

# **Give Justice to the Weak and the Fatherless; Maintain the Right of the Afflicted**

*A look into the inception of the foster care system in late 19th, early 20th century Kansas and its predecessors*



Molly Black  
Chapman Center for Rural Studies, Fall 2017

This paper explores the forms of child welfare prevalent in both Kansas and the entirety of the United States during the time before the modern foster care system became the prevailing norm.

“There can be no keener revelation of a society’s soul than the way in which it treats its children.”

-Nelson Mandela, Former President of South Africa

A prevalent and common thread in the history of the American nation has been that of the care of children; especially those who have been abused or neglected. What first started as a miniscule problem under the discretion of extended family or leaders in the child’s community, has morphed into governmental programs and funding: all to ensure that children seemingly without hope, become children with a future. The most common form of current child welfare, lies in the foster care system. However, the system didn’t include governmental funding until the mid 1960s.<sup>1</sup> The evolution of child welfare throughout the history of the United States is complex and often bewildering. The externality of progression of care seems to be somewhat chronological. However, beneath the surface, lies a tangle of attempts and failures to approach the idea of the care of a child.

A look into child aegis and fosterage, begins with the concept of indenture. While there isn’t a strict progression of one form of care to the next, trends usually proceed from indenture into poor farms and almshouses. From there, the rise in orphanages and group homes is evident. When the Orphan Train movement sprung up, it became the logical answer to getting neglected and orphaned children out of crowded cities in the east, in favor of the sparsely established farmland of the new frontier. From there, the placing-out system was developed which sparked the ignition that would eventually become our modern day foster care system. While the journey

---

<sup>1</sup> Kasia O’Neill Murray and Sarah Gesiriech, “A Brief Legislative History of the Child Welfare System” (Report prepared for the Pew Commission, 2004), 2, <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2004/11/01/a-brief-legislative-history-of-the-child-welfare-system>.

has been far from foolproof, care has come a long way from its timid first attempts towards success. The value and well-being of the child are now conceptually at the forefront of child welfare.

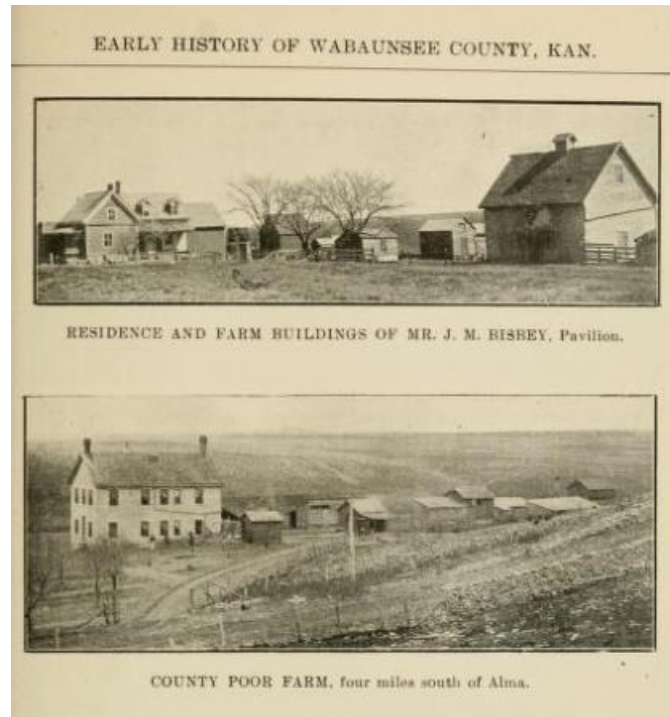


Figure 1: Lower picture; Alma county poor farm

SOURCE: Matt Thomson's, "Early History of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, with stories of pioneer days and glimpses of our western border" page 579.

The endeavors in Kansas have been no different. They closely mirror the national trends of child welfare, albeit often a few years after the inceptions usually initiated on the East Coast. Woven into a preponderant scheme, care for children in Kansas is still justifiably unique. Due to its geographical location and abundance of land, it was a prime locality for the westward denouement of hundreds of children riding the orphan trains. To this day, the National Orphan

Train Complex finds its home in Concordia, Kansas.<sup>2</sup> The vast acreage of the early Kansas territory was also favorable for poor farms, almshouses, and orphanages. Nestled into the national movement, those acting *in loco parentis* for the children in Kansas eventually began to view the children for what they were: children; Not adults, not a source of labor, and not an anonymous being subject to herding like cattle. Abolitionist and statesman Frederick Douglas once said this of children: “It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men”. We, like those who came before us eventually figured out, must give justice to the weak and the fatherless; we must maintain the rights of the afflicted. Children are our future; we must treat them as such.

### **Why Can’t We Let the Child Be a Child?**

Before Kansas became a state in 1861, it was inhabited as a territory. An early newspaper in Wakarusa published a column in which there was a plea to create a homestead exemption law. It acknowledged that they needed the law to “save [the] women and children from sufferings worse than death when they become widows and orphans. We need a law to protect women and children in their rights of property and person”.<sup>3</sup> The sad reality of this newspaper account written in 1856 is that its cries for change were muffled for decades. Reforms for child welfare never officially became a national law until the Social Security Act in 1935.<sup>4</sup> However, states

---

<sup>2</sup> “National Orphan Train Complex, Concordia,” Kansas Sampler Foundation, Accessed January 8, 2018, <https://www.kansassampler.org/8wonders/historyresults.php?id=288>.

<sup>3</sup> “We Need a Law,” *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, April 19, 1856. p4

<sup>4</sup> “The Social Security Act,” Historical Background and Development of Social Security, Social Security Administration, Accessed January 8, 2018, <https://www.ssa.gov/history/briefhistory3.html>.

here and there put laws into place as they saw fit, to care for the children. But, more often than not, early cries were deadened by the institutions that were almshouses and poor farms.

Almshouses were “establishments maintained at public expense as housing for the homeless”.<sup>5</sup> Those living in the poorhouses would work in exchange for substandard housing and food. In 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century America, transient children in cities like New York were dealt with by incarceration in adult prisons and almshouses. However, almshouses had been running along the eastern coast since the formation of the cardinal one built in Philadelphia in 1731.<sup>6</sup> In the frontier territories of the west, almshouses and poor farms were erected. Poor farms functioned in a relatively similar manner to almshouses, but the work done by the denizens was primarily of an agricultural nature as the structure in which they lived was located on farmland.

Adults and children alike were subject to these poorhouses and poor farms. No distinction was made between the adults and children because they both were capable of hard labor in the eyes of those often running the establishments. Perhaps this mindset was still a lingering result of early colonial ideas: Puritan ideology originally practiced along the eastern colonial states conformed to the idea that children were inherently sinful. Discipline was a necessity for breaking a child’s will and natural pride. This was taught through hard work and submission to authorities. Children were taught obedience and conformity. In addition, they began work as early as six or seven years old.<sup>7</sup> If they were able, they worked. They were treated as miniscule

---

<sup>5</sup> “Poorhouse,” *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Accessed December 21, 2017, <https://ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=poorhouse>.

