

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: "DEAR LITTLE LIVING ARGUMENTS":
ORPHANS AND OTHER POOR CHILDREN, THEIR
FAMILIES, AND ORPHANAGES, BALTIMORE
AND LIVERPOOL, 1840-1910.

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Orphanages in the United States and England cared for thousands of children between the early decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. These institutions were central to local provisions for the poor during a time period in which state and government poor relief remained limited. Though a small group of studies have focused on American orphan asylums and even fewer works have evaluated English orphanages, no effort has of yet been made to engage in a comparative analysis of the institutions that cared for so many children in both countries. Through analysis of Protestant orphan asylum registers, correspondence, committee minutes, and annual reports, this dissertation investigates the local provisions made for poor children in Baltimore, Maryland and Liverpool, England, between 1840 and 1910, examines the socio-economic realities of the families these children came from, the ways in which poor children in both cities were affected by the needs of their families and the aid available to them, and the similarities and differences that existed between these orphanages and their residents. This dissertation argues that there were significant differences between orphanage inhabitants in both cities when it came to parental survival and to who children ended up with after their residence in these institutions, but that the orphanages were remarkably alike, providing the poor children in their care with similar educational, religious and vocational training that the middle-class reformers who ran these institutions understood as gender and class appropriate. This study reveals a prolonged commitment on the part of orphanage administrators in both cities to the use

of indenture as a dismissal method, and suggests as well the existence of a shared trans-Atlantic understanding of poor children and their labor when it came to these asylum officials.

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LIVERPOOL, 1840-1910

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is the result of a number of different research interests that intersected with one another to form the finished work. I knew at the outset of this project that I not only had an interest in social history, but that I wanted to work specifically in this field, and produce a study that privileged this type of historical analysis. Yet it was not only social history that proved fascinating to me. I was particularly interested in the subjects of poverty and dependence, and in trying to understand what happened to people in different locations and time periods when it came to these issues. I had been exposed to a number of different historical studies while a graduate student that examined poverty and provisions for the poor during the first half of the twentieth century. These works considered the professionalization of social work and the women who were central to shaping the United States' Children's Bureau and Progressive-Era ideas about dependence, the increasing participation of twentieth-century federal officials in debates about dependence, and the actual creation of the modern-day welfare state in the United States and England. These works were insightful and illuminating, but my initial research into the secondary literature on poverty and dependence made me want to focus specifically on the nineteenth century. This was the century in which older, colonial understandings of poverty were changing and being redefined, and in which local public and private provisions were central to the options the poor possessed when it came to aid and assistance.

The decision to study nineteenth-century provisions for the poor meant a number of different possibilities in terms of the actual subjects of my study, as "the poor" encompassed so many individuals during the period in question. I quickly decided to focus on poor children and their families, because of my own interest in the history of children. The history of children and childhood is a relatively young field of study that emerged in the early 1960s with the publication of Philippe Aries' manuscript *L'Enfant et la Vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (*Childhood and Family Life in Prerevolutionary France*). Aries argued that the concept of childhood did not exist

in the medieval period, that childhood came into existence only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that childhood as well as parent-child relationships changed remarkably between these centuries and the twentieth century.¹ In the decades following the publication of his work, a number of historians, including Lloyd DeMause and Linda Pollock explored the nature of parent-child relationships, and the changes in family structure that have occurred historically, and challenged Aries' findings. Lloyd DeMause privileged a psychoanalytic framework in his work *The History of Childhood*, and argued that childhood much predated the medieval period. He also posited that children of the past had regularly been subject to neglect and mistreatment, but suggested that this treatment had been progressively improving and evolving since the Classical period.² Linda Pollock posited in her work *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, that there had been far fewer changes in parent-child relationships than either DeMause or Aries suggested, that these relationships were characterized by love and emotion rather than by the lack of such sentiment, and that many children of the recent past were not, as DeMause claimed, victims of neglect and abuse.³

More recent works in the field have provided significant insight into the actual lives of children, as well as the intersections between the public, the private, and the family. I found myself particularly interested in the works of historians like Ellen Ross and Anna Davin, who examined the realities of poor urban children and their families in late-nineteenth and early twentieth century London.⁴ Ellen Ross argued that in poor Victorian and Edwardian families, mothers went to extraordinary lengths to insure the daily survival of their families and children, and their efforts were central to the continued existence of these families. Anna Davin, meanwhile, focused her study on the intersections between poor families and an expanding

¹ Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood; a social history of family life*, trans. Robert Baldick. (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

² Lloyd DeMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974).

³ Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁴ Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996).

English educational system. Davin demonstrated that in these poor families, the sexual division of labor emerged in childhood, and was reinforced not only by the work these girls were expected to engage in within these households, but by the lessons and training these girls received via the English educational system. Both of these studies shed light on the lives of poor families, and to different degrees, on the children who resided in them. And both historians suggested the fragility of these families, despite the best and continued efforts of their members to preserve these units. I found myself intrigued by both of these insightful works, but also curious about the poor children that these authors did not examine—the children who lacked parents or a cohesive family unit. I became increasingly interested in poor families, the realities of their lives, and understanding how the youngest members of these units were affected not only by dependency, but by the economic and social needs of their families and the options available to them. Who were these children, what was the impact of the provisions made for them, and what were their experiences?

My interest in the history of children, poverty and dependence, and social history were not, however, the only aspects that contributed to the shape of this dissertation. My attempts to familiarize myself with the variety of works that focused on the history of childhood made clear to me that there was a real reticence on the part of many historians working in this field to engage in comparative study. This seemed problematic to me, especially in light of the historic links between England and the United States when it came to understandings of and provisions for the poor. Migrants from England brought over beliefs about dependence and the treatment of the poor to the American colonies with them, and these ideas contributed to the creation of poor laws and the establishment of institutions in the United States in the years that followed that were quite similar to those that existed in England as well; in this respect the systems of poor relief and aid available to poor citizens in both countries were remarkably alike. Despite this, I could locate no works that interrogated how provisions for the poor in the United States and England were comparable or dissimilar. Engaging in a comparative evaluation of this aspect seemed not only

logical because of the links that existed between poverty provisions in both countries, but necessary in light of the absence of works that privileged this type of examination.

With all of these issues and interests in mind, I formulated the focus of the dissertation. I wanted to explore the local provisions that were made for American and English children during the nineteenth century, particularly the institutional relief and assistance that was available to this population of dependents. Yet I also understood that this type of analysis could pose real challenges in terms of scope. I made two very deliberate choices in order to limit the comparative size of the project. First, I determined that the analytical focus of the dissertation would be one type of institution. I decided to examine orphanages, as these were the institutions that provided for the largest number of US children during the nineteenth century, and housed many English children during this period as well. I also deliberately chose to focus on two cities, one in the United States, and one in England. I fixed specifically on Baltimore, Maryland, and Liverpool, England, as these two cities. My choice of Baltimore and Liverpool was quite deliberate; these cities were comparable to one another in the nineteenth century, and both have received little attention from scholars who study the urban poor and who have privileged instead larger cities like New York and London in their studies.

The decision to evaluate orphanages also reflected my desire to examine congregate institutions, rather than other types of provisions that were made for poor children. There was, after all, a variety of institutions and organizations that cared for poor children in Europe during the nineteenth century. In Catholic countries like Spain, France and Portugal, founding hospitals, “became the most important form of public welfare for families from the eighteenth through the end of the nineteenth centuries.”⁵ As historian Rachel Fuchs notes, however, these institutions were never central to the public provisions that English officials made for poor children. Indeed, in Protestant countries like England, the emphasis was on preventing the state

⁵ Rachel Fuchs, “Charity and Welfare,” in *The History of the European Family: Volume II, Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1789-1913*, eds. David Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 157-160.

and local residents from having to provide for needy children, and officials regularly engaged in paternity searches, in the hopes that these investigations would identify fathers or other relatives who would assume financial responsibility for children.⁶ Despite English poor officials' efforts, many poor children did become dependent on local parishes and their residents for their survival; a large number of dependent children ended up in publically-funded English workhouses. Thousands of other poor English children resided in privately-funded reformatories and institutions, including orphanages. It was this latter population of poor children, and these private orphan asylums, that I chose to analyze in the dissertation.

The choice to focus specifically on congregate institutions, and particularly on orphanages, reflected my decision as well not to focus on child emigration efforts in England or the United States. Many of the studies that have focused on provisions for poor children in recent years have examined the history of these movements, and the work of the principal American advocate of this approach, Charles Loring Brace, and his English counterpart, Dr. Thomas Barnardo.⁷ These men argued against the institutionalization of children during the late nineteenth century on the grounds that orphan asylums stultified the children they housed, deprived them of all individuality, and subjected youngsters to rigorous monotony.⁸ These anti-institutionalists argued instead that poor children should be removed from cities and placed in country homes, and they were responsible for the transport of thousands of American children to the Western United States and thousands of English children to Canada, Australia, Rhodesia, and New Zealand. Though the studies of the organizations that Brace and Barnardo headed and the tactics they employed in their campaigns to remove urban poor children from cities are invaluable

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children he Saved and Failed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001); Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924*. London: Croom Helm, 1980; Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire: The Untold Story of Britain's Child Migrants* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

⁸ Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), p. 118.

for what they reveal about child emigration and the lives of the children who were transported via these efforts, they do not consider the institutions that cared for the largest number of children in the United States during the nineteenth century and for many English children as well: orphanages.

The first orphanages in the United States were established in the eighteenth century. These institutions remained limited in number until the 1830s, when a cholera epidemic ravaged much of the Eastern United States, left many children without their parents, and resulted in the establishment of many new orphan asylums. Nationwide cholera epidemics in the 1840s and 1850s meant the creation of more orphanages, and between the Civil War and 1890, the number of United States' orphan asylums tripled. By 1890, there were 50,000 American children in orphan asylums, and during the first thirty years of the twentieth century, more American children were cared for by orphanages than ever before.⁹ The history of orphanages in England is less clear because few studies have actually examined the rise of these institutions and the realities associated with them. Yet it is certain that many orphanages existed in nineteenth-century England, and that these institutions provided care for thousands of English children in a variety of locations.

When one considers the cadre of childcare reformers who argued against orphanages in the late 1800s and early 1900s, it is clear that orphanages demonstrated tremendous staying-power when it came to their enduring presence in the landscape of provisions for the poor. These institutions and their officials weathered challenges during the later nineteenth century from anti-institutionalists like Brace and Barnardo, and during the early years of the twentieth century from Progressive-Era reformers who argued that foster homes were the best method for dealing with the children orphanages housed.¹⁰ Yet the number of works focusing on orphanages and the

⁹ Timothy Hacsí, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 11-13.

¹⁰ For more on the challenges to orphanages that anti-institutionalists voiced, refer to: Holt, *The Orphan Trains*; Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*; Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*; Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined*

assistance they provided to poor children throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century remains limited, despite the fact that, as historian Timothy Hacsí points out, these institutions were responsible for affecting more dependent children in the United States between the 1830s and 1920s than “any other American social institution except public schools and churches.”¹¹

This oversight is surprising, in light of the significant findings a number of orphanage-centered works have produced. The earliest of these orphanage studies appeared in the 1980s and challenged previous understandings of asylums that earlier historians, like David Rothman, had advocated. In his work *The Discovery of the Asylum*, Rothman argued that the tremendous economic and religious changes that occurred in Jacksonian America resulted in a turn to a variety of institutions; these institutions were used as a method of control, and were supposed to train those children and adults in their care to be productive citizens of the New Republic.¹²

Priscilla Ferguson Clement examined two Protestant orphanages and one Catholic orphan asylum in New Orleans between 1817 and 1914, and found that these institutions emerged as a response to the fallout from disease and immigration. She argued against Rothman’s claim that childcare institutions became more custodial as the nineteenth century progressed, and demonstrated that all three of these New Orleans orphanages were not custodial, because they did not attempt to replace children’s parents in importance and cut children off from their families, but ultimately dismissed the children they cared for to their families of origin.¹³ Susan Porter, meanwhile, argued that the female reformers who were in charge of the Boston Female Asylum ran it according to a model that was distinct from Rothman’s well-ordered asylum model and from the romantic reform institution model. According to Porter, the BFA was a family-modeled

Orphans; Priscilla Ferguson Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850-1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 197-200. For the history of Progressive Era reformers, their opposition to orphanages, and their support for foster homes or cottage-home based orphanages, see: LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 79-100. see: Hacsí, *Second Home*, p. 4, 37-38; LeRoy Ashby, *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890-1917* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

¹¹ Hacsí, *Second Home*, p. 1.

¹² David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

¹³ Priscilla Ferguson Clement, “Children and Charity: Orphanages in New Orleans, 1817-1914,” *Louisiana History*, Volume 27, No. 4, Fall 1984: 337-51.

institution that was, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, committed to the apprenticeship of its female wards as domestics.¹⁴ In 1988, Judith Dulberger refuted the contention that orphanages were institutions that imposed social control on their clients; she made clear in her analysis of the Albany Orphan Asylum in New York state that the families of poor children used orphanages according to their own needs and goals, and that these families were not the passive subjects of asylum reformers and their plans for children.¹⁵

More works on orphanages appeared in the 1990s, thanks to the cultural and political debates that occurred during that decade about poverty and dependent children in the United States, and to a few prominent politicians' calls for a return to orphanages when it came to the care of these children. These dissertations, articles and other studies continued to further historians' understandings of nineteenth-and twentieth-century orphanages and the care they offered to poor children. A number of these works investigated Jewish orphanages, and highlighted the conflicts between the more-established German-Jewish reformers who regularly controlled Jewish orphan asylums and the newer Russian-Jewish immigrants whose children were often inhabitants of these orphanages. Gary Polster examined the inner-workings of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum between 1868 and 1924 and argued that German Jewish reformers at that institution tried to Americanize the Eastern European children in their care, and strip these youngsters of their parents' beliefs, values and attitudes.¹⁶ Reena Sigman Friedman echoed Polster's findings in her comparative study of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York, Jewish Foster Home of Philadelphia, and Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum. She illustrated the manner in which these institutions attempted to Americanize their inhabitants, and argued that

¹⁴ Susan Lynne Porter, "The Benevolent Asylum—Image and Reality: The Care and Training of Female Orphans in Boston, 1800-1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1984).

¹⁵ Judith Ann Dulberger, "Refuge or repressor: The role of the orphan asylum in the lives of poor children and their families in late-nineteenth-century America" (Ph.D. dissertation, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1988). For other works from the 1980s that examine a single orphanage or more than one orphanage in the same city, refer to the following: Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael W. Sherraden, "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century," *Social Service Review*, June 1983: 272-90; Gary C. Jenkins, "Almira S. Steele and the Steele Home for Needy Children," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 29-36; Marian J. Morton, "Homes for Poverty's Children: Cleveland's Orphanages, 1851-1933," *Ohio History*, Volume 98 (Winter-Spring 1989).

¹⁶ Gary Edward Polster, *Inside Looking Out: The Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, 1868-1924* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1990).

these institutions modernized and liberalized their own practices in response to Progressives' critique of large, congregate orphanages.¹⁷ These and other works by historians like Timothy Hacsí and Nurith Zmora provided additional insights into orphanages, but they mark for all intents and purposes, the end of historians' interest in orphan asylums.¹⁸ Indeed, as the modern-day political debate over orphanages waned, so too did historians' seeming interest in this subject.

The goal of this dissertation is to continue the historical evaluation of orphanages, to examine these institutions in more detail, and to produce a study whose structure privileges an analysis of local private provisions for the poor. This focus on local private efforts to aid the poor and their dependents is logical, in light of the limited involvement of federal and national officials in these matters in both cities between 1840 and 1910. Indeed, as I demonstrate in Chapter two, city administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool attempted to limit their involvement in poor relief during the nineteenth century. Baltimore did create the House of Refuge and a city almshouse during the nineteenth century in an effort to help the poor, but it was not these institutions that assisted the most children in the city. The publically-funded House of Refuge housed only white male children who were between the ages of ten and sixteen, and thus catered to a very select group of dependent poor children. The almshouse admitted both male and female children, but reformers were increasingly arguing against the residence of poor children in such institutions as the nineteenth century progressed because of fears that the adult inhabitants of these institutions would corrupt younger residents.¹⁹ In nineteenth-century Baltimore, local private charities, institutions and organizations were central to the care of poor children. In Liverpool, the focus on

¹⁷ Reena Sigman Friedman, *These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880-1925* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1994)

¹⁸ Timothy Hacsí, *Second Home*; Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Childcare Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). For additional works from the 1990s that investigate orphanages in the nineteenth and twentieth century, examine the following: Hyman Bogen, *The Luckiest Orphans: A History of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Judith A. Dulberger, "Mother Don't fore the Best:" *Correspondence of a Nineteenth-Century Orphan Asylum* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, p 103; Ruth Shackelford, "To Shield Them From Temptation: child-saving Institutions and the children of the underclass in San Francisco, 1850-1910." Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1991, p. 26..

local private assistance to the poor also made a great deal of sense. As I make clear in Chapter two of the dissertation, poor administrators in Liverpool made far more effort than their counterparts in Baltimore to provide for poor children who resided in the city. Officials in Liverpool allowed children to reside in the city's workhouse, but they also sent children out of England to other countries, boarded children out, placed them in industrial schools, apprenticed them, and during the late nineteenth century, cooperated with private institutions and organizations to provide for children. Yet none of these arrangements proved satisfactory to the city's poor administrators, and it was private institutions and associations that regularly ended up caring for a large number of the city's poorest and youngest inhabitants.

Though I wanted to analyze the local private provisions made for poor children in Baltimore and Liverpool, I also hoped to privilege the poor themselves in my dissertation. A number of the works that have examined nineteenth-century orphanages consider whether or not these asylums were institutions of social control or social welfare, and whether or not they were intended to Americanize their occupants or to protect these children from such changes. Yet in many of these works, the analysis proceeds from the top-downwards, so that the point-of-view of asylum authorities and their institutional goals are the principal focus, and the recipients of aid are of only secondary importance. It was my hope that I would be able to illuminate the daily lives of the individuals who inhabited these institutions, and it was the tangible realities of these children and their families that I wanted to consider in my work.

I was able to realize some, but not all of my objectives. I was able to locate a large volume of records from private Protestant orphanages in Baltimore and Liverpool, and to engage in a comparative analysis of these institutions and their clientele. I focus throughout my study on two Baltimore orphanages and three Liverpool orphan asylums, all of which were privately established, Protestant institutions. The two Baltimore orphanages that I examine are the Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City (HOF), which was established in 1854, and the Baltimore Orphan Asylum (BOA). The latter was known as the Female Humane Association Charity

School (FHACS) at the time of its incorporation in 1801. Six years later (1807), it was re-incorporated as the Orphaline Charity School (OCS). It was renamed the Baltimore Female Orphan Asylum (BFOA) in 1826, and finally became known as the BOA in 1849. Though the HOF and the BOA were two distinct entities that originated separately from one another, they merged with one another in 1931 and subsequently became known as the Children's Home of Baltimore. In Liverpool, the three orphanages that I explore are Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum (LFOA), the Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys (LAOB), and the Liverpool Infant Orphan Asylum (LIOA). The LFOA was the oldest of these three orphanages, and was created in 1840 specifically to provide for girls in Liverpool who had lost both parents (full orphans). The LAOB opened ten years after the LFOA (1850) as an institution for orphaned Liverpoolian boys. The LIOA was created in 1858, and admitted male and female children who were younger than eight years of age and were full orphans. These three orphanages remained separate institutions until they merged in 1913, and were renamed the Liverpool Orphans Asylum. Though documents from these three orphanages are central to my analysis of orphan asylums and their populations in Liverpool, I also examined some annual reports and correspondence from the Royal Liverpool Seaman's Orphan Institution (RLSOI), which was created in 1869 to house and educate the orphaned children of British seaman. In the dissertation, I footnote RLSOI information when it is pertinent to my analysis.

The population of children that I evaluate in Baltimore is larger than the group of orphanage inhabitants I focus on in Liverpool, primarily because of the HOF itself; one contemporary source suggested the HOF was the largest Protestant orphanage in the state of Maryland, and my own research reveals it admitted more children between 1840 and 1910 than did all four of the other orphanages put together.²⁰ My Baltimore population of children is comprised of 3239 HOF children and 1303 BOA inhabitants, and though this accounts for nearly

²⁰ Members of Johns Hopkins University and others, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions* (Baltimore: The Sun Job Printing Office, 1893), p. 455.

all of the children who entered these orphanages during this period, I have excluded a small number of children whose admission records were illegible. I have also limited my population of Baltimore orphan asylum residents when it comes to a group of HOF children who were repeat inhabitants of that asylum. The first time that each of the children in this repeat-group entered the orphanage, I incorporated their biographical data. I did not re-count them, however, when they entered the HOF for a second and third time, as this would have skewed the outcome of my analysis and inflated results in a number of different categories. In Liverpool, I also excluded children whose admission records were illegible. But in Liverpool, the main difficulty was not indecipherable records, but rather the time constraints of my research. During my stay in the city, I was able to transcribe all of the LFOA and LIOA admission records. This resulted in a total of 1191 girls at the LFOA, and 214 children at the LIOA. My evaluation of LAOB boys was more limited. I included all the boys who entered the orphanage between 1866 and 1888, and then included every fourth admission entry, which resulted in a population of 142 LAOB boys. The only time I consider a larger population of LAOB boys occurs in the latter chapters, when I evaluate the dismissal arrangements made for asylum inhabitants; this group of dismissed LAOB boys totals 363. I possess enough information about the boys in this group to know where these boys were sent, but not enough demographic information about them to incorporate them into the other types of analysis in which I engage throughout the dissertation.

There were, however, limits to the types of analysis that I was able to do when it came to the dissertation. I was not able to engage in the type of bottom-up analysis that I hoped would be possible. Nearly all of the surviving source material that I located in both cities was originally produced by orphanage officials, and reflected the concerns, desires, and beliefs of these men and women. These sources made it extremely difficult to get at the realities of children's lives, as well as the lives of their parents and families. I was also unable to examine surviving Catholic orphanage records for St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Infants and Children, St. Vincent's Infants Home, St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys, St.

Anthony's Orphan Asylum, St. Francis Orphanage for Colored Children, and St. James Home for Boys, that are held by the Associated Catholic Charities of Baltimore. I engaged in repeated requests to officials at this agency in an effort to win access to these records, and even contacted the-then Cardinal of Baltimore, Cardinal Keeler, to no avail. This limited the type of comparative analysis that I was able to engage in and the overall scope of my project, as did the absence in Liverpool of any records relating to orphanages that housed children of color.

Yet not all Catholic orphanages in Baltimore proved off-limits to me. The female-religious order known as the Oblate Sisters of Providence (OSP) granted me access to its records, which are housed at Our Lady of Mount Providence Convent in Baltimore. The OSP has the distinction of being the oldest Catholic religious order for African-American women in the United States, and was created in 1829, after Father James Hector Nicholas Joubert proposed the formation of a sisterhood for women of color that would educate and care for Baltimore's black children. The OSP established a Catholic school for girls in Baltimore around the same time the order was founded, and in the years that followed, the Oblates' continued to expand their educational and charitable efforts in the city. The one that is most pertinent to this study is St. Francis Orphan Asylum (SFOA), which is the orphanage for African-American girls that the OSP established in 1866. Though the Associated Catholic Charities retains control of most of the records related to SFOA, the OSP Archives does possess financial records, as well as some information about early-twentieth-century asylum inhabitants and correspondence related to SFOA administration. Though these records are quite limited in their scope, they do provide some insight into at least one of the city's many Catholic orphanages, and I have footnoted information from the SFOA whenever it relates to my examination.

Though the dissertation reflects the limits of my sources, my study provides insights into the realities of Protestant orphanages in Baltimore and Liverpool throughout the period in which orphan asylums represented the primary means of caring for poor children in both the United States and England. My findings challenge the conclusions of a number of historians who have

worked in this field and argued that most nineteenth-century orphan asylum inhabitants were half-orphans who had one living parent. My own research demonstrates the majority of Baltimore orphanage inhabitants were children who had living mothers and fathers, and makes clear that nearly all the children in the Liverpool orphan asylums were full orphans who had lost both parents to death. Many Baltimore orphan asylum inhabitants came from families that turned, as other historians studying American orphanages have demonstrated, to these institutions because of unexpected developments that threatened the family's survival, and the largest number returned, as did most American children who resided in orphanages between the antebellum period and the 1930s, to their own families. The same cannot be said of Liverpool orphans, the overwhelming majority of whom ended up in the homes of unrelated third parties once they left the city's orphanages. And asylum officials in both cities proved remarkably different from the majority of asylum administrators in other cities when it came to their persistent commitment to the practice of indenture, or to an indenture-based type of labor arrangement. Indeed, orphanage authorities in both cities continued to employ this type of placement long after other orphanages had abandoned the practice. The fact that asylum authorities in both cities continued to use this type of placement to dismiss children from the orphanages suggests similar understandings on the part of these reformers when it came to the roles and occupations that were proper for dependent poor children, and perhaps even the existence of a trans-Atlantic belief system when it came to these reformers.

The organizational structure of the dissertation reflects the comparative focus of my investigation, as well as the problems I encountered in my efforts to engage in such an analysis. Chapter two explores the social, economic, religious and demographic realities of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Baltimore and Liverpool, and makes clear the similarities and the differences that existed between these two great ports. In Chapters three and four, I do not engage in a comparative analysis, but rather devote one chapter each to the examination of the families of Baltimore and Liverpool orphan asylum inhabitants. This separate consideration of families in

each city reflects the limits of my evidentiary sources. Asylum administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool privileged particular types of information when it came to children's families of origins, and collected data about these families that was markedly different. Chapter three focuses on the families that Baltimore asylum inhabitants came from, and illuminates the internal problems that led to the break-up of many of these families, the impact that missing fathers had on their children and wives, and the burden that the mothers of many asylum children bore when it came to their efforts to keep the family together. Chapter four considers the Liverpool orphanage residents' families, and focuses specifically on parental death and loss, as well as on the efforts that children's kin made to provide for children who had lost parents. Chapter five utilizes those points of comparison orphan asylum admission records do make possible, and reveals that significant commonalities existed between the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanage residents. In this chapter I engage in a demographic analysis, and I also consider the role health played in children's admission into and dismissal from the orphan asylums, as well as children's responses to their residence in the orphanages, and whether or not other local officials, organizations, and institutions played any role in the entrance of asylum children in both cities into the orphan asylums in question.

The remainder of the dissertation explores the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages, their treatment of asylum inmates, and the dismissal arrangements these institutions made for their former inhabitants. Chapter six evaluates the orphanages as institutions and issues of administration, discipline, and funding, as well as the secular and religious instruction provided to children in residence, and the leisure activities asylum officials provided to these children. The last three chapters of the dissertation consider the dismissal of children from orphanages in both cities. Chapter seven focuses on the Baltimore and Liverpool orphan asylums enduring use of indenture as a means of dismissal and explores issues of eligibility, the social norms that informed the indentures of children, and the terms of these arrangements. Chapter eight analyzes the actual experiences of former asylum residents in Baltimore and Liverpool who were

indentured or sent out to live with adults who were not their kin. Chapter nine explores what happened to children who were dismissed from the orphanages to the care of their relatives.

Chapter 2: Baltimore and Liverpool

Around the mid-nineteenth-century, three travelers recorded their impressions of the cities in which they had recently arrived. Of Baltimore, the Scottish newspaperman Alexander Mackay commented,

The portion of the town which adjoins the harbour is dirty and unattractive enough, but as you recede from the wharves and gain more elevated ground, its aspect improves very much, the streets being spacious, and regularly laid out—well paved, and tastefully built.¹

Englishwoman Matilda Charlotte Houstoun echoed Mackay's mostly positive evaluation of the city, and seemed surprised at the lack of poverty she encountered. In 1850 Houstoun noted, "No one looks *poor* at Baltimore, nor have we seen a single mendicant in the town. Beggars are rare everywhere in America—but I remember that we *did* see a very few in the streets of Philadelphia."² Both of these accounts of Baltimore differ dramatically from the description of another great Atlantic port that Nathaniel Hawthorne encountered during this same period. Hawthorne arrived in Liverpool in 1853 as the new American Consul to the city, and he reported unhappily that,

Liverpool is a most detestable place as a residence that ever my lot was cast in—smoky, noisy, dirty, pestilential; and the consulate is situated in the most detestable part of the city. The streets swarm with beggars by day and by night. You never saw the like, and I pray you may never see it in America.³

¹ Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore: As Seen By Visitors, 1783-1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953) , p. 145. Mackay visited Baltimore in 1846.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³ James O'Donald Mays, *Mr. Hawthorne Goes to England: The Adventures of a Reluctant Consul* (Ringwood, Hampshire: New Forest Leaves, 1983), p. 58. President Franklin Pierce appointed Hawthorne to this position.

If these travelers' observations of Liverpool and Baltimore are to be believed, these two nineteenth-century cities could not have been more different from one another. The filth, overcrowding and indigence that flourished in Liverpool were in complete opposition to the well-planned, relatively pleasant, and poverty-free city that was Baltimore.

But nineteenth-century Baltimore and Liverpool were far more similar to one another than these accounts actually suggest. Both cities were home to rapidly growing populations, and ranked throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries amongst the largest cities in their respective countries. Immigrants and migrants flooded into Baltimore and Liverpool throughout this period, changing the population dynamics of both cities repeatedly, and providing them with ethnic, racial, and religious diversity that both would otherwise have lacked. And it was not only in these respects that the two were remarkably alike. Both cities became commercial giants during the nineteenth century, and possessed economies in which trade and its continued growth fueled not only economic success, but the aforementioned diversity of their populations as well. The growth that occurred in Baltimore and Liverpool throughout this period made for physically similar cities as well, with both experiencing sanitation, health, and housing problems that resulted from the combination of rapid development and inadequate city infrastructures. Though the cities bore the physical impressions of this growth, Baltimoreans and Liverpoolians endured the repercussions of poor sanitation, disease, and insufficient housing stocks, and both cities were home to large cohorts of poor inhabitants who looked to local public and private charities for assistance and relief. This is not to say there were no differences between Baltimore and Liverpool; there were some particulars that varied between the two cities when it came to poor relief, population, economics, religion, immigration, migration, and physical realities. Yet at the larger macro-level, Baltimore and Liverpool were two ports on opposite sides of the Atlantic that were remarkably comparable.

Demographics

Baltimore and Liverpool experienced significant population growth throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though Baltimore's percentage population growth continually exceeded Liverpool's between 1800 and 1910. Yet Liverpool remained the larger city overall, and higher in its country's national size rankings than Baltimore was in those for the United States. (See Table 2.1) Between 1800 and 1840, Baltimore's population grew from 26,514 to 102,313, which represented a 285.9% increase in overall growth. Liverpool's population also skyrocketed during these years, from 77,653 at the time of the 1801 British Census, to 286,427 by the time of the 1841 census; though more people entered Liverpool than they did Baltimore, Liverpool's overall population increase was smaller, at 268.9% (208,834). Baltimore continued as well throughout the rest of the nineteenth century to trump Liverpool when it came to overall growth. Between 1840 and 1880, there was a 224.8% (230,000) increase in Baltimore's population and the city's total population more than tripled. Liverpool's increase during this same period was dramatically less at 92.9% (266,201), though the city's population had increased significantly from 286,487 to 552,508.⁴ This trend continued as well between 1880 and 1911, though there was a significant drop in the amount of change occurring in both cities' growth. Baltimore's population increased 68.1% overall between 1880 and 1910, while Liverpool's population increased overall by 35.1% in the years between 1881 and 1911.⁵ Baltimore's overall population growth outpaced Liverpool's not only during this last interval, but throughout the entirety of the nineteenth century as well, but Liverpool remained the larger city.

⁴ Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities," Table 7, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1840; Table 11, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1880; Colin Pooley, "Migration, mobility and residential areas in nineteenth-century Liverpool" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1978), 63.

⁵ Ibid., Table 11, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1880; Table 14, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1910; Pooley, "Migration, mobility and residential areas," 63.

Table 2.1 Population size, Baltimore and Liverpool

American Census Date	Baltimore	Population Growth (%)	British Census Date	Liverpool	Population Growth (%)
1800	26,514	...	1801	77,653	...
1840	102,313	285.9	1841	286,427	268.9
1880	332,313	224.8	1881	552,508	92.9
1910	558,485	68.1	1911	746,421	35.1

Sources: The population information for Baltimore comes from: Campbell Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790-1990." Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C., June 1998, Table 3, Population of the 33 Urban Places, 1800; Table 4, Population of the 46 Urban Places, 1810; Table 5, Population of the 61 Urban Places, 1820; Table 6, Population of the 90 Urban Places; Table 7, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1840. The source of the Liverpool population information is: Colin Pooley, "Migration, mobility and residential areas in nineteenth-century Liverpool" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1978), 63.

During the nineteenth century, Baltimore and Liverpool became the second largest cities in their respective countries, yet only Liverpool was able to maintain this ranking into the early twentieth century. Baltimore became the second largest American city in 1830, while Liverpool became the second largest English city behind London in 1851.⁶ Baltimore remained second to New York City in terms of population for the next thirty years, until in 1860 it fell to fourth place nationally behind New York City, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn. Between 1870 and 1910, the city fluctuated in terms of size between sixth and seventh place nationally, and by 1910, its population of 558,485 made Baltimore the seventh largest US city behind New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, and Cleveland.⁷ Meanwhile, Liverpool remained England's second largest city throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and in the earliest years of the twentieth century. It was not until 1911 that Birmingham's population of 840,000 surpassed Liverpool's

⁶ New York was the largest city in the country, with 202,589 inhabitants, and Baltimore was the second biggest American city with 80,620 residents; see Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities," Table 6, Population of the 90 Urban Places. In 1851, London's population was 2,685,000, and the five largest cities in England were London, Liverpool (375,955), Manchester (303,000), Birmingham (233,000), and Bristol (137,000); B.R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750-1988* (New York: Stockton Press, 1992), p. 72-4.

⁷ Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities," Table 9, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1860; Table 10, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1870; Table 11, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1880; Table 12, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1890; Table 13, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1900; Table 14, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places, 1910. In 1910, New York had 4,766,883 residents, Chicago's population was 2,185,283, Philadelphia had 1,549,008 inhabitants. The populations of St. Louis (687,029), Boston (670,585), and Cleveland (560,663) had not yet reached one million.

753,000 residents, and Liverpool became the third largest English city.⁸ Thus Liverpool retained its position as the second largest city in England for a far longer period of time than did Baltimore in the United States.

Children who resided in Baltimore between 1840 and 1910 faced significant dangers when it came to mortality and disease, though there were improvements in both of these areas during the last thirty years of the century. According to Sherry Olson, 44,000 children perished between 1837 and 1860 in Baltimore, and the highest infant and child mortality in the city's history occurred between 1838 and 1865, with one-half of the deaths that occurred in the city involving children younger than five years of age.⁹ These statistics certainly reinforce the tangible health threats facing children living in the city, and as of 1870, 54.7% (3,976) of all deaths in the Baltimore involved children under ten years of age.¹⁰ In the last three decades of the nineteenth-century, there was a reversal in infant and child mortality trends in the city that was directly connected to decreasing occurrences of childhood diseases. During this period "the rate for cholera infantum, or diarrhea of children under two years of age was more than cut in half," while deaths from contagious diseases "such as smallpox, chicken pox, scarlet fever, and measles, and from influenza, whooping cough, and diphtheria, diseases which attack especially children under ten years of age, were also greatly reduced in proportion to the living population."¹¹ As the result of these changes, the percentage of all deaths in Baltimore that involved children younger than five years of age fell to 37.6% (4,020) in 1900.¹²

Children who resided in Liverpool during the nineteenth century also faced significant health dangers. As of 1844, almost 50,000 of every 100,000 children in the city died before they

⁸ By 1911, the five largest cities in England were London (7,256,000), Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester (714,000), and Sheffield (465,000). See Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics*, p. 72-4.

⁹ Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 130.

¹⁰ William Travis Howard, Jr., *Public Health Administration and the Natural History of Disease in Baltimore, Maryland, 1797-1920* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1924), p. 521.

¹¹ Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941), p. 17-8.

¹² Howard, *Public Health Administration*, p. 522.

reached the age of ten.¹³ Children who resided in the city's central and dockside neighborhoods were most at risk for death, though all children in the city faced the possibility of contracting a variety of diseases that regularly plagued the young, including scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, measles, and diarrhea.¹⁴ As Anthony McCabe reveals, infant and young child mortality remained high in Liverpool between 1851 and 1880. Between 1851 and 1860, children one year of age and under accounted for 24.7% of all deaths in Liverpool, and children aged five and under comprised 49.5% of the city's total deaths.¹⁵ In the decades that followed, infants continued to comprise a high percentage of all deaths in Liverpool. Indeed, between 1861 and 1880 children one year of age and younger represented just under 23% of all deaths in the city. Children who were under the age of five constituted an even higher percentage of deaths in Liverpool. These children made up 45.0% of deaths for the period between 1861 and 1870, and 42.5% of total city deaths between 1871 and 1880.¹⁶ The youngest of these Liverpoolian children had a greater chance of dying than their counterparts in other large English cities. Indeed, by 1892, infant mortality in Liverpool was 189 out of every 1000 infants, as compared to 145 in London, 145 in Bristol, and 139 in Portsmouth.¹⁷

Liverpool was notable, not only for the population growth the city experienced during the nineteenth-century, but for being the 'Black Spot on the Mersey,' because of its high mortality rate and low life expectancy. Between 1841 and 1850, the average death rate in Liverpool was 36 per 1000, as compared to 33 in Manchester, 30 in Leeds, 28 in Salford, 27 in Newcastle and

¹³ Sheila Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 80.

¹⁴ Colin G. Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City," in *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 225.

¹⁵ Between 1851 and 1860, an average of 282.8 of every 1000 infants in Liverpool died, as did 132 out of every 1000 children five and under. These averages spiked to 305 and 139 respectively between 1861 and 1870, when the city was hit by particularly virulent cholera and typhus outbreaks, though they decreased between 1871 and 1880 to 272.5 out of every 1000 infants and 119 out of every 1000 children ages five and under. For additional information on infant and child mortality during this period in Liverpool, please see Anthony T. McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside, 1850-1875." M.Litt, University of Lancaster, 1975, p. 35.

¹⁶ McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," p. 35.

¹⁷ Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p. 13-4. According to Richard Lawton, Liverpool's infant mortality rates during the late-nineteenth century were still three times the national level; see Richard Lawton, "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City: The Case of Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century," in *Population and Society in Western European Port-Cities, c. 1650-1939*, ed. Richard Lawton and Robert Lee, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 108.

Sheffield, 26 in Birmingham, and 22 in England and Wales overall. This average fell to 33 per 1000 between 1851 and 1860, but rose to 39 between 1861 and 1870.¹⁸ During this latter period, the mean life expectancy in Liverpool was only 30 years of age. This figure was close to Manchester's mean life expectancy of 31, but significantly less than Birmingham's average of 37, London's mean of 38, and Portsmouth's mean of 42.¹⁹ Though statistics from 1871 through 1901 reveal improvements in Liverpool's average death rate and mean life expectancy, Liverpoolians continued to face greater dangers than most other English city inhabitants. Cholera struck the city in 1833, 1849, 1854 and 1866, typhus epidemics occurred in 1847 and between 1863 and 1866, and other diseases, including tuberculosis (phthisis), whooping cough, smallpox and diarrhea and dysentery flourished in nineteenth-century Liverpool.²⁰ Between 1871 and 1880, the city's death rate fell to 33.6, and between 1891 and 1901, Liverpool's mean life expectancy, calculated from birth increased to 38 years.²¹ These figures are comparable to those in Manchester, but are significantly different from a number of other British cities. Liverpool still had a far higher average death rate than Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle, Birmingham and Salford, and its residents had a much lower life expectancy than inhabitants of Birmingham, London, and Portsmouth.²²

¹⁸ McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," p. 203.

¹⁹ Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City," p. 224.

²⁰ For information on these cholera epidemics, see: McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," p. 23-25. McCabe provides the most in-depth examination of the impact that typhus, tuberculosis, cholera, and other diseases had on the city and its inhabitants during this period; see McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," "Chapter 2: Mortality and Medical Facilities," p. 19-48. For more on disease in Liverpool during this period, see: Marriner, *The Economic and social Development of Merseyside*, p. 80. See John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), p. 60-2, for the threat typhus posed to the city, its residents, and for the manner in which medical reformers identified the Irish as the root of these problems.

²¹ McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," p. 203; Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City" p. 224.

²² Manchester's average death rate between 1871 and 1880 was 32.9 per 1000, and its mean life expectancy between 1891 and 1901 was, like Liverpool's, 38 years of age. Between 1871 and 1880, the Newcastle's average death rate was 28.9 per 1000, Salford's was 27.7, Sheffield's was 27.4, Leeds' was 26.0, and Birmingham was 25.8; the national average death rate for England and Wales during this same period was considerably less, and was 21.3 per 1000. Between 1891 and 1901, mean life expectancy in Birmingham, London and Portsmouth was 42, 44 and 46 years of age respectively. For these average death rate figures, see: McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," p. 203. Please examine Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City" p. 224, for statistics on mean life expectancy between 1891 and 1901.

Immigration, Migration, Race, and Ethnicity

Large numbers of people entered Baltimore and Liverpool between the 1840s and the 1860s, though the sources of these influxes differed. In Baltimore, foreign immigration from the countries of Western Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, was of central importance. In Liverpool, migration from within England and the British Isles shaped the makeup of the city's population. The composition of antebellum Baltimore reflected the impact that successive waves of Western European immigration had on the city. German-speakers comprised one-fifth of Baltimore's population in 1839, and by the end of that same decade, the city had welcomed several cohorts of immigrants including those from England, Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia.²³ Between 1840 and 1860, this influx of immigrants increased dramatically, as almost 170,000 foreigners entered Baltimore. Though not all of these immigrants remained in the city, almost 28.0% (40,000) of the city's 140,000 residents were foreign-born by 1850. Throughout these decades, Germans constituted the largest community of foreigners in Baltimore, though "during the [Irish] famine years of the late 1840s and early 1850s the number of immigrants from Ireland rose until they comprised nearly one-half of the yearly immigration."²⁴ This era of continued and sizeable foreign immigration into Baltimore was followed by a period in which the arrival of foreigners into the city nearly ceased. The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 effectively ended foreign immigration into Baltimore, and this pattern continued until after the cessation of the war.²⁵ Though immigration into Baltimore did resume in the period following the war, the numbers of Europeans arriving in the city never reached the same levels that they had during the antebellum period.

Liverpool's population was also impacted by an influx of new arrivals between the 1840s and the 1860s, though it was not foreign immigration that was central, but short-distance

²³ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 319; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 91.

²⁴ Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 191; Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African-American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), p. 195.

²⁵ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 145.

migration from within England and migration from the British Isles that shaped the composition of the city's population. As of 1851, Liverpool's foreign-born contingent totaled only 1.4% (5,252) of the city's entire population, as compared to the 17.1% of the city's residents from the parts of Lancashire other than Liverpool and the counties adjacent to Lancashire, and the 31.4% (118,134) of Liverpool's population that hailed from Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.²⁶ This British Isles-born cohort further augmented Liverpool's growing ethnic diversity; the city had a Jewish community in the mid-1800s that was the second only in size to that of London, as well as a settled Greek community, and a group of German immigrants in residence.²⁷ Of the British-Isles-born migrants, the Irish-born cohort was the largest, and comprised 22.3% (83,813) of Liverpool's populace by 1851.²⁸ The high percentage of Irish-born migrants in the city reflects the impact that the Irish Famine Migration had on Liverpool during the mid-1840s when thousands fled Ireland and entered the city. As of 1841, Liverpool's Irish-born population had been only 49,639.²⁹ The Irish dominated in terms of sheer numbers, but by 1852 Liverpool was also home to a sizeable Welsh-and Scots-born population, in which the former comprised 5.4% (20,262) of the city's population and the latter represented 3.7% (14,049).³⁰

During the later decades of the nineteenth century, there were an increasing number of residents in Baltimore and Liverpool who were originally from the city or its closest regions, and decreases in the numbers of immigrants and migrants who had entered the cities in large numbers in earlier decades of the century. There was, however, a crucial difference between the two cities when it came to foreign immigration, which was decreasing in Baltimore and increasing in Liverpool. Between 1870 and 1900, Baltimore's foreign-born population decreased in size, though foreign immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe increased, as did local in-

²⁶ Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City," p. 184.

²⁷ John Belchem and Donald M. MacRaild, "Cosmopolitan Liverpool," in *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p.358-67.

²⁸ Lawton, "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City," p. 115.

²⁹ Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience, 1819-1914, An aspect of Anglo-Irish history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.81.

³⁰ Lawton, "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City," p. 115.

migration into the city. The percentage of the population that Baltimore's foreign-born inhabitants comprised decreased dramatically during these three decades, from 21.1% (56,484), in the former, to 13.5% (68,600) in the latter. This decline meant that among the ten largest cities in the United States, Baltimore had the smallest population of foreign-born residents.³¹

The city's traditional immigrant groups suffered the greatest decreases. Baltimore's German-born community shrunk from 62.6% of the city's population in 1870 to 48.4% in 1900, while its Irish-born community decreased from 27.0% in 1870 to 14.1% in 1900. Foreign immigration did not cease, however but rather shifted in focus from Western Europe to the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe.³² Yet it was American-born local migration into the city that was outpacing foreign immigration between 1870 and 1900. During this period, there was a 47.5% (114,000) rise in Baltimore's American-born population. The majority of these American-born migrants were white, and 70% (nearly 57,000) of them were from Maryland.³³ As this evidence suggests, local migration of native-born Americans trumped foreign immigration in terms of importance in late-nineteenth-century Baltimore, and significantly altered the composition of the city's population.

The most striking changes in Liverpool's population during the late-nineteenth century involved the growing percentage of the population that hailed from Liverpool and other parts of Lancashire, the increasing numbers of foreign-born immigrants entering the city during this period, and the decrease in Liverpool's British-Isles-born contingent. According to the 1871 Census, Lancashire-born inhabitants comprised 58.7% (289,693) of Liverpool's 493,405 residents; this cohort had represented only 42.4% of the city's inhabitants in 1851. This

³¹ Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 23; James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore 1895 to 1911* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 6.

³² Hirschfeld, *Baltimore: 1870-1900*, p. 24-5. Russian-born Jews experienced the fastest growth when it came to these new arrivals; they constituted 5.9% of Baltimore's population in 1890 and 15.3% of the city's inhabitants in 1900. The percentage of Austrian-born (including Austria, Hungary and Bohemia) and Polish-born residents in Baltimore also increased during this period. In 1870, 1.8% of the city's population was from Austria. This percentage increased to 2.6% in 1880, 4.0% in 1890, and 5.6% in 1900. It was not until 1890 that a Polish-born component of Baltimore was identified; as of this year the Polish-born residents comprised 1.4% of the city's population. This increased to 4.2% in 1900.

³³ Hirschfeld, *Baltimore: 1870-1900*, p. 20-21.

percentage continued to increase during the next thirty years, and by 1901, 72.3% (495,013) of Liverpool's populace of 684,958 was originally from Lancashire.³⁴ The city's foreign-born population was also on the rise during this period, after having nearly doubled between 1861 and 1871. As of 1871, foreigners represented 1.9% (9,300) of Liverpool's population, and this growth continued, so that by 1901 there were 14,959 (2.2%) foreigners inhabiting the city.³⁵ Though the number of foreign- and local-born residents in Liverpool was increasing, there was a significant decrease in the number of city residents who hailed from the British Isles. The amount of the city's overall population that this latter contingent comprised dropped significantly between 1871 and 1901, from 24.0% (118,387) to 12.2% (83,378). The decrease in the size of the city's Irish-born community during these three decades was particularly extensive: Irish-born residents made up 15.6% (76,761) of the city's populace in 1871 and only 6.7% (45,673) of Liverpool's residents in 1901.³⁶ The drop in numbers represented a significant decrease in one of the city's most established and traditional migrant groups, and reinforced the importance of local migrants and foreign immigrants to the city's population at the end of the century.

The influx of foreign immigrants into Baltimore and British Isles migrants into Liverpool produced the ethnic diversity that existed in both of these cities during the nineteenth century. It was not only ethnicity, however, that shaped the demographic composition of these two Atlantic ports, but race as well. Nineteenth-century Baltimore had a large African-American population throughout the century, and though Liverpool's black and Chinese community never approximated this population in size, these groups grew significantly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The roots of Baltimore's black community dated back to the late-eighteenth century, when there were 1,578 black inhabitants of the city. This limited population gave way during the first decades of the 1800s to extraordinary growth, and by 1810 over 10,000 African Americans resided in the city. By 1840, free blacks and slaves comprised 20.6% of

³⁴ Pooley, "Migration, mobility and residential areas," p. 66.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

Baltimore's total population, and by the 1850s there were more free blacks living in Baltimore than in any other American city.³⁷ Indeed, the black population in Baltimore was, by the mid-nineteenth century, an established community with its own lodges, churches, banks, mutual aid groups and insurance societies.³⁸ There was a temporary decline in this community's growth between 1850 and 1860, when the percentage of Baltimore's African-American population fell to 13.1% (27,898). This was short-lived, however, as black migrants flooded into the city following Emancipation and the American Civil War.³⁹ By 1870, African-Americans comprised 14.8% (39,558) of the city's population, and during the last three decades of the century, almost 40,000 more African-Americans entered Baltimore in search of urban job opportunities, higher wages and to be in closer proximity to relatives.⁴⁰ Ten years before the end of the century, Baltimore was home to an African-American population that was so significant that it was larger than any one immigrant group and second nationally only to that of Washington D.C.

Nineteenth-century Liverpool's black community was never as sizeable as Baltimore's, though its roots were equally deep. The city's black population actually dated back to the

³⁷ Of the 1578 African Americans who inhabited Baltimore in 1790, 1255 were slaves and 323 were free blacks. In 1810, there were 10,343 African Americans who inhabited the city; of this population, 4672 were slaves and 5671 were free blacks. See Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, p. 15-6, for a comprehensive table assessing Baltimore's population, its white, slave, and free black populations between 1790 and 1860. Phillips does incorrectly identify the city's overall population in 1840 as 102,513, rather than 102,313. For more on the African-American community in Baltimore prior to the Civil War, see: Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 40-62.

³⁸ For information on the Baltimore African-American community, its institutions, and establishments, please examine: Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), p. 264-65; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, "Chapter 6: The Maturation of a Black Community," p. 146-76.

³⁹ Baltimore's slave population had been falling since the 1820s, but its free black population had continued to grow significantly until 1850. As Christopher Phillips shows, economic downturns, state laws and the exclusion of African Americans from particular occupations all had a direct impact on the growth of Baltimore's black community between 1850 and 1860. The number of free blacks residing in the city increased less than 1% during this period from 25,442 to 25,680, and this change, combined with the continued decrease in the city's slave population, resulted in an overall decrease in Baltimore's black population between 1850 and 1860. For more on this decline please examine the following: Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, p. 15; 27; 135; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, p. 44; 62. See also Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the confines of white racial attitudes in post-emancipation Maryland* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), p. 112. The free black community, as well as Baltimore Quakers and the Baltimore City Trustees of the Poor attempted to assist black migrants, though city officials were severely hampered in these efforts by the limited relief to which they had access, and by the high number of requests for aid that were made during the period immediately following the Civil War. See "Chapter 6: Baltimore" of Fuke's work for more on this period, the influx of black migrants, and the efforts to assist these new arrivals.

⁴⁰ Fuke, *Imperfect Equality*, p. 113; Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 214-15. For additional information on this late-nineteenth century influx of African Americans into Baltimore, see: Hirschfield, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 20; Crooks, *Politics & Progress*, p. 7.

eighteenth century, when black slaves, servants, runaways, sailors and seafarers, and foreign-born black students inhabited Liverpool. As Ian Law and June Henfrey argue, however, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that a “distinct black community” emerged in Liverpool.⁴¹ This population increased in size from the 1860s, and by 1871, Liverpool’s Afro-Asian community was second only in size to that of London’s. Inter-marriage and the arrival of West African sailors who worked for Elder Dempster in Liverpool fueled this growth, and by 1911, there were 3,000 black inhabitants of Liverpool.⁴² In addition to this growing black community, there was a small group of late-nineteenth-century Chinese residents in Liverpool. This contingent remained quite limited between 1881, when there were reportedly fifteen Chinese residents in Liverpool and Birkenhead, and 1901, when the Chinese-born population in Liverpool totaled seventy-six. Yet there was a notable increase in this population during the first decade of the twentieth century, and by 1911, there were 403 Chinese residents of the city.⁴³ These populations continued to grow as well in the decades that followed, and to develop communities with institutions, churches, and aid groups; this growth was remarkably similar in scope to that which Baltimore’s nineteenth-century African-American community experienced fifty years before.

Religion

It is impossible to engage in a comparative analysis of nineteenth-century Baltimore and Liverpool and not address the religious makeup of the two cities. Both cities were primarily Protestant, though they were also religiously diverse, and home to Roman Catholic and Jewish

⁴¹ This group of students was comprised of African students and noblemen, as well as the children of West Indian planters and black women. For more information on the black community in mid-nineteenth century Liverpool, please examine: Ian Law and June Henfrey, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool* (Liverpool: Merseyside Community Relations Council, 1981), p. 18.

⁴² Elder Dempster was the Liverpool shipping company that obtained control of the main shipping trade to West Africa in the late nineteenth century. The company employed a number of West African sailors and seaman, some of whom moved to Liverpool permanently. See Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool*, p. 24. For an insightful analysis of the West African (Kru) community in Liverpool during the late-nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, refer to Diane Frost, *Work and Community among West African Migrant Workers since the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 187-230.

⁴³ Maria Lin Wong, *Chinese Liverpoolians* (Birkenhead: Liver Press, 1989), p. 4. Wong’s work is the most thorough examination of the Chinese community in Liverpool, though Ian Law does consider them in his study as well; for additional information, see Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool*, p. 23-4.

populations, the former of which was largest in Liverpool, and the latter more sizeable in Baltimore. Between 1840 and 1910, Baltimore was home to a variety of religions, though it was Christianity that was dominant in the city. According to Jessica Elfenbein, Baltimore was of particular importance to American Christianity, as it was the birthplace of American Methodism, and had “long been a center of Presbyterians and Episcopalian activity and an early stronghold of Quakers and Baptists.”⁴⁴ Baltimore was also home to Lutherans, Unitarians, Methodists, German Reformed, United Brethren, Universalists, and a variety of Protestant Evangelicals.⁴⁵ The city’s religious makeup encompassed more, however, than a variety of Protestant faiths. Baltimore was home to the earliest diocese of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, and by 1789, 18,000 of the 25,000 Roman Catholics residing in the United States lived in Baltimore. This community grew throughout the nineteenth century, and as of 1890, 77,047 of the city’s 434,439 inhabitants were Roman Catholics. This population included German, Bohemian, Polish, Italian, Irish and African American congregants.⁴⁶ Baltimore’s Jewish community also expanded during the period, from approximately 200 families in 1840 to 700 families in 1850, as German Jewish migrants arrived in the aftermath of the failed 1848 Revolution.⁴⁷ The most dramatic increases in the Jewish community, however, occurred between 1880 and 1900, as Russian and Polish Jews fled European persecution and migrated to a number of eastern US cities, including Baltimore.⁴⁸ Though Protestants continued to outnumber Catholic and Jewish inhabitants of the city at the end

⁴⁴ Jessica I. Elfenbein, *The Making of a Modern City: Philanthropy, Civil Culture and the Baltimore YMCA* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), p. 9.

⁴⁵ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971), Chapter XXIII: Religious Denominations, p. 517-92. See also Lawrence C. Wroth, “Churches and Religious Organizations in Baltimore,” in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People. Volume I—History*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1912), p. 678-94.

⁴⁶ Wroth, “Churches and Religious Organizations in Baltimore,” p. 686; William Lloyd Fox, “Social-Cultural Developments from the Civil War to 1920,” in *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974*, ed. Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), p. 553; Reverend Louis O’Donovan, “The Roman Catholic Archdiocese,” in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People. Volume I—History*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1912), p. 701; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 123-25.

⁴⁷ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 125. As Olson points out, Baltimore’s Jewish community was sizeable enough to establish five synagogues in the city before the start of the Civil War. See also William Lloyd Fox, “Social-Cultural Developments from the Civil War to 1920,” p. 556.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

of the nineteenth-century, religious diversity continued to be the rule in Baltimore, rather than the exception.

Liverpool was remarkably similar to Baltimore in terms of religious diversity and the primacy of Christianity, though Liverpool's Catholic minority was larger and its Jewish population smaller. By 1849, there were already Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, Calvinist, Unitarian, Catholic, and Jewish places of worship in Liverpool.⁴⁹ The March 30, 1851, census of religion, which documented the church attendance of 45.2% (168,859) of Liverpool's population, suggested Christianity was numerically dominant among these religions. According to the census, "40.7 (68,725) per cent of those enumerated attended a Church of England [Anglican] service, 32.5 (54,879) per cent were [Roman] Catholic with most of the remainder attending a range of nonconformist [Protestant, non-Anglican] churches."⁵⁰ There also was a sizeable Catholic population that had increased dramatically since 1833, when the estimated Catholic presence in the city had been 24,156.⁵¹ The approximately 586,563 Irish paupers who fled the Irish Famine and landed in Liverpool between 1847 and 1853 were largely responsible for this growth. Though not all of these mostly Catholic migrants remained in the city, those who did augmented the city's Catholic population. By 1855, the Catholic Institute put the number of Roman Catholics in the city at 90,000; Baltimore's Catholic population had not even reached this level as of 1890.⁵² Liverpool's Jewish community was, however, significantly smaller than that of Baltimore. Though the city had the largest Jewish contingent outside of London by the mid-nineteenth century, the community itself numbered only 7,000 by 1905.⁵³ In

⁴⁹ *The Stranger in Liverpool; or, An Historical and Descriptive View of the Town of Liverpool and its Environs* (Liverpool: Thomas Kaye, 1849), p. 5-7.

⁵⁰ Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City," p. 242. No national effort was made to record religious affiliation in Great Britain until 2001, and thus it remains difficult to know Liverpool's exact religious composition during the nineteenth-century.

⁵¹ See Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 7, for estimates of the number of Catholics who resided in Liverpool during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

⁵² Neal, *Sectarian Violence*, p. 11; 81-2. For more on the Irish Famine and the influx of Irish Catholics into Liverpool, see J. Matthew Gallman, *Erin's Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool, and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845-1855* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), "Chapter Two: Migration and Reception," p. 28-32.

⁵³ N. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion: Tradition and Chance in Liverpool Jewry* (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), p. 154. According to Kokosalakis, a small Jewish population was in residence in

spite of these differences, the presence of Judaism, Roman Catholicism, and Protestant Christianity in Liverpool reinforced the larger similarities that existed between it and Baltimore when it came to nineteenth-century religious composition.

Economic realities of both cities

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, trade grew exponentially in Baltimore and Liverpool, dominated the economies of both cities, and remained central to their economic successes. There were, however, notable differences between these cities' economies when it came to industry and manufacturing, and Liverpool's industrial development during this period was far more restricted than was Baltimore's. Commerce was central to Baltimore's transformation from a small village of a few buildings in 1750 to a preeminent trading center, and to the city's economy between 1840 and 1910.⁵⁴ By 1843, the city's imports totaled more than \$3.6 million and its exports amounted to more than \$4.7 million, even though the city was coming out of a prolonged trade depression. The city's foreign trade expanded dramatically in the decades that followed, to include not only the more established European trade routes, but also the countries of South America and the newly accessible British grain market.⁵⁵ Trade with South America proved especially profitable, with flour, pork, grain, staves, textiles, and beef leaving Baltimore for Brazil, Peru and other South American countries, and guano, coffee, and copper, returning back to Baltimore. Overall, the city's foreign trade increased in value from \$33 million in 1870 to over \$96 million in 1880 and more than \$131 million in 1900.⁵⁶ The city's domestic trade increased as well, and by the late 1850s, Baltimore's local commerce included a

Liverpool by the middle of the eighteenth century, though the Jewish presence in the city may have predated this period.

⁵⁴ For more on Baltimore's rapid economic development between 1750 and the early 1800s, please examine the following: James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780-1860* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), p. 13-5; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, p. 10-3; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, p. 40-3; Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*, p. 132-33.

⁵⁵ The abolition of the British Corn Laws in 1846 opened up the English grain trade to American merchants; for more on this see Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861*, p. 162-63; Pearle Blood, "Factors in the Economic Development of Baltimore, Maryland," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 13, No. 2(April 1937), p. 190-91.

⁵⁶ For the 1870 figure, please see Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 32. For more information on the city's foreign trade in 1880, 1900, and 1910, please examine: Eleanor Stephens Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 8-9.

local trade in luxury items, a bay trade in which shellfish and foodstuffs passed to Baltimore, and a coastal trade with other southern cities.⁵⁷ This southern trade proved particularly profitable in the years following the Civil War, and by the end of the century, Baltimore “led New York, Philadelphia, and Boston in supplying the South with dry goods and notions, wearing apparel of all kinds, and provisions and groceries.” The exact value of this and the rest of the city’s domestic trade remains unclear, though a 1902 estimate suggests it had far surpassed foreign trade to reach \$175 million.⁵⁸

Though commerce dominated Baltimore’s economy throughout the nineteenth century, the city boasted a growing manufacturing sector during the last three decades of the nineteenth century that produced many of the goods the city exported. The number of manufacturing establishments in Baltimore tripled between 1870 and 1900, as steam power and other technological innovations affected a number of the city’s industries, including cigar making, clothing, oyster packing and shoe production.⁵⁹ Along with these goods, the city’s manufacturers also produced a number of other items, including canned fruits and vegetables, fertilizer, cotton duck, ironware, tinware, copperware, bread and other baked goods, tobacco, marble and stonework, and foundry and machine shop products.⁶⁰ Baltimore’s industrial growth was such that by 1880, the city was the eighth largest U.S. manufacturing center, and also among the top six cities nationally when it came to the production of copper, tin, and sheet ironware, brick and tile, marble and stonework, saddlery and harness, bread and other bakery goods, men’s clothing, tobacco and ships.⁶¹ This expansion was also evident in terms of the percentage of the city’s population employed in manufacturing, which rose from 37.5% (35,338) in 1870 to 38.6%

⁵⁷ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 110.

⁵⁸ Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 33.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 150; 175.

⁶⁰ E. Emmet Reid, “Commerce and Manufactures of Baltimore,” in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People. Volume I—History*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912), p. 513-525; Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 42-3; Bruchey. “The Business Elite in Baltimore,” p. 5. Helen D. Bentley and F. Key Kidder, *The Great Port of Baltimore: Its First 300 Years*. (Baltimore: Media Two, Inc, 2006), p. 33-4;

⁶¹ Bruchey, “The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914,” p. 32.

(71,097) in 1890.⁶² Though this was not a phenomenal increase, it does demonstrate the growth that was occurring in Baltimore's manufacturing sector during the late nineteenth century, and suggested as well the city's economy was slowly diversifying during this period.

Trade was the essential component of Liverpool's economy as well, and key to the economic growth that occurred in the city during the nineteenth century. By the late eighteenth century, Liverpool was Britain's leading slave port, yet trade with Ireland still accounted for more than all of Liverpool's trade with North America, West Africa, and the West Indies combined.⁶³ This pattern reversed itself in the early nineteenth century, as the city's traders and merchants explored previously inaccessible markets such as India, China, and South America, and as of 1850, 4.0 million tons of shipping was passing through the city.⁶⁴ By 1857, Liverpool's export trade was equal to "approximately 45 per cent of the United Kingdom's total," and the city's import trade was also flourishing, as oils, grain, tobacco, rum, sugar, timber, meat and livestock, and especially American cotton landed at the Liverpool docks.⁶⁵ Trade continued to power Liverpool's economy in the decades that followed, and the city's foreign and domestic commerce

⁶² Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 39-40.

⁶³ Liverpool was a principal participant in the triangular trade, in which slaves were sent from Africa to North America and the West Indies, and sugar and tobacco were sent from those regions back to Liverpool. For more on the slave trade, please examine Jane Longmore, "Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800," in *Liverpool 800: Culture Character & History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 132-34; M.J. Power, "The Growth of Liverpool," in *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History, 1790-1940*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 23; Stuart Wilks-Heeg, "From World City to Pariah City? Liverpool and the Global Economy, 1850-2000," in *Reinventing the City: Liverpool in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Ronaldo Munck (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003); p. 40; Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 37-8; D.P. Lamb, "Volume and tonnage of the Liverpool slave trade," in *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition: Essays to illustrate current knowledge and research*, ed. Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair, (Liverpool: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1976), p. 91-112. See Power, "The Growth of Liverpool," p. 23; Longmore, "Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800," p. 129-130, for discussions of the city's trade with Ireland.

⁶⁴ For more on the opening up of these markets, see: Graeme J. Milne, "Maritime Liverpool," in *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 259; F.E. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey: An economic history of a port, 1700-1970* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971), p. 42. Please examine M.J. Power "The Growth of Liverpool," p. 23, for early nineteenth-century Liverpool's shipping tonnage statistics.

⁶⁵ Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey*, p. 97; Milne, "Maritime Liverpool," p. 262. Cotton was a commodity that arrived in Liverpool during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though the importation of this item into the city expanded dramatically during the first half of the nineteenth century. According to F.E. Hyde, the majority of cotton which arrived in Liverpool prior to 1801 came from the West Indies, though there was also cotton which arrived periodically from the Mediterranean before the start of the nineteenth century. The United States replaced the West Indies in the early 1800s as the primary source of Liverpool's cotton, and continued in this capacity throughout the nineteenth century. By 1850 the city was handling 85% of Great Britain's total annual import of 1.75 million cotton bales. For more on the cotton trade and its significance in nineteenth-century Liverpool, see Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 39; Milne, "Maritime Liverpool," p. 259; Wilks-Heeg, "From World City to Pariah City?" p. 40.

expanded dramatically as Liverpool became a major steamship port in the period following the American Civil War.⁶⁶ Between 1850 and 1913, the volume of exports the city was sending to places like India, Mexico, South America and South Africa “increased nearly fourfold in value and nearly fivefold in volume,” while the imports Liverpool was handling tripled in value and “the volumes increased between three and four times.”⁶⁷ As this evidence demonstrates, commerce continued to be of fundamental importance to the majority of the daily economic exchanges and realities of Liverpool, and principal to the city’s larger economic fortunes throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Between 1840 and 1910, manufacturing and industry in Liverpool remained limited in their scope, and though growth did occur, there were also impediments that restricted industrial development. Much of the manufacturing that occurred in nineteenth-century Liverpool was related to the raw materials imported into the city, which were “generally too bulky to be processed cheaply elsewhere.” The arrival of large quantities of sugar, tobacco, and grain thus led to the construction of a number of mills, sugar refineries and tobacco processing centers in the city.⁶⁸ Liverpool was also home during this period to soap-making works, oil-cake-making factories, spirit distilleries, and to firms that produced “alkali, bleaching materials and other chemicals.”⁶⁹ There were, however, significant hindrances to the city’s industrial growth. Liverpool’s merchants cared little about production, and “so the town’s manufacturing base was small throughout the nineteenth century.”⁷⁰ Those attempts that were made to establish industry in Liverpool were themselves not always successful either; public opposition to the pollution associated with soda manufactories forced industrialists to move their companies to St. Helens,

⁶⁶ Milne, “Maritime Liverpool,” p. 260-61. Milne argues that the American Civil War opened up new possibilities for Liverpool’s Atlantic steam firms. The US merchant fleet was removed from sea travel during the war and was unable to recover in the years that followed. Liverpool’s Atlantic steam firms were able to capitalize on this, and expand in their own right. According to Milne, this was the start of an economy that was transatlantic, and it was this economy that radically altered Liverpool’s role in the maritime world.

⁶⁷ Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey*, p. 100.

⁶⁸ Lawrence Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool, c.1850-1914” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1987), 5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5; Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 58

⁷⁰ Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool,” p. 4.

located some thirteen miles to the northeast of Liverpool.⁷¹ There were as well, problems for the older craft industries of pottery, glass, watch production and clock manufacturing, which declined in the face of increased nineteenth-century competition, and Liverpool's shipbuilding industry waned as production shifted to Birkenhead.⁷² These declines, as well as the hindrances that merchants and even town residents posed to manufacturing and industry in Liverpool, countered the little growth that did occur in these sectors during the nineteenth century, and reinforced Liverpool's inferiority to Baltimore when it came to industrial development during this period.

The Physical Environment

The infrastructure in Baltimore and Liverpool was unable to keep pace with the rapid growth and development occurring in both nineteenth-century cities, and the result in both cities was an unsanitary, dangerous physical reality. Officials in both cities engaged in campaigns to improve habitable conditions, and to protect residents from the dangers that residence in these two great urban centers posed, but with only limited success. When Englishman Alfred Pairpoint visited Baltimore in 1855, he cautioned that "in hot weather, it [Baltimore] must be far from healthy, from lying low, and being frequently visited by fevers of the South."⁷³ Pairpoint's assessment actually underestimated the sanitary dangers nineteenth-century Baltimore posed to its inhabitants. Baltimore was the largest unsewered American city during the nineteenth century, and this was its most significant physical flaw.⁷⁴ The city's haphazard drainage system led to continual problems, especially for the poor, who depended on public wells that were "polluted from surface drainage, privies, and defective sewers or covered streams." Baltimore's sewage problems also fostered outbreaks of disease, including smallpox in 1845, 1861, 1865, 1871 and

⁷¹ Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 58.

⁷² Lawton, "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City," p. 93.

⁷³ Semmes, *Baltimore: As Seen by Visitors*, p. 167.

⁷⁴ Charlotte C. Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems: Poverty, Health and Crime in Baltimore, 1865-1875" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1975), 9. See also Crooks, *Politics & Progress*, p. 8.

1882; cholera in 1849 and 1866; and a series of fevers that struck the city in the 1850s.⁷⁵ The city's irregular, dirty, and regularly unpaved streets further compounded these problems, and contributed to "the unhealthiness of the city," as did the slums of late-nineteenth century East and West Baltimore.⁷⁶ In the congested Fells Point neighborhood, Polish immigrants were crowded into single dwellings that had six to eight families in residence. Overcrowding was rampant as well in the Hughes Street District, where African-Americans were crammed into small houses, many of which were built back-to-back and poorly ventilated, and on the East Bank of the Jones Falls, where recent immigrants to Baltimore lived in houses that had been subdivided to accommodate too many inhabitants.⁷⁷ These housing realities, as well as a city infrastructure that was not only incomplete but unsanitary, made nineteenth-century Baltimore an often unpleasant and regularly dangerous place to live.

Public officials in Baltimore engaged in a series of reforms beginning in the late 1840s, in an effort to reduce disease and improve the city's sanitation. The earliest of these reforms involved the construction of an emergency quarantine hospital, and the appointment of one physician to each city ward to provide Baltimoreans with free smallpox vaccinations and to "report instances of unsanitary conditions and contagious diseases to the Board of Health."⁷⁸ City officials turned their attention as well to Baltimore's streets, water supply, and continuing drainage problems. Administrators hired a cadre of street scrapers and garbage-cart drivers in 1852 to remove refuse from the city in an orderly fashion, and by 1866 the city's Board of Health

⁷⁵ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 131-32; Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861*, p. 200. As Browne notes, the death rates for the two smallpox epidemics were as high as seventy-eight and seventy-nine per 100,000. An assortment of fevers hit Baltimore in the 1850s, including yellow fever in 1853, and malignant fevers in 1854 and 1858.

⁷⁶ When it came to city streets, Baltimore relied on private petitions from property owners for paving and improvements to occur. See Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 11. City officials claimed that Baltimore was devoid of tenements and the housing problems other American cities suffered from, even though landlords in the city regularly constructed houses back-to-back at right angles to Baltimore streets and along the city's alleys. This process was known as in-filling, and resulted in interior courts and houses that were only accessible via front house passageways. Though these houses were not tenements per se, they were certainly problematic and prone to poor lighting, ventilation, and other sanitary problems; see Garrett Power, "Deconstructing the Slums of Baltimore," in *From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past*, ed. Jessica Elfenbein, John R. Briehan, and Thomas L. Hollowak (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2002), p. 52.

⁷⁷ Power, "Deconstructing the Slums of Baltimore," p. 53-5.

⁷⁸ For more on these sanitary improvements, see: Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861*, p. 200; Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 190.

had established municipally organized garbage collection.⁷⁹ In an effort to improve the city's water supply Baltimore purchased the water company that furnished water to the city, extended the supply so that half of Baltimore's population had access to it, appointed a commission to investigate and recommend improvements to the city's "storm drainage and sanitary drainage," and authorized the improvement of the city's water supply with the construction of the Gunpowder works.⁸⁰ City officials' efforts to expand the city's water supply, improve city cleanliness, and reduce the outbreak of illness in Baltimore in the second half of the nineteenth century marked tangible attempts to improve Baltimoreans' quality of life.

There were, however, real limits to the changes Baltimore city officials were able to effect before the end of the nineteenth century, especially when it came to disease and the city's sewer problems. There was no systematic or planned effort in nineteenth-century Baltimore to limit and control the spread of contagion, despite the fact that the city's health inspectors had the legal authority to isolate, disinfect, and hospitalize in the case of any communicable illness. This was true even in the case of smallpox, which remained the sole focus of the health department. As a result of this inaction, epidemics such as cholera, typhoid and smallpox continued to originate in the city and cause fatalities.⁸¹ The city's sewage problems continued as well, despite repeated investigations into the city's sewage problems in 1859, 1881, and 1893. These reports yielded suggestions about how to resolve Baltimore's sewer difficulties, but Baltimore administrators failed to act on these reports or construct a sanitary sewage system for the city. By the end of the nineteenth century, indoor plumbing, population growth, and an expanded water supply made Baltimore's sewage issue far more hazardous than it had been at mid-century. The city's cesspools and streams were heavily polluted, and in Baltimore's older neighborhoods, it was not uncommon for the ground to become completely saturated from waste that was unable

⁷⁹ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 131; Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 236.

⁸⁰ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 136; 138-39; Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 264-65.

⁸¹ Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 197-212. Cholera struck Baltimore in 1866, a typhoid fever outbreak happened in 1870, and smallpox epidemics occurred in 1871 and 1882.

to drain. It was not until after the 1904 Baltimore fire, which destroyed “seventy blocks, 1,526 buildings, and more than 2,500 business enterprises,” that construction actually began on a proper sewage system for the city.⁸² As this evidence suggests, life in Baltimore remained problematic for its inhabitants, despite city officials’ efforts to improve residents’ health and the physical realities of the city throughout the nineteenth century.

Attention was drawn to the unsanitary nature of Liverpool during the 1840s by a developing English health movement, and the result was a harsh critique of the city and the dangers it posed to its inhabitants. Liverpool’s housing problems were already apparent as early as 1801, when “17.3 per cent of all city residences housed more than one family. . . and almost 50 per cent of front houses accommodated six or more people.”⁸³ The city’s residents bore the brunt of this overcrowding in the decades that followed, and a significant number of Liverpudlians ended up in those most unsanitary of dwellings, courts and cellars.⁸⁴ By 1843 Dr. WH Duncan estimated that Liverpool’s “1982 courts contained 10,692 houses and 55,534 inhabitants, or more than a third of the parish’s working class,” and he identified another 20,168 people as inhabitants of the parish’s 6,294 cellars.⁸⁵ National investigators reinforced these findings, and labeled Liverpool “one of the worst towns in the country for over-crowding, cellar dwellings, unhealthy

⁸² Crooks, *Politics & Progress*, p. 133-35, 141. For more on the February 1904 fire in Baltimore, the city’s reconstruction, and the construction of Baltimore’s sewage system, please see: Olsen, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 246-54, Crooks, *Politics & Progress*, p. 146-49.

⁸³ Pooley, “Living in Liverpool,” p. 209.

⁸⁴ The best description of the courts and cellars that I have found occurs in J. Matthew Gallman’s work *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 115, which features an excerpt of a paper that Dr. Duncan presented to the Literary and Philosophical Society in Liverpool. According to Duncan, the courts consisted “usually of two rows of houses placed opposite to each other, with an intervening space of from 9 to 15 feet, and having two to six or eight houses in each row. The court communicates with the street by a passage or archway about 3 feet wide—in the older courts, built up overhead; and the farther end being also in many instances closed...the court forms in fact a *cul de sac* with a narrow opening. Such an arrangement almost bids defiance to the *entrance* of air.” Duncan’s description of the cellars was equally as informative; they were he noted, “10 or 12 feet square...frequently having only the bare earth for a floor, -- and sometimes less than six feet in height. There is frequently no window, so that light and air can gain access to the cellar only by the door, the top of which is often not higher than the level of the street....They are of course dark; and from the defective drainage, they are also very generally damp.”

⁸⁵ For additional information about the investigations that Dr. WH Duncan and other local investigators conducted into Liverpool’s housing and sanitary conditions during this period, please examine Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 114-17; E. C. Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire, 1830-1860: Poor Law, Public Health and Police* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 72.

courts, and insanitary streets.”⁸⁶ Public health officials focused as well on the problems related to the city’s housing, especially Liverpool’s infamously high mortality rates. Reformers were horrified at the typhus, flu and scarlatina outbreaks that struck the city in 1847, killing 21,129 residents, and by the city’s 1849 cholera outbreak, which increased the overall death rate in the borough from an appalling 35.6 per 1000 in 1848 to a staggering 47.6 in 1849.⁸⁷ These deaths served as further proof of the need for reform in nineteenth-century Liverpool, and highlighted the tangible perils that many of its citizens faced on a daily basis.

Liverpool city officials moved quickly in the wake of the criticism leveled at Liverpool to improve sanitation, health, and living arrangements in the city, yet there were limits to the changes that these reformers, like their Baltimore counterparts, were able to effect. In 1846, city officials passed a Sanitary Act which was

the first piece of comprehensive Health legislation passed in England. It made the Town Council responsible for draining, paving, sewerage and cleaning, it permitted the appointment of a Borough Engineer, an Inspector of Nuisance and the first-ever Medical Officer of Health.⁸⁸

During this same period, the Liverpool Council focused on purchasing the private water companies providing Liverpool with water, expanding the city’s water supply, and adding to the Corporation’s drainage and sewer systems.⁸⁹ Between 1848 and 1858, the Liverpool Health Committee spent £630,000 on paving and flagging, £210,000 on nuisance removal, and £300,000

⁸⁶ Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 73; Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire*, p. 71-9, for information on national investigations into Liverpool and Lancashire during this period.

⁸⁷ McCabe, “The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside,” p. 19-24. Typhus epidemics occurred in Liverpool in 1847 and between 1863 and 1866, and cholera outbreaks happened once each decade between 1830 and 1860; the dates of the latter epidemics were 1833, 1849, 1854, and 1866. For more on the city’s high mortality and disease in Liverpool, see the following: Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 114-17; Midwinter, p. 90-102.

⁸⁸ Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire*, p. 84. For an informative consideration of efforts at sanitary reform and improvement in Liverpool during this period, please see: Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 90-6, 121-26.

⁸⁹ Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 81.

on the city's sewers, as part of their campaign to better sanitary conditions.⁹⁰ Despite these improvements, Liverpool continued to experience a number of health crises in the years that followed. Cholera epidemics occurred in 1854 and 1866, and typhus outbreaks happened in Liverpool's poor neighborhoods in 1863 and 1871.⁹¹ The city's housing woes continued as well; the 1864 City Engineer's Report estimated that 3,173 courts still existed in the city, that these courts contained 18,610 houses, and that on average each house contained more than six people. Liverpool officials attempted to rectify this situation with the 1864 Sanitary Act that allowed for slum clearance, and with the construction of the first corporation housing in England. Yet as geographer Colin Pooley has illustrated, Liverpool corporation housing accounted for only 6.5% of all new buildings in the city prior to 1918, and "rarely provided homes for those most in need."⁹² As this evidence suggests, there was no quick fix in either Liverpool or Baltimore when it came to the serious sanitation and health problems that plagued both cities during this period.

Charitable Efforts--Public Assistance

There were major differences in the nature and scope of the aid that nineteenth-century Baltimore and Liverpool provided their inhabitants. Baltimore officials limited the relief the city provided to its residents to indoor aid (assistance contingent on Baltimoreans' residence within particular institutions), restricted the number of city-sponsored institutions to two throughout this period, and preferred sponsorship of private charity to the expansion of public aid. Poor administrators in Liverpool weathered challenges to their authority during this period that their

⁹⁰ McCabe, "The Standard of Living on Merseyside, 1850-1875," p. 49-50.

⁹¹ For more on the 1847 typhus epidemic, please see Lawton, "The Components of Demographic Change in a Rapidly Growing Port-City," p. 108; McCabe, "The Standard of Living on Merseyside, 1850-1875," p. 20-1. According to McCabe, 2,810 Liverpoolians died as the result of the 1847 typhus epidemic. For more on cholera outbreaks in nineteenth-century Liverpool see: Gallman, *Receiving Erin's Children*, p. 87, 94-6; Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire, 1830-1860*, p. 70-1; McCabe, "The Standard of Living on Merseyside, 1850-1875," p. 23-4. Midwinter reports that the 1849 cholera epidemic caused 8,184 deaths in Lancashire, and that 5,308 of these occurred in Liverpool.

⁹² Pooley's analysis of housing in nineteenth-century Liverpool and the influence housing realities exerted on residents of the city is extensive in its scope. For more information on these topics, please examine: Colin G. Pooley, "Chapter 8: Choice and Constraint in the Nineteenth Century City: A Basis for Residential Differentiation," in *The Structure of Nineteenth-Century Cities*, ed. James H. Johnson and Colin G. Pooley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), p. 199-233.

counterparts in Baltimore never experienced. They offered Liverpoolians indoor (aid dependent on inhabitants' residence in the Liverpool workhouse) and outdoor relief (financial aid that did not require entrance into the city's workhouse), and they engaged in a number of different strategies to assist the city's poor children that city officials in Baltimore never committed to, yet like their counterparts in Baltimore, they too expected private charity to help with poor relief.

Nineteenth-century Baltimore offered poor residents seeking relief from the city few options when it came to aid, and no possibility of any kind of assistance other than indoor aid. The Almshouse and the House of Refuge (HOR) were the only two public institutions that the city fully supported during the nineteenth century, and both of these facilities did provide aid to children in Baltimore. The Trustees of the Poor (TOP) managed the Almshouse, which was actually part-almshouse, part-workhouse; the city's poor resided in the almshouse, while its "vagrants and other offenders" inhabited the workhouse.⁹³ Children and adults were allowed entrance, and it was not uncommon for foundlings and children born in the Almshouse to inhabit the institution. The admission of children was problematic, however, as the TOP had the power "to bind out children under their care, giving a preference to tradesmen, and obliging the applicant to sign an indenture, and on other usual terms." This authority no doubt deterred some parents from going into the Almshouse with their children, though many poor Baltimoreans had little choice but to enter, as their need was simply too great.⁹⁴ Baltimoreans who appealed to the city for aid continued to be expected to enter the Almshouse throughout the nineteenth century. By the 1860s the new almshouse at Bayview was receiving 2,000 poor inmates per year, and though many engaged in only brief stays, there were also 800 inmates in residence at all times.

⁹³ The Maryland Assembly established the Trustees of the Poor in 1773, in order to make and govern provisions to the poor in Baltimore. For more on this, see: Douglas G. Carroll, Jr., and Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Almshouse: An Early History," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 135-52; Clyde C. Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People. Volume I—History*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912), p. 657. The site of Baltimore's Almshouse changed twice; the first change occurred in 1822, when the Almshouse moved to a larger building in Calverton, and the second happened in the 1866, when a new facility known as Bayview was built to serve as the city's Almshouse. For more on the early years of the Baltimore Almshouse, see Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820-1822," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (October 1955): 77-87.

⁹⁴ Carroll and Coll, "The Baltimore Almshouse," p. 142.

American-born Baltimoreans comprised over one-half of the Bayview's residents, though newly-arrived immigrants, especially those who were German and Irish by birth, regularly entered the almshouse as well.⁹⁵

The only other charitable institution in nineteenth-century Baltimore that was fully funded by the city was the reform institution known as the House of Refuge. Unlike the Baltimore Almshouse, which provided for Baltimoreans of all ages, the HOR was open only to white male children between ten and sixteen years of age. The facility opened in 1855, housed on average 350 to 400 boys, and by 1869 had accommodated 1,245 boys.⁹⁶ As Sherry Olson demonstrates, the creation of the HOR intersected with the increasingly popular mid-nineteenth-century belief that foreigners were causing a number of social ills not only in Baltimore, but in other large American cities. Supporters understood the HOR as a corrective to this problem. Children, including those of foreign-born parents, would be prevented from becoming adult burdens on the city by entering the institution, receiving instruction "in such branches of useful knowledge as may be suitable to their years and experience," and being bound out as apprentices to suitable trades.⁹⁷ A variety of boys inhabited the HOR, including children whose behaviors were understood as vicious or incorrigible. Yet most of the boys who resided in the institution were half- or full orphans, and three-fourths were what officials described "as 'offspring of intemperance.'"⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p.88-9.

⁹⁶ The House of Refuge owed its existence to the private funding Baltimorean George Brown provided and the public funds the city submitted for the creation of this institution, though its annual support was provided by the city of Baltimore alone. The House of Refuge continued to function in its original location until 1904, when it relocated and shifted from functioning as one institution to a cottage system of living for boys in residence. It was renamed the Maryland Training School at this point, and in 1918, the state became solely responsible for this institution; the school was subsequently renamed the Maryland Training School for Boys, and admitted only white boys. For the history of the HOR, please see: John McGrain, "Baltimore County's House of Refuge." *History Trains: Historical Society of Baltimore County* (Winter 2005-2006) Volume 38, No. 1 and 2: 5; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 141-42.

⁹⁷ Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 142; McGrain, "Baltimore County's House of Refuge," p. 1.

⁹⁸ Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 92; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 142. For more on the population in residence at the House of Refuge, please see: "The Stranger in Baltimore. New Handbook containing Sketches of the Early History and Present Condition of Baltimore, with a Description of its Notable Localities, and other Information useful to both Citizens and Strangers," (Baltimore: JF Weishampel, Jr., 1869), p. 115-16.

The existence of the HOR and the Almshouse reinforces the limited scope of public poor relief in nineteenth-century Baltimore. Indeed, as Charlotte Rhines argues in her examination of nineteenth-century Baltimore's social ills, city administrators preferred to provide municipal subsidies to private institutions, rather than create and operate any "comprehensive and well organized public institution."⁹⁹ In the antebellum period, these city subsidies were limited primarily to medical dispensaries and were irregular and small appropriations. By 1864 the city was providing a group of private relief agencies with public monies, and during the following decade, "contributions to private groups for the support of the 'dependent and defective classes' became established municipal policy."¹⁰⁰ The subsidies continued to be erratic in the post-war period, with some institutions receiving aid one year and getting nothing the following annum. Yet the amount of public monies the city was providing to these private institutions was increasing. Baltimore provided seven institutions with \$22,000 in 1870 to care for orphans, the sick, and the poor, and fifteen groups with \$100,000 in 1880 to support the charitable work they performed in the city.¹⁰¹ This funding certainly aided the work conducted by private charities in Baltimore, yet city officials made no efforts to extend their efforts beyond this occasional funding, or to expand their own public activities when it came to Baltimore's poor. The city lacked a comprehensive, ordered plan to assist its dependents, and city representatives regularly expected the private sector to deal with city inhabitants in need.

In nineteenth-century Liverpool and Baltimore, control of public poor relief resided with local officials. Yet it was only in Liverpool that the larger state government attempted to replace local control of this relief with national regulation. In Liverpool, the Select Vestry was appointed to regulate the aid provided to city residents, per the 1601 Elizabethan (Old) Poor Law, which had empowered each parish in England to determine how relief was distributed to residents seeking relief. The Select Vestry was particularly strict in its provisions during the early nineteenth

⁹⁹ Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.

¹⁰¹ Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*, p. 395.

century, with outdoor relief granted only “in emergencies,” and the majority of appeals awarded indoor relief in the Liverpool Workhouse.¹⁰² It continued to control poor relief distribution in Liverpool after national debates over costs, distribution, and reform of relief culminated in the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which was more commonly referred to as the New Poor Law.¹⁰³ This was true despite provisions in the New Poor Law that transferred poor relief control to newly established Poor Law Unions that were administered locally, but were ultimately subject to a national Poor Law Commission.¹⁰⁴ Not only did Liverpool city officials delay their adherence to this New Poor Law, but when they did finally allow the city to become a poor law union in 1841, they almost immediately “petitioned for special parliamentary dispensation, claiming the new system was more cumbersome than the old.” Parliament subsequently granted this request, and though the reinstated Select Vestry was supposed to be “subject to the oversight of the national Poor Law Commissioners,” the Vestry, and by extension local officials, ultimately retained daily control of poor relief in Liverpool.¹⁰⁵

The Liverpool Select Vestry continued to determine the relief provided to the city’s poor between 1842 and 1930, and this assistance assumed a variety of forms, including parish removal, outdoor relief, and indoor relief. The Select Vestry actually transported tens of thousands of poor Irish migrants out of the city during the Irish Famine, in an effort to reduce the steep financial

¹⁰² Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 54. Those individuals who accepted indoor relief in early-nineteenth-century Liverpool were regularly expected to engage in oakum-picking while in residence in the facility. Oakum picking was a particularly onerous and unpleasant type of work that involved the unraveling of rope into separate fibers by hand. These fibers could then be sold for use in the maritime industries. See Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire*, p. 13-4 for more on the Select Vestry and their rigorous investigations of applicants seeking poor relief in the early-nineteenth-century.

¹⁰³ For a history of opposition to the Old Poor Law in England and the poor relief reform movement that led to the creation of the New Poor Law in 1834, please examine the following: Peter Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain* (Wolfeboro Falls: Alan Sutton, 1991), p. 52-74. Under the New Poor Law, the old, sick and infirm remained eligible for outdoor relief as they had under the Elizabethan (Old) Poor Law, but able-bodied individuals were only to be provided with indoor relief in the workhouse.

¹⁰⁴ According to E.C. Midwinter, it was this establishment of a central Poor Law authority that was of key importance to British poor relief; for more information on this aspect of the New Poor Law and its other facets, see Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire*, p. 7-62.

¹⁰⁵ Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 54. For additional information on this petition and the campaign Liverpool officials engaged in to revert back to the Select Vestry system, please examine Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire*, p. 17-8. Gallman provides a succinct and informative overview of English poor relief throughout this period; see *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 52-5.

burden the migrants were placing on the city.¹⁰⁶ This removal of Irish migrants was a unique poor relief provision, and it was far more common throughout this period for the Vestry to make awards of outdoor and indoor relief to the poor in Liverpool. The principal recipients of outdoor relief between 1859 and 1914 were “able bodied females, children under sixteen, and non-able bodied females,” and many of these beneficiaries were actually poor widows and their children.¹⁰⁷ Indoor relief continued to be provided to adults in the Brownlow Hill Workhouse, which underwent an expansion in the late 1840s, so that it was the largest mixed workhouse in England.¹⁰⁸ The Parish increasingly favored indoor relief during the 1870s and afterwards, arguing that “indiscriminate or inadequately investigated outrelief was not only wasteful—it was demoralizing and a manufacturer of life long paupers.” This belief, as well as the idea that private charities augmented outdoor relief totals, allowed Parish officials to keep outdoor relief expenditures down, and actually led to an unstated arrangement in which private charities were central to outdoor poor relief as it was practiced in Liverpool.¹⁰⁹ This unofficial arrangement between private charities and public relief was somewhat akin to Baltimore officials’ efforts to subsidize private relief in that city, though the Select Vestry did provide more types of poor relief for Liverpool’s paupers than did their counterparts in Baltimore.

When it came to the many children receiving indoor relief in nineteenth-century Liverpool, the Vestry employed a variety of different strategies, including industrial schools, boarding out, emigration, employment, and even cooperation with local private charities. The Kirkdale Industrial Schools were established in 1845, as an attempt to solve Liverpool’s youth problem and a response to the increasingly popular belief that workhouse residence would morally contaminate children. The industrial schools provided healthy pauper children in the

¹⁰⁶ For an examination of the manner in which the Liverpool Select Vestry responded to the Irish Famine Migration, please examine Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children*, p. 65-7.

¹⁰⁷ Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool, c. 1850-1914” p. 427.

¹⁰⁸ See Table 5.2: Parish of Liverpool 1856-1866, in Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, p. 85. There were nearly 3,600 people in residence in the Liverpool Workhouse by 1866.

¹⁰⁹ Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool, c.1850-1914,” p. 400-27.

parish with vocational instruction, but made no provision for sick parish children.¹¹⁰ During the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Vestry addressed public criticism of the industrial schools and also broadened its efforts to reduce poor relief costs by implementing boarding out and child emigration. Historian Lawrence Feehan argues that neither of these practices proved highly successful. Parish authorities were not able to board out many Catholic children because there were few Catholic families able to take these children, and they also found it difficult to find suitable adults to serve as monitors of boarded-out children or as the custodians of these children.¹¹¹ The emigration of children, meanwhile, raised the ire of many local parents, and this opposition, in conjunction with parish officials own criticism of the practice, led to a ban on the practice between 1875 and 1883. Though the parish did allow child emigration between 1884 and 1891, “the Vestry lost interest” in the practice after this period.¹¹²

The Liverpool Vestry did not, however, confine its efforts to reducing poor relief costs for children to only boarding-out and emigration. Indeed, between the 1860s and the early 1890s, parish officials also turned their attention to obtaining employment for parish children via legal apprenticeships. During these decades, parish authorities arranged apprenticeships for poor boys and girls that they understood as gender appropriate. Indentured parish girls were sent out as domestic servants or as factory workers, while their male counterparts were primarily bound out as factory and colliery workers. These apprentices were legally bound to adults “who provided them with board and lodging, but did not have to pay them during their apprenticeship.” This practice became unsustainable for boys in the 1890s, as day waged-labor jobs grew in number and traditional apprenticeships declined, and the Vestry soon decided to allow local charities to

¹¹⁰ Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 78-9. Sick parish children were expected to remain in the Brownlow Hill Workhouse with adult paupers, despite popular fears about the corruption of workhouse children by the adults in residence in these facilities.

¹¹¹ Liverpool parish authorities boarded out 369 children between 1870 and 1913. For more information on this practice in Liverpool, please examine Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool, c. 1850-1914,” p. 358-59.

¹¹² Protestant parish children who were sent to Canada went with Maria Rye, while Catholic parish children went through the Catholic Children’s Protection Society and Father Nugent. The Liverpool Vestry sent 547 parish children to Canada between 1869 and 1891. See Feehan, “Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool, c.1850-1914,” p. 360-62.

provide lodging to older male parish children and to supplement boys' earnings until age sixteen. This decision to cooperate with the city's private charities reflects the evolution of local poor law policy when it came to Liverpool's youngest dependents.¹¹³ It also reinforces the difficulty Liverpool poor law officials experienced; the Vestry never found one solution that entirely resolved the dilemma that the care of Liverpool's poor children posed to the private sector.

Charitable Efforts—Private Assistance

Religion was central to much of the private philanthropy that occurred in nineteenth-century Baltimore and Liverpool. Protestant, Catholic, and in Baltimore, Jewish reformers engaged in efforts to expand private assistance to the poor, though in both cities the focus of these efforts was increasingly the children of the poor. Orphanages were the preferred method of care for these children for much of the nineteenth century, though in both locations there was a contingent of reformers who supported not the institutionalization of children, but rather emigration. Though public aid in early-nineteenth-century Baltimore was limited to the Almshouse, there was a large contingent of private charities to which the poor had recourse. Institutions such as the Baltimore General Dispensary (founded in 1801), the Female Humane Association Charity School (FHACS) (1801), St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum (1818), the Baltimore Infirmary (1823), St. Vincent de Paul's Male Orphanage (1840), and St. Patrick's Orphanage (1847), marked the early efforts of philanthropists in Baltimore to provide the city's poor with aid.¹¹⁴ A number of these institutions were significant for their connections to

¹¹³ Feehan, "Charitable effort, statutory authorities, and the poor in Liverpool," p. 362-68.

¹¹⁴ Other private charities established in Baltimore during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century included: the Charitable Marine Society (1796), St. Paul's Orphanage (1799), St. Peter's School and Orphan Asylum (1805), the Baltimore Eastern Dispensary (1817), St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls (1828), the Baltimore Manual Labor School (1840), Christ Church Asylum (1840), St. Peter's Asylum for Female Children (1845), and the Western Dispensary (1846), and the Baltimore Southern Dispensary (1847). See Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 592-95, for the histories of the Charitable Marine Society, the Female Humane Association Charity School, and St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum. For additional information on these charities and on the Baltimore Infirmary, examine Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 656-77. For more information on the Christ Church Asylum, the Baltimore Manual Labor School, St. Vincent de Paul's Male Orphanage, the Baltimore General Dispensary, and the Baltimore Eastern Dispensary, see Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 76-8, 152. The Baltimore Manual Labor School was an institution in which boys resided and received an education, until they were of age to be apprenticed to trades and

Baltimore's religious communities. Of the nine orphanages established in Baltimore between 1800 and 1855, four were Protestant institutions and four were Catholic charities.¹¹⁵ The FHACS, which would eventually become the Baltimore Orphan Asylum, was somewhat unique among this early group, as it was an "inter-denominational venture" whose supporters hailed from a variety of faiths.¹¹⁶ Yet the FHACS was no different from many other early-nineteenth-century private charities in Baltimore in terms of its close ties to the city's religious groups.

Between 1850 and 1900, activists in Baltimore proved even more successful in their efforts to establish benevolent institutions and private charities. A number of these facilities, including the Union Protestant Infirmary (1855), St. Joseph's German Hospital (1864), the Maryland Eye and Ear Institute (1868), the Hospital for Women of Maryland (1882), and the Home for Incurables (1884), aimed at assisting Baltimoreans who were insane, sick or in poor health.¹¹⁷ Another contingent of these charities provided aid to older Baltimoreans who were

businesses that administrators deemed acceptable. For more on this institution, see: "Nineteenth Report of the Directors of the Baltimore Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys to the Annual Subscribers of the Institution and the Public," (Baltimore: The Home, 1864), p. 2-12. For accounts of St. Peter's School and Orphan Asylum and St. Peter's Asylum for Female Children, examine the following: Journal of the One Hundred and Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Maryland (Baltimore: The Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Maryland, 1887), p. 214-15. St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls was established by the Oblate Sisters of Providence. This Sisters of Providence are the oldest African-American Catholic order in the United States; see Vernon Polite, "Making a Way Out of No Way: The Oblate Sisters of Providence and St. Frances Academy in Baltimore, Maryland, 1828 to the Present," in *Growing Up African American in Catholic Schools*, ed. Jacqueline Jordan Irvine and Michele Foster (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996): 62-73. Nurith Zmora discusses the formation of St. Patrick's Orphanage in her work on orphanages in Baltimore during the Progressive Era. Please see: Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 32. For more on the establishment of the Western Dispensary and the Baltimore Southern Dispensary, please reference the following: John Russell Quinan, *Medical Annals of Baltimore from 1608 to 1880, including Events, Men and Literature, to which is added a Subject Index and Record of Public Services* (Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 1884), p. 38.

¹¹⁵ St. Paul's Orphanage, St. Peter's School and Orphan Asylum, the Christ Church Asylum and St. Peter's Asylum for Female Children were Protestant charities; Baltimore's Episcopalian community established all four of these institutions. The four Catholic orphanages were: St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls, St. Vincent de Paul's Male Orphanage, and St. Patrick's Orphanage.

¹¹⁶ The FHACS' Trustees included Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Methodists, and United Brethren; see Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson Press, 1986), p. 59. The FHACS underwent several transformations during the first half of the nineteenth century; it was reincorporated as the Orphaline Charity School in 1807, and in 1826, the FHCAS became known as the Baltimore Female Orphan Asylum. In 1846, the orphanage was authorized to care for male and female orphans, and in 1849, the institution became known as the Baltimore Orphan Asylum. See Woodbourne Collection, Baltimore Orphan Asylum, "Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules for the Government of the Asylum," (Baltimore: Press of John S. Bridges & Co., 1917), for this history.

¹¹⁷ The private medical facilities and charities established in Baltimore between 1850 and 1900 also included the Church Home and Hospital (1855-1856), the Presbyterian Eye, Ear and Throat Charity Hospital (1878), the Baltimore Eye, Ear and Throat Charity Hospital (1882), and the City Hospital (1890). The history of the Union Protestant

unable to support themselves. Amongst these facilities were the Aged Women's Home (1850), the Aged Men and Women's Home for Colored People (1870), and the General German Aged Peoples' Home (1882).¹¹⁸ A third group of the city's private charities proposed not only the care of their residents as did the institutions for the city's elderly and sick, but inhabitants' reformation as well. These included the Maryland Inebriate Asylum (1859), the Home for Fallen Women (1869), the Florence Crittenden Home (1896), and the National Temperance Hospital of Baltimore (1898).¹¹⁹ These reformatories, hospitals, and aged peoples' homes demonstrate city reformers' sustained commitment to provisions for the poor and needy. The existence of institutions such as the House of the Good Shepherd for White Women (1864), the Johns Hopkins Hospital (1889), the Hebrew Friendly Inn and Aged Home (1890), and the Sheppard Asylum (1891) also reveal the continued centrality of religion to Baltimore's private charities, as all of these institutions were created by religious reformers or in association with a particular religion.¹²⁰

Infirmery can be found in: Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 665. For more on St. Joseph's German Hospital, the Union Protestant Infirmary and the Maryland Eye and Ear Institute, refer to Quinan, *Medical Annals of Baltimore from 1608 to 1880*, p. 40, 43, 253. For information on the Hospital for Women of Maryland, see Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, p. 154. See Eugene F. Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1903), p. 720; 723, for the creation of the Home for Incurables.

¹¹⁸ Other facilities created for elderly Baltimoreans included the Aged Men's Home (1865) and the Home for the Aged of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1867), and the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City (1881). For more on these institutions and the Aged Women's Home, and the German Aged People's Home, please examine Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 604.

¹¹⁹ See George Washington Howard, *The Monumental City: Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore: J. D. Ehlers & Co., 1873), p. 340, for an account of the Maryland Inebriate Asylum. For information on the Home for Fallen Women, see the following: Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 597; Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 666. See Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 666, for details on the National Temperance Hospital of Baltimore and the Florence Crittenden Home as well.

¹²⁰ Please examine Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 666, for the history of the House of the Good Shepherd for White Women. For information on the Johns Hopkins Hospital, please refer to: Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899*, p. 720; 723, S.Z. Ammen, "History of Baltimore, 1875-1896," in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People, Volume I—History*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912), p. 274. For more on the Hebrew Friendly Inn and Aged Home, please refer to Henrietta Szold (Ed.), *The American Jewish Year book 5668, September 9, 1907 to September 25, 1908* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1907), p. 196. A Quaker merchant by the name of Moses Sheppard established the Sheppard Asylum in 1857, though his orders concerning the financial management of the Asylum prevented it from opening for another thirty-four years; see *The American Practitioner and News: A Bi-Weekly Journal of Medicine and Surgery Volumes X and IX, 1890*, ed. D.W. Yandell, M.D. and H.A. Cottell, M.D. (Louisville: John P. Morton and Company, 1890), p. 424.

During the early nineteenth century reformers in Liverpool, like their counterparts in Baltimore, were busy establishing a number of different private charities to assist the city's poor. Institutions such as the Welsh Charitable Society (1804), the Deaf and Dumb School (1825), the Liverpool City Mission (1829), the Liverpool Night Asylum for the Houseless Poor (1830), the Lying-In Hospital and Dispensary for the Diseases of Women and Children (1841), and the Liverpool Foreigners Mission (1844) were created during this period in an effort to deal with issues of poverty and need in Liverpool.¹²¹ Several of these charities were explicitly Protestant in their foundations and their support, especially those institutions that were engaged in visiting the local poor. Yet Protestant reformers were not the only Liverpoolians to establish charities during this period. Though the poverty of Liverpool Catholics restricted the number of charities they were able to establish and the actual amount of assistance these charities could convey, the city's Catholics were able during this period to organize a Catholic Benevolent Society, create a Catholic Orphan Asylum in 1820, and begin a local branch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in 1845.¹²² As these examples demonstrate, religion and reform were linked in the same manner in early-nineteenth-century Liverpool as they were in Baltimore when it came to provisions for each city's poor residents.

Charitable Efforts—Private Assistance for Children: Child Emigration

Though reformers in Liverpool and Baltimore created numerous institutions for the city's poor inhabitants between 1850 and 1900, it was both cities' youngest residents who became the

¹²¹ The private charitable institutions established in Liverpool during the first half of the nineteenth century actually marked the second wave of such philanthropy in the city. The earliest private charities in the city were created during the eighteenth century, and included the Blue Coat School and Hospital (1718), the Strangers Friend Society (1789), the Liverpool Infirmary (1749), the Seaman's Hospital (1752), the Liverpool Dispensary (1778), the School for the Blind (1791), and the Ladies Charity (1796); for more on these eighteenth-century philanthropies, please examine: Margaret Simey, *Charitable Effort In Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool : Liverpool University Press, 1951), p. 19-32; George Chandler, *Liverpool* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1957), p. 371-418; Jane Longmore, "Civil Liverpool: 1680-1800," p. 149, 151-53. Other Liverpool charities that were created between 1800 and 1850 were: the Female Penitentiary (1809), the Liverpool Charitable Society (1823), the District Provident Society (1829), and the Eye and Ear Infirmary (1841) For information on early nineteenth century charities in Liverpool, refer to: *The Stranger in Liverpool*, "The Charities," p. 197-217; Simey, *Charitable Effort in Liverpool*, p. 25-31; Gallman, *Receiving Erin's Children*, p. 58-9.

¹²² Gallman, *Receiving Erin's Children*, p. 60. The data on the Catholic Orphan Asylum appears in *The Stranger in Liverpool*, p. 210.

focus of each city's reformers. The presence of poor children in Liverpool increasingly drew the attention not only of reformers, but also of visitors, local officials and local residents. When the French historian Hippolyte Taine visited Liverpool in the 1860s and explored some of the poorer quarters of the city, he was amazed by the number of children in residence:

Every stairway swarms with children, five or six to a step, the eldest nursing the baby; their faces are pale, their hair whitish and tousled, the rags they wear are full of holes, they have neither shoes nor stockings and they are all vilely dirty. Their faces and limbs seemed to be encrusted with dust and soot. In one street alone there must have been about two hundred children sprawling or fighting.¹²³

Taine was certainly shocked by the extreme poverty in which these children resided, and was sympathetic to their plight. Yet other observers were less compassionate, and posited instead the dangerous nature of the Liverpool children who were such a public presence in the city. As early as 1839, Liverpool Mayor Sir Joshua Walmsley warned government officials that Liverpool teemed with

hundreds [of poor children] who had been brought to live by plunder; they herded together in cellars twenty or more in a place without a bed to lie on, and sallied forth from these dens at all hours to pilfer or steal what they could find.¹²⁴

Walmsley suggested many Liverpool youngsters were not children at all, but rather criminals who preyed on their fellow city dwellers. This sentiment was echoed by the Chaplain of the Liverpool Borough Prison and by local newspaperman Hugh Shimmin who intimated some children cultivated the appearance of poverty and were actually professional beggars who simply took

¹²³ Hippolyte Taine, *Taine's Notes on England*, trans. Edward Hyams. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1957), p. 225.

¹²⁴ Malcolm Fielding and Michael Winstanley, "Lancashire children in the nineteenth century," in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 10.

advantage of the unsuspecting in Liverpool.¹²⁵ Pronouncements such as these only reinforced the image of the city as a place of unchecked and uncontrolled youth run amok.

The testimony of locals and visitors alike certainly buttressed the notion that nineteenth-century Liverpool was a place with an unchecked youth problem, yet it was the economic realities of Liverpool that truly encouraged this vision of the city. Liverpool was a commercial center, and there was a “lack of regular industrial employment” available to children whose economic contributions assisted in their families’ survival.¹²⁶ Thus, poor boys and girls who resided in the city turned to the casual labor market that flourished in Liverpool as a source of employment. Many of these children worked as street traders or even beggars, and it was their daily physical presence on the streets of Liverpool that drew so much attention from city visitors and local residents. The version of childhood that these children presented to observers certainly did not correspond with the increasingly popular English middle-class belief that children were to be sheltered and protected during childhood, no matter what their class membership.¹²⁷ Poor children in Liverpool were visible, tangible examples of urban childhood gone wrong. The spectacle of these children intersected with middle-class conceptions of what a proper childhood should entail, and prompted a surge during the second half of the nineteenth century in the number of private organizations and institutions in Liverpool targeting poor children.

Though there was a rise in the number of organizations focusing on assisting poor children, one cohort of the childcare charities created in Liverpool and in other parts of England during this period actually rejected the convention of institutions when it came to dependent children. The Protestant and Catholic reformers who established these organizations posited

¹²⁵ Hugh Shimmin, *Liverpool Life, The Courts and Alleys of Liverpool* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1985), p. 43. Shimmin was perhaps the most famous journalist in Liverpool during this period in terms of the many social critiques and commentaries he wrote on the city and its population. For the history of his life, and copies of his work, refer to John K. Walton and Alastair Wilcox, *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Victorian England: Liverpool through the journalism of Hugh Shimmin* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1991).

¹²⁶ Barbara Copeland and Gavin Thompson, “The ‘Boy Labour Problem’ in Lancashire,” in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 111. See also Simey, *Charitable Effort in Liverpool*, p. 10.

¹²⁷ Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914*, (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), p. 4.

emigration as the only real solution to the child problem that existed in Liverpool and other English cities. These child emigration supporters established facilities to house children temporarily and then sent them abroad to Canada or other parts of the British Empire. Between 1868 and 1925, 80,000 children, most of whom were younger than fourteen, were dispatched from England to Canada in such a manner, and thousands of poor English children continued to be sent out after World War II to Canada, as well as to Rhodesia, Australia, and New Zealand.¹²⁸ Of the Liverpool child emigration societies, Maria Rye's Emigration Home for Destitute Little Girls (1869) was the oldest, though it was not the only Protestant child emigration organization in operation in the city; the Liverpool Sheltering Home for Orphan and Destitute Children (1873), and the local branch of Dr. Barnardo's Home (1892) were also prominent in child emigration efforts in Liverpool.¹²⁹ Catholic children were sent out by these organizations, though the Catholic Society for the Protection of Children was established in Liverpool in 1881, in order to protect Catholic children from proselytization and the rumored kidnappings Protestant child emigration societies engaged in when it came to these children. As historian John Belchem notes, this Catholic organization operated in the same fashion as its Protestant-sponsored peers, and by June 1886 it had emigrated 605 children from Liverpool to Canada.¹³⁰

A similar split occurred between childcare reformers in the United States, with anti-institutionalist reformers who argued against placing children in orphanages on one side, and supporters of orphanages and other institutions on the other. Anti-institutionalists claimed that

¹²⁸ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924*. London: Croom Helm, 1980. P. 11; Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire: The Untold Story of Britain's Child Migrants* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 97-135. The majority of children sent out of England during the nineteenth century via child emigration schemes went to Canada, though some of the earliest child emigrants were transported to the Caribbean, to Bermuda and the West Indies. After the completion of World War II, the emigration of poor children from England resumed, and actually continued until 1967, when the last children arrived in Australia.

¹²⁹ For more information on English child emigration, Maria Rye's efforts, Dr. Barnardo's, and the Liverpool Sheltering Home, which Louisa Birt established in 1873, please see: Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, p. 27-44. See also Sir C.S. Loch, *The Charities Register and Digest: being a classified register of charities in or available for the Metropolis, together with a digest of information respecting the legal, voluntary, and other means for the prevention and relief of distress and the improvement of the condition of the poor* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1890), p. 618; Liverpool Sheltering Home, Annual Reports, 1873 Annual Report, 1874 Annual Report, 1875 Annual Report, and 1877 Annual Report; Bean and Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*.

¹³⁰ Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 85-6.

orphanages were often overcrowded and that they failed to allow children to develop as individuals.¹³¹ The most famous American anti-institutionalist, Charles Loring Brace, claimed the indenture agreements allowed by some private institutions stopped children from leaving unhappy situations, prevented reformers from stepping in, and “emphasized the labor relationship between children and families rather than the emotional ties between them.”¹³² Brace established the Children’s Aid Society (CAS) in New York City in 1853, and he soon became the principal advocate of the “Emigration Plan,” which called for the removal of children from cities to the countryside to reside with foster families, and which had by 1910, placed over 110,000 children in this manner.¹³³ The number of organizations engaged in this scheme increased in the following decades, and there was even a Children’s Aid Society in Baltimore that was as of 1860, dedicated to obtaining for children “comfortable homes in the country, where they will be provided for.”¹³⁴ By the 1890s, however, the practice of placing out was highly contested. Catholics had long charged that the CAS was “stealing and converting” Catholic children to Protestantism. Other critics charged the CAS burdened rural parts of the United States with New York’s most delinquent and troublesome children, that CAS operatives obtained children illegally, and that parents’ rights were being violated. Laws were passed in several states to limit, control or

¹³¹ Hacsí, *Second Home*, p. 72; David I. Macleod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), p. 17.

¹³² Clement, *Growing Pains*, p. 197.

¹³³ As Marilyn Holt notes in her work on Brace, the CAS, and the children this organization transported, Brace portrayed the idea of placing children out in such a manner as if it was his own, and as if it existed in no other country throughout the world. Yet in the United States, two other men by the names of Robert M. Hartley and John Earl Williams promoted placing out during the same period as Brace. Hartley worked for the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which eventually created the New York Juvenile Asylum that supported placing out. Williams was employed by the Boston Children’s Mission, and he became the director of its placement program in 1850. Unlike the CAS, the Boston Children’s Mission only placed children within Massachusetts. The system also existed outside the United States as well, most notably in England, and as Priscilla Ferguson Clement points out, in Germany. For more on Brace, the CAS, and its efforts, see: Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America*; O’Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed*; Ferguson, *Growing Pains*,” p. 197-200; Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹³⁴ Henry Watson Children’s Aid Society, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending October 1, 1861, p. 4. The CAS remained the primary organization involved in the emigration of children, and between 1854 and 1929 it sent approximately 250,000 children to live with foster families throughout the United States. Another organization participating in child emigration was the New York Foundling Hospital, which placed 30,000 children in the American West; see O’Connor, *Orphan Trains*, p. xviii; Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). For more on the proliferation of these societies, see: Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, p. 80-117; Ferguson, *Growing Pains*, p. 200.

prevent placing out, and Progressive Era reformers increasingly favored the placement of children into local foster families over their removal to the West.¹³⁵

Charitable Efforts—Private Assistance for Children: Orphanages

Though there was growing support for child emigration in both countries during the second half of the nineteenth century, there were a large number of private institutions established in both cities during this period that were formed to house poor children, and that will be the focus of this study. In Baltimore, the largest group of these private childcare institutions was comprised of orphanages like the Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City (HOF), that were created for children whose parents were dead, destitute, or otherwise unable to care for them.¹³⁶ There were at least twenty-three orphanages created in the city during this period, all of which were private. Though Protestants created the majority of these orphanages, Baltimore's Jewish community collectively established the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in 1873 for German Jewish children.¹³⁷ The city's Catholics engaged in an even more successful campaign and actually created two reformatories and nine orphanages between 1850 and 1900.¹³⁸ Driving Catholic

¹³⁵ For information on the criticism leveled at the placing out movement, see: Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, p. 118-55; Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, p. 11; Ferguson, *Growing Pains*, p. 199. For the new ideas that characterized the child saving movement during the Progressive period, please see O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, p. 288-309; Macleod, *The Age of the Child*, p. 17.

¹³⁶ See the Woodbourne Collection (hereafter cited as WC), The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City (hereafter cited as HOF), Annual Reports, 1854-1858, First Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1855, p. 4, for the creation of this orphanage. The other orphanages created in Baltimore between 1850 and 1900 were: St. Anthony's [German] Orphan Asylum (1852), St. Vincent's Infant Asylum (1856), the German-Protestant Orphan Asylum (1863), the Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans and Friendless Colored Children (1865), the Union Orphan Asylum (1866), St. Frances' Orphan Asylum (1866), St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys (1866), the Hebrew Orphan Asylum (1872), the Dolan Children's Aid Society (1874), the Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1874), the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (1875), the Protestant Infant Asylum (1875), St. James' Home for Boys (1878), the Egerton Female Orphan Asylum (1880), St. Mary's Home for Little Colored Boys (1880), St. Katherine's Home for Colored Girls, St. Mary's Home for Little Colored Boys (1880), St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Infants and Children (1881), St. John's Orphanage for Boys (1884), the Samuel Ready School for Female Orphans (1887), the Maryland Baptist Orphanage and Home for Colored Children (1895), and the Maryland Home for Friendless Colored Children (1899).

¹³⁷ As Nurith Zmora argues in her examination of Progressive-era orphanages in Baltimore, the creation of this orphanage resulted from cooperation between the Hebrew Benevolent Society, Jewish religious officials, Jewish businessmen, and the larger Jewish community. See Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 19-20.

¹³⁸ The House of the Good Shepherd (1864) and the House of the Good Shepherd for Colored Girls (1892) were the two Catholic reformatories in nineteenth-century Baltimore. For the histories of these two institutions, refer to: Board of World's Fair Managers, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions; Prepared for the Board of World's Fair Managers of Maryland by Members of Johns Hopkins University and Others* (Baltimore: The Sun Job Printing Office, 1893), p. 469. For more on the House of the Good Shepherd, please see: John G. Shea, *A History of the*

efforts was the belief that these orphanages would protect young Catholics from the proselytization that might occur in Protestant benevolent institutions. Despite the separate institutions for different faiths, there were some striking similarities between Baltimore's Catholic and Protestant orphanages. Which children resided in each orphanage regularly depended not only on religion, but also on the applicant's race, ethnicity, age, and sex, and any other criteria asylum administrators deemed significant when it came to admissions.¹³⁹ No matter what their religious affiliation was, these childcare institutions targeted very select and segregated populations of poor children to assist.

Catholic Church Within the Limits of the United States, From the First Attempted Colonization to the Present Time (Rahway: The Mershon Company Press, 1892), p. 394; Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 596-97. The Catholic orphanages created in Baltimore between 1850 and 1900 were: St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys, St. Anthony's Orphan Asylum, the Dolan Children's Aid Society, St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Infants and Children, and St. Frances Orphan Asylum. For more on St. Vincent de Paul's, St. Anthony's, the Dolan Children's Aid Society, St. Patrick's, St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, and St. Frances' orphanages, see: Board of World's Fair Managers, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, p. 456. A detailed history of St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys can be found in John O'Grady, *Catholic Charities in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 118-20. Information on St. Elizabeth's Home can be found in the following: Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, p. 78. Please see Sister Theresa Willingham, "Notice of the Establishment of St. Frances Orphan Asylum," St. Frances Orphan Asylum Archives, Motherhouse Record Group, Box 18, Folder 11, for more on the history of St. Frances' Orphan Asylum. The two Catholic orphanages that housed children who were too old for other orphanages were St. Joseph's House of Industry (1865) and St. James' Home for Boys (1878). For more information both of these institutions, please examine: Rohr, "Charities and Charitable Institutions," p. 665, 667. For more on St. Joseph's, see also Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 168; Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, p. 78. Nurith Zmora discusses the late 1940s evaluation of Baltimore Catholic orphanages that the Child Welfare League of America conducted, and she provides more insight into the mid-twentieth-century realities of St. James' Home; Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 190-91.

¹³⁹ Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 19. Zmora reinforces the point that all the orphanages in Baltimore were private, and she examines the Samuel Ready School, the Dolan Children's Aid Society, and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. Baltimore was home to nine African-American orphanages. The African-American Catholic orphanages were St. Frances' Asylum for Orphans (1866), and St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Infants and Children (1880); see Sister Theresa Willingham, "Notice of the Establishment of St. Frances Orphan Asylum," for more on the former, and Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, p. 78, for information on the latter. The Protestant orphanages for African American children were: the Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans and Friendless Colored Children (1865), the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (1875), the Maryland Baptist Orphanage and Home for Colored Children (1895), St. Mary's Home for Little Colored Boys (1880), and St. Katherine's Home for Colored Girls. For the history of The Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans and Friendless Colored Children, please see: Rhines, "A City and its Social Problems," p. 121-22. In 1875, The Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans asked the Johns Hopkins Hospital Board of Trustees of the Hospital (JHHBT) if the latter would take over the Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans and run the institution until the new Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum building was completed. The Association for the Shelter of Colored Orphans was in desperate financial straits, and could itself not continue to operate without assistance. The JHHBT agreed to this arrangement, and the JHCOA opened that same year; see: Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, Hospital Board of Trustees Minutes, 1870-1976, Meeting of January 18, 1875, p. 25. For information on the Maryland Baptist Orphanage and Home for Colored Children and St. Mary's Home for Little Colored Boys, see Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904*, p. 78. A Protestant Episcopal religious order known as The All Saints' Sisters of the Poor established St. Mary's and St. Katherine's. It remains unclear exactly what year St. Katherine's was founded, though information suggests it came into being around the same time as St. Mary's.

Religion was also central to the contingent of child-welfare institutions established in Liverpool between 1850 and 1900, and to which children were admitted into which orphanage or industrial school. Liverpool's Catholics mobilized during this period and formed their own institutions, after Protestants refused to provide Catholics in the city's workhouses and industrial schools with access to their religion. Institutions such as the Association of Providence for the Protection of Orphan and Destitute Boys (1864), St. Anne's Industrial School (1867), and the Female Orphanage (1868) provided poor Catholic youngsters in Liverpool with shelter and vocational instruction, and protected them against possible Protestant proselytization.¹⁴⁰ Liverpool's Protestant reformers busied themselves with the creation of a variety of childcare institutions as well during this period. Most of these Protestant-sponsored charities, including orphanages like the Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys (LAOB) (1850), the Liverpool Infant Orphan Asylum (LIOA) (1860), and the Liverpool Seaman's Orphan Institution (1869), and industrial schools like the Liverpool Industrial School (1875), and the Liverpool Industrial School for Girls (1885), were like the majority of their Catholic equivalents, traditional in their approaches.¹⁴¹ These facilities aimed to house, care for and educate the children in their residences for extended periods of time before their dismissal, and reflected the continued commitment many Protestant and Catholic Liverpoolian reformers demonstrated to institutions as the proper way in which to deal with poor children.

¹⁴⁰ This group of Catholic charities included these institutions, as well as St. George's Industrial School (1861), St. Elizabeth's Certified Industrial School (1861), the *Clarence* (1864), the Boys' Orphanage Industrial School (1868), and the Boys Refuge Industrial School (1869). The *Clarence* was a somewhat unique institution, as it was one of four training ships that existed in nineteenth-century Liverpool. These ships provided boys with the instruction necessary to become seafarers, or in the case of the *HMS Conway*, future Merchant Navy officers. The *Akbar* and the *Indefatigable* were the other two ships, and both of these were Protestant-supported institutions. Both the *Akbar* and the *Clarence* were reformatory ships, and housed boys who had criminal records; according to John Belchem, the boys onboard the *Clarence* were taught shoemaking, tailoring, carpentering, and seamanship, and were also provided with religious instruction; see Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 80. For more on the *Clarence* and on Liverpool's Catholic industrial schools and the Female Orphanage, please examine: Sir C.S. Loch, *The Charities Register and Digest*, p. 502, 512, and 519. Father James Nugent established the Association of Providence for the Protection of Orphan and Destitute Boys, and the boys in residence received training in shoe-making, printing, tailoring, and paper-bag making. For more on Father Nugent and this organization, please see John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, p. 81.

¹⁴¹ This cohort of Protestant child welfare facilities also included the following: the *Akbar* (1856), the *Indefatigable* (1865), and the Preventative Home for Young Girls (1876). For a consideration of these institutions, see: Loch, *The Charities Register and Digest*, p. 328-29, 363, 501-02, 512, 519. For additional information on the Liverpool Seaman's Orphan Institution, please refer to: Royal Liverpool Seaman's Orphan Institution, Annual Reports, Volume I: 1869-1874, Report for the year ending December 1869, p. 6-11.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century Baltimore and Liverpool were separated by the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, located on different continents and in different countries, and had their own daily realities. Yet economic, religious, and demographic developments during the nineteenth century transformed the two into remarkably similar places. Baltimore and Liverpool gained prominence as large urban Atlantic ports that were religiously, ethnically and racially diverse, and were dominated by trade, and gained infamy for the negative transformations that dramatic nineteenth-century demographic and social changes had wrought in each. Officials in both cities engaged in efforts to improve the city's infrastructure and provide citizens with public assistance, though this public relief remained much more limited in its scope in Baltimore than in Liverpool. Yet in both cities it was private philanthropy that was central to charitable efforts to assist the poor, especially poor children. It was to these private charities, and especially to Liverpool and Baltimore's orphanages, that many poor families with children turned for aid and assistance between 1840 and 1910.

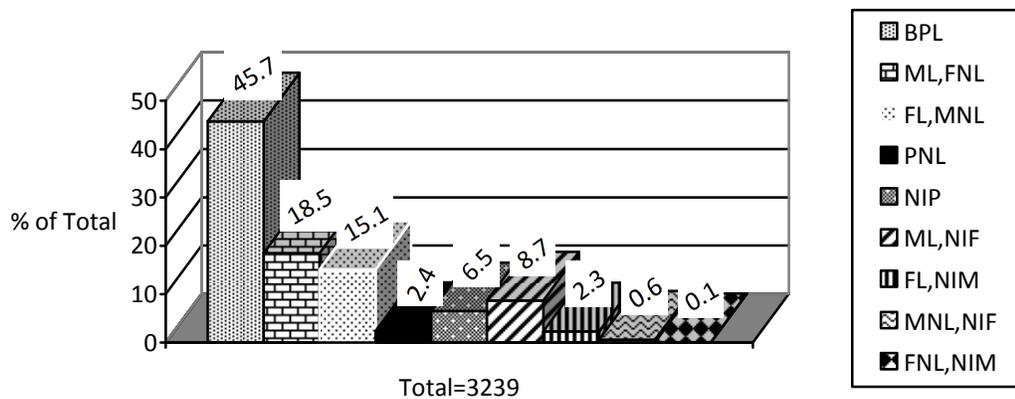
Chapter Three: The Families They Came From: Baltimore

Children who entered the Baltimore orphanages came from families in which some type of internal disruption had occurred that made it impossible for all family members to remain together as a unit. The majority of these children were from households in which fathers though living, were either physically absent, or incapacitated. Mothers were far less likely than their male spouses to be physically separated from their children, though some children did have mothers who were responsible for behaving in ways that resulted in the dissolution of the family unit, or came from homes in which judicial officials deemed both parents unsatisfactory and so committed children to the orphanages. In the many instances in which women were present in the family unit, their presence was not always enough to guarantee the remaining family members would remain together as a unit. Indeed, the mothers of Baltimore asylum children had a greater chance than their male counterparts of being poor, having intemperate spouses, being unemployed, and losing spouses to death, jail, and desertion. Missing husbands/fathers meant these women faced difficult decisions when it came to the survival of the family's remaining members, and that even their best attempts to maintain the family unit might be compromised by poverty, illness, unemployment, and even employment itself. Despite the various pressures that the mothers and fathers of Baltimore asylum children faced, parental separation, divorce, and domestic violence remained relatively uncommon in these families, and a large contingent of The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City (HOF) parents actually attempted to make board payments that would insure their continued rights to their children.

Parental realities for asylum children

Though many of the children who inhabited the HOF and the Baltimore Orphan Asylum (BOA) were half-orphans who came from homes in which only one parent was deceased, the residence of full orphans in the HOF was rare, and that asylum's population was primarily

composed of poor children who had both parents living. Of the 3239 children admitted into the HOF between 1854 and 1910, 45.7% had both parents living at the time of their admission. (See Graph 3.1) Half-orphans comprised the second largest group of HOF residents during this period, and accounted for 33.7% of the asylum's inhabitants. These half-orphans had more often lost fathers prior to their admission into the asylum than they had mothers; 55.0% of HOF half-orphans had deceased fathers and 45.0% had mothers who were dead at the time they became HOF residents. There was a notable difference between the large numbers of children who had both parents living or were half-orphans and the very small group of full orphans who resided in the asylum; only 2.4% of HOF inhabitants were actually full orphans. The remaining 591 (18.2%) HOF residents were children for whom HOF officials possessed no or a limited amount of information when it came to their parentage.



BPL=Both parents living
 ML, FNL=Mother living, Father not living
 FL, MNL=Father living, Mother not living
 PNL=Parents not living
 NIP=No information about parents
 ML, NIF=Mother living, No information about father
 FL, NIM=Father living, No information about mother
 MNL, NIF=Mother not living, No information about father
 FNL, NIM=Father not living, No information about mother

In contrast at the BOA, orphans dominated numerically prior to the 1870s, half orphans comprised the second largest group of residents, and very few children with two living parents were admitted until the end of the nineteenth century. The original purpose of the BOA was to house female children who had lost both parents, and until November 1846, BOA by-laws forbade the entry of any children who did not meet this criterion.¹ Though full-orphans and half-orphans of both sexes were made eligible for admission as of this date, only eighteen of the 189 children admitted between January 1850 and December 1859 were half-orphans.² In the 1870s, the numbers of BOA half-orphans rose and continued to increase during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, while the population of full orphans decreased dramatically, and became a minority population.³ This trend continued as well in the early years of the twentieth century. Of the 109 BOA children in residence in 1908, eighteen were full orphans, twenty-three had both parents living, and sixty-eight were half-orphans.⁴

Desertion

Nearly 16% of HOF residents came from households in which parental desertion had occurred, and 85.8% (441) of these cases involved fathers who deserted their families.⁵ When Bertha and Arabella Seymour's mother sought their admission into the HOF in late March 1863,

¹ The original resolution can be found in the following: WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of October 23, 1846. See also WC, Baltimore Orphan Asylum (from this point onward abbreviated BOA), "Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws, and Rules for the Government of the Asylum," 1917. For the specific changes made in November 1846, see WC, BOA, "Acts of Incorporation," *A supplement to an act for incorporating a society to maintain and educate poor orphan and other destitute female children, by the name of the Orphaline Charity School, and to repeal the act of assembly therein mentioned, passed February 12, 1846-1847, chapter 54.*

² WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, and Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893.

³ Of the 101 BOA inhabitants in resident in the BOA in 1871, forty-six were full orphans, and sixty-five were half-orphans. As of 1885, there were 107 children inhabiting the BOA; eighty were half-orphans, twenty-one were full orphans, and six children had both parents living. By 1896, only thirteen of the ninety-one children in residence at the BOA were full orphans. Of the remaining seventy-eight children, seventy-four were half-orphans, and four had both mothers and fathers living. See WC, BOA, Annual Reports for the years between 1860 and 1930, 1871 Annual Report; 1885 Annual Report; 1896 Annual Report.

⁴ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1908 Annual Report.

⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Registers, Book 2, Admissions, March 1861-March 1870; Registers, Book 3, Admissions and Dismissions, April 1871-April 1875; Registers, Book 5, Admissions, May 1875-November 1881; Registers, Book 6, Admissions and Discharges, 1881-1892; Registers, Book 7, Admissions, Dismissions, and Monthly Reports, 1892-1895; Registers, Book 8, Admissions and Monthly Reports, 1896-1902; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910 (from this point onward known as Master File, 1854-1910). These 514 children represented 15.9% of the asylum's total population.

she provided HOF officials with an archetypal tale of paternal abandonment. A visibly ill Mrs. Seymour said her husband was worthless and that he had deserted her sixteen months before. She had heard that he had joined the army, but had received no other news from him and no financial support from him during the entirety of his absence. HOF administrators were impressed by her effort “through the past winter to support her children by her needle,” despite her delicate health, and by her “respectable conditions.”⁶ They were also affected by her story of female abandonment and they quickly admitted both her daughters into the asylum. In the decades that followed, the mothers of David and Florence Proudfoot, Theodore Bakerdorf, Louis and Irving Chaffer, George Dahl and many other children, provided accounts to HOF representatives that were remarkably similar to the history Mrs. Seymour had related.⁷ These stories varied somewhat when it came to details about each mother’s health, the number of children she was responsible for, and the extent of the family’s poverty. Yet what was common in all of these cases was the husband’s abandonment of his wife and his children.⁸

⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Bertha and Arabella Seymour.

⁷ Ibid., Records of David and Florence Proudfoot; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Case of Theodore Bakerdorf; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Louis and Irving Chaffer; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Record of George William Dahl.

⁸ For additional examples of children who had both parents living and fathers who deserted the family, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Rosa Marble; Emma, Susan, Mary and Jane Johnson; Virginia Chamberlain; Anna and Kate Lee; Sarah Ellen and Hannah Tweedle; Mary and Helen Dobbin; Alice Amelia, Elizabeth Williams, and Mary Prescott; Mary Mulliken; Jennie Catlin; ; Laura N. Jackson; Fannie and Florence Lavvary; Elisa Neagle; Annie M. Riley; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Lydia Fanny Hughes; ML and Georgianna Parsons; Samuel Mills; Crithander H. Axer; Rietta Clementine and David Ferdinand Gardner; Ella Elizabeth and Sarah Ida Brown; Charles Rising; Georgianna and Emma Virginia Turner; William C. Emerson; Frank Dosch; Louisa and Fannie Bennett; Charlie Aler; Fritz Wurster; Virginia; Mary E. and Caroline Danks; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of John Wesley Bushaw; Hattie Cary; Robert and Felix Von Breisan; George R. and Frederic Lacey; John Henry Beck; Charles and Harry Lanning; Ardne, Flavins, and Sarah Frances Spencer; Maggie Bender; Gertrude More; Kate Detrick; George and Ida Higgins; William Bell; Alex McCullough; Edward Frigley; Mary Ellen and Lillie May La Count; Annie Pursell; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Thomas and George Stone; Willie Russell; Willie Middleknuff; Albert Oliver and Ivy May King; Ella Thomas; Percy and Maud Stewart; Maggie and Louis Rhinehart; Frank and Harry Despeaux; Isabella, Sarah, and Rosa McMains; Rosie Wagner; Maggie and James Waldman; Annie Glazier; Benjamin W. and Vernon W. Billmire; Mabel Harris; Louis and Flora Jenkins; Theodore, Adolph and Lillian Weixalbaum; Joseph Weidel; Frank, Naomi and Alvina Cowan; Willie Wodges; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Dallas, Charles and Slemmons Birkhead; Maud and Ethel Lyon; Bertie, John, Eugenia and Willie Blume; Harry J. Strahan; Jennie, Sallie and Nettie Fetherstone; Harry E. Sutton; Winfield Atchinson; Charles F. Dougarre; Bessie Elton; Arthur Roth; Edward Wells and Harvey Connor Butler; Thomas, Annie and Howard Withelon; Willie Eccleson; Emily May Kappet; Frieda and Josephine Hueggelmeyer; William Robert and Harry Edward Nebb; Ellen May and William H. Hunter; Maggie and Carrie Hirschman; Eva, Helen, Irene and Thomas Wingrone; Mamie McMillan; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Accounts of Hattie and Irine Harrison; Elizabeth, John and William James Redmond; Raymond and Abbie Nuns; Charles, John G. and Margaret Holland; Oscar and Alfred Helbig; Nina and Blanche Wheeler; John Edward Lewis; Jennie, Dora and Mary Henry; Alice Maude Johnson; George, Edgar and Mary Hester Briggs; George Brown; Cora and Harry McCleary; Andrew and George Rehbein; John

Only seventy-three of 3239 HOF children entered the asylum from families in which maternal desertion had occurred, which meant that maternal desertion accounted for only 14.2% of all desertion cases at the orphanage.⁹ When the father of Martha, Hannah, and Jane Kerr brought the girls to the asylum late in 1860, officials noted ten-year-old Martha showed the “want of a mother’s care and training,” and that thirteen-month-old Hannah was “very much afflicted and wasted away for the want of proper nourishment and care.”¹⁰ Mr. Kerr complained his wife was intemperate, and officials clearly believed the woman was guilty of mistreating her children. It was neither Mrs. Kerr’s drinking nor her supposed neglect, however, that brought her husband to the HOF. Indeed, Mr. Kerr came to the asylum seeking assistance only after she deserted him and their five children and went to Pennsylvania. Mrs. Kerr’s desertion meant the family unit had lost the individual primarily responsible for childcare. Her duties automatically transferred over to her husband, who found himself unable to satisfy this additional burden. Other deserted fathers, including Mr. Sleeper, Mr. Hammett, Mr. Hildebrand, and Mr. Crismer made clear Mr. Kerr’s experience was not unique, and suggested their wives’ desertion precipitated their turn to the HOF for assistance.¹¹

Raymond Miller; Luther Mashim; Ellen, Anne and Wakely Spenker; Joseph and Anne Crest; Elizabeth and Alfred Wolfram; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Ella and Martha Fleischer; Naomi Gibson; Stanton and Leroy Johnson; Mirl Kelly; John C. Bloom; Susan Alicia Jefferson; Mary Agnes and Laura Virginia McNally; Ella, Robert Milton, and Ada Swann Iceman; Louisa and Norman Huntley Holt; Cornelius, Marie and Michael Joseph McAuliffe; Ruth May Force; Theresa, Frank and Amiel Gregor; Florence and Helen Reifsnider; Thomas Elmer and Grace Viola Wright; Walter S. Endler; Elmer and Minnie Duggan; Willie and Carl Brynes; Katie Vragel; Fannie and Eva Myronwitch; Florence Eva, Walter, Myrtle and Allan Brown; Samuel J. Travis; Helen, Alice, Marguerite and Frank Rosensteel; Elsie M. and Elizabeth Boswell; Charles C. Schram; Susan and Ernestine M. Younce; Edith and Charles Hamlin; John Thomas and Lindsey Wolfe; Virgie and Ella Lowman; Elsie Miller; Ralph Leach; Sadie Belle and Hobson Gale; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Howard Scott; Margaret Callen; G. Frederick and Miriam Gardner; Clyde Stephens; Mabel and Nancy Virginia Moler; Elsie M. McClenlland; Francis William Dickerson; Caroline Schriver; Minnie L. and Alice May Warner; Marie and Rosalie Robinson; James Arthur Cole; Edith Stone; Nellie May and Melvin William Ramsburg; Mary Frances and Elizabeth L. Spencer.

⁹ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. See the following for the histories of these two HOF half-orphans: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record of Mary Jane Halton; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Florence Margaret Garrish.

¹⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Martha Jane, Hannah K., and Agnes E. Kerr.

¹¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Accounts of Lena and Charlie Sleeper; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, History of Blanche Hammett; Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Harry Hildebrandt; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Les, James and Susan Crismer. For the files of other HOF children who came from families in which both parents were living and mothers deserted their families, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Mary Jane Kerns; Rachel, Laura, Samuel and Alexander Connolly; Emma Virginia, Lewis W., and Ida Kennard; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Joseph and Fannie French; Isaac and Willie Lanner; Charles, Annie and Fred Magruder; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Addie May and Charles

The population of deserted children who inhabited the BOA was virtually negligible when compared to that at the HOF. Only fifteen deserted children entered the BOA between 1840 and 1910; eleven children had fathers who had abandoned them, and four had mothers who had deserted them.¹² The limited number of these children suggests the BOA catered to a somewhat different clientele than did the HOF, and indicates many adults in Baltimore knew BOA officials were willing to accept half-orphans, but were far more hesitant to admit children who had both parents living. Though the Board did admit more children whose fathers had deserted them, they also rejected some appeals during the late 1880s and early 1890s that involved paternal desertion. BOA officials were clearly moved by Mrs. Burgem's "pitiable story of bad usage non-support and final desertion by a Catholic husband," and Mrs. Wasmas' account of a husband who had "deserted her leaving her with four children to support." Yet they declined these requests and that of Mrs. Agnew, and referred these women to the HOF.¹³ BOA officials suggested in Mrs. Agnew's case that they were worried about the "danger of trouble from her husband," and it may have been the fear that Mr. Wasmas and Mr. Burgem would show up at the asylum, assert their parental rights, and demand the return of children that led to their rejection of those applications as well.¹⁴ There is no evidence, however, that the Board was uniformly

A. Plummer; Eugene Madden; Ella Hepple; William Parrott; Mamie and Willie Dawes; Charles H., Edwin R., and Arthur Matt Abrams; Frederick W. Tenuic; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Emina May, Charles Edward, and Blanche Susan Reinhart; Blanche and Albert Talbot; Harry Hildebrandt; Daisy Virginia Stevens; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Katie and Frederick Berger; Lizzie, Frederick W., and Annie Hohlbein; Katie Lewis; Rosa and Pauline Goldman; Samuel George Chalk; James Albert and Dorothy Jane Rink; John and Willie Padgett; Milton Edward, Benjamin Perry, Annie, and Eva Van Orsdale; Lulu Lavery; Irwin Eli Feucht; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Mabel Viola King; Grace R. and William Leonard Beauchamp; Stanley Baker; Rosa, George and John Bowersox; Gladys and Walter William Houck; Leona Gertrude Anthony,

¹² WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of February 4, 1884, Discussion of Walter, Emory, Lucy and Della Gosnell; Meeting of April 5, 1886, History of Mrs. Burgem; Meeting of May 2, 1887, Discussion of Mrs. Wayson and her children George Washington and Emma Genevieve Wayson; Admission Books, Book 6, Males 1887-1898, Case of Louis Albert Conrey; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admission, 1901-1913, Account of Dora Amelia Boyer; Marion Nixon and Ellen Phillips Marling; Elsie E. Blunt. For the accounts of BOA mothers who deserted their children, examine: WC, HOF, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of November 1895, Focus on Lottie and Joseph Siegel; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Entry for Roland Leslie Gannon; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Case of Hazel L. Baxter.

¹³ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of April 5, 1886, Minutes concerning Mrs. Burgem; Meeting of October 3, 1887, Notes on Mrs. Wasmas.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Meeting of March 2, 1891, Discussion of Mrs. Cecilia Agnew.

opposed to accepting children whose fathers had deserted them, or that they continued to reject appeals from mothers whose husbands had deserted them after the early 1890s.

The anxiety BOA officials expressed about the possible reappearance of a missing parent who suddenly turned up to claim a child was not unwarranted. BOA officials encountered at least two cases like this in the 1880s, after they discovered mothers had provided them with false histories. When Annie Howard's mother appealed to have the girl admitted in July 1884, she told the BOA Board that Annie's father was dead. BOA officials were greatly surprised, therefore, when Amos Howard appeared at the asylum two months later, told Board Members that the girl had been placed in the BOA without his knowledge, and asked to have his daughter returned to him. Mr. Howard eventually agreed to leave the girl in the BOA, but only after he was "assured by the ladies that she would not be given to her mother."¹⁵ Four-and-a-half years later, BOA officials found themselves mediating again between warring parents and dealing with a female applicant's deliberate dishonesty after Mr. Hazelip appeared at the BOA and claimed his daughters Blanche and Daisy had been admitted five and a half years before without his consent.¹⁶ The investigation that followed made clear Mrs. Hazelip had truthfully identified herself as a married woman with a living husband, but also demonstrated she had lied to the BOA Board about her husband's knowledge and support of the application. BOA officials, meanwhile, offered no insight into where Mr. Hazelip had been for the five and a half years his daughters had been in residence at the asylum. Blanche and Daisy Hazelip were soon returned to their father, and the Board proved far more cautious in the decade that followed when it came to female applicants and their motivations.

¹⁵ Ibid., Meetings of September 1, 1884; October 6, 1884; February 2, 1885. See also BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Example of Annie M. Howard.

¹⁶ For information on Blanche and Daisy Hazelip, refer to the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of May 7, 1883; Meeting of November 5, 1883; Meeting of December 3, 1888; Admission Books, Book 5, Admitted, Girls Only, 1882, Entries for Blanche and Daisy Hazelip.

Economic distress and poverty

Maternal poverty occurred far more frequently than did paternal poverty in the families of the children who used the Baltimore asylums. Four-hundred and three (12.4%) children in the HOF had parents whom asylum officials identified as poor, and in 313 (77.7%) of these cases, it was children's mothers who were recognized as destitute. HOF residents with deceased fathers more commonly had mothers who were destitute than did children who came from homes in which both parents were living; ninety-two (18.8%) of the 490 HOF half-orphans whose mothers were living had mothers who were poor, as compared to 163 (11.0%) of children with two living parents, and twenty-one (7.4%) of the 283 children for whom mothers were living but no information was available on fathers.¹⁷ Yet these women's histories also reinforce there was little difference among mothers whose husbands or partners were living, dead, or missing, when it came to the difficulties they faced. Widows like Mrs. Dodd and Mrs. Main, married women like Mrs. Fowler and Mrs. Bassett, and mothers like Mrs. Beach and Mrs. Cochran, who provided HOF officials with no insight about their children's fathers, were all unable to support themselves and their families when they asked HOF officials for assistance.¹⁸ Many of these women were

¹⁷ Please examine the following for examples of half-orphans whose mothers were living and destitute: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Eliza J. and Mary E. England; Martha J. Sancho; Stephen Raybold; Georgianna, Emma Jane, Ida and Catherine Brogan; Estella and Kate Clark; Laura and Ellen Webb; Ella Olmstead and Anna Cora Robinson; James White; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Bridget and Catherine Sprangin; Laura Virginia and Anna Eliza Williamson; Mary and Willie Moore; Laura Virginia and Mary Sidney Walton; Margaret Rogers; John Francis Biggs; Nelson Connor; Homer and Lawrence Johnson; John, Urias and Maggie John; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Elizabeth Harrison; Oliver R. Whalen; Leonora Ely; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Mary and Elvira Dougherty; Amanda Walt; C. Howard and Ida Dodd; Alverda Leach; Mary Agnes and Annie Roberta Clark; Fannie Hopkins; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Lizzie and Willie Clark; Otto Acchorn; Rosa, Mamie and Willie Scrou; Eugene and George Young; Willie and Bertha McNealus; Elizabeth P., Rosa S., Capitola and Maggie Wheeler; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Bessie Lewis; Nelson Weglet; Bessie and Willie Pearman; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Harry and Roy Stebbing; Ethia Eugenia and Avery Walton Shockley; Marie Elizabeth Volkman; Georgeanna Meyers; Walter and Lillie Lentz; Ella, Mary E. and Emma Rossman; Grace Maud and Nannie Norma Main; Lee Smith; Georgie Estella and Wesley Edward Brice; Walter Keys; Edna Marie and Lawrence Winfield Allen; Charles Byron Reynolds Gorsuch; George C. and Myrtle A. Watson; Bernard and William Eichelberger; Charles Robert, John Leroy and Edward Russell Doyle; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, History of Therra A. Kitzmiller. For the histories of children for whom no information was available on fathers, but their mothers were living and poor, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, Accounts of Nannie, Hattie and Ella Beach; Laura and Susan Cochran; Ida, Charles, and Lebertie Ashlock; Lizzie Vogler; Lizzie and Emma Fendall; Walter and John French; Eleanora and Mary Ortl; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entry for Joseph Henry Carbis; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Case of Charles Price; Carrie Thompson; George Tracey; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records of Linwood Frazier; Florence C. Fernandez.

¹⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of C. Howard and Ida Dodd; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Grace Maud and Nannie Norma Main. Information on Mrs. Fowler and Mrs. Bassett is located in

also remarkably similar to one another when it came to the familial disturbances that had contributed to their poverty. Poor widows had lost husbands to death, and many poor married women had husbands who, though living, were missing, intemperate, jailed, or sick. Of the 163 children with living parents and destitute mothers, seventy-six (46.6%) came from homes in which fathers had deserted their families, seventeen (10.4%) had fathers who were intemperate, seventeen (10.4%) had sick fathers, and ten (6.1%) had incarcerated fathers.¹⁹ The absence of fathers, whether because of death, illness, incarceration or desertion, had a clear impact on women and their economic fortunes when it came to the families using the HOF.

Maternal poverty was a significant problem as well among the widows who turned to the BOA for aid, with women like Mrs. Martindale and Mrs. Sprewell informing the BOA Managers about the significant economic difficulties they endured. Asylum officials admitted Fielder and Wallace Martindale after their mother demonstrated to asylum officials in October 1881 that she was “unable to provide” for these boys, and the “extreme poverty” of Mrs. Sprewell convinced them in December 1883 to admit her four-year-old son, despite the fact that he was younger than the children usually allowed into the orphanage.²⁰ In other instances, outside parties made clear the level of destitution mothers endured as widows. The Board received a letter in February 1884 from a clergyman in Woodberry who testified that Mrs. Green could not support her sons Frederic and Frances Green, and the Managers made the two boys BOA residents that same

the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Thomas Albert and Cornelius Edward Bassett. For the records involving Mrs. Beach and Mrs. Cochran, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Examples of Nannie, Hattie and Ella Beach; Laura and Susan Cochran. For other cases involving destitute married women, widows, and women for whom fathers might or not be present, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Laura Virginia and Anna Eliza Williamson; Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Eleanor and Leonard Stidel; Lizzie and Willie Parker; For more cases in which destitution and widowhood are discussed, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of Eliza J. and Mary E. England; Martha Sancho; Laura and Ellen Webb; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Mary and Willie Moore; Margaret Rogers; Nelson Connor; Homer and Lawrence Johnson; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Example of Elizabeth Harrison; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of Fanny Hopkins; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Rosa, Mamie and Willie Scroot; Eugene and George Young; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records for Bessie Lewis; Nelson Weglet; Bessie and Willie Pearman; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Harry and Roy Stebbing; Georgeanna Meyers; Walter and Lillie Lentz; Ella, Mary E. and Emma Rossman; Lee Smith; Georgie Estella and Wesley Edward Brice; Walter Keys; Bernard and William Eichelberger.

¹⁹ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

²⁰ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of October 3, 1881, Discussion of Mrs. Cora Martindale; Meeting of December 3, 1883, Notes on Mrs. Sarah Sprewell.

month. Max, Charles and William Dibbern entered the asylum in a similar fashion in October 1890, when one of the BOA Managers, a Miss Williams, informed her counterparts about their mother's plight. Miss Williams noted that the children were "of German parentage" and their widowed mother was alive, but was unable to provide for herself, the three boys, and her daughter.²¹ These cases illustrate destitution was a reality for a number of the mothers who turned to the Baltimore asylums for assistance, and reinforce as well that the absence of a husband and the family's primary breadwinner played a significant role in women's descent into poverty.

Relatively few children entered the Baltimore asylums from homes in which paternal poverty occurred, or from families in which both parents were identified as poor. Between 1854 and 1910, HOF officials identified fifty-three (1.6%) children as the offspring of poor fathers, and recognized another thirty-seven (1.1%) children as the offspring of poor mothers and fathers.²² Widowers comprised a larger percentage of these poor fathers than did men whose wives were still living; thirty (6.1%) widowers were poor, while sixteen (1.1%) men with living spouses were destitute. Though these figures verify fathers in Baltimore were more insulated from poverty than their female counterparts, destitution was certainly not unknown among BOA and HOF fathers. Mr. Hoss told BOA officials in October 1882 that he was "unable to support his child,"

²¹ Ibid., Meeting of October 6, 1890, Discussion of the Dibbern Family; Admission Registers, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Accounts of Max Hans Henry Dibbern, Charles Calvert Dibbern, and William George Dibbern.

²² For the cases of children whose fathers were destitute, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Dora Rhinehart; Maria McCaskery; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Margaret, Susan and Willie Kenly; Annie Klater; Christopher Columbus Smith; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Ann Lucretia, Jane Ellen and Susan Adelaide Bailey; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Alfred, Sophia and Bessie Wilson; Amelia and Ida Miller; Harry King; Lottie Wilson; Linda Mary and Annie Louisa Nettleship; Herbert Lindman; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Jennie, Margaret, Katherine and Rose Dietmyer; Hugh and Harry Layton; James, Bessie, and Carrie Brown; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of Edward and Bertie Sheffield; Earl, Hester and Myrtle Valentine; John and William Stricker; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries of Frank A. and Lillian L. Ebberts; Frederick W. and Oliver Cannoles; Lillie and Kate Walters; Henry Burgess and Samuel Spencer Greenwood; Lizzie, Frederick W. and Annie Hohlbein. See the following for examples of children whose parents, though living, were both identified as poor: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Maria Ollenberger; Clara and Elisabeth Rother; Mary and John H. Todd; Sarah Ellen and Emily Rebecca Joseph; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Mary Anastasia and Teresa Coletart; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Emma Adams; Maggie, Ida and Albert Robinson; Rose, Lizzie and Conrad Wiegand; James Reilly; Edith Hanson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Clarence, Irvey, and Richard Sheckells; Mary Bassett; Laura Virginia Gibson; Frank Zenanski; Nellie Tall; Leo Cole; Lewis Schientrumpf; Frederick McCantley; Freddie Dargerth; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Margaret D. and Rachel H. Warfield; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records of Gertrude and George Parsons; John Morgan; Bessie Harmon.

and Mr. Lewis articulated similar sentiments when he asked the BOA Board to admit his three children in December 1888.²³ These histories confirm at least a few BOA fathers were suffering economically at the time of their turn to the orphanage, though some HOF fathers appear to have been in even more dire economic straits than were their BOA peers. When Mr. Smith, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Brown appealed to HOF officials for assistance in October 1870, May 1875, and June 1883, their poverty was pronounced. HOF authorities described Mr. Smith as an unskilled laborer who lived in “very destitute conditions,” Mr. Wilson as the “very indigent” head of a family of seven, and Mr. Brown as a father of five and soon-to-be-widower earning “only \$1.07 a day.”²⁴ As these accounts suggest, these men were extremely poor, and were, in the cases of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Brown, made even more destitute by the presence of a large number of dependents.

Mothers who entered the orphanages

Perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of asylum records in Baltimore and Liverpool is the presence at the HOF of a small group of women who entered the asylum along with their children. Twenty-nine women were allowed into the HOF in this manner, and there is no evidence that this practice occurred at the BOA or the Liverpool orphanages, or that men entered any of the asylums with their children. Some of these women, including Mrs. Rote, Mrs.

²³ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of October 3, 1881, Notes on Mr. J.J. Hoss; Meeting of December 3, 1888, Minutes focusing on Mr. Lewis. Officials allowed the two oldest Lewis children, Stella and Elce, into the BOA, but the youngest child was under age, and thus ineligible for admission; for more on these two children, see WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 6, Males 1887-1898, Entry for Elce Lewis; Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1890, Account of Stella Lewis. For the example of other destitute BOA fathers, refer to: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of January 3, 1892, Notes on Mr. Bollins; Meetings of May 7, 1894 and June 4, 1894, Discussions of Mr. Nagle and his daughters Ruth and Sadie Nagle.

²⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Christopher Columbus Smith; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Lottie, Alfred, Sophia, and Bessie Wilson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of James, Carrie and Bessie Brown. For additional records of HOF fathers who were poor, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Maria McCaskery; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Margaret, Susan and Willie Kenly; Annie Klater; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Ann Lucretia, Jane Ellen, Susan Adelaide Bailey; Registers, Book 5, Admissions, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Linda Mary and Annie Louisa Nettleship; Harry King; Amelia and Ida Miller; Harry Lindman; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Files on Jennie, Margaret, Katherine and Rose Dietmyer; Hugh and Harry Layton; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Edward and Bertie Sheffield; Earl, Hester, Myrtle Valentine; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Frank A. and Lillian L. Ebberts; Lizzie, Frederick W., and Annie Hohlbein; Frederick W. and Oliver Cannoles; Henry Burgess and Samuel Spencer Greenwood; Kate and Lillie Walters.

Ranckell, and Mrs. McCall were HOF workers who lived in the asylum during their tenure as employees.²⁵ Yet the majority of these women were mothers who had experienced the same types of familial disruptions as many of their HOF peers and appear to have been in even more dire economic straits than their counterparts. Several of these women, including Mrs. Bender, Mrs. Bell and Mrs. Weidel, entered the HOF after their husbands deserted them and left them the sole providers for their children. Mrs. Bender and Mrs. Weidel were looking for employment but had yet to experience any success, and Mrs. Bell was unable to work because she suffered from severe rheumatism in her hands which prevented her from doing so.²⁶ Other women like Mrs. Schaible and Mrs. Sheckells were equally as destitute when they were admitted into the HOF. Mrs. Schaible appeared at the HOF in March 1860 “in a great deal of distress and begged that she might be admitted with her children.” She said she had three young children, that her husband was dissipated and mentally unsound, and she informed HOF officials that all of her “household effects had been sold for rent” the day before. Mrs. Sheckells conveyed a similar story in November 1881, when she said that she and her husband were indigent and that she “was without a home or any means of support.”²⁷ These stories suggest the extreme destitution that affected some mothers, and also reinforce the uniqueness of the HOF and its officials when it came to admitting desperately-in-need women into the asylum along with their children.

²⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of Mary and Annie Rote. For the histories of other mothers who were HOF employees and resided in the HOF at the same time as their children, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Irvin, Custer, and Herbert Ranckell; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, File of Robert Johnson; Robert Roland Johnson; Mary W. and Sydney Rozelle McCall.

²⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Maggie Bender; William Bell; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Joseph Weidel. For other examples of women whose husbands had deserted them, and were in residence in the HOF along with her children, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Maud and Ethel Lyon; George Swann.

²⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Files of Maggie, Lizzie and Willie Schaible; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Clarence, Ivey, and Richard Sheckells. For other examples in which it was suggested mothers were suffering economically, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Howard Wroten; Eleanora, August, and Frederick Stidel.

Work and Unemployment

Nearly 25% of all the children who resided in the HOF between 1854 and 1910 had mothers who were working at the time of their admission into the asylum.²⁸ Widows comprised the largest percentage of HOF working mothers. 46% of HOF residents with widowed mothers had mothers employed, as compared to 29% of HOF inhabitants who had both parents living and mothers who were employed, and 27% of HOF children for whom no information on fathers was available.²⁹ The absence of husbands appears to have once again been particularly significant when it came to mothers' decisions to work. Indeed, in addition to the 276 women in the contingent of working mothers who had lost husbands to death, 291 working mothers, including Mrs. Shipley, Mrs. Dernniok, Mrs. Heinbuck, and Mrs. Seiler, had husbands who, though living, had deserted them, were in jail, or were away from their families.³⁰ The fact that so many HOF children with working mothers came from homes in which fathers were temporarily or permanently missing reinforces the centrality of paternal absence to the health of the family economy, and to women's need to enter the paid workforce.

Though only 226 (7.0%) children who entered the HOF came from homes in which mothers were unemployed, the histories of these children illustrate the manner in which young children seriously complicated some mothers' ability to find work.³¹ Mrs. York was searching

²⁸ A total of 784 children in the HOF had mothers who were employed when these children entered the asylum; this group of children comprised 24.2% of the asylum's total populace. See WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

²⁹ Of the 600 HOF residents who were half-orphans with living mothers, 276 had mothers working. Of the 1,479 HOF inhabitants who had both parents living, 431 had mothers who were employed. A total of seventy-seven HOF children came from homes in which no information was available about fathers and mothers were working. For this data, please examine: WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

³⁰ Of these 291 women, 158 had lost husbands to desertion, sixty-eight had intemperate husbands, twenty-three had husbands who were both intemperate and had deserted them, twenty-two had husbands who were incarcerated, and twenty had husbands who were geographically separated from the family. For the histories of these women, please refer to WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. For the examples of Mrs. Shipley, Mrs. Dernniok, Mrs. Heinbuck, and Mrs. Seiler, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Nellie and Rebie Dernniok; Entry for Anna Shipley; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Accounts of William and George Heinbuck; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of George Christian and James Frank Seiler.

³¹ For cases involving HOF maternal unemployment, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Mary McPoland; Edilla M., Francis Jane, and Helena M. Hoffman; Sarah Ellen and Hannah Tweedle; Sarah Lavinia Evans; Alice Amelia, Elizabeth Williams and Mary Prescott; John T. Norton; Anna Brawn; Mary Agnes Wards; Isadore and Margaret Buck; Isabella Keys; Kate Morrison; Elizabeth Benzley; Anna and Mary Agnes Miller; Estella and Kate Clark; Mary Reynolds; Sarah Elizabeth and Ella Jane Foster; Anna E. Walker; Unnamed Hamilton

for a service position when she placed her daughter Rosa in the HOF in October 1864, and was still looking for this type of work three months later when she returned to admit her daughter Rachel. Mrs. York's continued unemployment, and her own declaration that she expected to find work as soon as she gave up both children, illustrates the difficulties that young children could pose to mothers searching for employment.³² Mrs. Rhinehart told HOF authorities a similar tale in December 1876; she noted that she was responsible for her daughter Maggie, her son Louis, and an infant, and that she was "unable to leave the children to go out to work." Mrs. Rhinehart had managed to sustain her family for five months with the help of her neighbors, but by the time of her appeal she believed she had no other choice but to place her two older children in the asylum, in the hopes that she might at least be able to get a situation where she could keep her baby with her.³³ As these examples demonstrate, some mothers had little option but to divest themselves of their children if they hoped to improve their employment opportunities.

sisters; Laura and Ellen Webb; Laura Bowman; Mary and George Maxwell; Lydia Sewell; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Alphonsus Beiler; Bridget and Catherine Sprangin; Rachel Ann and Rosa York; Mary Lizzie and Henry Haupt; Laura Virginia and Anna Eliza Williamson; Sarah and Mary Ellen Taylor; Mary Virginia Clark; Rosabel, Emma, and Mary G. League; Thomas Hammond; William Ricper; Samuel Mills; James Escott; Georgianna Margery Cline; Crithander H. Axer; Sarah Hobbs; Virginia Johnson; Charles Rising; Mary Elizabeth and Charles Simms; Georgianna and Emma Virginia Taylor; Florence Anderson; Carrie Durfey; Franklin Baggot; Virginia and Rose Isabella Straney; David J. Walderford; Fanny Rebecca Fendall; Nannie and Lilian Bailey; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Mary and Lottie Coxen; Mary Agnes and Lloyd Julius Willard; Robert and Felix Von Breisan; George R. and Frederic Lacey; Joseph and Harry Squires; Eliza and Harry Mansfield; Ardne and Flavins Spencer; Thomas Fletcher Cooper; Mary Ann and Robert Ryan; Lily May Farr; Maggie Bender; Orlando Smith; Kate and James Carter; Edward Frigley; Sally, Elize and Norman Steigelman; Annie Fradd; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of George, David and Annie Russell; Frank and Mattie Bean; Susie Eck; John and Columbus McComas; Maggie and Louis Rhinehart; Charles O. and George Dannelly; Mary and Maggie Shorten; Mand and Ramsey Merrick; Willie Day; Pierre Coale; Bessie and Thomas Lawrence; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Dallas, Charles and Slemons Birkhead; Lizzie Nelson; Harry J. Strahan; Alice and Ella Hines; Clinton Woolford; Jennie, Sallie, and Nettie Fetherstone; Charles McCafferty; Louisa and Charles Stephens; Joseph and Andrew Smith; Mary Ann Smith; Mary Ellen Macken; Clara, George, Raymond and Charles Wilson; Willie and Claudie Dobbs; Clara and George Kimball; Ella and Tilden Story; Laura C. Bordley; George Frederick and Edward Henry Allason; Annie English; Nellie May and Harry Clinton Bloom; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Maggie May Metzger; Alice Maude Johnson; George C. and Walter Hoffman; Helen and John Banon; Eva, Robert N., and Walter Harris; Norwood and Mamie Folk; Christina, Virginia and Harry Solomon; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Mary, Sadie and Leroy Peacock; Ella and Martha Fleischer; Harry and Roy Stebbing; Stanton and Leroy Johnson; Eva May, Thomas Jessop and Millie May Phillips; Clara Stella and Elsie Cain; Walter and Willie Beckett; Bessie, Maggie and Nellie Rehbein; Charles William Janzer; Rena and Clara Van Bibber; Louisa H. and George F. Herzog; Mamie E., Minnie E. and George Hodges; Jeanette Catherine Hammond; Helen Mabel Gibson; Ella, Rosa, Loretta and Charles Coates; Jesse Hayden; John Maurice Wilson; Maria Julia and Charles C. Clarke; Joseph R. Butler; Bernard and William Eichelberger; Carrie A. and Emma B. Sittig; Louis McPherson, John H., Ida May, and Leonard Wood Rollman.

³² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Rachel Ann and Rosa Ann York.

³³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Maggie and Louis Rhinehart.

Even if women in Baltimore obtained regular work, the paucity of wages paid to them meant there was no guarantee they would be financially secure enough to keep their children with them. Annie Kline's widowed mother was unable to stretch the earnings she made as a washer woman to support herself and her five children.³⁴ Other HOF mothers who worked as laundresses, seamstresses, and even domestic servants complained of similar problems when they brought their children to the asylum. Mrs. Ensor informed HOF authorities in her June 1883 interview with them that she earned only four dollars for her work as a servant, and that she was unable to support herself and her three children on such wages.³⁵ Yet it was not only women who worked in these trades who found themselves unable to satisfy their families' economic needs. Mothers like Mrs. McNally and Mrs. Miller, who were employed in factories or more industrial settings also made clear to HOF authorities the problems they experienced in their efforts to provide financially for their families. Mrs. McNally earned "less than one dollar per day" for her work in machine rooms, and Mrs. Miller labored in a shirt factory and earned only seven cents for each twelve shirts she completed.³⁶ It would have been difficult enough for Mrs. McNally and Mrs. Miller try to sustain themselves on these wages, and it was outright impossible for them, each of whom had two children, to provide for the entire family on such low wages. These women, as well as other employed mothers who turned to the HOF, simply could not stretch their

³⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Annie Kline.

³⁵ Surviving HOF documents do not make clear whether Mrs. Ensor earned four dollars per week or per month; for the history of this woman, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Account of Albert and Freddie Ensor. For the histories of other women who worked as laundresses, seamstresses and domestic servants and were unable to support their families on their earnings, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Ida Miller; Mary and Henry Eifert; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Lewis and Minnie Vogt; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Frank and Harry Despeaux; Henry Lee Christopher; Felix J. and Clarence E. Granger; William F. and Joseph M. Hunter; Florence and Alfred Migart; John and Mollie Marks; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Lewis Henry and George Franklin Holland Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Charles, John G. and Margaret Holland; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Louisa, Frederick and Katie Vogedes; Ethia Eugenia and Avery Walton Shockley; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, files of Robert and John Leroy Doyle.

³⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records of Mary Agnes and Laura Virginia McNally; John and Thomas Linwood Miller. For additional cases involving children whose mothers were employed in factories and did not earn enough to provide for them, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Georgia and Josie Roberts; Elizabeth P., Rose S., Capitola and Maggie Wheeler; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for Edna Marie and Lawrence Winfield Allen.

meager earnings far enough to meet the economic needs of their families.³⁷ Indeed, because women's labor was chronically low-paid and undervalued, even the most hardworking mother in Baltimore could find her efforts to sustain her family economically and keep its members united thwarted.

There was a notable imbalance between the numbers of HOF children who had working mothers and fathers; only 471 (14.5%) HOF children had fathers who were gainfully employed.³⁸ Of the children in this contingent, 156 (33.1%) had both parents living and only fathers working, seventy-eight (16.5%) had both parents living and both parents working, 229 (48.5%) were half-orphans and seven (1.5%) were children for whom information was only available about fathers.³⁹ These cases reveal the significant impact that a mother's absence or incapacitation played in cases involving working fathers. In the 156 cases in which both spouses were living and fathers were the only parent working, thirty-six (22.9%) had wives who were sick, twenty-nine (18.5%) men had wives who had deserted their families, twenty-three (14.6%) had intemperate wives, eleven (7.0%) had wives who had lost their minds, and five (3.2%) had wives in jail.⁴⁰ These cases, as

³⁷ For additional histories of HOF mothers who had employment, but found themselves unable to financially provide for all family members, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Stephen Raybold; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Examples of Ella Elizabeth and Sarah Ida Brown; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Georgianna and Ella Masson; Loulie and Irving Chaffer; Mabel Harris; Willie Wodges; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Luther Mashim; Charles and Beulah Laughlin; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902; Histories of Nellie May and Ida Bell Baker; Fannie and Eva Myronwitch; Charles C. Schram; Susan and Ernestine M. Younce.

³⁸ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

³⁹ For children who had unemployed mothers and unemployed fathers, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Mary E. and Laura White; Willie Roberts; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Daisy, Louis, and D. Stephens; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Edna F., Malinda J., Howard M., and Allan C. Wharton.

⁴⁰ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. See the following for cases in which fathers were working and wives were sick: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, Example of Mary Conway; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Thomas Tracy; Maggie Sutton; Christopher Columbus Smith; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Case of William Lang; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Eddie Minich; Augustus B. Watson; Edith Hanson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Mary and Carrie Simmons; Marion, Chriton and James Walters; Joseph Fletcher; Willie Albright; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Smith baby; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Harry Warfield, Davis Chew and Daniel W. Taylor; Daniel and Joseph Sweetser; Mary Frances, Pearl Irene, William Henry and John Edward Herpel; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Accounts of Louis McPherson, John H., Ida May, and Leonard Wood Rollman; May, Louise, Edward and Robert Seibert; Henry and Earley Rush. Cases involving working fathers whose wives deserted them can be found in the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, History of Mary Jane Kerns; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Admission files of Charles, Annie and Fred Magruder; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Ella Hepple; Charles H., Edwin R., and Arthur Matt Abrams; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Blanche and Albert Talbot; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Katie Lewis; James Aibert and Dorothy Jane Rink; Lee, James, and Susan Crismer; Milton Edward, Benjamin Perry, Anie and Eva Van Orsdale; Lulu Lavery; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Accounts of Grace R. and

well as the 229 involving widowers who were working reveals that in nearly all cases in which working fathers appealed to the HOF for assistance with their children, the key element was mothers' temporary or permanent absence from the home, or their physical incapacitation. When women were unable to care for their children because of death, desertion, intemperance, sickness or incarceration, many working husbands turned to the HOF for assistance.

The number of HOF inhabitants who had unemployed fathers was also significantly smaller than the number of children with unemployed mothers; only seventy-seven (2.4%) children came from households in which fathers were unemployed.⁴¹ This difference suggests unemployment was a far less significant problem for the fathers of these children, and makes clear unemployment prompted far fewer men to turn to the asylum than women. Yet these histories also confirm it was not only women in Baltimore who encountered problems in finding work and meeting the economic needs of their families. By the time the widowed Mr. Ball turned to the HOF in September 1861 he had been searching for carpentry work for six months, to no avail. He had three daughters and himself to provide for, and he was simply unable to continue to shoulder this burden without some type of assistance.⁴² Mr. Colburn's situation was even more

William Leonard Beauchamp Jr.; Rosa, John and George Bowersox; Walter William Houck; Leona Gertrude Anthony. The following are examples of HOF fathers who were employed and had intemperate wives: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Joseph, Mary and Thomas Connaway; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of John Fickenscher Jr; Gertrude and Ivory Belle Noakes. For cases in which both parents were living, fathers were working, and mothers lost their minds, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of William G. Dixon; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Ethel May and Sarah Frances Wheeler; M. and Mary Deitrick; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Christian and Henry Bluske; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Pearl and Robert Thorington; Abel Freedman; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Case of Henry T. Hevers. See the following for HOF fathers who were working and had jailed wives: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Files on Mary Jane, Elizabeth and Teresa Brown; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Files of Edith and Thomas Maguire.

⁴¹ Please examine the following for HOF fathers who were unemployed: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Florence Virginia and Alice Taylor; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, History of Lily Blunt; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Harry Ways; William, Albert and Frances Knight; Howard W. and Irvin Martin; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Files of Henry Buraft; Mary E. and Laura White; Nellie O'Neil; James Lewis; Amanda Lietmagrotze; Sarah E. and Martha A. Clinton; Harry Lee Butts; Joseph, Mary, Daisy, Freddie, and Rosie Ward; Annie Lee Wells; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Jennie and Mary Ghiselin; Henry Dile; Willie and Albert Sorensen; Robert and Carrie Cooksey; Bessie and Lillie Wheedon; Frank and Kemp Middlekauff; Kate, Barbara, Sophie and Willie Hirt; William Degg; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Willie and Laurence Burnt; Margaret D. and Rachel H. Warfield; Edna F., Malinda J., Howard M. and Allan C. Wharton; Annie Margaret Lambert; Ruth Naylor; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records of Theresa and Amelia Naple; Grace May and Eldred Watson Householder; Amelia, Alice and Edward Fink; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Ethel A. Langley; Fred Clark; Frank Bayer.

⁴² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Files of Mary Virginia, Anna Elisa and Catherine Elisabeth Ball.

desperate. He had six children to support and was “in the West seeking employment,” in October 1868 after having been unable to locate suitable employment for himself in Baltimore.⁴³ Mr. Colburn’s account reveals the physical lengths some fathers were forced to go to in their search for employment, and other fathers including Mr. France, Mr. Mosher, and Mr. Bachman, endured similar searches for work that took them away from their families and the city in the decades that followed.⁴⁴ These cases and those of other men who were looking for work, but had yet to find it, reinforce parents of either sex could find the obtainment of employment in nineteenth-century Baltimore a difficult prospect.

BOA officials did not regularly record information on maternal and paternal occupations, or lack thereof, yet a few BOA histories illustrate a group of BOA parents faced problems similar to their HOF peers. A few BOA widowers like Mr. Edgerton and Mr. Bradley turned to BOA for assistance because the death and absence of their wives had left them without anyone to care for their children. They were in this regard quite like that group of working HOF fathers who turned to the HOF for similar reasons.⁴⁵ Yet most of the cases at the BOA involved mothers like Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. Falk, and Mrs. Kroyman, who struggled to find employment or stretch meager earnings far enough to support themselves and their children, as did a number of their HOF peers, or mothers like Mrs. Wayson and Mrs. Bradley, who confronted the same problem as many of their HOF counterparts: how to concurrently fulfill the roles of economic breadwinner and primary caretaker.⁴⁶ Mrs. Wayson and Mrs. Bradley were lucky enough, even with the presence of young children to find outside employment, as a store worker in Mrs. Wayson’s case and as a

⁴³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Estelle Colburn.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Records of Kate and Anna Virginia France; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Nettie and Nellie Mosher; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Delaware May Bachman. For other instances in which fathers were unemployed and left Baltimore in their quest for work, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Willie Roberts; Frank Clay.

⁴⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of March 6, 1893, Discussion of Mr. Edgerton and his children; Meeting of January 7, 1895, Focus on Mr. Bradley.

⁴⁶ Mrs. Bailey was searching for employment when her children were admitted into the BOA; see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 4, 1887, Focus on Stuart and Custer Bailey. Mrs. Falk and Mrs. Kroyman had work, though they earned very low wages on which they found it impossible to support their children. For the histories of these women, please refer to: WC, HOF, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 6, 1891, Case of Mrs. Falk; Meeting of February 5, 1894, Account of Mrs. Kroyman.

domestic servant in Mrs. Bradley's. Yet this employment meant both women were physically absent from their homes and in Mrs. Wayson's case, her children spent "much of their time on the street."⁴⁷ This was an untenable situation for both these BOA mothers, who were unable as were many HOF mothers who worked as domestic servants or in other employments that removed them from their homes, to work and guarantee their children were cared for; they simply could not be in two places at once.

Illness and disability

Illness played a conspicuous role in the families of Baltimore asylum children, with the mothers of these children particularly hard-hit by sickness and disease. Four hundred thirty-four (13.4%) HOF inhabitants had parents incapacitated by illness, and of these children, 326 (75.1%) had ill mothers, ninety-two (21.2%) had fathers who were ill, and sixteen (3.7%) came from homes in which both parents had health problems. Though these statistics confirm more children had sick mothers than fathers, an exact breakdown of how many parents were impacted by the smallpox epidemics that occurred in the city in 1858, 1861, 1864, and 1864, or the outbreaks of yellow fever, scarlet fever, cholera, and typhus fever that impacted Baltimore during this period remains impossible due to HOF officials' irregular identification of what ailed parents. Indeed, though HOF officials did sometimes enumerate the exact type of illness parents were suffering from, the HOF registers are full of multiple entries in which mothers like Mrs. France, Mrs. Kyle, and Mrs. Roth are described only as very sick or ill and in which fathers like Mr. Craft and Mr. Price are simply said to be in delicate health.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid., Meeting of April 4, 1887, Notes on Stuart and Custer Bailey; March 4, 1889, Discussion of Mrs. Waverley.

⁴⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Files on Kate and Anna Virginia France; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Minnie Craft; James Watkins and Jennie B. Kyle; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Case of Charles Price; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of William and Mamie Roth. For additional cases in which mothers' and fathers' illnesses or exact health problems went unnamed, please examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Emma, Susan, Mary and Jane Johnson; Elisa Neagle; Margaret Ellis; Anna Rogan; Martha Rapp; James White; Nettie Brown; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Kate and Jackson Parlett; Mary Stewart; Christopher Columbus Smith; Georgianna McComas; Maggie Jones; Annie Jackson Spradling; John Kerr; John and Margaret Trainor; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for John Wesley Bushaw; Annie Bosley; William Lang; William and John Christopher; Laura and Agnes Newton; Mary E. Fisher; Virginia and Nannie Archer; Charles and William Fulton; Robert W., James M., and John J. Barron; Registers,

What is quite clear from the HOF records is that many of these HOF mothers and fathers were seriously ill with tuberculosis (consumption). Of the children who came from households in which both parents were living and one parent was sick, twenty-nine (13.1%) HOF residents had mothers who were ill with consumption, and fifteen (24.6%) had fathers who had tuberculosis.⁴⁹ When it came to half orphans, eleven (11.3%) youngsters had widowed mothers who were sick with consumption, but only one child (3.3%) had a widowed father suffering from this disease.⁵⁰ Consumption itself was a progressive wasting disease of the lungs that regularly proved fatal to those who contracted it, and children entered the HOF at a variety of different points in their mothers' and fathers' illnesses. Some children like Mary Mulliken and the Fields brothers became HOF inhabitants after consumptive parents were admitted into local institutions like the Protestant Infirmary and St. Agnes Hospital, while others, like the Cook siblings became HOF inhabitants prior to a tubercular parent's hospitalization.⁵¹ There was a notable difference though

Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of William and George LaCount; Virginia Gilbert; Rose, Lizzie and Conrad Wiegand; Eddie Minich; Edith Hanson; Willie McClintock; August and John Boehmer; Isadore Soule; Sydney Blankner; Connor Brockwell; Florence, Ferdinand and Alphonso Provost; Thomas Albert and Cornelius Edward Bassett; Brevell, Howard and Homer Cann; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records for Mary and Carrie Simmons; Virginia Buckle; Kate, Barbara, Willie and Sophie Hirt; Joseph Fletcher; Edward Herzog; Willie and Bertha McNealus; Goldy Parks; Mary Bassett; Clinton Woolford; Frances Y. Probino; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Unnamed Smith baby; George, Edgar and Mary Hester Briggs; Samuel Marks; Wilbur, Lillian Gertrude, William Calvin and Elmer P. Hershey; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Harry Warfield, Davis Chew, and Daniel W. Taylor; Irma and Inez Qualey; Daniel and Joseph Sweetser; Rosa and Pauline Goldman; Anna Josie Socci; William Ackerman; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Katie, Willie and Roland Betz; Edna May, George Grant and Howard James Wheeler; Edna Flowers; Dorothy, Raymond Melvin, and Bernard Tracey.

⁴⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Sarah Hamlek; Mary Mulliken; Mary Conway; Susan Shirk; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of George and Ida Higgins; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Arthur and Harry Thompson; Augustus B. Watson; James Lewis; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Eliza and James Cowan; Marion, Chriton and James Waters; James, Bessie and Carrie Brown; Zobedia Baugher; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records for Alberta Miller; Mary Frances, Pearl Irene, William Henry and John Edwin Herpel; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of John and Wesley Wilson; Fred and Louisa Clark; Sydney Carlisle; Emma Virginia and Mary C. Worley. For the examples of children with both parents living and fathers who were tubercular, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Anna Brawn; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Jefferson and James Hawkins; Peter and Eddie Fields; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records for James Tottle; Alverda, Ira and Mamie Cook; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Irma, John and Raymond Qualey; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Ernest and Philip May; William A. Reed.

⁵⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Mary Ruff; Eleanora Hipkins; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entry for Mary Elder; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Kate Hinkley; Alverda Leach; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Ella Crawford; Sophie Hirt; Wallie Iglehart; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Example of Samuel Boyd; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Hattie and Elsie Marburger. Annie Klater was the only half-orphan HOF officials identified as having a tubercular widowed father; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Annie Klater.

⁵¹ Mary Mulliken entered the HOF in November 1861, Peter and Eddie Fields were admitted into the orphanage in February 1874, and Mamie, Alverda, and Ira Cook became HOF residents in January 1879. For the case histories of

in the numbers of children who entered the asylum when their mothers were in the last stages of consumption, and those who became HOF residents when their fathers were in the final stages of the disease.⁵² Irma, John and Raymond Qualey were the only HOF inmates who became residents while their father was “dying of consumption of the bowels,” and Mr. Qualey was still alive two years after this diagnosis.⁵³ The fact that far more children were entered when mothers were deathly ill with consumption than fathers makes evident how severely maternal illness could incapacitate the family unit.

It remains unclear whether or not sickness was as common among BOA mothers and fathers as it was at the HOF, as BOA officials did not regularly record parental health information. Yet a few histories reveal sickness did play a role in the admission of some BOA inhabitants. When Louisa and Rosina Probine entered the BOA in September 1883, asylum administrators described their widowed father as too sick to care for them. BOA authorities spoke in similar terms about Mr. Whalen, who was “in delicate health” and in no condition to care for his five-year-old son, and about Mr. Barnes, who was “so delicate that he cannot maintain the family.”⁵⁴ These cases reinforce the role that poor health played in some widowers’ lives, and indicate that for some children in Baltimore who had already lost one parent, the possibility of losing another to sickness was quite high.

these children, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Mary Mulliken; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-1875, Entries for Peter and Eddie Fields; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Mamie, Alverda, and Ira Cook. For accounts of other children who became HOF residents after a consumptive parent left the family home, see: WC, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Arthur and Harry Thompson

⁵² For children whose mothers were in the final states of tuberculosis at the time they became HOF residents, refer to the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Mary Conway; Susan Shirk; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for George and Ida Higgins; WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1893, Entries for James, Bessie, Carrie, Maggie and Ellen Brown; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Laura Virginia McNally; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for John and Wesley Wilson.

⁵³ Irma, John and Raymond Qualey entered the asylum in October 1896, when they were six, three and two years old respectively; See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902 for the histories of these children.

⁵⁴ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of September 3, 1883. See also, WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1898, Entries for Rosina Johnson and Louisa H. Probine. For the case of William Whalen, see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of October 5, 1885. See also WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1882-1898. For the Board’s discussion of Mr. Barnes, see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of February 2, 1886. Please examine the following for other examples of widowed fathers who were quite ill: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Case of Mr. Barnes; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of March 2, 1896, History of Mr. Bayles.

Accounts involving BOA widows demonstrate the impact sickness had on women turning to the BOA as well. Albert McDaniel's mother was sick in the Church Home with a terminal tumor at the time of his February 1892 admission, and Alexander and Philip MacIntyre's mother was ill in the Church Home with an undisclosed ailment when they entered the BOA in the fall of 1895.⁵⁵ Though these were the only two instances in which BOA widows were identified as ill, it seems highly improbable that no other children entered the BOA from homes in which widowed mothers were in poor health. Poor health clearly prompted parents of both sexes to seek help from officials at the BOA as well as the HOF, and to utilize the asylums when sickness impinged on their ability to care for children.

For some parents in Baltimore, a crisis in health involved disability, though disability led to far fewer admissions overall than did parental illness. Between 1854 and 1910, only twenty-seven (0.8%) of the children admitted into HOF had parents who were disabled, and BOA officials discussed only one application that was tied to parental disability. Of the twenty-one children in this group who had both parents living, fifteen had disabled fathers and six had disabled mothers.⁵⁶ Three half-orphans had disabled widowed fathers, and three HOF inhabitants came from homes in which nothing was known about one parent, but the other was disabled.⁵⁷ According to HOF officials, blindness, rheumatism, paralysis, and in the case of fathers, job-

⁵⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of February 1, 1892, Account of Albert McDaniel, Board Minutes, June 1895-December 1897, Meeting of November 1895, Records of Alexander and Philip MacIntyre.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Miller asked the BOA Board in September 1882 to admit the three daughters of an unnamed widower because he was blind, and in no physical condition to care for the children. For this case, see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of September 4, 1882, Discussion of Mrs. Miller. The Board advised Mrs. Miller to try to get these girls admitted into the Kelso Home for Methodist Children, which was located in North Baltimore, as the family had some connection to the Methodist Church. For more on the Kelso Home, please refer to: *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions* (Baltimore: The Sun Job Printing Office, 1893), p. 458; Walter Kirwan, *History—Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church Incorporated, Towson, Maryland* (1948); Lorraine J. Bess and Dorothy M. Smith, *History of the Board of Child Care Auxiliary* (2003).

⁵⁷ For half-orphans with disabled fathers, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record of Susan Ellis Morris; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Grace May and Eldred Watson Householder. The three children who came from homes in which nothing was known about one parent, but the other was known to suffer from a disability were: Josephine Blake and Herbert and Clarence Zeigler. Josephine Blake's mother was disabled, and nothing was known about her father, while the Zeigler brothers had a disabled father and a mother that asylum officials possessed no intelligence about. For these examples, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Josephine Blake; Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Herbert and Clarence Zeigler.

related injuries were the types of disabilities that affected these parents.⁵⁸ In several of these cases, HOF authorities suggested how precarious the survival of the household could become when fathers were disabled. Matilda Keyser's father's injury meant he was "confined to his bed most of the time," which prevented him from working; the poverty that resulted was physically visible on the bodies of his children, whom HOF officials described as "common beggars."⁵⁹ Mr. Joseph's family endured an equally uncertain existence after he was "injured on the job from a horse kick" and his ability to work depended on how well or unwell he felt from one day to the next.⁶⁰ These case histories reveal the intensely negative repercussions that a father's disability could have on his dependents, and on their ability to remain a cohesive family unit.

HOF cases involving parental sickness and disability are significant as well because they reveal the financial burden that paternal illness had on many families, suggest the impact that maternal illness had on households in which men were intemperate or away, demonstrate the manner in which women used the asylums for short-term care, and provide historians with insight into the arrangements unwell widows tried to make for children in case they did not survive their illnesses. A number of HOF mothers presented asylum officials with tangible visual and oral evidence of the poverty that the loss of a breadwinner could occasion for families, and they

⁵⁸ For cases in which mothers were disabled and blind, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Margaret Ellis; Anna Rogin; Mary Lanahan; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entry for Sarah Elizabeth Moore. Information on the debilitating rheumatism that William Bell's mother had can be found in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875. For information on Thomas and Andrew Tracy's mother's paralysis, see: WC, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Thomas and Andrew Tracy. For accounts of children whose fathers were disabled due to job-related injuries, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Sarah Ellen and Emily Rebecca Joseph; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records for Christina, Harry and Virginia Solomon. According to the HOF registers, Mr. Tyson and Mr. Clark were both paralyzed; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Maggie and Willie Tyson; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Accounts of Fred and Louisa Clark. The father of Fannie and Annie Sparks was blind; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881 for the cases of these sisters.

⁵⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. Other examples of disabled fathers included the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Sarah Ellen and Emily Rebecca Joseph; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Thomas Hammond; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records for Fannie and Annie Sparks; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Maggie and Willie Tyson; Register Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Christina, Harry, and Virginia Solomon; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, History of Dora Brashears; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Louisa and Fred Clark.

⁶⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records for Sarah Ellen and Emily Rebecca Joseph.

regularly described these women as “very destitute.”⁶¹ Anna Brawn’s mother made clear her husband’s inability to work had caused the family’s economic situation to deteriorate so much that she had no choice but to split the family up. Anna would stay in the HOF, Mrs. Brawn would obtain work as a domestic servant, and Mrs. Brawn’s son would remain with her sick husband.⁶² These actions would allow Mrs. Brawn to support herself, her husband and her son, and to guarantee her daughter’s survival until the family’s financial situation improved. Yet this course of action would have remained unnecessary had Mrs. Brawn’s husband remained healthy. The same was true in the case of Mrs. Cann, who in October 1877 asked permission to enter her three children into the asylum. She explained that her husband was in delicate health, and that she had decided to go “to service.”⁶³ Her story served as further evidence of the difficult decisions facing many HOF mothers whose husbands were living but unwell, and demonstrated how women in such positions used the asylum to alleviate the crisis the family was facing as the result of a father’s illness.

Of the 222 HOF children from two-parent households with sick mothers, 109 (49.1%) came from families in which mothers were sick and fathers were intemperate or physically away from the home. Male intemperance and desertion accounted for over three-fourths of these cases, though incarceration, parental separation, job-related duties, and even divorce were also cited as explanations for why fathers were absent from these homes.⁶⁴ These cases indicate that illness could easily undercut any stability a mother may have re-established after the loss of a husband, and that despite women’s best efforts to keep their children with them after such a loss, they

⁶¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Robert W., James M., and John J. Barron. For other examples in which HOF representatives made specific reference to the poverty of these women, or their financial problems, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records for Annie and Alverda Luck; Charles and William Fulton; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Thomas Albert and Cornelius Edward Bassett; James Tottle; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Mary Bassett; Clinton Woolford; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Charlotte, Harry and Virginia Solomon.

⁶² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Anna Brawn.

⁶³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Brevell, Homer, and Howard Cann.

⁶⁴ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. Forty-eight of these children came from homes in which fathers were intemperate, and thirty-eight were the offspring of fathers who had deserted their families. Fourteen of these children had jailed mothers, eight had fathers who were away, three had parents who were divorced, and two had parents who were separated.

sometimes required the type of assistance that an institution like the HOF could offer to them.⁶⁵

Many of these women utilized the HOF as a stand-in for their missing husbands when their health became impaired, and then removed their children when they were well again or had made alternative arrangements. This was the course of action Mrs. Johnson adopted when she had her four daughters admitted into the asylum. She entered the children in November 1856 when she was ill and “had to go to the Infirmary to be cared for,” and she removed the girls six months later, after she recovered from her illness.⁶⁶ Mrs. Johnson was not unique in terms of her actions, and in the decades that followed, other women including Mrs. France, Mrs. Stableford, and Mrs. Clinedinst reclaimed their children once their situations had improved both physically and economically.⁶⁷

Widows who had their children admitted into the HOF also used the orphanage as a short-term care provider for the duration of their medical emergencies. The earliest of these cases occurred in the 1860s, when the mothers of Nettie Brown and Maggie Jones had friends place these girls in the HOF. Mrs. Brown was sick in the hospital at the time of Nettie’s May 1864 admission, and Mrs. Jones was soon to enter the Union Protestant Infirmary when Maggie entered the HOF in March 1867. Both women returned immediately after they recovered from their unspecified illnesses to reclaim their daughters. Mrs. Brown appeared at the HOF ten weeks after Nettie entered the HOF and Mrs. Jones appeared thirty-eight days after Maggie’s admission to

⁶⁵ For examples like these, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Mary Mulliken; Elisa Neagle; Mary Conway; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case histories of Fritz Wurster; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Cases of George and Ida Higgins; James Watkins and Jennie B. Kyle; Willie Wodges; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, History of Seifert Haver; Ellen May and William H. Hunter; Registers, Book 8, 1892-1895, Cases of Ralph and George Proctor; Florence Eva, Myrtle, Walter, and Allan Brown; Laura Virginia McNally; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of Edna Flowers; Elsie M. McClenlland; Florence M. Smith.

⁶⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Emma, Susan, Mary and Jane Johnson.

⁶⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Kate and Anna Virginia France; Mary Susan Tracy; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Lillie and Betty Stableford; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Rosalie Jack and Flora Mattie Clinedinst. For other examples of mothers who followed a similar course of action, see the following children’s entries: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records for Arabella and Bertha Seymour; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Mary Susan Tracy; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Case of Hattie Cary; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Charles and Harry Adams; William and George La Count; Edith Hanson; John Phillips; Harry Haynes; Lewis Jenkins; Willie Eccleson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Frieda and Josephine Hueggelmeyer; Mary and Carrie Simmons; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records for George and Edgar Briggs; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Ida Elizabeth and Julia Marguerite Wett; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of George and John E. Tudor; Irene Kitz; Dorothy, Raymond Melvin, and Bernard Tracey; George Keys.

ask for the return of these girls.⁶⁸ Mrs. Stein employed a similar course of action in October 1882, when she had a family friend admit eight-year-old Herain, seven-year-old Samuel and four-year old-Lawrence into the asylum. Mrs. Stein was “very sick with some kind of fever” at the time the children became asylum residents, but her use of the asylum was only temporary. Indeed, she appeared at the November 1882 BOA Board Meeting after having fully recuperated from her fever, in order to reclaim her children.⁶⁹ Other widows, including the mothers of Mollie Malone, Amelia and Mary Jackson, and Clarence Weisner continued to draw on the HOF as a substitute caretaker throughout the 1880s and 1890s when their health was impaired, and to return for their children when they were physically well enough to care once again for them.⁷⁰

Yet not all ailing mothers in Baltimore returned to the orphanages for their offspring after their health improved. A group of sick mothers whose children entered the HOF, and at least one who turned to the BOA, were fatally ill. By the time children like Sophie and Jacob Harvey, Mary Ruff and Samuel Boyd entered the HOF, their mothers’ were terminally ill with cancer and consumption.⁷¹ Some of these mothers seemed to realize the severity of their illnesses, and their turn to the HOF suggests their efforts to ensure care for their children after their deaths. In a few of these cases, sick mothers who lacked a male partner because of death, desertion, intemperance, or some other unspecified reason went so far as to stipulate the custody arrangements they intended for their children after their deaths. Mrs. Harvey gave the HOF permanent custody of

⁶⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Nettie Brown; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Maggie Jones. For the records of other widows who employed the HOF in this manner during this period, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Henry C. Palmer; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Account of Annie Eck.

⁶⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Herain, Samuel, and Lawrence Stein. Mrs. Stein reclaimed Samuel and Lawrence in November 1882. Her oldest son, Herain, had run away from the asylum six days after his entry, and had returned to his mother’s place of residence.

⁷⁰ For other cases involving mothers who utilized the asylum in this manner in the 1880s and afterwards, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records for Edward Webster Frigate; Mollie Malone; Minnie and Ada (Hattie) Carter; Harry Johanson; Amelia and Mary Jackson; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Clarence Weisner; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for George Dallas and William Carroll Whitelock; Clarence and Oscar White.

⁷¹ Sophie and Jacob Harvey were admitted into the HOF in May 1864, Mary Ruff entered the orphanage in 1860, and Samuel Boyd became a HOF resident in February 1901. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Sophie and Jacob Harvey; Mary Ruff; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Account of Samuel C. Boyd. See the following as well for another group of siblings whose mother was seriously ill: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Wilbur, Lillian Gertrude, William Calvin and Elmer P. Hershey. HOF officials did not identify the exact nature of Mrs. Hershey’s sickness, though they note her illness was serious enough that they did not expect her to live.

her children when they were admitted in May 1864 because of the severity of her illness, and Henry Kaufman's "very ill" mother had him "given to the HOF" as well in January 1877, shortly before her own death.⁷² Yet not all dying mothers without male partners opted for the same type of custody arrangements. Mary Elder's mother allowed the HOF only temporary custody of her daughter, until the girl was "old enough to be transferred to St. Peter's Episcopal Orphan Asylum" in Baltimore.⁷³ Arrangements such as these were intended to guarantee the security of children who were soon to lose their only remaining parent, and reflected a calculated use of the asylums on the part of these dying mothers, many of whom possessed few options when it came to their children's futures.

Intemperance

Children did enter the Baltimore orphanages from homes in which intemperance occurred and was a serious problem, though parental intemperance appears to have been more common at the HOF, where nearly twelve per-cent of all children had parents who were intemperate, than it was at the BOA.⁷⁴ Paternal intemperance accounted for the majority of these cases, though some children did have mothers with drinking problems or were unfortunate enough to have two intemperate parents. Indeed, of the children in this group, 267 (71.2%) had intemperate fathers, seventy-one (18.9%) had mothers who drank and thirty-seven were the offspring of intemperate mothers and fathers.⁷⁵ Paternal intemperance clearly affected the largest number of HOF

⁷² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Sophie and Jacob Harvey; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Henry Kaufman.

⁷³ HOF authorities honored the agreement they made with Mary Elder's mother, and sent the girl to St. Peter's Episcopal Orphan Asylum in August 1876; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entry for Mary Elder.

⁷⁴ A total of 375 HOF inhabitants between 1854 and 1910 had parents who were identified as intemperate; this represents 11.6% of the asylum's total population. See WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

⁷⁵ For the accounts of HOF inhabitants who had intemperate fathers, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Rosa Marble; Caroline, Mary and Delia Schilling; Frederica and Lizzie Jourdan; Edward and Mary E. McWilliams; Lizzie Douglass; Mary M. and Anna Barrow; Mary McPoland; Edith M., Francis Jane, and Helena M. Hoffman; Hannah and Elizabeth Dukunst; Hannah V. Hopkins; Mary D. and Henrietta Miller; Margaret Ellis and Anna Rogan; Laura Legmans; Anna Rogan; Mary Ann Lanahan; Anna M. Riley; Margaret Isabella Gibson; Sarah Ellen and Emily Rebecca Johnson; Susan Shirk; George Duhunst; John H., Martha Anna and Margaret Isabella Christy; Mary and John Goodwater; Eliza, Alice and Rudolph Constadt; Ella Magdalena Garrison; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Anna Maria Reilley; Mary B., Jane and Thomas Smith; Lewis and William Stouch; Ida Miller; Alexander McNaughton; Maggie O'Neill; John Thomas and William B. Conolly; Louisa and Fanny Bennett;

residents, and HOF administrators appear to have understood these men according to a sliding scale in which their drinking and their efforts to provide for their families were linked. Some fathers, like Mr. Handly and Mr. Johnson were simply labeled “intemperate,” while others, like those of the Christy and Kauffman siblings were identified as intemperate but were also recognized for the “economic contributions they made to their families.”⁷⁶ The harshest criticism was directed at men like Mr. Buckman, who had “done nothing to support the children since [his] wife’s death” and Mr. Barrow who provided no support for his four children and his wife.”⁷⁷

Fanny Rebecca Fendall; Margaret, Susan and Willie Kenly; Maggie Cartier; Jennie, Maggie and Thomas Smith; Floyd Owens and Etta Lee Whiteford; Jennie Gamble; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Charles, Sarah, and James Davis; Richard Allen; Charles and Harry Bowers; James, David and George Heighe; James, William and Michael Nolan; William Airey; Sarah and William Doyon; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Thomas and George Stone; B. Franklin Wilson and Thomas Wilson Schoolden; Annie, Emma and Willie Glass; Loulie and Irving Chaffer; Ida E. Luter; Maida Maria Crask; Georgiann, Mary Susan and Kate Tippet; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Thomas SJ Stewart; Annie Hodges; Annie and Lily Helfresh; Fannie, Blanch and Isabel Leike; Charlie and Lettie Kopp; Willie Aud; May and Willie Lewis; Charlotte E. and Katie W. Hill; Willie and Joseph Boyed; Laura C. Bordley; Maggie Hurdle; Lewis F and Fred Wagner; Christine and Lizzie Birmingham; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Example of Frederick Rowe; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of William and George Heinbuck; John W., Anne and Maggie Clarke; Harry E. and Eva May Smith; Norwood and Mamie Folk; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Mary, Sadie and Leroy Peacock; James Milton Fisher; Mary Lillian and Sarah Elizabeth Parlett; Mary Worthington; Charles William Janzer; Louisa H. and George F. Herzog; John and Thomas Linwood Miller; Mamie E., Minnie E. and George Hodges; Lillian, Ruth and Edward Glorius; Walter S. Endler; Joseph Charles and John Elmer Klappenberger; Elmer and Minnie Dungan; Katie Vragel; Ella, Rosa, Loretta and Charles Coates; Mary and Richard Eugene McCulloh; Renshaw and Ruth Cook; Clarence and Elmer Williams; Mary Jane, John Irving and Mayfield Murphy; Katie M. and Harry Wolf; Alexander and Milton Taylor; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Henry Haines Bossom; Walter Edwin; Katie, Willie and Roland Betz; Howard Belt; Estole White; Nellie, Amy and Maggie Atmenspacher; Charles M. and Arthur John Jones; Susie, Lottie, Margaret, Earnest and Lillian G. Counts; Margaret Callan; Lillie M. Walker; Elsie W., Edith and Emmett R. Arnold; Doris and Eleanora Fallon; James D. and William Arthur Bunce; Wilbur, Roy, Walter and Russell Barton; Geneva, Preston and Anita Chilcoat; Elmer Leroy and Wilbur Afton Warner; Mary A. and Rebecca Herbst; Marie and Rosalie Robinson; Andrew Henry and Conrad Geiss Jr.; Charlotte AC Allen. For the accounts of HOF inhabitants who had both parents living and intemperate, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of James Brannan; Mary Jamieson; Mary Wilen; Unnamed Gallagher siblings; Mary Norton; Mary Wright; Mary, Martin T., and Patrick Battin; Kate McQuillan; Lillian Virginia Hayes; Virginia Geddes; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Examples of Mary Anastatia and Teresa Coletart; John Franklin and Charles McKeever; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Andrew and Peter Conly; James and Willie Fallon; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Luke Ferrell; Annie and Nellie McConnell; Maggie, Albert, and Ida Robinson; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Examples of Thomas SJ Stewart; Christian and John Wagner; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Lillie J., Margaret and Emma L. Rost; Lillie M. Walker; Doris and Eleanora Fallon; Tobias, Rosine, Sophia and Leonard Dietzel.

⁷⁶ Mr. Handly was the father of Mary and Anna Handly who were placed in the asylum in December 1857. Emma Johnson was admitted into the HOF in May 1858; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Anna E. and Mary Handly; Emma Johnson. Mr. Christy was the father of seven-year-old Margaret, three-year-old Martha, and seven-month-old John Christy; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Margaret Isabella, Martha Anne and John H. Christy. Catherine, Mary and Susanna Kauffman became HOF residents in April 1862. For information on these girls and their father, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. For other cases involving intemperate fathers, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Mary Jones; Eliza, Alice and Rudolph Constadt; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Margaret, Susan and Willie Kenly; Maggie Cartier; Jane Lanahan; Jennie, Maggie and Thomas Smith; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Howard, Walter and Lester Smith; Georgiann, Mary Susan and Kate Tippet; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Account of Mary Hurdle; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of Andrew Henry Geiss and Conrad Geiss Jr.

⁷⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Nettie and Ida Buckman; Mary M. and Anna Barrow. For other histories in which intemperate fathers were characterized in the same manner as Mr. Buckman and Mr. Shaffer,

These men were viewed as the worst of the lot when it came to intemperate fathers, because they failed to fulfill their economic responsibilities to their families, and often caused the dissolution of the family unit.

Though paternal intemperance occurred more frequently than did maternal intemperance, a small group of HOF residents did come from homes in which mothers were identified as having drinking problems.⁷⁸ Some of these women, including Mrs. Kerr, Mrs. Kerns, Mrs. Reinhart, and Mrs. Hildebrand deserted their families, or ended up “worthless much of the time in the Alms House,” as did Mrs. Harrigan.⁷⁹ Yet it was more common for intemperate mothers to remain in the household, but be so incapacitated by their drinking that they could not fulfill their maternal responsibilities. Mr. Connaway told asylum officials in May 1873 that his wife was “almost constantly intoxicated,” and was physically unable to care for their children, and Kate and Ellie Jones’ father sent them to the HOF in April 1874 because his wife’s drinking rendered her

please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Edward McWilliams; Mary McPoland; Edilla M., Francis Jane and Helena M. Hoffman; Hannah Dukunst; Elisabeth and Laura V. Potect; Laura Legmans; Laura Seymour; Susan Shirk; Josephine and Julia Kelly; Ella Magdalena Garrison; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Anna Maria Reilley; Floyd Owens and Etta Lee Whiteford; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Accounts of Sarah and William Doyon; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of William and George Heinbuck; Harry E., and Eva May Smith; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Frederick Rowe; Alexander and Milton Taylor; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Katie, Willie and Roland Betz; Marie and Rosalie Robinson.

⁷⁸ See the following records for HOF inhabitants with intemperate mothers: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Mary Ball and Hannah Troy; John Moore; Eliza Stewart; Sarah Rebecca Kelly; Martha Jane, Hannah K., and Agnes E. Kerr; Susie Harrigan; Jennie Catlin; Anna E. Walker; Jennie Gutties; Agnes Moore; Kate and Mary M. Dowling; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Margaret Apersberger; Mary Jane Kerns; ML and Georgianna Parsons; Thomas and Davis Bevan; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Mary E. Smith; Joseph, Mary and Thomas Connaway; Edith and Thomas Maguire; Mollie Johnson; George Evatt; Kate L and Ellie May Jones; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Thomas and Kate Welsh; Henry Rodgers; James and Ray Murray; Augustus, John and Charles Mathias; Mary, Elizabeth, William, and Margaret Ruppert; Fannie Blair; Mary Harris; Gertrude and Ivory Bell Noakes; John Finkenscher Jr.; Mary Ellen, Florence Lillie and Henry Purple; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Emina May, Charles Edward and Blanche Susan Reinhart; Harry Hildebrandt; George William Dahl; Emma Rirsch; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Example of Carroll Homes; Willie and John Langstrom; Charles L. Schoppert; William, George and Anne Miller; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Henry Cyples; Henry Gerwig; Katie Pearson; Ruben A. and Lottie B. Pitcher; Willie and John Langstrom.

⁷⁹ Martha Jane, Agnes E., and Hannah K. Kerr were ten years old, seven years old, and thirteen months old respectively when their father admitted them into HOF. Officials noted that Mrs. Kerr was “very intemperate” and that she had gone to Pennsylvania to stay with friends after she deserted her husband and her five children. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864., for more information on this family. For more information on Mrs. Kerns, Mrs. Reinhart, and Mrs. Hildebrand, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record of Mary Jane Kerns; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Emina May, Charles Edward, and Blanche Susan Reinhart; Harry Hildebrandt. For the example of Mrs. Harrigan, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Susie Harrigan.

“incapable” of providing her two daughters with the care they required.⁸⁰ In a few of these cases, it was not parents or relatives who judged intemperate women to be unable to provide care to their offspring, but local Justices of the Peace. The children of Mrs. Mathias and Mrs. Ruppert were actually committed to the HOF in October 1881 because of their widowed mothers’ intemperance.⁸¹ The histories of these women, and the entrance of their children into the HOF demonstrate the destabilizing impact that not only paternal intemperance, but maternal intemperance could have on the family unit.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of HOF cases involving intemperance was parents who used the HOF to protect their children from their spouse’s alcoholism. Mrs. Potect sought the admission of her two daughters and herself into the HOF in April 1861, in order to keep them from her husband’s intemperance and his “abuse of his family.”⁸² Though Mrs. Potect left the asylum after a month, she continued to keep the girls in the HOF until she had secured a place to live away from her husband. Her attempts to shelter her daughters from her husband’s violent intemperance confirm her concern not only with their care and protection, but her understanding that the HOF might be used in such a manner. Yet it was not only HOF mothers who employed the HOF this way. Mr. Evatt told HOF authorities in February 1873 that his wife was regularly intemperate, and that he wished to keep their son George away from her when she was in such a state, and Mr. Jones expressed similar sentiments about protecting his daughters Kate and Ellie from their mother in April 1875. These fathers’ motivations may have actually been two-fold. Both men were clearly genuinely concerned about their children’s care, but they may have also hoped that by denying their wives access to their children they would force changes in their wives’ behavior. Both men eventually removed their children from the HOF

⁸⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Joseph, Mary, and Thomas Connaway. Please see the following case histories for other examples of families in which fathers were working and maternal intemperance occurred: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Mary Jane Kerns; Thomas and Davis Bevan; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record for George Evatt; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Gertrude and Ivory Belle Noakes; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of Reuben A. and Lottie B. Pitcher.

⁸¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Augustus, John and Charles Mathias; Mary, Elizabeth, William and Margaret Ruppert.

⁸² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Lavinia Potect.

because their wives drinking had lessened, yet the Jones girls ended up back in the HOF after their mother resumed her intemperance.⁸³ Despite the different outcomes of these cases, however, the manner in which Mr. Jones and Mr. Evatt utilized the HOF reflects their efforts to shield their children from intemperate mothers and suggests as well the benefits one parent might derive from a turn to the orphanages if faced with a troubled spouse or problematic domestic situation that involved alcohol.

Parental intemperance does not appear to have been the same type of problem between 1840 and 1910 for BOA families that it was for their HOF counterparts. BOA officials did note in the 1870 Annual Report that some of the children the orphanage housed historically came “from homes made worse than desolate by the terrible effects of intemperance,” but only two cases of parental intemperance appeared in the BOA records during this period.⁸⁴ The first of these cases occurred in April 1889, when the female employers of Ida and Harry Wilkes’ mother presented the children to the Board. Mrs. Wilkes was recently deceased, and these women testified it was her last request that her children be placed into the asylum. These women reported Mr. Wilkes was “a drinking man habitually,” that he was “utterly worthless,” and that he was willing to “part” with both Ida and Henry as he had not supported his family for a number of years.⁸⁵ This narrative echoed the most negative of those paternal intemperance cases presented to the HOF officials, with Mr. Wilkes portrayed not only as intemperate, but as man who was completely useless as both a father and an economic provider. The only other case of intemperance involved the mother of James Levan. James became a BOA resident in June 1894 after a local missionary applied for his admittance; this woman told the BOA Managers that Mrs. Levan drank and was “of bad habits.” The BOA Managers allowed James into the asylum, and they stipulated that his mother was “never to be allowed to come alone” to visit him at the

⁸³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Kate and Ellie May Jones. For another example of a father who tried to shield his children from his wife’s intemperance by placing children into the asylum, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Files of Thomas and Davis Bevan.

⁸⁴ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1870 Annual Report, p. 5.

⁸⁵ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Entry for Ida Wilkes; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, History of Harry Wilkes.

orphanage. Though there is no way to know exactly how representative Mrs. Levan and Mr. Wilkes were when it came to the cases BOA officials heard involving intemperance, these histories confirm intemperance did affect families who appealed to the BOA for aid, and reinforces that BOA officials were not unfamiliar with intemperate parents.⁸⁶

Committed Children

Though the majority of children who entered the Baltimore asylums were brought to the HOF and BOA by their surviving parent, other relatives, or friends of the family, there was a population of children who arrived in the asylums as the result of magisterial orders that they be committed to the asylum's care. Local and state judicial officials committed children to both of the Baltimore orphanages, though the practice occurred far more frequently at the HOF, where 11.4% (368) of the children entered the asylum in this manner, than it did at the BOA, where only eleven children were identified as having been committed by 1910.⁸⁷

In all cases involving commitment at the HOF, both parents failed to qualify as satisfactory guardians and so children were sent to the orphanage. Ida Little was one of the first children committed to the HOF, and she arrived in September 1865, after a Baltimore Justice of the Peace (JOP) concluded she was "suffering from the extreme indigence of her parents," and ordered her removed from their custody.⁸⁸ In the years that followed, parental destitution continued to result in children's commitments, as did the physical absence of an adult guardian,

⁸⁶ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of April 1, 1889, Discussion of Ida Eugenia and Harry Wilkes.

⁸⁷ There was also a population of committed children in residence at the SFOA during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as well, though the exact number of African-American girls committed to the asylum remains unclear. These commitments proved quite similar to those at the HOF and BOA; local judicial officials and justices of the peace ordered these girls to enter the SFOA for a variety of reasons. Several of these girls had parents who were neglectful, at least one came from a home in which her guardian was physically abusive, and another was the daughter of parents who were guilty of what officials identified as vicious conduct. For the histories of these committed SFOA girls, refer to: OSP, Motherhouse Record Group, Series 9: Orphan Asylum, Box 18, Folder 2, Commitment Documents, 1871-1931, Commitments of Naomi and Popelia Jackson; Nannie and Mamie Heard; Willie Agnes Collins; Martha Emma Collins; Emma Johnson; Mary Bell Queen; Sarah E. Wilson; Mamie Garnet; Dorothy Dixon.

⁸⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Ida Little.

dissipation, desertion and intemperance.⁸⁹ The number of children committed to the HOF increased dramatically during the 1880s and afterward, and 350 (95.1%) of the orphanage's committed children were actually placed in the institution between 1880 and 1910. Some of these placements were identified as state commitments, while others were said to be the result of city and even county commitments.⁹⁰ Children continued to be committed for the same reasons as they had in the past, though a large number of children including Samuel Williams, Lillian Swensen, Annie and Marie Bennett, and Harry and Annie Maxwell, were now committed because of parental neglect, vicious conduct, or bad habits.⁹¹ No real explanation was offered in terms of what vicious conduct and bad habits actually referred to, however, and it remains unclear whether or not these children were entering the HOF from families that were vastly different from those of

⁸⁹ For children committed because of these reasons, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Accounts of Lena and Charles Sleeper; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of Luke Ferrell; Maggie, Albert and Ida Robinson; Annie and Mary Seibert; Rosie Wagner; August, John and Charles Mathias; Mary, Elizabeth and William Ruppert; Fannie Hopkins; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Thomas SJ Stewart; Laura Virginia Gibson; Blanch Bryant; John Szidzek; Harriet, Thomas and Justine Hobbs; John Krall; Frank Zenanski; Joseph and Charles Swift; Agnes Tucker; Frederick McCantley; Charles Miller; Arthur Roth.

⁹⁰ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. There is a significant difference between the number of committed children who entered the HOF during this period and the population of committed children in residence in the late-nineteenth-century orphan asylums Nurith Zmora considered in her work. Of the Dolan's Home, Samuel Ready School, and Hebrew Orphan Asylum, only the Dolan's Home had committed children in residence in the asylum; three of the forty-four Dolan's Home residents whose case histories Zmora utilizes were legally committed to the asylum by courts. For more information on these children, see: Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Childcare Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 48-49.

⁹¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Samuel T. Williams; Lillian C. Swenson; Annie and Marie L. Bennett; Harry CB1 and Annie Maxwell. For other children whose commitments were explained in this way, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Files of Annie and Josephine Gardner; Henry Smith; Elizabeth Strott; Mary Eliza, Levin, and James Richard Day; Annie and Andrew Pfister; George A. and Joseph Fisher; Sarah Harris and unnamed Harris child; Katie, George and Gortschell Otterbach; Albert and William Roloff; Harrison W. Thompson; Bessie and Samuel Wilson; Maggie and Amelia Oberndoffer; Amanda V., and Daisy M. Green; Gustav and Charles Eye; Florence, Nettie and Frank Easton; Ella May and Laura R. Russell; Annie and Effie Hall; Sarah and Joseph Tichnor; Arabella and Joseph Bregel; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Accounts of August, Ernie and Julian Stahl; Mary and Margaret Tudor; Viola and Lillie Lee Harding; Goldie Hudson; Benjamin Wolfe; Willie Rausch; Katie and Annie Imhoff; Henry and Anne Briesch; George Evans; Blanch, Charles and Lettie Lupus; William and Thomas Edward Engler; Katie Coplan; Harry and Charles McDaniel; Mary, Frank, and James Fuka; Emma Rirsch; John and Harry Reed; Harry Schaum; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Lizzie, Annie and Alice Deck; Frederick Alexander Barth; Annie B., John B., Elizabeth E., Bettie B., and Daniel J. Krauder; Henry and August Boss; John and Oscar Archer; Eleonorah, Catherine, Margaret and Warren Gorman; Elizabeth and Margaret Verges; William Edgar Cannoles; William and Albert Galloway; Viola Singleton; Harry W., Samuel W., and Grover C. Parr; Daisy Virginia and John Henry Stephens; Carroll Holmes; Warren Kelly; Joseph J. Gibson; George J. Kunkel; Charles E. Gordon; Charity Eva Smith; Emma, Ella, Rudolph, William and Olga Klatt; Clarence and Charles Hartnedy; Charles J., John J., and Mary E. Sharman; Mabel Graham; Flora Armhold; Martha and Nathan Berliski; Catherine Pearl and Edna Eichner; Minnie Fenrich; Henry Gerwig; Cora R. Dobson; Mary L. Dillon; Andrew Raetz; Maggie Demer; Fannie, Edward and Mabel Baker; Henry R. and Everett G. Chaffinich; Dora Mary and Ada Louisa Finnacom; Beatrice V., and John E. Parker; Grafton Stinkchcomb; Mary Ellen Brown; Albert Edward, Herman Otto, and Ernest Charles Dietz; Oscar McNeal; Grace and Lydia Simmonds; John Charles and George W. Otter; Bessie G. McCubbins; Renshaw and Ruth Cook; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of Albert F. and Robert E. Riggins; James R. and Maggie Miller; Parker Hughes.

earlier HOF residents, or if these families were plagued by the same problems as earlier HOF families and were simply subject to increased local and state government scrutiny and intervention.

Though commitment did occur at the BOA as well, no children entered the orphanage in this way until the first decade of the twentieth century, when a very small group of children became the orphanage's first such inhabitants. Four-year-old Charlie Male was committed to the BOA in February 1902, by a Garrett County JOP who identified his mother [Mrs. Catherine Male] as "unable to support and care for said minor" because of her "excessive poverty," and who ordered that the boy "be kept and retained under care and custody, subject to the discipline, regulations, and powers of said institution [the BOA]."⁹² Of the eleven children committed to the BOA between 1902 and 1910, Charlie's commitment was somewhat unique. He was the only BOA child not committed by a JOP who was affiliated with Baltimore City and a "Magistrate for Juvenile Causes," and he was the only child for whom maternal destitution was cited as the reason for his commitment, though he was in this latter regard quite similar to a number of HOF committed children. The other children committed to the BOA were in residence in the asylum because they were minors "without any proper place of abode or proper guardianship."⁹³ This wording confirms children at both the Baltimore orphanages were being committed because their parents were understood as unsatisfactory guardians, or were unable to provide them with the care and sustenance local judicial officials believed they required. This perhaps suggests broad similarities existed between BOA and HOF children when it came to the families they came from, and the difficulties their parents faced.

⁹² WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Commitment Certificate for Charles Rudolph Male.

⁹³ Ibid., Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Commitment Certificate for Emma J. Whalen. See also: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Commitment Certificate for Edna M. Whalen; Nora Virginia Joiner; Viola Verona Zepp; Dora Amelia Boyer; Leona McKay; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Commitment Certificates of Ellsworth Whalen; Watson H. Gates; Robert E. Gates; John Alexander McKay.

Parental Separation and Divorce

In the families that turned to the Baltimore asylums, parental separation occurred more regularly than the final termination of a marriage, and fathers were the parent whose behavior was most likely to lead to separation. Fifty-seven (1.8%) HOF residents and five BOA inhabitants came from homes in which parents were separated.⁹⁴ In a few cases, including those of Kate and Mary E. Montague, Geneva Overman, Susie Harrigen, children's mothers or both parents were identified as having engaged in problematic behavior such as intemperance or "immorality" that led to the separation of parents.⁹⁵ Yet in the largest number of cases, fathers were identified as the parent who was to blame for these separations. When Mrs. Parrish discussed her separation with a BOA official in June 1892, she noted that she had left her husband because he "treated her most cruelly;" in this manner she implied not only her husband's physical abuse of her, but suggested how that violence might lead to separation.⁹⁶ At the HOF, officials discussed no cases of parental separation involving domestic violence, but they did report that the mothers of Margaret Gibson, Annie Hodges, and Laura Bordley admitted their children into HOF after having left their intemperate husbands, that the fathers of Laura Barnes and Emily Weston refused to provide for their families, and that children like Charlie and Louisa Tudor and Charles

⁹⁴ For HOF inhabitants whose parents were separated, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Mary E. and Kate Montague; Susie Harrigan; Margaret Isabella Gibson; Emily Weston; Register Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Mary and Cora Larner; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Annie Bosley; Mary Handmyer; Edward Turner; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of George, Charles and Lizzie Miller; Gertrude Ballard; Felix J. and Clarence E. Granger; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records for Annie Hodges; Ella Edna, Graze Eliza, Harry Howard and Beulah Hedges; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of John W., Anne and Maggie Clarke; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Florence Ellen and Grace M. Abey; Florence Louisa and Charles Matimore Nash; Joseph Charles and John Elmer Klappenberger; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of Grace R., and William Leonard Beauchamp; Edna Flowers; Elizabeth, Henry, and Gretchen Stieler; Inez Mills. For information on the BOA inhabitants whose parents were separated, see the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of June 6, 1892, Minutes on Mrs. Parrish and her children, Willie and Percy Sanders; Meeting of January 2, 1893, Discussion of Mr. Blessing; Admission Book 5, Girls Only, 1846-1898, Case of Emma Genevieve Wayson; Admission Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Record of George W. Wayson.

⁹⁵ The mothers of Susie Harrigan, and William, George and Anne Miller were said to be intemperate and immoral. For children whose parents were separated, and both were said to engage in problematic behavior, refer to: WC, BOA, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Kate and Mary E. Montague; Geneva Overman. For the accounts of children whose mothers alone were identified as the problem, see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Record of Susie Harrigan; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of William, George and Anne Miller; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Case of Edna Flowers.

⁹⁶ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of June 6, 1892, Discussion of Willie and Percy Sanders.

Parker were the offspring of men who were “worthless.”⁹⁷ The number of case histories in which fathers were identified as the problem, as well as the testimony HOF officials gathered about these cases certainly reinforce in cases in which parental separation did occur that fathers played a critical role in the breakup of these marriages.

It was extremely rare for children in the Baltimore asylums who had both parents living to come from homes in which parents were divorced. Of the 1479 HOF children with two living parents, only twelve (0.8%) had divorced parents, and at the BOA, only three children were said to have divorced parents.⁹⁸ In all of these cases, mothers applied to have their children admitted into the orphanages, and asylum officials explained the divorces in terms of husbands’ unacceptable behavior. When HOF authorities interviewed Mr. Cline in October 1866, they said only that he was “worthless.” This negative characterization of divorced men continued in the years that followed, with the fathers of Robert Goldman, Charles Janzer, Ralph and Emily Proctor, and Robert Porter all described in exactly the same manner.⁹⁹ HOF officials never clarified exactly what “worthless” encompassed, though it suggested male failure to satisfy the family’s economic needs, and also male participation in unacceptable activities or behaviors. At the BOA, fathers were also blamed for failed marriages that ended in divorce. Mrs. Wayson decried her husband in May 1887 for having “never supported me or his children,” and for

⁹⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Margaret Isabella Gibson; Laura Barnes; Emily Weston; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Annie Hodges; Laurie C. Bordley; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Charlie and Louisa Tudor; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entry for Charles Parker. For the accounts of other children whose parents were separated and fathers were said to be intemperate, worthless, unwilling to support them, or dissipated, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Felix J. and Clarence E. Granger; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Example of Joseph Jenkins; Willie Aud; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of John W., Anne and Maggie Clarke; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Florence Louisa and Charles Matimore Nash; Mary Lilian and Sarah Elizabeth Parlett; Louisa H. and George F. Herzog; Joseph Charles and John Elmer Klappenberger.

⁹⁸ For examples of children whose parents were divorced, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Georgianna Margery Cline; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Harry Haynes; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Frances and Mary Nowlin; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Robert Goldman; Charles William Janzer; Ralph and Ernest Proctor; Robert Rolof Porter; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Records for James Thornton Smith; Nellie May and Melvin William Ramsburg. Information on the BOA inhabitants with divorced parents can be found in the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of May 2, 1887, Notes on Mrs. Wayson and her children George Washington and Emma Genevieve Wayson; Meeting of November 4, 1889, Discussion of Mrs. Turner.

⁹⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Georgianna Margery Cline. See also: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Robert Goldman, Charles Janzer, Ralph and Emily Proctor, and Robert Porter are located in Register Book 8, 1896-1902.

deserting them, and Mrs. Turner informed BOA officials that her husband's unspecified "habits" had caused her to divorce the man.¹⁰⁰

Domestic Violence

Marital discord could devolve into domestic violence, though a turn to violence appears to have been even rarer in the families of Baltimore asylum children than was parental separation. Between 1854 and 1910, only sixteen HOF inhabitants and three siblings in the BOA were identified as having resided in homes in which domestic violence occurred.¹⁰¹ In twelve of these cases, HOF officials identified intemperance and violence as occurring in tandem with one another, and men as the perpetrators of this violence. Mary Catherine and Sarah Jane McCafferty were said at the time of their March 1858 admission to have an intemperate father who was "brutal to his wife," and Lizzie Douglass' intemperate father was in jail for "beating his wife" at the time she was admitted in July 1858.¹⁰² Several histories reveal even more startling incidents of domestic violence involving attempted homicide and maternal murder. Mary and John Goodwater entered the HOF in December 1863 after the "brutal conduct" of their intemperate father resulted in their mother's death, Mrs. Brown's children ended up in the HOF in June 1864, after she was jailed "for an assault upon her husband, with intent to kill," and the Stone siblings became BOA inhabitants in December 1885, one month after their father murdered their mother.¹⁰³ These cases were extreme in terms of the violence involved, but were as historian

¹⁰⁰ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Case of Emma Genevieve Wayson; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Entry for George W. Wayson. See also BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of May 2, 1887 for more information on this family and its difficulties. For specifics on Mrs. Turner, please see BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of November 4, 1889.

¹⁰¹ For these histories, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Mary Catherine and Sarah Jane McCafferty; Lizzie Douglass; Lavinia Potect; Mary and John Goodwater; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries of Mary Jane, Elizabeth and Teresa Brown; Mary B., Jane M. and Thomas Smith; Registers, Book 5, Admissions, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Annie, Emma and Willie Glass; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, History of John Noyes.

¹⁰² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Mary Catherine and Sarah Jane McCafferty; Lizzie Douglass. See the following for other histories in which domestic violence and male intemperance were linked: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Lavinia Potect; Mary and John Goodwater; Mary B., Jane M. and Thomas Smith; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Annie, Emma and Willie Glass.

¹⁰³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Mary Jane, Elizabeth and Teresa Brown; Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Mary and John Goodwater; BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-April 1895, Meeting of December 7, 1885, Discussion of David, Virtia, and Julia Stone

Ellen Ross argues, certainly a tolerated and expected component of working-class marriages during the nineteenth century. As Ross notes, “all the evidence we have on domestic violence in this era suggests that its social meaning was different from that of today’s. If marriage did not mean trust, sharing, and intimate partnership, then it was far from surprising that conflict should frequently erupt.”¹⁰⁴ Though there appear to have been fewer cases of domestic violence in the families that used the Baltimore orphanages than there were in families of poor Londoners Ross examines in her work *Love and Toil*, domestic violence did impact the families of some children in the Baltimore asylums.

Parental Payment of Board

Approximately 25% of HOF children had parents who promised to make board payments to asylum officials while their children resided in the orphanage, perhaps in the hopes these payments would help them to obtain the dismissal of their children from the orphanage if they sought their return.¹⁰⁵ Parents began to agree to pay board for their children’s stay in the asylum in 1860, and between that date and the early 1900s, mothers comprised the majority of parents paying board. Four hundred forty-one (57.7%) of the HOF inhabitants in this group had mothers paying board, 316 (41.4%) had fathers paying board, seven children had mothers and fathers who agreed to make these types of payments, and another twenty-three children actually had relatives who volunteered to pay board. A number of HOF parents including Mr. Conolly, Mrs. Ryan, Mr. Eden and Mrs. Bean simply stated they would pay board for children, or would pay board when able.¹⁰⁶ Yet HOF officials expected other parents to pay specific amounts of board that were

¹⁰⁴ Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 84-86. For additional information on nineteenth-century-working-class marriages, working-class understandings about when violence was acceptable, and the actual occurrence of violence in working-class-marriages, examine the following: John Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 185; 251; James Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth-Century-Married Life* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 34-52; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex in Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p. 78-83.

¹⁰⁵ A total of 764 (23.6%) HOF children had parents who agreed to pay board; see WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

¹⁰⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Rachel, Samuel and Alexander Connolly; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Files of Mary Ann and Robert Ryan; Joseph and Frank Eden; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Frank and Mattie Bean. For the cases of other HOF parents who

directly in “proportion to their [parents and relatives] ability to pay,” and which meant for most fathers higher payments than those that were expected from their female counterparts.¹⁰⁷ Though

made similar vows to asylum officials, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Henrietta, Margaret and Mary Sowers; Thomas Tracy; Rebecca Sawyer; Margaret Ann and Mary Ellen Kenney; Andrew Isenbaugh; Thomas and Davis Bevan; Ida, Alice, Charles Edward and Ann Elizabeth Sard; Mary Lizzie and Henry Haupt; Sarah Hobbs; Harvey Wheeler; Edward Stout Judson; Mary Byrne; Registers, Book 3, Cases of Kate, Alice, and Frederick Urry; William A. Whitman; Isaac and Willie Lanner; Alex McCullough; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Frank and Willie Russell; Walter W., Edward, Verney, Willie S., and Stella Smith; Annie Louisa Nettleship; Brevell, Howard and Homer Cann; Louis and Irving Chaffer; Charles O., George, Dyer G., and Cary Dannelly; Charles H. and Harry R. Phillip; Frank and John Shadel; Harry Lee Butts; Bessie and Thomas Lawrence; Melville Jamison; Willie Wodges; Henry and George Bradford; Mary, Maggie and Jessie Armstrong; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Luritta Harrison; Sallie Jemison; Willie Loane; Eugene Madden; Charles and Edgar R. Patterson; Grace L., and John M. Deets; Annie and Lily Helfresh; Lila B. Kipkins; Charles G., and Phebe Annetta Roache; Rufus Emory Mallonee; Ethel V. Crittenton; Georgia and Josie Roberts; Eva, Helen, Thomas and Irene Wingrone; Charles Casper Schaufelter; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Ida, Albon Blanch, Sisselia, and Mina L. Mason; Raymond and Abbie Nuns; Alfred Burdith; Kate and Frank Dailey; Frederick William and Louis M. Schomm; Willie Smith; Lester Roland; Grace A. Brady; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Katie and Frederick Berger; Mary, Sadie and Leroy Peacock; Clara Stella and Elsie Cain; Lula and Annie Earnest; Samuel George Chalk; Russell Lee Carroll; Cora Minola, Charles Edward, William Howard and Mary Margaret Metz; Virgie and Ella Lowman.

¹⁰⁷ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending November 23, 1885. For the histories of other children whose parents were to pay specific amounts for board, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Mary Jane, Elizabeth and Teresa Brown; Louisa and Caroline Zell; Mary Catherine and William Henry Owens; Alexander Richard Marmaduke Venner; Sarah Adaline Hobbs; Mary Rebecca Short; John Kerr; Henry Kessler; Clara and Albert Whittingham; Maria, Mary and Maggie Hunter; Anna Mary Reilley; Nellie Scott; Sarah and Mary Ellen Taylor; Patrick Henry Coyne; Samuel Mills; Ann Eliza Hoffman; James and Willie Owens; Charles Wayne; Joseph Henry Reilly; Rufus Smulling; Henrietta Wright; William Butler; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Alice Watts; Harry L. Ways; William, Albert and Frances Knight; Ivanora and Charles G. Boston; Cora, Mary Kate, and Willie Montgomery; Joseph, Mary and Thomas Connaway; Mary, Kate, Robert, and Ferdinand Shettle; William Lang; Charles, Fred, and Annie Magruder; James, William and Michael Nolan; Ellory Bassett; Lillie May Farr; Nellie Findley; Edith and Thomas Maguire; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Arthur and Harry Thompson; Otto, August and Willie Kauffman; Mary Nolan; Mary and Elvira Dougherty; Mary E. and Laura White; George and Willie Smith; George W., Clara V., and John Vickers; Ella Thomas; Percy and Maud Stewart; J. Bery Budy; Georgianna and Ellen Masson; William F. and Joseph M. Hunter; Frank Kelly; Eddie Minich; Mary and Albert Ray; Grace Swan; Mary and Maggie Shorten; Charles and Herbert Gosnell; Willie and Mattie DeHannio; Florence, Ferdinand and Alphonso Provost; Kate Glazer; James Watkins and Jennie B. Kyle; Maggie and James Waldman; Edward William Schultz; Freda Becker; Felix J. and Clarence E. Granger; Rose Estelle Mitchell; Harry and Georgie Carlisle; Mary Caines; George and Eddie Koenig; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Mary Poole; Jennie, Mary and Mattie Ghiselin; Addie and Annie Gorsuch; Alexander and Joseph Greer; Edward Eugene Boyd; Mathilde Ingraham; Harry and Charles Howell; Marion, Chriton, and James Waters; Hugh and Harry Layton; Lena Harting; Alice and Ella Hines; Charles E. Brown; Isadora and Georgie Shafer; Thomas Robert Bolden; Willie Kelly; Robert and George Gibson; Charles Otto; Willie Myers; Gussie and Harry Woodrow; Ona and Annie Hancher; Eva and Ora Laurent; Grace R. and Charles R. Jackson; Charles F. Dougarre; Bessie Elton; Willie Wimbrough; Willie H. Anderson; Walter White; Willie and Albert Sorensen; Cora and Howard Lenhardt; Robert and Carrie Cooksey; Samuel Conant; Gertrude and Ivory Belle Noakes; Irene Hopp; Florence May Engles; William B., Henry J., and Olitie F. Fowitz; Bessie and Lily Wheedon; Mary, Martha, and Joseph McCubbin; Maggie, Florence and Willie Clark; Maud, Louis and Beulah Stephens; Powhatan Davis; Charles Kaufman; Leopold Fuchs; Mary and Lena Herzog; Mary Ellen Macken; Mark Weber; John and Carrol James; Emma Charlotte and Ida Estelle Osenburg; Addie May and Charles A. Plummer; Joseph and Minnie Colbourn; Ella Hepple; William Parrott; Ella F., Mildred G., Lulu and Harry Schaur; Chester L. Bowser; Carrie and Olivia Kelly; Edward C. Bolth; Mamie Dawes; Celeste and Arly Ribold; Robert Mercer; Willie Senson; Charles and William Fox; George Dolan; Hallie R., and Eugenia McCartney; Catherine, William L., and Isaac Foster Gilley; Raymond Miderman; Herbert and Clarence Zeigler; Viola, Walter, and Mary Keys; Joseph Jenkins; James, Louis, and William Buckley; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Sarah and Estelle Julia, and George Raymond Shreck; Hattie and Irine Harrison; Howard Hauser; Reuben and Willie Sullivan; Ernest and Helen Hunter; Kate, John and Charles Crough; Emma Robinson; Walter Simpson; Joseph Swann; Ida Magness; William and George Heinbuck; Florence and Maggie Frey; Maggie Marfield; Elsie Kratz; Paul Kain; John Lyell; Helen, Matilda, Rose, and Mary Schwartz; Joseph Ralph and Rose Waltemyer; Frank and Grace Weems; Cora Celeste and Grace Shirley Boehlein; Mary, George, and Frank Benton; Mamie and Lizzie Bauder; Registers, Book 8,

the payment of board to HOF officials for children's time in the orphanage decreased significantly after the turn of the century, the practice reveals the efforts HOF parents made to maintain their parental rights to their children. As historian Priscilla Ferguson Clement points out, parents making board payments to orphanages were more likely than their non-paying counterparts to regain custody of their children from asylum officials, and their willingness to pay board can be understood as proof of their efforts to remain connected to their offspring.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps we may also understand it as proof that not all of the families who placed their children in this asylum were equally poor; the families of some asylum inhabitants clearly had a level of economic means that others did not.

There is no indication that as large a number of BOA mothers and fathers paid board as did their HOF peers, or even that other relatives engaged in this type of financial transaction while children were in residence at the BOA. It was not until 1897, when the BOA was experiencing a severe financial crisis, that the BOA Board officially reversed its opposition to board payments, and actually began to require monthly board for children who were half-orphans, "feeling sure that it is much better for the parent, [and] also finding it an assistance to our straightened income."¹⁰⁹ These payments ranged anywhere from the one dollar per month Mrs.

1896-1902, Examples of Ethia Eugenia and Avery Walton Shockley; Florence Louisa and Charles Matimore Nash; Robert Geddes; Pearl and Robert Thorington; Walter and Willie Beckett; Robert Goldman; Arthur Foster; Walter and Lillie Lentz; Ada Smitherman; Mamie E., Minnie, and George Hodges; Bertha Mabel Johnson; Helen Margaretta Clark; Elmer and Minnie Dungan; Grace May and Eldred Watson Householder; Ralph and Ernest Proctor; Frederick W. and Oliver Cannoles; George Herman; Estella, Laura, and Lizzie Tyson; George Bailey and Charles Wharton Foy; Lillie and Kate Walters; Sophia and May Lewis; Robert Rolof Marine Porter; Frederick Rowe; Edward Demming Hooper; Edith Jenkins; Amelia Doetsch; George C. and Myrtle A. Watson; Herman and Rosa Obender; John N. Clatchey; Ettie Hopkins; Irwin Eli Feucht; Mary Jane, John Irving, and Mayfield Murphy; Charles Robert and John Leroy Doyle; Ida Elizabeth and Julia Marguerite Wett; Carl and Ewall Meyer; Sarah Gertrude Jerome.

¹⁰⁸ Priscilla Ferguson-Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850-1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 208-209.

¹⁰⁹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1900 Annual Report. Ledgers from the SFOA confirm some parents who had children in that orphanage also paid board while their children were in residence. Entries for 1913-1915 suggest parents paid as they could and according to what they could. Indeed, some parents like Mrs. Payne and Mrs. Thomas paid five dollars for the board of two children, while others like Mrs. Butler and Mr. Curtis paid five dollars for having only one child in residence. For the histories of SFOA children whose parents paid board, see: OSP, Box 18, Folder 7, Financial/Ledger 1912-1914, Monthly accounts for August 1913; December 1913; October 1914; December 1914; January 1915; February 1915. It should be noted as well that the SFOA also received regular payments of board from the New York Foundling Hospital for the children the latter had sent to the SFOA; there is no evidence that any of the other orphan asylums in Baltimore or Liverpool received payments from other organizations or institutions for the care of children the latter sent to these asylums.

Ballard began to pay in July 1903 for her daughters Frances's and Anna's stay in the orphanage, to the two dollars per month Mrs. Freed agreed to send for the care of her two daughters Gladys and Ethel as of September 1901, and the six dollars Mr. Weaver began to pay in April 1905 towards his son Raymond's support.¹¹⁰ The variety of sums that Mrs. Ballard, Mrs. Freed, and Mr. Weaver were expected to provide hints that BOA officials engaged in evaluations of children's histories as did HOF authorities, and determined sums that both they and the parents of these children deemed acceptable.¹¹¹ These examples suggest as well that there was a gendered difference when it came to board payments at the BOA, with fathers expected to provide more significant contributions than mothers.

Conclusion:

In a number of respects, the families of children who utilized each of the Baltimore asylums between 1840 and 1910 were significantly different. Most BOA children did not come from homes in which both parents were living, parental desertion had occurred, parents were paying board to asylum officials, or both parents had been identified as legally unsatisfactory guardians and had their children removed from their care. HOF children, in contrast, did come from families in which mothers and fathers were living, fathers had abandoned their families, parents were making board payments to orphanage administrators, and parents had lost custody of

¹¹⁰ For information on Frances Christina and Anna L. Ballard, as well as Gladys and Ethel Freed, please examine: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions 1901-1913. For the case of Raymond C. Weaver, see WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group 1901-1913. For other BOA residents whose surviving parent agreed to pay board during the child's stay in the asylum, see the following: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions 1901-1913, Accounts of Genevieve Southard; Emma and Sophie Meurer; Lollie Hancock; Pearl M. Kraft; Verlynda Viola Garrison; Bertha Fredericka Phillips; Helen May Forrester; Evelyn B. Holmes; Catherine E. Jenkins; Hilda R. Hessler; Viola L. Bernhardt; Sarah Martha Adams; Ethel and Julia Smith; Carrie Butts; Gertrude E. Hess; Ruth R. Lynch; Edna Fidler; Alice Matilda Ridgeley; Bessie M. Plummer; Mary Stahl; Ellen R. and Myrtle E. Dixon; Margaret P. Gale; Regina M. and Alice E. West; Hazel L. Baxter; Ethel Collins; Lillian Gedes High; Cecilia Morsemiller; Annie and May Hoffman; May A. and Ethel A. McGinnis; Mabel C. Grisinger; Ellen R. Dorsey; Admission Book 12, Male Group 1901-1913, Records of Clyde H. and Charles Eggbert Pitt; Earl Jackson; Luther Bailey; Walter and Washington Winfield Scott; Joseph Smoot; Orville H. Grisinger; William Albert Finnegan; Harry Weeks; George C. Sewell; August Wick; August Stahl; William Carl Arnold; Walter Hood; Leon Christopher; Frederick Trust; Hayward Roach; Clarence H. Trimble; Roland Leslie Gannon.

¹¹¹ Of the forty children from the Dolan Home that Nurith Zmora uses as a sample, fourteen were what she identifies as "boarders." These children, like their counterparts at the BOA and HOF, had parents and relatives who paid a variety of board for their stay in the orphan asylum. According to Zmora, some of these fourteen had relatives who paid the full amount of four dollars per month for their stay in the Dolan Home, while others had family members who paid two or three dollars per month; see Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 51-52.

their children because the former had been deemed undesirable custodians. Yet children at both the Baltimore asylums did come from families that proved remarkably similar to one another in significant ways. Children at both the Baltimore asylums were from families adversely affected by paternal absence and incapacitation; families in which mothers were more likely than fathers to be impoverished; families in which work, illness and disability, and even intemperance posed significant daily challenges to the survival of the family as a unit; and families in which mothers were usually the parent responsible for solving these dilemmas.

Chapter Four: The Families They Came From: Liverpool

Asylum administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool recorded familial histories for all of the children who were candidates for admission into these institutions. The information that officials in Liverpool documented about children and their families reflected a different set of preoccupations than those of asylum admission records in Baltimore. Officials at the Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum (LFOA), the Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys (LAOB), and the Liverpool Infant Orphan Asylum (LIOA) identified children who were full orphans, born within seven miles of Liverpool, never admitted into the workhouse, and the offspring of legally married parents as the “objects of their charity,” and it was these prerequisites that they expected candidates to meet in order to achieve entrance into these institutions.¹ The family histories Liverpool officials took focused on confirming these prerequisites were met, and though they contain information about parental death and parental marriages, they provide limited insight into the realities that characterized these families’ daily lives in the period prior to one or both parents’ deaths. The type of analysis that the HOF and BOA records in Baltimore allow is simply not possible in the case of Liverpool families, though orphanage records do illuminate the ailments that cost Liverpool asylum residents their parents and make clear most of these orphans were more likely to lose fathers first to death than mothers. These records also highlight the role that children’s family members, step-relations and friends played in caring for them after their parents’ deaths.

¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845; 1872-1888, Report for the year ending January 31, 1872; Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 26, 1851; Report for the year ending March 13, 1854; Report for the year ending December 31, 1900; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880; 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 31, 1890.

Table 4.1 Causes of parental deaths in Liverpool, 1840-1910

	Mothers			Fathers		
	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA
Respiratory illnesses ^a	234 (41.9%)	59 (41.5%)	96 (45.1%)	282 (50.4%)	72 (50.7%)	106 (50.2%)
Non-respiratory communicable diseases ^b	50 (9.0%)	14 (9.9%)	19 (8.9%)	31 (5.5%)	13 (9.2%)	21 (10.0%)
Cardiac-related ailments ^c	33 (5.9%)	11 (7.7%)	16 (7.5%)	49 (8.8%)	11 (7.8%)	13 (6.1%)
Neurological-related Problems	33 (5.9%)	8 (5.6%)	15 (7.0%)	47 (8.4%)	7 (4.9%)	16 (7.5%)
Gastrointestinal Illnesses ^d	22 (3.9%)	10 (7.0%)	15 (7.0%)	24 (4.3%)	8 (5.6%)	9 (4.2%)
Pregnancy, childbirth and uterine-related deaths	33 (5.9%)	16 (11.3%)	28 (13.1%)	...	...	...
Accidental deaths	4 (0.7%)	1 (0.7%)	...	30 (5.4%)	7 (4.9%)	17 (8.1%)
Alcoholism	1 (0.2%)	3 (2.1%)	9 (4.2%)	4 (0.7%)	12 (8.5%)	14 (6.6%)
Cancer	23 (4.1%)	8 (5.6%)	6 (2.8%)	7 (1.3%)	3 (2.1%)	1 (0.5%)
Kidney disease	7 (1.3%)	5 (3.5%)	3 (1.4%)	19 (3.4%)	8 (5.6%)	6 (2.8%)
Suicide	2 (0.4%)	...	3 (1.4%)	9 (1.6%)	1 (0.7%)	6 (2.8%)
Other ^e	23 (4.1%)	6 (4.2%)	8 (3.8%)	17 (3.0%)	4 (2.8%)	5 (2.4%)
No information	42 (7.5%)	3 (2.1%)	4 (1.9%)	39 (7.0%)	6 (4.2%)	9 (4.3%)
Living	51 (9.1%)	...	...	...	...	...
Total	558	142	213	559	142	211

Sources: Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

^a Tuberculosis (“consumption”), Pneumonia, Bronchitis, Influenza, Diphtheria, Scarlet fever.

^b Cholera, Smallpox, Typhoid fever, Typhus, Yellow fever.

^c Heart disease (“Morbus cordis”), Cardiac dropsy, “Cardiac dilatation.”

^d Gastritis, Peritonitis, Diarrhea, Dysentary and Liver-related diseases.

^e Blood-related illnesses, Diabetes, Venereal disease, Dropsy (unspecified), Debility (unspecified), and other unspecified.

Causes of Parental Death

LFOA administrators successfully identified paternal causes of death for 559 (50.2%) of the 1117 girls for whom they received admission applications, and maternal causes of death for 558 (50.1%) of these applicants. (See Table 4.1) At the LAOB, there were 142 (100%) children for whom father’s cause of death was provided, and 142 (100%) for whom mother’s cause of

death was listed, and at the LIOA, officials reported maternal cause of death for 213 (79.2%) of the applicants seeking admission and paternal cause of death for 211 (78.4%) of these children. Pulmonary illnesses accounted for the greatest number of parental deaths, though non-respiratory communicable diseases, cardiac conditions, neurological-related problems, and gastrointestinal diseases also claimed the lives of many of the parents of Liverpool orphans. The mothers of these children faced additional dangers as well that were associated with their reproductive health, and a small group of these children lost mothers to pregnancy and childbirth-related complications, as well as to uterine-related problems.

Table 4.2 Parental deaths in Liverpool from respiratory illnesses, 1840-1910

	Mothers			Fathers		
	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA
Tuberculosis (Consumption)	137 (58.5%)	42 (71.2%)	69 (71.9%)	151 (53.5%)	42 (58.3%)	60 (56.6%)
Pneumonia	41 (17.5%)	9 (15.3%)	11(11.5%)	67 (23.8%)	16 (22.2%)	21 (19.8%)
Bronchitis	39 (16.7%)	3 (5.1%)	9 (9.4%)	37 (13.1%)	12 (16.7%)	14 (13.2%)
Unspecified lung-related illness	5 (2.1%)	3 (5.1%)	3 (3.1%)	16 (5.7%)	1 (1.4%)	7 (6.6%)
Influenza	5 (2.1%)	...	1 (1.0%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (1.9%)
Scarlet Fever	5 (2.1%)	1 (1.7%)	2 (2.1%)	2 (0.7%)	...	1 (0.9%)
Erysipelas	2 (0.9%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.0%)	6 (2.1%)	...	1 (0.9%)
Diphtheria	...	...	...	2 (0.7%)	...	...
Total	234	59	96	282	72	106

Sources: Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

Children who were candidates for admission into the Liverpool orphanages most often lost mothers and fathers to lung-related diseases, and like many of their peers in the Baltimore asylums, they lost these parents to tuberculosis. (See Table 4.2) Tuberculosis was the single largest killer of mothers and fathers when it came to Liverpool orphans, and it has been suggested that it accounted for “one-third of all deaths [in England] from disease during the Victorian

period.”² Tuberculosis flourished in densely-populated neighborhoods that had bad ventilation, and its impact on these families is not surprising in light of Liverpool’s overcrowding during this period; as late as 1881, the city had 106 people per acre of space.³ Tuberculosis killed comparable numbers of mothers and fathers when it came to these children, though slightly more LIOA mothers died from tuberculosis than did LIOA fathers. The histories of children like Ann Steen, Isabella Waterson, John McLeod, and Gertrude Huscley shed light on how tuberculosis and variations of the disease could rob children not only of one, but of both parents in a matter of months and years. Ann Steen lost her mother to phthisis (tuberculosis) in May 1877 on her fourth birthday, and her father nearly two years later in April 1879, after he succumbed to tuberculosis as well.⁴ Mr. and Mrs. Waterson both died from phthisis pulmonalis in 1884 and 1888 respectively, and Mr. and Mrs. McLeod’s deaths in November 1886 and September 1887 were also the result of phthisis. Gertrude Huscley meanwhile, lost her father to phthisis in August 1888 when she was seven, and her mother the following year to galloping consumption.⁵ These

² Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴ Mosby’s Medical Dictionary defines phthisis as “any wasting disease involving all or part of the body, such as pulmonary tuberculosis;” see *Mosby’s Medical Dictionary, Eighth Edition* (St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby/Elsevier, 2009), p. 1449. Asylum officials in Liverpool used a variety of terms when referring to the disease we identify in the twentieth-century as tuberculosis, including phthisis, phthisis pulmonalis, consumption, and galloping consumption.

⁵ Ann Steen, Isabella Waterson, and Gertrude Huscley were all LFOA residents. Ann Steen entered the asylum in July 1883, when she was ten years old. Isabella Waterson’s Uncle placed the girl in the LFOA in October 1890, when she was nine years old, and Gertrude Huscley was admitted in October 1894 when she was ten; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, for these records. John McLeod was admitted into the LAOB in May 1893, when he was seven years old. At the time of his father’s death, the boy was only five months old, and when his mother died he was only sixteen months old; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878- April 1905. For additional examples of children who lost both parents to tuberculosis, see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Mary Jane Richardson; Elizabeth Ann Meredith; Margaret Jane Parey; Sarah Anne Broughton; Augusta Alice Bradbury; Mary McMillan; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Rhoda Cunningham; Mary and Sarah Ellen Jones; Eleanor Adams; Susan Steen; Ellen Prescott; Agnes Smith; Eliza Ann Jopson; Charlotte Sutherland; Ada Annie Harrison; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907; Histories of Isabella Dunning; Annie Hoos; Alice Gertrude Mair; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Example of Ellen Bryan; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entries for Edward Whitham; Thomas Robinson; John Beattie; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Accounts of Ninian Ore; John McLeod; Thomas, William and James Bird; Richard Woods; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, John Martindale; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Records for Walter Henry Pruitt; Henry Chadwick; Margaret Shaw; Thomas Hugh Connolly; William Park Henshall; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Accounts of George Edward Porter; Alice Wilson; John Albert Cross; Edward Holt; Eliza Jane Wardle; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Emma Brocklebank; Robert and Ellen Goodman; Benjamin Timothy Crowley; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-

cases demonstrated the destructive impact that tuberculosis exerted on many poor families who utilized the Liverpool orphanages in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and reinforce how common it was for children to become full orphans in such a setting.

The second largest number of parental deaths in Liverpool occurred as the result of non-respiratory communicable diseases other than tuberculosis that flourished in urban areas like Liverpool during the nineteenth century. (See Table 4.1) Cholera, smallpox, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and typhus spread via periodic epidemics in the city and regularly afflicted the families of asylum residents. The earliest mention of such contagions and the impact they had on children's families occurred in 1855, when LFOA officials noted that twenty new inhabitants had entered the asylum in a short period of time that year because of a cholera epidemic in Liverpool. Cholera was a brand new disease in nineteenth-century England, and the four national outbreaks of the disease that occurred in 1831-1832, 1848-1849, 1853-1854 and 1866-1867, claimed the lives of approximately 128,000 people total. The disease itself is caused by a bacterium known as *vibrio cholerae*, and is spread via the ingestion of contaminated water or food. In nineteenth-century England it was, as historian Anthony Wohl states, "most often spread by water contaminated by the excreta of cholera victims, or by flies which hatched in or fed upon the diseased excrement."⁶ Six of the twenty children who entered the LFOA during the 1850s epidemic lost both parents to cholera, and the other fourteen children lost their surviving parent to the disease.⁷ In the years following this outbreak, a substantial number of mothers and fathers

April 1902, Records for Jervis Landiford; James Andrew Harrison; Mary Birchall; Herbert Robert Newton; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Histories of William Thomas Mair; George Arthur Fitzsimons.

⁶ Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, p. 118-121. For more on cholera in Liverpool during this period, please see: Anthony T. McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside, 1850-1875." M.Litt, University of Lancaster, 1975, p. 23-5; Colin G. Pooley, "Living in Liverpool: The Modern City," in *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, ed. John Belchem (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 227-28.

⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending February 26, 1855, Page 6.

continued to contract cholera and other highly infectious illnesses, and to die as the result as of these contagions.⁸

Of these non-respiratory illnesses, typhus posed the greatest threat to Liverpool parents, and accounted for sixty parental deaths overall.⁹ Typhus is a bacterial disease that is spread primarily to humans via lice and their feces, and its occurrence is facilitated by overcrowding. During the second-half of the nineteenth-century, typhus and Liverpool were synonymous, and the average annual death rate for typhus in the city was 748 for the period between 1856-1865, 652 for the period between 1866 and 1875, 238 for the period between 1876 and 1885, and twenty-five for the period between 1896 and 1905.¹⁰ In the majority of cases that occurred between 1865 and 1910, including those of Sarah Smith and James Gornall, only one parent died as the result of typhus, and the disease more regularly proved fatal to mothers than fathers. Sarah Smith was three years old and James Gornall was four years old when each lost their mothers to typhus in January 1866 and March 1872 respectively. Though both children eventually lost their fathers as well, these paternal deaths were the result of tuberculosis and not typhus.¹¹ Yet the

⁸ For specific examples of girls at the LFOA whose mothers died from cholera, influenza, smallpox, scarlet and other unspecified fevers, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Histories of Elizabeth Jones; Catherine Ann Jolly; Ada Elizabeth Ward; Mary Jane McCormick; Elizabeth Darlington; Mary Teresa Mullen; Martha Ellen Naylor; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records for Annie Eliza Routledge; Margaret and Esther Jane Cannell; Hannah Waterhouse; Elizabeth Bushell; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Account of Margaret Brough. For examples of LFOA girls whose fathers died from the same types of diseases, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Mary J. Williams; Elizabeth Sarah Cavey; Catherine Williams; Margaret and Mary Crilley; Jane Davies; Catherine Ellen Jones; Catherine Williams; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Margaret Ellen Foster; Abigail and Amelia Edwards; Agnes Jones. Of the thirty-three boys at the LAOB who lost parents to contagious diseases other than tuberculosis, fourteen had mothers who died and nineteen had lost fathers. Of the forty-seven LFOA children who had parents that died from infectious diseases other than tuberculosis, twenty-three had mothers who succumbed to these illnesses, and the twenty-four lost fathers to contagions. For the case histories of children at the LAOB and LFOA whose mothers died from cholera, influenza, smallpox, scarlet and other unspecified fevers, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Records for John Cunliffe; William Drysdale; John P. Gorst; Alfred Jones; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Example of William Dodd; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1893, History of Henry Jones; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Example of John Gwilym Roberts; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Record of Arthur Wellesley Francis

⁹ SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910. These figures may actually underestimate the actual number of children in the Liverpool orphanages who lost parents to typhus. There were an additional twenty-two children whose parents were said only to have died from fever, and typhus may have been the cause of parental cause of death in these cases as well.

¹⁰ Anthony Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, p. 125. For more on typhus in Liverpool, see: A.T. McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside, 1850-1875," p. 23-25

¹¹ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Case of Sarah Ann Smith; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entry for James Gornall. Mr. Smith died

highly contagious nature of typhus meant that between the 1860s and the 1880s, a group of children that included Alice Turner, Henry Worthington, and Florence and Elizabeth Woodhall were unfortunate enough to have both of their parents die as the result of this disease. Alice Turner was almost ten when her mother and father contracted typhus in the summer of 1868, and died within five days of one another, Henry Worthington was only nine when his parents died from typhus on the same day in May 1876, and the Woodhall siblings were four and ten when their parents contracted typhus in December 1882 and died soon thereafter.¹² Typhus did not pose as significant a threat to the parents of Liverpoolian asylum children as did tuberculosis, but it did exert a tangible and deadly impact on the mothers and fathers of some of these children.

Though infectious epidemics and pulmonary illnesses were responsible for the majority of parental deaths in Liverpool, not all asylum inhabitants lost parents to these types of sicknesses. Indeed, the third largest number of parental deaths occurred as the result of heart-

fifteen months after his wife, and Mr. Gornall died three years after his wife, in March 1875. For accounts of children who lost one parent to typhus, see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Histories of Margaret Ellen Jones; Maria Tiple; Elizabeth Breckell; Alice Caldershank; Frances Elizabeth Kenyon; Emily Jane Keane; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Margaret Ann Cowen; Ethel and Emily Hughes; Florence Kelly; Margaret Hughes; Edith Johnson; Alice and Lily Turner; Alice Brenton; Eliza Banon; Mary Johnson; Mary Elizabeth and Louisa Brumfitt; Margaret Ann and Elizabeth Jones Bowden; Harriet Reid; Flora Banon; Elsie Russell; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Records of Eliza Jessie Plinstone; Elsie Dora Mossman; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entry for John William Kirby; Charles Watson; Abraham B. Smith; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Files of Joseph Walker; George Mortimer Moss; Joseph Calveley; Admission Registers, March 1866-August 1873, Examples of Richard Bellion; John Alfred Clark; James Wood; Henry Fletcher Clays; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records of Peter Vickers; Charles Michael Kelly; John Rogers; Amelia Christina Roberts; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Files of Hugh Robertson; Samuel Bellion; Frances Smith; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Histories of Thomas Johnston; William Russell; William Brumfitt; James Peter Cain; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Cases of Richard Alfred Chantler.

¹² SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Records of Alice Mary Turner; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, History of Henry Worthington; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Florence and Elizabeth Ann Woodhall. For other orphans who lost both parents to typhus, refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Jane Spencer; Agnes Mary Robbins; Caroline Graham; Sarah Ellen Thomas; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, History of Elizabeth Jones; A Catherine Hankisson Grealey; Sarah Quinn; Ada Georgina Grealey; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Case of Edward Cannell; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Records for William Edward Parsonage; Thomas Beard; Thomas Dennis; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Examples of George Smith; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Accounts of Joseph Grigg; Thomas Banks; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Histories of Mary Harrison; James Murray; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Robert Morre Betteley; William Woodhall; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Cases of Doris Twist; May Poland.

related conditions. (See Table 4.1) In the majority of these cases, heart disease was cited as the specific ailment that led to death. Eighty-two LFOA residents, twenty-two LAOB boys, and twenty-nine LIOA children had parents who were deceased as the result of cardiac conditions. There was a gender disparity at the LFOA when it came to the number of maternal and paternal deaths that resulted from heart-related conditions, though this was not true at the LAOB and LIOA, where roughly the same number of mothers and fathers died as the results of cardiac conditions. Liverpool orphanage officials often explained these deaths in terms of a condition known as “morbus cordis,” which, according to Webster’s Medical Dictionary, is defined as heart disease.¹³ Sixty-nine of the Liverpool children who lost parents to heart-related ailments had parents who succumbed to heart disease, including Elizabeth Wooldridge, Anne Coopland, John Meyer and Frank Hudson.¹⁴ Asylum authorities occasionally proffered other explanations for heart-related deaths like cardiac dropsy, “cardiac dilatation,” and heart failure, yet the largest number of children in this group lost parents to what was understood as heart disease.¹⁵

¹³ *Merriam-Webster’s Medical Desk Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 2005), p. 525.

¹⁴ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, History of Elizabeth Wooldridge; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Account of Anne Coopland; Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1879-April 1905, Record of John J. Meyer; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Example of Frank Williams; Frank Hudson. For additional records of children who lost parents to heart disease, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Case of Emma Jones; Martha Jane Spencer; Elizabeth Darlington; Elizabeth Porter; Admission Registers, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Mary Ellen Jeesson; Elizabeth Dunning; Amy Parsonage; Margaret and Mary Marion Corrin; Mary Jane Spears; Harriet Elizabeth Garnett; Amy Ethel Bradley; Mary Ann Griffiths; Amy Elizabeth McNerney; Eliza Griffiths; Abigail and Amelia Edwards; Emma Mary and Gertrude Tillery; Frances Smith; Nora Valena Reichart; Charlotte Eden; Martha Jane Haslem; Margaret Ethel Pritchard; Sarah Emma and Agnes Ellen Jackson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Examples of Sarah Elizabeth Jones; Gladys Horne; Henrietta Evans; Ellen Roberts; Mildred Lepid; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entry for John Scott; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1879-April 1905, Cases of William Edward Parsonage; Richard Smith; William J. Spears; Peter Griffiths; Thomas Alfred Averill; Joshua Brew Lace; Frank Wilkinson; Alfred E. Brame; Charles Henry Lynds; John Ferrans; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Account of Frank Williams; Frank Hudson; William Ferrans; John Bertram Harbin; John Henry Jones; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Examples of James Wood; John Holcroft; Francis Edward Ellis; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, History of Alice Mary Grace; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Files of Robert Smith; John Gwilyn Roberts; Ellen Coulter; Gardilla Casson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Cases of Frances Smith Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Records of Henry Albert Grafton; Thomas James Job; Frank Robinson; Frederick Blundell; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Admission records of Robert Joseph Earl Moore; Elizabeth Nelson; Joseph Harbin; Alexander Jones.

¹⁵ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Account of Annie Routledge; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entry for Elizabeth Massey; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Records of Arthur Warren and James Rawlinson.

A significant number of the children who were considered for admission into the Liverpool orphanages also had parents for whom neurological conditions proved fatal. Eighty LFOA girls, fifteen LAOB boys and thirty-one LIOA residents had parents who died after suffering from some type of neurological problem. At the LAOB and the LIOA, the numbers of mothers and fathers who died because of neurological difficulties was comparable, though at the LFOA a greater number of fathers died as the result of neurological-related problems than did mothers. Strokes, epilepsy, meningitis, and cerebral hemorrhages were the most common neurological causes of death, though less specific explanations do appear as well in asylum documents.¹⁶ When eight-year-old Thomas Jones entered the LAOB in October 1870, asylum officials reported only that his mother had died of “congestion of the brain,” and offered no further clarification in terms of Mrs. Jones’ affliction.¹⁷ An equally vague explanation of Mrs. Rowlands’ death occurred when Helena and Mary Rowlands were admitted into the LFOA in late 1885. Mrs. Rowlands was said to have died from “head disease,” though the exact nature of this

¹⁶ For parental deaths that resulted from strokes, refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April, 1867-February 1875, Entry for Mary Agnes Prestwich; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Ruth Elmira Stevenson; Jane Anne Hughes; Mary Elizabeth Smeatham; Amy Parsonage; Maud and Lilian Clampith; Jane M. Credidio; Margaret Ann Price; Elizabeth and Yirzali Hamblett; Jane Clementine Laurenson; Rachel Stocker; Laura Stott; Margaret Ellen Fazenfield; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Records of Eveline Marsh; Lily Rosbella Iveson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Case of Archibald Rakin Wallace; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Histories of Thomas Lanley Pemberton; Harold Samuel Morris; Elizabeth Ann Singleton; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Examples of Richard H. Wood; Samuel Price; William Whitley Hughes; Stanley James Rogers; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Records of Rudolph Hawkins; Thomas Herbert Swan. For children whose parents died as the result of epilepsy, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Case of Louisa Aldborough Philips; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Files of Grace Boustead Fraser; Elizabeth Jane Cobharn; Esther Ward; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Account of Joshua Brew Lace. For parental deaths caused by meningitis, examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, History of Samuel Caffal; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Sarah Limmack; Sarah Eleanor and Joice Thompson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Frances A. and Eleanor Slinger; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Record for John Martindale Thompson. For information on cases involving cerebral hemorrhages, see: Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Record for William Henry Wilson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records of Elizabeth, Rebecca and Ann Rogan; Ada Maud Walkley; Isabella Percy; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Example of Ethel Maud Martin; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-November 1924, Entry for Guy Stafford Thompson.

¹⁷ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entry for Thomas Godfrey Jones. For other histories in which this was cited as the cause of a parent’s death, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Examples of Mary Ann Hannon and Frederick Tippin; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Record for Harold Samuel Morris.

disease was never disclosed.¹⁸ Though the exact illnesses or conditions that caused these parents' deaths remain a mystery, these examples clearly indicate that nervous-system related ailments could lead to death. (See Table 4.1)

Perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of the data orphanage authorities in Liverpool collected about parental causes of death is how many mothers and fathers died as the result of gastrointestinal illnesses. Forty-six LFOA candidates, eighteen LAOB boys, and twenty-four LIOA inhabitants were the offspring of adults who died from such disorders. An examination of these cases reveals that peritonitis, which involves the inflammation of the membrane that covers the abdominal wall and surrounds most of the body's organs, was the most common gastrointestinal ailment to afflict mothers and fathers and result in death.¹⁹ For other parents, the problem was not peritonitis, but other gastrointestinal problems. Ellen Bell's father succumbed to gastritis after a twelve day sickness in October 1867, and intestinal obstructions killed Margaret Price's father in June 1883 and Elizabeth Kelly's mother in February 1884.²⁰ Mr. Bell's case of gastritis was an acute one, though chronic gastritis, diarrhea and dysentery also claimed the lives of some Liverpoolian parents. Elizabeth, Richard and Yirzali Hamblett were seven, five, and

¹⁸ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Helena and Mary Rowlands. For other histories in which parents deaths were explicated in this manner, see this same register, Entries for Florence Williams and Annie Hinde.

¹⁹ See the following for other cases of peritonitis: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Mary J. and Catherine Williams; Jane Tippin; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Jane Anne Hughes; Hannah, Laura Ann, Amy Jane, and Mabel Harriet Griffith; Maggie Louisa Miller; Emma and Kate Blackhurst; Amy Elizabeth Wilson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907; Case of Jessie Burman; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Record for William Drysdale; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-January 1905, Histories of George Blackhurst; Joseph Calveley; Joseph Lydiate; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924; Accounts of Reginald Harrison Keating; Charles Nelson Thomas; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Entry for Frederick Tippin; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, History of William Whitley Hughes; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, File of Jane Blackhurst; Annie Dorothy Arrundale; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Records of Edith Augers; Richard Alfred Chantler.

²⁰ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Case of Ellen Bell; Admission Registers, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Margaret Price; Elizabeth Kelly. For other histories involving parental deaths and intestinal obstructions, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Emma Tudor; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Example of Thomas Tudor; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Record of Samuel Price; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-December 1902, Case of Charles Tudor; For another example of acute gastritis that resulted in death, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, History of Mary E. Nurry.

three years old when their father, who worked as a brewer, died from chronic gastritis in December 1887, and Margaret and Elizabeth Dalton were seven and four years old when their father died of chronic dysentery in October 1890.²¹ The impact that gastritis, diarrhea and dysentery had on these parents is not so surprising, in light living conditions in late-nineteenth-century-Liverpool. Despite the sanitary improvements that local officials engaged in during the second half of the century, there were still as of 1871, more than 30,000 houses in Liverpool that did not have water closets, but possessed instead, shared privies.²² This open sewage, along with a still-contaminated water supply, poor hygiene, overcrowding and a lack of understanding of the causes of gastrointestinal diseases meant these illnesses continued to pose deadly threats to many Liverpudlians. (See Table 4.1)

In Liverpool, gastrointestinal sicknesses, heart-related ailments, infectious epidemics and lung-related diseases regularly claimed the lives of working-class mothers and fathers, with neither sex spared. Yet there were notable differences when it came to specific dangers that women faced in connection with their reproductive health. 5.9% of LFOA applicants, 11.3% of LAOB boys, and 13.1% of LIOA children had mothers who died from conditions related to pregnancy and childbirth. At least two mothers died from placenta praevia, and women like Mrs. Joy, and Mrs. Barton, died after experiencing what nineteenth-century doctors identified as

²¹ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records of Elizabeth and Yirzali Hamblett; Margaret Alice and Elizabeth Dalton; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, File of Richard Hamblett. For other histories of parents whose deaths resulted from chronic gastritis, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Histories of Sybil Joyson and Amelia Jeffrey McClay; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Example of Doris Sander McClay. Additional examples of Liverpudlian orphans who lost parents to dysentery and diarrhea include the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Cases of Alfred Jones; Thomas Naylor; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Records of Joseph Bradbury Jones; Daniel McGregor; Admission Registers, April 1905-October 1924, Boys Orphan Asylum, History of Thomas McIntyre; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Account of Mary Eliza Grimings; Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Case of James Peter Cain; Frederick Blundell; George Jordan; Jane Brown McGregor.

²² Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, p. 108. For additional information about the sanitation problems that continued to plague Liverpool during the second half of the nineteenth century, despite the massive campaign to improve sanitation in the city, please examine the following: McCabe, "The Standard of Living in Liverpool and Merseyside," "Chapter Three: Sanitation, Housing and Overcrowding," p. 49-79.

“puerperal convulsions,” and is now referred to as eclampsia.²³ Other women including Mrs. Bradley, Mrs. Cunningham, and Mrs. Blackhurst suffered unspecified problems during childbirth that proved fatal.²⁴ Many of the women in this group however, managed to survive childbirth, but died relatively soon after giving birth. Puerperal fever killed Mrs. Hudson and Mrs. Bond, Mrs. Corrin perished as the result of “puerperal septicemia,” Mrs. Beckett and Mrs. Edwards succumbed to “puerperal peritonitis” and Mrs. Shepherd died from “gangrene of [the] uterus mucus membrane.”²⁵ In all of these cases, the agent responsible for mothers’ illnesses and deaths appears to have been puerperal fever, which is a bacterial infection of the uterus that follows childbirth, and which was, according to historian Anthony Wohl, one of the main causes of the

²³ According to *Mosby’s Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing and Health Professions*, placenta previa is “a condition of pregnancy in which the placenta is implanted abnormally in the uterus so that it impinges on or covers the internal os of the uterine cervix. It is the most common cause of painless bleeding in the third trimester of pregnancy. Its cause is unknown. If severe hemorrhage occurs, immediate cesarean section is usually required to stop the bleeding and to save the mother’s life; it is performed regardless of the stage of fetal maturity.” See *Mosby’s Dictionary of Medicine, Nursing and Health Professions*, Seventh Edition (St. Louis: Elsevier, 2006), p. 1470. Placenta praevia caused the deaths of Mrs. Rokie in March 1870, and Mrs. Gledsdale in November 1884; See SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873 for the admission record of Mrs. Rokie’s son Alfred Tate Rokie, and Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895 for the history of Mrs. Gledsdale’s daughter, Mary Beatrice Gledsdale. See SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entry for Elizabeth Ann Joy for specifics on Mrs. Joy. For information on Mrs. Barton, examine Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Account of Annie Barton.

²⁴ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, File on Christina Fanny Bradley; Kate Blackhurst; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Example of Beatrice Alice Cunningham. See the following for the history of Mrs. Blackhurst and her children: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Case of Kate Blackhurst; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, History of Jane Blackhurst; Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Account of George Blackhurst. For the records of other mothers who were reported to have died in childbirth, and no further information was provided, see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Sarah Limmack; Christina Fanny Bradley; Elizabeth Morgan; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Examples of Emma and Florence Hadfield; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Example of Edward Spread; George Moody; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Cases of George Hughes Jones; Henry Heindley; Admission Registers, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1903-March, History of Harold George Webster.

²⁵ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Entry for Paul Hudson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Elizabeth Bond; Mary Marion Corrin; Lilian and Elizabeth A. Shepherd; Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Examples of Joseph Thomas Beckett and John Edwards. For the histories of other women who died from puerperal fever, please examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Record for Sarah Ann Lawrence; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Account of James Wildman; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Examples of Louisa Lawrence; George Charles Floyd. Mrs. Corrin was the mother of Margaret and Mary Marion Corrin; the admission records for these two girls are located in SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895. Another case of puerperal septicemia appears in Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1814, Record of Thomas Henry Oates. For other histories of mothers for whom puerperal peritonitis proved fatal, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Account of Laura Ann Griffith; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Record for Alice Harriet Dickson

high maternal death rates that occurred during the Victorian era.²⁶ These cases, as well as those that involved eclampsia and child-birth related complications, confirm the real danger that childbirth posed to the mothers of asylum children in Liverpool throughout this period, and hints at the limited access to satisfactory medical care and treatment that poor women in Liverpool possessed.

As the number of cases involving pregnancy and childbirth-related deaths demonstrates, women faced perils that their male counterparts did not. In turn, fathers in Liverpool were exposed to certain hazards related to their gender-defined work roles that their female peers were often able to avoid. Men in Liverpool were far more likely than their female counterparts to die as the result of accidents. Fifty-nine children in the Liverpool asylums had parents who died in connection with accidents, and in fifty-four of these cases, it was fathers who perished in this manner.²⁷ Many of these fathers died while working in their chosen professions, which suggests the occupational hazards that working men in Liverpool faced on a daily basis in connection with their jobs. Men who worked in the maritime trades like Mr. Grundy, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Brame were particularly at risk, and accounted for a large number of accidental deaths. Mr. Grundy was a seaman who was “accidentally killed while on board ship” in May 1863, while Mr. Harris and Mr. Brame were mariners who drowned in July 1877 and October 1887 respectively.²⁸ Fathers

²⁶ Wohl, *Endangered Lives*, p. 13.

²⁷ See the following for examples of accidental paternal deaths: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, History of Thomas James Bond; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for James Wildman; Charles Lee Harvey; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Records for Mary Jane McCormick; Jane Griffith; Alice W. Robie; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Mary Ellen Roughley; Margaret Ashton; Eliza Jane Hall; Annie Barton; Sarah Hale; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-December 1907, Example of Edith Jones; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Cases of George Hughes Jones; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; George Ashton; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Herbert Arthur Williams; Alice Maud Dickson; Mary Ellen Roughley; John James; George Frederick Asquith; Edward John McGivern; Isabella Grisdale.

²⁸ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Record of James Grundy; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, History of John Richard Harris. Alfred E. Brame was nearly eleven years old when his father drowned. His relatives asked to have him admitted into the LAOB in September 1888, though asylum documents suggest he never actually entered the asylum; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, History of Alfred E. Brame. For additional histories of fathers who worked in sea trades and died in connection with their employments, please examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Case of Archibald J. Fulton; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Sarah A. Naylor; Jane Wilkain Bond;

who worked in other non-maritime professions were not immune either from occupational-related dangers. Francis Ellis' father was working as a bricklayer in January 1869 when he suffered an "accidental fall from [a] scaffold," and subsequently died, and Mary Ann and Alice Discon's father died under the same circumstances some thirteen years later, while working as a laborer in an unspecified trade.²⁹ These examples certainly confirm the danger that some fathers in Liverpool encountered in connection with their work, and reinforce that it was not only infectious diseases that threatened the lives of these men and affected the families of Liverpool orphans when it came to paternal death. (See Table 4.1)

Half-orphans

Though the overwhelming majority of children in the Liverpool orphanages came from homes in which both parents were deceased, there was a group of LFOA girls who proved the exception to this rule, and entered the orphanage as half-, rather than full orphans. These girls gained admittance to the asylum after the LFOA Ladies Committee decided in January 1902 to "*admit a limited number of fatherless girls, should there be vacancies in the Institution provided they reserve at all times a sufficient accommodation for children deprived of both parents, who are the primary objects of the Charity.*"³⁰ LFOA officials were clearly not enthusiastic about this change, but appeared to understand it as necessary, given the continued decrease in the numbers of admission requests they were receiving that involved full orphans. In the period following this admission policy alteration, fifty-one half orphan girls were submitted as candidates for admission into the LFOA, and forty-one entered the asylum. These girls represented 3.8% of the children admitted into the LFOA, and confirm there was a small population of children in that

Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Record for Mary Jane James; Gertrude Elizabeth Glass; Mabel Adeline Rice; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1883, Entries for Margaret Curtis; Alfred Tate Rokie; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Example of Edith Augers.

²⁹ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, History of Joseph Edward Ellis; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Mary Ann and Alice Maud Discon.

³⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending 1903.

asylum whose mothers were living. Though these girls were far more limited in number than Baltimore asylum children who had living mothers, this population was unique, as neither the LAOB nor the LIOA admitted half-orphans between 1840 and 1910.

Parents' Marriages

Asylum representatives in Liverpool were able to successfully identify specific maternal and paternal dates of death in 332 LFOA cases, 128 LAOB cases, and 180 LIOA cases that occurred between 1866 and 1910. LIOA inhabitants were the most likely to lose their fathers first to death, LAOB boys were more likely to lose their mothers first to death than their fathers, and LFOA girls had a nearly equal chance of losing mothers or fathers first. (See Table 4.3) At the LIOA, 51.7% of children came from homes in which paternal death occurred first; the remaining 48.3% of asylum residents were from homes in which mothers died prior to fathers. The situation was reversed at the LAOB, where 53.1% of boys were the offspring of marriages in which mothers died first, and 46.9% of asylum inhabitants lost fathers to death first. And at the LFOA, 49.7% of girls had mothers who died first, as compared to 50.3% LFOA inhabitants who had fathers who died first. Overall, these figures suggest that fathers of Liverpool asylum children proved more vulnerable to illness and death than did their female spouses, and though there were some husbands in Liverpool who were left solely responsible for their children after a wife's death, it was more common for a wife to outlive her husband and find herself in this position.

Table 4.3 Parental mortality rates in Liverpool, mothers versus fathers, 1840-1910

	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA
Mothers died first	165 (49.7%)	68 (53.1%)	87 (48.3%)
Fathers died first	167 (50.3%)	60 (46.9%)	93 (51.7%)
Total	332	128	180

Sources: Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

Though the mothers of Liverpool asylum children were slightly more likely than the fathers of these children to live longer than their spouses, it was extremely uncommon for the surviving spouse to outlive his or her deceased partner for long. At the LAOB, in cases in which the child's mother died first, the child's father lived on average for another 2.7 years after his wife's death, while LFOA widowers survived on average 2.4 years longer than their deceased wives. Only at the LIOA was there a notable difference in terms of the amount of time on average that elapsed between mothers' deaths and fathers' deaths; the fathers of LIOA inhabitants lived on average only 1.7 years longer than their wives.³¹ LAOB widows who outlasted their husbands lived 3.4 years longer on average than their deceased husbands. This figure was significantly higher than at the LFOA and the LIOA, where surviving mothers lived on average 2.7 and 2.0 years longer than their deceased husbands.³² Though these figures reveal variations in terms of how much time it took for Liverpoolian asylum children to become full orphans, they also confirm many parents who managed to survive their spouses did not live for many more years themselves.

There was a population of asylum children at the LFOA and LIOA in Liverpool who lost both parents to death within a relatively short span of time. At the LFOA, sixty-seven children had mothers and fathers who died within six months of one another. Mothers were the first parent to die in thirty-seven of these cases, with fathers dying sometime during the six months

³¹ SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910.

³² Ibid.

that followed. In the remaining thirty instances, the order was reversed, and children lost fathers first, and mothers at various points in the ensuing six months. These figures demonstrate that 17.8% of these LFOA girls went from having both parents living to full orphan status within half a year. An even higher percentage of LIOA inhabitants experienced this phenomenon and found themselves full orphans within a six month period. Between 1865 and 1910, 20.1% of these LIOA inhabitants lost both mothers and fathers within half a year of one another.³³ There was a notable difference between the numbers of children who became full orphans within a six month period at the LIOA and the LFOA, and those who had such an experience at the LAOB. Only 7.9% of the LAOB boys in this contingent lost parents in this manner.³⁴

A larger contingent of Liverpool children came from households in which one parent passed away, and more than a year passed before the remaining parent succumbed to death and left the couple's children full orphans. 200 (53.1%) LFOA girls, 102 (73.4%) LAOB boys and 111 (49.6%) LIOA residents came from households in which parents died more than a year apart.³⁵ The earliest case to suggest this pattern involved Frances Messenger, and occurred in

³³ Forty-five LIOA residents became full orphans within a six month period. Of these children, twenty-three lost their mothers first, and twenty-two lost fathers to death first. For the histories of some of these children, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Accounts of John Alfred Clark; Mary Jane Banks; Mary Eliza Grimings; Frederick Tippin; Joseph Briscoe; Henry Fletcher Clays; Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records of Mary Harrison; Jacob Yates; John Rodgers; Thomas Price; Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Ada Theker; William Woodhall; Elizabeth Ellen Birch; Eliza Jane Stone; Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1902, Cases of Arthur Wellesley Francis; Louisa Lyon; James Harold Wallace; Edith Lindop Edwards; Infant Orphan Asylum, 1902-1914, Examples of Doris Twist; Edith Augers; Robert Reginald Phoenix; Elsie Doran.

³⁴ This group of boys numbered eleven in total; six boys had mothers who died first, four boys had fathers who died first, and one LAOB boy had parents who died on the same day. Asylum authorities in Liverpool did not regularly record the ages at death when it came to the mothers and fathers of orphans. For the accounts of these LAOB residents, examine the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Histories of Alfred Jones; John Robert Hough; Henry Worthington; Edward Cannell; Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-January 1905, Records of Thomas Dennis; Edward James Wilson; Charles Henry Lynds; Joseph Calveley; Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Examples of John Bertram Harbin; William Albert Perkes; George Smith.

³⁵ SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910. See the following sources for the case histories of some of these LFOA girls: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Ruth Menzies; Amy Fletching; Maria Tiple; Charlotte Marten; Mary Jane McCormick; Isabella Clara Lewis; Rebecca Witherington McCall; Louisa Aldborough Philips; Minnie Margaret Foster; Mary McMillan; Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Rhoda Cunningham; Mary and Sarah Ellen Jones; Harriet Hannah Foster; Susan Steen; Mary Ellen Jeelson; Helena and Mary Rowlands; Margaret Ashton; Catherine Joseph McMaminan; Annie Barton; Elizabeth, Ann and Rebecca Rogan; Isabella Percy; Emma and Ada Bose; Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Amy Clarke; Annie Hoos; Ellen Rickles; Theodora Grafton Drew; Elizabeth Jane Westhead; Elsie Dora Mossman; Alice Gertrude Mair; Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Cases of Ellen Bryan; Gwendoline Simpson Smith; Nellie Crookdake. For the accounts of some LAOB boys and LIOA inhabitants whose parents died more than a year apart, refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum,

1843. In December of that year, Frances' thirty-nine-year-old mother died as the result of pulmonary consumption. Frances and her two brothers continued to reside with their father, who was employed as a master mariner. It was not until thirteen months after her mother's death that Mr. Messenger died, when he accidentally drowned when the ship he was on upset "during a gale of wind."³⁶ Frances was thus twenty months old when she and her older brothers became half-orphans, and she was three months shy of her third birthday when her father died and left the three children full orphans. In the decades that followed, Frances' experience proved the norm for most asylum applicants and residents at the LFOA, LAOB and LIOA. Margaret Curtis' father drowned accidentally three days before her birth in September 1864, and her mother succumbed to phthisis nearly three years later, while the three Bird siblings lost their mother to tuberculosis in January 1892, and their father two years later to the same disease.³⁷ These children, as well as others including Catherine Jolly, Thomas Bond, George Sharrock, John Lees, and Amelia Roberts, entered the Liverpool orphanages from homes in which one parent's death occurred and

January 1866-August 1880, Entries for Richard Keely; Abraham B. Smith; Andrew Shaw; Joseph Thomas Beckett; Jonathan Haygarth; William H. Lester; Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Records of Peter Lunt; John Burns; Joseph T. Quigley; Thomas S. and Charles H. Simpson; Joseph Bradbury Jones; William Millett; Robert Hornby; Peter Griffiths; George Mortimer Moss; Charles Lee Harvey; Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Accounts of Clucas Edward Quayle; Reginald Harrison Keating; John Henry Jones; John Crookdake; Charles Nelson Thomas; Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Histories of Jane William Bond; Walter Thomas Munday; Eliza Shane; Ernest Hamilton Basher; Francis Green; Joseph Henry Cullen; John Graham; Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Examples of John Gwilyn Roberts; Hannah Rowlands; Ellen Coulter; Thomas Lanley Pemberton; Thomas William Helsby; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; Alice Harriet Dickson; Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Accounts of Hugh Robertson; Elizabeth Ann Joy; James Adams; Elizabeth Charnock; Joseph Waterson; Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-January 1902, Documents for Edward John McGivern; William Wakefield; Annie Dorothy Arrundale; Ethel Coventry; Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Cases of Mary Violet Maddock; William Thomas Mair; Elsie May Powell; Harold George Webster; Jamie Winifred Elliott; Alexander Crookdake.

³⁶ SHSR, Certificates, Death, 1845-1913; SHSR, Female Orphan Asylum Registers, August 1840-August 1851, Record of Frances Messenger; Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, October 1845-September 1858, History of Frances Messenger.

³⁷ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Account of Margaret Curtis. For the examples of the Bird brothers, please see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for Thomas, William and James Bird. William and James Bird gained entrance into the LAOB in March 1894 and August 1898, but Thomas Bird's application for admission was rejected, because the boy did not pass the medical exam required for entry. LAOB officials noted that he was a delicate boy who suffered from a spinal curvature problem.

children remained half-orphans for an extended period of time before their surviving parent also passed away.³⁸

Extended Family Involvement

Each time they received an application asking to have a child admitted into the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA, Liverpool orphanage officials tried to record who had been caring for the child up until that point, and in 716 cases at the LFOA, 134 cases at the LAOB and 213 cases at the LIOA, these efforts yielded results. These histories reveal that once a half-orphan's remaining parent perished, it was common for some member of the child's kin to take custody of the newly orphaned child. In many cases, children's siblings ended up trying to care and provide for these children, but aunts and uncles were the kin most likely to end up in charge of orphans in Liverpool, followed by the children's grandparents.

At the LFOA, there were a total of 147 (20.5%) children were in the care of their aunts and uncles when asylum officials received their applications for admission into the orphanage. Of these children, sixty-two (42.2%) were residing with their uncles, seventy-four (50.3%) had aunts looking after them, and eleven (7.5%) were identified as in the care of both aunts and

³⁸ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, History of Catherine Ann Jolly; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entry for Thomas James Bond; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Example of George Sharrock; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Account of John Richard Lees; Amelia Christina Roberts. For the histories of other Liverpool orphan applicants and residents who lost parents more than seven months apart, refer to the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Cases of Elizabeth Sarah Cavey; Elizabeth Ann Meredith; Maria Tiple; Elizabeth Jones; Sarah Ann Shaw; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Sarah Limmack; Ann Steen; Annie and Ellen Galilee; Sarah Hane and Elizabeth Wilson; Florence Frances Amelia Rycroft; Mary E. Nurry; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Histories of May Brownrigg; Sarah Ann Smart; Dorothy Vickers Lipper; Maud Bland Pearson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Records of Ellen Bryan; Nellie Crookdake; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Cases of John P. Gorst; John Beattie; William H. Lester; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Accounts of William J. Spears; John J. Meyer; Thomas Stokes; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Examples of George Tomlinson; Thomas McIntyre; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Cases of Edward James Elliott; John Mills; James Mann; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records of George Edward Porter; John Albert Cross; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Accounts of Samuel Bellion; Eliza Adams; Albert Joseph Simpson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Entries of Bertie Chester; Griffith Edwards; Thomas James Job; Doris Sander McClay; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Examples of Mary Violet Maddock; Alexander Jones; Elizabeth Nelson.

uncles.³⁹ Forty-seven (35.4%) LAOB boys resided with a deceased parent's sibling prior to their admission into that asylum, and of this group, thirty-one (66.0%) boys had uncles supervising them, fifteen (31.9%) were in the custody of an aunt, and one (2.1%) was said to be in the care of both his aunt and uncle.⁴⁰ At the LIOA, aunts and uncles were watching over seventy-three (34.3%) children prior to their admission into the asylum; twenty-eight (38.4%) of these children had uncles minding them, thirty-nine came (53.4%) from homes in which their aunts looked after them, and six (8.2%) were living with both aunts and uncles.⁴¹ The involvement of these relatives suggests it was customary for parents' siblings to intervene when children were left orphans, and to provide at least short-term care for them, until alternative arrangements could be made.

Thomas Robinson, William Dodd, Ethel and Emily Hughes, Margaret Ellis, George Jordan, and Henry Grafton, all benefited from such a practice, as did numerous other children who resided in the Liverpool orphanages.⁴² These cases confirm that not all orphans in Liverpool who found

³⁹ Cases of LFOA girls who lived with the siblings of their deceased parents include: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Accounts of Sarah Ann Shaw; Emily Belinda and Ada Victoria Whitehead; Mary Jane McCormick; Elizabeth Wooldridge; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Anne Hughes; Nancy Norman Mason; Margaret Massey; Amy Aspinall; Violet Melrose Bate; Ada Chesters; Harriet Reid; Charlotte Annie and Esther B. Browning; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Mildred Lepid; Emma Coughlin; Dorothy Vickers Lipper; Elsie Dora Mossman; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Cases of Amy Elizabeth McIntyre; Ellen Bryan; Nellie Crookdake.

⁴⁰ For examples of LAOB boys who lived with aunts, uncles, or both, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Accounts of Thomas Milne; John William Kirby; Andrew Shaw; Alfred Jones; Richard Conway; William Hands Porter; Robert Joseph McCartney; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for James Wildman; Peter Lunt; Thomas Beard; William Henry Barnwall; Thomas Webster; James Thomas; John Percy Rankin; George Moody; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Records for John Crookdake; Charles Nelson Thomas.

⁴¹ For specific examples of LIOA children who resided with the siblings of their deceased parents, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Cases of Monica Mary Ashley; Frances Annie Wright; Mary Jane Banks; George Bolton; Eliza and Sarah Ann Shane; Ernest Hamilton Basher; Thomas Vernon; John Graham; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Histories of Peter Corware; Hannah Rowlands; Charles Cartwright; William George Whale; Thomas Price; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Accounts of Herbert Arthur Williams; Hugh Robertson; Catherine Walsh; Robert and Ellen Goodman; Henry Clapham; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Records for Sidney DiGennaro; George Jordan; Ann Rogers; Louisa Lyon; Jane Brown McGregor; Frances Jane McGuinness; George Stockton; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Files of Doris Twist; Edith Augers; Robert Reginald Phoenix; Jamie Winifred Elliott; Alexander Crookdake.

⁴² SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Accounts of Thomas Robinson; William H. Dodd; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Ethel and Emily Hughes; Margaret Ellis; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Records of George Jordan; Henry Grafton. Additional examples of children whose aunts and uncles provided them temporary care include: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Histories of Martha Ellen Naylor; Elizabeth Wooldridge; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Isabella and Hannah Yates; Anne Hughes; Ethel and Emily Hughes; Helena and Mary Rowlands; Amy

themselves bereft of their parents were left to fend for themselves without any aid from their extended family, and suggest the critical role that aunts and uncles played when it came to parental death and future arrangements involving orphans.

Though parents' siblings were the extended family members who were most likely to be caring for children in the period following their parents' deaths, one group of children had grandparents acting as their custodians. When four-year-old John Rodgers entered the LIOA in October 1879, he moved from his grandfather's household in Toxteth Park, and when eleven-year-old Rhoda Cunningham became a LFOA resident in February 1883 she arrived not from the home of an aunt or uncle, but from her grandmother's residence in Rock Ferry.⁴³ A total of 107 of the children whose family members asked to have them admitted into the Liverpool orphanages had grandparents who cared for them after they lost their parents. In the majority of these cases, it was grandmothers who were caring for these children prior to their admission into the orphanages (sixty-nine children versus thirty-eight children who came to the asylums from their grandfather's care). Of these children, there were forty-two LFOA girls, three LAOB residents, and twenty-four LIOA inhabitants whose grandmothers had custody of them, and twenty-six LFOA girls, three LAOB boys, and nine LIOA children who lived with their grandfathers.⁴⁴

Aspinall; Florence Frances Amelia Rycroft; Violet Melrose Bate; Elizabeth Worthington; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entry for Margaret Cooper; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Admission of Harriet Ida Oates; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Accounts of John William Kirby; William F. Thompson; William Chadwick; Archibald J. Fulton; John Robert Hough; William Hands Porter; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Files of Frederick Trotter; William J. Spears; Richard Hamblett; Thomas Webster; Daniel McGregor; James Thomas; Frederick Henry Davies; John Ferrans; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Example of Charles Nelson Thomas; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Records of Thomas Wilson; Lucy Mason; George Bolton; John Mills; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Example of William George Whale; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Cases of Herbert Arthur Williams; Sarah Ellen Yates; Elizabeth Ellen Birch; Ellen Goodman; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Accounts of Ann Rogers; Henry Albert Grafton; George Stockton; Edith Lindop Edwards; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Entry for Edith Augers.

⁴³ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, File of John Rodgers; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, History of Rhoda Cunningham.

⁴⁴ For accounts of LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA residents whose grandmothers cared for them, refer to the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Histories of Elizabeth Oldfield Witham; Annie Routledge; Martha Pinnington; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January

Older siblings also became responsible for children after they lost their parents; sixty-three Liverpool orphans had older siblings who cared for them after the loss of their parents. Sisters were far more likely to end up as Liverpool orphans' guardians than were brothers, and forty-six of these children including Alice Duffey, Richard Gore, Mary Simpson and Edward Holt were being cared for by their sisters at the time their applications for admission into the orphanages were received by asylum officials.⁴⁵ In a few of these cases, older siblings appear to

1895, Histories of Grace Adeline Lewis; Sarah Macfarlane; Mary Elizabeth and Louisa Brumfitt; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Examples of Frances A. Slinger; Doris Doran; Maud Bland Pearson; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Account of Edward Witham; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Cases of James Bradbury Jones; George Capper; Richard Woods; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Examples of James Wood; Margaret Shaw; Alice Caldershank; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Files of Ida Shannon; Samuel Ralph Johnston; Thomas William Helsby; John Albert Cross; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Minnie Clyde Higgins; Henry Jarman; Amy Elizabeth McNerney; John James; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Accounts of Catherine Capper; William Brumfitt; Richard Woods; Mary Ann Patterson. For the records of LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA children whose grandfathers provided them with care, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Margaret Ellen Jones; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records of Mary and Sarah Ellen Jones; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Examples of Richard Smith; George Thompson; Thomas Alfred Averill; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Files of John Alfred Clark; Archibald Rankin Wallace; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Entries for George Edward Porter; John Rodgers; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Case of George Frederick Asquith; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Account of Edward George McGivern; Louisa Lawrence; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, History of Richard Alfred Chantler.

⁴⁵ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Example of Alice Duffey; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Account of Richard Gore; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records of Mary Simpson; Edward Holt. For the histories of other Liverpool orphans whose sisters were caring for them in the period following their parents death, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Accounts of Susanna Jones; Ellen Richardson; Sarah Ann Leary; Alice Ann(Jane) Jones; Jane Humphries; Frances Selina Rowbotham; Susanna Griffiths; Sarah and Annie Duncan; Mary Emery; Jane Harriet Conolly; Agnes Benson; Mary C. Fellingham; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Caroline Graham; Maria Jane Hargrove; Elizabeth Breckell; Margaret and Mary Crilley; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Files of Alice Hibbert; Alice Jane Gilbert; Janet Highfield; Florence Williams; Elizabeth and Minnie Hather; Eliza Jane Hall; Florence Annie Alice Sykes; Elsie Miller; Ada Tyrer; Laura Stott; Lillian Mary Jane Richards; Annie Shaw; Elizabeth Bushell; Elsie Russell; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Accounts of Frederica V. Richards; Mary Elizabeth Strickland; Margaret Moss; Sarah Ann Smart; Florence Bell Anderson; Catherine Irons; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entries for Richard Keely; Joseph Thomas Beckett; Alfred Bibby; Edward Cannell; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Cases of George Sharrock; Edward Holt; John Burns; Joseph T. Quigley; John T. Lloyd; Albert Kay; James Russell; William Millett; Robert Hornby; Thomas Tudor; John Henry; George Mortimer Moss; William Carnighan; Henry Albert Shaw; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, File of George Tomlinson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Histories of Paul Hudson; James Mann; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records of Mary Simpson; Thomas Lanley Pemberton; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; Jacob Yates; Amy Passonage; Edward Holt; Alice Hilbert; Eliza Jane Wardle; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Mary Ellen Roughley; Elizabeth Ann Joy; James Adams; Eliza Adams; Richard John Hall; Clara Williams; For the cases of children whose brothers were providing for them after parental deaths, refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Histories of Ellen Grigom; Laura Smith; Elizabeth and Catherine John Davies; Phoebe Simpson; Jemima and Amelia Hayward; Mary Williams; Mary Alina Gow; Admission Registers,

have been trying to maintain the integrity of the family unit by having many or all of their siblings live with them in one household after their parents' deaths. Nearly all or all of the siblings of Edward Simister, Alfred Bibby, Maryanne Sleggles, and Elizabeth Nelson were in residence with one another for some time after the death of their last surviving parent.⁴⁶ Yet in many more cases, siblings were simply unable to keep all the remaining members of the family unit together. Indeed, by the time James Russell entered the LAOB in December 1891, he had three sisters in service, a brother who was a candidate for admission into LAOB, and a younger sister and brother who were candidates for admission into the LIOA.⁴⁷

Though extended family and immediate blood relatives often became responsible for children after their parents' deaths, nearly 8% of the Liverpool orphans whose caretakers were identified by asylum officials were actually being cared for not by kin, but by step-relatives.⁴⁸ Of these children, sixty-two (75.6%) were in the care of their stepmothers, seven (8.5%) had stepfathers who were providing for them, nine (11.0%) had stepsisters who were responsible for

Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Cases of Margaret and Jane Tippin; Agnes Bollard; Emma Handford; Maryanne Sleggles; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Mary Ellen Rimmer; Jane Anne Hughes; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Eliza Jessie Plinstone; Gwendoline Healiss; Edith Jones; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1824, File of Gwendoline Simpson Smith; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Records of Abraham B. Smith; William Bayes; Edward Simister; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Files of Thomas S. and Charles H. Simpson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Cases of Walter Thomas Munday; Amelia Clucas; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Examples of John Richard Lees; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-December 1902, Histories of Charles Tudor; Frank Robinson.

⁴⁶ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Example of Edward Simister; Alfred Bibby; Edward Cannell; William Millett; Robert Hornby; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Record of Maryanne Sleggles; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Account of Elizabeth Bushell; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, File of Elizabeth Nelson.

⁴⁷ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Case history of James Russell. For the accounts of other children whose families had been similarly splintered, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Elizabeth Breckell; Margaret and Jane Tippin; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Elizabeth and Minnie Hather; Jane Ann Hughes; Charlotte Eden; Jane Ellen Boothroyd; Rachel Stocker; Mary Ellen Fazenfield; Tamar Honegrave; Florence Williams; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Records of Frederica V. Richards; Mary Elizabeth Strickland; Margaret Moss; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for George Sharrock; Edward Holt; Henry Albert Shaw; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Entries for Paul Hudson; James Mann; Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Files of Richard John Lees; Thomas Lanley Pemberton; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; Edward Holt; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Records of Mary Ellen Roughley; Elizabeth Ann Joy; James Adams; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Case of William Henry Keefe.

⁴⁸ Eighty-two children were in the care of step-relatives when the latter asked to have these children admitted to the Liverpool orphanages; these children represented 7.8% of the group of 716 children whose caretakers orphanage officials identified. Please see: SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910.

their care, and four (4.9%) were in the custody of their stepbrothers.⁴⁹ These histories demonstrate that at least one group of mothers and a few fathers who turned to the Liverpool orphanages for aid were actually second wives and husbands whose spouses' deaths left them responsible for children who were not their consanguineal kin. Mrs. Holcroft and Mr. Bailey found themselves in this type of situation, after the former lost her husband to heart disease in February 1870 and the latter his wife to tuberculosis in April 1884. Mr. Holcroft's death left his second wife solely responsible for his four children, and though she managed to keep several of these children with her, she had John Holcroft admitted into the LIOA in May of that year.⁵⁰ Mr. Bailey, meanwhile, found himself in a similar situation. He became the custodian of three of his wife's children from her first marriage after her death, and eventually placed all three in the Liverpool orphanages.⁵¹

⁴⁹ SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910. For the Liverpool orphans whose stepsisters and stepbrothers had the care of them, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Files of Mary Helen Ikin; Sarah Ann McCormick; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Elizabeth Williams; Alice Jones; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Examples of Ada Ryan; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Record of John Bertram Harbin; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Entry for Mary Harrison; Edward Shaw; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Example of Margaret Ann Foster; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, History of Thomas James Job; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Case of Lily Clifford Sweltenham.

⁵⁰ SHSR, Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Example of John Holcroft. It remains unclear from the LIOA Register where John Holcroft fell when it came to the birth order of his father's surviving children, and why his stepmother chose to have him in particular admitted into the orphanage.

⁵¹ SHSR, Admission; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Ellen Elizabeth and Emily Maud Pimlott. For additional histories of children whose stepmothers and stepfathers were providing for them, please refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Examples of Frances Rose McQuistan; Mary Jane Maken; Ruth Smith; Catherine Emily Conin; Mary Agnes and Amelia Swanson Patterson; Margaret and Rose Ann Pritchard; Mary McFee; Ann Jane Mulloy; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Cases of Sarah Anne Broughton; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Accounts of Margaret Ann Cowen; Alice Harriet Dickson; Marie Helena York Hughes; Ellen Prescott; Annie Barton; Margaret Ellen Foster; Margaret Atkin; Alice and Lily Turner; Jane M. Credidio; Alice Brenton; Mary Beatrice Gledsdale; Janet Hitchell Johnston; Florence Williams; Sarah Bird; Lilian and Gertrude Jones; Ada Annie Harrison; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Amy Clarke; Rebecca Clarke; Lilian Wilson; Theodora Grafton Drew; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Records of Charles Watson; John Edwards; Jonathan Haygarth; Charles William Ferrier; Charles E. and George Drenon; Thomas Naylor; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Files of John Martindale; Ninian Ore; Andrew Credidio; Alfred E. Brame; John J. Meyer; Samuel Peter Thomas; Thomas, William, and James Bird; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Cases of Margaret Curtis; Francis Edward Ellis; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Accounts of Gardilla Casson; Harold Samuel Morris; Alice Mary Grace; Alice Harriet Dickson; Amelia Christina Roberts; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Entries for Peter Robinson; Benjamin Timothy Crowley; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Files of Frances May Credidio; Thomas Johnston; Rudolph Hawkins; Florence Williams; William Russell; Jervis Landiford; James Andrew Harrison.

Conclusion

Unlike the majority of their counterparts in the Baltimore asylums, Liverpool orphans regularly came from families in which disease and death had robbed children of both of their parents. Save for a small population of LFOA girls, nearly all Liverpool orphans came from households in which mothers as well as fathers had succumbed to illnesses or to accidents that occurred frequently in large, overcrowded and unsanitary urban centers like Liverpool during the nineteenth century, or to other ailments that in the twenty-first century are often avoidable with the correct course of preventative health care and antibiotics.

Some of these children proved quite similar to other populations of orphans historians have studied with regard to initial parental loss; LIOA inhabitants more commonly lost fathers first to death before mothers. Yet evidence from the LAOB and LFOA suggests a different reality for children in residence at those orphanages. Indeed, boys at the LAOB represented a significant break with this trend, and were more likely to lose mothers to death first than fathers. Girls at the LFOA, meanwhile, had an almost equal chance of losing mothers or fathers first. There were clearly a variety of realities when it came to parental loss in Liverpool, and though paternal loss did occur first for a number of orphanage residents in the city, this was not necessarily the norm for all the children who resided in the city's orphanages. The actual transition from half-orphan to full orphan varied among these children, though only a small contingent of Liverpool orphans actually lost their parents within a half-year of one another, and it was far more common for children to remain half-orphans for several years until their remaining parent died as well. Once children did become full orphans, extended family members and even non-consanguineal kin became temporary custodians and guardians for them, and it was often these men and women who appealed to have these children admitted into the Liverpool orphanages.

Chapter Five: The Children

Asylum inhabitants in both cities were most often the children of men who worked in skilled occupations as artisans and tradesmen, or the offspring of unskilled laborers. The majority of these children were originally from Baltimore and Liverpool, and healthy at the time of their admission into these asylums, though for a group of children in both cities, asylum life meant exposure to sickness and the possibility of death. In addition, many of these children were not the only members of their families living in the asylums, but actually had a sibling in residence there. Children in Liverpool were older on average at the time of their entry into the asylums, and tended to reside in that city's orphanages for longer periods of time than their peers did in Baltimore. The population of children in Baltimore meanwhile was unique in terms of the population of abused and illegitimate children present in the asylums, and also in terms of the group of children whose entry into the HOF and BOA was facilitated by other local Baltimore institutions or police officers' intervention. Indeed, children such as these were virtually absent in the Liverpool institutions.

Table 5.1 Birthplaces of parents of Baltimore asylum children (native/foreign), 1840-1910

	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
American-born	282 (54.5%)	401 (90.5%)	271 (53.6%)	369 (87.2%)
Foreign-born	235 (45.5%)	36 (8.1%)	235 (46.4%)	44 (10.4%)
Unknown	...	6 (1.4%)	...	10 (2.4%)
Total	517	443	506	423

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

Parental Birthplace

In Baltimore, administrators at the HOF and the BOA asked adults applying to have children admitted into the asylum about the birthplace of the child's mother and father, but these

queries did not always yield information about parental birthplaces. 3239 children entered the HOF between 1854 and 1910, and HOF Committee Members identified the mother's place of origin for only 16.0% of HOF residents and recorded the father's birthplace for 15.6% of HOF children. (See Table 5.1) A total of 1303 children resided in the BOA between 1840 and 1910, and the BOA Managers identified maternal birthplace for 34.0% of them and paternal birthplace for 32.5% of BOA inhabitants. The majority of children who lived in the Baltimore asylums had mothers and fathers who were American-born, though nearly one-half of HOF children for whom parental birthplaces were known had foreign-born mothers and fathers. The population in residence at the HOF was in this respect, significantly different from that at the BOA, as only a very few BOA children had foreign-born parents.

Table 5.2 Birthplaces of American-born parents of Baltimore asylum children (state/region), 1840-1910

	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
Maryland	188 (66.7%)	298 (74.3%)	196 (72.3%)	265 (71.8%)
VA, WV, PA, DE & DC	59 (20.9%)	70 (17.5%)	42 (15.5%)	75 (20.3%)
Eastern states not bordering Maryland ^a	9 (3.2%)	21 (5.2%)	14 (5.2%)	24 (6.5%)
Midwestern states ^b	6 (2.1%)	11 (2.7%)	...	5 (1.4%)
Western states ^c	...	1 (0.2%)	...	...
Unspecified ^d	20 (7.1%)	...	19 (7.0%)	...
Total	282	401	271	369

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

^aConnecticut, Georgia, North Carolina, New Jersey, New York, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

^bIllinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio.

^cColorado.

^dIdentified only as "American."

Table 5.3 American-born parents of Baltimore asylum children, states of origin, 1840-1910

State of birth	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
CT	...	2	...	...
DC	5	3	6	10
DE	1	2	2	8
GA	...	1	2	...
IL	...	3	...	...
MD	188	298	196	265
MI	...	2	...	2
NC	3	4	4	3
NJ	1	5	...	4
NY	4	7	4	11
OH	1	6	3	3
PA	24	8	16	22
TN	...	2	1	2
WV	3	13	3	8
VA	26	44	15	27
SC	...	...	...	4
CO	...	1	...	...
MO	6	...	...	...
Unspecified	20	...	19	...
Total	282	401	271	369

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

Most of the children in the Baltimore asylums had Maryland-born parents and were the offspring of men and women who hailed from the city of Baltimore, or from the counties nearest to it. (See Tables 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4) Over 60% of HOF and BOA children had mothers who were Baltimoreans, and nearly 60% had fathers born in the city. The second largest number of children had parents from Carroll, Baltimore, Howard, Anne Arundel and Harford Counties, which were the counties adjacent to or geographically closest to Baltimore City; more than one-fifth of HOF and BOA residents had fathers from these counties, and nearly as many HOF and BOA children had mothers from these areas as well. Parents from the Eastern Shore of the state comprised the third-largest contingent of Maryland-born parents, with over 12% of BOA mothers from this region and slightly smaller percentages of BOA fathers and HOF parents hailing from this region. The counties of Western Maryland accounted for the fourth-largest group of Maryland-born parents, and though slightly more than 6% of HOF children had fathers born in Western

Maryland, fewer HOF mothers and BOA parents were from these counties. The fewest parents hailed from the counties of Southern Maryland, though there was also a small group of Maryland-born fathers and mothers whose exact place of birth was unknown, and who were identified by asylum officials as from an unspecified part of the state. (See Tables 5.4 and 5.5)

Table 5.4 Maryland birthplaces of parents of Baltimore asylum children , 1840-1910

	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
Baltimore City	119 (63.3%)	179 (60.1%)	112 (57.1%)	154 (58.1%)
Counties close to Baltimore City ^a	30 (16.0%)	54 (18.1%)	41 (20.9%)	57 (21.5%)
Eastern Shore Counties ^b	18 (9.6%)	37 (12.4%)	15 (7.7%)	26 (9.8%)
Western counties ^c	9 (4.8%)	12 (4.0%)	12 (6.1%)	11 (4.2%)
Southern counties ^d	3 (1.6%)	9 (3.0%)	5 (2.6%)	9 (3.4%)
Unspecified MD location	9 (4.8%)	7 (2.4%)	11 (5.6%)	8 (3.0%)
Total	188	298	196	265

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

^aBaltimore County, Carroll, Harford, Howard, and Anne Arundel.

^bCecil, Kent, Queen Anne's, Caroline, Talbot, Dorchester, Wicomico, Worcester, and Somerset.

^cGarrett, Allegany, Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery.

^dPrince George's, Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's.

Table 5.5 Maryland county of birth for parents of Baltimore asylum children, 1840-1910

	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
Anne Arundel	1	3	6	2
Allegany	6	3	2	2
Baltimore City	119	179	112	154
Baltimore County	10	30	18	33
Caroline	1	3	...	4
Carroll	10	12	10	11
Cecil	4	7	3	5
Charles	...	...	...	1
Calvert	2	4	2	1
Dorchester	1	6	1	3
Frederick	7	4	6	8
Garrett	...	...	...	...
Harford	2	4	7	7
Howard	7	5	..	4
Kent	1	13	4	12
Montgomery	...	...	...	1
Prince George's	1	3	3	5
Queen Anne's	2	4	...	2
St. Mary's	...	2	...	2
Somerset	4	1	...	...
Talbot	5	3	5	...
Washington	...	5	...	...
Wicomico	...	...	2	...
Worcester	...	..	...	...
Unspecified part of Maryland	9	7	11	8
Total	188	298	196	265

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

Though the majority of all Baltimore asylum children had parents who were American-born, nearly one-half of HOF inhabitants for whom asylum officials knew parents' place of birth were the offspring of mothers and fathers who were recent immigrants to Baltimore. Western and Central Europe were the places of origin for many HOF parents, and Germany was the country of origin for the largest number of foreign-born parents of either sex. (See Tables 5.1 and 5.6) The British Isles were also particularly well-represented among HOF children with foreign-born parents' more than 20% of foreign-born HOF mothers were from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and nearly one-fifth of foreign-born HOF fathers were from these countries as well. More than one-half of these British-Isles born mothers were originally from Ireland, and nearly as many

fathers were Irish by birth as well. Perhaps even more significant that this sizeable contingent of foreign-born HOF parents, was the near absence of this group at the BOA; a large number of BOA families had been in residence in the United States for at least two generations, unlike their HOF counterparts. Only 10.4% of BOA children had foreign-born mothers and 8.1% of BOA inhabitants had foreign-born fathers. The limited number of foreign-born parents who turned to the BOA may have derived from that asylum's admission policies. Asylum officials had enacted a resolution in 1834 that prohibited the entry of children into the asylum whose parents had not "resided in either Baltimore City or County for the space of two years previous."¹ This regulation no doubt dissuaded parents who were not native to the United States, or to the Maryland region, from appealing to the BOA for assistance, and these parents may have instead turned to other orphanages that did not have such prohibitions.

Table 5.6 Foreign-born parents of Baltimore asylum children, 1840-1910

Country of Birth	Mothers		Fathers	
	HOF	BOA	HOF	BOA
Germany	100(42.6%)	9(25.0%)	109(46.4%)	14(31.8%)
British Isles ^a	110(46.8%)	25(69.4%)	89(37.9%)	24(54.5%)
Italy	2(0.8%)	...	8(3.4%)	...
Africa	5(2.1%)	...	5(2.1%)	...
France	6(2.6%)	...	4(1.7%)	...
Czechoslovakia	6(2.6%)	...	3(1.3%)	...
Poland	3(1.3%)	...	3(1.3%)	...
Canada	...	1(2.8%)	5(2.1%)	...
Russia	1(0.4%)	...	4(1.7%)	...
Norway	...	...	1(0.4%)	4(9.1%)
Sweden	2(0.8%)	...	1(0.4%)	1(2.3%)
Syria	...	1(2.8%)	...	1(2.3%)
Greece	...	...	2(0.8%)	...
Spain	...	...	1(0.4%)	...
Total	235	36	235	44

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913

^aEngland, Ireland, Wales and Scotland.

¹ WC, The Orphaline Society, January 3, 1819-January 1857, Meeting of November 3, 1834.

Table 5.7 Maternal occupations, HOF residents, 1840-1910

Occupation	HOF
Service sector ^a	455 (45.6%)
Unemployed	219 (21.9%)
Sewing trades ^b	108 (10.8%)
Industry ^c	71 (7.1%)
Nurses	3 (4.3%)
Occupation not specified	36 (3.6%)
Other ^d	26 (2.6%)
Laborer ^e	21 (2.1%)
Retail ^f	13 (1.3%)
White collar ^g	5 (0.5%)
Artisans and trades worker ^h	2 (0.2%)
Total	999

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910

^aBoarding house landlady, domestic service, cook, cleaner, hair dresser, hospital worker, hotel worker, prostitute, restaurant worker, and wet nurse.

^bSeamstress and weaver.

^cMill worker, factory worker, and oyster industry worker.

^dKept house and stewardess.

^eDairy worker, rag and bone picker, packing house worker, and unspecified laborer.

^fPaper seller, market seller, and unspecified ritual worker.

^gOffice worker, teacher, typewriter, and writer.

^hShoe-fitter.

Maternal Occupations

Of the orphanage asylum administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool, only HOF Committee Members attempted to document maternal employment or lack thereof, and they were able to record occupations for 999 mothers. (See Table 5.7) Nearly 46% of these mothers were service sector workers, and were employed in a variety of capacities, as cooks, cleaners, hospital workers, hotel workers, asylum employees, washer women, wet nurses, restaurant workers, prostitutes and even boarding house landladies. Domestic service was single-largest employer of the women in this group, and the occupation in which the mothers of asylum inhabitants most frequently worked; 27.5% of children for whom maternal occupations were known had mothers

in domestic service.² The second largest group of mothers was unemployed; 21.9% of HOF children had mothers who were looking for work when they turned to the HOF for assistance with their children. The HOF admission registers contain limited information about the kinds of jobs out-of-work mothers were in search of, though some of these women desired specific types of employment. When HOF officials interviewed the mothers of Sarah L. Evans, Sarah Elizabeth and Ella Jane Foster, and Laura and Ellen Webb, these women reported they wanted to enter service.³ Other jobless women, like Mrs. Clark, and Mrs. Haupt, revealed their preference for sewing work, and discussed their attempts to obtain such labor.⁴ These cases indicate some women favored domestic service and sewing positions, and that, given the sexual division of labor, they understood these jobs as those that were most readily available to them. They may

² Accounts of HOF residents whose mothers were employed as domestic servants include the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, Entries for Bridget, Margaret and Mary Ann Beatty; Mary Elizabeth Griffith; Sarah Jones; Catharine, Susannah and Margaret Dorris; Sarah Ziegler; Mary Augusta Ward; George King; Elisabeth Stankhoff; Sarah Rebecca Kelly; Georgianna, Emma Jane, Ida, and Catherine Brogan; Nora Woody; Annie M. Riley; Mary Kerr; Mary Agnes Bunden; Sarah and Annie Canter; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Sarah Johnson; Mary Marion; Alice Pierpont; Elvira Ann and Bessie G. Edwards; Margaret Ann McNinch; Eliza Ann and Nellie Agnes Metz; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Nicholas T. Lawless; Thomas and Archibald Thompson; Davis Henry Robinson; John Henry Beck; Mina Mangold; Joseph Cook and Rosie Rice; Leonora Ely; Maria Brown; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Lewis, Jacob and John Bus; Charlie Hagen; Minnie Craft; Frank Kelly; John N. Hines; Willie H. Porter; Louis Hing; Frank and John Shadel; Edward William Schultz; Osborne Kallenberger; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Addie and Annie Gorsuch; Edward Goodwin; Norah Porter; Robert, Theodore and Annie McIntire; Mary, Kate, Annie, Willie and Grace Hewitt; Walter White; Marah Crowley; Asenath and Frank Beecher; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of William and George Heinbuck; Kate and Frank Daily; Elsie Kratz; John Lyell; Cora and Harry McCleary; Grace A. Brady; Madeline and Frankie Geis; Rosa Stagle; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of George Trulieb; Mary V. Roy; Bertha Mabel Johnson; Theresa, Frank and Amiel Gregor; Carrie Baudenbender; Edward Moore; Marie Judd; George William Heinlein; Oliver Miller; Daniel David Smith; Patty Gaylord Moore; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Earle Reifsnider; Marie L. and Earle J. Haslup; Ida and Kurt Meisner; Estole White; Harry Edward Parks; Carl and Ewalt Meyers; Elizabeth Hoodack; Lloyd Jones; Viola and Nora Bensel; Lillian Irene and Mabel Virginia Weaver.

³ Please see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864 for the accounts of Sarah Lavinia Evans, Sarah Elizabeth and Ella Jane Foster, and Laura and Ellen Webb. For other examples of cases in which unemployed mothers were seeking domestic service positions, see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Lydia Sewell; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Rachel Ann and Rosa Ann York; Sarah and Mary Ellen Taylor; Crithander H. Axer; Virginia Johnson; Florence Anderson; Fanny Rebecca Fendall; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Joseph and Harry Squires; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Register Book 7, 1892-1895, Case of Alice Maude Johnson; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Harry and Roy Stebbing; Charles William Janzer; Ella, Rosa, Loretta, and Charles Coates.

⁴ See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864 for specifics on the Clark children's cases. Mrs. Clark entered four year old Estella and six year old Kate into the asylum in August 1862. Please see Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, for the records involving the Haupt children. Mrs. Haupt placed her daughter Mary Lizzie and her son Henry in the HOF in early March 1865. Additional examples of out of work mothers seeking sewing work can be found in Register Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Laura Virginia and Anna Eliza Williamson; Rosabel, Emma and Mary G. League; Georgianna Margery Cline; Nannie and Lilian Bailey; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Robert and Felix Von Breisan; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Willie Day; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Clara, George, Raymond, and Charles Wilson.

have also hoped that these types of employment would allow them to keep one or more of their children with them even while they were employed.

The preference that some women demonstrated for work in the sewing trades is perhaps not surprising, considering that 10.8% of HOF children whose mother's occupations were known had mothers who were already working as seamstresses or weavers. Some of these women, like the mothers of Mary Ann Lanahan, Willie McKenna, and the four Wheeler sisters were able to obtain work outside the home as seamstresses. Mrs. Lanahan told HOF officials in July 1862 that her work as a seamstress for a Baltimore dressmaker required her daily absence from the home, and Mrs. McKenna and Mrs. Wheeler made clear that their sewing work took them "outside of the home" in Mrs. McKenna's case, and to a shirt factory in Mrs. Wheeler's.⁵ Yet not all mothers employed in the needle trades labored in outside workshops or factories. During the 1860s and the 1870s, women like Mrs. Bowman and Mrs. Waltemeyer found sewing work that they could do at home, i.e., outwork.⁶ These women may have hoped such employment would allow them to provide economically for their family members, and also to retain custody of their children. Yet as at least one mother discovered, this strategy did not always yield success. Mrs. Bowman told asylum officials in July 1863 that she had experienced real "difficulty in getting work at home," and that she had decided to enter her daughter Laura into the HOF and find a job as a domestic servant, rather than continue with the economic struggles she had endured as a stay-at-home-seamstress.⁷

⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of Mary Ann Lanahan; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, for the case history of Willie McKenna. See Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, for information about Elizabeth P., Rose S., Capitola, and Maggie Wheeler.

⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Laura Bowman. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875 for the case histories of Hester A., and Ida Belle Waltemeyer. The mother of these two girls placed five-year-old Hester and three-year-old Ida Belle in the asylum on March 2, 1875.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Laura Bowman. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, married women and women with children often turned to outwork because it allowed them to remain physically within the home, and provided for some flexibility when it came to balancing household and maternal duties. Yet the putting-out system did not provide high wages to the women that engaged in this type of work. Competition for outwork increased during the early nineteenth century as more women turned to this particular type of labor, and this in turn, pushed the already-low wages provided to women who engaged in this type of labor even lower. For more information on the putting-out system and the low wage rates it offered to women who took in this work, examine: Alice Kessler-

Though the jobs that many working HOF mothers obtained removed them from the home, or made it impossible for them to keep their children with them, there was a group of mothers who managed to circumvent these problems. These women were able to find jobs and remain in close physical proximity to their children while the latter were HOF inhabitants because these mothers took jobs in the orphanage. Over 8% of HOF residents were the offspring of mothers who worked for the asylum.⁸ A few of these women worked in the more specialized middle-class positions within the HOF, as teachers or asylum administrators. Elise and Charlotte Taylor's mother was appointed a HOF teacher in August 1859, Anna and Howard Stanley's mother was made the orphanage's Superintendent in April 1861, and the mother of Elisa T. Barnett was hired in June 1880 as the HOF Matron.⁹ These cases were rather exceptional, as the majority of HOF-employed mothers worked in the asylum as domestic servants. Three-year-old John McLean's mother joined the asylum workforce in May 1866 as a cook, and her son was allowed to enter the asylum after she became an asylum employee.¹⁰ In the years that followed, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Kruiker, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Marcelette, Mrs. Fiol, and a number of other women were all were appointed HOF cooks, and their children were subsequently made HOF residents.¹¹ Over the years, HOF officials hired women to fill other domestic service positions besides cook,

Harris, *Out to Work: a history of wage-earning women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 30-31.

⁸ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Elise and Charlotte Taylor; Anna and Howard Stanley; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Elisa Thomas Barnett.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of John McLean.

¹¹ Mrs. Fox was the mother of Freddie and Lizzie Fox, who were admitted into the HOF in September 1869. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870 for information on these children's case histories. Mrs. Kruiker had five children placed into the asylum in June 1874 while she was working as an asylum employee. Please examine WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Louisa, Charlie, Julius, William, and Matilda Kruiker. Mrs. Ward was the mother of Nellie Ward, who entered the asylum in November 1877; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881 for this girl's record. Roy and Lily Marcelette were the children of Mrs. Marcelette, who started working as the HOF Boys' Home cook in June 1883. Information on these two siblings can be found in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, Admissions and Discharges, 1881-1892. Mrs. Fiol was the mother of Frank Fiol, who became a HOF inmate in April 1897. His case history is located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1896-1902. For other examples of women who worked as cooks in the HOF and entered their children as asylum inmates during their period of employment, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Joseph Cate; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Mary, Maggie, and Henry Hays; Clara Delana and Ella May Shriver; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records for Howard and Ida Dodd; Frank Duney; Maggie Matthews; Registers, Book 8, Admissions and Monthly Reports, 1896-1902, Examples of Harry and Virgil Dade.

and it was not uncommon to find the mothers of some HOF inhabitants laboring as washerwomen, nursery workers, seamstresses, and nurses in the orphan asylum.¹²

Though most HOF mothers were employed in non-industrialized trades, 7.1% of HOF inhabitants had mothers who worked in factories and mills in and around Baltimore. The mother of six-year-old George William Cox was one of the first women to identify herself as a mill worker, and she did so in conjunction with her October 1870 appeal to have the boy admitted into the asylum.¹³ Mrs. Cox did not specify the type of mill in which she was employed, though there is a great possibility she was a cotton mill employee; cotton mills abounded in the city and Baltimore was itself the center of cotton duck and netting production during the second half of the nineteenth century. Women who did find work in Baltimore's cotton mills were, according to geographer Sherry Olson, along with children, the lowest paid workers in the cotton mills. They attended to the spooling machines that "cleaned cotton and wrapped it on bobbins," and earned approximately fifty cents for each ten-hour day they worked.¹⁴ During the next two and a half decades, women employed as factory or mill workers occasionally continued to place their children into the HOF, but the majority of children whose mothers worked in these industries entered the asylum between 1896 and 1910.¹⁵ The women in this group were employed in a variety of trades. Mirl Kelly's mother worked in an overall factory, Harry Earle's mother was

¹² For information on women who worked as washerwomen for the HOF, look at the following registers: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Annie and Mary Rote; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Henry, Frank, and Lizzie Holderger; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of James Sweeney; Annie Glazier; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entry for Edward Karst; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Record for Thomas H. Redgrave. Examples of women who worked for the HOF in the nursery departments, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November, Entries for Samuel and Annie More; Lizzie Wolfenden; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Lizzie Morris; Freddie Kopp; Edna and Willie Ensor; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, History of Jessie Price; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Wiliam Thomas and Annie May Scharff; George Keys.

¹³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for George William Cox.

¹⁴ Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 177, 238.

¹⁵ Between 1871 and 1889, there were six cases in which working mothers identified themselves as factory workers, and eight cases in which working mothers told HOF officials they worked in mills. For the histories of children whose mothers were factory workers, please see: WC, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of John and Mary DePass; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Amanda Walt; Andrew GW Schaffer; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Cora and Howard Lenhardt. Specifics about the children whose mothers worked as mill workers can be found in the following locations: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Charles and Herbert Gosnell; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Isadora and Dora Shafer; Thomas, Howard and Annie Withelon; Robert Wasmus.

employed in a shirt factory, Madeline and Robert Robertson's mother labored in a tobacco factory, and other mothers aided in the production of oysters, cigars, candy, and pans.¹⁶

Paternal Occupations

Orphanage administrators in both cities engaged in regular efforts to collect information from admission applicants about their fathers' employment.¹⁷ In order to better understand what occupations these fathers were concentrated in, I have identified these individual trades as subsets of ten larger occupational categories, and have combined these trades under these broader headings. These categories are: Artisans and tradesmen, Laborers, Unemployed, Service sector workers, Sailors, Armed Forces, Industry workers, White Collar workers, and Retail workers. I have also created an additional occupational category to account for cases at the HOF in which officials were able to verify fathers were employed, but were unable to specify the exact occupation these fathers worked in, or could only identify the criminal element of the father's work. I have labeled this category as Other. The largest numbers of Baltimore and Liverpool asylum children's fathers were employed as artisans and tradesman, and the second largest group of these men worked as laborers. Yet there were notable occupational differences among these fathers as well. Baltimore fathers were likely to be employed as transportation workers, in industry, in the armed forces, or to be unemployed, and their counterparts in Liverpool were more often employed in sea-related occupations than were Baltimore fathers. (See Table 5.8)

¹⁶ Ibid., Registers, Book 8, Accounts of Mirl Kelly; Harry Earle; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Madeline E., and Robert V. Richardson. For the histories of mothers employed as oyster industry workers, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Laura Virginia and Mary Sidney Walton; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Willie and John Langstrom; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Henry and Earley Rush. For mothers who were employed in shirt factories, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Elizabeth P., Rose S., Capitola and Maggie Wheeler; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of John and Thomas Linwood Miller; Joseph Charles and John Elmer Klappenberger. Mrs. Livingston labored at a cigar factory, while Mrs. Brynes was a tobacco factory worker. The entries for Willie and Carl Brynes, and Henrietta Livingston are located in Register Book 8. The entries for Edna Marie and Lawrence Winfield Allen are in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902; their mother placed the two siblings in the HOF in October 1899, and told officials in her communication with them that she was a candy factory employee. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910 for the histories of Glenola, Sue and John Carles, whose mother worked in a pan factory.

¹⁷ LFOA authorities started to record paternal occupation in the early 1850s and their counterparts at the LAOB and LIOA followed suit in the 1860s. Liverpool asylum officials recorded paternal professions for 510 LFOA fathers, 142 LAOB fathers, and 267 LIOA fathers. HOF officials identified paternal professions for 666 fathers.

In both cities, the largest group of employed fathers worked as artisans and tradesman, though the percentages of fathers engaged in these professions was even higher in Liverpool than it was in Baltimore. Nearly 30% of HOF fathers, including Mr. Prescott, Mr. Sard, and Mr. Abrams worked in twenty-nine skilled trades, and many of these men had no doubt received extensive training and education in their chosen professions.¹⁸ Nearly two-thirds of the men in this occupational group were clustered into six types of occupations; 121 had jobs as carpenters, metal workers, shoemakers, machinists, furniture makers, and painters.¹⁹ The other fathers in this occupational group were employed as paper hangers, tailors, electricians, bricklayers, joiners, blacksmiths, varnishers, marbleworkers, butchers, livery workers, coach makers, bakers, engineers, plumbers, sail makers, mechanics, wheelwrights and as workers in the livestock industry. An even larger contingent of fathers in Liverpool worked as artisans and tradesman; 38.6% of LFOA fathers, 33.1% of LAOB fathers, and 35.0% of LIOA fathers whose occupations were known were employed in this manner. Liverpool proved quite similar to Baltimore, in that some forms of employment proved more popular among the men in this group than did others. The majority of fathers worked in seven trades; in 205 cases, fathers worked as joiners, painters, metal workers, shoemakers, masons, woodworkers, blacksmiths, and coopers.²⁰ In the remaining 187 cases in which a father's employment is known, thirty-two other trades were represented. Fathers worked as printers, tailors, livery workers, millers, plumbers, bricklayers, carpenters, builders, butchers, bakers and in a number of other skilled jobs.²¹ As this data suggests,

¹⁸ Of the 666 fathers for whom HOF officials identified occupations, 194, or 29.1% were artisans and tradesmen. WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. Mr. Prescott was the father of Alice Amelia, Elizabeth Williams and Mary Prescott, and he was employed as a shoemaker; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. Mr. Sard worked as a carpenter; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Ida, Alice, Charles Edward and Ann Elizabeth Sard. Mr. Abrams was a mason; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Charles H., Edwin R., and Arthur Matt Abrams.

¹⁹ Of these 121 fathers, thirty-one were carpenters, twenty-four were metal workers, twenty-one were shoemakers, seventeen were machinists, fifteen were furniture makers, and thirteen were painters.

²⁰ SHSR, Master File, 1840-1910. The specific numbers of men working in these trades was as follows: thirty-seven fathers were employed as joiners, thirty-three worked as painters, twenty-nine were metal workers, twenty-seven were shoe makers, twenty-five were masons, twenty-one were wood workers, seventeen were blacksmiths, and sixteen were coopers.

²¹ Ibid.

Table 5.8 Paternal occupations, Baltimore and Liverpool orphanage residents, 1840-1910

Occupation	HOF	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA
Artisans and tradesmen ^a	194 (29.1%)	197 (38.6%)	47 (33.1%)	93 (35.0%)
Laborers ^b	104 (15.6%)	70 (13.7%)	24 (16.9%)	43 (16.2%)
Unemployed	81(12.2%)	...	...	...
Transport and transportation services ^c	80 (12.0%)	34 (6.7%)	14 (9.9%)	20 (7.5%)
Maritime-related trades ^d	37 (5.6%)	60 (11.8%)	16 (11.3%)	39 (14.7%)
Service sector ^e	35 (5.3%)	38 (7.5%)	20 (14.1%)	21 (7.9%)
Armed forces	33 (5.0%)	3 (0.6%)	1 (0.7%)	2 (0.8%)
White collar ^f	23 (3.5%)	22 (4.3%)	7 (4.9%)	14 (5.3%)
Industrial ^g	19 (2.9%)	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.7%)	2 (0.8%)
Retail ^h	10 (1.5%)	18 (3.5%)	6 (4.2%)	12 (4.5%)
Pensioner	...	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.7%)	...
Other ⁱ	50 (7.5%)	8 (1.6%)	2 (1.4%)	5 (1.9%)
No information available	...	58 (11.4%)	3 (2.1%)	15 (5.6%)
Total	666	510	142	266

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

^aBaker, barber, blacksmith, blindmaker, bricklayer, blockmaker, brewer, blacksmith, builder, butcher, carpenter, carver, claymaker, clothing manufacturer, coach maker cooper, cork manufacturer, electrician, engineer, furniture maker, class cutter, joiner, livery work, livestock industry, machinist, marble worker, mason, mechanic, metal worker, miller, painter, paper hanger, plumber, plasterer, printer, piano tuner, ropemaker, shoemaker, tailor, undertaker, varnisher, watchmaker, weaver, woodworker, wire worker, and wheelwright.

^bFarmer or farm laborer, flagger, foreman, general laborer, and packer.

^cCarter, driver, freight handler, and railway worker.

^dCrabber, dock laborer, fisherman, oyster industry worker, sailor, shipsmith, shipwright, and steward.

^eCook, church official, city worker, domestic service, fire engine company worker, fireman, gardener, inspector, inn keeper, hospital worker, hotel worker, janitor, laundry worker, police officer, porter, publican, and restaurant worker.

^fAccountant, bank teller, bookkeeper, clerk, chemist, customs officer, excise officer, insurance agent, lawyer, office worker, physician, teacher, and telegraphist.

^gCan maker, factory worker, miner, mill worker, and piano factory worker.

^hTobacconist worker, travelling salesman, and unspecified retail.

ⁱHustler, gambler, musician, occupation not specified, and performing arts.

the fathers of asylum children in both cities were most likely to be concentrated in skilled of asylum children in both cities were most likely to be concentrated in skilled trade work. (See Table 5.8)

The second largest group of asylum children's fathers worked as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. Nearly 16% of HOF fathers were identified as laborers, including Mr. Sweeney, Mr. Eynon, Mr. Sweetser and Mr. Redgrave. Six HOF residents had fathers who were farm laborers, though it remains unclear if most of the fathers in this group were agricultural workers or if they labored in more industrial and urban positions.²² In Liverpool, the situation was quite similar; 13.7% of LFOA girls, 16.9% of LAOB boys, and 16.2% of LIOA inhabitants had fathers who were employed as laborers.²³ LFOA officials noted in November 1870 that Eliza Coke's father

²² A total of 104 HOF inhabitants had fathers who worked as laborers, and these men comprised 15.6% of all HOF fathers for whom occupation was known. For the histories of Mr. Sweeney, Mr. Eynon, Mr. Sweetser and Mr. Redgrave, see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Mary Sweeney; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records for Daniel, William, and Maggie Eynon; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Daniel and Joseph Sweetser; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Case of Thomas H. Redgrave. For additional examples of children whose fathers worked as laborers, refer to the following sources: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Anna Cooper; Josephine and Julia Kelly; Annie, John and Henry Sykes; John H., Martha Anna and Margaret Isabella Christy; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Henrietta, Mary and Margaret Sowers; Christopher Columbus Smith; Sarah Adaline Hobbs; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of William A. Whitman; Alice Watts; Charles, Annie and Fred Magruder; Registers, Book 5, Examples of Edith Hanson; Mary and Albert Rey; Maggie Baker; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Cases of Fannie and Waldo Bigelow; Walter J. Sternaker; Joseph and Minnie Colbourn; Maggie and Willie Tyson; James, Louis and William Buckley; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Case of Ida Magness; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Lizzie Heffner; Lillie and Kate Walters; Pearl and Robert Thorington; Lizzie, Frederick W., and Annie Hohlbein; Lizzie Heffner; Eulalia, Clementine, Marguerite, and Octavius Risley; Kate Lewis; Lillie and Kate Walters; Edwin Ernest Franklin Blank; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of John Noyes; Raymond E. Lloyd; Winifred and Florence Boteler; Minnie L., and Alice Mary Warner; Zola May and Mary Edna Kraft; George Christian and James Frank Seiler; Catherine and Lawrence Dempsey; Walter Sewell Rink; Lillie J., Margaret, and Emma L. Rost; Reuben A. and Lottie B. Pitcher; Margaret Satterfield; Wilbur, Robert, Walter and Russell Barton; Arthur and John W. Mercer; George Hughes; Raymond Myers; Dorothy, Raymond Melvin and Bernard Tracey; Walter William Houck; Tobias, Rosine, Sophia and Leonard Dietzel; Mary Frances and Elizabeth L. Spencer;

²³ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1862, Record of Elizabeth Southam; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Example of Sarah Bird; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for Thomas, William and James Bird; Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, History of Joseph Gough. For additional case files in which no additional information was provided about specific nature of fathers employment, save for the fact that they were laborers, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Cases of Mary Hughes; Alice Ann(Jane) Jones; Elizabeth Mathews; Mary and Ann Jane Smith; Mary Emery; Jane Blundell; Margaret and Dorothy Goss; Elizabeth Thomas; Catharine and Mary Jane Williams; Sarah Ann Glades; Caroline Evans; Mary Agnes Robinson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Accounts of Mary J. Williams; Ann Bell; Catherine Williams; Dinah Silcock; Martha Jane Spencer; Martha Ellen Naylor; Ellen Moulton; Mary Drumbell; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Admission files of Mary Ellen Rimmer; Janet Highfield; Sarah Dusebury; Elizabeth Dunning; Lucy Catherine Cook; Martha Jane James; Alice Jones; Annie Hinde; Margaret Corrin; Jane Moore; Margaret Ellen Foster; Alice Maud Discon; Margaret Ada Braithwaite; Jane Ellen Boothroyd; Mary Marion Corrin; Margaret Ellen Fazenfield; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Evaline Marsh; Ada Ryan; Emma Coughlan; Margaret White;

had worked as an agricultural laborer prior to his death, but a few of these case histories reveal more industrial or urban locations as the sites of fathers' work.²⁴ Some of these men including Mr. Williams, Mr. Blundell, and Mr. Wilson worked as laborers in the various warehouses that existed in Liverpool.²⁵ Other Liverpool fathers worked in an assortment of capacities as laborers. Mr. Highfield was employed as a quarry man, Mr. Corrin worked as a flour dealer's assistant, and Mr. Ryan cleaned steam flues.²⁶ The fact that so many fathers in Liverpool and Baltimore worked as general laborers hints at the variety of economic circumstances that these families were in prior to the turn to the asylums. Though approximately one-third of asylum inhabitants came from families in which fathers worked in skilled trades and earned good wages, there was a large group of children for whom quite the opposite was true, with fathers earning little and occupying unskilled positions.

Fathers in Baltimore were more likely than their Liverpool peers to work in transportation, and to die or be seriously injured while on the job. Twelve percent of HOF fathers

Edith Jones; Catherine McLarty; Ada Blinkham; Mary Ellen Johnson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, History of Frances Jane White; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entries for William Chadwick; Robert Joseph McCartney; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Records of Thomas Dennis; Thomas Dean; Abraham Smith; Richard Hamblett; Thomas Peel; William Carnighan; Henry Albert Shaw; Henry Thomas; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Examples of George Smith; John Henry Jones; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Files on Henry Chadwick; Thomas Meredith; John Wilson; John Graham; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Histories of John Gwilym Robert; Mary Harrison; George Edward Porter; Hannah Rowlands; Elizabeth Ann Marsh; John Rodgers; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Cases of Alice Maud Dixon; Catherine Walsh; Elizabeth Charnock; John James; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Examples of Edward John McGivern; William Arthur Boothroyd; Louisa Lyon; Hannah Heywood; Henry Albert Grafton; Thomas James Job; Mary Ann Patterson; George Charles Floyd; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Files of Doris Twist; Mary Violet Maddock; Robert Reginald Phoenix; Alexander Jones; Harold George Webster.

²⁴ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Record of Eliza Coke.

²⁵ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Accounts of Florence Williams; Frederick Blundell; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entry for William Henry Wilson. For additional examples of children whose fathers were employed as warehousemen, examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Emma Jones; Rosanna McVeagh; Mary Hume; Catherine Ellen Jones; Ellen Bell; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Elizabeth Williams; Alice and Lily Turner; Abigail and Amelia Edwards; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Account of Lilian Wilson; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1907-March 1925, Example of Lily Evans; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Case of Thomas Milne; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Account of Peter Thompson Lloyd; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Records for Ellen Coulter.

²⁶ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records of Janet Highfield; Margaret and Mary Marion Corrin; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Example of Ada Ryan.

worked as transporters or for transportation services, as compared to 6.7% of LFOA fathers, 9.9% of LAOB fathers, and 7.5% of LIOA fathers. Twenty-eight of these Baltimore fathers were employed as drivers, four worked as freight handlers, and forty-eight were railway workers. The latter labored in a variety of capacities, including as railway car repairmen, car painters, brakemen, conductors, flagmen, and even locomotive engineers, primarily for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.²⁷ These were dangerous jobs, and eleven of these forty-nine children's fathers were killed on the job. John and Maggie Harrison's father was killed in a March 1882 railroad accident, and other children including Robert Slusser, Powhatan Davis, and Wilton Lee Smith also lost fathers to railroad-related accidents.²⁸ In addition to these deadly accidents, HOF officials were able to identify an additional five children whose fathers were employed as railroad workers and were seriously injured because of job-related incidents. Harry and Charles Howell's widowed father suffered such an injury while working as a railway car conductor in June 1882, as did the father of the three Solomon children while he was a railway employee in late 1895.²⁹ Railway employment clearly posed tangible dangers to the men who worked in this field, and the serious injuries and even death that occurred as the result of this work deprived a number of families in Baltimore of their primary breadwinner.

²⁷ For cases in which fathers worked as railway car repairmen, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Kate, John and Charles Crough. The father of Marion, Chriton, and James Waters painted cars in a Baltimore & Ohio car shop; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892. The fathers of Jeremiah A. Thuma, James Arthur Cole, and Frank Merson were brakemen; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, for the accounts of these boys. For the histories of children whose fathers worked as conductors, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Charles and Harry Howell; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for Ada Smitherman; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of Mabel and Nancy Virginia Moler. HOF officials were able to name the specific railroad company that fathers worked for in only five of the forty-nine cases. Two of these case histories are located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Anna Elizabeth Cummings and Margaret Kelly. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, Admissions and Discharges, 1881-1892, Examples of Mason, Chriton, and James Waters, for the other three cases. The fathers of all of these children worked for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

²⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for John and Maggie Harrison. At the time of their father's death, both children were infants; John was seventeen months old, and Maggie was only five weeks old. For the case histories of Robert Slusser, Powhatan Davis, and Wilton Lee Smith, please refer to WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6 as well. Other examples of fathers who worked on the railroads and died as the result of work-related accidents can be found in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of Wilbur, Lillian Gertrude, William Calvin, and Elmer P. Hershey; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for George C. and Myrtle A. Watson.

²⁹ The entries for Harry and Charles Howell are located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892. HOF officials understood this case as quite pressing, as Mr. Howell made the application immediately before he was due to enter a Baltimore infirmary in order to recuperate from his accident. Harry and Virginia Solomon entered the HOF in December 1895, when they were ten, six, and four years old respectively; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, for the case histories of these children.

Fathers in Baltimore were also more likely than their Liverpool counterparts to be industrial workers, enlisted in the armed forces, or unemployed at the time their children entered the orphanages. Nearly 3.0% of HOF inhabitants had fathers working in industry in and around Baltimore, and though this suggested how few of these children's fathers were employed in factories and industrial establishments, it was considerably higher than the 0.2% of LFOA fathers, 0.7% of LAOB fathers, and 0.8% of LIOA fathers that were concentrated in this type of employment in Liverpool. The same was true in the case of enlisted fathers; 5.0% of HOF children had fathers serving in the armed forces, as compared to 0.6% of LFOA fathers, 0.7% of LAOB fathers, and 0.8% of LIOA fathers. Yet the most significant difference between fathers in the two cities may have actually involved the numbers of men in Baltimore who were unemployed. There was in both cities, a contingent of these fathers for whom no occupational information was available; in Baltimore almost 8.0% of HOF fathers worked in unspecified occupations, while in Liverpool there was no occupational information available for 11.4% of LFOA fathers, 2.1% of LAOB fathers, and 5.6% of LIOA fathers. Yet it was only in Baltimore that more than 12.0% of HOF children admitted into the asylum was identified specifically as the offspring of unemployed fathers. This suggests the problems fathers in Baltimore may have experienced in their search for work, and their efforts to provide for their families.

In Liverpool a significantly greater percentage of men worked in sea-related trades than did fathers in Baltimore. 11.8% of LFOA fathers, 11.3% of LAOB fathers, and 14.7% of LIOA fathers were employed in maritime professions, as compared to 5.6% of HOF fathers. One of the earliest children to enter the Liverpool orphanages and have a father whose occupation was associated with the sea was Ann Hughes. Ann's grandmother asked to have her admitted into the LFOA in May 1856, and at the time of her entrance, asylum administrators stated that her

deceased father had worked as a mariner.³⁰ In the years that followed, the offspring of men who worked as sailors, as did Mr. Styles, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Edwards continued to seek admission into the Liverpool orphanages, and to comprise the majority of children whose fathers worked in the maritime professions.³¹ The economy of a port like Liverpool also sustained other sea-related occupations in addition to that of sailor, and it was not uncommon for the offspring of dock laborers, fishermen, riggers, and shipwrights to appeal to the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA for assistance as well.³² There appears to have been far less occupational variety when it came to

³⁰ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Case of Ann Hughes. Ann Hughes was admitted into LFOA in August 1856, three months after her grandmother's appeal to place her into the LFOA.

³¹ For the records of these men's children, see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Files of Mary and Ann Styles; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Example of John Richard Harris; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Case of James William Lewis. For the cases of other Liverpoolian orphans who had sailors for fathers, refer to SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Entries for Mary Ann Taylor; Sarah Roberts; Elizabeth Deane; Jane Grisdale; Mary McFee; Sarah Moseley; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Elizabeth Sarah Cavey; Margaret Ellen Jones; Sarah A. Naylor; Ann Letterner; Mary Jane Gauks; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Histories of Mary Elizabeth and Emma Parsons; Alice Maud Cutcheon; Mary Elizabeth Hughes; Sarah Quinn; Jane M. Credidio; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907; Cases of Florrie Molyneux; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Records for James Grundy; Archibald J. Fulton; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Entries for John Martindale; Alfred E. Brame; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Histories of Margaret Jane Cavey; John Alfred Clark; Mary Jane Banks; Margaret Curtis; Elizabeth Grimmings; Henry Jones; John Mills; Frances Jemima Taylor; Thomas Banks; Admission Registers, November 1873-December 1881; Cases of John McElroy; Mary Simpson; John Richard Harris; Amelia Christina Roberts; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Record for Clara Williams; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1902, Histories of Frances May Credidio; Rudolph Hawkins; Sidney DiGennaro; James William Lewis; Griffith Edwards; Samuel Caffal; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Examples of Edith Augers; Elizabeth Nelson.

³² For examples of fathers who were dock laborers, please examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Histories of Mary Williams; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1867-February 1875, Cases of Mary Price; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924, Case of Charles Nelson Thomas; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Accounts of James and Eliza Adams. For histories of fathers who were fishermen, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Records of Martha Perry; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Record of Ann Elizabeth Wilson. See the following for fathers who worked as riggers: SHSR, Admission Registers, December 1852-August 1865, Account of Elizabeth Deane; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Histories of Margaret Ellen Jones; Monica Mary Ashley; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records of Sarah Limmack; Elsie Miller; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entry for Jane Hughes; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Example of John Scott; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, File of Thomas Beard. For the accounts of children whose fathers worked as shipwrights, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865; Entries for Eliza Emery; Ann Watkin; Catherine Emily Conin; Jane Wylie and Margaret McCall; Isabelle Donagley; Elizabeth Price; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Margaret McCaul; Alice Robie; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Records for Alice Harriet Dickson; Eleanor Adams; Hannah Griffith; Elizabeth Jane Cobharn; Laura Ann Griffith; Harriet Elizabeth Garnett; Martha Jane Haslem; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Cases of William Drysdale; Henry Worthington; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Examples of Joseph T. Quigley; John Ferrans; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, April 1905-October 1924,

Baltimore fathers who worked in maritime professions; more than 80% of Baltimore fathers who worked in sea-related trades were sailors.

Table 5.9 Birthplaces of Baltimore asylum children (native/foreign), 1840-1910

	HOF	BOA	
		Girls	Boys
American-born	1890 (95.6%)	271 (98.2%)	166 (98.2%)
Foreign-born	88 (4.7%)	5 (1.8%)	3 (1.8%)
Total	1978	276	169

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

Children's birthplaces

The majority of children who resided in the asylums were originally from Baltimore and Liverpool, or from the areas adjacent to these cities. Of the 1978 HOF residents for whom the birthplace is known, 81.0% were from Maryland, and 64.8% of these children were native Baltimoreans. (See Tables 5.9 and 5.10) In addition to this large Maryland-born contingent, there was also a sizeable group of HOF inhabitants who were originally from the states and federal district that bordered Maryland; 209 (10.6%) HOF inhabitants hailed from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, and Washington D.C.³³ At the BOA, there were a higher percentage of Maryland-born children in residence than at the HOF, but fewer of these children were from Baltimore.³⁴ Nearly 90% of BOA girls and 84.0% of BOA boys with known birthplaces were originally from Maryland, and of these Maryland-born BOA residents, 76.1%

Account of William Ferrans; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Record for Alfred Tate Rokie; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Entry for Alice Harriet Dickson; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Examples of Laura Ann Griffith; Edward Whitley Smith.

³³ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

³⁴ WC, BOA, Master File, 1840-1910. Though no overall figures are available when it comes to the African-American girls in residence at St. Francis Orphan Asylum in Baltimore (SFOA), documents from the early twentieth century suggest most of that orphanage's residents were also from the Mid-Atlantic. According to the letter that Mother Mary Frances Fieldien sent to the Secretary of the Board of State Aid and Charities in November 1915, there were 106

Table 5.10 Maryland county of birth, Baltimore orphanage residents, 1840-1910

County	HOF	BOA	
		Girls	Boys
Baltimore City	1281	188	100
Anne Arundel	15	1	1
Allegany	12	1	...
Baltimore	74	24	23
Caroline	1	4	...
Carroll	22	2	2
Cecil	10	...	...
Charles	4	...	...
Calvert	1	...	1
Dorchester	13	1	...
Frederick	19	3	...
Harford	31	...	2
Howard	25	7	4
Kent	13	3	1
Montgomery	10	2	2
Prince George's	6	1	1
Queen Anne's	5	4	1
St. Mary's	11	1	...
Somerset	4	...	...
Talbot	13	...	1
Washington	8	2	3
Wicomico	6	1	...
Worcester	1	...	...
Unspecified county	23	2	...
Total	1602	247	142

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

of girls and 59.2% of boys were born in Baltimore City.

inhabitants in the asylum. Of this number, forty-seven were from Maryland, eight were from DC, four were from Virginia and fourteen hailed from Pennsylvania. For this letter and additional evidence that the majority of SFOA residents were from the Mid-Atlantic states, see: Oblate Sisters of Providence (from this point onwards OSP), Administrative Record Group, Series 2: Twentieth Century Mother Superiors/Superior Generals, Box 2, Folder 2, Superior General: Fieldien, Frances: Correspondence/Orphan and Students, Letter from Mother Mary Frances Fieldien of St. Francis Convent to Mr. William Davenport, Secretary of the Board of State Aid and Charities, November 2, 1915; Letter from SFOA to The Charities Directory Publication Committee, February 28, 1913. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the asylum's population were the number of girls who came from New York; the SFOA housed thirty-one girls who had been sent to the orphanage per an arrangement between the OSP and the Sisters of Charity, who ran the New York Foundling Hospital. The OSP had agreed in 1875 to care for the African-American female orphans that the New York Foundling Hospital cared for once these children "grew out of babyhood." The Sisters of Charity regularly sent girls to Baltimore to the OSP and St. Francis' Orphanage via the train; these girls were identifiable by the white name wristbands each wore while travelling. The Sisters of Charity paid board to SFOA for the care of these girls, and this practice continued at least until 1915. For more information on this arrangement, examine: OSP, Sister M. Reginald Gerdes, "Children of the house," *The Catholic Review* (November 8, 2001), p. 32; Motherhouse Record Group, Series 9: Orphan Asylum, Box 19, Folder 6, New York Foundling Hospital Correspondence, 1900-1915.

In Liverpool, the percentage of asylum inhabitants who hailed from the city itself was greater than in Baltimore. 82.3% of LFOA girls, 81.9% of LAOB boys, and 85.4% of LIOA children for whom birthplaces were known were born in Liverpool.³⁵ An additional 11.3% of LFOA girls, 15.7% of LAOB boys, and 12.7% of LIOA residents were from towns that directly bordered or were in close proximity to Liverpool, including Birkenhead, Bootle, Bromborough, Knowlsey, Seacombe, Southport, Walton, and West Kirby. (See Table 5.11) The fact that so many of these orphans were from Liverpool and its surrounding areas is not surprising, in light of the regulation in place at all three of the asylums, that only orphans who were “born in Liverpool, or within seven miles of the Liverpool Exchange” were eligible for admission. Though adherence to this policy varied at each of the three orphanages, Liverpool officials rarely allowed exceptions to this particular regulation. LFOA officials allowed in twenty-four girls from outside this radius, including one girl from Wales, and LAOB officials admitted a boy born in Scotland, but these twenty-five children were a minority population within the orphanages.³⁶ The LFOA was the only orphanage to actually modify the birthplace rule, and its administrators did so in 1902, when they decided to admit girls born within “ten miles from [the] Liverpool Exchange or born of parents permanently resident within such district but temporarily absent therefrom.”³⁷ This relaxation of birthplaces rules positively affected families that lived at greater distances from Liverpool, yet the majority of children admitted throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries were from Liverpool or its satellite towns.

³⁵ Officials at the LIOA and LAOB began to record children’s birthplaces in 1866, and LFOA administrators followed suit in 1868. See SHSR, Liverpool Master File, 1840-1910.

³⁶ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880, p. 8. This rule was also in place at the LFOA and LAOB. See SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845; Annual Reports, Boys Orphan Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 26, 1851.

³⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for year ending 1903, p. 6.

Table 5.11 Birthplaces of Liverpool orphanage inhabitants, 1840-1910

Location	LFOA	LAOB	LIOA
Liverpool	408	104	135
Birkenhead	28	7	9
Bootle	15	5	4
Bromborough	2	...	1
Chatham	1	...	...
Cumbria	1	...	...
Unspecified part of Cheshire	6	2	3
Essex	1	...	...
Flintshire	1	...	...
Gloucester	1	...	...
Knowlsey	2	3	...
Manchester	1	...	...
Northumberland	1	...	...
Plymouth	1	...	...
Preston	1	...	...
Seaforth	1	...	...
Seacombe	6	3	2
Southport	1	...	...
Southwark	1	...	...
Wallasey	...	2	...
Walton	1	...	4
West Kirby	1	...	...
Wales	1	...	...
Scotland	...	1	...
Total	496	127	158

Sources: Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

A small contingent of Baltimore asylum children was foreign-born. There were a total of ninety-six such children in the Baltimore asylums, and more than 90% of them inhabited the HOF. Indeed, only 1.8% of BOA inhabitants were identified as having been born outside the United States. These children entered the BOA between 1880 and 1910, and came from Ireland, Germany, Canada, Chile and Syria.³⁸ The 4.4% of HOF residents who were foreign-born hailed

³⁸ For the admission records of these children, view the following: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Accounts of Mary and Ethel Blight; Ida Elizabeth Davis; Martha Haberkorn; Mary McKerven; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Entries for Frederico Blight; Harry L. Tennison; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Examples of William Reinhart; Assad Farfood.

from a variety of countries, but more than three-fourths were from Germany and the British Isles, with 43.2% of these children born in Germany and 37.5% from the British Isles.³⁹ The largest number of British-born children entered the HOF asylum between 1855 and 1880, while the greatest influx of German-born children into the HOF occurred between 1860 and 1890.⁴⁰ The remaining 18.2% of HOF foreign-born residents came from France, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Canada, and an unnamed African country, and the majority of these children were admitted prior to 1880.⁴¹ This population of foreign-born children was virtually absent from the Liverpool orphanages, and this was no doubt connected to the rarity with which Liverpool asylum officials accepted children born outside of the seven-mile admission radius. Mary Williams and George Capper were the only non-English-born orphans admitted between the 1860s and 1910, and both of these children hailed from other parts of the British Isles.⁴² (See Tables 5.9 and 5.12)

³⁹ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. For the cases of HOF children born in the UK, please examine the following: SHSR, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Bridget and Margaret Beatty; Mary McCann; Mary A. McBride; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Mary and Maggie Hays; Clara and Albert Whittingham; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of James and Andrew McClennan; Robert W., James M., and John J. Barron; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Documents for Conner Brockwell; George and Willie Smith. For the histories of some of these children, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Dora Rhinehart; Elisabeth Stankhoff; Clara and Elisabeth Rother; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Mary and Henry Eifert; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Clara Mundine; Theodore Bakerdorf; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Amanda Liedmagrotze; Willie and Harrie Seinow; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for John Szidzek; Maggie Meyer.

⁴⁰ Of the HOF children who were born in the UK, twenty-three gained admission into the asylum between 1855 and 1880. Twenty-five of the thirty-nine German-born HOF children entered the institution between 1860 and 1890. The fact that so many of these foreign-born children were originally from Germany and the British Isles is not surprising, in light of the number of German immigrants and immigrants from the British Isles who arrived in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. For the dominance (in terms of sheer numbers) of German-born and British-Isles born immigrants between 1850 and 1900, see Campbell J. Gibson and Emily Lennon, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-1900," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999), Table 4, Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-born Population, With Geographic Detail Shown in Decennial Census Publications of 1930 or Earlier: 1850 to 1930 and 1960 to 1990. As geographer Sherry Olson notes, the 1860s and 1870s marked the largest influx of Germans into Baltimore, and though approximately two-thirds of the German-born immigrants who arrived in Baltimore during this period left the city, the remaining Germans formed a community in which the Germanic language and German traditions flourished; see Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, p. 179-183.

⁴¹ Of the sixteen HOF children, five were originally from France, four were from an unnamed country in Africa, two were from Norway, three were born in Czechoslovakia, and two were Canadian by birth. See the following for information on these children: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Mary and Delia Schilling; Mary Elizabeth Fitz; Mary Dougherty; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of John, Frances and Joseph Viscochil; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Louisa, Charlie, Julius, and William Kruiker; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Alfred Wilson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Admissions of Eugene and George Young; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Accounts of Pauline and Oscar Laurent.

⁴² SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Account of Mary J. Williams; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, History of George Capper. Mary Williams was born in Wales and George Capper was originally from Inverness, Scotland.

Table 5.12 Birthplaces of foreign-born Baltimore orphanage residents, 1840-1910

Country of birth	HOF	BOA	
		Girls	Boys
Germany	38	1	1
England	26	...	...
Ireland	5	1	...
France	5	...	...
Africa	4	...	...
Czechoslovakia	3	...	...
Norway	3	...	...
Canada	2	1	...
Scotland	2	...	...
Chile	...	2	1
Syria	...	...	1
Total	88	5	3

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913.

Average age at admittance

When it came to average age of admittance, children in Baltimore were younger than most of their Liverpool peers, save for LIOA inhabitants. (See Table 5.13) According to the Baltimore data, the average age at admittance was lowest for children entering the HOF at 6.2 years of age, and highest for BOA girls, at 7.2 years of age. The average age of admittance for BOA boys fell between these two extremes, and was 6.4 years of age.⁴³ Both asylums had average ages of entry that were less than those which existed at the three Progressive-Era Baltimore asylums [the Dolan Home, the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and the Samuel Ready School

⁴³ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910; BOA, Master File, 1840-1910. Between 1846 and 1910, 591 BOA girls ages were recorded, while between 1847 and 1910, 666 BOA boys ages were identified. Though a dearth of admission records from the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphans Asylum (JHCOA), the Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church (KHOMEC), and St. Francis' Orphan Asylum (SFOA) make it impossible to know what the average ages of admission were for the children who resided in these Baltimore orphanages, some information is available about the ages at which children were eligible for admission into these asylums. The JHCOA By-Laws and Rules identified girls who were between five and ten years of age as eligible for admission into that orphanage, though the rules did allow for asylum officials to allow children who were younger than five or older than ten into the asylum in exceptional cases; see the following for this information: The Johns Hopkins Hospital Colored Orphans Asylum, Series a. Committee on the Colored Orphan Asylum, 1898-1905, By Laws and Rules of the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, Committee on Admission and Dismission, Rule one. At the KHOMEC, girls who were between the ages of three and ten were eligible for entrance into the orphanage; see Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes, 1874-1887, Meeting of February 9, 1874. St. Francis Orphan Asylum admitted girls who were between five and twelve years of age; see St. Francis Orphan Asylum, Motherhouse Record Group, Box 18, Folder 10, Ledger/Register, 1910-1926, Regulations, Finances, and Correspondence Copies, "Policy and Practice of Catholic Institutions in the Case of Children."

for Orphan Girls] explored by Nurith Zmora in her work, though the average age of entry for BOA girls was only slightly less than the 7.5 years at which Baltimorean children entered the Dolan School, or the 7.4 years at which Jewish children entered the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.⁴⁴ A close examination of BOA asylum records reveals the asylum's Board of Managers was directly responsible for the difference between boys and girls averages ages of admission at that asylum. Between 1846 and 1910, the BOA Board repeatedly accepted girls into the asylum who were older than ten, and ninety-five such girls entered the BOA during this period. Boys older than ten years of age were admitted into the BOA on a much more infrequent basis, because the Board remained relatively committed to its 1846 decision to admit only orphan boys "under ten years of age"; between 1849 and 1910, only thirty-three boys over the age of ten became BOA inhabitants.⁴⁵ Though BOA officials provided no explanation for their relative unwillingness to admit boys who were older than ten into the asylum, annual reports from the 1860s and 1870s suggest there were often more boys than girls in the asylum, and these large populations of boys may have deterred asylum authorities from admitting additional male children into the asylum

⁴⁴ Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions In Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 51. According to Zmora, the average age of entry was highest at the Samuel Ready School, where it was 10.3 years of age.

⁴⁵ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of November 1846. For the histories of BOA girls who were older than ten years of age and were admitted in to the asylum, please refer to the following: BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Histories of Lucinda Rowe; Telmina Spied; Elberta Gaines; Margaret Adams; Mary F. Poole; Alice Murray; Margaret Earl; Cleopatra McKildoe; Mary J. Rache; Jane Charles; Sarah E. Jenkins; Elizabeth McClary; Minerva Bessy; Adelaide Neale; Cecilia Dobbins; Annie Lerew; Susan Ball; Mary Marshall; Susan Tall; Annie Nevins; Sallie Cantville; Mary J. Hitchison; Alice Spradling; Mary Firman; Mary Hickroth; Mary V. Richardson; Minnie Wigart; Clara Saunders; Fannie Forrest; Lissie Seibert; Rosalie Jange; Clara Price; Clara Hissey; Mary and Florence Price; Melvina Messer; Edith Potts; Carrie Diehl; Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900 Accounts of Annie Trazies; Mary and Ethel Blight; Mary Aimee C. De Vaughn; Willie Anna Bell; Lucy Moil; Mary Josephine Swack; Lillie May Ensor; Elizabeth LeMaitre; Susan Olive Chenowith; H. Melva Eyler; Ethel and Emma Thompson; Susie Howard; Ada Maud Beardmore; Lizzie Walters; Agnes Eleanora Ames; Helen Wallace; May Cooper; Katie Rosalie Shipley; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Entries for Emma and Sophie Meurer; May Williams; Alice and Maggie Hales; Agnes Mill; Catherine E. Lichtenberg; Leona McKay; Mary Ellen Fields; Drucilla Townsend; Bessie and Ruth Younger; Ethel Smith; Eleanor O'Brien; Louise H. Herzog; Carrie Butts; Lillian Walters; Edna Fidler; Mary L. Rogers; Beulah and Nannie Figgs; Midgie B. Kennard; Genevieve Southard; Myrtle Beaver; Gertrude Floyd; Margaret P. Gale; Sarah Boyles; Minnie R. Brown; Rachel L. Tireedale; Emily E. Nolan; Ethel Collins; Lillian Riefsnyder; Minnie Muir; Cecilia Morse Miller; Mabel C. Grisinger; Minnie Hagedorn. For the records of boys who entered the BOA when they were over the age of ten, refer to the following: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Examples of James Crawford; George S. Iveight; John B. Guilfoyl; John Nivans; George Wroten; Oliver P. Christopher; James E. Whaley; Harry Heckrotte; John Jones; Joseph Diamond; William J. Conn; Charles Hopkins; George Baldwin; John F. Keller; Winfield S. Smith; Samuel Thomas; Thomas HP Wise; Wilbur P. Harrington; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Cases of John W. Martin; George Patterson; Daniel Frazier; Admission Books, Book 12, Boys, 1901-1913, Histories of Winfield Washington Scott; Charles Spalding; Kenneth Jenkins; William R. Cavender; Harry G. Townsend; Walter Hood; Arthur Leroy Ball; John Linduer; Horace E. Hissey; Walter Richter; Melvin Ortman.

who were over the age of admission, at least during these decades.⁴⁶ The Board's willingness to regularly allow in girls who were over the age of ten inflated the average age at which girls were admitted into the BOA, and resulted in these girls having the oldest average age of admission when it came to the Baltimore asylums.

Table 5.13 Average age of admittance to orphanages, Baltimore and Liverpool, 1840-1910

Orphanage		Average age (years)
HOF		6.2
BOA	Girls	7.2
BOA	Boys	6.4
LFOA		8.6
LAOB		9.3
LIOA		5.2

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913; Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

The majority of Liverpool orphan residents were older than their Baltimore counterparts at the time of admission, though children at the LIOA proved a notable exception to this phenomenon. The average age of admittance was 8.6 years of age for LFOA girls and 9.3 years of age for LAOB boys, but was only 5.2 years of age for LIOA residents. The relative youthfulness of the LIOA population was directly related to the goals of that particular orphanage and its admission policies. The LIOA was established in 1858, in order to provide care for

⁴⁶ In 1868, there were sixty-seven boys in residence in the BOA, and sixty girls. By 1863, the numbers of male and female BOA inhabitants was even more heavily weighted towards boys; seventy-five boys were residing in the asylum, as compared to fifty-two girls. This trend continued in 1866 as well; sixty-eight boys were identified as BOA inhabitants, and only forty girls were in residence in the institution. The numbers of boys and girls who lived in the BOA did fluctuate and even out during the late 1860s and early 1870s, though the 1875 and 1879 reports suggested continued instances in which there were far more boys inhabiting the BOA than girls; during 1875 the BOA admitted fifty-two boys, as compared to only twenty-three girls, and in 1879, there were ninety boys in the asylum, and seventy-six girls. The preponderance of boys in residence in the asylum during a number of these years may have dissuaded asylum officials from allowing in any more boys as residents, especially boys who were older than the acceptable age of admission. For more information, see the following: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Annual Report for the year ending April 10, 1860; Annual Report for the year ending April 8, 1863; Annual Report for the year ending April 8, 1866; Annual Report for the year ending April 10, 1868; 1870 Annual Report; 1875 Annual Report; 1879 Annual Report.

younger children in Liverpool who were unable to gain entrance into the LFOA, LAOB, or other local institutions because of age-restrictions that forbade children younger than seven from admission.⁴⁷ The LIOA admission policy initially decreed that no children above the age of seven were to be admitted or allowed to stay in the orphanage, though this was rescinded in 1860 in favor of a new rule that stated no children were to be

admitted into the Institution above the age of seven years, nor being so admitted, shall remain there beyond that age unless at the discretion of the Committee it may seem desirable (sic); but in no case shall any child remain longer than the age of eight years.”⁴⁸

The last change to this rule occurred in January 1880, when children aged eight and under were made eligible for LIOA admission.⁴⁹ These rules contributed to the inclusion of a population of children in the Liverpool asylums that were notably younger than their peers in that city. (See Table 5.13)

Young children and residence in the asylum

The average age of admittance figures for asylum residents in both cities confirms that the majority of children who inhabited the asylums between 1840 and 1910 were youngsters who were neither newborns nor infants. Yet these figures obscure the fact that there was a large contingent of children two and under in residence in the Baltimore asylums that was virtually absent in the Liverpool orphanages.

Both the asylums in Baltimore accepted children twenty-four months and younger as inhabitants though there were more than six times as many of these children in the HOF as in the BOA. At the BOA, forty-seven (3.7%) children two years or under became asylum residents

⁴⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending February 29, 1859, p. 7.

⁴⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Infant Orphan Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of February 1, 1860.

⁴⁹ See SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for year ending January 30, 1880.

between 1847 and 1910; thirty (63.8%) of these children were girls and seventeen (36.2%) were boys.⁵⁰ At the HOF, there were 311 (9.6%) children twenty-four months and younger in residence between 1854 and 1910.⁵¹ A large number of these residents were actually admitted before their first birthday; eighteen (38.3%) of the forty-seven BOA inhabitants in this group were less than a year old when they entered, as were eighty-five (27.3%) residents of the HOF.⁵² Though both orphanages admitted infants, only the HOF allowed newborns to enter the asylum. The earliest discussion of HOF-admitted newborns occurred in April 1872, when one-week old Sarah France became an asylum resident after the death of her mother. Between Sarah's admission and the end of the nineteenth century, nineteen more newborns became members of the

⁵⁰ WC, BOA, Master File, 1846-1910. For examples of BOA girls who were twenty-four months of age or younger when they became asylum residents, please see: BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Histories of Charlotte Lilly; Jane Carter; Mary E. Lowman; Mary Hollingsworth, Lucy Jones, Myrtle Warner; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Records for Bertha Fredericka Phillips; Clara G. Sheckells; Elsie May Staum; Martha A. Healey; Elsie E. Blunt; Norma Eunice Richardson; Violet V. Zepp, Sarah M. Brittingham; May Hoffman. For the admission records of BOA boys in the same age cohort, examine: BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Cases of William Arnett; George Mitchell; Thomas Yangely; Thomas Jennings; Arthur Lanse; Albert Owings; Samuel Taylor; Joseph McConnell; Charles Phillips; Walter Jackson; Edwin Alls; Baker Penall; Henry Crawford.

⁵¹ HOF inhabitants who were two years of age or younger when admitted into the asylum, include the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Sarah Lavinia Evans; James Brannan; Hannah Kerr; Kate Morrison; Mary Emily Howard; Maggie Patterson; Phillip Geary; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Amanda Elizabeth Porter; Ella Phillips; Mary G. League; Ella May Shriver; Charles Rising; Bertha Shriver; Henry Kessler; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Files of Harry Lanning; Herbert Fountain; Mary DePass; Adaline Watson; Ida Higgins; William Doyon; Robert Lee McMullen; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Lottie Wilson; Linda Mary Nettleship; Sarah Coleman; Albert Rey; Irving Chaffer; Alphonso Provost; Willie Roberts, Ray Murray, Eddie Koenig; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Admissions of Richard Sheckells; Carrie Simmons; John Harrison; Willie Swope; Grace Hewitt; Annie Hancher; Beulah Lewins, Eva May Davis; Willie Aud, Willie Lewis, Maud Whiting Barnes, Hugh Gelston; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of George Raymond Schreck; Mina L. Mason; Frank Atkinson; Paul Kain; Maggie Clarke; Mamie Folk; Gertrude Adelaide Blackburn; Register Book 8, 1896-1902, Records of Virgil Dade; Blanche Reed; Lizzie Heffner, Lillie Lentz; Pauline Goldman; Mabel Graham; Annie Eleanor Parker; Willie Langstrom; Sophia Lewis; Elizabeth Boswell; Susan Crismer; Bernard Eichelberger; Sadie Bedford; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Accounts of Ada F. Skinner; Earl M. Miskinnon; Stanley Baker; Hattie Redford, Benjamin F. Parks.

⁵² For BOA residents who were younger than one when they entered, see: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Entries for Adeline Beckham, Maggie Flowers, Catherine Atwell, Edith Saunders, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Examples of Marion Nixon Marling, Verlynda Violet Garrison, Ellen Phillips Marline, Edith Marie Joiner, Helen May Forrester, Mildred D. Rogers, Regina M. West, Ada Francis Evans, Edith M. Bell; Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Records of Joseph Hogan, Harry Jones, Matthew R. Doane; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, History of Robert L. Callahan. For accounts of HOF children who were less than a year old when they became asylum residents, please examine: HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of William Steele, John H. Christy, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Patrick Henry Coyne, Andrew Tracy, Willie Beckman, George Washington White; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Maggie Potter, Josephine Milnor; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Willie Kauffman, George B. Denne, Charles Ogden, Francis Ryan, Ella Thomas, Ella Wells, Mary Caines; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Willie Parker, Harry Schaurn; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Harry Hildebrandt; John Lyell, Thomas Edward Engler; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Admissions of Octavius Risley, Francis Talmage Cole.

HOF population.⁵³ HOF authorities did not articulate their thoughts about the young age at which these children and their families turned to the asylum, nor did they suggest any reluctance to admit them.

The presence of infants in both asylums, and newborns at the HOF highlights the efforts reformers at both asylums made during this period to provide for children who possessed even fewer options than their older counterparts. There were, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a number of foundling homes created in the United States to care specifically for infants. According to historian Priscilla Clement, foundling homes were a new type of childcare institution that came about as the result of a mixture of mid-nineteenth-century worries. By the mid-nineteenth century, middle-class reformers had become quite concerned with “the poor care of infants in almshouses and on outdoor relief,” and were also troubled by the working-class practice known as baby farming, in which some mothers paid other women to care for their infants. These anxieties coincided with another set of worries: that “illegitimacy, abortion, and infanticide were becoming too common in the United States,” and led to the creation of foundling homes, in the hopes that these institutions would remedy these social ills and provide infants with suitable care.⁵⁴ The only foundling home established in Baltimore during this period was St. Vincent’s Infant Asylum, which catered to local Catholic children.⁵⁵ The decision officials at the BOA and HOF made to admit infants provided a segment of poor Protestant children in Baltimore with an option that would have otherwise not been available to them or their families.

⁵³ The admission record for Sarah France is located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875. According to HOF officials, “there was no one to care for” Sarah at the time of her mother’s death. For more examples of newborns who entered the HOF, see the following: HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record for Grace Lee; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Mary Brewster, Richard Lee, Annie Louisa Nettleship, Lizzie Wolfenden, Leonard Franklin, Eddie Liedmagrotze, Howard Wroten, Frank Clay, Willie Bruggy; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Files of Lizzie Morris, Mollie Graves, Thomas Robert Bolden, Blanch Owens, Willie Headley, Richard Peters, Marah Crowley, William Harry Liuth; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Example of Lena Gross.

⁵⁴ Priscilla Ferguson Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850-1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 202.

⁵⁵ For information on St. Vincent’s Infant Asylum, which was established in 1856, see the following: World’s Fair Managers, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions; Prepared for the Board of World’s Fair Managers of Maryland by Members of Johns Hopkins University and Others* (Baltimore: The Sun Job Printing Office, 1893), p. 456.

In contrast, no youngsters in the sample of Liverpool asylum children entered the orphanages as newborns, and only ten children entered at ages two or under. All ten of these children were inhabitants of the LIOA, as it was the only one of the three Liverpool orphanages that admitted young children.⁵⁶ Though asylum officials in Liverpool repeatedly voiced their willingness to admit children younger than these ages, they also prohibited the entry of children who had “been supported in a workhouse,” despite the fact that there had been “no refuge but the Workhouse” for young children in the city until the creation of the LIOA in 1858.⁵⁷ This rule certainly curtailed the number of children eligible to enter the LIOA, and may explain why only 3.8% of the asylum’s overall population was comprised of children two and under.⁵⁸ This percentage was significantly less than that which similarly-aged children comprised in the Baltimore asylums, and reinforces how uncommon it was for the youngest of children to find themselves in the Liverpool orphanages.

Average length of residence in asylum

Asylum children in Baltimore experienced shorter average stays in these institutions than did children who inhabited the Liverpool orphanages. The average length of residence for HOF children was 1.9 years, though this figure was markedly greater at the BOA.⁵⁹ Indeed, boys lived in the BOA on average for 4.4 years, and BOA girls spent an average of 5.9 years in the

⁵⁶ According to the LIOA Committee Minutes, the earliest rule involving age regulations and admission stated that children should not be admitted or stay in the LIOA above age seven. This rule was rescinded during the February 1, 1860 LIOA Committee Meeting, and replaced with a rule that decreed, that “no child shall be admitted into the Institution above the age of seven years, nor being so admitted shall remain there beyond that age unless at the discretion of the Committee it may seem desirable; but that in no case shall any child remain longer than the age of eight years.” See SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of February 1, 1860. As of 1880, this rule had changed once again, so that no children “above eight years of age” were eligible for admission into the LIOA. See SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for year ending January 30, 1880. Surviving LIOA documents do not make clear at what point between 1860 and 1880 LIOA officials modified the rule to this last form.

⁵⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880; Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 28, 1859.

⁵⁸ For the LIOA children admitted when two and under, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Records of Mary Nixon; Sarah Ellen Thomas; Francis Green; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Histories of John McElroy; Thomas Price; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Files of William Woodhall; Sarah Ellen Yates; Clara Williams; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, April 1902-March 1914, Entries for Doris Twist; Mary Goggin.

⁵⁹ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

institution. These BOA averages closely approximated the average time of residence that Nurith Zmora identified for Baltimore orphans who resided in the Dolan School and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum during the late 1880s.⁶⁰ (See Table 5.14) BOA girls were not only more likely than their Baltimore asylum peers to enter at an older age on average, but they were also more likely to remain in residence for far longer periods of time. Yet both boys and girls at the BOA experienced longer stays in the asylum than their counterparts did at the HOF, because of the legal rights state legislation accorded the BOA. In February 1822, the General Assembly granted officials at the-then Orphaline Charity School (OCS) (later the BFOA) the power to “bind out female children until they shall attain the age of eighteen years;” this act replaced an earlier piece of legislation that had granted OCS officials control of girls until the age of sixteen.⁶¹ Twenty-five years later, when the Assembly empowered authorities at the then-BFOA (later the BOA) to admit boys as well as girls, it also bestowed on them the control of these boys until they “arrive at the age of twenty-one years.”⁶² These acts provided BOA officials with legal custodial rights over children until adulthood that their HOF counterparts lacked, enabled them to require parents to sign statements in which mothers and fathers agreed to “relinquish” their children until they were of age, and allowed them to significantly increase the length of children’s stays at the BOA.

⁶⁰ Zmora, p. 53. Zmora identifies the 3.56 years as the average length of time that children resided in the Dolan Home, 4.3 years as the average stay for inhabitants of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and 5.8 years as the average time of residence for the girls who inhabited the Samuel Ready School.

⁶¹ WC, BOA, Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules for Governing the Asylum, 1917, *A supplement to an act entitled “An Act for incorporating a society to educate and maintain poor orphans and other destitute children, by the name of The Orphaline Charity School of the city of Baltimore, passed February 5, 1822-1821, chapter 138.”*

⁶² WC, BOA, Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules for Governing the Asylum, 1917, *A supplement to an act for incorporating a society to educate and maintain poor orphan and other destitute female children, by the name of the Orphaline Charity School, and to repeal the act of assembly therein mentioned, passed February 12, 1847-1846, chapter 54.*

Table 5.14 Average length of residence in the orphanages, Baltimore and Liverpool, 1840-1910

Orphanage		Average length (years)
HOF		1.9
BOA	Girls	5.9
BOA	Boys	4.4
LFOA		7.1
LAOB		7.0
LIOA		3.6

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913; Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910.

The histories of BOA girls demonstrate how prolonged some children's stays in the Baltimore asylums were, yet the data from Liverpool reveals even longer average lengths of residence for the children in the LFOA and LAOB. Girls at the LFOA spent on average 7.1 years of their lives in that institution, which made their tenure the longest of any of the asylum children in either Liverpool or Baltimore. Boys who resided in the LAOB resided in that asylum for nearly as much time as girls did in the LFOA; these male orphans lived in the asylum on average for 7.0 years. The length of these stays was connected to LFOA and LAOB officials' understanding of the age at which children in their care should be dismissed, as well as on the average ages of admission at both asylums, which was 8.6 years of age at the LFOA and 9.3 years of age at the LAOB. (See Table 4.14) At the LFOA, asylum administrators identified girls who were fourteen and older as eligible for dismissal and apprenticeship, though these officials also noted that the decision to dismiss each girl depended on "whether or not she is deemed ready" to leave the orphanage.⁶³ Officials at the LAOB adopted a similar approach when it came to the male children in their care. Boys were to be dismissed from the orphanage to trades and other

⁶³SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845, p. 8.

occupations when they achieved an age at which they were “competent.”⁶⁴ Both of these decrees left some room for flexibility when it came to the actual ages at which children left the LFOA and LAOB, and children were usually dismissed from these two asylums when they were between fourteen and seventeen years of age. Only children in residence at the LIOA had relatively short terms of residence that were more like those of Baltimore asylum children; these boys and girls spent an average of 3.6 years in that asylum. This figure may, however, underestimate the average amount of time some LIOA children spent in the Liverpool orphanages, as a number of these children were dismissed from the LIOA into residence at the LFOA and LAOB. For LIOA children whom asylum officials shifted from one asylum to another in Liverpool, the average time in residence was clearly greater than 3.6 years.

Children who were unwell or disabled at the time of their applications

Not all of the applicants that asylum officials in Baltimore and Liverpool considered were readily admitted into these institutions. One of the most significant aspects of the applications asylum officials considered was the child’s health, and in both cities, asylum authorities made efforts to admit only healthy children into the asylums. At the BOA, children who had pre-existing medical conditions or disabilities were excluded between 1840 and 1910, while at the HOF such children were only occasionally admitted between 1854 and 1871, and were excluded totally from the HOF after 1903. BOA officials rarely discussed the role that an applicant’s health played in determining whether or not the child was admitted, but the experience of an unnamed boy presented for admittance in June 1852 illustrates how important it was for children to be healthy and well at the time of their application. The BOA Ladies reported this child would gain entrance into the asylum, only if the BOA “physician, upon examination pronounce him

⁶⁴ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1900, “Rules of the Asylum,” p. 7.

sound in mind.”⁶⁵ This boy’s fate remains unclear, but no other BOA case histories from the 1850s, 1860s, or 1870s indicate children with preexisting health issues entered the asylum during this period. At the HOF, there was a similar dearth of ill and disabled children during the period, though there was no stated prohibition on the admission of such children. Catherine Gova, Maggie Aitkin, Lizzie Wilson, Virginia Windsor and Virginia Herrick were the only sick children to enter the HOF between 1854 and 1871, and all of these girls were granted only temporary admittance, and soon exited the HOF. Of the five, two were soon returned to family members, and the other three were sent to other institutions in Baltimore, including the Church Home, the Union Protestant Infirmary, and the Andrew’s Child’s Hospital.⁶⁶

Though only five sick children were admitted into the HOF during the asylum’s early years, there was a group of ill and disabled children that began to be admitted into the HOF as of 1871. This change coincided with the establishment of wards for sick and infirm children within the asylum, and led to a small population of children accepted as “hospital” or “infirmary” cases.⁶⁷ These HOF children endured a variety of medical problems and disabilities, including “white swelling of the knee joint,” “spinal affection,” spasms, St. Vitus Dance, blindness, “paralysis of the feet,” hip disease, blood poisoning, and consumption.⁶⁸ The actual length of

⁶⁵ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of June 7, 1852. The emphasis on good health and passing the physician’s examination was not just confined to the HOF and BOA; JHCOA officials stressed in the by-laws for that institution that no child would be admitted without being examined by the physical that the Committee of the Johns Hopkins Hospital had appointed for this purpose, and that the records of these examination would remain on file in the asylum. See JHCOA, Series a. Committee on the Colored Orphan Asylum, By Laws of the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, Committee on Admission and Dismission.

⁶⁶ Catherine Gova became a HOF resident in February 1860; she was paralyzed on one side. Maggie Aitkin and Lizzie Wilson both entered the HOF in December 1861, and both suffered from eyesight problems. Maggie was blind and Lizzie was blind in one eye. Virginia Windsor had what HOF officials described as “curvature of the spine and hip disease.” She became an HOF resident in December 1863. See HOF, Register Book 1, 1854-1864 for information on Catherine Gova, Maggie Aitkin, Lizzie Wilson and Virginia Windsor. Virginia Herrick was the fifth girl with a preexisting health problem to receive admission into the asylum. According to HOF authorities, Virginia was a deformed girl who was admitted in February 1870; for this girl’s case history, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of Virginia Herrick.

⁶⁷ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, 1854-1898, Seventeenth Annual Report of Home of the Friendless for the year ending November 23, 1871.

⁶⁸ Bruff W. Tall and Charles Albert Tinkin were the first two hospital cases that the HOF admitted, and these two boys suffered from the first two conditions mentioned; See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875 for the records of these two boys. See Register Book 3 as well for the case of James P. Ervin, who was “afflicted with spasms.” For the cases of children with St. Vitus Dance, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Minnie Craft; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Ellen Jennings, Kate Beinlein, and Freddie Dargreth. Emma Wayes was blind, and Maida Marie Craft was afflicted with paralysis of the feet; both of

time that these children remained in the HOF depended on the nature of their infirmity. Children such as Ellen Jennings, Kate Beinlein, and Freddie Dargreth, who were suffering from St. Vitus Dance, recuperated in a matter of months and subsequently left the HOF. But other HOF hospital ward children, including Bruff Tall, James Ervin, and Willie Blume endured longer stays in the asylum, as their conditions were not so easily cured.⁶⁹ HOF officials continued to admit children who were sick or disabled into the HOF until 1903, when a new emphasis on the admission of healthy children into the asylum meant another shift in policy, and the exclusion of children with preexisting health problems from the asylum.

In Liverpool, asylum officials were particularly focused on applicants and their health, and there was no exception between 1840 and 1910 to what was a uniform practice of allowing only healthy children into the asylums. Officials at all three Liverpool orphanages appear to have expected poor sick children to turn to other charitable institutions, like the city's dispensaries, the Liverpool Infirmary for Children (1851), the Eye and Ear Infirmary (1841), or the Brownlow Hill Workhouse, where sick parish children were routinely sent to reside alongside adult paupers.⁷⁰ The LFOA's original admission policy required each applicant to present a signed declaration to asylum officials about the applicant's health. In this statement, the girl's minister swore that the girl in question "has no disease or infirmity, has not been subject to fits, and has had the small-pox or the vaccine."⁷¹ Though LFOA officials eventually replaced this prerequisite with a medical exam conducted by the asylum's doctor, the outcome was still the same, with only

these girls entered the HOF between 1875 and 1881, and their histories are located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881. Kate Romey had hip disease, Leo Cole was suffering from blood poisoning, and Mary Murphy had contracted consumption; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892 for the accounts of all three of these children.

⁶⁹ See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Ellen Jennings; Kate Beinlein; Freddie Dargreth. For the accounts of Bruff Tall and James Ervin, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, and for more information on Willie Blume, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892.

⁷⁰ For information on the Liverpool Infirmary for Children, refer to: *A History of the County of Lancashire: Volume 4*, ed. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1966). The Liverpool Eye and Ear Infirmary was established in 1841; for the history of this institution and information on the city's dispensaries, see "*The Stranger in Liverpool; or, An Historical and Descriptive View of the Town of Liverpool and its Environs*," (Liverpool: Published by Thomas Kaye, 1849), "The Charities," p. 207-210. See John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), p. 78-79, for his discussion of the Brownlow Hill Workhouse and how sick parish children were sent into this facility, despite worries about the negative impact that workhouse adults had on workhouse children.

⁷¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845.

healthy children who had “no infirmity, disease or deformity” winning admission into the asylum.⁷² At the LAOB and the LIOA, this medical evaluation of potential inmates was also mandatory, and this regulation led, as it did at the LFOA, to the rejection of a group of applicants.⁷³ LAOB authorities refused to allow Frederick Trotter into the asylum in August 1879 because the LAOB doctor told them the boy was “in his opinion consumptive.”⁷⁴ Three years later William Parsons was denied entrance into the LAOB because he “had a deformed chest and [a] slight curvature of the spine.”⁷⁵ The asylum medical exam marked these boys off as different and inferior, and represented the end of any hopes they or their relatives had of receiving assistance from these institutions. In Liverpool, as in Baltimore, it was healthy children who had the best chances of winning admission into the orphanages.

Children and sickness in the asylums

Though authorities regularly acted to prevent sick children from becoming asylum residents, they were unable to prevent the actual outbreak of illness in the institutions. Children in the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums lived in close, cramped contact with their fellow inhabitants, in conditions that were conducive to the spread of illness. Communicable diseases regularly swept through asylums in both cities between 1840 and 1910, sickening multiple

⁷² SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1872-1888, Report for the year ending January 31, 1872.

⁷³ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Orphan Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 26, 1851; Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880.

⁷⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of August 25, 1879, Notes on Frederick Trotter.

⁷⁵ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of September 1876, Discussion of William Parsons. For the histories of other Liverpool children who were rejected entry into the orphanages because of health issues, see the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Accounts of Josephine Gray; Elizabeth Oldfield Witham; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Sarah Ellen Jones; Susan Ellen Holland; Mary Elizabeth Smeatham; Admission Registers, February 1895-April 1907, Examples of Mildred Lepid; Margaret Cooper; Amelia Jeffrey McClay; Annie Highcock; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entries for Charles Watson; Alfred Jones; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Records of George Sharrock; John Burns; Alfred E. Brame; Peter Thompson Lloyd; Edward Robinson; Thomas Bird; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873, Examples of Amelia Clucas; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 28, 1881; Report for the year ending January 30, 1883; Report for the year ending January 29, 1884; Report for the year ending January 30, 1885; Report for January 29, 1866; Report for the year ending January 31, 1887; Report for the year ending January 31, 1888; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 30, 1889; Report for the year ending January 29, 1892; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1899-1908, Report for the year ending January 30, 1901.

children and resulting in extended periods of illness at these institutions. In Baltimore, two scarlet fever outbreaks occurred at the HOF between 1854 and 1859, killing three HOF children and sickening a number of others. Five years later, seven more HOF residents died after measles swept through the asylum.⁷⁶ At the BOA, there were similar developments; an 1871 measles eruption killed two BOA children and left many children sick, while an 1875 outbreak of scarlet fever claimed the lives of five more BOA inhabitants.⁷⁷ Though there were years between the 1880s and 1910 in which no epidemics occurred at the asylums, HOF and BOA children continued to fall sick with a variety of illnesses and contagious diseases during this period. There were “fifty-two cases of scarlet fever, forty-seven cases of the measles, thirty-five cases of the chicken pox,” and seven children who died between January and April 1881 alone at the HOF, despite the fact that HOF officials had established a ward for sick children ten years before.⁷⁸

Asylum children in Liverpool faced similar dangers as their institutionalized counterparts in Baltimore when it came to communicable diseases. Between the 1870s and 1910, Liverpool orphans who resided in the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA were exposed to a number of contagions, including mumps, measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, scrofula, rheumatic fever, and tuberculosis.⁷⁹ Though these diseases posed a real threat to Liverpool asylum inhabitants, it was

⁷⁶ HOF officials discussed the scarlet fever epidemics that occurred between 1854 and 1859 in the HOF Fifth Annual Report. Asylums representatives noted in this same report that the second of these epidemics continued for many weeks in the asylum, and that a number of HOF children who contracted the disease remained in the same beds they normally slept in while sick with the disease. See WC, HOF, Annual Reports, 1854-1898, Fifth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1859. For more information on the 1864 measles epidemic, see: HOF, Annual Reports, 1854-1898, Tenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1864.

⁷⁷ The two BOA children who died during the 1871 measles outbreak were Walter Jackson and James McCall. For more information, examine WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1860-1930, Report for 1872. Please see the BOA 1875 Annual Report, for more that year’s scarlet fever outbreak.

⁷⁸ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, 1854-1898, Twenty-Seventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1881.

⁷⁹ Asylum officials in Liverpool did not always note the names of sick children in asylum records, but they did identify the diseases children in the asylum contracted. For mumps outbreaks, see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of February 1876; Journals, Boys Asylum Journal, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for December 4, 1904; Minutes for March 15-April 11, 1910; Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1905-1912, Report for year ending December 1909. For instances in which measles occurred at the asylums, please examine: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of December 1870, January 1871; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of January 1876, February 1876; Journals, Boys Orphan Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for February 11-March 11, 1901, June 1901, June 10-July 6, 1901, April 8, 1909, May 10, 1909, July 3, 1909; Journals, Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum, January 1903-1916, Entries for March 1909, April 1909; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for year ending January 31, 1887. Diphtheria outbreaks occurred most frequently at the LIOA; refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, January 1888-July 1906, Meetings of April 1898, January 25, 1904. For

scarlet fever that sickened the largest number of children, and that broke out most frequently in the asylums. The earliest such epidemic occurred at the LAOB and began in June 1872, when two boys fell sick with scarlet fever. Fourteen LAOB boys eventually contracted the disease, and though there were no fatalities, the eruption itself affected the asylum and its inhabitants for a full seven months.⁸⁰ Girls in the LFOA endured similar scarlet fever outbreaks in 1884 and 1901. The first of these episodes lasted eight months and killed three girls, while the second sickened twenty-five girls over a three month period.⁸¹ The last eruptions of scarlet fever began in May 1903 and April 1905 at the LIOA and the LAOB, and sickened another sixteen LAOB boys and twenty-two LIOA children.⁸² These outbreaks demonstrate how common contagion was not only in the Baltimore asylums but also in the Liverpool orphanages where residents were exposed to not only those diseases which primarily affected children, but communicable diseases that stricken children and adults alike.

Asylum children in Baltimore and Liverpool who became ill while in residence faced a number of different possibilities. In both cities, sick children might be permanently dismissed to relatives once asylum officials discovered their illnesses, or sent for treatment at other local

whooping cough and its impact on the Liverpool orphans, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of April 1874; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for June 14-July 2, 1910; Journals, Liverpool Infants Orphan Asylum, January 1859-December 1892, Meeting of September 7, 1904. Children in Liverpool occasionally contracted scrofula and rheumatic fever while in orphanages; for more information on this, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of December 1877, March 1878, February 28, 1881, March 1881. For additional examples of children with tuberculosis in the Liverpool asylums, see SHSR, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Records of Mary Tollady, Mary Murray, Esther Lawton; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of February 2, 1902; Journals, Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum, January 1903-January 1916, Entry for April 1908; Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of November 7, 1900; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for January 13-February 10, 1908; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of March 1881.

⁸⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of July 1872, August 1872, October 1872, and January 1873.

⁸¹ For a discussion of the scarlet fever epidemic that occurred in the LFOA in 1884, please see: SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of July 3, 1884; Minutes, Ladies Committee, Meetings of November 5, 1884, January 7, 1885, March 4, 1885; Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1872-1888, Report for year ending December 31, 1885. For information on the 1901 LFOA scarlet fever outbreak, examine SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meetings of December 4, 1901, January 1, 1902, February 5, 1902.

⁸² SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Entries for April 11-May 8, 1905, May 9-June 5, 1905, June 8-July 8, 1905, August 12-September 11, 1905, October 9-November 13, 1905, December 11, 1905-January 8, 1906. The 1905 LIOA scarlet fever outbreak was the first serious incidence of scarlet fever that LIOA inhabitants endured; for an expanded discussion of this event, please examine: SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, January 1888-July 1906, Meeting of May 6, 1903; Annual Reports, Infants Orphan Asylum, 1899-1908, Report for year ending January 29, 1904.

institutions and hospitals. Yet dismissal of children back to relatives appears to have occurred far less frequently in Baltimore than Liverpool, and to have affected a much smaller number of asylum children. The HOF did dismiss a group of sick children from the asylum in the years before 1871, when the asylum's infirmary wards were created. This group was comprised of children like George Duhunst, who was dismissed to his mother in February 1854 because he "had fits," and Susannah Wildt, who was suffering from "sore eyes" at the time of her dismissal in October 1856.⁸³ After 1871, most HOF inhabitants who fell sick were kept in the asylum, where the asylum's doctor and nurse cared for them until they recovered. Only a few HOF children with unique medical problems were sent to outside facilities that could provide them with specialized treatment.⁸⁴ At the BOA, officials treated ill children within the asylum as well; this had been the practice at the asylum since at least the 1840s.⁸⁵ It was not until the 1891 death of Lucy Jones, however, that the BOA Board decided to send children who were sick with protracted illnesses out to local Baltimore hospitals for care.⁸⁶ Between the 1890s and 1910, the Baltimore asylums continued to alternate between inside care and outside treatment when it came to children who fell sick.

Like their asylum counterparts in Baltimore, many of the children in the Liverpool asylums who fell sick between the 1860s and 1910 were sent to other institutions. Yet Liverpool orphans who became ill were also regularly returned to their family members throughout this period. Liverpool orphans who were transferred to other facilities ended up in a variety of

⁸³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of George Duhunst and Susannah Wildt. For other examples of sick HOF children that asylum representatives returned to their families during the 1850s and 1860s, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Mary Ann Salary, Virginia Windsor; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Laura Smith, Virginia Herrick.

⁸⁴ For HOF residents who were sent outside of the HOF for medical attention, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Cora Celeste Boehlein, Charles Price; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Helen Reifsnider, Annie Eleanor Parker, Helen, Alice, Marguerite, and Frank Rosensteel.

⁸⁵ See the following BOA documents for sick children treated within the asylum: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1860-1930, Report for the year ending April 10, 1869; 1891 Annual Report; 1892 Annual Report; 1900 Annual Report; 1905 Annual Report; BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of November 5, 1888, Discussion of Annie Fopless.

⁸⁶ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of October 5, 1891. The Board Minutes noted that this girl had suffered from a long illness, though the specific cause of her death was never named. According to the 1897 BOA Annual Report, the Garrett Hospital for Children and the Johns Hopkins Hospital were two of the local Baltimore medical facilities that recently cared for sick BOA inhabitants. See also BOA, Annual Reports, 1860-1930, 1900 Annual Report, 1901 Annual Report, 1903 Annual Report, and 1907 Annual Report.

different local hospitals and institutions, including the Brownlow Hill Workhouse, the Southport Sanatorium for Children, the Liverpool Infirmary for Children, and the Liverpool Eye and Ear Infirmary.⁸⁷ Some of these sick children, including George Gordon and Joseph Seddon, managed to recover from their illnesses and eventually return to the Liverpool orphanages.⁸⁸ Others were judged unfit to return to the asylum, or died while in these other institutions. A number of sick children in the Liverpool orphanages were also dismissed to their relatives. R. Humphreys and Richard Ruby were sent from the LAOB to unnamed relatives in May 1867, after LAOB authorities determined the boys were “unfit by sickness for residence in the asylum.” Other children were also dismissed in a similar manner to their Uncles, Aunts, siblings, and unnamed friends, after they became sick during their stays in the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ For Liverpool orphans sent to the Brownlow Hill Workhouse Infirmary, see: WC, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of December 1869; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875- November 1886, Meeting of February 1879; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for February 11-March 11, 1901, Case of Henry McGivern; Records for June 1901, Discussion of Joseph Seddon; Minutes of June 10-July 6, 1901, Accounts of Tom Jones and Thomas McLean; Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of March 5, 1902, History of Kate Quillian; Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-December 1904, Account of Ann Rogers; For children sent to the Southport Sanatorium for Children, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 27, 1867, Case of W. Jones; Journals, Boys Orphan Asylum, Minutes for December 1897-December 1921, Entries for October 8-November 12, 1900, Unnamed boy; Minutes for July 5-September 8, 1902, Discussion of Peter Lunt; Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of December 3, 1868, History of James Bird. Please examine the following for children treated at the Liverpool Infirmary for Children: SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of November 2, 1865; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Minutes of May and October 1876; Meeting of July 1880, Case of Thomas Martindale; Journals, Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum, January 1903-January 1916, Notes for February 1907, Discussion of Beatrice McLoughlin. The Eye and Ear Infirmary provided care to LFOA and LAOB children, including the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of April 25, 1881 and July 1881, History of Charles Hough and other unnamed boys; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, November 11-December 14, 1908, Account of Frank Robinson; Journals, Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum, January 1903-January 1916, November 1906, Discussion of E. Westhead.

⁸⁸ SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Entries for February 13-March 13, 1899, Case of George Gordon; Entries for June 1901 and June 10-July 6, 1901, Discussion of Joseph Seddon. For other examples of orphans who returned to the asylum after recovering, please see: SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for April 7-May 11, 1903, Case of Alfred Brooks; Entries for June 8-July 8, 1905, Discussion of James Harrison, Herbert Hadfield, Robert Clews and Joseph Lydiate; Notes for August 12-September 11, 1905, Accounts of Arthur Wilson, Charles Armstrong, Frank Robinson, Edward Spread, George Cross, James Wallace, Norman Fay, Minutes for August 7-September 9, 1907, Example of Arthur Craine; Entries for May 11-June 14, 1909, Histories of Edward Dodd, Clifford Moore, and William Samuels.

⁸⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 27, 1867. For additional case histories of sick orphans dismissed to the care of their relatives, see: SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of November 4, 1868, Account of Joseph Brownbill; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of September 1, 1897, Case of Jane Boothroyd; Meeting of April 6, 1898, Comments about Lily Feverson; Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Discussion of Edith Mason; Meeting of May 7, 1902, Case of Annie Thomas; Meeting of September 3, 1902, Focus on Isabella Moore; Meeting of October 1904, Notes on Doris McClay; Meeting of May 1905, History of Margaret Monkes; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of April 7, 1892, Comments on Sarah Emma

Death in the asylums

The epidemics that occurred in the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums call attention to the existence of a group of children for whom residence in these institutions proved fatal. Death occurred more frequently and claimed the lives of more children in the Baltimore asylums than in Liverpool orphanages. Yet in both cities, asylum residence was particularly dangerous for younger children, and it was these youngsters who proved most vulnerable to death.

In Baltimore, 130 children did not survive their tenure in the asylums, and nearly two times as many deaths occurred in the HOF as in the BOA. Forty-six (3.6%) of the 1303 BOA children who inhabited the asylum between 1846 and 1910 died while in residence, and the fact that the last male fatality happened in 1883 and the last female fatality occurred in 1898 is not surprising, in light of the absence of an isolation ward at the BOA or a program in which inoculations against specific diseases were provided to asylum residents.⁹⁰ At the HOF, eighty-four (2.6%) of the 3239 children admitted between 1854 and 1910 perished, and the likelihood of death was even greater for children aged two and under. Of the 311 HOF inhabitants aged two and under when admitted, thirty-eight (12.2%) died.⁹¹ Children at both the Baltimore asylums

Jackson; Meeting of June 2, 1898; Meeting of December 5, 1901, Discussion of Emily Marsh; Minutes, General Committee, November 1903-February 1914; Meeting of November 5, 1903, Notes on two unnamed girls.

⁹⁰ Fatalities at the BOA were split almost evenly between the sexes, with twenty-one girls and twenty-five boys accounting for the forty-six orphanage deaths. For cases of BOA children who died while living in that asylum, examine: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Accounts of Mary Noland, Catherine Green, Amanda Veighorn, Charlotte Lilly, Elizabeth Olive, Elizabeth Long, Isabella McClary, Roberta V. Mitchell, Margaret Nun, Lillie Farr, Rosa Baily, Clara Dangerfield, Jennie Taylor, Marg Shaffer, Alberta White; Admission Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Entries for Hugh Hawthorn, Aimerius Marshal, Owings Tawlor, James Shorter, James Caldwell; Henry T. Williams, John Lowman, Samuel Taylor, William H. Davis, John Frazier, Bailey Bridgman, Charles Wheeler, Thomas Edmunds, James AD McCall, William S. Georgians, Carroll Fisher, George Taylor, George Lew, Harry Crawford; Admission Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Examples of Katie Zimmerman, Theresa Cullum, Annie M. Howard, and Rebecca Boyles. Rebecca Boyles was the last BOA girl to die while living in the asylum; she died in March of 1898. Harry Crawford's death in April 1883 marked the last case of a male fatality at the BOA.

⁹¹ For examples of the HOF children in this group, please see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of James Brannan, Susanna Kauffman, Patrick Battin; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Eliza Jane Tracy, Mary G. League, Andrew Tracy, Estelle Colburn; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Histories of Ida Higgins, Grace Lee; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Mary Brewster, Richard Lee, Annie Louisa Nettleship, Virginia Gilbert, Edward Martin Rhomosure, Leonard Franklin, Rosie Wagner, Howard Wroten, Louis Hing, Mary Caines; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Sarah Frances Wheeler, Ethel Lyon, Blanch Bryant, Mollie Graves, Willie Brinkman, Clara Gertrude Green, Robert Slusser, Bertha McNealus, Florence B. Collins; Registers, Book 7, 1882-1895, Histories of Harry Rictor, Thomas Edward Engler, Gertrude Adelaine Blackburn; Register, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of John Morgan and Sadie Bedford. Only two of the fifty-

were killed by a variety of contagions, including illnesses like tuberculosis, typhoid fever, pneumonia, and cholera, which affected all segments of the population, and sicknesses like measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever, which were primarily childhood diseases.⁹² For some of these HOF children, the problem was not contagion, but that they were simply too young and frail to survive entrance into the HOF. Virginia Gilbert was a “delicate” child of only three weeks when she was admitted in November 1876, and she died two weeks later. Two-week-old Willy Bruggy was equally unfortunate, as “it was a cold day, when he was brought to the Home and not having on warm clothing, he took cold and died.”⁹³ These cases make clear the physical vulnerability of infants who entered the HOF, and reinforce the danger that admission into an orphan asylum posed to young children.

Children in the Liverpool asylums fared better than their Baltimore counterparts when it came to death, but a total of 105 children died while in residence in the city’s orphanages. Of the children in this contingent, LFOA girls and LIOA residents were particularly at risk for death; sixty-four LFOA girls died between 1840 and 1910, and at least thirty-two LIOA children expired between 1875 and 1909.⁹⁴ Though asylum officials in Liverpool did not regularly specify the

two BOA inhabitants who entered when two or under died while in residence, and in one of these cases, death occurred three and a half years after the boy’s entry, when he was nearly five years old.

⁹² For the cases of HOF children twenty-four months and younger who died from pneumonia, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of William Steele; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Thomas Edward Engler and Gertrude Adelaide Blackburn. For the records of young HOF residents who died from cholera, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Blanch Owens and Alice May Magruder. Measles killed nineteen-month-old Harry Rictor in June 1893. Information on this boy can be found in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Record for Harry Rictor. For the case of another young HOF resident who died as the result of a contagious disease, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Record for Octavius Risley.

⁹³ The admission accounts of Virginia Gilbert and Willy Bruggy can be found in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881.

⁹⁴ For histories of girls who died during their stays in the LFOA, see: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851, Records of Margaret Jones, Ann Thomas, Alice Buckley, Sarah Blackburne Moss, Margaret Hegan, Emma Simpson Stone, Belinda Boyd, Margaret Clancy, Alice Allen, Elizabeth Eilton, Diane Edwards; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, December 1852-August 1865, Cases of Ellen Elizabeth Ann Meredith, Ellen Grigom, Mary Ann Taylor, Mary Ann Richards; April 1867-February 1875, Entries for Sarah Ann Shaw, Caroline Grimings, Lydia Barber; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Examples of Janet Highfield, Catherine Josephine McManiman, Louisa Brumfitt; Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Files on Sarah Dickenson, Charlotte Wood, Jane Holloway, Mary Murray, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, October 1845-September 1858, Histories of Elizabeth Gilton, Diane Edwards. For LIOA deaths, see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Reports for year ending January 30, 1880; January 31, 1881; January 30, 1883; January 29, 1884; January 30, 1885; January 29, 1886; January 31, 1887; January 30, 1889; Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of July 2, 1862, Discussion of unnamed deceased male LIOA resident; Meeting of February 3, 1864, Minutes on unnamed

causes of children's deaths, a few case histories confirm the threat that communicable diseases posed not only to children in the Baltimore asylums, but to their Liverpool counterparts as well. Consumption killed at least twelve LFOA girls, and claimed the life of LIOA resident Catherine Ann Brooks, and periodic outbreaks of other childhood diseases, like whooping cough and measles, claimed the lives of other LIOA youngsters. Four LIOA residents died in 1886 during a prolonged measles epidemic that occurred at the orphanage, in which children's recovery was hampered by a "protracted cold spring [that] rendered it more than usually difficult for those children who were attacked to recover their strength."⁹⁵ Another unspecified illness swept through the LIOA in 1888, and claimed the lives of two girls and one boy in a ten-day period.⁹⁶ Though these examples do not prove residence in the asylums meant the real possibility of death for young asylum inhabitants, they do suggest the greater risk that illness and contagion posed to the youngest asylum inhabitants.

Siblings as asylum residents

The image of asylum children, alone in the asylum, separated from everyone and everything he or she had ever known was a familiar one in nineteenth-century American and British society. Yet when it came to the children who inhabited the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums, this image was not entirely accurate. Many of these children were not the only members of their families to enter these asylums, though asylum children in Baltimore were more likely than Liverpool orphans to have a sibling present in the same institution. Nearly two-thirds of HOF inhabitants resided in the asylum at the same time as a sibling, as did half of BOA boys and

deceased LIOA boy; October 5, 1864, Death of Catherine Ann Brooks; Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, January 1888-July 1906, Meetings of July 5, 1893, Discussion of recently deceased LIOA boy; January 6, 1904, Case of Esther Lizzie Moore; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Entries for Joseph Broadbent; Mary Ann Slade; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889, Cases of Sarah Ellen Yates and Robert Goodman; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, February 1899-December 1902, Record for Annie Dorothy Arrundale

⁹⁵ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 31, 1887, Twenty-eighth Annual Report.

⁹⁶ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1889, p. 5.

more than half of BOA girls.⁹⁷ The majority of these children, including Mary and Willie Ijams, James and Ambrose Whaley, and Blanche and Daisy Hazelip were admitted into the Baltimore orphanages at the same time as a sibling.⁹⁸ Yet it was also quite common for siblings to enter the HOF and the BOA within a few days, weeks or months of one another, and a number of children including Mary and Henry Eifert, Joseph and Archibald Yucker, and Frank, Naomi and Alvina Cowan became asylum inhabitants at different chronological points.⁹⁹ The hope that a sibling's

⁹⁷ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910.

⁹⁸ Mary Ijams was eight years old and her brother Willie was four at the time of their admission into the HOF in November 1868; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870 for these records. James E. and Ambrose Whaley were admitted into the BOA in March 1875, and their case histories are located in WC, BOA, Admission Book, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893. See WC, BOA, Admission Book, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900 for the histories of Blanche and Daisy Hazelip. These girls became residents of the BOA in May 1883. For additional examples of siblings admitted into the Baltimore asylums at the same time, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Bridget, Margaret, and Mary Ann Beatty; Albert and Frank Vandergrift; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records for Martha Ellen and Emma Jane Carroll, Ida and Alice Sard; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-1875, Records of Eliza and Harry Mansfield, Augusta and Ferdinand Roussell; HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Georgiann, Mary Susan, and Kate Tippet; HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Jennie, Sallie and Nettie Fetherstone, Nellie May and Harry Clinton Bloom; HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Oscar and Alfred Helbig, Carrie and Tommy McCay, Christina and Harry Solomon; Registers, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Edward and Grover C. Debrueler, Claudia M. and Mary C. Tarlton, Elsie M. and Elizabeth Boswell; HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Jennie, Charles A., and Roland Roane; George and Marian Coppard; Albert and Milton Glennon; BOA, Admission Book, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Cases of Rebecca and Louisa Bainard, Avarilla and Sarah R. Robb, Annie and Estelle Lerew, Ellen and Mary Mead, Edith and Bellezora Lamson, Carrie and Emily Diehl; BOA, Admission Book, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Examples of Horace and James Holland. John and James Graham, William and Daniel Flemming, Edward and Andrew Galvin; BOA, Admission Book, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Accounts of Margaret and Katie Zimmerman, Fannie and Mamie Shipley, Helen Gertrude and Mary Catherine Duffy, Anna May and Evelyn Baird; BOA, Admission Book, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Cases of Elmer and John Cornelius, William S. and Joseph F. McCleary, Joseph, Robert L., and Edmund Wiley; BOA, Admission Book, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Histories of Clarence and William Meurer, Watson H. and Robert E. Gates, Charles and Jesse Toot; BOA, Admission Book, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Examples of Evelyn Carrie and Viola Estelle Smith, Frances Christina and Anna L. Ballard.

⁹⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Mary and Henry Eifert; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Frank, Naomi, and Alvina Cowan; BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Examples of Joseph and Archibald Yucker. There were many siblings in the Baltimore asylums who became co-residents of these institutions several weeks apart, including the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1964, Entries for Grace and Mary Heyburn; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Alverda, Ira, and Mamie Cook, Harry and Georgie Carlisle.; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Rufus Emory and Thomas L. Mallonee, Mary Ellen, Florence Lillie, and Henry Purple; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Admissions of Thomas Elmer and Grace Viola Wright; HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Records of Louis McPherson, John H., and Ida May Rollman, George Edward, William Norman, and Paul Norris; BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Entries for Rebecca and Aria Ann Mitchell, Rachel and Annie Smith; BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Cases of Charles L. and William H. Snyder; BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Examples of Emma and Sophie Meurer, Ellen R. and Myrtle E. Dixon, Rachel L. and Mary D. Tiredale. For siblings who became inhabitants of the same Baltimore asylum some months apart, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Admission pages for Mary E. and Kate Montague, Josephine and Julia Kelly; Registers, Book 2, Admissions, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Rosa Ann and Rachel Ann York; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Norman, Sally, and Eliza Steigelman, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Examples of Susie and Annie Eck, Linda Mary and Annie Louisa Nettleship, Eddie, John, and Annie Dyson; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Emma, Willie, Maud and Annie English; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Harry Warfield, Davis Chew and Daniel W. Taylor, Willie and John Langstrom; HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Edna and Lillian Willis, Ernest, Phillip, and George May; BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Accounts of Susan and Fannie Tall, Clara and Edith Saunders; BOA, Admission

presence might ease the transition to asylum life no doubt prompted parents or relatives to enter siblings into the same institution. But children at both the Baltimore asylums were segregated according to sex, and there were separate male and female classrooms, sleeping quarters, meal times, and play spaces. For siblings of the same sex, this posed no problem; for siblings of the opposite sex, the opportunities to interact and communicate with one another were extremely limited.

In Liverpool, it was also quite common to find siblings in residence in the orphanages at the same time as one another, and for asylum policies to hinder these children's interactions as well. Three hundred and twenty-three (31.9%) LFOA girls, fifty-six (40.9%) LAOB boys, and 103 (48.4%) LIOA inhabitants had a sibling who was also in residence in these orphanages.¹⁰⁰ The large contingent of siblings in the asylum was directly connected to the position that LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA authorities adopted in response to multiple admissions. No limits were set as to how many children from each family might be allowed admission, and LAOB officials even argued "it cannot be deemed sufficient that one only of a family of orphan children should be cared for; the endeavour should be to afford relief to as many as possible."¹⁰¹ This willingness to accept multiple children from the same family meant a variety of realities for the children who inhabited the Liverpool asylums. Many siblings, including Charles and George Drenon, Maud and Lilith Clampith, Emma and Florence Hadfield, and Francis and Benjamin Green inhabited the same asylum.¹⁰² Yet as in Baltimore, there were impediments that prevented siblings from residing together even though they were in the same orphanage. George and Catherine Capper ended up in the Liverpool asylums during the early 1890s, though George was in the LAOB and

Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Entries for Joseph and Archibald Yucker, George D., Henry, Willie and Conrad Myers; BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Records of Mary W. and Drucilla Townsend.

¹⁰⁰ SHSR, Liverpool Master File, 1840-1910.

¹⁰¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending March 13, 1854.

¹⁰² For more information on Charles and Francis Drenon, see SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880. Maud and Lilian Clampith became residents of the LFOA in October 1887, and Emma and Florence Hadfield entered the LFOA in March 1905 and May 1906; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895 for the histories of the Clampith sisters, and Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-May 1907 for the Hadfield girls. The admission entries for Francis and Benjamin Green are located in SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873.

Sarah was a resident of the LFOA.¹⁰³ For other siblings, the problem was not one of sex, but age. Isabella and Hannah Yates were old enough to gain admission into the LFOA in March 1883, but their sister Sarah was only an infant at the time of this application, and so she was instead accepted into the LIOA.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, age as well as sex differences meant some siblings who resided in the Liverpool orphanages spent only limited time with one another.

Children and their responses to placement in the asylum

Officials in Baltimore and Liverpool rarely discussed the response that lone children or siblings had to their placement in the asylum, unless that response was enough to affect the return of parents or guardians to reclaim children from the asylum. A few case histories make clear the distress that some Baltimore children who entered the HOF experienced in the shift from their family home to life in the asylum. Mary Clark's mother temporarily placed the two-year-old girl into the asylum in September 1865, in order that she might look for employment. Mary only actually remained in the asylum for one day, as her mother managed to locate work. Yet that one day provided Mary with enough time to make her sorrow known to HOF officials, who noted that the child "cried very much after its mother."¹⁰⁵ Other children such as Theodore Bakerdorf voiced similar feelings about their residence in the asylum as well. Theodore was five when his working mother had him admitted into the HOF in September 1874, and the boy "seemed so unhappy at being away from" his mother that she returned ten days after she entered him to remove him.¹⁰⁶ Both Theodore and Mary's examples reveal the real angst children placed in the asylums might experience when separated from their families. These histories also suggest some children were able to successfully articulate these feelings to asylum officials and family members and achieve their release from the HOF.

¹⁰³ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Record of George Capper and Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Case of Catherine Capper.

¹⁰⁴ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Isabella and Hannah Yates. For the admission account of their sister, Sarah Ellen Yates, please see Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, December 1881-January 1889.

¹⁰⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Mary Virginia Clark.

¹⁰⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Example of Theodore Bakerdorf.

Accounts like those of Mary Clark and Theodore Bakerdorf demonstrate the anguish that some lone children felt while in the asylum. Yet even those children who entered the HOF accompanied by a brother or sister might experience difficulties adjusting to their new residence. Charlie and Louisa Tudor became HOF residents in March 1879, when Charlie was seven and Louisa was nine. Their parents were separated, and their mother was about to begin work at service when she placed them in the asylum. If Mrs. Tudor hoped that their mutual residence in the asylum would ease their transition from the family home into the HOF, she was sorely mistaken. When she visited Charlie and Louisa four days after their admission, “they cried so violently and seemed so anxious to go home” that Mrs. Tudor removed them from the asylum.¹⁰⁷ Three and a half years after the Tudors exited the asylum, eight-year-old Herain Stein and his two brothers Samuel and Lawrence entered the HOF. The siblings’ father was dead, and their mother was very sick with an unspecified fever at the time the boys became HOF residents in October 1882. Of the three Stein boys, Herain was the oldest, and it was he who found it most difficult to adjust to the asylum. According to HOF representatives, Herain “grieved so much at the separation” from his mother, that he remained in the asylum for only six days before he ran away from the HOF in early November.¹⁰⁸ Herain Stein’s extreme sorrow and his escape from the asylum are particularly revealing; this boy was living in the HOF in the company of two of his siblings, and still found the separation from his mother too unbearable to endure.

Absconding Children

In addition to the children who articulated the anxiety and distress they felt about asylum residence and won their removal, there was another group of children in both cities who did not wait to voice their unhappiness, but simply absconded from these institutions. Most of the asylum children in both cities who absconded made individual escape efforts, though it was not

¹⁰⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Charlie and Louisa Tudor.

¹⁰⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Herain, Samuel, and Lawrence Stein. Samuel and Lawrence Stein left the asylum only twenty days after their brother. Their mother had recovered from her fever and was well enough to care for the boys at this point.

unheard of for siblings in Baltimore to runaway jointly. All of the children who engaged in such a course of action in Baltimore were HOF inhabitants, though the circumstances of the children themselves varied. Many of these runaways were alone in the asylum, and simply decided to remove themselves from the HOF. Six-year-old James Bowie allowed little time to elapse before he fled the asylum. His mother admitted James into the HOF in early June 1871, and it was only thirteen days later that he was identified as a runaway.¹⁰⁹ Other children including Maggie Ford, Bridie Lenore Young, and Albert Talbot engaged in a similar course of action in the years that followed, and simply fled the HOF.¹¹⁰ For children who had siblings who resided in the asylum with them, the situation was perhaps more difficult. A few children, like Herain Stein, absconded from the HOF without their siblings.¹¹¹ It was more common, however, for siblings to run away together from the HOF, as six-year-old George and four-year-old Willie French did in June 1871, after having inhabited the asylum for only four days.¹¹²

Asylum children in Liverpool sometimes acted to remove themselves from the orphanages, though fewer children did so than in Baltimore. Twenty-four Liverpool orphans absconded between 1850 and 1910; six of these children were LFOA girls, and the remaining

¹⁰⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record of James Bowie.

¹¹⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Maggie Ford, Bridie Lenore Young; Registers, Book 8, Record of Albert Talbot. For additional examples of children who were placed in the asylum without siblings and who ran away from the HOF, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Dora Rhinehart, Bernadina Krauser, Joanna Ryan; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for George Green and Jennie Scott; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record for Alice Watts; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Maggie Ford, Joseph Tottle, Alverda Leach, Bridie Lenore Young; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Lizzie Mink (aka Nelson) and Charles McCafferty; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, History of Golden Rebecca Hashall.

¹¹¹ Herain Stein and his brothers Samuel and Lawrence became HOF residents in October 1882. Herain ran away six days later. His brothers remained in the HOF for another twenty days, until their mother removed them from the asylum. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892. For other children who ran away from the HOF without their siblings, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Maryland Virginia Ball; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Joseph, Mary, and Thomas Connaway; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Herbert, Eddie, Mary and Henry Swank, Eddie, John and Annie Dyson; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Anne and Andrew Micholsky; HOF, Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Susie, Lottie, Margaret, Earnest, and Lillian G. Courts.

¹¹² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of George and Willie French. Additional examples of siblings who absconded from the HOF together include: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Clara and Elisabeth Rother, Anna Elisa and Catharine Elisabeth Ball; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Charles and Louisa Volante; Register Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Laura and Agnes Newton; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Lillie and Minnie Baggot; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Admissions of Hugh and Harry Layton.

eighteen were boys in residence at the LAOB.¹¹³ The majority of these Liverpool runaways acted in a manner similar to their Baltimore counterparts, and fled the asylums alone. This was the course of action R.G. Harper, Edward Mott, and Middleton Peel all followed as part of their efforts to escape the LAOB.¹¹⁴ Yet here the similarities between the Liverpool and Baltimore asylum runaways end. In only three of these Liverpool cases did asylum children act in concert with one another and leave the asylums without permission; two of these joint efforts occurred in the 1870s while the third happened in 1901.¹¹⁵ And unlike the children who absconded from the HOF in Baltimore, none of the LFOA and LAOB runaways who left with another child fled the orphanages with their kin. Indeed, in the rare instances in which Liverpool orphans cooperated with another child and left the asylum, they acted in concert with someone other than a blood relative.

¹¹³ For the absconding LFOA girls, see: SHSR, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, October 1845-September 1858; Entry for Elizabeth Jones; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of June 9, 1876, Discussion of Martha Jones and Mary Prestroinch; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of March 6, 1884, Comments about Jane Ann Hughes; Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meetings of April 1, 1903 and January 14, 1907, Examples of Hetty Evans and Gwendoline Healiss. LAOB representatives did not identify the names of all the LAOB boys who were runaways, but for instances in which they were specific, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of September 29, 1868, Discussion of W. McFarlane; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of January 1870 and December 1870, Cases of RG Harper and R. Williams; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of January 1877 and March 1879, Histories of Edwin Bolton and Paul Hudson; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921; Accounts of William Newsham, James Thomas, Joseph Erving, George Walker; Harold C. Jones.

¹¹⁴ R.G. Harper ran away from the LAOB in January 1870, after having spent only five days in the asylum. When his family returned the boy a week later, he "showed such a strong dislike to being left here, and so positively expressed his determination to run away again," that LAOB authorities refused to accept him until the matter could be further considered. For more on R.G. Harper, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of January 1870. For the case histories of Mott and Peel, see SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-1921, Entries for October 9-November 13, 1899, and Entries for February 10-March 9, 1903. For other examples of LAOB residents who absconded alone from the asylum, examine the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 2, 1861, Discussion of unnamed boy who absconded from the asylum; Meeting of September 29, 1868, Notes on W. McFarlane; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Discussion of R. Williams. For LFOA girls who acted in the same way, please examine: Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, October 1845-September 1858, Record of Elizabeth Jones; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of March 6, 1884, Account of Jane Anne Hughes; Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meetings of April 1, 1903 and January 14, 1907, Entries for Hetty Evans and Gwendoline Healiss.

¹¹⁵ For these three histories, see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of June 29, 1876, Discussion of Martha Jones and Mary Prestroinch; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of March 1870, Discussion of two unnamed boys; SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Period of January 14-February 11, 1901, Notes on James Thomas and Joseph Erving.

Children of Unwed Mothers

One of the most significant differences between the population of orphans institutionalized in Baltimore and Liverpool was the group of illegitimate children in residence in the HOF in Baltimore. Though no children of unwed mothers were admitted into the BOA until 1899, and only three BOA inhabitants were ever identified as illegitimate, such children were regularly accepted at the HOF, and a total of sixty-one (1.8%) children whose mothers were unwed entered the asylum between 1854 and 1910.¹¹⁶ During the first decade alone that the HOF was in existence, eleven children of unwed mothers became residents.¹¹⁷ The majority, however, of these children were admitted between 1890 and 1910, with forty-five (73.8%) of these HOF residents entering during this twenty-year period.¹¹⁸ This later group of children included a number of siblings, whose entrance into the HOF was court ordered, including John and Jessie Leizear, Edward and Harry Rictor, Harry and Earl Hanson, Lottie and Reuben Pitcher, and Viola and Nora Bensel.¹¹⁹ The involvement of the Baltimore judiciary system distinguished these children from their earlier HOF predecessors, but their illegitimacy itself was not exceptional at the HOF. The children of single mothers who were accepted into the HOF demonstrate that not all asylum children in Baltimore were the offspring of legal unions.

¹¹⁶ Florence Myers was the first child BOA administrators recognized as illegitimate; this girl became a BOA resident in May 1889, when she was nearly five years old. See WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book Five, Girls Only, 1882-1900 for more information on this child. For the cases of the two other illegitimate children who entered the BOA between 1889 and 1910, see: SHSR, Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Accounts of Albert Campbell and Albert Gray.

¹¹⁷ For these histories, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Sophie Hiss, Mary Creighton, Fanny Parker, Josephine Blake, Virginia Georgain, Margaret Kenetta Biddle, George King, Sarah Rebecca Kelly, Virginia Thomas, James Brannan, Mary White, and Salome Webb.

¹¹⁸ For records of illegitimate children who entered the HOF during this period, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Record of Howard Lancaster; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Florence Tannencliff, Augusta Miller, Harry and Earl Hanson, Augusta Miller; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Willie Wright, Grace Hodges, Marie Becketts, Minnie Fenrich, Luther Cantley, Jesse Hayden, Oscar McNeal, Joseph Stallinger Larrimore, George Lewis, and Susie R. Stingel; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Cases of William Wise, Herman F. Marker, Ruth Wachner, Roy Steiner, William Hartsock, Margaret Pasterfield, Edward L. Honsman, Lucy Adams and Parker Hughes.

¹¹⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of John and Jessie Leizear; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Accounts of Edward E. and Harry Rictor; Harry and Earl Hanson; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of Reuben A. and Lottie B. Pitcher; Viola and Nora Bensel. For information on other illegitimate siblings who entered between 1890 and 1910, see: HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Accounts of Ellanorah, Catherine, Margaret and Warren Gorman; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Records for Sarah F. and Clarence E. Mitchell, LeRoy and Albert W. Poole.

Though there was a population of children whose mothers were unwed in residence in at least one of the Baltimore asylums between 1854 and 1910, there is no evidence that any of the orphans who inhabited the Liverpool asylums were illegitimate. Liverpool orphanage officials articulated a stringent set of rules that governed admission, and it was not uncommon for LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA administrators to remind potential applicants that “the marriage certificate of parents is required for admittance.”¹²⁰ This commitment to admitting only the children of legal marital unions was directly connected to Liverpool orphanage officials understanding of certain children, including those who had lost both parents, those who had been born within a seven mile radius of Liverpool, and those who were the offspring of legally married parents as having “preferential claims” to assistance. Indeed, LFOA officials suggested that the care of children who did not meet these criteria was the domain of poor law representatives and argued “that if charitable people step in to do what the poor-law officer can do better, sooner or later the cases of illegitimacy and abandonment are certain to increase.”¹²¹ Officials at all three asylums continued to expect applicants to submit proof of their parents’ marriages throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, and candidates such as Sarah Ashcroft, Augusta Bradbury and Mary Barron who complied with this prerequisite gained admission.¹²² Those applicants who failed to provide this proof were simply excluded from the

¹²⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845. For the original admission policies and rules of the LAOB, see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 26, 1851. For the LIOA rules of admission, please examine: SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880

¹²¹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath—A Quarterly Magazine in Aid of the Funds of the Asylum for Orphan Girls, and the Church of Holy Innocents*, December 1892-December 1893, January 1893 edition, “Preferential Claims,” p. 11.

¹²² Officials occasionally documented the evidence that applicants provided to the asylum in order to gain entrance. See SHSR, Admission Papers, Letters A-Y, 1812-1930; Admission Papers, Certificates, Birth, 1847-1917; Admission Papers, Certificates, Baptism, 1828-1860; Admission Papers, Certificates, Marriage, 1825-1923; Admission Papers, Certificates, Death, 1845-1913. See also SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851, Example of Sarah Ashcroft; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Accounts of Augusta Alice Bradbury and Mary Barron.

asylum, as Mabel Rice was in February 1894, after LFOA authorities determined there was “no proof of the marriage of her parents.”¹²³

Abused children

Asylum officials in Baltimore and Liverpool collected hundreds of children’s histories, but said little about parent-child relationships, or the interactions that occurred between surviving parents and children. Yet in a few cases, the testimony HOF representatives gathered was disturbing enough to warrant its inclusion in the asylum’s admission registers. These cases demonstrate some children in Baltimore entered the HOF from homes in which violence and mistreatment occurred and was directed towards these children. Margaret Apersberger arrived at the asylum in March 1863 after having run away from home. She told HOF authorities that both her mother and stepfather drank, and that the latter “had frequently beaten her.” One of the individuals Margaret named as a reference verified that “her story was true, that her reported step-parents were drunken and worthless, and that the father had tried to injure the girl in every way.”¹²⁴ Other HOF histories, including those of Mary Ann McBride and Kate McQuillan, confirm that Margaret’s story was not unique in terms of the level of violence she was subjected to prior to her admission. A Mrs. Braun brought Mary Ann to the asylum in June 1863 and told asylum officials that she witnessed the “brutal conduct of the father of this child--taking her by the hair of head he thrust her into a house, and closed the door—loud screams following.” This woman then entered the McBride home, and found Mary Ann “on the floor, and the father [Mr. McBride] kicking her most unmercifully.”¹²⁵ The police officer who escorted seven-year-old Kate McQuillan to the HOF in May of the following year reported a similar scene of

¹²³ For information on Mabel Rice, see: SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of February 8, 1893, Discussion of Mabel Rice; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entry for Mabel Adeline Rice. For the histories of other children whose application for admission was rejected because of the failure to produce parental marriage certificates, or because children were not from legitimate marital unions, please see: SHSR, Admission Registers, December 1852-August 1865, Examples of May Ellen Fairris; Sarah Moseley; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Account of Christopher Charles Stapleton.

¹²⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Margaret Apersberger.

¹²⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Mary Ann (alias Eliza) McBride.

mistreatment, in which he had “rescued her [Kate] from the brutal fury of intoxicated parents who had beaten her, till she was almost insensible.”¹²⁶ Kate’s history, like that of Margaret Apersberger, reveals the role that alcohol played in some of these violent incidents, and suggests as well that some male behavior (i.e. violence against children) was so clearly unacceptable that neighbors and police would intervene.¹²⁷ All of these accounts reinforce that there was a population of Baltimore asylum children who came from families in which physical violence against children occurred.

There were certainly residents who arrived at the HOF from households in which the mistreatment of children did occur, but it is unclear how many children in the Baltimore asylums regularly experienced such violence. The issue is further complicated by the presence of children who provided HOF officials with narratives that asylum officials eventually determined were false. Theresa Rose was found alone on the streets of Baltimore one night in April 1862, and brought to the asylum. She told HOF officials that her father was dead, and her “stepmother with whom she lived treated her badly and chased her out of the house.”¹²⁸ HOF representatives investigated the girl’s story and discovered that her stepmother had gone to the local police station to try to find the girl, and that Theresa had actually stolen something and had run away from home to avoid punishment for her actions. Mary Wenheim provided HOF authorities with an equally sad tale when she appeared at the asylum in March 1863. Mary said her mother died when she was three, that her stepmother had died the previous Christmas, and that her father [Mr. Wenheim] died two weeks later after an accidental fall at work. Mary also reported that her father had left her with one of her stepmother’s sisters, and that this woman had left to go to New

¹²⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. For additional examples of HOF children who came from households in which violence was said to occur, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Lizzie Douglass; Margaret Inglehart. Entries for the two unnamed Gallagher brothers; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of James and Willie Fallon; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Case of Charles Mathias.

¹²⁷ Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), p. 37.

¹²⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Theresa Rose.

York, abandoning Mary in the process.¹²⁹ When HOF authorities made inquiries about this story at the place Mary's deceased father had formerly worked, they discovered Mary's father was very much alive, and they discussed the girl's story with Mr. Wenheim. Mary's father told HOF officials that she had run away from the family's home several days before because her stepmother was "strict with her," though he did not elaborate on what this strict behavior entailed. In both cases, adults convinced HOF officials that the original histories they had heard of death and desertion, and mistreatment were incorrect. These stories certainly suggest some children in Baltimore presented narratives to HOF officials that played on the latter's sympathies, and that were false in their composition. These narratives also indicate as well that the HOF had a good reputation for its treatment of children.

Children who entered as the result of other local organizations' and operatives' efforts

One of the most striking contrasts between the populations of asylum children in both cities was how many children in Baltimore became asylum inhabitants not as the result of family members' decisions to have them admitted, but because of the intervention of other local organizations, institutions and police officers. Seventeen (2.8%) BOA girls and twenty (2.9%) BOA boys entered the asylum because of the efforts of local groups and facilities like the HOF, the Nursery and Child's Hospital, the Female House of Refuge, the Children's Aid Society, and the Supervisors of the City Charities.¹³⁰ These same Baltimore institutions and organizations, as well as Bayview Asylum, the Maryland Penitentiary, the Protestant Infant Asylum, the Maryland

¹²⁹ The admission entry for Mary Wenheim is located in WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. HOF officials discussed the full details of the girl's case in Registers, Book 2, Admissions, March 1861-March 1870. See also Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Record of Charles Downey, for the case of another child who lied to HOF representatives about his parents, and his situation.

¹³⁰ For the histories of the BOA inhabitants in this group, please see: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1881-1900, Cases of Margaret Pauline Quinn; Emma Seegers; Mary M. Hammet; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Records of Joseph Myers; Charles Serbo; Charles Sarvs; John Pierman; Louis Albert Conrey; Joseph Myers; John Pierman; Albert Miller; Richard Wirt; Edward E. Berry; Joseph, Robert and Edward Wiley; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Examples of Samuel Wilbur and Edgar Russell Hooper; Arniel Doll; William Rhinehart; Henry Cypler; Joseph Edward Williams; Joseph Alexander Shaw; James Davis Rymer; Earl G. Bunce; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Entries for Alice, Maggie and Julia Hales; Edith Marie Joiner; Edna M. Whalen; Mary Elizabeth and Sarah Martha Adams; Lillian Walters; Sarah Boyles; Edith, Sarah, and Ella Rushton; Harriet and Marguerite Lang.

Industrial School for Girls, the House of Refuge, the Egerton Female Orphan Asylum, the Home for Mothers and Infants, and the Charity Organization Society also won the admission of children into the HOF; 117 (3.6%) HOF inhabitants owed their residence in the asylum to this type of intervention.¹³¹ Yet it was only at the HOF that police officials also contributed to the admission of children. In a number of these children's cases, including those of Nicholas Dollard, Sophy and Carrie Heck, Maggie and Kate Parsons, and Howard Scott, one or both parents were in local jails, and city policeman brought these youngsters to the HOF for care.¹³² In other instances, police officers discovered children like Rebecca and Mary Ann Salary and Henry Rodgers alone on the streets and turned to the asylum for assistance.¹³³ These histories, as well as those of

¹³¹ WC, HOF, Master File, 1854-1910. For examples of children Bayview Asylum officials conveyed to the HOF, please examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Bertha Shriver; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Ella Wells. For the account of a child who was sent to the HOF from the Maryland Penitentiary, where her mother was an inmate, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, History of Elizabeth Chamberlain. Protestant Infant Asylum administrators sent Four-month-old Edward Rhomasure to the HOF in March 1877 because of overcrowding in that asylum; see WC, HOF, Registers, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Edward Martin Rhomasure. For information on Maggie Campbell, who was sent from the Maryland Industrial School for Girls to the HOF in March 1878, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881. Officials at the Egerton Female Asylum transferred Albert Wilkinson from that institution to the HOF in October 1887; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892. For the history of a child transferred from the Home for Mothers and Infants to the HOF, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for George Lewis. For the case histories of children the Charity Organization Society had admitted into the HOF, examine the following entries: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Bertie, John and Eugenia Bhune; Norah Porter; Agnes, Charlotte and Gussie Stengline; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Frank Stewart; Mary Naparotek; Anne and Andrew Micholsky; Norwood and Mamie Folk; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Harry Haines Bossom; Kate, Willie and Roland Betz; Ida and Kurt Meisner; Nellie, Amy and Maggie Atmenspacher; Ruby, Blanche and Pearl Roberts; Edna M. and Julia Maas; May, Louise, Edward and Robert Seibert; Paul Norris; Hattie Redford; Eleanora M. Collins. See the following entries for children who entered the HOF from the Nursery and Child's Hospital, the House of Refuge, the Children's Aid Society and via the efforts of the Supervisors of the City Charities: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Mary Ball and Anna Troy; Margaret, Catherine and Daniel McWilliams; Mary Alice Jervis; Emma J. Harris; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of George Moffat; Annie Jones; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Andrew and Peter Conly; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Annie and Mary Seibert; Lewis and Alfred Conery; Florence and Nora Goodier; Willie Kibby; Fannie Hopkins; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Thomas SJ Stewart; Edward Sheridan Hale; Willie, Louis and John Brach; John H. Clark; Christian and John Wagner; Rosa, Willie and Mamie Scroust; Arthur Roth; Dora Reese; Willie Poole; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Oscar Woltz; Florence Tannencliff; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Maggie and Alice Townsend; John Boulden; Martha Deitrick; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Entries for Howard Belt; Lillian Smith; Carolyn Moore; Joseph and Frances Schillian; Edgar Parker; Hattie Redford; Fannie Gertrude Green.

¹³² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record of Nicholas Dollard; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Sophy and Carrie Heck; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Maggie and Kate Parsons; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Example of Howard Scott. For the accounts of other children brought to the HOF by Baltimore City police officers because one or both of their parents was jailed, refer to the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Mary Wilen; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Charlie Aler; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Case of Mary E. Smith

¹³³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Mary Ann and Rebecca Salary; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Henry Rodgers. For additional cases of children Baltimore City police officers found alone and had admitted into the HOF, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Histories of Edward and Mary E.

children brought to the asylum through the efforts of other institutions, indicate that a network existed between the Baltimore asylums and various other organizations and groups in the city when it came to coordinating the care of poor children.

There is less evidence of such a network in Liverpool. The three orphanages did willingly accept children from one another, but only eight children were admitted into the LFOA, LAOB and LIOA from other institutions between 1840 and 1910. Seven of these cases occurred at the LFOA, and involved girls sent from Major Lester's school, the Home for the Prevention of Cruelty, the Training Home for Girls, the Liverpool Sheltering Home, and Dr. Barnardo's Home.¹³⁴ In the last instance, Elizabeth Singleton became an LIOA resident in February 1877, after having been in residence at another local Liverpool institution officials identified as the Widows Home.¹³⁵ The rarity with which girls were accepted into the LFOA and the LIOA from local institutions, and the fact that no boys appear to have entered the LAOB in such a manner, suggests the limited nature of the interactions between these three asylums and other child-care institutions in Liverpool during this period. It is clear that hardly any of orphans who came into the LFOA, LAOB and LIOA did so as the result of cooperation that occurred between asylum officials at these three asylums and reformers working for other Liverpool organizations, and there is no evidence that any of these Liverpoolian orphans arrived in these institutions as the result of police intervention.

McWilliams; Sarah Osborne; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of William, Charles and Louisa Volante; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Charles Downey; John Fleming(or Burke).

¹³⁴ Sarah Hane Wilson and her sister Elizabeth left Major Lester's School and entered the LFOA in October 1885. The Home for the Prevention of Cruelty sent Ada Louise Lansdale and Elizabeth Ann Hopley to the LFOA in July 1886 and January 1887. Jane Clementine Launson was admitted into the LFOA from the Training Home for Girls in September 1890. See SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895 for the histories of all five of these girls. Officials from the Liverpool Sheltering Home applied to have Mary Scholfield admitted into the asylum in March 1895. Representatives from Dr. Barnardo's Home asked LFOA authorities to accept Eveline Marsh into the asylum in June 1895, and she became a LFOA resident the following month. For the admission records of these girls, refer to: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Records of Mary Ann Scholfield; Eveline Marsh.

¹³⁵ SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Account of Elizabeth Ann Singleton.

Conclusion

Hundreds of children were accepted into the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums between 1840 and 1910, and though these youngsters were primarily healthy local children who entered the institutions in the company of siblings, it would be wrong to conclude that the populations of asylum children in both cities were homogeneous. The population of Baltimore asylum children included girls and boys who were the offspring of unmarried parents, a contingent of children whose parents had abused them in the presence of others, a group of children who were far younger at the time of their admission than were their Liverpoolian counterparts, and a number of children who had originally been in the care of other institutions or authorities before arriving at the HOF and BOA. In addition, these children entered the orphanages in Baltimore at earlier ages than did their Liverpoolian counterparts, and remained in these institutions for shorter lengths of time on average than did asylum inhabitants in Liverpool. Children's entrance in the orphanages acted as an equalizer in some ways, as admission exposed children in both cities to health dangers which did for some unfortunate youngsters prove fatal, and provoked in other children anxieties and fears that led them to flee from these institutions. In contrast, a few sought refuge at the asylums on their own. Questions remain however, about these institutions, their management, and the realities of life for children who resided in the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages. It is to these asylums, that we now turn our attention.

Chapter Six: The Orphanages

In the BOA Annual Report for 1860, asylum representatives declared that

it is a great thing to pluck from the burning the brand already half consumed by the fires of sin, but it is a nobler act to save the young; to fit those whose whole lives are before them to spend those lives to the glory of God and the good of their fellow beings.¹

BOA officials expected the asylum to provide BOA residents with whatever instruction or training they needed to accomplish these goals, though they offered little insight into the asylum and how it might accomplish these tasks. This statement, as well as similar ones other Baltimore and Liverpool officials made between 1840 and 1910, begs the question of how exactly the asylums functioned on a daily basis. These institutions had lofty intentions when it came to the children they housed, but what were the realities of these institutions themselves? An examination of asylum operations in Baltimore and Liverpool reveals notable differences when it came to who controlled the institutions, and to the boarding of children. Yet these institutions proved remarkably similar as well, especially in terms of asylum staff; the disciplining of asylum residents; funding sources; educational, vocational and religious training provided to children; and leisure activities granted to asylum residents. Some of these similarities, specifically those involving education and leisure provisions that periodically removed children from the asylums, suggest the impact late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century child welfare trends and debates had on the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages. Asylum officials in both cities were clearly familiar with this discourse, though they made efforts to navigate their own path when it came to asylum practices.

¹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1860.

Official Asylum Governance

Both men and women were involved in the management of the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums, though female asylum reformers at the BOA and HOF wielded far more power than their Liverpool counterparts, when it came to asylum governance. In Baltimore, men served as asylum trustees, but it was actually women who acted as the principal administrators of the BOA and HOF.² At the BOA, the Board of Managers was the female body that controlled the asylum; by an 1808 Act of Incorporation this Board of nine women was to “have the sole superintendence, and direction of the said school, and may pass any ordinances for the orderly management and good government” of the institution.³ The managers regularly utilized these powers as well; the issues the Board dealt with on a monthly basis included admission applications, dismissal requests, BOA residents’ education and religious instruction, children’s leisure activities, misbehaving residents, BOA health issues, the terms of placing-out arrangements, BOA staffing issues, revisions to BOA policies, and monthly donations to the asylum.⁴ As of the late 1850s, the twenty-one women who served on the HOF Board of Managers were similarly empowered. These women were

² This appears to have been the case as well at the Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Baltimore City (KHOMECE). According to the certificate of incorporation, the Kelso Home was a corporation that was to be managed by seven trustees. This Board of Trustees was supposed to appoint the Lady Managers, and the general charge of the Home was to be in the hands of the latter. The Managers and the Trustees did meet regularly to discuss and address any business that was related to the Kelso Home, but it was the Lady Managers who dealt with the daily running of the asylum and its realities. For information about the Board of Trustees and the female Managers at the KHOMECE, refer to the following: Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes, 1874-1887, Certificate of Incorporation; Meeting of January 2, 1874; By-Laws, Article First, December 7, 1898; “Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church—When and By Whom Founded.”

³ WC, BOA, “Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules governing the asylum,” *An act for incorporating a society to educate and maintain poor orphan and other destitute female children, by the name of the Orphaline Charity School, and to repeal the act of assembly therein mentioned, passed January 20, 1808-1807, chapter 145, Section III.* The number of BOA Managers was increased to twenty-five in 1894.

⁴ Each BOA Board Meeting was an amalgamation of various issues, though admission applications and dismissal requests were discussed at nearly all board meetings: See WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, for such discussions. For examples of the Board’s consideration of education and religious instruction as well as children’s leisure activities, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of September 5, 1881; August 4, 1884; January 5, 1885; March 5, 1888; October 1, 1894; January 7, 1895; February 4, 1895; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of November 1895; February 3, 1896; February 1897; March 1, 1897; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, Meeting of May 1910. For Board discussions of misbehaving children, BOA health issues, the terms of placing out arrangements, asylum staffing issues, revisions to BOA policies and monthly asylum donations, please examine the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of November 1881; March 6, 1882; October 1, 1883; May 5, 1884; April 6, 1885; October 4, 1886; November 5, 1888; June 3, 1889; March 2, 1891;

to have entire control of the property and funds of the Institution, and shall use and apply them in such manner as they shall deem best calculated to accomplish its benevolent purposes; they shall have power to enact their own By-Laws and regulations, fill any vacancy that may occur in their own body, by death or otherwise, employ agents, determine their own compensation, direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, and generally to adopt all such measures as shall promote the object of the Institution.⁵

In addition to their control of asylum finances, property and management, these HOF Managers also had “the supervision of the school,” as well as the authority to “decide the admission or rejection of all [admission] applicants,” and “advise and direct the Matron in the performance of her duties.”⁶ As this list demonstrates, these women were involved in every facet of HOF administration. But perhaps even more significant was the primary role they played in overall asylum management. These women and their female peers at the BOA were the true governors of the Baltimore asylums.⁷

October 5, 1891; May 1893; December 3, 1894; April 1, 1895; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897; Meetings of September 3, 1895; January 1896; March 2, 1896; October 4, 1896; February 1897; April 1897; October 1897; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, Meetings of February 1906; May 1906; December 1906; February 1907; January 1908; November 1908; February 1909; April 1909; April 1910; December 1910. The BOA Managers did not form Committees similar to those at the HOF until 1894; as of this date the BOA Board established the Admissions and Dismissions Committee, the School and Amusements Committee, the Housekeeping Committee, and the Sewing Committee to better address the topics the Board considered each month. See WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of March 4, 1894, for the formation of these committees.

⁵ WC, HOF, Constitution and By-Laws, 1859, Constitution, Article VI.

⁶ *Ibid.*, By-Laws Six, Seven, and Eight.

⁷ The Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (JHCOA) appears to have been the exception to this pattern in Baltimore. Evidence from the JHCOA makes clear that there was a two-tiered structure of governance at that asylum which men controlled. The JHCOA Board of Lady Managers visited that asylum on a regular basis, interacted with staff and children, and reported their findings to the Committee on the Colored Orphans Asylum, which was comprised of four men who sat on the Johns Hopkins Hospital Trustees Board. Though the Lady Managers knew much more about what happened at the JHCOA on a daily basis, it was the Committee on the Colored Orphans Asylum that actually administered the asylum and its affairs. These men enforced the rules regarding admissions and dismissals at the asylum and actually governed the JHCOA. Two examples that demonstrate the subordinate role that the JHCOA Lady Managers played to their male counterparts can be found in the minutes for the Johns Hopkins Hospital Trustees Committee on the Colored Orphans Asylum. The first involved changes that the Committee members proposed in

Though the female administrators of the Baltimore asylums exercised more authority than their male counterparts, the reverse was true in Liverpool. Indeed, the gendered division of power that existed at the three Liverpool orphanages favored the men who served on the General Committee. The women on the Liverpool orphanages Ladies Committee served only in a supporting role to these men, who were the orphanages' main administrators. The LIOA Ladies Committee was supposed to "regulate the interior working of the asylum," but when it came to actual decision-making these women were not to enact any policy changes, but to meet with the LIOA General Committee, who would "receive and consider any proposition the ladies committee may wish to make" before making a final decision about the matter at hand.⁸ The situation was similar at the LAOB, where the women on the Ladies Committee occasionally suggested changes in the composition of asylum staff, but were themselves powerless to make such changes.⁹ At the LFOA, the Ladies Committee possessed more agency when it came to domestic affairs than their LAOB and LIOA counterparts. The LFOA Ladies Committee appointed the asylum's Matron and Schoolmistress, and was also supposed to make sure that

the children are properly instructed in Housewifery, so as to
be qualified for useful servants—to determine what Children
shall be apprenticed, and to whom—to attend to and direct
those minutiae of domestic arrangements which none but

1898 to the asylum by-laws. The Lady Managers objected to these changes, and though the Committee discussed this opposition, they quickly decided to adopt these changes and simply make an effort to explain the situation to the Lady Managers more fully. The second example of the subordinate role these women played in the administration of the JHCOA occurred in September 1900, and involved the possibility of expanding the cooking class that some of the JHCOA girls had access to; the Lady Managers wanted to make this education available to fifty girls, and to have four classes, each of which received on lesson per week. Yet before the Ladies could effect this change, they had to write to the Committee and seek its permission to allow these changes. Indeed, the Lady Managers did not have the power on their own to make such alterations to asylum policies; it was up to the men who sat on the Committee to decide what practices and instruction would occur at the asylum. For more on the subordinate role these women played to their male peers when it came to the administration of the JHCOA, see the following: JHCOA, Minutes, The Johns Hopkins Hospital Trustees Committee of the Colored Orphans Asylum, 1898-1912, Meetings of May 17, 1898; December 22, 1898; September 29, 1900; October 9, 1900; June 22, 1903; October 27, 1903; January 10, 1911.

⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meetings of January 8, 1865 and January 27, 1868.

⁹ For evidence of this, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of September 7, 1866; January 18, 1871.

females can understand.¹⁰

As this statement demonstrates, it was nineteenth-century understandings of gender that empowered these women and provided them with control over all matters domestic at the LFOA. Yet there were real limits to women's power. The LFOA General Committee ultimately enacted children's apprenticeships, and also controlled the asylum's financial matters, hired the medical officers who staffed the LFOA, and insured that LFOA rules, orders, and by-laws were followed.¹¹

Asylum Staff and Employees

Each of the Baltimore and Liverpool institutions had its own staff of employees, of whom the asylum matrons or headmaster and teachers were the principal figures of importance. The women and man who served as Matrons and Headmaster enforced behavior in the asylums, but their responsibilities regularly encompassed more than discipline.

The number of Matrons varied in Baltimore between the early 1860s and 1910, as the asylums housed children of both sexes who were segregated according to sex; this situation usually meant the HOF and BOA employed more than one Matron.¹² In terms of the primary responsibilities these women had, HOF officials expected the Matron "to require from all the children unquestioning obedience, and see that the order and decorum of a well regulated

¹⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending January 31, 1872.

¹¹ Ibid., Report for the year ending January 31, 1872.

¹² Between the early 1860s and May 1884 the BOA employed separate Girls' and Boys' Matrons. As of May 1884 BOA officials reduced the number of Matrons to one, and between 1897 and 1910 the asylum retained two to three Matrons, with one of these women serving as the primary directress. At the HOF, fewer alterations occurred; until the mid-1870s there was one HOF Matron, and between 1875 and 1912, there were separate Girls' and Boys' Matrons. See WC, HOF, Annual Reports, 1854-1898, First Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1854 and November 23, 1855; Second Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1855 and November 23, 1856; Fifth Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1858 and November 23, 1859; Sixth Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1859 and November 23, 1860. For the shift to separate Boys and Girls Matrons at the HOF, see: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Twenty-Second Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1876. See WC, HOF, Annual Reports, 1908-1914, Fifty Fourth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1913, for the decision to have one Matron in charge of the entire HOF.

Christian family be strictly observed” in the asylum.¹³ The BOA Matron also was supposed to insure good behavior in the asylum and deal with problematic BOA inhabitants, so that both Baltimore asylums’ Matrons served as the principal disciplinarian-in-residence. The HOF Matron was to make sure the children were “kept neat and tidy in their personal appearance, that they retire and rise, and have their meals at a specified hour, [and] that they are industrious during working hours.”¹⁴ The BOA Matron had “general oversight of the whole institution” and was to keep the Board informed about BOA domestic matters, schedule BOA staff vacations, temporarily admit children into the BOA until the Board could review admission applications, and determine which BOA residents were ready for apprenticeship.¹⁵

Like their counterparts in Baltimore, the Matrons and Headmaster of the Liverpool orphanages were expected to enforce discipline and manage the inner-workings of these institutions. In addition, the LFOA Matron and the LAOB Headmaster acted as agents for these asylums in all matters related to the children and their lives. All three of the Liverpool orphanages were headed by a director. At the LFOA and LIOA, this was the Matron, while at the LAOB the Headmaster served in this capacity. LIOA officials reported in 1859 that the LIOA Matron was to have the “entire control of the establishment as the Matron had at the Female Orphan Asylum,” and it is clear that both Matrons and the LAOB Headmaster were expected to

¹³ WC, HOF, Constitution and By-Laws, By-Law Fifteen; The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of February 4, 1856; BOA, Miscellaneous, “An Account of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum during the Active Management of Mrs. Appleton Wilson,” 1918.

¹⁴ WC, HOF, Constitution and By-Laws, By-Law Fifteen.

¹⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of May 5, 1884. For specifics on the Matron’s duties, please see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of September 1, 1884; July 6, 1885; June 18, 1886; April 4, 1887; June 6, 1887; October 7, 1889; October 6, 1890; December 1, 1890; December 7, 1891; April 7, 1892; November 6, 1893; February 5, 1894. The Matron of the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (JHCOA) had, like her counterparts at the HOF and BOA, a variety of responsibilities. She was expected to regulate children’s behavior, and also to oversee sanitary conditions in the asylum and make sure the girls in residence were kept clean. It also fell to her to contact the doctor if any problems with children’s health developed, and to consult with the House Committee when inhabitants’ died, in order to make burial arrangements. The JHCOA Matron was also supposed to hold religious service every morning and every evening as well. For the discussion of the JHCOA Matron’s duties, see the following: Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, Series a. Committee on the Colored Orphan Asylum, 1898-1905, By Laws and Rules of the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, Rules for Matron, and Rules for religious service.

regulate the behavior of asylum residents and discipline them as needed.¹⁶ The duties of the LFOA Matron and the LAOB Headmaster, however, encompassed more than policing children's behavior. Both of these officials investigated applicants seeking apprentices, contacted the family members of ill asylum residents who were to be dismissed from the LFOA and LAOB, and consulted directly with the LFOA and LAOB Committees about children's health issues.¹⁷ In addition, the LFOA Matron visited apprentices like Margaret Forshaw and Annie Styles, who were experiencing problems in their situations, determined which LFOA girls were suitable for apprenticeships to the asylum itself, and assisted the asylum doctor with the medical examinations of children seeking admission into the LFOA.¹⁸ The LAOB Headmaster also

¹⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, February 8, 1859; Minutes, Ladies Committee (from this point onward cited as LC), May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 5, 1871; March 6, 1872; For more on the LAOB headmaster's responsibilities when it came to asylum discipline, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of September 29, 1863; March 11, 1864; February 19, 1883; Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of April 1871; July 1874; Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of January 1878; October 1879; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 4, 1909.

¹⁷ For the accounts of cases in which the LFOA Matron investigated applicants asking for apprentices, please examine: SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 1900, Meetings of March 1, 1893 and April 5, 1893, Histories of Helena Rowlands and Margaret Cowan; Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1991, Notes on Lucy and Mary Winslade. See SHSR, Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of February 6, 1901, Account of Esther Lillingham, for a case in which the LFOA Matron had to contact a ill child's family members because the child was to be dismissed. For the Matron's consultations with LFOA officials about children's health, see SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of February 5, 1896, Notes on Agnes Vichavance; Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of February 6, 1900, Discussion of Maggie Braithwaite; Minutes, General Committee (from this point onwards, cited as GC), February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of January 8, 1885; Meeting of October 5, 1893, Discussion of Annie Coupland. For instances in which the LAOB Headmaster did investigate men and women seeking apprentices see the following: SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 11, 1909. See the following for instances in which the LAOB Headmaster communicated with applicants and family members of boys: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of November 1871; May 1872; Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 1878; Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meetings of October 9, 1905; September 14, 1908. In June 1883, the LAOB Headmaster had to contact Thomas Deane's Uncle because of the boy's ill health, and to ask the Uncle to remove the child from the asylum; see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of June 25, 1883. For other examples of the Headmaster's role in contacting the relatives of soon to be dismissed boys, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of February 1879.

¹⁸ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of May 3, 1871, Notes on Margaret Forshaw and Annie Styles. For examples of the LFOA Matron's requests to apprentice certain girls to her, see: SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 1, 1871; Minutes, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of February 3, 1897, Notes on AE Wilson; Meeting of April 7, 1897, Discussion of Elizabeth Hamblett. See SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Reports for the years ending January 31, 1872; 1903 Annual Report, for more on the role the Matron played when it came to the medical examination LFOA admission applicants underwent.

conferred with the LAOB Committee about boys' education, labor, apprenticeships, and health issues, and corresponded with applicants and family members about boys.¹⁹

The Liverpool and Baltimore Matrons and Headmaster regulated children's behavior, guaranteed the asylums functioned properly on a daily basis, and even served as agents of inquiry, communication and evaluation at the LFOA and LAOB. The Matrons were not, however, the only significant figures when it came to asylum staff members; asylum teachers regularly provided the children in residence with daily care as well as educational training. At both the Baltimore asylums, female teachers educated boys and girls separately, and two teachers were employed at the BOA between the late 1860s and 1890s and at the HOF between 1875 and 1892.²⁰ The supervision of the children in the schoolroom regularly fell to these women, but their daily presence in the asylums meant their guidance of the children extended beyond the schoolroom as well.²¹ These teachers were of course responsible as well for the educational training asylum residents received, though officials at the two Baltimore asylums rarely spoke of what this instruction entailed. Indeed, HOF officials provided no specifics during this period about teachers' duties, but they did note that the grade of instruction the HOF teachers afforded the HOF residents was "above that of the Primary Department of the Public Schools."²² The BOA Managers were slightly more forthcoming in their description of BOA teachers' duties, as

¹⁹ For examples of the Headmaster's involvement in education and labor, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of January 5, 1881; Miscellaneous, Honorary Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meetings of October 9, 1905; September 14, 1908. For the headmaster and his involvement in apprenticeships and health issues, examine the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of November 22, 1880; Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of May 1871; March 1872; Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of October 1878; January 1879; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914; Meeting of October 9, 1905; November 13, 1905. See SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of November 1871, Case of W. Cearn; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of February 1879; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 9, 1905, Discussion of Harold Spread, for instances in which the headmaster corresponded with family members and applicants about boys in residence at the LAOB.

²⁰ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1868; 1870 Annual Report; 1871 Annual Report; 1872 Annual Report; 1874 Annual Report; 1875 Annual Report; 1878 Annual Report; 1883 Annual Report; 1887 Annual Report; 1888 Annual Report; 1890 Annual Report; 1893 Annual Report; HOF, Annual Reports, Reports for the years ending November 23, 1876; November 23, 1889.

²¹ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of June 3, 1889, Discussion of Amanda Kane; HOF, Annual Reports, Fifth Annual Report, For the year between November 23, 1858 and November 23, 1859; Registers, Book 4, Admissions and Dismissions, Boy's Department, 1873-1884, Weekly Household Routine.

²² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1873.

when they reported that these women were supposed to supply BOA residents who were old enough to receive instruction with a “good English education.”²³ These comments certainly suggest that teachers at both asylums were expected to provide asylum residents with at least a basic education, in addition to the daily care they gave these children.

Female Liverpool orphanage teachers were, like their peers in Baltimore, regularly responsible for more than just the education of asylum children. The male teachers at the LAOB had more assistance than their female counterparts at the LFOA, LIOA and the Baltimore asylums when it came to these duties. When the LIOA opened in 1859, there were two teachers, and it was up to these women not only to instruct LIOA residents in their studies, but to provide daily care for them as well. The LIOA Committee hired a third teacher in 1867, but it was not until July 1869 that they hired a servant specifically so that LIOA teachers could be “relieved of sundry work connected with the care of the children” and instead focus entirely on the children’s education.²⁴ The LFOA teaching staff faced a similar double burden until 1887, when LFOA Committee Members decided to appoint a Sub-Matron to perform “the domestic duties hitherto assigned to the teaching staff,” and to “appoint a non-resident school-mistress, who, not having her time and attention occupied by any household duties, would be able to devote herself exclusively to the education of the children.”²⁵ LFOA officials clearly expected these resolutions to free the principal teacher from the conflicting responsibilities that had previously competed for her attention. Only at the LAOB were teachers perhaps somewhat more fortunate than their counterparts at the LIOA and LFOA; the August 1869 LAOB Committee Minutes proposed a reduction in the number of asylum staff, such that there was to be one nurse, two sewers, one cook, one housemaid and two laundry maids.²⁶ The fact that the LAOB intended to retain several domestic servants even after this reduction hints at the limits of male teachers’ duties. Male

²³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1875 Annual Report.

²⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Infant Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meetings of May 2, 1867; July 8, 1869.

²⁵ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1872-1888, Report for the year ending December 31, 1887.

²⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of August 30, 1869.

teachers at the LAOB had far more assistance than their peers at the other two Liverpool orphanages in the early years these institutions operated, and did not have to divide their time between domestic and professional concerns as did female teachers at the other Liverpool orphanages and the HOF and BOA in Baltimore.²⁷

Discipline in the Asylums

Baltimore and Liverpool asylum authorities expected their charges to adhere to asylum regulations and to behave properly while they resided in these institutions. Unfortunately for these officials, there was a small population of asylum children in both cities who engaged in unacceptable behavior that attracted the attention and raised the ire of institutional authorities. In both cities, the majority of these misbehaving asylum residents were boys, which suggests misbehavior was itself a gendered problem. Between 1854 and 1910, Baltimore asylum officials dealt with various forms of misbehavior, including unruliness, vandalism, and theft, as well as absconding children and those who were a danger to their fellow asylum inhabitants. Of these cases, only three involved female residents.²⁸ Unruliness was the most common charge leveled at residents of both Baltimore asylums, and though officials suggested children had defied the Matron or other asylum employees, they failed to say specifically what these children had done. Between 1854 and 1864, HOF authorities dismissed eleven children because they were “insubordinate and unmanageable.”²⁹ BOA officials encountered similar difficulties, including the cases of William Myers, John Claypole, Harry Ortlief, David Watson, Eddie Cills, William

²⁷ The Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (JHCOA) in Baltimore appears to have been more like the LAOB than the HOF and BOA when it came to teachers and their duties. The teachers at the JHCOA were expected to assist the Matron with domestic duties when school was not in session at the asylum, but the asylum’s regular staff was also comprised of a laundress, cook, gardener, and even seamstress, who also performed many of the asylum’s domestic duties. The variety of employees that the JHCOA possessed, as well as the added help that these employees would have provided to JHCOA teachers certainly suggests teachers at this asylum, like their counterparts at the LAOB, had more assistance than their peers at other institutions. Refer to the following for this information: JHCOA, Series b. Financial records, 1895-1923, Bills 1910-1911.

²⁸ For the histories of misbehaving asylum girls in Baltimore, see the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, Meeting of October 1908, Case of Florence Tall; HOF, Register Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, History of Jane Lanahan; Board Minutes, December 1901-June 1913, Meeting of April 24, 1904, Account of Beatrice Tyler.

²⁹ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Tenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1864.

Spalding, Raymond Bailey, Andrew Granger, and James Harrison, who were expelled in July 1883 because they “had become so unruly during the early part of the month that it was impossible to keep them in the Institution.” They said nothing about what exactly these boys had done.³⁰ HOF officials found themselves confronted with other types of misbehavior as well between 1854 and 1910, including at least two children who tried to set fire to the asylum, inhabitants whose behavior posed physical or moral dangers to other children in the asylum, and several runaways who were located after their escape from the asylum.³¹ BOA officials were perhaps luckier than their HOF counterparts, as no BOA children destroyed asylum property. At the BOA, however, there was a higher incidence of theft and of returning runaways than there was at the HOF.³²

Officials in Liverpool encountered some of the same forms of misbehavior from asylum children that their counterparts in Baltimore did, though this misconduct was primarily confined to one of the Liverpool orphanages. Indeed, the vast majority of misbehaving orphans resided in the LAOB, and engaged in what LAOB authorities identified as insubordination, bedwetting, and running away. LAOB officials never explicitly identified what constituted insubordination, though the case of James Blundell indicates that defiance of LAOB officials and rules was central to such charges. When the LAOB Headmaster charged Blundell with misconduct in April 1871, it

³⁰ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of July 2, 1883. For additional examples of unruly children who resided in the Baltimore asylums, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of February 4, 1884, