

A STUDY OF THE CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO THE
DEPENDENCY OF THE CHILDREN IN THE
STATE ORPHANS' HOME AT
ATCHISON, KANSAS

by

MILDRED KAUCHER

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I. Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to determine as many as possible of the factors entering into and contributing to the dependency of children in the Kansas State Orphans' Home. The State Orphans' Home at Atchison, Kansas, is the only state institution for the care of dependent and neglected children in the state of Kansas. It is supported entirely by appropriations made by the Kansas state legislature.

Would a study of the available records reveal enlightening facts as to the causes of broken homes? Would the findings, so obtained, help in the solution of the problem of juvenile dependency? At best, such a study could hope only to tabulate certain outstanding social facts concerning the family of each child. A mariner, looking out at sea upon drifting derelict vessels and wondering where and why each met her doom, might, by seeking records, find the reefs and rocks that lined the passage of these lost ships. But the charting of these dangers would

not prove that any one danger encountered was the only or deepest cause of the disaster. Within the ship herself must have lain some unseaworthiness, some lack of ability to hold true to her course. An expert, viewing her before she set sail, might have voiced his misgivings concerning the building of her keel or the crew that was to man her. But all the mariner sees as he views the drifting ruin is a broken mast and a nearby reef--the external signs of the disaster. So it is with the study of broken homes. The wreckage lies before us. We seek to chart the reefs on which these homes were shattered. Obviously, such a study can not take into consideration the underlying factors of faulty construction and unskilled seamanship.

II. Field and Method of Study:

As a basis for this study, the case histories of 203 children, admitted to the State Orphans' Home of Kansas, were secured. The children selected were those admitted from January, 1920 to June, 1922. This chronological selection seemed, in the opinion of the Superintendent, to offer a more representative group of children than would the current inmates who were, for the most part, ineligible for adoption. Either they were handicapped physically or mentally so as to prevent their being placed in homes, or they were in the orphanage through a special court dispensation which delayed their adoption with the view to the parents' reclaiming them when able. The current inmates at the time of the study were not, then, representative of all classes received.

All available information was gathered as to parentage and home life of the children selected. The sources for compiling the case histories and the tabulated data were three:

1. The standard records made by the juvenile courts, containing all the social evidence on which the court based its decision that a child

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was eligible for admission to the State Orphans' Home.

These records were at hand for 197 of the children.

2. Communications, supplementing the court records and containing further details as to the child's previous environment. These were secured by the Superintendent of the Orphans' Home from the probate judge before whom the child had his hearing, or from relatives, friends or social workers who were able to give further information about the child's past.

Such correspondence was available in ten cases.

3. Brief reports from the Superintendent of the State Training School for Feeble Minded at Winfield, Kansas, concerning the six children transferred from that institution to the Orphans' Home. For these children no court records were available.

A child to be eligible for admission to the State Orphans' Home must be declared² thru proceedings had in

²Instructions and Certificates of Findings of the Juvenile Court to Accompany Application for Admission to the State Orphans' Home at Atchison, Kansas.

the Juvenile Court of the county of which the child is a resident....to be a dependent,abandoned,neglected,or ill-treated child,a resident of said county,between two and fourteen years of age,sound in mind and to have no chronic, contagious,infectious or loathsome disease,nor to have been exposed to any contagious disease within fifteen days previous to the date of the court proceedings."

In the eyes of the law "the words 'dependent child' and 'neglected child' shall mean any child who for any reason is destitute or homeless or abandoned,or dependent upon the public for support,or has not proper parental care or guardianship,and has idle and immoral habits,or who habitually begs or receives alms,or who is found living in any house of ill fame or with any vicious or disreputable persons; or whose home,by reason of neglect, cruelty or depravity on the part of its parents,guardian or other person in whose care it may be,is an unfit place for such a child; or any child under the age of ten years of age who is found begging,peddling or selling any article,or singing or playing any musical instrument upon the street or who accompanies or is used in aid of any person so doing."

The facts regarding the parentage and history of the children were contained in the Certificate of Findings of the Court in the following form: *

History of Case

1. What is the full name of the child?.....Color?
2. How long has..he resided in the county?
3. Where was...he born?.....When?
4. What is nationality of father?.....Mother?
5. Is father living?.....Mother?
6. What is father's name?
7. What was mother's maiden name?
8. Where does father reside?.....Mother?
9. What is occupation of father?.....Mother?
10. Can the child read?.....Write?
11. Has..he ever been convicted of any offenses?
12. Has...he been addicted to the use of tobacco or cigarettes?