<sup>6</sup> Kansas Historical Society, “Poor Farms in Kansas Bibliography 1855-1974,” Accessed January 7, 2018, <https://www.kshs.org/p/poor-farms-in-kansas-bibliography/13587>.

<sup>7</sup> Yuko Takahashi, “Frontier Children: Childhood Experiences in Kansas, 1860-1900,” *The American Review* 22, no. 22 (1988): 172.

adults from the moment they were able to understand what that entailed. No room was left for the child to actually be a child.

The Kansas territorial constitution adopted in 1855 was partially fashioned after the one written for Indiana. In fact, it incorporated a section pertaining to the care of the poor that more or less identically mimicked the section from the Indiana Constitution. It provided for the establishment of poorhouses and farms, however, it was conditional. While the Indiana Constitution stated that the houses and farms in each county were mandatory, they were discretionary in Kansas. If need for a poor farm wasn't paramount, the duties of one were handed off to the county commissioners to deal with the poor instead.<sup>8</sup> The first poor farms in Kansas were established in 1866 in Leavenworth and Douglas counties. They were funded by an assessment placed on property taxes.<sup>9</sup> County commission minutes show that the Douglas County poor farm was built on a purchased lot of 160 acres along the south side of the Wakarusa River. The two-story farmhouse was planned four days after the purchase of the land, and expanded in 1911.<sup>10</sup> By 1899, eighty of the 105 counties in Kansas had poor farms.<sup>11</sup>

In the Wyandotte Constitution, written when Kansas joined the Union as a state, counties and their commissioners were tasked with caring for the poor that resided within them. How they were to carry this out, was not specified. However, if they intentionally tried to ship their needy off to other counties in lieu of caring for them, they were charged with a misdemeanor. In most counties, one commissioner was selected to be the "poor commissioner," and they would be the

---

<sup>8</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Poor Farms in Kansas Bibliography 1855-1974," Accessed January 7, 2018, <https://www.kshs.org/p/poor-farms-in-kansas-bibliography/13587>.

<sup>9</sup> Lyanna Candy Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD CHARITY OF THE WORLD Kansas Cares for Its Orphans, 1859-1919" (PhD Diss., University of Kansas, 2012), 92.

<sup>10</sup> "The Douglas County Poor Farm," Tauy Creek, Last modified November 22, 2014, Accessed January 7, 2018, <http://www.tauycreek.com/2014/11/the-douglas-county-poor-farm.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Poor Farms in Kansas".

ones to officially sign the laws issuing aid.<sup>12</sup> Kansas did not require any close kin to hold responsibility for those committed to poor farms or houses, and so the tax supported poor farms seemingly became a means to an end for those requiring welfare in Kansas.<sup>13</sup>

While official poor farms were under the jurisdiction of their superintendents and the respective county commissioners, unofficial poor farms also existed. Three miles northwest of Manhattan, KS was an unsanctioned farm run by a physician and his family. He was one of the largest landowners in Riley County with 525 acres.<sup>14</sup> In a newspaper account from *The Manhattan Republic* in January of 1886, Doctor W.H. Stillman was awarded \$119.00 for a pauper account, by the county commissioners.<sup>15</sup> In October of 1888, the same paper detailed a meeting that had taken place between Stillman and the board of commissioners that contracted the physician to care for the county poor for another year.<sup>16</sup> The excavation of a cemetery on the property further supports the theory of one of the farm's original functions. Six adults were excavated, and seven sub-adults. One estimated between the ages of 4-7, another 8-10 years old, and one a pre-maturely born infant.<sup>17</sup> Conditions in almshouses and poor farms were often horrendous. This could have contributed directly to the early deaths of these children.

An almshouse in Bourbon county, Kansas was subject to scrutiny in 1894.<sup>18</sup> Despite the Kansas State Board of Health's requirement that a designated county medical officer submit

---

<sup>12</sup> Marilyn Irvin Holt, "'Over the Hill to the Poorhouse': Kansas Poor Relief," *Kansas History* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Jeremy W. Pye, Holly C. Smith, Donna C. Roper, "Excavations at the Meadowlark Cemetery, Manhattan," *Current Archeology in Kansas* no. 5 (2004), 77.

<sup>15</sup> "County Commissioners," *The Manhattan Republic*, January 14, 1886, 3.

<sup>16</sup> "Proceedings Board of County Commissioners," *The Manhattan Republic*, October 18, 1888, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Jeremy W. Pye et al., 86-87.

<sup>18</sup> W.L.A Johnson, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industry for 1899*, (Kansas: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900), 375.

yearly reports as to the conditions of the poor farms as well as the health of its residents after the board was established in 1885, the Bourbon County farm was observed to be composed of unsanitary and overcrowded conditions.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the almshouse was residence of persons with mental illnesses and with physical disabilities. Instead of housing them in the lunatic asylums or other places better suited for the needs of those who needed specific care, they were subject to almshouses. A highly probably explanation for this, is that almshouses and poor farms often received commissioned money per person they housed in their care.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps this is another reason the poor farms didn't care to distinguish between the children and their adult counterparts: specified money per person, child or adult.

### **When Will the Child Be More Than a Tool**

In New York a State Board of Charities was established in 1867. They enacted a Children's Act of 1875 that forbade the retention of any child between the ages of 3-16 in almshouses. Kansas eventually followed suit in 1887.<sup>21</sup> Now, what would become of all of the vagrant children? The passage of the Children's Act in New York had a considerable effect on orphanages. The number of children in them mushroomed; Children were simply moved from almshouses to designated children's homes.<sup>22</sup> While orphanages seemed to be a slight improvement in the lives of the children, a simultaneous elucidation was created; A foreseeable solution to the overcrowding of cities and their almshouses came in the form of indentured servitude. Children would be placed with families to learn a trade. Due to the lack of space in the

---

<sup>19</sup> Holt, "Over the Hill," 10.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Homer Folks, "Removal of Children from Almshouses" (Presentation, Twenty-First Annual Session Held May, 1894 of the State Charities Aid Association of New York).

<sup>22</sup> Michael B Katz, "In the Shadow of the Poorhouse" (Basic Books, Dec. 11, 1996), 108.



eastern coastal cities and the abundance of land in the newly opened territories, children were often sent west. Kansas was opened for white settlement in 1854, and after the Homestead Act of 1862 (one year after Kansas achieved Statehood) an influx of settlement was seen in the state. More than 70% of its settlers in the first two decades were engaged in agricultural professions.<sup>23</sup> As a result, in rural America placed children were learning practices associated with farming and household work.

Unlike other states, Kansas didn't establish county children's homes to house the juvenile counterparts of those in almshouses. Eventually, they would be sent to orphanages, but at first heavily relied on the practice of indenture until those became the norm. Children would be legally bound to their employer until they reached maturity and as long as the conditions of the contract were observed.<sup>24</sup> This was a common practice in Kansas well into the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A Kansas Children's Home Society report in 1915 recorded that 122 children were placed in homes for indenture in that year.<sup>25</sup> On the surface it seemed beneficial for all: the employer, child, and state. However, Kansas was condemned for the extended use of this practice as many other states had decades earlier called for more humane forms of child welfare.<sup>26</sup>

Indentured children were, at its most base level, labor. Besides the fact that almshouses eventually became an illegal form of care for children, indenture was actually preferred by the counties because it was cheaper; the master received labor in exchange for providing the child

---

<sup>23</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Settlement in Kansas," Last modified April 2015, Accessed January 4, 2018, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/settlement-in-kansas/14546>.

