

Spring 5-15-1998

Emerging Trends in Child Protective Work During the Progressive Era 1909-1929: Local Experience in a National Context

Michael J. Goldfarb
Augsburg College

Follow this and additional works at: <https://idun.augsburg.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Goldfarb, Michael J., "Emerging Trends in Child Protective Work During the Progressive Era 1909-1929: Local Experience in a National Context" (1998). *Theses and Graduate Projects*. 736.
<https://idun.augsburg.edu/etd/736>

This Open Access Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Idun. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Graduate Projects by an authorized administrator of Idun. For more information, please contact bloomber@augburg.edu.

EMERGING TRENDS IN CHILD PROTECTIVE WORK DURING THE
PROGRESSIVE ERA 1909-1929: LOCAL EXPERIENCE IN A NATIONAL
CONTEXT

MICHAEL J. GOLDFARB

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirement for the degree of
Master of Social Work

AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

JUNE 1998

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Master's Thesis of:

Michael J. Goldfarb

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Master of Social Work Degree.

Date of Oral Presentation: May 15, 1998

Thesis Committee:


Thesis Advisor, Michael Schock, Ph.d.


Thesis Reader, Beverly Stadum, Ph.d.


Thesis Reader, Tony Bibus, Ph.d.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the support that has surrounded me as I have completed this project. I thank all my colleagues, friends and family. Specifically, I acknowledge the following people for their contribution:

My wife Karen and daughter Lily for their love, encouragement and patience that has kept me grounded and moving forward through this project and in our life together. We are triumphant.

Professor Michael Schock for your clear mind and high expectations, you helped me to raise my expectations of myself. You have challenged me and helped me grow.

Professor Beverly Stadum and David Klaassen, two social workers who also moonlight as guardian angels in the Social Welfare History Archives at the U of MN. Beverly, I am touched by your generous donation of time and patience that proved to be critical in this project. David, thanks for sharing your vast knowledge of history, and pointing me to the sources in which that history lives. You both offered me education during a time that I craved it...something magical happened for me. Thank You!

Professor Tony Bibus, thank you for being a reader in this project, we haven't connected yet, I hope we do.

Abstract

Emerging Trends in Child Protection Work During the
Progressive Era 1909-1929: Local Experience In A National
Context

Historical Analysis

Michael Goldfarb

June 1998

This historical analysis seeks to inform current debate in child welfare practice through analysis of the development of child protection work in the United States during the Progressive Era. Analysis of case records and social work debate suggests a shift occurred in the intervention strategy used by social workers in their approach to child protective work. Social workers shifted from a social control model to a casework intervention strategy in protective work. Case records from the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County in the 1920s depict a combination of both intervention strategies being utilized simultaneously.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	4
Methodology.....	33
Findings.....	42
Discussion.....	70
Bibliography.....	81
Appendix A.....	86
Appendix B.....	87

Introduction

The field of child welfare has experienced major shifts this century in its approach to intervention in the lives of children and families in which neglect or abuse is present. Interventions that were believed to address problems in child welfare have been put into practice and then abandoned, only to be attempted again. Similar to a pendulum swinging from one extreme to the other, child welfare practitioners have taken opposing positions related to intervention in abuse and neglect cases. Two questions appeared to me thru the research materials that included case records from the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County and professional social work proceedings: a) who should be responsible for doing the work in the child welfare community: public or private agencies: b) what was the intervention model or role of the social worker in families where abuse or neglect had been suspected: a preventative case management model or a social control, police-like strategy?

In order to understand the development of the different approaches and to child welfare practice that have preceded the current accepted practice, I use historic events to

inform the current practices in child welfare. This historical analysis examines the Minneapolis Children's Protective Society (MCPS) response to the prevention and protection of abused and neglected children in the 1920s. Content analysis of case records was conducted in order to answer the questions: a) who were the clients of the MCPS?, b) how did families find themselves involved with the MCPS?, c) what problems did the clients present?, and d) how did the MCPS intervene? Findings are then compared to the professional knowledge base of social work in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and implications for contemporary practice are suggested.

Though history does not repeat itself precisely, problems, controversies about solutions, and certain themes do (Cook, 1995). This sentiment captures the value of utilizing a historical methodology to expose the experiences of early social workers as they tried to make sense of the experiences of families living with abuse and neglect.

The relevance of using a historical analysis of social work practice in the first two decades of the twentieth century to inform current problems in child welfare is further supported by what some recent observers have noted as similarities between the social problems in early twentieth century and the current problems of contemporary

urban America (Cook, 1995). Specifically, a similar level of economic distress in families is exemplified today by escalating numbers of low income and homeless families and children, drug affected children, and HIV affected families (Hartman, 1990).

There is a direct correlation between the effects of strained economic conditions upon families and an increase in the rates of child abuse and neglect (Hartman, 1990). Historically, what follows has been increasing numbers of children involved in the child welfare system and subsequent placement in out-of-home care (Herrick, 1995).

My personal interest in historical analysis stems from my desire to incorporate the lessons and wisdom offered by pioneer social workers, whom I consider to be my mentors. As I look forward to addressing issues affecting children and families through a career in child welfare, I am most thoroughly informed when I look backwards to gain historical analysis stems from my desire to incorporate the lessons and an understanding of the experiences of other social workers who have struggled with similar issues.

Literature Review

The literature examining the history of child welfare in the United States begins in the early 1970s. Historical child welfare literature centers on society's response to the needs of families and children as the United States confronted serious societal issues caused in-part by industrialization. This literature review will give attention to both kinds of writings related to child welfare, beginning with Bremner's work in the 1970s. Trattner (1994) comments that early twentieth century reformers, also referred to as "child savers", believed that children and society in general could be improved if only children could be saved from poverty. A new value placed upon children coincided with the child saving movement. Child savers were encouraged by the belief that if society cured the poverty, a taming of society's ills would soon follow.

One of the outcomes of the movement led by child savers during the progressive era was a new awareness of the importance of the environment for children and efforts to change their environment. For example, the early century

kindergarten movement which advocated the removal of children for the negative influence of home environments and place them, if only temporarily in better, educational surroundings. Reformers continued a broad child welfare movement that encompassed the United States from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century.

This literature review will begin with a brief description of sources on the history of child welfare. The literature is divided into five sections: section one presents child welfare literature, section two and three present contrasting approaches to child protective work that developed in the early 1900s: the preventative approach (section two), and the social control model (section three), discussion and literature from a national perspective is presented in each of these sections, section four presents discussion of the relationship between public and private agencies, section five discusses literature that describes the environment in the child welfare movement in the Minnesota.

The published proceedings of The National Conference of Social Work is a source of insight into the level of professional knowledge about children which existed among social workers and was presented in a national, professional forum. From a survey of the Proceedings from

1919 through 1929, several topic areas related to the practice of child welfare. First, practice strategies in child protective services were discussed throughout the period, highlighting a legalistic approach. Second, the relationship between public and private agencies involved in providing child welfare services was discussed with an emphasis on boundary clarification between public and private agencies.

Conference proceedings from the National Conference of Social Work and the Minnesota State Conference of Social Workers from 1920-1930 are utilized in this literature review to inform this research on the perspectives of social workers on a national and state levels. A comprehensive search of the proceedings was conducted. Results of this search serve as primary and secondary data sources. Proceedings were obtained at the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota. For further detail related to these data, refer to Methodology chapter.

Major Works Related to Child Welfare

In Robert Bremner's classic text, Children and Youth in America, he meticulously presents primary historical documents about the the experience of children and youth in

America from 1866 through 1932. Bremner's work is divided into eight parts which include: a) the social and cultural background, b) the legal status of children and protection against cruelty and immorality, c) care of dependent children, d) juvenile delinquency, e) child labor, f) administration of child welfare services, g) child health, and h) education. The majority of contemporary research related to child welfare in the United States utilizes Bremner's work.

Homer Folks's book, The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children (1902), as well as, Charles Loring Brace's famous book, The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work Among Them (1872), are classic pieces because they offer analysis from the perspective a contemporary writer working in the period that was being analyzed.

Two important histories of social welfare in the United States that include comprehensive information related to children are: Walter Trattner (1979), From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America, and Michael Katz (1987), In the Shadow of the Poorhouse. These are important because they offer the full history of social welfare in the United States which sets the context in which child welfare developed.

Much of what is written about child welfare is discussed as family issues or family policy. The perspective offered in the following texts is critical because it brings out the familial issues of violence, which affects all family members. Additionally, other texts analyze very similar case records to those used in this research from the same time period. One historical text which stands out in this area is Beverly Stadum's (1992) Poor Women and their Families: Hard Working Charity Cases 1900-1930. Stadum (1992) uncovers the effect economic conditions had upon the role of mothers and children in poor families. Additionally, Linda Gordon (1988) discusses the issues of violence in family who lived in poverty. Both of these researchers utilized case records from private family social work agencies in the United States in the early 1900s.

The Development of Preventative Child Protective Work

Within the field of child welfare in the early 1900s, at least two contrasting approaches were utilized by the social work profession to address problems of abuse and neglect of children. One of the approaches utilized in child protection was a social control model. This modality utilized "police" strategies to intervene in cases of abuse

and neglect. The other approach was a preventative approach in which casework strategies were used in cases of abuse and neglect. These two divergent approaches to intervention in families where abuse and neglect was suspected co-existed throughout the early 1900s and continue to be present in contemporary child protection work.