* Instructions and Certificates of Findings of the Juvenile Court to Accompany Application for Admission to the State Orphans' Home at Atchison, Kansas.

Parents

1. Religion of parents.
2. Pecuniary circumstances-good, fair or poor?
3. Have parents been indifferent to school attendance of child?
4. How many children in family?
5. Age of father.
6. Age of mother.
7. When and where were parents married?
8. Have parents ever been divorced?
9. If so, is either again married?
10. Which was given the custody of the child?
11. General history, to be given by the Judge or Probation officer.

Statement of Examination by Physician

1. Is child of sound intellect?
2. Is...he defective in sight? Hearing? Speaking?
3. Describe any bodily deformity or defect.
4. Is...he perfectly free from skin disease or eruption?
5. Is...he subject to epilepsy or fits?
6. Has...he had smallpox? Scarlet fever? Diphtheria?
Measles?
7. Has ..he been vaccinated?
8. Has ..he the appearance of being hereditarily
afflicted with scrofula? Consumption? Syphilis?
Or vicious habits?
9. Is mother living? If dead, cause of death.
10. Is father living? If dead, cause of death.

The court, by filling in this record form, had the opportunity to furnish a complete social background for every child. But many times it supplied the information necessary for the legal commitment and omitted answering the other questions as not of sufficient importance to warrant investigation. This partial giving of requested information marred the completeness of 50 per cent of the records. Often, in the space for general history, there

was the mere statement, "home unfit" or "an orphan, destitute." This scanty information made it difficult to compile a case history for the child.

A further difficulty arose from the generality of the facts offered as general history. Standard terms, such as divorce, desertion and failure to provide, were usually considered sufficiently descriptive of the home conditions. A more thorough discussion of the family life, which would have indicated that a careful investigation had been made, would have added to the social value of these data. Not more than 30 per cent of the discussions gave evidence of a careful analysis of the family difficulty.

The desired accuracy of the study was further hampered by the fact that these general histories were compiled by probation officers all over the state of Kansas, each one discussing the family life according to his own social background and ability to analyze difficulties. Of course this did not influence such official data as records of divorce, desertion, insanity, death or crime. But each officer's interpretation of the character of the home was subject to a personal bias.

In some instances, valuable additional information was secured from letters of friends, relatives, social workers and court officers to whom the Superintendent of the Orphans' Home had appealed for more definite knowledge of the child's social background.

The records of the six children from the State Training School for Feeble Minded contained no more than the age, name and cause for commitment to that school. No data concerning parentage were given. The juvenile court hearing had been waived in those cases of transfers between state institutions and direct appeal for their commitment to the Orphans' Home had been made to the Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions.

It is evident, then, that a really accurate study was impossible.

The tabular forms used in the study for the collection of data were, for the most part, suggested by similar tables used in a survey made by the Childrens Bureau.*

* Springer, Ethel M., "Children Deprived of Parental Care," Bureau Publication #81.

III. Tabulation and Discussion of the Data Concerning
the Children and Home Conditions:

The types of environment from which these children
had been removed are indicated in the following form.

TABLE I

Environment from which children were removed.

Types of environment	Total	White	Negro
Total	203	177	26
Parental homes	151	136	15
Homes of relatives	13	11	2
Poster homes	9	5	4
Institutions	10	9	1
Homeless	20	16	4

Children from parental homes were those removed
from the care of one or both living parents. Children
removed from institutions included six from the State
Training School for Feeble Minded, one from a hospital
and three from Childrens' Homes. The twenty termed
homeless were those deprived of all guardian care through
death or desertion, and who lacked any shelter save the
temporary one offered by a Childrens' Home Finding
Society.

TABLE II
Distribution according to age, race and sex.

Age on admittance	Total	Boys		Girls	
		White	Negro	White	Negro
	Total	98	15	79	11
Under 1 year	2	2	0	0	0
2 years and under	3, 10	9	1	0	0
3 years and under	4, 13	5	2	6	0
4 years and under	5, 11	6	0	3	2
5 years and under	6, 15	10	0	3	2
6 years and under	7, 9	3	2	3	1
7 years and under	8, 20	8	3	8	1
8 years and under	9, 15	6	0	8	1
9 years and under	10, 14	6	0	6	2
10 years and under	11, 24	17	2	4	1
11 years and under	12, 20	9	3	8	0
12 years and under	13, 17	10	0	6	1
13 years and under	14, 12	1	1	10	0
14 years and under	15, 9	0	1	8	0
15 years and under	20, 1	0	0	1	0
21 years and under	22, 1	0	0	1	0
Age unknown	10	6	0	4	0

The preceding table shows that of these 203 children, 177 were white and 26 were colored.