<sup>24</sup> Holt, "Over the Hill," 10; Hastings H Hart, "Foster-Home Care for Dependent Children," *Bureau Publication* 136 (Washington Government Printing Office, 1926), 2-3.

<sup>25</sup> *Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Control of the State Institutions of Kansas* (Kansas: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1916), 285.

<sup>26</sup> Holt, "Over the Hill," 10-11.

with things like room and board at little or no cost to the county. The eventual Kansas Constitution directed children to be placed with families that first and foremost were willing to actually care for them. However, more often than not the children were placed with farmers and businessmen who were only interested in their labor.<sup>27</sup> The first territorial legislature of Kansas passed an apprenticeship act as early as 1855. Probate courts had limited authority over the contracts in order to try and prevent abuse. If the clothing, food, and education requirements of the contracts weren't supplied by the masters, those in indenture could petition before the probate courts.<sup>28</sup>

During early Kansas history, children were beginning to be utilized as a cheap source of labor. In 1800, 10.4% of children in Kansas were working. By 1890, that percentage slowly increased to almost 11%. The majority were employed in agriculture, which accounts for large amounts of children indentured on farms.<sup>29</sup> During the Industrial Age, children began working in factories and mines. Oftentimes, the work they performed was no different than their adult counterparts. Because they were smaller, they often worked with the parts of the machines that an adult was too large to reach.<sup>30</sup>

The first Kansas legislation passed limiting the scope of child labor appeared in the form of the Mining Act of 1883: Children under 12 years old were prohibited from working in coal mines. Beginning in 1874 a series of compulsory education acts were passed in Kansas, requiring

---

<sup>27</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 84.

<sup>28</sup> Domenico Gagliardo, "A History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation," Kansas Historical Society, Accessed January 7, 2017, <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/12553>

<sup>29</sup> Domenico Gagliardo, "A History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation," Kansas Historical Society, Accessed January 7, 2017, <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/12553>.

<sup>30</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Child Labor," Last modified July, 2017, Accessed January 5, 2017, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/child-labor/16746>

children between the ages of 8-14 to be in school for a minimum of 12 weeks out of the year.

This challenged employers in Kansas to look towards other forms of labor.<sup>31</sup> Following the XIII amendment in 1865(prohibiting the act of slavery), XIV in 1868(granting citizenship to all born in the United States regardless of race), and the XV in 1870(Granting suffrage to regardless of race), droves of African Americans headed west to the available land and job opportunities.<sup>32</sup>

The Exoduster movement and draw for Kansas was due to the 1862 Homestead Act. Indentured white children were no longer the leading mode of labor in the nation.<sup>33</sup> The country experienced large-scale economic growth following the Civil War which expanded the tax base. This in turn meant that funds were freed that were eventually used to create more private philanthropies and orphanages to assist the problem of orphaned children.<sup>34</sup> The first all-encompassing child labor act in Kansas appeared in 1905: It prohibited the employment of children under the age of 14 in factories, packinghouses, and mines. No child under the age of 16 could be employed in an occupation that could be considered dangerous to their health and livelihood.<sup>35</sup> This marked the end of the predominant child labor movement in Kansas.

---

<sup>31</sup> Gagliardo, <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/12553>.

<sup>32</sup> “All Amendments to the United States Constitution,” Human Rights Library, University of Minnesota, Accessed January 8, 2018, [http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/all\\_amendments\\_usconst.htm](http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/all_amendments_usconst.htm).

<sup>33</sup> Kansas Historical Society, “Exoduster Flier,” Last modified June 2017, Accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/duster-flier/10198>.

<sup>34</sup> McGowan, Brenda G, “Historical Evolution of Child Welfare Services” in *Child Welfare for the Twenty-First Century: A Handbook of Practices, Policies, and Programs* by Gerald P Mallon and Peg McCart Hess (Columbia University Press, 2005), 12, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/mall13072>, 10-46ari.

<sup>35</sup> Gagliardo, <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/12553>.

### **When Will the Child Have an Identity?**

After a decrease in indentured labor relationships, orphaned children began to reside in orphanages and children's homes. These eleemosynary institutions were more often than not started by religious groups and organizations. These private consortiums were not funded by the state. The Children's Act passed in New York in 1875, ordered that all children who had previously been housed in almshouses, be moved to children's homes run by persons of the same faith as the child's parents. Of the first 348 children moved in New York City, all but 17 went to Catholic institutions.<sup>36</sup> The first in Kansas were no different.

The first children's home opened in Kansas was opened by the Sisters of Charity in Leavenworth, Kansas.<sup>37</sup> In 1862, the Catholics in Leavenworth drew up plans to set in motion the creation of a hospital. It garnered support from the community and so the Sisters pushed for the inauguration of an orphan asylum as well, to care for children left orphaned due to the American Civil War.<sup>38</sup> Called St. Vincent's Home, it was opened in 1866.<sup>39</sup> While the orphanage was privately run, the Leavenworth county commissioners occasionally allocated funds to the home.<sup>40</sup> This marked the beginning of a slow transition towards the possibility of state run children's homes alongside those run by the independent ecclesiastical organizations. That same year, The Leavenworth Protestant Orphan Asylum and Home for Friendless Children was erected. It originally housed children until they could be placed out under the apprenticeship law, but was eventually granted permission to emblemize the role of a true orphanage. The name of

---

<sup>36</sup> Michael B Katz, "In the Shadow of the Poorhouse" (Basic Books, Dec. 11, 1996), 108.

<sup>37</sup> Matthew Bunson, "Early Key Dates in U.S. Catholic Chronology" in *Catholic Almanac's Guide to the Church* (Our Sunday Visitor, 2001), page unidentified.

<sup>38</sup> "Catholic Concert and Western Gift Distribution," *The Daily Kansas Tribune*, August 31, 1867, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Bunson, "Early Key Dates in U.S. Catholic Chronology," page unidentified.

<sup>40</sup> *Wyandotte Gazette*, February 12, 1875, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/?spot=2727246>.

the home was changed to The Kansas Orphan Asylum in 1874.<sup>41</sup> Between 1820-1860, 150 private orphanages were established across the county.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 2: St. Vincent's Orphanage, Leavenworth, Kansas

SOURCE: ChildrenHomes; Originally DePaul University archives

Another example of a nonpublic children's home in Kansas, was founded 1879 in Pottawatomie County, Kansas. Christened the Mariadahl Orphan's Home after one of the founding mothers in the first Swedish Lutheran settlement in Kansas, the home cared for approximately 600 children between 1880-1959.<sup>43</sup> It primarily served the children of Swedish

---

<sup>41</sup> Jesse A Hall., and Leroy T Hand, *History of the City of Leavenworth, Kansas* (Kansas: Historical Publishing Company, 1921), 204.

<sup>42</sup> ???

