

The Merrill Social Work and Human Services Series

10TH EDITION

UNDERSTANDING CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

CYNTHIA CROSSON-TOWER



UNDERSTANDING CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

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Tenth Edition

UNDERSTANDING CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

Cynthia Crosson-Tower



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*For Chay and Becky, who are demonstrating what good parenting can be,
and to Ruby, my incredible granddaughter.*

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PREFACE

We live in a culture that values comfort and a sense of well-being. Even in today's difficult economy, the expectation is that, despite having to make some sacrifices, each citizen has the opportunity to achieve this sense of well-being. Yet, many members of our culture—our children—are being beaten, neglected, and sexually exploited in alarming numbers. Every 10 seconds, a child is being abused or neglected. Granted, child abuse and neglect have existed for centuries. And although the incidence of child maltreatment actually decreased slightly for a few years, we in the child welfare field have not seen the progress we hoped for. The fact remains that children are still being abused—in some cases more seriously than ever.

Why has child maltreatment become such a serious issue, with only limited success in decreasing its incidence? The answer may have several facets. We live in a more violent society than ever before. We are barraged with violent images, both in the news and in our entertainment. Crime statistics attest to the impact of this desensitization, as does the intensity and seriousness of the abuse perpetrated against children. Finally, the rise in drug abuse has impacted families and left its mark on their children. All of these factors require us to be even more diligent in our work toward stemming the tide of child maltreatment.

The question is, how do we do so? Is the answer affected by the fact that the child protection system, set up to safeguard the lives of the children at risk for maltreatment, is not achieving its goal? As a former protective services worker, I recognize that individual professionals within protective services are often dedicated and well meaning, but the system as a whole is still not adequately protecting children, nor are these services often our fiscal priority.

What can be done to reverse the disturbing fact of child maltreatment? And how can society, and more specifically the child welfare system, better protect the children at risk?

These questions can be addressed from several vantage points. We look not only to raise societal awareness and increase research into causes of abuse and neglect, but also to change social policy, triage the child welfare system, and provide better training for protective workers, not only in the skills important to do their job but in culturally sensitive ways to approach a variety of people from many different backgrounds.

After over 35 years of teaching courses on child abuse and neglect, many years in the child protection system, and over 45 years in the field of social services, I have written this book, now in the tenth edition, to prepare future and even current professionals to better intervene and treat the children and families at risk. This book draws on my years of practice to present an all-encompassing view of maltreatment, in its various guises, from symptoms of abuse and neglect to motivations of those who abuse and neglect children, as well as how the social services system intervenes. The questions asked of me by students, social service workers, and trainees have helped to shape the direction of the book. The responses from faculty reviewers who teach courses in child welfare have further fine-tuned what is presented here. My experiences not only as a protective social worker but also as a therapist treating victims, families, and perpetrators and now as a clergywoman have helped to provide ideas for the illustrations and examples.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

There are substantial revisions and updated materials throughout the text. Below are a few of the most exciting changes:

1. The text has been reorganized into 17 chapters so that no one chapter is too overwhelming in length.
2. Each chapter ends with case studies or other material that invites the student to demonstrate learning of the chapter material through applying it to a case situation.
3. Chapter 2 on families includes a look at the diverse populations of the twenty-first century, including refugee and newly immigrated families; families with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender members; and grandparent families. More attention is given to the importance of understanding cultural variations when working with clients.
4. Chapter 3 on child development now includes material about the developing brain and how it is impacted by maltreatment.
5. This thread of neuroscience continues throughout the text as the chapters explaining the types of abuse or neglect (Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7) discuss how the brain is affected by each particular form of child maltreatment.
6. Chapter 8 looks more closely at child sex trafficking.
7. Chapter 10 now covers the full range of intervention, from reporting through case management.
8. The old Chapter 10 has been separated into two chapters—Chapters 10 and 11—so that more attention could be given in Chapter 11 to the role of other professionals with emphasis on collaboration.
9. The functions of initial intervention and case management are more clearly defined, and there is a clearer explanation of what constitutes treatment in protective situations.
10. The day in the life of a child protection worker in Chapter 17 has been rewritten by a protective services supervisor working in child protection to reflect today's practices.
11. The references have been moved to the end of each chapter for easier access.
12. Learning objectives are provided in each chapter to guide the student in reading the material.