Boys predominated in each race. There were 1.2 times as many white boys as white girls and 1.3 times as many negro boys as girls. The ages of children on admission ranged from 1 to 21 years. This differed from the legal limitations of two to 14 years of age, due to the fact that special permission had been received from the Board of Control to exceed these limitations in four cases.

More children were admitted when ten years of age than at any other age. This was especially true among the boys, as there were 19 boys ten years of age, with the 11-year-old group numbering 12 boys. Only three boys were admitted when over 12 years of age. This would seem to justify the opinion that boys over 12 years of age are considered self supporting. A possible explanation for the presence of the large number of boys at ten and 11 years of age, lies in the tendency of boys at these ages to become incorrigible, especially if a strong parental influence is not exerted. If this is lacking, the boy's incorrigibility will probably bring him to the attention of the court and result in his commitment to the Orphans' Home, if home control cannot be promised.

More girls were committed over 12 years of age than were boys. More girls were committed at 13 years of age than at any other age, although the 8-year-old and 9-year-old groups included almost as many. The large number of girls over 12 years of age seems to indicate that this is an age of borderline delinquency for girls, the age at which they are apt to become sex offenders. Lax home discipline and evil family influences bode ill for the girls of this age. Court officials, when girls so

situated are brought to their attention, may see the necessity of removing them from such an environment before real delinquency develops.

Of all the children, most were admitted between five and 12 years of age.

TABLE III

Race and nativity of parents

Nativity of Fathers	Children having mothers of specified nativity					
	Total	Native		Foreign		Not Reported
		White	Negro	White	Negro	
Total	112	74	16	12	0	10
Native	90	72	16	2	0	
Foreign	12	2	0	10	0	
Not reported	10	0	0	0	0	10

Of the 112 families which these children represented, the parents' nativity and race were reported in 102. Of these, 86 were families in which both father and mother were native born. These native families included 72 white and 16 colored households. There was no crossing between colored and white, but there was a half-breed Indian married to a native-born white. Of the ten

households wherein both father and mother were foreign born, there were four with both parents German, two with both parents Italian, and one each in which both parents were either Polish, Slavic, Austrian or English. Four households represented unions of a native white parent with a foreign-born parent.

No attempt is made to compare the dependency rate among children of foreign-born parents with that of children of native-born parents. In order for such a ratio to hold true there would first be necessary a comparison of the native-born to the foreign-born population in the state of Kansas.

TABLE IV

Age of parents at marriage.

Age	Fathers	Mothers
Total	112	112
Under 16 years of age	0	8
16 and under 18 years of age	1	15
18 and under 20 years of age	3	7
20 and under 25 years of age	17	16
25 and under 30 years of age	14	6
30 or over years of age	13	1
Not reported	55	50
Unmarried	9	9

*1 married at 11 years of age, 1 at 12, 1 at 13.
3 married at 14 years of age and 2 at 15.

The data from which was determined the age at which parents had married, were, the date recorded for the marriage, the ages of the parents when the court hearing was held, and the date of that hearing.

Due to a lack of this needed information in 50 per cent of the cases, no age at marriage could be determined, although the parents, presumably, had been married. Besides these, there were nine cases in which it was known definitely that the parents had never married.

Therefore the data in Table IV are too meagre for the basing of accurate conclusions, but they reveal a number of very youthful marriages, especially of mothers. Twenty-three mothers were married under 18 years of age, eight of whom contracted marriage when not yet 16 years of age. Of these latter, one married at 11 years of age, one at 12, one at 13, and five at 14 or 15 years of age.

The table shows that for both men and women many were married between the ages of 20 and 25 years. Comparatively few men married under 20 years of age. Of the 48 men for whom the marriage age was reported only four were married under twenty years, the number increasing to 17 at the ages between 20 and 25 and for above 25 years a total of 27 was included.

Among the 53 women for whom the marriage was reported, by far the majority, 30 in fact, married under 20 years of age; 16 married between the years of 20 and 25 and only seven married above 25 years of age. This, as has been shown, is the reverse of conditions prevailing among the men.

