

# Chapter 9

## Emotional Practice and Emotional Archaeology



### A Perspective from the Archaeology of Childhood

Jane Eva Baxter

#### Children Put Me in My Place(s): The Origins of an Emotional Journey

A heart-centered archaeology is one that allows us to connect our whole selves to our practice (Supernant and Lyons, Chap. 1, this volume), reminds us that “good” research does not have to be detached, and reinforces an idea recently asserted by Bader and Malhi (2019:1–2) that “personal connectedness can strengthen, not hold back (my) research.” This is not the archaeology I was taught in school. I was trained in a strong tradition of materialist, scientific American archaeology during a period of post-processual critique, which in hindsight had many of the people teaching me doubling down on the “right way” to do and think about archaeology in light of these new theoretical ideas. I learned that the tangible, visible remains of people’s behavior that comprised the material world could be decoupled from the cultural “epiphenomena” that resided in people’s heads. This convenient dualism allowed archaeology to use scientific approaches to reveal the practices of daily life, struggle a bit with the social relationships that informed those practices, and largely discount the richly complicated intangible culture of human existence as unknowable or irrelevant to archaeological pursuits. I was also encouraged to keep my own “intangibles” away from my research as much as possible. There are still many archaeologists who see an interest in this latter aspect of human lives as “unnecessary fluff” or “empirically impossible,” and the literature is filled with lingering cautionary tales admonishing archaeologists not to stray from the materialist traditions that have characterized American archaeology for generations (see Kus 2000).

When I chose the topic of children to be the focus of my dissertation research (Baxter 2000), it was met with considerable skepticism. Most of the scant literature,

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with the exception of a few pioneering works, was not filled with a sense of possibility and rather was infused with a message that discouraged archaeologists from studying children. The archaeological evidence for children simply wasn't there but even more pervasive was a sense that children weren't important enough to be deserving of archaeological study. Children weren't considered significant in the economic and social lives of their communities or as part of the cosmological and emotional worlds of those in the past, and this sensibility kept children virtually absent from archaeological inquiry for generations. My own work, while among the first studies of children, was a scientific, spatial, and statistical study designed simply to show children could be identified using archaeological methods (Baxter 2000, 2005). At the time it was important, but it didn't feel wholly satisfying.

My intellectual interest in children was paired with my own choice to be child-free. I never had a longing or desire to have children and always felt there were other things in my life I wasn't willing to compromise to do so. I have two adult stepchildren who I adore, but I am extremely happy I didn't have to raise them. The decision to not have children for a woman of my generation is a complicated one, as it is a choice that is still, albeit less so, highly stigmatized (Blackstone 2019). People's reactions often range from curiosity, to pity, to outright anger and contempt when I divulge I don't have children by choice; there is a strong popular sense in America that women are supposed to want children and something isn't quite right about you if you don't.

Contemporary American culture amplifies the importance of children in families where they are wanted including increasingly elaborate celebrations around conception, gender determination, birth, developmental milestones, and educational achievement, as well as the proliferation of ideal and essential material and experiential indulgences for children that are highly commoditized and broadcast steadily through advertising and social media. Unwanted pregnancies, the inability to conceive a child, or having a child that does not meet culturally prescribed cognitive, social, or physical milestones are couched in complex, emotional cultural discourses. The idea of collectively providing and caring for all children is a largely unrealized but often touted American ideal (Mintz 2004), and there is a dominant cultural sensibility about being fearful for children who may be harmed by dangerous adults, by peer pressure, by premature adulthood (particularly in terms of sex and violence), and by becoming too greedy and materialistic, or conversely, by not having enough (Baxter 2019a). There is a comfortable recognition that children are integral to the economic and social worlds of adults in contemporary America and that they have been so since the advent of capitalism (Jacobson 2008; Matthews 2010; Zelizer 1994).

Choices in my personal life have been amplified because of my intellectual and scholarly interests in childhood in the past. Both colleagues and those outside the field frequently ask me if having children of my own inspired my research interests on children. When I explain I am child-free and that my scholarly interest in children is exactly that, many people stop questioning. Others press on asking if I feel my studies of children in the past are a way of reconciling not having children in my own life. These aren't particularly welcome questions, but they also underscore the

feminized nature of scholarship on children and an interesting paradox on how many archaeologists think and feel about children and childhood (Baxter 2015a).