The use of preventative approaches in the field of child protection received major support on a national level from the White House Conference of 1909. C.C. Carstens played a major role in introducing the preventative approach in Minnesota as a result of a evaluation he performed in his role as founder of the Child Welfare League of America.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, public attention to child welfare issues was spreading throughout the United States. Child welfare advocates led the crusade for further developments in bettering the lives of children in the United States, this movement was known as the progressive child welfare movement. These reformers, focusing on family centered progressive reform efforts, assisted in generating discussion on child welfare issues and were responsible for the White House Conference of 1909. Conferees of the White House Conference of 1909

continued on the momentum generated from the conference and advocated for improvements in policies affecting the lives of children. National public agencies such as the Federal Children's Bureau and private agencies including The Child Welfare League of America and the Humane Societies took a role in the movement to improve services to children in the United States by lobbying for specific laws related to child welfare and generating discussions on professional social welfare levels to improve practice knowledge.

The White House Conference of 1909

Recommendations that came out of The White House Conference of 1909 influenced the growth of a movement whose goal was to coordinate and revise child welfare legislation throughout the United States (Ma, 1949). The conference was responsible for integrating the thinking of social agencies and other interested groups involved in child welfare. A progressive movement formed with the mission of advocating standards for the care of dependent children. The movement awakened a social consciousness for better protection of dependent children throughout the country. Important recommendations of the White House Conference centered on several points in the child welfare

field: a) home care, b) preventive work, c) home finding, d) cottage system for institutions, e) incorporation of child care agencies, f) state inspection of child care agencies, g) inspection of educational work, h) facts and record, i) physical care, j) co-operation of local child caring agencies, k) repeal of undesirable legislation against the transfer of dependent children between states, and l) a public organization for child welfare (Ma, 1949). It declared that families not institutions are best at raising children. But this was an ideal never fully suggested in the United States policies and funding, and today the trend is again against supporting families.

The Children's Bureau

The Children's Bureau, another proposal from the White House Conference was established in 1912 and was commissioned to investigate and report on all matters pertaining to the welfare of children, such as: a) infant mortality, b) birth rates, c) orphanages, d) juvenile courts, e) desertion and f) dangerous occupations, (Social Work Year Book, 1933).

Child Welfare League of America

The Child Welfare League of America was established in 1920 with the purpose of improving the organized services for physically, mentally, and socially handicapped children

in the United States through by consultation, studies of community programs. As of 1933 the Child Welfare League had 147 constituent organizations that were part of this national organization. Progressive child protection services was a primary focus of the Child Welfare League and focused on improving the quality social work being done in the United States.

The Development of a Preventative Practice Strategy

During the beginning of the 1900s, the scope and approach of anti-cruelty and humane societies began to shift from the law-enforcement aims and police methods to developing a casework approach with families which emphasized reform and rehabilitation, permitting maintenance of the child in their home (Bremner,1971). This shift in the society's approach to child protection can be observed in the following quotation. In 1906, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (MSPCC), president Grafton Cushing stated that the society's long-standing policy was child rescue, "there is no attempt to discover the cause of the conditions which make action by the [society] necessary," he acknowledged, " and therefore no endeavor to prevent a recurrence of these conditions. In other words, there is no 'social' work done. It is all

legal or police work." (MSPCC, 1903). In his address, Cushings signaled a change from a social control, police-like approach to interventions in cases of abuse and neglect to one where, "prosecution would still be necessary... but with it must come a care for the social side of the work" (MSPCC, 1903).

The 'social side of the work' that Cushing was referring to was the method of social casework, which Mary Richmond began in the early twentieth century. She codified its elements through work at the Russell Sage Foundation and New York School of Social Work. C.C. Carstens, a protégé of Richmond advocated for casework in the field of child protection. Bremner (1971) notes that charity organization societies in Philadelphia, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, and Minneapolis adopted the casework approach as they became family welfare agencies. The MSPCC believed the environment had an impact upon families and individuals, and in turn looked to preventative solution to problems in families (Costin, 1992). Carstens (MSPCC, 1906) spoke at the annual meeting of the Society about the shift in the agency's focus to preventative measures, " children will still need to be rescued from degrading surroundings for many years to come, but the

society recognizes more definitely that it is a preventative agency" (p.21)

The Development of Social Control Practice Strategy

The history of the organized effort to protect children developed as an outgrowth of the effort to protect animals from cruelty. By 1900 the number of anti-cruelty societies devoted exclusively to child protection or jointly to animal and child protective work numbered 250. These societies were concerned not only with protection of children against physical abuse but also with protection against other forms of cruelty such as exploitation, exposure, and neglect (Bremner, 1971). The societies were private organizations funded through charitable means. These early societies protected children in abusive circumstances by utilizing the model used in animal protection work, taking the animal out of the abusive situation and prosecuting offenders. This model came to be known in child protective work as a social control model.

In contrast to the progressive MSPCC, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NYSPCC), led by Eldridge Gerry, relied primarily on a coercive form of child protective work from which the MSPCC was attempting to move away (Costin, 1992). The NYSPCC's

coercive strain of cruelty prevention, known as the Gerry model, advocated a middle-class lifestyle as the model for all people, including immigrants. Furthermore, Gerry viewed those in poverty as being poor due to their poor character. The Gerry model supported coercive means of intervention in abuse and neglect cases (Bremner, 1971). Bremner (1971) cites New York Society's first annual report in 1902 in which the discussion centered around the problem that none of the institutions or societies aimed at caring for children had a mandate to seek out and to rescue children whose lives were rendered miserable by constant abuse and cruelty. The laws were ample. However, it was nobody's domain to enforce the laws. Subsequently, the new societies addressed themselves to carrying out this new task.

Through the societies relationship to the court, they were given police-like powers which they used in their child protective work. The agents of the private societies obtained this unusual power as a result of the societies being allowed to place agents in the juvenile court. Agents were then allowed to investigate cases. The cruelty society became the gatekeeper regarding cases that involved children. The private societies had a unique relationship

with public courts that granted them with police-like power Ryerson (1978).

Workum (1922), executive Secretary of the Ohio Humane Society, presented at the National Conference of Social Work on the relationship between the juvenile court and the child-caring agencies. Workum (1922) describes the problems inherent in the working relationship between public and private agencies: "... work of the public and private agency is frequently so closely merged that it is difficult to clearly indicate the lines of demarcation which separate them." (p.141). This quotation hints at how private agencies worked closely with courts, and the political power that this relationship brought to private agencies.

Carstens (1927) discussed the legal approach used by the children's protective societies during this period. It entailed the prosecution of guardians of children that abused or neglected their children and the subsequent removal of those children from the home into institutions. This model of practice that operated in 1927 and remained a practice model throughout the 1920s in direct contradiction to the White House Conference of 1909 proves that the preventative and punitive models were contemporaneous. Carstens (1927) emphasized the work of protective agencies

which from the beginning of their merger with humane societies relied upon legalistic interventions in protective work. Carstens (1927) states that , " this protective work laid great emphasis on obtaining effective legislation and upon law enforcement generally by their being an arm of the police or by their police methods" (p.128). In another conference presentation by Carstens (1924), he explains how child protective work was affected by the humane societies approach to the protection of animals. The humane society's legalistic approach to child protective work incorporated the following goals of intervention: a) punishment of the offender was the principle aim, and b) removal of animal or child from abusive circumstance to a safe environment. From this comparison of child protective work with the animal protection done by the humane society, an understanding of how the legalistic, police-like approach of child protective societies developed. What Carstens (1927) describes as police attitudes and style of practice within social work was true in many children's protective agencies throughout the nation. Carstens (1924) warns that although the interests of the humane societies and formal child protective work were alike in some ways, their roles and approaches were outdated and their similarities were

unfortunate if new programs were to be built upon this old model of practice.

Summary

Carsten's article "Methods of Organization and Inter-Relations in the Child Caring Field" (1929) outlines the results of his study of numerous protective societies around the United States, including the Minneapolis Children's Protective Society. Three conclusions were reached regarding children's protective work: a) abuse and neglect was widespread - of all child welfare services, child protective work is least organized, with little special knowledge or skill, b) close cooperation between agencies is critical because referrals from other agencies are made to protective societies, c) and finally, Carstens (1929) comments on the tendency of private child protective societies to, " become rather unbalanced, uncooperative and sometimes legalistic, and so interfere with the development of the court and public service..." (p.120).

The Relationship Between Public and Private Agencies

During this same period, a new practice strategy developed in child protection, the preventive casework approach.

Anderson (1989) discusses the work of Carstens who was the first executive from the private sector to call for *public* child welfare. Carstens, a protégé of Mary Richmond, was at one time the executive director of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Speaking at the National Conference of Charities and Correction Carstens stated, "there is no task which the community in its public capacity may not undertake and under certain circumstances should not undertake for the welfare of children" (1915, p.92). He called for cooperation among private and public agencies involved in child welfare work. Anderson (1989) further points out that Carstens and other executives attempted and were successful at instituting cooperative services among child-helping agencies which were fashioned after those established in the charity organizations.

Grace Abbott, head of the Children's Bureau in Washington addressed the general session of the National Conference of Social Work in 1924. The title of her presentation was the "Public Protection for Children". Abbott (1924) advocated for a public role in the protection of children, known as "further centralization", and believed that, "public provision is fundamental in a child-welfare program" (p.5). Abbott (1924) called

attention to the effect that public's action or inaction had upon protective efforts of private organizations. She stated that the public's role "... affects profoundly the possibility of successful protection through individual or privately organized efforts" (1924,p.5).

The debate of the merits of a public role in child welfare was emerging within the social profession. Although social workers in general were responsible for the extension of state activity in social welfare, not all agreed with the extension of state responsibility in this area. Both aspects of this issue can be understood through the following quotation from Abbott (1924) describing those who supported a public role in all social work and reasons behind their support,

"Many of these people believe there is a real social gain in the recognition of a public obligation even though the scope of the work is not enlarged when it passes under public control, and the technique temporarily or even permanently is not so good as under private auspices. There are still others who have recognized in the question as to the claims of the public versus private agency no theoretical limitations on action; they ask only as to expediency" (p.5).

