budget from the State Board of Health would increase from $10,000 in 1920 to $20,000 in 1925. Nonetheless, Gardiner keenly felt the loss of the $14,076 that would have come to the division if the state participated in the Sheppard-Towner program.[61]

Dr. Gardiner's mounting frustration may help to explain why she resigned from her post in July 1923 to become the associate director of the New York State Department of Maternity, Infancy, and Child Hygiene. Two years later she would be appointed director of the department, and she would serve in that position until 1945. Her job in New York was similar to the one she had filled in Rhode Island, with one key difference: in 1923 the legislature in Albany voted to accept federal Sheppard-Towner funds. Gardiner did not offer a concrete reason for her resignation, merely stating that she was leaving to go to a "larger office." The *Providence Journal* speculated that her move was prompted by a higher salary than the $3,500 per year she was paid in Rhode Island, and while this may have been true, the state's refusal of Sheppard-Towner funds may also have been a factor in her resignation.[62]

Gardiner was succeeded in Rhode Island by Dr. Marion Gleason, who assumed her post as the Division of Child Welfare's second director in August 1923. A private-practice physician for the preceding sixteen years and a member of the Women's Republican Club of Rhode Island, Gleason was a strong advocate of Sheppard-Towner. Her experience as a stepmother and a teacher likely helped prepare her to educate Rhode Island women in proper prenatal and postnatal care.[63] Even without federal funds, she was able to maintain Gardiner's tireless pace, continuing to increase birth registration, produce health manuals, attend national conferences, and lecture to women around the state. She also closely cooperated with state public nursing associations in running "well-baby clinics" to educate mothers and examine infants. These

finally secured the state's acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner program that April. The $14,076 this brought to the Division of Child Welfare increased its annual budget to $34,076. In her first full year with Sheppard-Towner funds, from June 1925 to June 1926, Gleason was able to expand her outreach significantly, doubling her full-time nursing staff from four to eight people[67] and partnering with the Providence County Farm Bureau and various public nursing organizations to hold educational events in rural parts of the state, such as East Greenwich. Working to achieve her goal of establishing state-run prenatal clinics, Gleason also held six statewide conferences for physicians and presided over 36,446 home-nursing visits, 1,167 of which were prenatal checkups.[68]

Thus, while private-practice physicians—mostly male—from the AMA and its affiliates battled maternalists who favored Sheppard-Towner, many public-health doctors—mostly female—fought back in support of the bill's passage and implementation. In allowing the AMA to disproportionately represent the perspective of the medical community, Sheppard-Towner historiography has tended to minimize the activism, in Rhode Island and elsewhere, of female public-health professionals like Gardiner and Gleason.

IV

When former congresswoman Jeanette Rankin visited Providence in 1921, just days after Sheppard-Towner was signed into law by the president, she spoke enthusiastically about the opportunity that Rhode Island women had ahead of them. Drawing on her experience in Congress, Rankin urged her audience to work toward the state's acceptance of Sheppard-Towner. Yet perhaps also because of her prior political experience, she carefully tempered her excitement with a sense of reality, noting that "a thing has been done that is a challenge to all women." That thing was the stipulation that the Sheppard-Towner Act would expire "five years after the first fiscal year," on June 30, 1927.[69]

Considering that Sheppard-Towner was enacted at the dawn of the conservative 1920s, its five-year limitation is not completely surprising. It is also not surprising that a progressive measure enacted at that time should be one that would benefit women. With women's suffrage only a year-old reality, many male politicians feared retaliation from a presumed (but still-untested) female voting bloc if the measure failed to pass again.

But the political environment had changed significantly when the Sheppard-Towner Act came up for renewal five years later. By the time Grace Abbott, head of the U.S. Children's

Notes

1. "Miss Rankin Gives Political Pointers: Tells Women's Republican Club What Steps Are Needed to Secure Ascendancy," *Providence Journal*, Nov. 30, 1921. Rankin's claims about maternal mortality rates were generally confirmed by the most up-to-date research available to her. U.S. Children's Bureau statistics indicated that the nation's maternal mortality rate for 1918—when twenty-three thousand American women were reported to have died in childbirth—was higher than the rates in sixteen "peer" (or comparable) countries. According to Children's Bureau statistics, however, the nation's infant mortality rate for that year—one in every ten babies born in 1918 was lost—was exceeded in nine, rather than eight, peer countries. Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 498-99. Rankin had turned to social work and women's advocacy after losing her bid for election to the U.S. Senate in 1918; she would serve another term in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1941 to 1943. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* (http://bioguide.congress.gov).

2. Joseph Benedict Chepaitis, "The First Federal Social Welfare Measure: The Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act, 1918-1932" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1968), ii-iii; James G. Burrow, *AMA: Voice of American Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), 157.