As far as any results from some of these extremely early marriages being recognizable in the social histories of the children, it may be significant that of the mothers who married under 16 years of age, one deserted her children, two neglected theirs and one, together with her husband, had been a county charge ever since the marriage. While no attempt is made to predict disaster for all early marriages, yet to assume family responsibilities successfully surely must call for the judgment and poise of more mature years than those mentioned. The laxity of our attitude towards the importance of the marriage relationship is apparent in permitting such youthful marriages. However there is no evidence to show that these marriages would have been more successful if contracted later. Perhaps many of these persons were unfit to assume at any time the responsibilities of a home and of rearing children.

Would more carefully considered and better framed marriage laws help in preventing juvenile dependency? Little attention is given to an unfit marriage until it is brought into the limelight by the dependent children being thrust upon the public for support. Could the state, at less expense than that incurred in caring for these unfortunate children, have prevented the unfit marriage?

TABLE V

Number of children from same family group.

Environment	Total	Number children included in study					
		one	two	three	four	five	six
Total families	112	59s	31s	14	6	5	1
Parental Homes	76	35	20	13	4	3	1
Homes of Guardians	7	5	2	0	0	0	0
Homes of Relatives	8	4	3	1	0	0	0
Institutions	8	6	2	0	0	0	0
Homeless	13	8	4	0	1	0	0

* These 2 groups included 11 children born out of wedlock.

Of the 203 children, 145 had own brothers and sisters or half brothers and sisters included in the study. The following was the family grouping of the children in the orphanage; one group of six children; three groups of five children each; five groups of four children each; 14 groups of three children each; and 31 groups of two children each.

The dependency of the larger groups was due chiefly to the desertion or death of the father, leaving the mother unable to support such a large number of young children. Some of the larger groups represented, also, extremely degraded families from whom the court had seen fit to remove all the children. When the larger families broke up, all of the children probably were not forced upon state expense for the older children, especially boys, might have become self supporting. The family income, in some cases, may have been sufficient to keep some of the children at home but the rest became public charges.

TABLE VI

Number of children in child's own family.

Number of children in family, including child of study	Total	Households Involved	
		White	Negro
Total	112	99	13
One child	19	15	4
Two children	15	10	5
Three children	10	10	0
Four children	10	10	0
Five children	17	17	0
Six children	4	4	0
Seven children	7	6	1
Eight children	2	2	0
Nine children	4	4	0
Not reported	6	6	0

*Including unmarried mothers, of whom nine were reported in the entire study.

It will be noted from Table VI that a great many households had only one or two children in the family. Even the subtraction of the nine unmarried mothers left a total of 25 households with only one or two children. This probably could be explained from the early break-up of the family since most of the children from these families were comparatively young when admitted to the orphanage.

The size of the family probably bore an important relationship to the ability of the father or mother to support it. Most of the economic heads of the families, as will be noted later, were unskilled laborers and no doubt had great difficulty in earning a living wage.

There were 18 families with more than six children each. Economic stress was one of the grounds for commitment in all of these cases. The fact that these 18 families had placed one or more of their children in the orphanage, with poverty as a contributing cause, may be an argument for the limitation of the size of families.

TABLE VII

Orphanage

Parental Condition	Children	
	Number	Percent
Total	203	100
Both parents dead	13	6.4
One parent dead	71	34.9
Both parents living	96	47.2
One parent dead, one not reported as to whether living or dead	7	3.5
One parent living, one not reported as to whether living or dead	11	5.4
Both not reported as to whether living or dead	5	2.4

Death of one or both parents was a factor in 44.8 percent of the cases studied, but only 6.4 percent of the children had both parents dead. While the condition of one or both parents was not known in 11 percent of the cases, yet it is very significant that at least 47.2 percent were known to have both parents living. This disproves the popular theory that most juvenile dependency results from the death of one or both parents. Table VII reveals the fact that there must have been many other disrupting factors, besides death, influencing the removal of the children. The question arises, in the 47.2 percent of cases where both parents were living whether or not constructive social measures could have prevented some of the broken homes.

TABLE VIII
Personnel of the family group of the parental home.

Personnel of family group	Households Involved	Children Involved
Total	76	151
Both parents in home	9	15
Mother, only, in home	36	72
Father, only, in home	23	46
Mother and stepfather in home	7	17
Father and stepmother in home	0	0
Mother in home with man, but unmarried	1	1

Only the 76 parental homes were considered in Table VIII. These represented 151 children removed from the care of one or both parents. The table shows that by far the majority of the parental homes were limited to one parent. It appears, also, that more dependent children were removed from the guardianship of the mother than from that of the father. One possible explanation for this lies in the fact that three unmarried mothers were included in the total of 36 cases where the mother, only, was in the home. Another reason why it appears that more mothers, only, were found in these parental homes is that no mother deserted her child on the death of the father. She endeavored still to maintain the home. But there were six fathers, who, on the death of the mothers, abandoned the children, causing these children to be regarded as homeless rather than as from parental homes.