PLAN FOR THE TEXT

Chapter 1 builds a framework for the discussion of abuse and neglect by tracing the history of child maltreatment from biblical times to the present. Chapter 2 considers the responsibilities of families, including a look at different ethnic and functional families, and discusses what rights society accords families and children. Maltreatment and the developing child are the focus of Chapter 3, which examines the effects of abusive and neglectful behavior on children's brain development and developmental progress, or lack of progress, through the stages of growth.

Chapters 4–9 outline the symptoms of neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and emotional/psychological abuse, and they examine the needs and motivations of abusive and neglectful parents. Chapter 7 looks more closely at the incidence of incest, or sexual abuse within the family setting. Since sexual abuse can also be perpetrated by those outside the home, Chapter 8 considers extrafamilial abuse, including a discussion of child pornography, abuse on the Internet, and child sex trafficking. Chapter 9 looks at the psychological abuse of children.

Chapters 10, 11, and 12 focus on how to combat the problem of abuse. Chapter 10 discusses the intervention process—from the report through the investigation and case management—and highlights such important elements of protective work as home visiting and investigative interviewing. Chapter 11 outlines the roles of other professionals and describes the activities of case management in more detail, explaining the difference between case management and treatment. The court system and how it might be called on to address abuse, neglect, and sexual abuse are considered in Chapter 12, distinguishing between intervention through the juvenile court process and prosecution through the criminal court system.

Chapters 13 and 14 outline the models of treatment available for abused and neglected children and their families. Therapy approaches for each type of maltreatment are considered separately. Chapter 15 discusses foster care—by both family members (kinship care) and family foster homes—and explains how foster home placement is a therapeutic tool.

Following this examination of intervention, Chapter 16 provides a view of the experiences of adults who, as children, never reported abuse. The treatment available for these survivors is discussed.

The experience of working in child protection is the subject of Chapter 17—from a typical day in the life of a protective social worker today and the challenges of the work, to the part that workers must play in prevention and in planning for the future.

In this tenth edition, I have continued to highlight more current research. The majority of the most recent research is now coming from Great Britain, Australia, and Europe as these regions meet the challenges of responding to child abuse and neglect. I have used these sources when the information appeared to be applicable to the United States. I have also continued to use classic writings in the field as well as a few more recent, albeit smaller, studies.

In response to reviewer requests, this edition has been reorganized into 17 chapters so that no one chapter is too long. The information on intervention and case management is now contained in Chapters 10 and 11. A new Chapter 17 focuses on the important aspects of child protection work, including the need for social workers not only to pay attention to prevention but also to use their expertise to anticipate the best solutions for the future.

Attention to military families continues in this tenth edition. Additional information on brain development and the impact of maltreatment on the brain has been added. The topics of child sex trafficking and an expanded section on kinship care reflect the trends in child protection today.

Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect can be used as a text for undergraduate as well as graduate courses in social work, human services, psychology, and sociology, or in counseling, family studies, and education programs.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed directly or indirectly to the writing of this book. My thanks go first to my family—especially to my husband, Jim; my sons, Chay and Andrew; and my daughter-in-law, Becky. They continue to encourage me. In addition, my granddaughter, Ruby Louise, has reminded me of the promise of childhood and how it must be protected.

I have learned a great deal over the years from my students, both in the behavioral sciences and in theology, whose interest, enthusiasm, and inquiries have done much to stimulate this endeavor. As graduates, they have continued their support, often as close friends. Thank you to Kim Copp, who was good enough to help me update Chapter 17's "A Day in the Life of Today's Protective Worker" to reflect today's world in protective services.

I thank the following reviewers for their helpful comments: Jennifer Jorgenson, Northern Kentucky University; Judy Krysik, Arizona State University; Piljoo Kang, Toccoa Falls College; and Andrea Rashtian, California State University Northridge.

I also thank Rebecca Fox-Gieg, my Pearson editor, who has been a wonderful addition to Pearson. Her compassion and understanding as well as her flexibility and assistance have made this edition possible. Much appreciation also to Pam Bennett, who has been great to work with, and to all the other dedicated and hard-working folks who labored to make this edition possible.

Cynthia Crosson-Tower
Professor Emerita Fitchburg State University and Harvest Counseling and Consultation

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The Maltreatment of Children Then and Now

1

Maltreatment of children is deeply entwined with historical values and perspectives. The concept of child maltreatment has been defined and redefined throughout history. Society has slowly evolved over many years from viewing children as property, subject to the whims of the family and society, to at least recognizing that children may have rights of their own. Each period in history—as well as each culture—has a concept of how children should be treated.

EARLY VIEWS OF CHILDREN

Early in history, children were seen as the property of their families—usually headed and ruled by fathers. Children looked to their fathers for their very existence. Fathers had the right to determine not only the manner in which their child was cared for but also if the child was to live or die.

Issues of Life and Death

Infanticide, or the killing of infants and young children, has occurred since early times. The Bible cites Abraham's intention to sacrifice his son, Isaac, to God. In early Rome, the father was given complete power to kill, abandon, or even sell his child. In Greek legend, Oedipus was doomed to death until he was rescued by a family retainer. In the past, female children and children with disabilities were killed to maintain a strong race without overpopulation (deMause, 1998).

Infanticide was practiced for many reasons. Some cultures saw the practice of infanticide as a means of controlling and regulating the population so that society's resources could be expended on the strongest and most valued. As in the case of Abraham, babies and young children were offered to appease gods, and infanticide was in some ways associated with religious beliefs. Attempts to limit family size or ensure financial security were also used as rationales for killing children (deMause, 1998).

Learning Outcomes

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Discuss how children were viewed prior to the twenty-first century, including their dependent status, how they were disciplined, and how they were sexually exploited.
- Explain how children were used as part of the labor force and what efforts were made to change these practices.
- Outline the early efforts to protect abused and neglected children.
- Describe how the study of trauma influences the current view of child maltreatment and child protection.
- Describe the role of protective services today.

Chapter Outline

Early Views of Children

Issues of Life and Death

Issues of Dependence

Issues of Discipline

Issues of Sexual Exploitation

Concern Over Child Labor Brings

Efforts Toward Change

The Settlement House Movement

Efforts for African American

Children

The Plight of Native American

Children

Recent History of Helping Abused

and Neglected Children

The Case That Changed History

Impact of the White House

Conferences

Chapter Outline (*continued*)

Influence of the Social Security Act
 Advances in the 1940s–1960s
 The '60s and '70s: Further Efforts
 on Behalf of Children
 Professional Awareness and
 Response to the Movement to
 Protect Children and Families
 Emerging Influences on Child
 Protection
 Adverse Childhood Experiences
 (ACE) Study
 Child Maltreatment Through
 the Lens of Trauma
 The Role of Child Protection Services
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 Applying the Concepts of This Chapter
 References

In early England, as in many other cultures, infanticide was an unwed mother's solution to her act of shame. A well-known ballad tells of Mary Hamilton, lady-in-waiting to the queen, who had the misfortune to become pregnant by the "highest Stewart of all," ostensibly the queen's consort. As she bemoans her disgrace, the balladeer sings:

She tyed it in her apron
 And she's thrown it in the sea;
 Says, "Sink ye, swim ye, bonny wee babe
 You'll ne'er get m'air o' me." (Friedman, 1956)

In Germany, newborns were sometimes plunged into frigid water to test their ability to survive. A similar ritual was practiced by some Native American tribes. The child was fit to live only if he or she surfaced and cried. Records in England in the 1620s attest to the burial of infants murdered by drowning, burning, and scalding.

Issues of Dependence

Children were dependent on their families not only for their early existence but also for their later survival. The feudal system in Europe established a concept of ownership and articulated a hierarchy of rights and privileges. Children were at the bottom, and the children of poor families fared the worst. If parents were unable to support themselves and their children, the fate of the family was often the poorhouse. Poorhouses offered a meager subsistence, which often ended in death for the weaker members of the family.

In 1601, the Elizabethan Poor Law sought to give some help to families and children by dictating that relief must be offered to the destitute. The poor were separated into three categories:

1. *The able-bodied poor*—those who were considered capable and were, therefore, forced to work.
2. *The impotent poor*—those who were old, had disabilities, or mothers, who were excused from work and for whom aid was provided by the state.
3. *Dependent children*—those who were orphaned or abandoned and for whom aid was provided.

The fate of children still depended largely on their family constellation. Able-bodied people were sent to work. In some cases, mothers and their children were provided for at home by contributions of food and clothing but never money. Education was not viewed as a right or privilege of such families (Popple & Leighninger, 2010).

For those who were not poor, children fared as their families saw fit. Still seen as property, some children were slaves to their guardians, performing whatever tasks were expected of them. Certainly, the family life of a farming culture required that each member take part. For most children, this arrangement was satisfactory, but some children were assigned jobs far beyond their abilities or were beaten or neglected.

The early United States saw the arrival of groups other than Europeans. Brought to this country for servitude, African slaves were used as forced labor not only in the South but also other parts of the country. The children of slaves were thought of as property and had little to no control of whether they worked, were sold (often without parents or siblings), and were often sexually abused by those more powerful. In the North, Black children were not exempt from almshouses until 1822, when the Quakers established the Philadelphia Association for the Care of Colored Children, the first orphanage for Black children, only to have the facility burned by a White mob in 1838. Another such facility, the Colored Orphan Asylum in New York, was burned in a similar manner in 1863 (Ambrosino, Heffernan, Shuttlesworth, & Ambrosino, 2015; Poppo & Leighninger, 2010; Holt, 2010; Mitchells, 2008; ten Bensel, Rheinberg, & Radbill, 1997; Billingsley & Giovannoni, 1972).

Asian and Pacific Island immigrants came to the United States with their own values about dependent children. One significant value was that the family was involved with the care of the individual from the time of birth until death (Mass & Yap, 2000), which meant that dependent children were often absorbed into the ethnic community. Native American children were also generally regarded as the responsibility of the community. In addition, Hispanic children relied on extended family members or friends as well as parents to provide nurturance and guidance. As immigrants have integrated into society, traditional patterns have altered (see Chapter 2).

Issues of Discipline

The subject of discipline has always been controversial. Many methods used in early Western culture would certainly be open to censure today. The philosophies of our forebears, however, differ from those of most modern-day societies. Not only in the home but in the classroom, corporal punishment was a means to mold children into moral, God-fearing, respectful human beings. Parents were expected to raise religious, dedicated, morally sound, and industrious contributors to the community. Obedience was the primary virtue to develop in children. Disobedience often carried significant fines; even older children were subject to such rules. An 1854 Massachusetts law stated,

If any children above sixteen years old and of sufficient understanding shall curse or smite their natural father or mother, they shall be put to death, unless it can be sufficiently testified that the parents have been unchristianly negligent in the education of such children or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction that they have been forced thereunto to preserve themselves from death or maiming. (Bremner, 1970, p. 68)

The schoolmaster or mistress was accorded the same right to use corporal punishment:

School masters in colonial Boston were conscious of the need to maintain the great English tradition of “education through pain” and, if anything added refinements to the flagellant tools they had inherited from the old country. One Bostonian invented an instrument called a “flapper”—a heavy piece of leather six inches in diameter with a hole in the middle which was fixed to a wooden handle. Every stroke on a bare bit of flesh raised an instant blister. (Inglis, 1978, p. 29)

Theologian John Calvin was of no help to children in the treatment accorded them by their elders. Calvin spoke of breaking a child's will in the hope of saving the spirit from evil. Discipline was severe in the hope that children could be transformed into God-fearing individuals.

For a short period during the eighteenth century, the treatment of children improved. Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau spoke of children as inherently good and encouraged educational methods that would enhance their positive development, not break their spirit (Lenoir-Degoumois, 1983).

Other cultures had their own interpretations about discipline. Many (e.g., Asian/Pacific, Hispanic) stressed the dominance of elders or males who had the right to determine how to deal with children. The strong kinship relationships of African Americans and the community responsibility inherent in Native American cultures indicated that the care and discipline of children were shared by parent figures.

Issues of Sexual Exploitation

The definition of *sexual exploitation* has evolved throughout history. Although we might today consider the values and attitudes of the past as exploitive, the fact remains that our current customs exploit children in other ways.