3. J. Stanley Lemons, "The Sheppard-Towner Act: Progressivism in the 1920s," *Journal of American History* 55 (March 1969): 781-82; Sheppard Towner Maternity Act, Public Law 97, 67th Cong., 1st sess., chap. 135, 1921.

4. "Miss Rankin Gives Political Pointers."

5. The state health department in Rhode Island was called the State Board of Health from its establishment in 1878 until 1935, when it became the Rhode Island Department of Health following Governor T. F. Green's "Bloodless Revolution," a complete overhaul of the state government. Harry Hoberman and Wendy Yondorf, *Changing Conceptions of Public Health: A Centennial History of the Rhode Island Department of Health, 1878-1978* (Providence: Rhode Island Department of Health, 1978), 28.

6. Ibid., 35-36; Barbara Gutmann Rosenkrantz, *Public Health and the State: Changing Views in Massachusetts, 1842-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 196-97; Elizabeth M. Gardiner, "Relation of Prenatal and Obstetrical Care to Child Welfare," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, December 1919, 13-22.

7. Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 164-68; Emily Adler Stier and J. Stanley Lemons, "The Independent Woman: Rhode Island's First Woman Legislator," *Rhode Island History* 49 (February 1991): 8.

8. Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 1-10; Sonya Michel and Robyn Rosen, "The Paradox of Maternalism: Elizabeth Lowell Putnam and the American Welfare State," *Gender and History* 4 (autumn 1992): 367-70; Richard A. Meckel, *Save the Babies: American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality, 1850-1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

9. Michel and Rosen, "The Paradox of Maternalism," 364.

10. The history of the U.S. Children's Bureau, established by Congress in 1912,

19. Chapin had a long history of agitating for public-health reform. In 1914 he created the Providence District Nursing Association, which later became the most important voluntary health organization in the state; in 1906 he set up five "milk-cleaning depots" for mothers; in 1910 he established Providence City Hospital and its infectious disease unit; in 1911 he implemented a class for "little mothers" in Italian neighborhoods. Chapin also authored several publications and worked on other aspects of maternity and infancy care, including better birth registration records and the licensing of midwives. James H. Cassedy, *Charles V. Chapin and the Public Health Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 2, 136-40, 146-47.

20. Henry Winans Burnett, "The Child Welfare Problem," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, April 1915, 18; Winifred L. Fitzpatrick, "Baby Welfare Nursing," ibid., 21-25. See also Etta R. Goodwin, "A Tabular Statement of Infant-Welfare Work by Public and Private Agencies in the United States," *U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Infant Mortality*, ser. 5, no. 16 (1916), 102-5.

21. The three pamphlets (among the eight from American public-health boards reprinted in the appendix) were "General Directions for Feeding Young Children," "Advice to Those About to Become Mothers," and, in French, "Comment prendre soin des bébés" (How to care for babies). Julia C. Lathrop, "Baby-Saving Campaigns: A Preliminary Report on What American Cities Are Doing to Prevent Infant Mortality," *U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Infant Mortality*, ser. 1, no. 3 (1914), 5-7, 74-78, 90.

22. Byron U. Richards, "Child Welfare," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, October 1917, 32.

23. Elizabeth M. Gardiner, "Report of the Child Welfare Division to the Secretary of the State Board of Health," in *Fortieth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of the State of Rhode Island for the Two Years Ending December 31, 1919* (Pawtucket, 1919), 56.

24. "R.I. First to Have Motherhood Class: Early Interest Here in Teaching Important Duties Gives Leadership to State," *Providence Journal*, Jan. 12, 1922.

25. Mrs. Ira D. Hasbrouck, "The Baby Week Campaign, March 4-11," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, April 1916, 12-22.

26. "Department Child Hygiene Proposed: Federation of Women's Clubs Recommends Establishment," *Providence Journal*, Feb. 3, 1918; "Favor Child Hygiene Department," ibid., Apr. 9, 1918.

27. "Child Welfare Work in Rhode Island," ibid., June 8, 1919. Dr. Gardiner was officially appointed as the State Board of Health's first director of child welfare on May 8, 1919..

28. "Director of Child Welfare Resigns: Dr. Elizabeth M. Gardiner to Have Charge of Child Hygiene in New York," ibid., July 12, 1923; "Dr. Elizabeth Gardiner, Obituary," *New York Times*, July 9, 1956; Gardiner, "Prenatal and Obstetrical Care," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, December 1919, 15.