My scholarly and personal relationships to children have given me a particular platform from which to view this paradox. On the one hand, scholars in many disciplines who study childhood in the past, including archaeology, have found themselves on the margins of their field because they have chosen a topic considered to be unimportant (Baxter et al. 2017). On the other hand, the culture that many of these scholars come from spends an exceptional amount of time, energy, money, and effort on children, and the same colleagues who think our work is unimportant are immersed this child-centric culture of the present. While it is obviously unrealistic to suggest all societies viewed, treated, and valued children as we do today, the lack of nuance in this past/present divide has always been striking, and I have always found it uncomfortable. This discomfort has produced change in how I think about and how I practice archaeology.

Many of the theoretical ideas that shaped my archaeological education have long been discarded but so too is treading this awkward divide about how we experience childhood in the present and how we think about children in the past. Much of the scholarship on the archaeology of childhood demonstrates adults investing in children, caring for children, and prioritizing children in their own culturally specific ways. I have come to see much of the archaeology of childhood as being the archaeology of love, of care, and of hope as people actively made choices that highlighted the importance of children in their families and communities in the moment and in their aspirations for the future. I also have transformed the way I think about myself as an archaeologist as I actively seek ways to redraw the lines in my research process that allow me to experience empathy and compassion for the humanity of my practice while maintaining an analytical rigor that is respectful of the evidence I encounter. Part of this process is giving the children I study in the past the same emotional space I am expected to give children in the present.

## The Archaeology of Emotions

Navigating emotional spaces in archaeology is not new, but it also does not have a long history in the discipline (Fleisher and Norman 2016). An increasing number of archaeologists hold a desire to develop understandings of the past that focus on complex human actors while respecting the material record available for archaeological study, and emotion is providing one such avenue to do so. Fleisher and Norman (2016: 3) noted that archaeologists have tended to ascribe emotion to populations in the past in an ad hoc fashion, most particularly emotions of anxiety and stress when archaeologically visible environmental conditions or social circumstances, such as warfare, create significant disruption and change to normal patterns of living. A more systematic interest in the emotional lives of people in the past is emerging in both archaeology (Fleisher and Norman 2016; Tarlow 2012) and history (e.g., Plamper 2017; Rosenwein 2015) and is resulting in deeper theoretical and

methodological considerations of how scholars can bridge the emotional divide between past and present without projecting contemporary emotional sensibilities into the past.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, much of the literature that addresses emotion in archaeology is tied to mortuary archaeology and how symbolic and ritual behavior around death reflects bereavement, sorrow, anger, and fear (e.g., Chesson 2016; Murphy 2011; Tarlow 1999). Bioarchaeology also has added to this movement by focusing on emotionally laden concepts such as care (e.g., Tilley 2015; Tilley and Schrenk 2017) and aspects of embodied human experiences such as sexuality and disability (e.g., Byrnes and Muller 2017, Geller 2017, Sievert and Brown 2016). Archaeological interests in emotion are often tied to broader conversations about the human experience and/or the need for archaeology to engage broadly with the intangible aspects of human experiences and how they articulate with the material world (Biagetti and Lugli 2016; Fleisher and Norman 2016; Harris and Sørensen 2010; Hublin 2009).

Archaeological concerns with emotion are also present in areas where archaeological scholarship about the past directly intersects with the present. Studies of looting, collecting, and the antiquities trade have explored the emotional ties that individuals have to objects from the past (e.g., Walker Tubb 2006) and the trauma associated with witnessing the destruction of shared cultural heritage as acts of war and terrorism (e.g., Kersel and Luke 2012). Archaeologists are also finding new ways of writing and presenting archaeology in academic and popular circles that directly address the emotional value of heritage and the past for those in the present (Lyons et al. 2018; Roussou et al. 2017).

Scholars engaging with emotion are integrating neuroscience and psychology into disciplinary interests to enable nuanced, situated understandings of emotion rather than being stifled by the binary debate between social constructivism and biological universalism (Plamper 2017; Tarlow 2012). All humans have emotional lives that are deeply rooted in biology, but humans also have the ability to choose how, when, where, and why to suppress (not to eliminate), to emphasize, and to express emotions as ways of communicating and connecting with the broader world. Contemporary scholarship is enmeshed in an understanding that emotions are at once biological and cultural and personal and shared (Niedenthal and Ric 2017).