The virtue of a public role in the welfare of children continued to be debated throughout the decade of the 1920s.

Barrow (1925) continued the conversation of the boundaries and roles of public versus private agencies at

the Conference one year later. Barrow believed that private agencies' role was that of "...the trail blazer using its resources as a laboratory in which experiments may be tried out to failure or success" (1925, p.133). If success was found by the private agencies, Barrow (1925) recommended that the results of the experiment be " turned over to the public agency to be assumed as part of its job, the burden of experimentation, however, not having been an additional tax of public funds" (p.133). In a presentation that followed, Handley (1925) outlined the role of the public agency,

" the public agency can only render that service and do those acts more or less designated by the legislature, so the public agency should seek constantly to interpret itself through the private agency, whose scope of work in untied fields is more elastic. A real spirit of cooperation is constantly being brought about between the public and private agencies where the scope of work is clearly defined and understanding and fairmindedness are paramount" (p.140).

In the proceedings from 1927, Carstens (1927) discusses a general trend in children's protective societies who were moving in two direction. Protective Societies were either broadening their protective programs and creating new protective societies or the protective work was being referred to other agencies such as juvenile courts and children's aid societies. Carstens (1927) notes

the likelihood of both trends occurring in the same community.

Discussion of who is responsible for protective work, public agencies such as juvenile courts or private agencies, was considered at the National Conference of Social Work. Additionally, Carstens (1927) pointed out the preventative function that a private agency role could offer the overburdened court. Juvenile courts were being turned to more for the protective work in the later half of the 1920s. However as Carstens (1927) points out, "... much protective work is to be done at the stage where it either will not come to the attention of the court or the court is not the logical agency to render the service" (p.128). In cases where court services are not needed, non-court agencies such as public board of children's guardians and county boards of child welfare were the logical places to attach the protective services to.

The Minnesota Service Delivery Scene

As in the rest of the United States, children's services in Minnesota comprised a system of public and private agencies from 1911-1930. In this section I discuss the development of public agencies addressing the needs of children in Minnesota. Private agencies were used to supplement the public services, others were established

prior to the development of public agencies, but eventually operated under public agencies' oversight.

The Development of Public Agencies

Following the White House Conference of 1909 there was a call for further understanding and action in the field of child welfare. This reform movement, aimed at coordinating and revising child welfare legislation swept across the country with the goal of establishing a specific standards that related to the care of children that was supported by laws. The reform movement was responsible for what would be called; the 'child code'.

The reform movement reached Minnesota in approximately 1911. With the endorsement of the State Board of Control, the Minnesota State Conference of Charities and Correction sponsored a bill in 1911 legislating the appointment of an investigating commission on laws relating to children. The bill was defeated, and in response, Governor Burnquist appointed a voluntary commission known as the Child Welfare Commission, who without legislative sanction, were asked to revise and codify the laws of the state relating to children (Ma, 1949). The Child Welfare Commission consisted of twelve members who were to make recommendations to the legislature at their 1917 session.

The Commission reiterated the fundamental idea that the "State is the ultimate guardian of all children who need what they cannot provide for themselves and what natural or legal guardians are not providing". While the state had accepted this responsibility long ago, the authority to exercise such responsibility had been scattered among many agencies. Therefore, the commission recommended a central authority to look after the special interests of children in the state. In an attempt to limit the number of official boards in Minnesota, a recommendation was made that child welfare work be centralized in the Board of Control which would in turn establish the Minnesota Children's Bureau.

The Minnesota legislation of 1917 for the first time gave recognition to the principle derived from the English Common Law, namely, that the state is ultimately responsible for the welfare of all children within its borders, and that it will, when necessary, intervene to protect them from dependency, neglect, abuse, or other conditions that threatened children's health. Efforts to put this principle into practice included the development of legal statutes centered on the responsibility for the administration of all child welfare laws, except those of education, recreation, health and industry in the State

Board of Control. Furthermore, to implement a system of better services for children throughout the state, the law authorized the organization of county welfare boards upon the recommendation of the local county official (Ma, 1949)

The State Board of Control

The Minnesota State Board of Control acted as the administrative agency for public welfare. Its duties to children were of a three-fold character: a) activities of a general nature, b) guardianship of those committed to the Board by the juvenile courts, and c) specific duties with regard to particular classes of children and institutions for their care. The Board of Control's specific duties included the management of all the state institutions for dependent, defective, and delinquent children and the care and supervision of the feebleminded and the blind outside of institutions, both adults and children. In addition, the Board of Control was required to license and supervise maternity hospitals and private organizations receiving children for board and care or placing them in private homes (Ma, 1949).

The Minnesota Children's Bureau

The Children's Bureau was organized as a division of the State Board of Control. Its responsibilities included administrative details covering all the duties of the State

Board in respect to children except those regarding care in the state institutions. The Bureau started functioning January 1, 1918 with two departments. One department was to oversee adoptions and placements of children, as well as responsibilities in the area of investigation of persons committed to the State Board as feebleminded, adults and children. The second department took charge of the unmarried mothers and their children, and the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals, infant homes and children's agencies.

As the Children's Bureau grew, the staff had to be expanded. In May of 1920, a plan that established county supervision by districts was submitted to the State Board of Control. Each district was to have a field representative and a field supervisor to plan their work, advise them on difficult cases, and consult with the county boards. The establishment of a field representative and case supervisor marked a change in policy and administration,

" Heretofore the emphasis had been entirely legal, but the appointment of these representative and an experienced case supervisor marked the beginning of applying the social case work method to the problems encountered in the counties" (Ma, 1949, p.78).

County Child Welfare Boards

The guiding principle of the Minnesota plan, as set up by the legislation of 1917, was the centralization of responsibility in the State Board of Control and decentralization of administration through the County Child Welfare Board. The law provided that upon the request of the County Board, the State Board of Control could appoint a Child Welfare Board in each county. Therefore, the Child Welfare Boards were voluntary with local authority. The statutes of 1917 made enforcement of laws for protection of children mandatory only on the State Board of Control; it did not make it mandatory for the county to function as the agent of the state. This was a major defect in the law which was not corrected until twenty years later when county welfare boards were organized to take charge of all public welfare programs in all the counties. The law did not set any personnel standard nor provide other means of stimulating the board to employ trained workers in the counties.

In theory the child welfare board was a policy making body, directing the community and dealing with fundamental improvements in community life. In practice however, most board members undertook to do direct work with cases (Ma, 1949).

Debate: Minnesota State Conference of Social Work

The proceedings from the annual Minnesota State Conference of Social Work reveal that social workers were concerned about a variety of issues that pertained to children in the state; however, two topics of discussion stand out that relate to my research. The first topic of discussion was the role of the State Board of Control through the collaboration of the Children's Bureau with the county child welfare boards throughout the state. The second issue on the minds of social workers as expressed through the conference proceedings was exactly how private and public agencies would work together.

The relationship between the Children's Bureau and The County Child Welfare Boards

The Child Welfare Commissions Report of 1917 outlined the function of the state as the ultimate guardian of handicapped children; however no state agency in Minnesota at that time had responsibility for children who were in need of state intervention, but not handicapped. Children not covered in this legislation included dependent and neglected children. The work of protecting children in situations of abuse and neglect was left to private persons and agencies. The Board of Control did have general duties around inspecting child-helping organizations and institutions; however they were vague and in-effective (Ma,

1949). Moreover, if a child was not in an institution, public or private, the Board of Control had no duties. In an effort to centralize the state's authority and duty, the establishment of county welfare boards from which the state board could operate was put into place (Hodson, 1921).

Hodson (1921), states,

" The coordination of local agencies with a central one is expected to be an educative force of great value in developing right ideals and methods of work for children throughout the state, besides affording opportunity and responsibility for initiative now nowhere found" (p.166).

The recommendations of the Commission in these matters were enacted into law by the legislature in 1917.

The discussion at the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work in 1921 related to public agencies' roles among themselves, specifically, the Children's Bureau relationship to the county boards. William Hodson (1921) was the Director of the Children's Bureau, and spoke at the conference about the county boards' obligation to children and the community,

" Education of the people of your community as to the meaning and purpose of our children's laws and the proper way to administer them is your job...Why should not the Child Welfare Board become a clearing house for the child problems of the county by having all cases involving children reported to the Board, by keeping records of them, referring cases..or dealing with them directly" (p.169).

Child County Welfare Boards

Mrs. Moynihan (1921) of Stearns County Child Welfare Board spoke at the conference on how county child welfare boards could work together and be of more service to each other. She stated, " Before Child Welfare Boards can properly cooperate with agencies outside the county they should be able to work in harmony with those within.." (p.167). Mrs. Moynihan (1921) followed by instructing boards to move slowly and act as a unit to investigate the causes of neglect, delinquency and dependency.

Social problems brought before the child welfare boards in the state were numerous. In an open discussion of various child welfare board representatives (1920) the following issues seen as pressing were; legitimate recreation, unmarried mothers, and the occurrence of a children who presented multiple issues including dependency, neglect and disease.

Through this discussion and many others similar to it in the Minnesota Conference Proceedings from 1920-1930, the roles and responsibilities among state and county boards were clarified through informative debates. Ultimately however, it would have taken legislative and government

regulations to formally clarify roles and responsibilities related to state and county boards.

Public agencies relation with private agencies

The relationship between public and private agencies is addressed in the law of 1917. It should be noted that public agency cooperation with private child helping and child placing agencies is enjoined by law.

" It shall be the duty of the board to promote the enforcement of all laws for the protection of defective, illegitimate, dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, to cooperate to this end with juvenile courts and all reputable child helping and child placing agencies of a public or private character, and to take the initiative in all matters involving the interests of such children where adequate provision therefor has not already been made..." (Ma, 1949, p. 6).