29. Gardiner, "Report of the Child Welfare Division," in *Fortieth Biennial Report*, 48-60.

30. Hoberman and Yondorf, *Changing Conceptions*, 35-36.

31. Rhode Island senator Peter Gerry, the Democratic Party whip, voted in favor of the Sheppard-Towner bill; the state's other senator, Le Baron Colt, a Republican, was one of the 25 senators absent for the vote. Republicans Clark Burdick, of Rhode Island's First Congressional District, and Ambrose Kennedy, of the Third District, a former Speaker of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, voted for the bill; Republican Walter Stiness, of the Second District, was among the 113 representatives absent for the vote. *Biographical Directory*; J. Fred Parker, *Manual with Rules and Orders for the Use of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island*, 1921-22 ed. (Providence, 1922), 176, 202; *The History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations: Biographical* (New York: American Historical Society, 1920), 444, 301-2.

32. Robertson, who had been a popular Oklahoma postmaster and supervisor of the Indian Creek Schools, was also an ardent antisuffragist. In 1920, shortly after women secured the right to vote, she was tapped to run for Congress and was elected. "I did not want suffrage," she said. "I didn't ask for it, but when they gave it to us, and as God gives me strength, I'll carry the responsibility." Her conservative votes in Congress, including her opposition to Sheppard-Towner, were not popular with her constituents, and she lost her reelection bid in 1922. Louise B. James, "Alice Mary Robertson—Anti-Feminist Congresswoman," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 55 (winter 1977-78): 454-62 (quotation on 461).

33. *Congressional Record*, 67th Cong., 1st sess., 1921, 61, pt. 8: 8036-37; Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 72-76.

34. "67th Congress Concludes Special Session," *Providence Journal*, Nov. 24, 1921.

35. H-585, legislation as introduced into the January 1922 session, *Journal of the House of Representatives: State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, C#00245, Jan. 19, 1922, 20, Rhode Island State Archives; Parker, Manual, 420; "Maternity Bill before Assembly: Representative Tew Presents Act Accepting Provisions of Federal Law," *Providence Journal*, Jan. 20, 1922.

36. H-719, legislation as introduced into the January 1922 session, *Journal of the House*, Feb. 21, 1922, 57; Parker, *Manual*, 388; Ernest L Sprague, *Manual with Rules and Orders for the Use of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island*, 1925-26 ed. (Providence, 1926), 435.

37. H-719A, legislation as introduced into the January 1922 session, *Journal of the House*, Apr. 5, 1922, 129; Parker, *Manual*, 388.

38. H-868, legislation as introduced into the January 1923 session, *Journal of the House*, Mar. 13, 1923, H-J 2; H-947, legislation as introduced into the January 1924 session, ibid., Mar. 12, 1924, H-J 1. The Assembly's "January session" lasted from January to April every year.

39. "Party Lines Split on Welfare Bill: House Accepts Provisions of Sheppard-Towner Act, 42-30, after Lengthy Debate," *Providence Journal*, Apr. 3, 1925; Sprague, *Manual*, 1925-26 ed., 422, 425, 429, 435.

40. Articles such as "MA Holds Maternity Act Is Invalid: Attorney General Allen Files Opinion at Request of Bay State Legislature," *Providence Journal*, May 4, 1922, were tucked into the 1923 volume of the *Journal of the House*.

41. Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 180-205; Lemons, "The Sheppard-Towner Act," 783-84. Along with Massachusetts, Illinois and Connecticut never accepted Sheppard-Towner funds.

42. Rosenkrantz, *Public Health*, 155-57; Elizabeth M. Gardiner, "Report of the Child Welfare Division to the Secretary of the State Board of Health," in *Forty-Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of the State of Rhode Island for the Year Ending December 31, 1922* (Providence, 1923), 28; "The Federal Maternity Law," *Providence Journal*, June 6, 1923; "MA Holds Maternity Act Is Invalid"; M. B. Stillwell and Harold A. Andrews, *Is Rhode Island a Thoughtful Father to Its Children?: A Tentative Survey Compiled under the Direction of Elizabeth M. Gardiner, M.D., Director of the Rhode Island Division of Child Welfare* (Providence: Child Welfare Division, State Board of Health, 1920), 11. This Democratic opposition escalated after 1924, when Cardinal William O'Connell, of the Boston Catholic Diocese, attacked the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This amendment, which would have regulated child labor federally rather than through state legislation, was opposed by the Catholic Church, which declared that federal government interference in the family was a product of communistic (and therefore atheistic) ideology. The church's opposition had implications for all welfare measures, including Sheppard-Towner. Rosenkrantz, *Public Health*,155-57.

43. As calculated from Ernest L Sprague, *Manual with Rules and Orders for the Use of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island*, 1923-24 ed. (Providence, 1924).

44. "Outstanding Events in Memorable General Assembly Session," *Providence Journal*, June 9, 1923; "Final Adjournment in Prospect with Calendars Cleared of Bills: Members Hold All Night Session in Attempt to Adjourn Sine Die–Wrangles Frequented," ibid.

45. Flynn's top priority for the year was abolishing property qualifications for voting. Flynn also recommended revising the state Senate districts, establishing an investigation force for the attorney general, implementing better workers' compensation benefits, and instituting a forty-eight-hour maximum work week for women and minors in industrial establishments. Strongly opposing a bill mandating that only English be spoken in Rhode Island schools, Flynn spoke of "safeguarding the 'unalienable right' of parents to educate their children in accordance to their judgment and conscience without interference by the State," perhaps indicating an antistatism that explains his lack of support for Sheppard-Towner. "Deluge of Bills Features Opening Day of Assembly's 1924 Session: Measures for Abolition of Property Qualification Are Centres of Interest in Both Branches," *Providence Journal*, Jan. 2, 1924.

46. As calculated from Sprague, *Manual*, 1925-26 ed.

47. H-800A, legislation as introduced into the January 1925 session, *Journal of the House*, Mar. 31, 1925, H-J 2; ibid., Apr. 2, 1925, H-J 10-11; "Party Lines Split." No information is available identifying the one Democrat who voted for the resolution or the eight Republicans who voted against it.

48. "Final Adjournment in Prospect"; "Woman Presides Over House for First Time in History of Senate," *Providence Journal*, Apr. 18, 1923; "Only R.I. Assemblywoman Gives First Impressions of First Session: Apprenticeship Shows Need of More Women in Legislature, Mrs. Isabella Ahearn O'Neill Declares," Ibid., May 1, 1923; Sprague, *Manual*, 1923-24 ed., 434; H-504, legislation as introduced into the January 1923 session, *Journal of the House*, Jan. 2, 1923, H-J 4.

49. Stier and Lemons, "The Independent Woman," 7.

50. H-800A, legislation as introduced into the January 1925 session, *Journal of the Senate: State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, C#00244, Apr. 7, 1925, 271, Rhode Island State Archives; ibid., Apr. 16, 1925, 322; January session 1925, Chapter 618, "An Act providing for the acceptance of an act of Congress, entitled 'An Act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy and for other purposes' and making an appropriation therefor," *Public Laws of Rhode Island, 1925-26* (Providence, 1926), 89-90.

51. The "outstanding laws" list included a resolution to abolish the property qualifications for voting, the creation of the Children's Law Commission, bond issues for Rhode Island College of Education and Rhode Island State College, and a tax of one cent per gallon for automobile gasoline. One measure that failed to pass was the state's ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the federal Constitution. "Outstanding Laws Passed by General Assembly of 1925," *Providence Journal*, Apr. 25, 1925; "Party Lines Split."

52. "Legislature Faces Big Grist of Bills: Milk Bill Causing Trouble," *Providence Journal*, Apr. 6, 1925.

53. *Providence Mothers' Club, Annual Report, 1921-22* (Providence, 1922), 1-21; "Women Organize Republican Club: First Steps Taken in Meeting at Butler Exchange," *Providence Journal*, Nov. 2, 1919; "Miss Rankin Gives Political Pointers"; "Need Seen for New Viewpoint on Legislation by Men and Women: Failure of Welfare Measures in General Assembly Brings Interesting Reflections from Feminine Lobbyists," ibid., Apr. 20, 1923; "International Relations, Peace and Constitutional Child Labor Amendment Must Receive Attention of Club Women, Says Mrs. Misch in New Year's Greeting," ibid., Jan. 6, 1924; "Names for Children's Code Board Suggested: Members of Women's Republican Club Recommend Six Appointees," ibid., Apr. 2, 1925; "Children's Code State Commission: Unanimous Vote Cast," ibid.; "Children's Code Commission Named: Pothier Appoints Board to Make Recommendations to Next Term of Assembly," ibid., Apr. 8, 1925; "Children's Laws Board Organizes: Judge Rueckert Named Permanent Chairman, Miss Sawyer Executive Secretary," ibid., Apr.

17, 1925; "Legislature Faces Big Grist of Bills"; "Chapin Explains Milk Bill Support: Stopping Use of Misleading Labels Declared Outstanding Advantage of Measure," ibid., Apr. 14, 1925.

54. When female public-health doctors are mentioned (as they rarely are) in this scholarship, it is usually in reference to their congressional testimony on behalf on the U.S. Children's Bureau. The testimony of Dr. Josephine Baker, the director of child hygiene in New York, is generally mentioned in connection with the struggle that preceded Sheppard-Towner's passage in 1921. J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 164-66; Kriste Lindenmeyer, *"A Right to Childhood": The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 87; Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*, 140-41; Grace Abbott, "Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of State Directors in Charge of the Local Administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act (Act of Congress of November 23, 1921), Held in Washington, D.C., January 11-13, 1926," *U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Infant Mortality*, no. 157 (1926), 206-9.

55. Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*, 136; Burrow, *AMA*, 157-58; Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 98-105, 122; Lindenmeyer, *"A Right to Childhood,"* 87.

56. The Rhode Island Medical Society's activism began as early as 1895, when the society gained the General Assembly's passage of the Rhode Island State Medical Practice Act, a measure that required state-approved medical licenses for all practicing doctors. Beginning in 1902, doctors had to pass a state examination to become licensed. In response to pressure from the American Association of Medical Colleges and the AMA, in 1908 a diploma from an accredited medical college also became compulsory for Rhode Island doctors, a requirement that had independent medical colleges scrambling for affiliation with established universities. With no accredited medical colleges in Rhode Island, prospective doctors had to leave the state to receive an acceptable medical education; the closest accredited medical colleges—including those at Harvard, Tufts, and Boston University—were in Massachusetts. Rhode Island Medical Society, *History of the Rhode Island Medical Society and Its Component Societies, 1812-1962* (East Providence: Roger Williams Press, 1966), 91; Hoberman and Yondorf, *Changing Conceptions*, 1-2; "Accredited Medical Colleges," *Bulletin of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island*, July 1915, 21-24; "Recognition of Certificate," ibid., April 1917, 6. The RIMS continued its activism in the 1920s, with society president Dr. Halsey DeWolf frequently complimenting the organization's internal legislative committee in the monthly *Rhode Island Medical Journal*. DeWolf particularly commended the committee's fight against State House Resolution 765–a bill that would have created a state board of chiropractic examiners beyond the jurisdiction of the state medical licensing authority; after persistent RIMS lobbying, the bill was defeated in the General Assembly's 1924-25 session. Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 100; "Annual Report of the Secretary," *Rhode Island Medical Journal* 5 (July 1922): 282; Halsey DeWolf, "Address by the President of the Rhode Island Medical Society," ibid., 8 (July 1925): 103; "A New Medical Practice," ibid., 8 (May 1925): 82.

57. Unlike the AMA's published journal–which was filled with tirades against the "socialist" Sheppard-Towner Act–the RIMS's monthly *Rhode Island Medical Journal* mentioned the bill only once from 1917 to 1926: in 1924 Peck's Resolution H-947 (calling for acceptance of the program) appeared as a one-line item in a long list of health-related bills presently in the General Assembly. "List of bills which have been introduced into the Rhode Island General Assembly during the Winter 1923-24," *Rhode Island Medical Journal* 7 (July 1924): 107; *Rhode Island Medical Society*, 187.

58. Ladd-Taylor, "'My Work,'" 323; Stillwell and Andrews, *Thoughtful Father*, 5-13, 54; Elizabeth M. Gardiner, "Report of the Child Welfare Division to the Secretary of the State Board of Health," in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health of the State of Rhode Island for the Year Ending December 31, 1921* (Providence, 1922), 24-31.

59. Rhode Island's General Assembly was one of only twelve state legislatures in session in 1922. After the other state legislatures met in 1923, there were only eight states, including Rhode Island, that had not accepted Sheppard-Towner funds; the others were Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, and Vermont. Chepaitis, "Federal Social Welfare Measure," 167-70.

60. Gardiner, "Report of the Child Welfare Division," in *Forty-Third Annual Report*, 23-31.

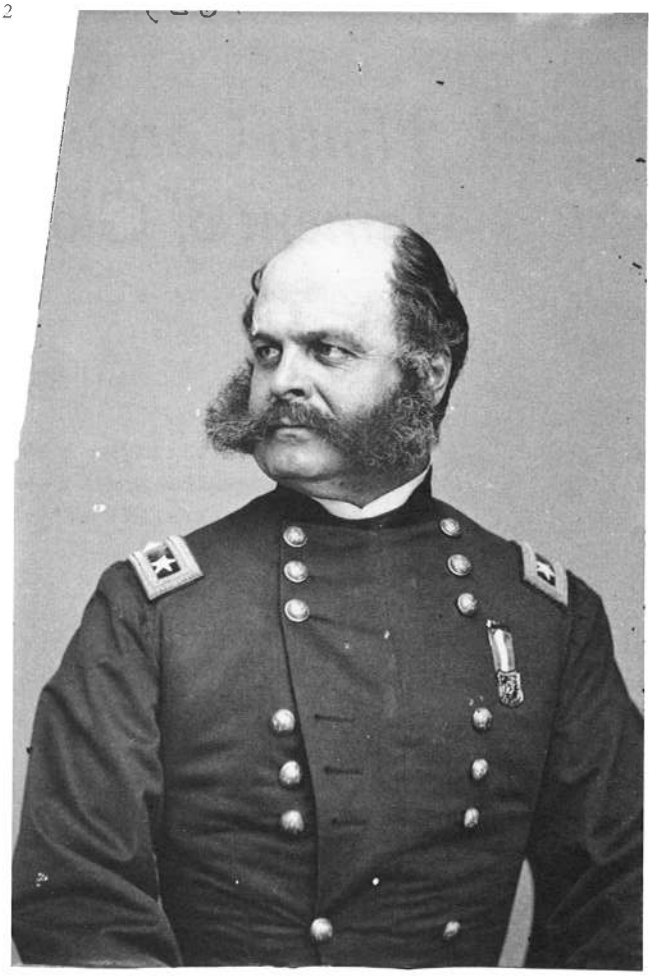
61. Ibid. (quotation on 28); Marion A. Gleason, "Report of the Child Welfare Division to the Secretary of the State Board of Health," in *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of the State of Rhode Island for the Year Ending November 30, 1925* (Providence, 1926), 30-36. For information about the clinics in New York City, see Grace Abbott, "The Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy: The Administration of the Act of Congress of November 23, 1921, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923," *U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Infant Mortality*, no. 137 (1924), 32-33.