In ancient times, the child, especially the female, was considered the property of her father, to do with as he saw fit. His permission was required for all her dealings. She was something with which he could barter for lands and money. With the father's permission, a betrothal could be sealed by intercourse with the underage (under 12 years) daughter. Marriage of extremely young girls was not uncommon. Since early times, fathers paid dowries for the marriage of their daughters. When dowries could not be provided for all female children, some girls entered the convent, sometimes by the age of 9, to take their vows by age 13. Rush (1992) relates a prioress's confession that young nuns were treated like wives by the monks associated with the convent. The girls were threatened with excommunication if they told of this sexual exploitation.

Boys were not immune to sexual misuse in early history either. In Greece, pederasty (men using boys for sexual relationships) was practiced widely. Boys were taken for their attractive appearance, their softness, and their youth but were expected to show strength in battle. In fact, pederasty was the training ground for future soldiers. Most sons of noble families were actually compelled to take adult lovers, and in turn, the boys were protected and plied with gifts. The protector was teacher and counselor, accepted and approved by the boy's family (Rush, 1992). In early Rome, however, sex and sexual relationships were not seen as a means of elevating children, as in Greece. In Rome, the rape of a child was a humiliation rather than a means of owning a treasured plaything (Rush, 1992).

It was not until 1548 that any legal protection from sexual abuse was offered to children. In that year, England passed a law protecting boys from forced sodomy. In 1576, another law was enacted that prohibited the forcible rape of girls under the age of 10 (Conte & Shore, 1982). In the 1700s, some educators warned parents to protect their children from abuse by supervising them at all times and by ensuring that they were never nude in front of adults and, in general, suggested enforced modesty (Conte & Shore, 1982). This warning was one of the earliest indications that the larger society recognized children could be sexually exploited.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The rigid standards of the Victorian era also colored society's attitudes toward sexuality and children. Masturbation was vehemently condemned as being a precursor of insanity, growth retardation, and early death for boys; for girls, it was said to promote precocious sexual development,

promiscuity, and nymphomania. Attempts to curb this practice of self-gratification were extreme—surgically removing the clitoris, slitting the penis, or cutting the nerves of the genitalia in both sexes. With these measures came the message that children should not be seen as sexual beings.

The Victorian era, however, was replete with contradictions. On one hand, society was undergoing unbelievable advances in industrial enterprise and scientific discoveries; it was a time of deep thought and analysis. Yet behind the closed doors of so-called God-fearing homes, sexual abuse apparently flourished. Child molesters, even those who took their interests outside the family, seem to have been well protected. And not everyone agreed on the definition of child molestation. For example, numerous revered men in the public eye were taken with the charms of little girls, some to the point of acting on their desires. William Wordsworth expounded on his admiration of nubile young girls, and at age 26, Edgar Allan Poe wed his 13-year-old cousin (Rush, 1992). Most with Victorian morals viewed this union as scandalous, even though girls marrying at a young age had been a common practice. Lewis Carroll was well known for his interest in children. He is said to have had an entourage of whom he took nude photos. Biographers and critics have questioned whether his activities extended beyond taking pictures, telling stories, and playing games with the children (Lennon, 1972; ten Benschel et al., 1997).

Pornography and child prostitution also increased during the Victorian period. Men who dared not “prevail upon their wives to do their duty too often” and who shielded their children from explanations of sexuality thought nothing of frequenting child prostitutes in city slums. In the early nineteenth century, U.S. slave owners raped their young slaves or used them for breeding. Often, 11-, 12-, and 13-year-old girls were impregnated (Olafson, Corwin, & Summit, 1993; Rush, 1992).

Into this scene came a man who was to be the father of modern psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud, a therapist in nineteenth-century Vienna, treated women who were diagnosed as having hysterical neuroses and exhibiting a variety of symptoms from compulsive vomiting, sneezing, and coughing to blindness, deafness, and paralysis. In the course of therapy, a large number of patients reported having been sexually abused at a young age. In response to this phenomenon, Freud (1966, p. 584) wrote, “Almost all my women patients told me that they had been seduced by their fathers. I was driven to recognize in the end that these reports were untrue and so came to understand that the hysterical symptoms are derived from phantasies and not from real occurrences.”