Carstens (1924) discussed what he believes should have been the communities' responsibility to all children, including children on the 'border-line' of dysfunction,

" The first concern of a city in dealing with its children's problems is to provide protection, shelter, and sustenance to those who are in distress. There is, however, no more striking fact in social work than that a community's interest is moving from the care of children who have already become dependent and delinquent to the protection and care of all children, so that it may find those who are on the border-line and give them the right sort of help at an early day, and also prevent the development of such conditions as will later cause trudge and expense if not forestalled (Carstens, 1924, p.1).

Carstens's ideas crystallized the debate of the goal of intervention - should those in child welfare work proactively or reactively in a criminal justice model in addressing the needs of children in the community?

Summary

This literature review presented developments within the child welfare movement through a presentation of major literature related to the Progressive Movement. Additionally, analysis of professional debate and landmark political developments in child protection was presented. Competing strategies in child protection emerged during the early twentieth century: the long-standing social control or legal approach and a new preventative casework strategy. These opposing strategies, operating within national and local child welfare environments, affected the child protective practice throughout the United States.

A significant amount of information related to the historical tension between the child saving and family centered approaches is unknown. This study will help to fill in the missing pieces of knowledge related in this area of child welfare history.

Methodology

Historical Research

Historical research deals with the meaning of events in history (Leedy, 1993). The methodology in historical research provides a rational explanation for the cause of events based on the primary data and an objective explanation of the effect of events on individuals, organizations or society (Leedy, 1993). This study utilizes historical research methodology.

The researcher has a responsibility in the research process to provide rational and objective explanations of data. Rubin and Babbie (1993) discuss the role of the researcher in historical research methodology and the fluidity of the historical method as a process that has no prescribed steps to follow in the process of analyzing data. Instead, the researcher acts as a tool in historical research, immersing oneself in the data and analyzing what develops from the investigation in the most subjective manner possible.

Rubin and Babbie (1993) have interpreted Max Weber's use of the German term *verstehen* - understanding- in regards to the process that the researcher must go through in order

to carry out the analyzing of data. The use of the term *verstehen* is used to speak to the experience of the researcher who "must take on, mentally, the circumstances, views and feelings of those being studied to interpret their actions appropriately" (p.427). In a dialectical manner, I have attempted to attain a subjective understanding of historic events as they occurred, and at the same time, in an effort to place the experiences within a larger framework of time and space, I have followed a process in which I have immersed myself in the data and then stepped away to seek some measure of objectivity in order to see how this data fits within the whole.

This study seeks not only an explanation of events, but is concerned with tracing the origin, development, and influence of ideas and concepts on social policy and practice. Leedy (1993) describes this form of historical research as conceptual historical research. Conceptual historical research is based on the premise that ideas and concepts have origins, growth and development and have impact upon a civilization.

This research compares the national and local communities' response to the prevention and protection of abused and neglected children and compares the response to the practice of the Children's Protective Society of

Hennepin County from 1920-1930. Furthermore, this research traces the origin of the child welfare movement in Minneapolis through 1930 through analysis of three tiers of data: a) general historical context, b) child welfare nationally, c) child welfare locally.

Rubin and Babbie (1993) discuss the importance of utilizing several sources to ensure corroboration. Corroboration helps to protect the research from bias in primary and secondary data sources. Three tiers of data are analyzed as a means of triangulation; these are: a) historical analysis of the time period 1890-1930 as it relates to child welfare, b) sources that trace the development of the child welfare movement nationally, and c) sources that correspond to the evolution of child welfare services in the State of Minnesota and Hennepin County.

Rubin and Babbie (1993) describe primary sources as those that provide first hand accounts by someone present at the event; these include but are not limited to: dairies letters, organizational by-laws, minutes of meetings, and the orally reported memory of an eyewitness. Secondary sources describe past phenomena based on primary sources. The primary sources included in this analysis are: a) archival case records from the Children's Protective Society 1920-1930, b) an evaluation of The Children's Protective

Society by C.C. Carsten, c) proceedings from the National Conference of Social Workers as well a proceedings from the Minnesota Conference of Social Workers. Secondary data used in this research include other related literature about the period.

Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County

Data Source and Description

The primary data for this research came from an archival collection of approximately 35,000 microfilmed case records of individuals and families served by predecessors of what is today Minneapolis Family and Children's Service. In 1917, the Children's Protective Society was formed by a merger of Minneapolis Humane Society and the Juvenile Protective League. The general collection of case records cover a period from approximately 1890 to 1950 with the heaviest concentration in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. The cases were filmed numerically, resulting in a rough chronological order established by the date of intake. However, occasional reorganizations of the numbering system, due to cancellation of inactive cases and reassignment of the numbers, create exceptions to this rule. There are many gaps in the numerical order as a result of cases being transferred to other agencies along with the case record, thus creating a gap in the sequence of cases.

The records contain worker case notes, official documents, newspaper clippings, and correspondence. Within these documents social workers were referred to as friendly visitors, agents, and caseworkers.

Cases are organized around families, often with attention focused on a specific child. Each case includes a face sheet summarizing basic demographic or social data about the family; chronological records dictated by case workers summarizing each contact with the client, conferences to discuss the case, and other agency actions related to the case; and correspondence regarding the case.

Data Collection Procedure

The sample population for this analysis was selected from a population field of approximately 10,000 cases. All the cases within this population were opened between 1917 and 1929.

A random sample of cases was selected by generating a uniform distribution numbers between 151-10999. These numbers correspond to the case numbers assigned to each case when they were transferred to microfilm. Twenty five case numbers were selected, of which 10 cases met the criteria in which child neglect, abuse, or maltreatment was noted as the presenting issue. Criteria for the selection of the case

for the sample included issues of legibility of documents and the inclusion of full case record on microfilm.

Confidentiality of subjects was protected by systematic altering of the last name. In order to portray the ethnic flavor of clients, names were used that reflected their ethnic background.

Sample

A systematic random sample of 25 cases was selected. Extensive analyses were conducted in the 10 cases in which child neglect or maltreatment was noted.

Minnesota State Conference of Social Workers

Source and Description

This primary source, originated prior to the formation of The Minnesota State Board of Social Work in 1919. The organization was known as the Minnesota State Board of Correction and Charities was established for the purpose of giving,

" opportunity for the mutual interchange of views and experience by those who are actively engaged in the work, especially county commissioners and other citizens who work for the relief or improvement of the poor" (Hennessey , 1995).

In 1945 the name of the organization changed to the Minnesota Welfare Conference, in 1960 the name changed to the Minnesota Welfare Association, and in 1973 to the

Minnesota Social Service Association as it remains to this day.

From the organization's inception the purpose and function has remained the same. Similar to the National Conference of Social Work, its purpose was to bring together persons from the private and public sectors to share experiences and concerns. Membership included members from a variety of disciplines whose concerns ranged from correction to charities (Hennessey, 1995).

The records document the activities and interests of the organization for the 1890s through the 1980s. Proceedings for most of the early conference are included. Board, delegate assembly, and executive committee minutes, which include summaries of discussion as well as official actions, are included in this collection.

This research will focus on the annual conferences proceedings which brought together people from many different facets of social services in Minnesota. The annual conference proceedings reflect the association's unique statewide concern with client needs across the full range of social services. There are no restriction on access to this material. The data for this research are focused on the annual conference proceedings between the years 1919-1930.

During this period the organization was named the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work.

National Conference of Social Work

Source and Description

A third primary source, The National Conference on Social Work was known originally as the National Conference on Charities and Corrections. Established in 1919 from the NCCC, the NCSW had a long history of bringing developing issues in the field of social welfare into the national spotlight.

The NCSW had a plethora of experts in the field who contributed papers to the conference as well as served as its presidents.

During the years on which this research is focused, Owen Lovejoy, known as "the children's statesman," served as the president of the NCSW (p. 487 NCSW, 1989).

During this period the NCSW developed the practice of dealing with nine set topics each year. By 1926 there were twelve sections reflecting major subjects in the field. The value of this collection is the continuity of the coverage which allows a topic to be followed over a period of time. The data for this research were collected from the yearly conference proceedings between the years 1919-1930.

Carstens's Evaluation of The Children's Protective
Society of Hennepin County.

Data Source and Description

C.C.Carstens's involvement in child welfare practice extended into the evaluation of child welfare agencies throughout the country. The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County was one of the agencies that he evaluated. Carstens's (1924) evaluation of the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County serves as a primary data source from which an understanding of the agency's structure and personnel can be understood. This data is a part of an evaluative process and should be understood within a context of the growth and development which occurred within the child welfare field in general and specially within child protective agencies throughout the United States.

Findings

Thus far, I have examined the development of the child protective movement from national and local levels. The analysis of the literature suggests that a shift occurred in the early 1900s related to the philosophy of how child welfare advocates believed child protective work should be conducted in the United States. Some advocated a shift away from the old guard, the Humane Society, who advocated a legal approach to child protective work. Reformers led by Carstens, attempted to reform the old guard by a new approach, casework. In addition to the shift in child protective work, Carstens and others were successful in helping to establish laws for children that were more specific to abused and neglected children. The development of laws for children was enhanced by the progressive movement's call for a public role in child welfare. The establishment of the Children's Bureau and county child welfare boards assisted in the delivery of child protective services in Minnesota. What follows is an analysis of one local agency, The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County.

The Children's Protective Society Of Hennepin County

C.C. Carstens's involvement in child welfare practice extended into the evaluation of child welfare agencies throughout the country. Carstens founded the Child Welfare League of America and worked to establish national standards in the field of child protection. The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County was one of the agencies that he evaluated. Carsten's (1924) evaluation of the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County serves as a primary data source from which an understanding of the agency's structure and approach to child welfare can be understood. These data are a part of an evaluative process and should be understood within a context of the growth and development which occurred within the child welfare field in general and specially within child protective agencies throughout the United States.