62. "Director of Child Welfare Resigns"; "Dr. Elizabeth Gardiner, Obituary."

63. A native of Rhode Island, Dr. Gleason was a schoolteacher in Massachusetts for eight years before completing her medical training at Tufts Medical College in 1907. She was the treasurer of the Rhode Island Homeopathic Association and a member of the American Institute of Homeopathy. She would serve as director of the Division of Child Welfare until her retirement in 1937, five months before her death at the age of sixty-six. "Director of Child Welfare Elected: Dr. Marion A. Gleason of This City Chosen Successor to Dr. E. M. Gardiner," *Providence Journal*, Oct. 19, 1923; "Woman Physician Dead in 66th Year: Dr. Marion A. Gleason, Child Specialist, Dies at Homeopathic Hospital," ibid., Dec. 5, 1937.

Figure 1. Rhode Island's Ambrose E. Burnside won fame as a commander of troops during the Civil War. As a major general he led the Union's Ninth Corps, whose badge he wears in this photograph. The image shown here—one of a series of four photos by Mathew Brady—is from a carte de visite *in the author's collection.*

2



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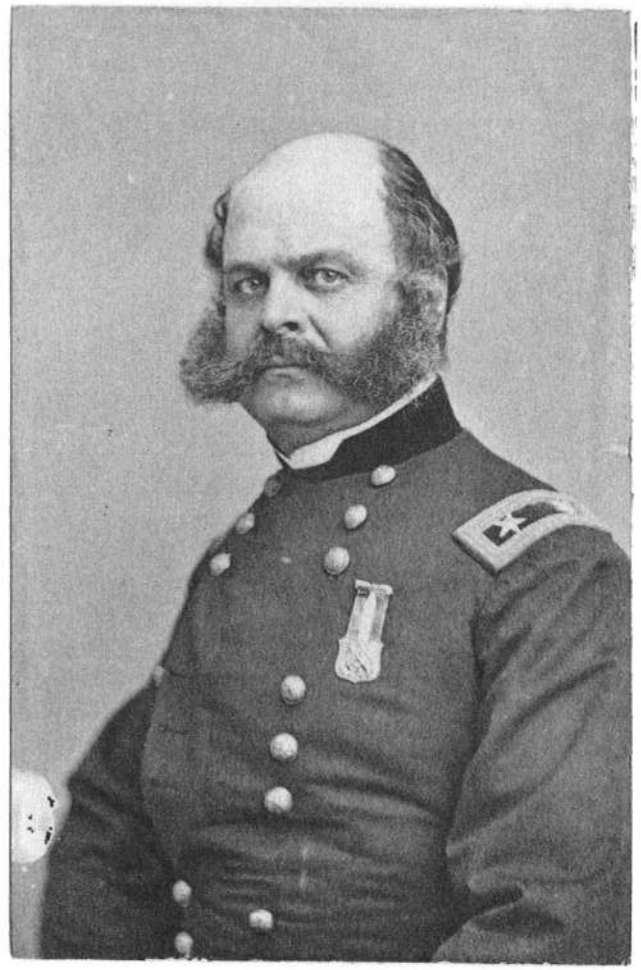

Figures 2, 3, 4. General Burnside wears the badge of the Ninth Corps in these photographs by Mathew Brady. Figure 2: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Figure 3: ICHi-51323, Chicago History Museum. Figure 4: Generals of the American Civil War (www.generalsandbrevets.com)

him are a series of four taken by Mathew Brady in his Washington studio (figures 1, 2, 3, and 4). These images, clean and crisp, reflect a man of dignity, nobility, and pride. There is also a particularly notable element in these photos: in all of them the general is wearing something that appears to be a medal—something that appears in no other photos of him.