Archaeological interests in emotion do not rest as much with the individual as they do with groups of people who shared emotional sensibilities. Theories that address individual relationships to emotion and those that equate emotional states, expressions, or forms to entire cultures are not as helpful as ideas about emotion that have scalar possibilities (Fleisher and Norman 2016:7–8). One such alternative is the work of Barbara Rosenwein (2006, 2015) who conducted research on societies in premodern Europe to develop the idea of emotional communities. Emotional communities are social communities that share, define, tolerate, and deplore particular emotional expressions. These communities are not equated to entire cultural groups but rather are communities that coexist in society and not necessarily in opposition. People may belong to multiple emotional communities simultaneously, and communities may wax and wane in dominance or prevalence over time. Rosenwein illustrates how emotional norms and modes of expression are fluid and

are shaped by social and cultural environments. The concept of emotional communities also allows individuals to engage with multiple forms of shared expression and understandings of emotions as they move through different communities connected to different parts of their lives.

In their introduction to *The Archaeology of Anxiety*, Fleisher and Norman (2016:9–10) suggest aspects of the archaeological record where emotions may be more accessible than others. These include “evocative spaces,” which through design, character, and/or use elicit emotional experiences of place. Another is ritual performance where actors are calling emotional states into consciousness as a part of a ritualized activity or event. These types of contexts are archaeologically accessible through the material record and can be tied to ideas of emotional communities who spent time in particular spaces and participated in certain ritual performances. Certainly, these do not have to be mortuary spaces or rituals, but here I’m going to specifically use mortuary studies of children in the nineteenth century as a way of integrating ideas of emotion into my archaeological study of children.

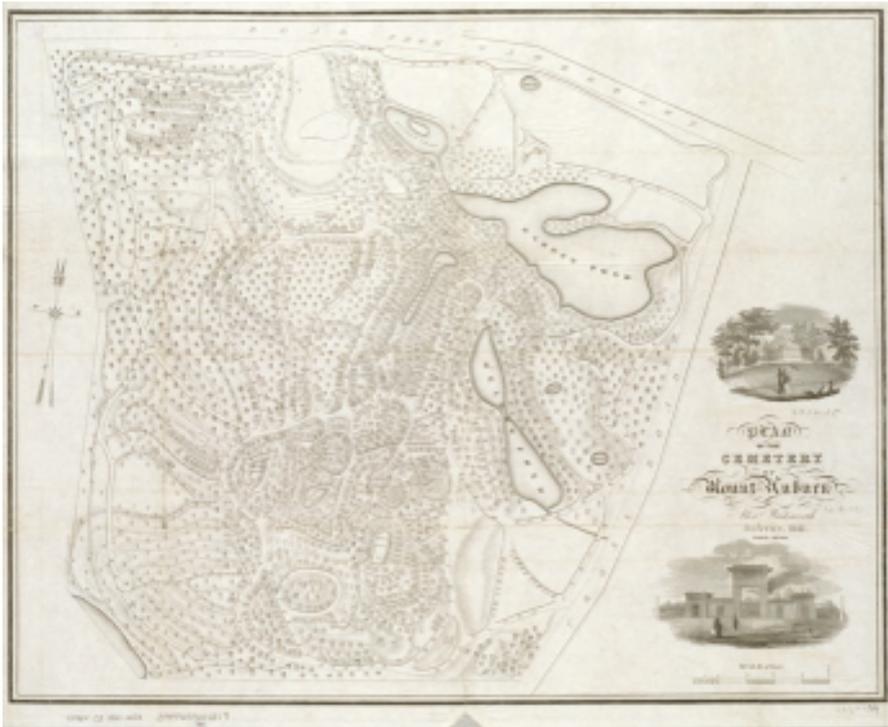
## Studying the Death of Children in Nineteenth-Century America

One aspect of my work on the archaeology of childhood has been studying the commemorative practices for children in Chicago’s rural garden cemeteries. I have focused my work on the earliest years of these institutions and the commemorations of individual children who predeceased the adults in their family (Baxter 2015b). I looked at how different communities in Chicago chose to commemorate children at a time of major population influx from the United States and abroad. The importance of children for establishing a family in a new place paired with high infant and childhood mortality was a challenge to families socially and economically. At the same time, the death of a child also afforded families an opportunity to stake their claim in a new city and often country as they literally and symbolically put family blood into the soil. During the course of this work, I focused my attention on the way children were treated as research subjects by different disciplines (Baxter 2013) and embarked on a small project to address how children were taught to think about death and dying in a period of high infant and child mortality (Baxter 2019b).

The rural garden cemeteries where I work are most certainly evocative spaces, as they were deliberately designed to impart many social and cosmological messages to visitors. These cemeteries emerged in England and America in the nineteenth century as a response to increasing urbanization and industrialization (see Tarlow 1999 for a discussion of these cemeteries in England). On the surface, the rationale for these cemeteries was one of hygiene. The movement of people into urban areas resulted in overcrowded city cemeteries and church graveyards that were located in congested city centers. The presence of the dead so close to the living was considered a contributor to the disease outbreaks that plagued urban popu-

lations. Rural garden cemeteries created separate spaces for the dead outside of city centers, generally located on rail lines to facilitate the movement of the deceased as well as for the transportation of mourners and visitors (French 1974).

The first such cemetery in the United States was Mount Auburn Cemetery (Fig. 9.1), and the formulaic, planned landscape initiated there was adapted to cities across America while retaining several key design features. These cemeteries were not only located outside of the city they served but were surrounded by walls and accessed through a single, gated entrance creating a sense visitors were stepping into a special, separate world. Inside were a series of prescribed pathways that twisted and turned taking visitors through carefully designed “natural” landscapes with hills, trees, lakes, and beautiful vistas, all designed to transport newly urbanized populations to a place where they could peacefully contemplate god and nature



**Fig. 9.1** Plan of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn by Alexander Wadsworth, 1841. Mount Auburn Cemetery is located outside Boston, Massachusetts, and was dedicated in 1831 as the first rural garden cemetery in the United States. This map illustrates the planned nature of the landscape including the exterior walls, the designed topography, the “natural” features, and the single gate leading to prescribed pathways for visitors. This formulaic landscape was the basis for rural garden cemeteries developed across the United States throughout the nineteenth century. (Image obtained through an open via Wikimedia Commons. Author and license information can be found via this link: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plan\\_of\\_the\\_cemetery\\_of\\_Mount\\_Auburn\\_\(3720668892\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plan_of_the_cemetery_of_Mount_Auburn_(3720668892).jpg))

(Beder 1974). This landscape design masked the primary function of the landscape, as a place to house the dead, and emphasized its suitability for visitation by the living (Darnall 1983). Visitation, picnicking, promenading, and socializing in cemeteries became common practice (Baxter 2019b), and highly symbolic iconography and carefully chosen words and phrases on tombstones allowed people to read messages of sentiment, piety, civic duty, and bereavement as they spent leisure time in the cemetery. The rituals that produced the mortuary landscape were continued long after death through these continued rituals of visitation.

For the first time, it was possible to pre-purchase and design a family plot that would display the wealth and status of that family to visitors (Fenza 1989). The size of the plot and the number of generations it contained; the material, size, and style of the headstones; and the relative prominence of the plot location all became important features allowing visitors to read the landscape and understand the circumstances of the family in life. Ethnic communities, church congregations, wealthy elites, and working-class citizens could all determine their final neighborhood before they died, thereby replicating the social order for eternity. Transcending all other social factors, however, was an emphasis on family (Bohan 1988). As population movements and new economic modes disrupted traditional family life, the cemetery became a place where families would be reunited and where family continuity could be perpetually maintained.

Children became particularly potent symbols of home and family life during this time of upheaval and social change (Baxter 2015b, 2019a; Little et al. 1992:14), and their grave markers reflect this through designs conveying innocence, purity, and home (Snyder 1992) (Figs. 9.2 and 9.3). Messages expressed through headstone design were reinforced by children's epitaphs (Smith 1987) and consolation literature, which was a popular genre for parents at a time of high infant and child mortality (Baxter 2019b; Douglas 1975).

Rural garden cemeteries were a part of a larger movement designed to beautify and celebrate death in nineteenth-century America. Death was embraced as a part of living culture, and elaborate spaces, rituals, and language specifically to express emotions of loss and suffering when a loved one died were considered essential elements of mourning and commemoration. The "beautification of death" movement included the preservation and decoration of corpses to prolong a "lifelike" appearance, the photography of deceased family members in family portraits alongside the living, the performance of detailed rituals, and the elaboration of mortuary monuments that denied death through euphemisms of sleep, rest, and continuity with the living in images and epitaphs (Baxter 2013, 2015b, 2019b; LeeDecker 2009) (Figs. 9.2 and 9.3). Whether performative or heartfelt or both, nineteenth-century Americans placed emotions in very public spaces and contexts in the mourning process.

My time studying children in Chicago's cemeteries was a surprisingly and profoundly emotional experience for me as a researcher. My research involved solitary hikes up and down rows of graves over hundreds of acres seeking out the headstones and grave markers of infants and children and recording the details of each stone. The monuments carefully and deliberately designed to convey a family's loss and grief to cemetery visitors certainly had an effect on me, even if I was visiting



**Fig. 9.2** The headstones of two children buried in Chicago’s Oak Woods Cemetery. Often, older children were given more elaborate burials that emphasized the family’s wealth, status, and ostensibly grief, and depicted the child as a beloved individual in the family whose loss was very particular. On the left is the memorial stone of India Kephart who died in 1882 at age 5. She’s memorialized asleep with a pillow and blanket invoking a common euphemism for death and is resting in a scallop shell, which symbolizes her Christian journey through life and her baptism. India holds a doll in her arms, which symbolized home and family. On the right is the headstone for William “Willie” Omohundro, who died in 1887 at age 9. This expensive metal stone uses a budding rose to symbolize his young life and a nickname to convey endearment. The lament, “Oh What Hopes Lie Buried Here” illustrates parental investment in this child as the future of their family. (Photos courtesy of James E. Dourney)

150 years after the interment of a child. After collecting the data for this project, I couldn’t go into a cemetery for several months because I found it too emotionally difficult – I was exhausted from encountering loss and grief. Sarah Tarlow (2000:20) addressed the emotional experience of conducting archaeological research in historic cemeteries when she said:

When excavating a skeleton, many archaeologists experience some kind of emotional response such as fear, guilt, or reverence, but when confronted only with the biological fact of bones, grief is not a common response. However, conducting research in a graveyard presents one not only with the facts of a death, but with enough information to build a history, to become acquainted with something of the individual, their name, age, partner, parents, and children. Moreover, the existence of the monument itself, erected by a person or persons who experienced their loss is testimony to bereavement. It is hard to remain unaffected when one is confronted with the often explicit evidence of somebody else’s sentiment.

These types of emotional responses today raise questions about the emotional communities that parents were a part of as they publicly mourned their children and erected monuments to convey appropriate sentiments of grief and loss to cemetery visitors.



**Fig. 9.3** The headstones of two children buried at Crown Hill Cemetery in Indianapolis, Indiana. The same types of stones may be found in rural garden cemeteries across the United States. More simple stones such as these were used to commemorate younger children or children of less wealthy families, but they were no less sentimental. The most common image for children’s headstones throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the lamb. The lamb here is for the son of M&A Borbecker, with a very simple epitaph expressing this 4-year-old place in the family. The memorial placed to commemorate 4-year-old Floyd on the right includes the simple phrase, “our darling,” which concisely conveys a sense of family belonging and parental loss. (Photos courtesy of James E. Dourney)

## Emotional Responses to the Death of Children

Parents constructing monuments for their children in nineteenth-century American cemeteries were doing so during a period of high infant and child mortality. The increasing concentration of populations in cities resulted in a concomitant increase in the death of children. In 1850, more than 1 in 4 children born did not live to see their first birthday. By 1900, that rate had declined to approximately 1 in 5, but 30% of deaths in America were still people under age 18 (Baxter 2019a, b). By comparison, less than 1% of American children die as infants today, and only 1.4% of recorded deaths is people under the age of 18. Addressing the emotions of nineteenth-

century parents needs to account for these fundamental differences in life expectancies for children.

Parental investment in children, both emotional and material, at times of high infant and child mortality is a question that has been of interest to historians for quite some time. In his foundational work, *Centuries of Childhood*, Philippe Aries (1973) argued that parents in Medieval Europe were not emotionally invested in their children, did not offer them high levels of care, and saw childhood as something that was to be hastened rather than indulged. He argued that high infant and child mortality was the cause of these attitudes toward children and that children had to survive to a certain age before attaining a level of personhood and importance in families. This idea of equating high infant and child mortality with a lack of parental care and concern became a pervasive sensibility in historical studies more generally, particularly for other periods such as seventeenth-century America where children were not given toys and were dressed as miniature adults (Calvert 1992; Baxter 2019a). Many people still connect back to this early work and equate high infant and child mortality with a lack of parental investment, but subsequent scholarship has largely discredited this point of view.

More recent scholarship has critiqued this interpretation of parent-child relationships as a projection of modern ideals of parental love and care into the past, the use of selective data, and an absence of appropriate historical context (Catalano 2015). For example, medieval children were often described as being covered in dirt, which was interpreted a sign of neglect. Instead, the practice reflected a common belief that children would be protected against evil spirits and demons by the layering of earth on their skin (Catalano 2015). Dirty children weren't unloved or neglected; their parents were protecting them. Similarly, seventeenth-Century Puritan children were denied toys and dressed as miniature adults because adults considered the animalistic behaviors of babbling and crawling to be a danger to a child's mortal soul (Calvert 1992). Children were inchoate adults who needed to appear and act human as soon as possible, and parental efforts to hasten adulthood were acts of love and concern. An ample documentary record left by the Puritans illustrates just how much concern adults had for the young people who were to be their future (Chudacoff 2007).

Other scholars have presented evidence that high infant and child mortality actually increases parental anxiety over the death of children (Pollock 1983) and that parental emotions surrounding the deaths of children do not have to be elaborate expressions of grief to reflect genuine care and concern (Catalano 2015). Perhaps the most famous ethnographic study of parental emotion and the deaths of children is Nancy Scheper-Hughes' (1989) *Death Without Weeping*. Mothers in Brazil who were continuously birthing and losing children practiced a form of child neglect that hastened the deaths of children who were perceived to be too weak to survive. Their emotional community was one that sublimated grief and sadness at the loss of children as a way of coping with frequent child death. A careful reading of this work, however, does not indicate that these mothers were devoid of emotion. Rather than grief, more subtle expressions of care and pity were common, and other more overt

and elaborated emotions were expressed elsewhere in their lives (Catalano 2015, and see Niedenthal and Ric 2017).

Parents in the nineteenth century had diverse responses to the birth and deaths of children that were largely affected by the economic and social circumstances of the family under a new capitalist system. The arrival of a child into a family required a reconfiguration of the household in terms of time and resources, and children were perhaps the most critical consideration in a family's household economy (Matthews 2010). Many mortuary monuments for children reflect this literal, material expenditure on the part of children and the loss of those investments in the future of the family (Fig. 9.2). Such sentiment about a loss of family investment and future are most often reserved for older children and in most extreme form are expressed through elaborate, highly individualized monuments.

The ability to invest in children in life and death was largely determined by the economic standing of the household. Alongside these elaborate monuments for children of more wealthy families were cultural practices such as baby farming that allowed parents to place children in the care of individuals who would neglect the child until they were dead (Behlmer 1982). This death by proxy alleviated the burden of caring for a child that could not be cared for and created a space between the parent and the act of infanticide. Other solutions such as orphanages and orphan trains allowed families to relinquish their responsibilities for children, often to institutions and other families whose care resulted in very poor outcomes for the children (Fass 2016). These practices are not indicative of a lack of parental concern or love but rather circumstances that made it impossible for parents to care for their children. Tokens left with orphans at London's Foundling Museum are one profound example of the emotional attachments parents had to the children they gave up to institutional care (The Foundling Museum 2019). These children were a part of the cumulative vital statistics of the day but would not have been afforded a commemorative marker in a local cemetery (Baxter 2015b).

Expressions of loss were not just related to material and social investment but also to sentiments of care and love. Sentimental attachment to children was a cultural sensibility that stood outside the capitalist system that structured much of family life and harkened back to a time of more traditional, ideal family values. The desire for and hope that any particular child would survive was very real even though mortality rates were high, and the death of a child was most often characterized as outside the "natural order" where parents predecease their children (Murphy 2011). In the nineteenth century, America was becoming increasingly secular, and while religious sentiments of God reclaiming a chosen innocent were not uncommon, invoking a child's place in the family was a way to make a very brief life meaningful and help make the loss more comprehensible (Baxter 2019b). Expressions of grief were tied to ideas of home and heaven but also to a child's place in the enduring institution of family life.