The table also reveals that there were no stepmothers in the parental homes, although there were seven stepfathers. Among the children removed from other than parental homes there were records of seven stepmothers. In no instance did they make homes for the stepchildren. The fathers had deserted the children before or at the time of the second marriage, the new wife having been evidently averse to assuming the responsibilities of a ready-made family.

The seven stepfathers who were included in these parental homes refused, in six cases, to support the stepchildren and one of them greatly abused his stepdaughters.

Of the 59 homes in which only one parent was present, this condition was due to death in 29 instances, to divorce in nine, to desertion in nine, and to separation in four. There also were included in this group three unmarried mothers and five cases of one parent being either in an institution for the feeble-minded or in a penal institution. Death balanced about equally with the sum of all the other factors causing one of the parents to be missing from the home. Divorce left the father in care of the children in only three cases and in two of these the mother had been given custody of the child but had deserted and sent him back to the father.

TABLE IX

Employment of the economic head of the family.

Kind of employment	Economic head	
	Father	Mother
Total	38	38
Skilled workers	5	0
Unskilled laborers	20	5
Domestic servants	0	12
Clerks and kindred workers	2	0
Professional persons	1	1
No gainful occupation reported	10	20

Of the 76 parental homes from which these children were removed the father was the economic head of the family in 38 cases, and the mother in 38.

In two instances where both father and mother were present in the household, the father refused to support the children and the mother was the wage earner.

Failure to report the occupations of these economic heads of families in 30 cases might have been due to lack of court investigation or it might have indicated unemployment as a causative factor. Consequently no conclusion may be drawn concerning the prevalence of unemployment in these homes, and its possible effects upon the breaking up of the family.

The fact is revealed in Table X that most of the wage-earners were unskilled laborers and probably living on a low economic level. Of the fathers, 20 were unskilled laborers, only five were skilled workers, one was a traveling salesman and one a professional ball player. More than half of the mothers for whom employment was reported were domestic servants, that is waitresses or cooks. Five mothers were scrub-women or laundresses and one was a school teacher.

TABLE X

Employment of mothers who were the economic head of the family.

Employment of mother	Households Involved	Children Involved
Total	38	73
Mother gainfully employed at home	5	6
Mother gainfully employed away from home	15	31
No occupation reported	20	36

As seen in the preceding table, of the reported 16 mothers who were the economic heads of families, 15 were gainfully employed away from home and only three had the opportunity of working gainfully at home. Among all these mothers gainfully employed away from home, the fact of their absence from home was mentioned as a factor in removing the children.

Just how harmful it was to the children for the mother to leave them during the day in order to earn a living, was evident in the case histories. Incurrigibility and borderline delinquency of the older children were closely interwoven with the mother's gainful employment outside the home during the day. It requires a mother of unusual ability to be a breadwinner and a homemaker at the same time. Poverty, of itself, ought not to deprive her of the opportunity to be a homemaker and to rear her children. When we develop an adequate system of mothers' pensions, this factor will tend to disappear.

TABLE XI
Factors operating to bring about the dependency of
the children studied.

Operative factors	Number times appeared			
	Children		Households	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Death of one or both parents	91	44.8	68	60.
Poverty of parent or guardian	69	34.	35	31.
Desertion of one or both parents	60	29.6	36	32.
Immorality of parent or guardian	47	23.	20	17.8
Divorce of parents	37	18.	17	15.
Neglect of parent or guardian	38	17.7	24	21.6
Sickness of parent or guardian	32	15.7	15	13.3
Imprisonment of parent	20	9.8	11	9.8
Parent's absence from home to work	18	8.8	9	8.
Mental defect of parent	16	7.8	10	8.9
Incorrigibility of child	12	5.9	9	8.
Child born out of wedlock	11	5.4	9	8.
Cruelty of parent or guardian	7	3.4	4	3.6
Separation of parents	5	2.4	4	3.6

The preceding table aims merely to show the frequency of the occurrence of factors entering into and causing the dependency of the children studied. All grounds for commitment found in the study of the case records were listed.

With the possible exception of five cases in which death of both parents was the only cause reported, no one factor could be said ever to have occurred alone. At least two, and usually more, factors were present in the majority of cases. Due to this fact, the sum of the frequencies of the factors exceeded the number of cases studied by 100 percent. No attempt was made to distinguish between main and minor factors as it was thought that such a distinction would be an arbitrary one and the result of a partial analysis. We are led to conclude that the deadliness of any factor lies not in itself alone but in its combination with other factors.