Because the photos are so well known, it is surprising that apparently no attempt has been made to date them with any precision. It is, in fact, possible to narrow down the period during which they were taken, perhaps to within as little as six days, but certainly to within four months. Determining their date enables us not only to relate them more clearly to other photos but also to place them within the context of Burnside's life and military career, thereby giving these images a unique significance.

The medal that Burnside is wearing is not, properly speaking, a medal at all, but a badge. Such badges were first introduced into the Union army by Gen. Philip Kearny's brigade of the Third Army Corps in June 1862.[5] The badges identified the members of a division with one another and to the members of the other divisions of a corps. Gen. Joseph "Fighting Joe" Hooker, then the commander of the Army of the Potomac, introduced them to all his units in 1863, at a time when Union forces were dispirited by their repeated defeats at the hands of the Confederacy. With the will to fight at a new low and desertions common, Hooker introduced the badges partly in the hope that they would restore the morale of the army.

The identity of a corps was designated by the shape of its badge, and the divisions within the corps were designated by the color. The

Figure 5. Soldiers of the Union army wore badges that identified their corps and their division, with the primary badge worn on the hat. This is Capt. John D. Cobb of the Ninth Corps's 35th Massachusetts Infantry. Courtesy of Howard Lanham.

work, and they could have been taken at any time when Burnside was in Washington, where Brady maintained a studio.[11] But while it is true that officers came to Washington with some regularity to confer with the secretary of war, other officials of the War Department, or even with the president, it is nonetheless likely that we are able to identify the specific occasion for these photos of Burnside.

On April 14, 1864, Burnside arrived in Annapolis, Maryland, to resume command of the Ninth Corps. On April 17 he received orders to have his men ready to move by April 20, but their destination remained a secret. When the corps broke camp on April 23, the troops expected that they would march to the harbor and be ferried south toward North Carolina, where they had first served under Burnside; but their march turned instead toward Washington. Burnside was not among the troops for the march, for he had gone ahead by train to confer with President Lincoln. Led by Gen Orlando Willcox, on the night of April 24 the troops camped at Bladensburg, Maryland, about six miles from Washington. It now became apparent that they would march through Washington the next day.

As described by Augustus Woodbury in his book on Burnside two years after the war, the arrival of the Ninth Corps was to be a special occasion for the citizens of Washington, for Lincoln, for Burnside, and for the African American troops of the corps's Fourth Division: "In Washington, it began to be rumored that the Ninth Corps would pass through the city, and that a division of colored troops, five or six thousand strong, was incorporated in the column. The citizens were on the qui vive, the members of Congress and the President were eager to witness the movement."[12] The Fourth Division was the first such unit made up entirely of African Americans, and it was the first time that such a force paraded through Washington. Along with Burnside and some others the president had invited, Lincoln took the occasion to review the troops from the balcony of Willard's Hotel.

"The scene was one of great beauty, spirit and animation." Woodbury continued.

> The day was superbly clear. A cool wind breathed through the soft air of the early Spring. Rain had fallen during the previous night and there was no dust to cause discomfort to the soldiers or the spectators. The troops marched and appeared exceedingly well. Their soiled and tattered flags, bearing inscriptions of battles in six States, east and west, were silent and affecting witnesses of their valor and their sacrifices. The firm and soldierly bearing of the veterans, the eager and expectant countenances of the men and officers of the new regiments, the gay trappings of the cavalry, the thorough equipment and fine condition of the artillery, were all subjects of warm commendation. Multitudes of spectators filled the streets and greeted the column with enthusiastic cheers.

At this time Grant also restructured the army, making the Ninth Corps part of the Army of the Potomac, with Burnside reporting not directly to him but rather to General Meade.

As the siege works were built, some Ninth Corps members from the coal-mining country of Pennsylvania proposed mining under the enemy lines, blowing up part of the Confederates' fortifications, and then attacking the Confederate emplacements that would be weakened and disoriented by the blast. After initial skepticism General Meade approved the project, and the tunneling began about June 24 and continued until late July. In the meantime Burnside determined that the Ninth Corps's Fourth Division would lead the Union attack that would follow the explosion. Although less experienced than the troops of other divisions, the African Americans had suffered less in the recent battles, and they showed great enthusiasm for combat.[14]

Having arranged with Burnside for these troops to be freed from other assignments, their commander, Gen. Edward Ferrero, drilled them for two weeks in the tactics to be employed in the attack. Then, incredibly, on the day before the operation was to be carried out, there was a change in plans: with the backing of Grant, Meade ordered Burnside to have another division lead the assault, lest it be charged, in case of defeat, that the black troops had been sacrificed to save the lives of white soldiers. Burnside received the orders shortly after noon, and it was already late afternoon when Burnside chose the First Division, under Gen. James Ledlie, to lead the attack. As a result, the assault the next day, July 30, was made with troops and officers almost totally unprepared for what came to be known as the Battle of the Crater. In the ensuing calamity, Burnside's troops suffered a severe defeat.