<sup>43</sup> "Mariadahl Orphan's Home," Olsburg Explorations, Get Rural Kansas, Accessed January 5 , 2017, <http://www.getruralkansas.com/Olsburg/145Explore/551.shtml>

Immigrants, and the original structure was eventually aggrandized to house more children.<sup>44</sup> It operated until 1959 when work on the Tuttle Creek Dam warranted its demolition. The area today is now underwater, but the organization's service to children is still in effect today under the Lutheran Welfare Service in Manhattan, Kansas.



Figure 3: Mariadahl Children's Home; undated

SOURCE: Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center



Figure 4: Mariadahl Children's Home after renovations; undated

SOURCE: Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center

Due to the extent of children left fatherless as a result of the Civil War, some northern states contributed public funds to private children's homes to care for the children. As a result, President Abraham Lincoln opened a national Soldiers' Orphan Home in 1864, and in the following years, eight states opened homes for children of deceased soldiers as well.<sup>45</sup> Kansas eventually opened a soldier's home of their own, but not until 1889. Along with the Leavenworth Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Soldiers' Orphan Home in Atchison kept detailed registers

---

<sup>44</sup> "Information om Mariadahl KS Mariadahl Childrens Home," Bygdeband – lokalhistoria pa webben, Accessed January 5, 2017, [http://www.bygdeband.se/plats/279499/usa\\_\\_trashed/kansas/pottawatomie/mariadahl/mariadahl-ks-first-swedish-lutheran-church/mariadahl-ks-mariadahl-childrens-home/](http://www.bygdeband.se/plats/279499/usa__trashed/kansas/pottawatomie/mariadahl/mariadahl-ks-first-swedish-lutheran-church/mariadahl-ks-mariadahl-childrens-home/)

<sup>45</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 169

pertaining to the children's arrivals, departures, why they needed care, and of details pertaining to placements if applicable.<sup>46</sup>

The Board of Trustees of the State Charitable Institutions visited all of the institutions under their care monthly, and approved estimates for food for the following month, as well as the health of the children there.<sup>47</sup> Children entering these institutions were placed under the precondition that if they had any living parent, all rights would be relinquished to the home. While they were under the supervision of the home, they could be placed out or apprenticed without needing the parental consent.<sup>48</sup> However, the Soldier's Orphan Home was unique in the fact that, even though most rights were relinquished by the parents of said child, if they had parents, when they became able to take care of the child again, the child could be returned.<sup>49</sup> This is a foreshadowing idea that eventually was endorsed by the modern foster care system. In comparison to protestant or state homes, children entering the Catholic institutions were met with stricter guidelines placed upon them by the Church. Unless adopted, children had to remain in the orphanage as a temporary shelter until reunification of children to parent could be achieved, if applicable.<sup>50</sup>

State funding towards the Soldiers' Orphan Home began as early as 1885, but the "deserving poor" children placed in the homes were limited to those of Union veterans.<sup>51</sup> Members of the Kansas GAR[Grand Army of the Republic] repeatedly lobbied Congress for

---

<sup>46</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 11.

<sup>47</sup> "Fifth Biennial Report of the State Reform School, June 30, 1890," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017, 6.

<sup>48</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 11.

<sup>49</sup> Method of adopting children from orphans' homes: State of Kansas office of Atty. General (Hon. H.C. Bowman, Member Board of Control) (Feb 3, 1914).

<sup>50</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 11.

<sup>51</sup> Holt, "Over the Hill," 5.

programs to care for Union Veterans in need; this included their children.<sup>52</sup> This was the first state sponsored orphanage in the state of Kansas, and after running with its restricted accommodations for a little over a decade, the name was changed to The Orphan's Home and opened to all "dependent, neglected, or abused children" in 1909.<sup>53</sup> One of the first non-sectarian children's homes was the Wichita Children's Home founded in 1888. It received state, county, city, and private funding.<sup>54</sup> It is still in operation today and helps children from birth until twenty two years old.<sup>55</sup> This is a rare age demographic because in the modern foster care system, a child can "age-out" once then reach 18.



Figure 5: Children at the Soldier's Orphan Home in  
Atchison, Kansas

SOURCE: Kansas Historical Society

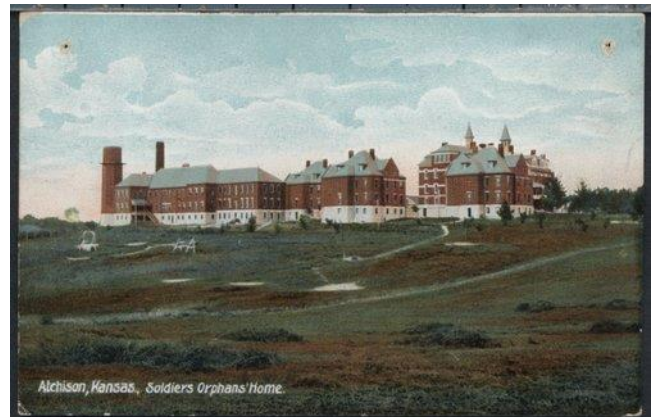


Figure 6: Soldier's Orphans Home in Atchison, Kansas  
founded in 1885

SOURCE: Kansas Historical Society

<sup>52</sup> "Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, records: manuscript collection no. 126," Kansas Historical Society, Accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.kshs.org/archives/40126>.

<sup>53</sup> Holt, "Over the Hill," 9.

<sup>54</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 179-180.

<sup>55</sup> "About Us," Wichita Children's Home, Accessed January 8, 2018, <https://wch.org/about-us>.



In addition to children's homes, the state of Kansas also had reform schools for both boys and girls. While not all of the children in these reform schools were truly orphaned, the concept and objective of these institutions was an advancement in the care of child delinquents. Instead of placing children in jail with their adult counterparts, and instead of binding them into a contractual obligation to work for someone to teach them a trade, the reform schools taught the children several avocations so that they could contribute to society when they reached adulthood.<sup>56</sup>

The Industrial School for Boys in Kansas was established in 1879 by a legislative act, and was under the supervision of the Board of Trustees of Charitable Institutions. Boys learned trades such as shoe and harness making, woodworking, tailoring, printing and baking.<sup>57</sup> This was a step towards the diversification of the future for the children in the care of the schools. The considerable amount of children housed in normal orphanages left little room for identity, but reform schools offered a chance and a choice for the children to make of their future what they wanted: hope and freedom instead of confinement.

While orphanages ran parallel to most of the other forms of child welfare, and continued to persist despite the changing and modernizing of society surrounding them, an abatement of institutional housing for orphaned children did actually occur as a result of an eventual increase in inspections of said institutions. Informal visits began around 1874, but a state statute in 1901 began requiring inspections of the orphanages. All associations receiving children were subject to inspections by the State Board of Charities. A lot of the homes run by the state were subject to

---

<sup>56</sup> "Biennial Report of the State Reform School, 1892," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

overcrowded, unsanitary conditions; Due to negative reports, funding would be pulled. Without the support, home placements were a smarter alternative.<sup>58</sup>

The twentieth biennial report of The Boy's Industrial School observed that all but one of their dormitory buildings were forty years old, and in bad repair. They had bad ventilation, little sunlight, and inadequate room to play for the boys. The one large dormitory had washbowls for a maximum of 80 students, yet often slept more than 90.<sup>59</sup>

A possible contributor to the deplorable conditions described in the orphanages, was that of medical epidemics. A cholera epidemic swept through Kansas in 1867.<sup>60</sup> Contagious diseases disseminate like wildfire in close quarters. In addition, younger children with underdeveloped immune systems are more susceptible to becoming sick. Both of these conditions are prevalently found in children's homes. Because children never really ceased to be housed in orphanages, even though the number of children there slowly decreased in favor of other forms of child welfare, the 1918 Spanish Influenza was also extremely detrimental to the living conditions of orphanages in Kansas.