Agency Purpose

Carstens (1924) states that the purpose of the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County was (CPS);

"to aid and protect children who are dependent, neglected or in need of safe guarding in any way;

to suppress and prevent conditions contributing to dependency, neglect or delinquency of children and to prosecute persons contributing thereto; and to promote the study of child problems and conditions affecting the welfare of children" (p. 1).

The multipurpose nature of this agency is evident from this quotation. In addition to the agency's mission to protect and aid children, other agency goals are evident. The agency focused on three goals that addressed problems related to abuse and neglect on a variety of practice level: a) one focus of the Society was "to suppress and prevent conditions contributing to dependency..." (p.1), b) secondly, the agency's purpose of intervention included the prosecution of persons who were involved in the mistreatment of children; c) the goal of early child protective work being of value to effecting change on a macro level. This is exemplified in the final sentence of the above quotation, an area of attention of the Society was "to promote the study of child problems and conditions affecting the welfare of children" (p.1).

Carstens and child welfare advocates involved in the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County recognized the importance of further study in the area child protection and other forms of social work with families. The

evaluation serves as an example of the study of agencies around the United States involved in child protective work.

Agency Structure

Intake Department

The Intake Department as described by Carstens (1924) accepted applications from residents of Hennepin County only. The screening procedure entailed the use of "discretion in refusing unsuitable applicants" (p.3). The intake worker's responsibility included referring out those applicants who were found to be better served to other agencies. Interestingly, these referrals were followed-up by the worker, "calling these [agencies] on the telephone and making the tie-up" (p.3).

When applicants were found to be "suitable for acceptance" (p.3), a complete interview was taken by the intake worker. Enough information was obtained from applicants to discern the main facts in the case. The supervisor then assigned the case to the proper worker at the agency. Carstens (1924) describes the intake worker's understanding of the interview process;

" she feels that this procedure would interfere with the work of the agent who is to take up the case work. This theory seems to agree with that of most agents who take applications in well established agencies" (p.3-4).

The intake worker was cognizant of the degree to which she could probe into the client's history without interfering with the casework process that had the potential to develop after her initial interview.

The Protection Department

The Protection Department was responsible for all of the Society's investigations, whether they were cases of neglect or dependence. Cases that were accepted for investigation were classified under the following headings: neglect, dependency, delinquency, non-support, abandonment, assault and battery, drunkenness, carnal knowledge, unmarried mothers.

The court work of the protection cases was handled by the agents appearing at the Juvenile Court every Monday morning. Carsten (1924) discussed the uncommon practice of the Juvenile Court in Minneapolis of choosing not to directly handle neglect cases: instead cases of neglect were referred to the Children's Protective Society. Carstens (1924) notes that this practices is not required by

law. In fact, the law directed the probation staff who were a part of Court to perform the work on cases of dependent and neglected children.

The practice of asking the Society to handle the neglect and dependency cases was due in part to the increasing numbers of cases that were difficult to close and created carry-over from year to year.

"Neglect cases closed during 1923.....518

Carried over to 1924.....791" (p.5)

The quantity of neglect and dependent cases appears to have become so large that no one agency could perform the work sufficiently. As the following quote from Carsten (1924) illustrates,

" .. [from] the case work done in this Department it is apparent how impossibly large the numbers are. The result is that not one worker can do the work he or she knows ought to be done and these cases are reopened again and again" (p.5).

A unique relationship between the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County and the Juvenile Court in Minneapolis developed out of a need for the court to transfer cases to the Society as a result of the high numbers of neglect cases which the court could not effectively address. The court also referred cases of

neglect to the society based on the understanding that not all neglect cases required court intervention.

The Child Placing Department

Cases came to the placing department through the protective department. Children in need of emergency placements were often not in "placeable condition" due to illness, uncleanliness, or some type of infestation. When temporary emergency care was necessary, five shelters were available. These included both hospitals and temporary private foster homes. Children that were placed in temporary homes were given complete physical examinations.

Children in need of more permanent placements were placed in one of five placement options. The number of replacements of children from one placement to another within the Society was small. At the time of this evaluation, the Child Placing Department had a total of 377 children in care. Children were placed in: a) private homes, b) Institutions, c) hospitals, d) free homes, e) adoption homes. All of these placement options received an excellent level of care rating in Carsten's evaluation. Comparisons were made to other agencies throughout the United States which performed similar work, and Carsten consistently found the Children's Protective Society met or exceeded the current level of practice. The one area of

exception to the high performance level was found in the area of locating suitable homes for children. Insufficient staffing and the investigation process mandated by the State Board was found to be insufficient. Carsten notes that any success in locating quality foster homes was due primarily to the home finder's excellent judgment.

Private homes

Carstens interviewed several foster families and described them as "thrifty middle-class people" in which the men were in small business or artisans. Carstens (1924) found these families to have an "interest in the children and a real spirit of service... the foster fathers seemed as interested as the mothers" (p.8). Carstens (1924) pointed out that the foster families had skills in working with the children who exhibited challenging behavior and had an "interest in the families of the children, evidently receiving cordially visiting parents or relatives". (Carsten, 1924). The relationship between the foster families and the agency was described as "cordial and co-operative".

The average rate of board was \$5.00 per week. When children had special medical conditions such as gonorrhoea or syphilis the rate could increase to as much as \$10.00 per week.

Close supervision of the boarding homes was apart of the placing worker's responsibility. Placing workers would often visit babies once per month; this visit might include the agent assistance in clinic visits. Older children were seen by agents approximately once in three weeks.

Free Homes

There were a small number of homes in which foster parents accepted the responsibility of caring for a child without payment. Foster parents in this type of placement formed attachments to the children and when parents failed to make payments, they continued to care for the child. This placement arrangement was more common for younger children. Older children were expected to provided services in return for room and board and were referred to the Big Brother or the Department or the Citizen's Aid Society.

Adoption Homes

Adoption was considered for children whose parents:; a) were unable to support them, b) were considered unsuitable to care for them, and c) abandoned their children. Children remained in adoptive homes for six months before the adoption petition was filed in court. Carstens (1924) comments on the risks that adoptive families take when adopting children who have little known history,

" Often very little is known regarding paternity, and in many cases the adopting parents are taking great risks. They are given a frank statement of the child's history. It is a question whether the children placed are always suitable from the standpoint of heredity. The children themselves are always in good physical condition and appear to be of normal mentality" (p.10).

Institutions

Institutions were sought for the placement of children who were in need of long term care. They were: a) Augustana Mission, b) Catholic Orphanages of Minneapolis and St. Paul, c) Minneapolis Home for Children and Aged Woman, d) Sheltering Arms, e) Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum. No board was paid to these institutions and often times the children were discharged to the institution and the Protection Department intervened when services were needed.

The Big Brother Department

Carstens' (1924) description of the Big Brother Department outlined a description of two distinct parts the programs focus. First, Carstens (1924) describes the "real Big Brother work" which entails matching up boys with adult men to guide and mentor them into adulthood. The second part of the Big Brother work includes "placing the boys on farms". The Big Brother program as a whole worked exclusively with boys. During the year 1923 the Big Brother

Department worked with 548 boys between the ages of 12 and 18. Of these 548 boys, 73 were said to have come from "broken homes".

Psychological Work/Case Work

The Child Guidance Clinic for training and services to children was utilized by the Society. Carstens (1924) commented on the value of the society utilizing the clinic,

" We feel that the careful study given will be illuminating, resulting in more intensive and understanding treatment of the individual child and in better case work generally."

Casework was the method by which the Society approached its work with families. Carsten (1924) comments on the Society's procedure around investigation and taking case histories and the Child Guidance Clinic's use of this work. In effect, the Clinic was duplicating service in the investigation and case history. Carsten suggested in the evaluation that the worker from the Society make the investigation and write it up according to an outline furnished by the Clinic, stating, " this will strengthen the case work and avoid the possibility of confusing the child by introducing new people into the home situation..." (p.13).

The Staff

The Protection Department consisted of a supervisor and nine agents. The Child placing Department consisted of a

supervisor and a staff of six, three of whom were friendly visitors, and one nurse. The Big Brother Department included a supervisor and an assistant (Carsten, 1924).

The educational backgrounds of the staff were varied. Nine of the staff members had university degrees, three had taken part time courses in universities, seven had training in schools of social work or special courses in the social service field such as teacher's college. Although the experience and training of the staff varied, the majority of workers had at least some social work training.

Salaries were low as compared to other states. Agents salaries were \$1500.00 a year and supervisors were paid \$2,400.00 yearly. Such low salaries was seen as being one reason for the high turnover rate, as one agent per month was lost ! (Carsten, 1924).

The Society's Work

Clients of the Children's Protective Society were presented for services through a variety of ways. The manner in which families and children became known to the Society included: a) self reports made by a family member, (most often the mother), b) community members reports of neglect or abuse of a child by a family member, and c)

professional reports made by a teacher or other family welfare agency.

Data analysis of this sample found: 50% of the cases in which self reports were made to the Society, 20% of the cases were reported by a community member, and 30% of the cases were reported by teacher or other professional. Agents of the Society would then begin their investigative process after the agency's intake worker had turned the case over to the supervisor for assignment of the case to an agent.

The reports made by family members varied in what services they were requesting from the Society. Self reports included request from parents to board their children with the Society for short periods of time in order to meet employment and financial needs. In one case (#4045), Mrs. Mickalaou, pregnant at the time, approached the Society through an anonymous letter requesting that the Society take her child, because she and her husband were in debt. The agent entry dated 5-10-21 is as follows:

"... She said that they had some hard luck and that she was afraid she would not be able to keep her baby. She said, however, she had been under Dr. Taft's care and that he was planning to have her go to Fairview Hospital. She seemed to think however that they were running up so many bills that she would have to get to work. She kept speaking of giving up the baby but at the same time said she

would not want to give it up if she could help it. Agent said that there was no danger of her having to give it up if she cared to keep it as we could make arrangements for her that cost a great deal less" (#MFCS,#4045).