Note, however, that in 1905, in the case of “Dora,” Freud included a vivid description of the 14-year-old girl’s seduction by her father and her subsequent use as a “pawn in [his] elaborate sex intrigues” (Herman, 2015, p. 14). From his account, the abuse obviously seems to have occurred so it is difficult to believe that Freud later discounted the credibility of the situation (Rush, 1992). We will never know what caused Freud’s reversal of his theories,¹ since he destroyed his notes and diaries. Certainly, his attitudes have had an influence on our current denial or reluctance to recognize the symptoms of sexual abuse in children.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Over the years, literature has reflected a preoccupation with sexual activity and children. In 1955, Vladimir Nabokov’s novel *Lolita* (1989) shocked the public and was banned from numerous bookstores and libraries. People’s fascination with this type of story was obvious, and the book became a popular seller and later a movie. At age 12, Lolita is seduced by 50-year-old Humbert Humbert, who had become captivated with her. Unfortunately, the story perpetuated the belief that

¹Some theorists (e.g., Rush, 1992) attribute Freud’s shift to personal experiences, whereas others (e.g., Meiselman, 1992; Olafson et al., 1993) suggest that collegial pressure was the primary reason.

children—especially young girls—knowingly seduce older men, who are helpless to resist. As such, this novel—and later ones like it—likely provided rationalization for incestuous fathers and added to the misconceptions of the general public. *Greek Love*, by J. Z. Eglinton (1965), recounted love and sexual tutelage of boys by adult men and how such a relationship prepares boys for adult sexual experiences. Lawrence Sanders's *The Case of Lucy Bending* (1982) gave the impression of an adult abused by a disturbed child who had instigated the relationship.

It is clear that our current society harbors a contradiction in its view of children and sexuality. On one hand, we state that children should not be exploited sexually; on the other hand, child pornography thrives, both in print and on the Internet, and the courts are often more likely to believe molesting adults than molested children. Television commercials use nubile girls posed seductively. The Internet provides an excellent vehicle for perpetrators to contact children for sex. Such practices can only give molesters and children a mixed message about what society believes about sexual abuse and the sexual exploitation of children.

Although early reformers expressed concern over the treatment of children, it would be the issue of child labor that would initially stimulate the most sweeping reforms.

CONCERN OVER CHILD LABOR BRINGS EFFORTS TOWARD CHANGE

Children were expected to be contributing members of society by working along with adults. One of the earliest forms of child labor was *indenture*—a system in which parents apprenticed their children to masters who taught them a trade but who were free to use them as slaves in exchange for room and board. Indenture began at a very young age and continued until 14 or 16 years of age for boys and 21 years for girls. Writings by historians, novelists, and social reformers show that apprentice masters could be cruel—concerned more for the work they could extract than for the development or abilities of their juvenile charges. Charles Dickens wrote of Oliver Twist's days as an apprentice to an undertaker. Exposed to death in its basic forms, fed very little, and chided and belittled by his master's older apprentice, Oliver thought he had little recourse. In fact, English society assumed he had inherited a good lot and one for which he should be most thankful.

Indenture and child labor were also issues in the early United States. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, the practice of prematurely bringing children into the labor market began to be a concern. Children were brought to the colonies to work until they were 24 years old. Child labor was seen as an inexpensive boon to the labor market, since a child could be hired for lower wages than an adult. Some jobs, such as chimney sweeping and mining, were suited to children's small bodies (Rosenthal, 2013; Mintz, 2006; Rose & Fatout, 2003; Hindman, 2002; ten Benschel et al., 1997).

In the southern states, African American children in slavery with their parents were expected to work in the fields or in other tasks given to them by their masters. Selling of both children and adults was not uncommon and families were often separated.

As the 1800s dawned in the United States, the role of children remained little changed. They continued to be the property of their parents, who could choose to beat them, neglect them, or send them out to work. As the population increased and society became more impersonal, assaults on children were more easily hidden.

The Settlement House Movement

In the late 1880s, the settlement house movement evolved. It contributed much to the future of children and their families and had a substantial impact on the reduction of child labor. The settlement houses became known through the establishment of Toynbee Hall, as a result of the

influence of Arnold Toynbee in London. Inspired by the dedication of such an act, Jane Addams established Hull House in the Chicago slums. Hull House not only bridged the gap between new and more established immigrants, but it was the impetus for later reforms of benefit to children. One of Addams's special concerns was child labor:

Our very first Christmas at Hull House, when we as yet knew nothing of child labor, a number of little girls refused the candy which was offered them as part of the Christmas good cheer, saying simply that they "worked in a candy factory and could not bear the sight of it." We discovered that for six weeks they had worked from seven in the morning until nine at night and they were exhausted as well as satiated. The sharp consciousness of stern economic conditions was thrust upon us in the midst of the season of good will. (Addams, 1910, p. 148)

Addams also described the dangerous conditions:

During the same winter three boys from the Hull House club were injured at one machine in a neighborhood factory for lack of a guard which would have cost but a few dollars. When the injury of one of these boys resulted in death, we felt quite sure that the owners would share our horror and remorse, and that they would do everything possible to prevent the reoccurrence of such a tragedy. To our surprise they did nothing whatever, and I made my first acquaintance then with those pathetic documents signed by the parents of working children, that they will make no claim for damages resulting from "carelessness." (Addams, 1910, p. 148)

Although Addams and her staff at Hull House fought hard for changes in these conditions, it wasn't until much later that laws protecting children from unreasonable labor were enacted.

Efforts for African American Children

African American children were largely excluded from settlement house programs and from the predominantly White Charity Organization Societies (Jackson, 1978). However, in 1890, Janie Porter Barrett began providing services to African American children out of her home in Hampton, Virginia. This small settlement house, called Locust Street, would give rise to another in 1902. Aided by her influential husband, Barrett and a group known as the African American Club women founded the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls in 1915. The school housed girls who were orphaned, girls whose parents were unable to care for them, and still other girls who were considered delinquent and would have otherwise been relegated to jails. The school did such an exemplary job of preparing young girls to assume roles in society that it was later taken over by the state of Virginia and renamed the Barrett Learning Center, which still exists today (Peeples-Wilkins, 2006).

Another home for African American orphans was founded in 1888 by Carrie Steele, who gave abandoned children a home, initially in her own home. Later she sold the house in order to build an orphanage. Steele was originally employed as a maid at a railroad station. When children were abandoned in railroad cars, she took them home and cared for them and eventually created her orphanage (Peeples-Wilkins, 2006).

Had it not been for these early reformers who fought for the welfare of children, their plight might have been far worse.

Nonetheless, throughout the mid- and later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, African American children were neglected by the same child welfare system that sought to provide

services for White children. These exclusions were sometimes subtle in their discrimination. African American children were more likely to be cared for and about by informal arrangements or through the efforts of churches, children's homes, day nurseries, or homes for working girls. Several events would lead to the changes that would occur in addressing the needs of African American children.

In 1901, the establishment of the National Urban League provided a more active voice in advocating for the child welfare needs of African American children as part of its initiative to promote more equality and freedom among African Americans in general. In addition, the migration of numbers of southern Blacks after World War I to the northern United States forced greater attention to the needs of children of color (Holt, 2010). As child welfare service developed and expanded, there was greatest recognition of the needs of Black children.

The Plight of Native American Children

Prior to the 1800s, Native American children lived with their parents and were cared for by their tribes. But when the federal government began to remove indigenous people from their homeland, place them on reservations, and in some cases prohibit their practice of traditional ways, life changed for these children as well. In 1819, the U.S. government established the Civilization Fund which directed private agencies and churches to establish programs to "civilize the Indian."

By 1867, the commissioner of Indian Affairs reported to Congress that the best method of solving "The Indian Problem" was to remove children from their tribes and for missionaries to be sent to reservations in the hopes of properly educating and "Christianizing" these children to recognize that their traditional ways were pagan and that their parents were unfit to raise them. This practice eventually evolved into Native American children being removed from their families and reservations and sent to boarding schools. These boarding schools were designed to sever family relationships and assimilate children into the White culture. If parents refused to allow their children to be sent to such schools, federal government agents were known to participate in "kid catching" or forcibly kidnapping children to take them to distant schools. "Kid snatchers were given no protocol for achieving their goals and could use whatever means they saw fit to capture these children. Later, bonuses would be given to workers for the children they were able to bring into the schools (Idaho Department of Health and Welfare, 2018; Halverson, Puig, & Byers, 2002; Mannes, 1996).

By 1880, policy in boarding schools made it illegal to use any Native American language and children were also required to cut their hair. Children as young as 6 years were reported to have hanged themselves rather than give up their culture entirely. By 1884, Native American children began to be "placed out" on farms in the Midwest and East so that they might learn the "value of work" and "become civilized." Later efforts were also made to place Native American children in non-Native American adoptive homes who were deemed more able to care for them than their parents (Idaho Department of Health and Welfare, 2018; Mannes, 1996).

RECENT HISTORY OF HELPING ABUSED AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN

So far, the historical perspective has not included the individuals and movements that preceded our current child welfare systems. One of the first organized attempts to protect children was the Elizabethan Poor Law. This law was enacted not so much for the children but for society to deal with the impoverished parents. Churches and communities were often expected to provide for children who did not come under the jurisdiction of the law.

Voluntary child welfare services sprang up in isolation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Convents, churches, and philanthropists led the efforts in early child protection, but the advocates for children did not always arise from the expected quarters of religious and humanitarian groups. From firsthand knowledge, Charles Dickens spoke up for child protection. At age 12, Dickens was sent from his family to a workhouse in London. His father was frequently in debtors' prisons, and his mother's rejection of him was a fact that would greatly influence his life and later writings. In 1838, he wrote *Oliver Twist* (2012), a largely autobiographical novel about a young boy who goes from the poorhouse to apprenticeship and finally to live among a band of juvenile thieves. As Gardner (1980) reports, this book represented Dickens's first social protest and was to be followed by other novels concerned with abused, abandoned, and crippled children. By midcentury, Dickens's work had spread and was influential throughout the United States. In 1858, Dickens began his campaign for child protection with a speech supporting the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children in London. He graphically detailed a neglected, dying child he had seen in the slums of Edinburgh. His oration had such impact that it was published as a pamphlet for distribution.

The Case That Changed History

Several years after Dickens's speech, events were taking shape to transform the course of child protection. New York City was the backdrop for a scene featuring Henry Bergh, who was gaining much attention as the first president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA). A writer, lecturer, and administrator, Bergh had so aroused the sentiments of community leaders in intervening in the maltreatment of animals that his efforts were known as Bergh's War. In the midst of this "war" came the case of Mary Ellen Wilson (Shelman & Lazoritz, 2003). In 1874, Mary Ellen lived with Francis and Mary Connelly and was the illegitimate daughter of Mrs. Connelly's first husband. On several occasions, a neighbor had observed the ill-clad 8-year-old shivering outside a locked door. But Mary Ellen's screams as she was beaten with a leather strap were more than the neighbor could bear. She reported her observations to Etta Wheeler, a church worker from St. Luke's Methodist Mission, who, not knowing where else to turn, took the matter to Henry Bergh at the SPCA.

Although most reports are that Bergh intervened on behalf of the SPCA, more recent sources quote Bergh as saying that he acted as a private citizen. Whatever his motivation, Mary Ellen was removed from the home, and Bergh's close friend, attorney Elbridge Gerry, was asked to prosecute. For Mrs. Connelly, the outcome was a year of labor in prison, and for Mary Ellen, the result was the end of the abuse she had been suffering and eventual placement in the Sheltering Arms children's home.² For the nation, however, Mary Ellen Wilson's abuse set into motion an organized effort to combat child maltreatment. Thus, in 1875, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC), under the leadership of Elbridge Gerry, began an impressive movement toward protecting children.

²Many wondered what happened to Mary Ellen after her much-publicized case. The Sheltering Arms was, in fact, a home for disturbed girls—not orphans like Mary Ellen. Thus, Mary Ellen became a victim of the system's mistreatment as well. Still concerned with her, Etta Wheeler, recognizing the inappropriate placement, petitioned Judge Lawrence to be Mary Ellen's appointed guardian. Lawrence allowed Wheeler to place the child with Wheeler's mother, Sally Angell, on a farm outside Rochester, New York. When Angell died, Mary Ellen continued to be raised by Angell's daughter. Years later, Mary Ellen's own daughter would write to the then director of SPCC, asking to know more of her mother's history (Lazoritz, 1990).