The number of times a disrupting influence appeared represents to a certain extent its relative importance in contributing to juvenile dependency. It appears from the table that death of one or both parents occurred more frequently than any other one cause. Its danger lay in the readiness of other factors to combine with it. A father's desertion of his motherless children, a widow's poverty, illness or absence from home to earn a living were illustrations of the combination of death with other factors.

The next factor of importance according to frequency among the children was poverty, present in 34 percent of the children's cases. It was found in the guise of chronic dependency, street begging, a parent's unemployment or low wage and frequently was linked with a father's death, leaving the mother with no means of support or in ill health.

Desertion was present in 29.6 percent of the children's cases. Twenty-nine fathers and seven mothers, including three unmarried mothers, had deserted their children. Three were cases where both father and mother had abandoned the children. Illogical and unfair though it may seem, the fathers of the 11 children born out of wedlock were not considered deserters, although unmarried mothers who abandoned their children were charged with desertion. Desertion was frequently in company with neglect or poverty, or it followed in the wake of a mother's death. Sometimes it preceded divorce.

Immorality was present in 23 percent of the children's cases. It combined most frequently with neglect, imprisonment and poverty, and in some cases with mental defect or divorce. Because it was so often associated with several of these factors in each case, immorality seemed an especially dangerous influence.

Of other factors with a high rate of occurrence, divorce was present in 18 percent of the cases, neglect in 17.7 percent of the children's cases, sickness of parent or guardian in 15.7 percent, parent's absence from home in order to work in 8.8 percent and mental defect of parent in 7.8 percent.

A mother's weak mentality and a child born out of wedlock were closely associated in cases where either appeared.

In order to show more clearly that several factors operated together to cause dependency, there are included a few histories of the children with a summary of factors operating in each case. The children from the same family were grouped together.

Cases Nos. 111, 112, 113, 114.

Girl nine, girl seven, girl six, boy two years of age.

Factors: neglect, immorality, sickness and incorrigibility.

The father was a day laborer and the mother an invalid. The unsanitary and almost impossible living conditions of this home had been a constant cause for complaint. The mother was unfit morally and physically to

have the care of the children, who were not properly fed or clothed. The parents were indifferent to the school attendance of the children who were rapidly becoming delinquents.

Cases Nos. 115, 116 (Colored)

Girl nine, boy seven years of age.

Factors: immorality and poverty of guardian and death of both parents.

The mother's death from tuberculosis followed shortly after the father's accidental death. The children lived with an old colored woman not related, and unfit morally and financially to care for them.

Cases Nos. 125, 126, 127, 128, 129.

Girl 11, boy ten, girl seven, boy three, boy two years of age.

Factors: immorality, mental defect of mother and neglect.

The father was 60 years of age and was own father to the two younger children and stepfather to the older three. All the children were placed in the Orphans' Home, after the father was charged with wife-beating and of using the three older children for immoral purposes. The

mother, after her release from an insane asylum, had lived in rapid succession with three men, each of whom she married in the course of the relationship, neglecting to divorce one before she married the next. She had six children from these various marriages. Parental indifference to school attendance caused the ten year old boy to be fitted only for the first grade and the 11-year-old girl for only second grade work.

Cases Nos. 135, 136, 137.

Girl 12, girl eight, girl four years of age.

Factors: death of parents and immorality
and neglect.

There were nine children in the family. An aunt, living in the home, had poisoned the oldest girl with fly paper, making her a cripple for life. This same aunt then murdered the children's parents, and the children were in her care for six months thereafter. Crime and vice were openly practiced in this home and no effort was made to encourage school attendance.

Case No. 237.

Boy four years of age.

Factors: immorality and separation.

This was the only child of an Italian father and an Irish mother. His father joined the army in Ohio and the mother came west with the child. He was removed from her custody because she was immoral and he was placed with a Home Finding Society. He had hydrocephalus, which made him unplaceable.

Case No. 249.

Girl 13, girl three years of age.

Factors: immorality of older brother, neglect
and death of mother.

After the mother's death from tuberculosis the children were kept under court supervision for three years. The older girl was very honest and showed no tendency toward immorality until taken home by her father who later returned her to the probation officer and it was learned that an older brother had been mistreating her. She seemed more sinned against than sinning.

Case No. 267.

Girl 15 years of age.

Factors: immorality and neglect of mother and death of father.

The child was found living in a moving wagon with her mother and a man to whom the mother was married. The child claimed that this man was improper in his actions toward her and had mistreated her. The mother was immoral and ignorant. The father of the girl was dead. She had scarcely been to school at all and although 15 years of age was unable to read and write. The mother disappeared before the court hearing for the girl was held.

Case No. 76.

Boy, 11 years of age.

Factors: immorality, neglect and imprisonment of parents.

The father was in the Penitentiary for an offense against his 14-year-old daughter. Another daughter and a stepdaughter with both of whom he had had similar relations were at the Girls' Training School. The mother deserted and ran away with a Negro who also went to the

Penitentiary. She was sent to the Womens' Industrial Farm on account of immorality. This boy had no chance to go to school and although 11 years of age was fitted only for the first grade.

Case No. 226.

Boys, seven years of age.

Factors: death of parents and neglect and poverty of guardian.

The boy's parents were dead and nothing further was known of his family. He was found living with a blind woman who begged, peddled and sang on the street and was using the child in her begging.

Cases Nos. 63, 64 (Colored)

Boy ten, boy three years of age.

Factors: neglect, separation, poverty and imprisonment of parents.

The father and mother drifted around several states, living off oherity, and two children had been removed from their custody by authorities of another state. They separated and both were sent to jail. The children were badly neglected and the ten year old boy could not read and write.

Cases Nos. 265, 266, 267.

Boy seven, boy five, boy three years of age.

Factors: desertion of mother and father's
absence from home in order to work.

The parents were Italian. The mother ran away with another man who also left a wife and three children. Two years previous to this, she also ran away taking the older boy with her, but she returned. The father thought that this second time she would not return and since his work as a miner forced him to work in another town he could not care for the children. He wished to reclaim the children when able.

Cases Nos. 152, 152.

Boy 12, boy ten years of age.

Factors: Desertion and divorce of parents
and physical incapacity of guardian.

There were eight children in the family and when a divorce was obtained the father was given the custody of these two boys. He remarried, deserting the boys. Their grandfather cared for them but soon grew too feeble to provide for them.

Cases Nos. 164, 165, 166, 167.

Girl seven, boy five, girl three, boy one
year of age.

Factors: father's desertion and mother's ab-
sence from home to work.

The father deserted his wife and four children.
Since the children were all under seven years of age, the
mother was unable to care for them and continue her work
as a waitress.

Case No. 54.

Boy, 12 years of age.

Factors: death of mother and father's desertion

The mother died from tuberculosis and the father
placed the child, who was a cripple, in a children's hospi-
tal. He then deserted the child who later was cared for
by a sister.

Cases Nos. 91, 92.

Girl 14, girl nine years of age.

Factors: death of mother, desertion of father
and imprisonment of father.

The mother died and the father abandoned the girls,
going to a neighboring state where he was later imprisoned
for thievery. The children were under the care of the
Salvation Army.

Cases Nos. 77, 78

Boy 11, boy eight years of age.

Factors: divorce, immorality of mother and
desertion of father.

These boys were of a family of five children whose
parents were divorced. The father was given the custody
of all the children. The mother was immoral and had a po-
lice record. The father placed these children in a chil-
dren's "home" and paid for their maintenance for three
years. In the meantime both he and his wife had remar-
ried. He secured a divorce from his second wife and dis-
appeared, providing no further support for the children.

Cases Nos. 93, 94 (Colored)

Boy seven, girl five years of age.

Factors: divorce and mother's absence from home in order to earn a living.

The mother was divorced and could not care for these young children and at the same time be employed away from home as a domestic servant. They were the only children in the family.

Case No. 165.

Boy, seven years of age

Factors: divorce, imprisonment of father and desertion of mother.

The parents were divorced and the mother was given this boy, an only child. She deserted him, sending him back to the father. The father was a drug addict and was sentenced to jail to await being taken to a hospital for treatment. Prior to this the father had been a professional baseball player.

Case No. 150.

Girl, 14 years of age.

Factors: divorce, neglect, cruelty of father and immorality of mother.

The parents were divorced and the mother, to whom had been given the custody of this child, became a prostitute in a neighboring state and sent this girl back to the father. The child was cursed, kicked about and abused by the father and an older brother. She was badly in need of parental care. A probation officer into whose custody she was temporarily given was unable to find a home for her.

Cases Nos. 179, 180 (Colored)

Girl 12, boy five years of age.

Factors: divorce, desertion of father and poverty.