Other examples of the services requested by a family member were evident in cases that involved the non-support of a parent, usually the husband. As previously discussed, the court referred all cases of dependency and neglect to the CPS due to the high volume of such cases. Mrs. Jalseth's (MFCS,# 6443) approached CPS asking for assistance after her husband had not supported her and her child for approximately one year. Mrs. Jalseth sent the following letter asking for the advice of the CPS. The letter was as follows;

" To whom it may concern; Writing to ask your advice regarding a personal family matter. My husband has not supported me since a year ago last February. ... His reason he claims is that he had to invest as much in order to make ends meet. But this statement I have found to be untrue...I am unable to support myself..kindly advise by return mail just what steps to take in this matter..." (MFCS, #6443).

The Children's Protective Society and the Court found these cases to be well within the scope of their work and intervened accordingly.

Concern for the safety of children was another reason family members requested the services of the CPS. In one case (MFCS, #4651), a mother approached the CPS concerned that her "mentally unbalanced" husband would kidnap the children after a troubled separation from him.

When the Society received self-reports that voluntarily requested the agency's services, an opportunity for prevention in families was created. Had the families not received services of the Society, a crisis state within the family had a likelihood of developing.

Families also came to the attention of the CPS through reports made by community members, teachers, and other social service professionals. These reports were investigated by CPS agents who followed the case until it was closed or referred. Mandatory reporting laws were not legislated until fifty years later. Yet, it is evident that prior to mandatory reporting laws, professionals and community members were aware of the need and responsibility to report incidents of child maltreatment.

In one case (MFCS, #4297) a neighbor made a report to the Society informing the agency that the stepmother who lived next door was unkind to one of her step-daughters. An investigation took place in response to this report. In another case (MFCS, #6462) a request was made by the

American Jewish Council on behalf of young man who was soon to be released from Glen Lake on charges of Grand Larceny and was in need of a big brother. Social service agencies referred cases to the Society when issues of neglect or abuse arose. Referral to CPS by the Woman's Co-operative Alliance, was made in one case when the agency made a report to the Society stating that a "girl was living in bad surroundings, and that her mother is not a fit person to care for her" (MFCS, #4673).

Issue presented to the Society

Several themes emerged from the data sample that crystallized the issues and problems that were presented to the Society by community members, social service professionals and families themselves. Four types of cases were found in the data sample; they were: a) abuse and neglect cases, b) families in economic crisis and in need of placement for their children, c) cases of non-support of children and families, and d) delinquent adolescents.

Data analysis conducted on the sample found that 30% of the cases had the presenting issue of 'abuse or neglect', 20% of the cases involved families who were in economic crisis, 30% of the cases involved cases of financial neglect of a parent, and 20% percent of the 10 cases involved delinquency. One issue that arose in the data analysis was

the difference between how the case was understood by the agent and the client's understanding. While most of the cases had elements of a shared understanding between the client and agent, there was one case in which the presented 'complaint' listed in the case record appeared to have some level of disagreement with client's perception. The case entered the agency with the complaint of 'incurability', yet the outstanding issue was that of physical abuse of the child by her parent. Certainly, the dynamic of a client's perception not aligning with the Society's understanding of the problem was more widespread than this analysis suggests. This lack of motivational congruence is indicative of the involuntary nature of some client/agency contacts.

Abuse and Neglect Cases

The Children's Protective Society was presented with cases in which abuse and neglect was the target problem. In one such case (MFCS, #4297) the concern of the abuse of Doris and her sister Lucille came to the attention of the Society. The agent visited the family in order to investigate the situation, and the case records reflect the following;

"Called on the family, and the mother said that Dorris, daughter of the father is very incurable...Her own mother was very immoral and the girl learned much more than is good for her, and it is hard to control her now...the father has punished her off and on , and has

taken quiet a bit out of her...She states that they never neglect their children. The father did whip the girl but the neighbor woman always interfered and sympathizes with her..." (MFCS, #4297).

This case remained open for approximately six years and was re-opened on three occasions due to continued reports of the abuse and neglect of the two girls by the parents.

Economic crisis affecting ability to parent

The Children's Protective Society handled cases in which a family's economic crisis created an inability to parent and provide economically for the family. The failure of parents to provide economically for their children was considered neglect and was a part of the Society's responsibility. As discussed previously, the Children's Protective Society provided this service in cooperation with the courts because the volume of such cases created an overload for the courts, and both agencies hoped that the CPS intervention could solve the problem before court intervention was necessary.

The following case (MFCS, #5047), of the "Johnsons" exemplifies the preventive work done by the society in the case of a father who approached the Society after he accepted a position as a salesman with a company. The father was in need of board for his child until enough money could be made for the family to stabilize (MFCS, #5047). The

Society boarded the child for a short period of time until the father located a different job and could care for his child.

Families approached the Society with issues relating to the financial support of children. The Society, with the full cooperation of the Court, intervened in these cases with the intention of addressing the issue before court intervention was necessary.

Delinquent Adolescents

Cases involving adolescents who were considered to be delinquent were referred to the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County. It worth noting that the gender of the referrals was exclusively male. Often these young men were abandoned by their fathers, or came from a homes with absent or ineffective father figures. One such case (MFCS, # 6462) involved a young man named, Louis, who came from an immigrant Jewish family. Louis was charged and incarcerated for stealing a toboggan and two dozen milk bottles. The family history included a father who was "brutal" toward him. He was described as having a "weak character" and being "easily misled". A referral was made to the Society by the American Jewish Council, a private agency who served Jewish immigrant families.

In a similar case, Elmer (MCFC, #7343), a habitual truant was referred to the CPS by the visiting teacher from his high school . Since there was no father present and a mother who worked full time, the Society was asked to provide services for this young

Cases involving delinquent youth were presented to the Society. In the data sample, the youth were low level offenders, usually involving theft or truancy.

Issues of neglect: Non-financial support

As discussed previously, the Society was responsible for attending to issues of dependency and neglect within families. When a parent, usually a father, was not providing financial support to his family, the family sought the assistance of the Society.

One illustration of this type of problem presented to the Society is the case of the "Tenko" family (MFCS, #6930. The report was made by the wife of one of Mr. Tenko's co-workers, who reported to the Society that " ..Mr. Tenko has told him he is not going to put in any supplies for the winter for he is going to "pull out" [from the family]. Problems related to the financial non-support of families were not uncommon.

A second example of a case that exemplified this form of financial neglect was a case involving a two year

old girl named Lucille (MFCS, #5642). The first entry in the case notes clarifies the arrangement that Lucille's father had with his brother and sister-in-law who were to care for the girl;

" Mrs. C called at the office and said that for the past two years she has been taking care of Lucille, her brother in laws baby. The agreement was that #1 Lucille's father would pay for all milk, clothes till May 1st 1920 when he was to pay \$4 per week for the care of the child. A year ago June #1 Lucille's father went to California and since that time has never sent a cent for Lucille" (MFCS, #5642).

Cases of financial neglect were common and were within the scope of the Societies work.

The Society's Response to Clients and Client Problems:

Interventions

The Children's Protective Society used a variety of interventions to respond to the problems with which they were presented. These interventions reflect a mixture of legalistic methods and casework: a) casework in abuse and neglect cases, b) boarding children in cases of economic crisis in families, c) legal intervention in cases of non-support of husbands or other extended family members, and d) matching adolescents who were delinquent with Big Brothers or work on farms, known as, 'farm work'.

Analysis of the data sample reflected the following percentages related to the intervention strategy applied to the case by agents of the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County. The utilization of case work was found in 30% of the 10 cases, boarding as a response to client issues was found in 20% of the cases from the sample, legal intervention were found in 30% of the cases, and the use of big brothers was found in 20% of the cases.

Casework as a response to abuse and neglect

In families where reports of neglect or abuse were made, the agent would follow the case through until it was referred to another agency or a safe situation for the child was found. Agents within the Protection Department were responsible for following these cases through until some type of resolution was reached.

In the case of Margaret (MFCS, # 4673), a fifteen year old child who was reported by the Woman's Co-operative Alliance to Society out of a concern for the girl's living conditions that were 'poor' and due to her "mother's moral make-up". The Society's intervention was a combination of casework and legalistic strategy. The case records note a conversation with a police officer in which the agent asked the officer to work on the case with him. In doing so, the agent was informed by the officer that the girl has stolen

some rings some time ago. The agent was aware of the power of the court to place children and was successful in having a complaint for larceny established, an entry from the case records highlights the crux of this legalistic form of intervention;

"2-17-20: Case came up in Juvenile Court today and we explained to the Judge that she had returned most of the rings but that the conditions of the home were not fit for the girl to go back to and recommended that she be committed to the County Home School for girls which was done". (MFCS, Case 4673).

This case remained open for over a year with the agent following Margaret's progress. The case was closed based on the fact that Margaret was living permanently with her aunt and turned the 'age of majority'.

Boarding as a intervention in families incapacitated by finances

The Society responded to families who were unable to care for their children because of economic pressures by placing children through their Child Placing Department. Among the cases in this research, the length of time requested for placement was short, usually less than a year when the parents approached the agency for relief. From Carsten's (1924) evaluation of the agency, long term placements in foster homes and on farms also occurred;

however, the family circumstances were more likely to be severe. The Society's approach to intervention in cases such as these appears to have elements of prevention. This assertion is supported by the fact that the cases had the possibility of reaching a crisis state if left without the boarding services provided by the Society.