The first cases of the nationwide outbreak that began in 1918, were found in Haskell County, Kansas. Aggravated by tight living quarters in the military dorms of Fort Riley, the epidemic propagated first throughout the state, and then the country.<sup>61</sup> In the latter part of January 1919, eighty cases of the Spanish Influenza were recorded in the singular Clay County.

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> "20<sup>th</sup> Biennial Report of the State Reform School, 1919," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Ramon Powers and Gene Younger, "Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (1971): 351.

<sup>61</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Flu Epidemic of 1918," Last modified February 2013, Accessed January 8, 2018, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/flu-epidemic-of-1918/17805>.

By March of that same year, 49+ cases were still reported in Clay County.<sup>62</sup> In total, the Spanish Influenza was responsible for over twice the number of casualties cataloged in World War I.<sup>63</sup>

### **What Might Actually Be Best for the Child?**

The Children's Aid Society was founded in 1853 by Charles Loring Brace.<sup>64</sup> In a time where poorhouses and orphanages were the norm, CAS was the first placing-out program. Brace implored the concept of protection of the innocent and favored placing children in homes with families over state run asylums. This concept was implemented through the institution of the orphan trains. Children were placed into homes in exchange for room, board, and sometimes labor. CAS wanted to move children as far away from the cities as possible. Upon boarding trains headed west, children were taken in by families at each station in which the trains stopped.



Figure 7: Charles Loring Brace age 23

SOURCE: GoogleImages

---

<sup>62</sup> "Contagious Diseases in Clay County 1919-1939," Chapman Center for Rural Studies, Viewed December 8, 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Kansas Historical Society, "Flu Epidemic of 1918".

<sup>64</sup> "A History of Innovation," Children's Aid, , Accessed December 31, 2017, <http://www.childrensaidnyc.org/about/history-innovation/>.

In places like Kansas, no laws required state regulation of unofficial placings. Because of state apprenticeship laws, if placements involved a contract, the court monitored the relationships. Because of this, county officials favored the placing-out system over official arrangements.<sup>65</sup> Placing out differed from indenture in the fact that the program's emphasis was on finding families for the orphans as opposed to finding a work environment for them. Between 1853 and the early 1900s, more than 120,000 abandoned, orphaned, or abused children were taken from the streets and poorhouses of New York City to new lives in the west.<sup>66</sup> Some of the children taken west by the orphan trains were not in fact true orphans. Brace thought that it was sometimes necessary to break up dysfunctional families in favor of the protection and well-being of the child. This principle is coherent with the foster care system and marked the beginning of child welfare where the prosperity of the child was of the utmost concern.<sup>67</sup>

In 1898, Brace's son conducted a study of 151 children that had been placed through the orphan train in Iowa, parts of Missouri and Nebraska, and Kansas. 90% were reported to have been doing well, with only 2% having been sent to institutions.<sup>68</sup> This placed Kansas placements slightly ahead of the national curve, for between 1853-1893 85% of children nationwide had been placed successfully.<sup>69</sup> It seemed easier to find true homes for the neglected or orphaned in

---

<sup>65</sup> Ruff, "THROWN ON THE COLD," 88.

<sup>66</sup> "The Orphan Train Movement," Children's Aid, Accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.childrensaidnyc.org/about/orphan-train-movement>.

<sup>67</sup> Rebecca Sampson, "The Effects of Foster Care on Children: A Comparison of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Through Modern Day Foster Care Practices" (Phd Diss., California State University, 2010), 31.

<sup>68</sup> Sampson, "The Effects of Foster Care on Children," 37.

<sup>69</sup> Jeanne F Cook, "A History of Placing-Out: The Orphan Trains," *Child Welfare* 74, no. 1 (1995): 181, <https://search.proquest.com/health/docview/213811300/fulltext/F0FAD18FD71F49D9PQ/1?accountid=50587>.

newer and more primitive communities than in the wealthy, sprawling urbanite cities of the east.<sup>70</sup>

Increased government intervention in child welfare gradually appeared in the form of several national and state conferences, as well as committees and child-placing societies. Of the twenty-five million children under the age of sixteen in the United States in 1898, over 100,000 were under public care. The value of property invested into institutions caring for the orphaned was estimated at around \$40,000,000.<sup>71</sup>

By 1898, Kansas had a State Board of Trustees of Institutions and a State Board of Health to control the benevolent institutions in the state. Reports were turned into a state auditor.<sup>72</sup> Six years later in 1904 a National Child Labor Committee was formed. In 1909 the first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children convened. Six weeks before his retirement from the presidency, Theodore Roosevelt invited upwards of 200 persons in the child-welfare field, to a conference at the White House. Roosevelt acknowledged that each child “represents either a potential addition to the productive capacity and the enlightened citizenship of the Nation, or, if allowed to suffer from neglect, a potential addition to the destructive forces of the community”.<sup>73</sup>

Groups present at the White House conference included societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, children’s home societies, and orphan asylums. The societies promoting the

---

<sup>70</sup> Hart, “Foster Home,” 3.

<sup>71</sup> National Conference on Social Welfare, “Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction” (presentation at the nineteenth annual session held in Denver, Col. June 23-29, 1892), 193.

<sup>72</sup> National Conference on Social Welfare, 255.

<sup>73</sup> Katherine B Stevens, “A Look Back at the Social Security Act of 1935 and its Forgotten Focus on Needy Children,” AEIdeas, Last modified August 13, 2015, Accessed January 5, 2018, <http://www.aei.org/publication/a-look-back-at-the-social-security-act-of-1935-and-its-forgotten-focus-on-needy-children/>.

prevention of cruelty to children emerged out of the creation of The American Humane Association in 1876.<sup>74</sup> Children's home societies were a direct result of the considerable movement towards free child-placements in the late 1800s. Charles Loring Brace and his Children's Aid Society was the first. By 1916 there were 36 Homes Societies primarily in the Midwestern and southern states.<sup>75</sup> The counsel of conference members concluded that "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization," and that should children need to be removed from their home, or have none, "they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home".<sup>76</sup> These sequiturs directly mirrored ideas fostered at the previously held 1892 National Conference on Social Welfare. The aforementioned conference's discussions on the care of children argued that to shape the development of a child, they must be in a stable home environment.<sup>77</sup>



Figure 8: Final session and banquet of the 1909 White House Conference

SOURCE: Children's Bureau Centennial

<sup>74</sup> Hart, "Foster Care," 238.