After the divorce of the parents, the father was given the custody of the boys and the mother was given the girls. The father deserted the boys, sending them to the mother. He did nothing further to support them. The mother was unable to find work, and although the court offered her a mother's pension she refused it.

Cases Nos. 44, 45, 46.

Boy 12, boy ten, boy eight years of age.

Factors: divorce and poverty.

There were nine children in this family. The parents were divorced and the mother was given the custody of all the children. She remarried but the stepfather had only irregular employment and could not support such a large family. The mother wished to reclaim the children when able.

Cases Nos. 159, 160.

Boy nine, boy four years of age.

Factors: death of father and poverty.

There were five children in the family. After the death of the father, the older children found employment but the mother could not earn enough to support these younger children. She had remarried but the second husband refused to live with her and contributed nothing toward her support.

Cases Nos. 149, 150.

Boy 12, boy 11 years of age.

Factors: death of father, poverty and ill health of mother.

The children's father committed suicide. The mother was employed as a waitress but was in poor health and almost destitute. These were her only children and she was very devoted to them.

Cases Nos. 15, 16, 17.

Boy ten, boy nine, boy four years of age.

Factors: poverty and ill health of parents.

There were five children in this family. The father had recently been crippled for life and the mother had met with an accident, temporarily incapacitating her for her work as a laundress. The family were destitute.

Case No. 189.

Girl, 11 years of age.

Factors: ill health of father, cruelty and
insanity of mother.

This was an only child of a father who was a help-
less cripple and a mother who was insane and awaiting
removal to an insane asylum. The mother, due to her de-
ranged mental condition, had been very cruel to the child.

Case No. 192 (Colored)

Boy, three years of age.

Factors: poverty and feeble-mindedness of
mother.

This boy was born out of wedlock at the county farm
where his feeble-minded mother was an inmate, and he had
lived there with her since his birth.

IV. Summary:

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing data is that a variety of causes and no single cause contributed to the dependency of the children studied. In 99 percent of the cases, two and usually more disrupting forces were operating in each case. Although from mere frequency of occurrence, death of one or both parents may be said to have operated in more cases than any other one cause, yet one half of the children had both parents living. Since there were only 6 per cent of the cases in which both parents were dead, this left the remaining children with at least one parent living. Therefore the problem of juvenile dependency lay in one half of these cases in a combination of social factors other than death. Would not a large number of these cases have offered opportunities for preventive and constructive measures?

The study showed that as many mothers as fathers were acting as the economic heads of families. Would not an adequate Mothers' Pension Law have averted the dependency of the children, at least in the homes where the mother was forced by poverty to place the children in the orphanage? Poverty alone should not be allowed to

deprive children of a mother's care and cause the break up of a home in which the economic factor is the main issue.

Was it just, that the nine unmarried mothers should be forced to attempt to rear their children without the fathers' aid? Children born out of wedlock are so rarely anything but dependent, for the father may so easily and freely escape his responsibility and the mother is so handicapped by the child's presence when she attempts to keep him. Should not such children have their paternity established by law and be entitled to the support of the father as well as that of the mother?

We cannot but believe that the weak structure of these many broken homes lay, in part, in the fact that the parents were unfit to assume the responsibilities of marriage and of rearing children. We need better framed marriage laws, laws that would prevent too early and too hasty marriages that are likely to lead to desertion and divorce. It is not the province of this thesis to discuss what reformation of existing marriage laws is necessary. But to a thoughtful observer it would have been evident from the start that the children resulting from many of these marriages could not be assured of adequate parental care.

One problem that requires a solution is that of the mentally defective and their offspring. One of the most degraded and revolting homes studied was that of a mother released from an insane asylum and allowed to form promiscuous relationships, resulting in five children being brought into the world to be neglected and abused. Three of the unmarried mothers were feeble-minded. The records showed that two of these had been inmates of an institution for the feeble-minded and that one had been an inmate of an almshouse and was obviously feeble-minded. Some measure taken to segregate mentally defective women might help to decrease the number of dependent children.

The data showed that the majority of the economic heads of these families were unskilled laborers and that unemployment was at times a contributing factor. This leads us to see the necessity of establishing a minimum wage and of attempting to solve the problem of unemployment.

If we are to have stable homes, not only must they rest on a firm economic basis but the parents must have an appreciation of their responsibilities to the children.

Our present social system is entirely inadequate to provide the training for the responsibility of parenthood.

Finally it is evident, since dependency is the component result of many influences, that no one legislative reform or single constructive measure will remove it.

The only hope lies in a general realization of the necessity of a careful and intelligent consideration of the many social problems involved and a willingness to work for their solution.