On August 8, nine days after the battle, General Meade created a court of inquiry regarding Burnside's conduct of the battle. Convened in an irregular manner and staffed with officers who evidenced some prejudice against Burnside, the court found him, rather than Meade, responsible for the defeat, and Burnside was relieved of his command of the Ninth Corps. Although he subsequently offered his services to Grant and other generals on several occasions, Burnside was not reassigned for the remainder of the war. For eight months he waited, hoping to be of service to the Union. Finally, on April 14, 1865, four days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Burnside sent a letter to President Lincoln tendering his resignation from the service; but the bullet of John Wilkes Booth intervened before Lincoln could receive the letter.[15]

Burnside attended the April 19 funeral of his president in civilian clothes rather than in uniform, a significant indication that he thought of his military career as complete. Shortly thereafter, the newly installed President Andrew Johnson accepted Burnside's resignation, retroactively dating his acceptance to April 15. That date was exactly four years from the day that Burnside had mustered the First Rhode Island Regiment, little more than a year after his reappointment as commander of the Ninth Corps, and, of course, the day of the president's death. It was a sad time for Burnside, not only because of the death of President Lincoln but also because his military career had ended the way that it did.[16]

If photos of Burnside wearing the badge of the Ninth Corps were to be taken, they would have been taken between late April 1864, when the badge was issued, and July 30, 1864, when Burnside was removed from his command.[17] According to Burnside's General Orders No. 6, the first badges would not be actually available in camp until about April 27, about the time of his corps's march through Washington.[18]

It was typical of Mathew Brady to invite noteworthy individuals to his studio to sit for a photograph when they were in Washington; it was both an honor for the invitee and an opportunity for Brady to add another portrait

went on to serve as U.S. senator from 1875 until his death in 1881.

Affable as he was, Ambrose Burnside would almost surely have attended the later reunions of the Ninth Corps, the first of which took place in New York beginning February 8, 1869, when the "Society of the North Carolina Expedition and the Ninth Army Corps" was formed.[23] Indeed, there are photos of Burnside in uniform in his later years, but none ever again shows him wearing the badge of the Ninth Corps. Thus these four portraits of Burnside by Mathew Brady serve as the sole photographic testimony to the last great distinction of Burnside's military career, a moment frozen in time by Brady's camera and made the more poignant by the glory of that occasion and the pain and anguish that were to follow.

14. Marvel (*Burnside*, 393) indicates that since they had been mustered, the African American troops chosen to lead the assault had been used primarily as laborers to dig trenches and other fortifications. The fact that they would be assigned the primary assault on the Confederate position was a mark of honor, and they evidently relished the opportunity to prove themselves in battle.

15. Burnside's letter of resignation is preserved in the Abraham Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress. A digital facsimile is available on the internet at http://memory.loc.gov.

16. In December 1865 Congress directed the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War to investigate the Battle of the Crater. After thoroughly reviewing his actions concerning the battle, it officially exonerated Burnside from blame for the defeat, whose major cause, the committee concluded, was Meade's last-minute decision to change the troops responsible for the primary assault. U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, *The Battle of Petersburg*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., S.D. 142 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), passim, esp. 8.

17. The photos by Brady are not to be confused with later engravings based on them. For example, an engraving by H. Velten, based on figure 3, appears in R. U. Johnson, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: Century Company, 1887-88), 3: 109. The engraving dates from 1887, but the original photo does not.

18. "The designs for this badge are now in the hands of Messrs. Tiffany & Co., New York, and samples will be at headquarters about the 27th," Burnside stated in his General Orders No. 6.

19. Cabinet photos were approximately 5 by 7 inches. *Cartes de visite*, named for the popular French custom of using such photos as calling cards, were approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches.

20. The actual photographer was Anthony Berger, one of Brady's assistants. The photos are reproduced in Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln's Photographs: A Complete Album* (Dayton: Rockywood Press, 1998), 187-89, identified by the commonly accepted "O" (Ostendorf) numbers: 0-97, 0-98, 0-99.

21. Ibid., 190-95; O-100, O-100c, O-101, O-102

22. Later photos of Burnside by Brady exist (including the famous one taken on May 23, 1864, showing Burnside sitting on a bag of feed, reading a newspaper as his staff relaxes around him and as Brady himself sits facing the general), but these were informal photos taken in the field, not studio portraits.

23. *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1869.

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Focusing on maternity and infancy health care, the Rhode Island State Board of Health's Division of Child Welfare set up this exhibit at a fair in Scituate in 1919. The posters on the wall featured such titles as "Care of the Baby" and "Safety First." Fortieth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of Rhode Island for the Two Years Ending December 31, 1919.