<sup>75</sup> McGowan, "Historical Evolution of Child Welfare Services," 14.

<sup>76</sup> Hart, "Foster Care," 210.

<sup>77</sup> National Conference on Social Welfare, 192

The State of Kansas was ahead of the national curve in regard to the concept of home influences. When the Kansas Legislature created the Kansas state reform schools, they found that jails and penitentiaries degraded and destroyed the self-respect necessary for the formation of healthy and virtuous children. Instead of the prison system for the orphaned and delinquent youths, they “established the family plan as better fitted for accomplishing the desired end”. While actual cultivation in true homes was still a few years out from being the norm, the ideas proposed by the leaders in Kansas child welfare at the time were on the right track years ahead of their national equivalents.<sup>78</sup>

### **How Can We Secure the Safety of the Child?**

Once the transition between institutional care shifted towards home care, new issues arose as a ponderous concern became that of the safety of the children in the placement system. Due to the informality of consociations between families and orphans, abuse and exploitation was a liability. Out of respect for familial privacy, authorities left the education and discipline to that of the quasi-parents. More often than not no legal arrangements had made, so the government (be that national or a more nuclear form) had no lawful authority over situations that may have arisen.<sup>79</sup> The first documented abuse case of a child was that of a young girl named Mary Ellen in 1874. The New York Commission of Charities and Correction placed her in a home because she was fatherless, and her mother was not able to care for her. The court case that

---

<sup>78</sup> “Third Biennial Report of the State Reform School, June 30, 1882,” Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Sampson, “The Effects of Foster Care on Children,” 38.

ensued as a result of the abuse inflicted by her new foster father was instrumental towards the creation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.<sup>80</sup>

It was a sad reality that some children placed-out in homes were used for little more than labor, devoid of a contract like apprenticeship that would hold the family liable to an authority. The solution was that of “boarding-out”. It functioned interchangeably with placing out, save one important detail: payment. It provided the “incentive” for families to treat the child more as one of their own, for they didn’t necessarily need to work to earn their keep. In addition, because placing agencies were providing funds towards their home placements, they were exponentially more inclined to follow up on the arrangements. Agencies didn’t want to pay people to care for children unless the families themselves were doing a prudent job.<sup>81</sup> This monumental change in the system was the tipping point towards the modern foster care system. This precursor paved the way for the increased desire of placing agencies to follow through with the children they found homes for. This concept had been in the works for many years, for also at the 1982 National Conference for Social Welfare it was avowed that “if we cannot get what we want for nothing, we must pay for it”.<sup>82</sup> Throughout the history of child welfare, outliers to the normal pattern of care were found in the fact that if you pay, private households were sometimes persuaded to take in children. Boarding-out seemed the most viable solution to the ever-present problem of child welfare.

Another significant justification for the diversion away from the orphan train system and placing-out, is that states began to realize that there was a significant amount of children already

---

<sup>80</sup> Sampson, “The Effects of Foster Care on Children,” 37-38.

<sup>81</sup> Tim Hacsí, “FROM INDENTURE TO FAMILY FOSTER CARE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHILD PLACING,” *Child Welfare* 74, no. 1 (Jan/Feb 1995): 162-180.

<sup>82</sup> National Conference on Social Welfare, 419.



in their borders that needed attention. It made little sense to continue to bring considerable amounts of children into the states for care, while simultaneously neglecting to care for the ones already there. The Kansas Children's Service League called the influx of children, "financial burdens... which [they] could not bear".<sup>83</sup> Distant placing agencies were rejected in favor of more local ones. In 1901, Kansas placed a restrictive law against child transportation requiring a guaranty bond of \$5,000 to be paid to the state by placing organizations for the transports. Two years later a law created hindered the adoption of children sent by the out-of-state agencies unless the child met specific requirements relating to their health.<sup>84</sup>

The first emergence of a society that held the morals of the modern foster care system in Kansas, transpired in the form of The Kansas Children's Service League. Formed in 1893 with the state's governor as its first president, KCHS placed orphaned or abused children with temporary boarding mothers. They monitored care of those placed under them and worked to find adoptive homes for them. The League was an advocate for the child. They called for legislation to further restrict child labor and for regulation in adoptive and foster situations. In addition, they provided proper care and education for children who were disabled *as well as* fully able. After operating independently for upwards of 30 years, the League merged with the Christian Service League in 1926. As a singular unit, they helped to establish the stage agency that is now the Kansas Department for Children and Families.<sup>85</sup> Before the eventual achievement for child welfare that was found in the Social Security Act of 1935, the Kansas Children's Service League were pioneers. They were present at the First White House Conference on

---

<sup>83</sup> Lori Askeland, "Children and Youth in Adoption, Orphanages, and Foster Care" (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009), 25.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> "About Us," Kansas Children's Service League, accessed December 31, 2017, [https://www.kcsl.org/who\\_history.aspx](https://www.kcsl.org/who_history.aspx).

Children in 1909, and they were instrumental as a founding member of the Child Welfare League of America created in 1920.<sup>86</sup>

First called The Kansas Children's Home Society, the League functioned directly with the county commissioners who were on the Board of County Commissioners. Agreements were signed between the two agents so that the Home Society could receive funding from the counties in exchange for placing "in good substantial Christian homes any and all destitute, dependent, neglected, and ill-treated male children under fourteen years of age, and females under sixteen years of age found within [said] county".<sup>87</sup> In addition to placement, they agreed to make annual reports to the same Board of County Commissioners about the children released and placed by the Home Society. If a child placed in a home was wanting to be adopted, all applications for said adoption would be referred to The Children's Home Society.<sup>88</sup>

The Children's Home Society was exponentially closer to the modern foster care system than its child welfare predecessors in Kansas. Compared to the Soldier's Orphan Home built in 1889, The Kansas Children's Home successfully placed over 1300 children in its first 18 years as an organization, while it took the Soldier's Orphan Home 25 to achieve the same. The Soldier's Orphan Home placed children through large measure with a "home placing agent". In comparison, the Kansas Children's Home Society divided the state of Kansas into districts, and placed a superintendent in charge of each district to preside over it. They worked directly with church leaders to find families within their congregations willing to take in children from their

---

<sup>86</sup> "Kansas Children's Service League Records," Kansas Historical Society, Accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.kshs.org/dart/units/view/44943>.

<sup>87</sup> [Document] "Agreement Between the Kansas Children's Home Society and the County Commissioners of Leavenworth county Kansas, 1901," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017.

<sup>88</sup> [Document] "Articles of Agreement to the Board of Commissioners in Bourbon County, 1895," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017.

society. Because the Children's Society had little property, their operating expenditures were comparatively cheaper than their institutional correlatives.<sup>89</sup>

### **The Answer for the Child**

A healthy home environment is paramount to the eventual success of a child. Guardians help equip children with the necessary tools and skills while they grow up, and they protect them as they grow cognitively, emotionally, and socially. The beginnings of child welfare were aimed at little more than making sure neglected children wouldn't interfere with the realm of the adults. Eventually the well-being of the children became quintessential to the care, and slowly but surely those with power and say became the voice of the long-voiceless children. In 1912 the Children's Bureau was founded. It had been in the works for six years, and finally after eleven bills, it passed. They were charged with looking into infant mortality, birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, and employment of children.<sup>90</sup>

In 1916 the first national child labor law was signed by President Woodrow Wilson. This Keaton-Owen Act marked the first time the Bureau's authority was extended beyond its original charge of investigation and reporting. While it was eventually struck down after a few years of operation, the act had sparked a mindset of investigation into the well-being of child placements. At the 3<sup>rd</sup> (of an eventual eight) White House Conference on Child Health and Protection the Children's Charter was occasioned in 1930. It spelled out the rights of modern childhood, and

---

<sup>89</sup> [Document] "The Kansas Children's Home Society (in the light of history as compared with the state orphans home, 18 years into operation)," Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Dorothy E Bradbury, "Children's Bureau: Part I," VCU Libraries Social Welfare History Project, Accessed January 10, 2018, <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/programs/child-welfarechild-labor/childrens-bureau-part-i-2/>.

point XV of the document provided, “For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps”.<sup>91</sup>

Kansas held a Conference of Social work annually starting in 1900. The conference was modeled after the National Conference of Social Work [Welfare] that had several years before argued for home life care for children needing welfare. In the 1917 Kansas conference, it was argued that “we have good government because we have good homes, not because we have men trained in an army or educated in a university”. The strength and power of the government came from the houses in which “justice and love abides, where the best things of life are taught by fathers and mothers to their children, where father love, mother love, child love and home love blend with the love of country, there abide our strength and defense”.<sup>92</sup> The conference was intended to be a dynamic force felt in every family in Kansas.<sup>93</sup>

The answer for family-less children in need, is that of a support system. Whether that be through fostering, or through adoption. The early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century put this idea into practice. Several acts of legislation were passed that greatly impacted the livelihood of mothers, their children, and orphans alike. The 1935 Social Security Act addressed many needs for children and their mothers. Title IV granted aid to dependent children, and Title V granted aid for maternal and child welfare.<sup>94</sup> The provisions were provided to make it easier for dependent children to be

---

<sup>91</sup> “The Children’s Charter [Government Document],” in Children and Youth in History, Item #124, Annotated by Kriste Lindenmeyer, Accessed January 7, 2018, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/items/show/124>.

<sup>92</sup> [Document] “Proceedings of the Kansas Conference of Social Work 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Session,” Kansas State Archives, Topeka, Viewed December 23, 2017, p15.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> “Social Security Act of 1935,” Legislative History, Social Security Administration, Accessed January 10, 2018, <https://www.ssa.gov/history/35act.html#TITLE V>.

raised in their homes with their own families if their need was due to poverty in particular. This alleviated the need for those not truly orphaned to be placed in the foster care system. However, the SSA also helped those who still relied on the foster care system for their well-being. The SSA allocated funds to states to aid in their board approved care of dependents. Failure to comply to standards of care meant the relinquishment of funds. Standards of care included suggestions by state health agencies as well as children's bureaus. Allotments were also provided to child welfare services of each state.<sup>95</sup>

These improvements in child welfare significantly bettered the lives of dependent children in the United States. By 1950 there were finally more children in foster care than children in institutions.<sup>96</sup> Adoption became more frequent, and more children were provided with safe homes to thrive in.

Foster care is now a major part of the child welfare spectrum in the United States. Due to the escalating number of children in its foster care system, Kansas became the first state to privatize it in 1996. While the fight had long been to gain government assistance for child welfare, this monumental change paved the way for private businesses and government to work together to bring about the best possible solution for those under their care.<sup>97</sup> As of June 2015, there were 6,517 children in the system in Kansas.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> "Fostering and Foster Care," The Adoption History Project, Accessed January 11, 2018, <http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/fostering.htm>.

<sup>97</sup> "Child Welfare Fact Sheet," Kansas Department for Children and Families, Last modified September, 2015, Accessed January 11, 2018, <http://www.dcf.ks.gov/Newsroom/Documents/Child%20Welfare%20Fact%20sheet%209.18.15.pdf>.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

Kansas, and the United States as a whole, has come a long way from the 1856 newspaper account crying for change for mothers and children under welfare. The well-being of the children themselves are now at the forefront of concern. With private groups working alongside the government, the system for caring for the fatherless can only improve from where it is today. With any luck, the amount of children in the future of the system will begin to recede while the number of children adopted into families in the future will steadily climb.

## Bibliography

- "About Us." Kansas Children's Service League. Accessed December 31, 2017. [https://www.kcsl.org/who\\_history.aspx](https://www.kcsl.org/who_history.aspx).
- "About Us". Wichita Children's Home. Accessed January 8, 2018. <https://wch.org/about-us>.
- "Agreement Between the Kansas Children's Home Society and the County Commissioners of Leavenworth county Kansas, 1901". Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.
- "All Amendments to the United States Constitution". Human Rights Library. University of Minnesota. Accessed January 8, 2018. [http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/all\\_amendments\\_usconst.htm](http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/all_amendments_usconst.htm).
- "Articles of Agreement to the Board of Commissioners in Bourbon County, 1895". Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.
- Askeland, Lori. "Children and Youth in Adoption, Orphanages, and Foster Care". Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009.
- "Biennial Report of the State Reform School, 1892". Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.
- "Child Welfare Fact Sheet". Kansas Department for Children and Families. Last modified September, 2015. Accessed January 11, 2018. <http://www.dcf.ks.gov/Newsroom/Documents/Child%20Welfare%20Fact%20sheet%209.18.15.pdf>.
- Dorothy E Bradbury. "Children's Bureau: Part I". VCU Libraries Social Welfare History Project. Accessed January 10, 2018. <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/programs/child-welfarechild-labor/childrens-bureau-part-i-2/>.
- Bunson, Matthew. "Early Key Dates in U.S. Catholic Chronology" in *Catholic Almanac's Guide to the Church*. Our Sunday Visitor, 2001. Pages unidentified.
- "Catholic Concert and Western Gift Distribution," *The Daily Kansas Tribune*. August 31, 1867.
- "The Children's Charter [Government Document]". in Children and Youth in History. Item #124. Annotated by Kriste Lindenmeyer. Accessed January 7, 2018. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/items/show/124>.
- Cook, Jeanne F. "A History of Placing-Out: The Orphan Trains". *Child Welfare* 74, no. 1 (1995): 181. <https://search.proquest.com/health/docview/213811300/fulltext/F0FAD18FD71F49D9PQ/1?accountid=50587>.

- “Contagious Diseases in Clay County 1919-1939”. Chapman Center for Rural Studies. Viewed December 8, 2017.
- “County Commissioners”. *The Manhattan Republic*. January 14, 1886.
- “The Douglas County Poor Farm”. Tauy Creek. Last modified November 22, 2014. Accessed January 7, 2018. <http://www.tauycreek.com/2014/11/the-douglas-county-poor-farm.html>.
- “Fifth Biennial Report of the State Reform School, June 30, 1890”. Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.
- Folks, Homer. “Removal of Children from Almshouses.” Presentation, Twenty-First Annual Session Held May, 1894 of the State Charities Aid Association of New York.
- “Fostering and Foster Care”. The Adoption History Project. Accessed January 11, 2018. <http://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/fostering.htm>.
- Gagliardo, Domenico. “A History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation”. Kansas Historical Society. Accessed January 7, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/1255>.
- Gagliardo, Domenico. “A History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation”. Kansas Historical Society. Accessed January 7, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-a-history-of-kansas-child-labor-legislation/12553>.
- “Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, records: manuscript collection no. 126”. Kansas Historical Society. Accessed January 8, 2018. <http://www.kshs.org/archives/40126>.
- Hacsi, Tim. “FROM INDENTURE TO FAMILY FOSTER CARE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHILD PLACING”. *Child Welfare* 74, no. 1 (Jan/Feb 1995): 162-180.
- Hall, Jesse A., and Leroy T Hand. *History of the City of Leavenworth, Kansas*. Kansas: Historical Publishing Company, 1921.
- Hart, Hastings H. “Foster-Home Care for Dependent Children”. *Bureau Publication* 136. Washington Government Printing Office, 1926.
- "A History of Innovation." Children's Aid. Accessed December 31, 2017. <http://www.childrensaidnyc.org/about/history-innovation/>.
- Holt, Marilyn Irvin. “‘Over the Hill to the Poorhouse’: Kansas Poor Relief”. *Kansas History* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 2-15.



- “Information om Mariadahl KS Mariadahl Childrens Home”. Bygdeband – lokalhistoria pa webben. Accessed January 5, 2017.  
[http://www.bygdeband.se/plats/279499/usa\\_\\_trashed/kansas/pottawatomie/mariadahl/mariadahl-ks-first-swedish-lutheran-church/mariadahl-ks-mariadahl-childrens-home/](http://www.bygdeband.se/plats/279499/usa__trashed/kansas/pottawatomie/mariadahl/mariadahl-ks-first-swedish-lutheran-church/mariadahl-ks-mariadahl-childrens-home/).
- Johnson, W.L.A. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industry for 1899*. Kansas: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900.
- “Kansas Children’s Service League Records”. Kansas Historical Society. Accessed January 8, 2018. <http://www.kshs.org/dart/units/view/44943>.
- “The Kansas Children’s Home Society (in the light of history as compared with the state orphans home, 18 years into operation)”. Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.  
 Kansas Historical Society. “Child Labor”. Last modified July, 2017. Accessed January 5, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/child-labor/16746>.
- Kansas Historical Society. “Exoduster Flier”. Last modified June 2017. Accessed January 8, 2018. <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/exoduster-flier/10198>.
- Kansas Historical Society. “Flu Epidemic of 1918”. Last modified February 2013/ Accessed January 8, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/flu-epidemic-of-1918/17805>.
- Kansas Historical Society. “Poor Farms in Kansas Bibliography 1855-1974”. Accessed January 7, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/p/poor-farms-in-kansas-bibliography/13587>.
- Kansas Historical Society. “Settlement in Kansas”. Last modified April 2015. Accessed January 4, 2018. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/settlement-in-kansas/14546>.
- Katz, Michael B. “In the Shadow of the Poorhouse”. Basic Books, Dec. 11, 1996.
- McGowan, Brenda G. “Historical Evolution of Child Welfare Services” in *Child Welfare for the Twenty-First Century: A Handbook of Practices, Policies, and Programs* by Gerald P Mallon and Peg McCart Hess. Columbia University Press, 2005.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/mall13072>, 10-46ari.
- “Mariadahl Orphan’s Home”. Olsburg Explorations. Get Rural Kansas. Accessed January 5 , 2018. <http://www.getruralkansas.com/Olsburg/145Explore/551.shtml>.
- Mariadahl Orphan’s Home*. Undated. Scandinavian Portrait collection, Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, Augustana College.
- Mariadahl Children’s Home (Mariadahl, Kan.)*. Undated. Augustana Book Concern (Rock Island, Ill.) photographs, Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, Augustana College.

- “National Orphan Train Complex, Concordia”. Kansas Sampler Foundation. Accessed January 8, 2018. <https://www.kansassampler.org/8wonders/historyresults.php?id=288>.
- O’Neill, Kasia., and Sarah Gesiriech. “A Brief Legislative History of the Child Welfare System” (Report prepared for the Pew Commission, 2004). <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2004/11/01/a-brief-legislative-history-of-the-child-welfare-system>.
- “The Orphan Train Movement”. Children’s Aid. Accessed January 8, 2018. <http://www.childrensaidnyc.org/about/orphan-train-movement>.
- “Poorhouse”. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. Accessed December 21, 2017. <https://ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=poorhouse>.
- Powers, Ramon., Gene Younger. “Cholera on the Plains: The Epidemic of 1867 in Kansas”. *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (1971): 351-93.
- “Proceedings Board of County Commissioners”. *The Manhattan Republic*. October 18, 1888.
- “Proceedings of the Kansas Conference of Social Work 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Session”. Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.
- Pye, Jeremy W., Donna C. Roper, Holly C. Smith. “Excavations at the Meadowlark Cemetery, Manhattan”. *Current Archeology in Kansas* no. 5 (2004).
- Ruff, Lyanna Candy. “THROWN ON THE COLD CHARITY OF THE WORLD Kansas Cares for Its Orphans, 1859-1919. PhD Diss., University of Kansas, 2012.
- Sampson, Rebecca. “The effects of foster care on children: A comparison of 18<sup>th</sup> century through modern day foster care practices”. PhD Diss., California State University, 2010.
- Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Control of the State Institutions of Kansas*. Kansas: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1916.
- “The Social Security Act”. Historical Background and Development of Social Security. Social Security Administration. Accessed January 8, 2018. <https://www.ssa.gov/history/briefhistory3.html>.
- “Social Security Act of 1935”. Legislative History. Social Security Administration. Accessed January 10, 2018. <https://www.ssa.gov/history/35act.html#TITLE V>.
- “St. Vincent’s Orphanage photo”. ChildrenHomes. Accessed January 11, 2018. [http://www.childrenhomes.org/dir/List a Children.039s Home or Orphanage/list a childrens\\_home\\_or\\_orphanage46.html](http://www.childrenhomes.org/dir/List a Children.039s Home or Orphanage/list a childrens_home_or_orphanage46.html).

Stevens, Katherine B. "A Look Back at the Social Security Act of 1935 and its Forgotten Focus on Needy Children". AEIdeas. Last modified August 13, 2015. Accessed January 5, 2018. <http://www.aei.org/publication/a-look-back-at-the-social-security-act-of-1935-and-its-forgotten-focus-on-needy-children/>.

Takahashi, Yuko. "Frontier Children: Childhood Experiences in Kansas, 1860-1900". *The American Review* 22, no. 22 (1988): 170-199.

"Third Biennial Report of the State Reform School, June 30, 1882". Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017.

"The Times." *The Kansas Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence), April 19, 1856. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/79733755/?terms=Orphan>.

"We Need a Law." *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, April 19, 1856. p4.

*Wyandotte Gazette*. February 12, 1875. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/?spot=2727246>.

"20<sup>th</sup> Biennial Report of the State Reform School, 1919". Kansas State Archives, Topeka. Viewed December 23, 2017. p6.