Grief itself was an important cultural construction in nineteenth-century America. Much like cemeteries offered a place of nature, god, and family that stood outside industrial, urban spaces, the development of an elaborate grieving process offered

Americans a way to change the rules of time. An elaborate and extended mourning culture coevolved with modernity as an effective state juxtaposed with progressive, mechanical time. Grieving allowed people to step out of the structured time of their daily lives and instead to create a temporal space aligned with a human dimension, one that was collective, repetitive, and reflective (Luciano 2009). The beautification of death movement created guidelines for families to engage in prolonged rituals of grieving that replicated ideas of time present in a pre-industrial world.

This culture of grieving took material form in the commemorative markers for children that are much more likely to convey the grief and loss of parents left to mourn rather than a concern for the child's fate after death (Smith 1987). While we know a gravestone may not represent "real" attitudes toward a deceased child and instead may reflect idealized and manipulated identities in a symbolic context, the most certain interpretation of a headstone is as an expression of attachment, loss, and grief (Haveman 1999:282, Tarlow 2000). Elaborate monuments and memorials (Fig. 9.2) are not unnecessary to express grief and loss as, with just a few words, mourners could convey parental investment in an infant or child. The presence of very small stones that simply say "baby" or "infant" has been identified as evidence for parental detachment but simultaneously illustrates a desire to express to the world that a short life happened and that the family saw that life as worth remembering (Haveman 1999; Rainville 1999: 572). At the same time, even a few words, like "little guy" or "our darling," efficiently illustrate attachment and sentiment on the part of parents and the importance of the individual in the family fold (Fig. 9.3).

The emotional communities' parents participated in when they lost a child in the nineteenth century were both a part of and in response to new social and economic worlds evolving at the time. Creating tangible and intangible spaces for expressions of grief, care, and love in the context of mourning and commemoration offered parents a way to express a sense of loss not only for a child but also for a way of life that had become lost to them. The ability to symbolically visit, connect, and reinforce the enduring continuity of family at a time when family life was being disrupted elevated the importance of children in commemorative culture. The need to make sense of a short life lost situated grief for children in the context of family where their loss represented both the real material, economic, and social care afforded to children in life and parental aspirations for their children and family in the future.

## **The Value of Engaging Emotions Past and Present in Archaeology**

It is quite possible to conduct archaeological analyses of children and of cemeteries without a serious consideration of emotions. Headstones from the nineteenth century can be analyzed much like any mortuary assemblage encountered by archaeologists. Socioeconomic status of an individual or family can be interpreted based

on the raw materials used, the quantity of that material, the amount of time and energy expended on creating the monument, and the positioning of a grave within the cemetery landscape, among other variables. Dimensions of identity can be discerned and analyzed for the cemetery population. Categorical identities such as ethnicity, gender, and age can all be interpreted using these monuments. More rare in archaeological interpretations generally are the insights into eschatological beliefs and civic values that readily can be gleaned from symbolism decoded using historical sources and inscriptions on the monuments themselves. None of these types of analyses are incorrect, or easy, or without value, but in many ways they are incomplete.

For those of use trained within the legacy of a scientific archaeology, a quest for certainty and objectivity limited the kinds of questions asked and the types of analyses considered valid, feasible, and possible in our field. Movement away from this type of archaeology has many causes, but I believe underlying many theoretical developments in the field is the ongoing realization by archaeologists that their archaeological interpretations in the past have only limited relationships to their own human experiences in the present. The desire to explore topics that amplify the humanity of archaeological subjects, the need to acknowledge and value non-archaeological ways of knowing the past, and the demand for alternative ways of communicating archaeological findings are all rooted in a dissatisfaction with an archaeology that denies the humanity of people in the past and therefore, in a way, our own too. The archaeology of emotions is one way of narrowing the gap between our own lived experiences and how we envision life in the past.

Tarlow (2012) has argued that it is important not to conflate rigorous attempts to study emotion in the past with the reflexive, emotional practice of archaeology in the present. I would agree with this distinction but also believe that if archaeology is to make the same “emotional turn” that many historians and scholars of the past are more widely embracing, archaeologists need to change how they practice archaeology. Connectedness to our own humanity, reflexivity toward our own emotional states, and an extension of human compassion that transcends time much as it transcends cultural divides in the present all make possible a different kind of archaeology where emotion is integral to the human experience past and present (e.g., Leone 2009).

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