Legalistic interventions in cases of financial non-support

The society worked in cooperation with the Juvenile Courts in the handling of cases of the financial neglect of a parent to provide for their children occurred. The court was unable to handle the volume of cases without the Society working in cooperation with the court. Carstens's (1924) evaluation of the Society's mode of intervention in cases of financial neglect is evident in the following quote: " It has for years been the practice of the Juvenile Court in Minneapolis not to handle any neglect cases, the Children's Protective Society doing all of this work" (p. 5). The cooperative relationship between the Society and the Juvenile Courts gave the Society a fair amount of power in these matter, considering that they were a private agency who received no funding from the Community Fund.

The case of Mrs. Jaleeth (MFCS, case #6443) in which she approached the Society after a year of the financial non-support of her and her baby by her husband, exemplifies the society's intervention in such matters. After receiving the letter from Mrs. Jaleeth, the agent investigated the case and wrote the following letter to Mr. Jaleeth;

" ...We have become interested in the welfare of your family and it has been reported to us that you are not living with Mrs. Jaleeth and that she has to depend on her parents for subsistence.. we wish that you would come to the office some time so we might speak to your about it and see what can be done.."

The case was closed shortly after this letter was written. The justification for closure was the fact that Mrs. Jaleeth had not "complained any more.. so case may be closed". This entry referred to the fact that the Society and the agent in the case had not heard from Mrs. Jaleeth, and therefore were justified in closing the case.

Big Brothers as an intervention for delinquent boys

Through the Big Brother Department, the Society enlisted the assistance of men in the community to mentor adolescent boys who were delinquent. The Big Brother work is described by Carstens (1924) with the following quote, " ...Not only are individual boys encouraged, helped in their education and placed in work, but there are by-products impossible to estimate.." (p. 15).

In the two cases of delinquent boys, Elmer (MFCS, #7343), and Louis (MFCS, #6462) found in the data, the Big Brother Department matched the youth with a mentor each and followed the case through until the work was done as in the case of Louis, " Louis is doing very fine. Has now a bank account. Mother much pleased over it. Said Big Brother helped the boy get started. Nothing for Big Brother to do. Case may be closed" (MFCS, #6462).

Summary

A range of issues related to families and children were presented to the Society. The agency served as a community resource that addressed a variety of issues pertaining to children's welfare. The Society had an approach for each problem that was presented. The intervention strategies of the Society were not uniform and appeared to be a mixture of two vastly different approaches to child protection work.

As previously stated in the methodology chapter of this research, conceptual historical research is based on the premise that ideas and concepts have origins, growth and development and have impact upon a civilization (Leedy, 1993). This research identifies the origin of the early protective movement which is enveloped in the history of the

early child saving movement. The growth and development of child protective work in the United States has been analyzed through the presentation and analysis of case records from The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County and professional debate.

Findings from case records mirror the practice shifts in child protective work that was occurring on national levels. Specifically, the growth and acceptance of casework as a practice method in child protective work was occurring and beginning to augment the previously used social control method used by early child protective workers. This is evident in the data which portrays casework approaches that respond to client needs in productive ways, often times seen as efforts to maintain families. Social control interventions were used in cases in which the social workers sought compliance of client or the client system as seen in cases of economic non-support. This research suggests that the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County was caught in the transition from early social control methods to that of a casework approach to child protective work.

Leedy's (1993) definition of conceptual historical research imparts a concern for how the development of concepts impacts civilization. The children and families

who were involved with the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County in the 1920's were effected by the shifting approaches occurring within the agency, and on national levels. The mother who anonymously approached the Society asking that her child be adopted due to her 'hard luck', benefited from a casework approach which addressed constraints within her family and made it possible for the family to remain together. It is possible that had the agency approached this family utilizing the older, social control model, previously in vogue, the child may have been institutionalized and the parents reproached for their poor parenting.

Discussion

The period from 1900-1920 was replete with significant developments in child welfare in the United States. The White House Conference of 1909, entitled the "Care of Dependent Children", laid the groundwork for reform issues related to children's welfare. The major development of the White House Conference of 1909 can be summarized in the following quote,

"Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the greatest molding force of mind of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons" (p.9-10).

The signal was clear: more attention and greater care for children as well as a philosophy that placed the highest value upon family life. This philosophy made termination of parental rights more difficult.

Two questions began to surface that related to children in the community. First, what was the community's role when issues such as poverty, abuse, financial neglect, and delinquency emerged in family life? Second, how were these issues addressed by agencies in the community whose responsibility was to intervene in families that were in need of assistance? The Hennepin county community's response will be presented, followed by the method by which agencies,

including The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County responded to families and children in need of protective services.

The Merger of Private and Public

On a national level the roles of public and private agencies were being redeveloped. Nationally, children's protective work was divided between private children's protective societies, the juvenile courts, and the county welfare board. In Hennepin County, child protective work was shared between the Children's Protective Society, juvenile courts and county welfare board. As a result of legislation in 1917 in Minnesota, both the Juvenile Courts and County Welfare Boards were by law charged with the responsibility of child protective work. In Carstens's (1924) evaluation, he stated, "to a limited extent they are now undertaking work with them [Children's Protective Societies]" (p.10). Carstens (1924) recommended that the work be shared between the public and private agencies, as was the case in Minneapolis.

Legal approach to case work

From the data sample used in this research, it appears that the Children's Protective Societies relationship with the Juvenile court enabled the Society to employ what has been described as "police power" in their interventions in

cases of abuse and neglect, dependency/ non-support. The Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County employed a legalistic approach to these types of cases. This approach reflects a national trend of the time period which relied upon legalistic interventions. As Carstens (1927) stated, "This protective work laid great emphasis on obtaining effective legislation and upon law enforcement generally by their being an arm of the police or by their police methods.." (p.128). Earlier in the same decade, Carstens (1924) in his evaluation of the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin county, reflected the same dynamic of the use of legalistic strategies in their approach to intervention, " We feel that the stress in the Protection Department is distinctly laid upon the Court work..." (p.18). The case sample in this research bore out the same conclusion regarding the Society's reliance upon police tactics in their interventions, specifically in cases of abuse/neglect and cases of financial non-support.

Professional Conferences and Case records

The three tiers used in this research include: a) National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, b) Minnesota Social Workers Association Proceedings, and c) ten archival case records from the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County. The professional conferences, both

nationally and in Minnesota, reveal the progressive child welfare movement's push for public responsibility in child protective services including a casework approach while remnants of legalistic coercive and classist methods and philosophies of the Humane Society's methods remained.

Practice in the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin county in the 1920s mirrored several aspects of the schism that existed in the child protection movement on a national level. Briefly, a struggle between the social bases and ideologies of the conservatism of the society's founders - as evidenced by the Humane Society in which cruelty prevention efforts were nurtured by a classist zeal, and the new progressivism of the early twentieth century, in which case work and prevention were emphasized.

The mode of practice enlisted by the more coercive child protective movement as evidenced by The New York Society, termed Gerry's model, emphasized institutional placement over foster homes, termination of parental rights, and an attempt to substitute children's minority culture with the majority Anglo culture. The Gerry model emphasized a legalistic, police like approach to interventions in cases of child abuse and neglect. Practice strategies included warnings to parents, arrest for non support, and surveillance. When moral suasion was ineffective, "ignorant

and viscous people must be compelled to do what is right by the strong arm of the law" (Costin, 1992, p.179). The antithesis of this conservative approach is the movement by reformers involved in the progressive movement.

The data from the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County has elements of both Gerry's model as well as aspects of the progressive movement as expressed through the work of C.C. Carstens. The legalistic approach, as observed in the case records and utilized in abuse/neglect and non-support case reflect the ideological base of the Gerry model of the Humane Society, who were in fact the original predecessors to the Children's Protective Society. A more preventative approach, as evidenced by the progressives is also evidenced in the work of the Society of Hennepin County. Specifically, in cases of juvenile delinquency, cases of reported abuse and neglect, and the work of boarding children in foster homes.

A possible rationale for the divergent approaches found in the analysis of the Society of Hennepin County centers around 1900- 1929 replete with developments in child welfare: White House Conferences, state and local responsibility, children's code designed to beef up

legislation in favor of children, mother's pensions, child development awareness.

It is my belief that the direction of the Society of Hennepin County synthesized the divergent approaches of the two movements; Gerry model and Carstens's progressive model. The data reflect that the Society did not have an identity that reflected a pure form of either movement.

Costin (1992) discusses the effect of a growing rejection of the coercive approach to child protection. Apparently, a sharp decline in the number of Societies that addressed the problems of child abuse raised the question of who should do protective work. As previously discussed in chapter four, progressive reformers such as Carstens advocated strongly for a public role in child protection. The data presented on the Society of Hennepin County suggests that the Society worked in cooperation with the courts. The data does not reflect the role of the county boards which began to have a role in child protection in the 1920s.

Study Limitations and Strengths

The limitations of this study include difficulties associated with gathering qualitative data in the form of case records, evaluations, speeches, and papers. These are limitations common in the use of archival data.

Specifically, problems exist with reliability of sample and missing data in case files, which makes case comparisons difficult.

The strength of this research is evidenced by the multilevel nature of the analysis. In order to create a context, data from a national, local, and agency level is presented and incorporated in the analysis. The comprehensive literature review sets a boarder context for the developing issues in child welfare field.

Implication For Social Work

As questions continue to be asked and solutions offered to a multitude of problems in the field of child welfare, this research serves to inform the debate within the child welfare field on policy and practice. As this researcher can attest to, many of the decisions made in child welfare occur from systems outside the parameters of what is commonly thought of as social work. Therefore, in an effort to truly inform the many systems that impact the child protective system, I offer the following strategy in which this research and others similar to it may be utilized to improve the delivery of child protective services.

Based on observations made from my practice within child welfare and this research, I observe that people act within their various roles in child welfare in ways that

appear to be affected by high caseloads and very difficult cases. One consequence of this very stressed work environment is that people tend to have a reactive response to very sensitive issues in child welfare. There are many people involved in decisions that affect children once they have entered the child protective system. Judges are involved and rule on sensitive issues of a parents involvement in their child's life. Guardian ad litem, are involved in most child protection cases and are mandated to 'act in the child's best interest'. Foster parent are involved in child protection cases and often times have conflicting ideas that fail to appreciate the child's past experiences. Social worker involvement is confounded in a milieu of full case loads and pressure to decide critical issue quickly often do not follow what is considered to be 'best practice'. I believe that all these people are valuable, and acting within their perceived role within the child welfare field. However, I also believe that if for a moment they stopped and listened to the story of the history of the work that they are a part of, they may approach their roles with a fuller picture. What I am offering is a specific training or course that relates to the development of the child protection system and the child welfare movement to which it is unquestionably connected.

As social workers, our work is rarely crystal clear. On a practice level, as this research showed, often times social workers utilize an eclectic base of knowledge and skills in their work. Similar to the social workers in Children's Protective Society who operated within the changing environment of their times, environments continue to be in flux and new trends are born. We as social workers can learn from the experience of social workers who came before us as to ways of coping with changing environments.

This research based in the 1920s offers a broader understanding of what is occurring in the field of child protection in the 1990s. One example is the value of casework that was being used by social workers in the 1920s. Today, social workers tote its as "family based services" and "family-centered services" as it is known in the field of child protection. Another example from the research that can inform current practice in the 1990s is the "police" orientation to child protective work that was used in the 1920s is still within the paradigm of strategies used today and is evident in the "Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997". These two approaches that exist within the realm of child protection work affect children and families in very significant ways. When a child has been placed in the custody of a county protection agency parents are placed on

a "dual track". A "dual track" epitomizes the dual paradigms into practice realities. The county agency works simultaneously to re-unite the family and to move toward termination of parental rights. This approach has a drastic affects upon children and families involved in the child protective system as a result of the divergent goals that are apart of the "dual track" approach.

Historically, oppression and institutional racism was apparent in the work of child protective societies. During the massive emigration to the United States from Eastern Europe, child protective services had a role in the "Americanization" of immigrants. The belief during this period in history was that immigrants must adopt the customs and values of the majority culture and in turn dispose of the customs and values that they brought with them from their country of origin. Social workers had power within immigrant families and often times the perceptions and values of workers who held majority culture values led to racism and institutional oppression.

Finally, as social workers and society prepare for the next century, further policy shifts related to issues in child welfare will continue as they have the last hundred years. Lessons can be extracted from responses of social workers involved in contentious debate who were working to

clarify society's response to needy children a hundred years ago. We must continue to pay attention to the debates in history so that we may learn new strategies and not repeat those that failed.

Bibliography

- Abbott, G. (1924). Public protection of children. National Conference of Social Work. 3-14.
- Anderson, P.G. (1989). The origin, emergence, and professional recognition of child protection. Social Service Review, 63, 222-243.
- Ashby, L. (1984). Saving the waifs: Reformers and dependent children, 1890-1917: New York: Temple University Press.
- Ashby, L. (1997). Endangered children: Dependency, neglect and abuse in american history. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Barrow, R. (1925). Support and interpretation of child welfare work: Interpreting child welfare work to the community-the private agency, National Conference of Social Work. 133-141.
- Brace, C.L. (1872). The dangerous classes of new york and twenty years among them. New York; Wynkoop and Thomas.
- Bremner, R.H. (1971). Children and youth in america: A documentary history (Vols. 1-6) Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Bruno, F.J. (1922). The minneapolis self-survey of case working agencies. The Family Vol. II. No. 10. 225-229.

Carstens, C.C. (1915). A militant program in child welfare. Minnesota State Conference of Charities and Correction. 41-47.

Carstens, C.C. (1924). The next steps in the work of child protection. National Conference of Social Work 1924. 134-139.

Carstens. C.C. (1924) Report on the survey of children's protective society. Located in the archival collection of the Child Welfare League, box 33, folder 6.

Carstens, C.C. (1927). Child welfare work since the white house conference. National Conference of Social Work, 122-137.

Carstens, C.C. (1929). Methods of organization and inter-relations in the child caring field: Some conclusions based on a series of studies by the child welfare league of america. National Conference of Social Work. 115-124.

Cook, (1995). History of placing out: The orphan trains. Child Welfare, January/February, 181-191.

Costin, L.B. (1992). Cruelty to children: A dormant issue and its rediscovery, 1920-1960. Social Service Review, 66, 177-198.

Folks, H. (1902) The care of destitute, neglected and delinquent children. New York: Macmillan.

Gordon, L. (1988) Child abuse, gender, and the myth of family independence: A historical critique. Child Welfare 64 (3). 213-224.

Hennessey, P. (1995). Minnesota Social Service Association. Social Welfare History Archives: University of Minnesota Libraries.

Herrick, J.M. Introduction. Child Welfare Jan/Feb. 1-13.

Hodson, W. (1921). The relation of the children's bureau to the county child welfare board. Minnesota State Conference of Social Work. 165-170.

Kats, M.B. (1987). In the shadow of the poor house: A social history of welfare in america United States: Harper Collins.

Leedy, P.D. (1993). Practical research: Planning and design (5th ed.). New York, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Lindsey, D. (1994). The welfare of children. New York, New York: Oxford University Press.

Ma, G.D. (1949). One hundred years of public services for children in Minnesota. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies (1938).

Community survey of social and health work in Minneapolis,

Summary Report Vol. 1.

Minneapolis Family and Children's Service (MFCS) microfilm collection. Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

MFCS reel, case 6443,

reel, case 7343,

reel, case 5642

reel, case 4651

reel, case 6930

reel, case 4297

reel, case 5047

reel, case 4673

reel, case 4045

reel? case 6462

Moynihan, A.F. (1921). How child welfare boards may serve each other. Minnesota State Conference of Social Work. 167-171.

Robinson, V.P. (1921). Analysis of processes in the records of family case working agencies. The Family, July. 101-106.

Rubin, A., & Babbie, E. (1993). Research methods for social work (2nd ed.). California: Brooks /Cole.

Social Work Yearbook. (1933) New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Stadum, B. (1992). Poor women and their families: Hard working charity cases 1900-1930. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Ryerson, E. (1978). The best-laid plans: America's juvenile court experiment. New York: Hill and Wang.

Stoneman, A.H. (1922). Case work in child-placing. The Family. 318-321.

Trattner, W.I (1994). From poor law to welfare state: A history of social welfare in america (5th ed.) New York: The Free Press.

Wells, S.J.(1994). Child protective services: Research for the future. Child Welfare, Vol. LXXIII, Number 5,431-447.

Whitman, A.T. (1923). The proper relationship of agencies dealing with children: Specialization in child welfare case work. The Conference of Social Work. 131-134.

Workum, R.I. (1922). Co-ordinating a community's child-caring work. National Conference of Social Work p.141-144.

Appendix A

"An organization with the above purposes has a great variety of services to render...but in general the work falls into nine classes: the protection of children from: 1) medical neglect; 2) physical neglect where medical or sex questions are not the most pressing; 3) the neglect of sex standards; 4) the neglect to protect children from other immoral influences, such as gambling, profanity, the use of drugs, or intemperance; 5) the neglect to provide adequate support in marriage; 6) the neglect to support children born out of wedlock; 7) the neglect to provide necessary special care for mental or physical defectives; 8) cruelty; 9) juvenile delinquency, or, the protection of the juvenile delinquent from contaminating associations" (Carstens 1920. p.137-138).

"The general purposes of private society or a public board- Whatever the agency which undertakes this work in child protection, the purposes of such a body may perhaps be best expressed as follows:

1. To prevent physical injury or cruel punishment, removing a child whenever necessary and punishing offenders when the best interests of all concerned demand it.
2. To prevent physical neglect, in extreme cases removing the children, and finding better homes through suitable agencies.
3. To rescue children from immoral surroundings and shield them from immoral contamination.
4. To protect wives and dependent children from non-support and desertion by the breadwinners, and to prevent abandonment by either parent.
5. To secure suitable guardians for children who have been deprived of their natural guardians, or, who should be removed from them in the interests of humanity.
6. To engage in an organized way to make the community increasingly sensitive to forms of abuse that exist, but whose evil results have not been appreciated.

To unite with other social agencies in working out any individual case problem in child protection and to enlist co-operation in developing more effective action in this work (Carstens, 1920, 137-128).

Application to Use Manuscript Collection Containing

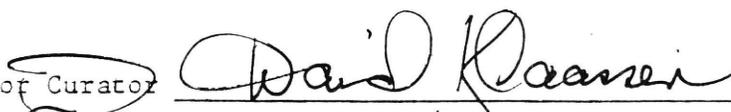
Case Records: Academic

In applying to use the records of MINNEAPOLIS FAMILY &
CHILDREN'S SERVICE

I hereby agree to maintain the confidentiality of all case records or illustrative material drawn from case records. I agree to omit in my note-taking names and all other information which would help to identify a client, his relatives, or acquaintances. I agree not to use names or other identifying information in publications, in teaching, and in private conversation.*

Signature 
 Date 12 February 1998

Endorsement

Signature of Director of Curator 
 Date 12 FEBRUARY 1998

3. Before leaving the Archives, researchers using case records are required to submit their notes to an Archives staff member for examination. This procedure is designed to protect the privacy and rights of individuals named or identified in case records.

* Persons using the Veterans Administration Social Work Service collection are requested to present to the Social Welfare History Archives Center a copy of the research article, report, or manuscript for forwarding to the Director, Social Work Service.

Augsburg College
Lindell Library
Minneapolis, MN 55454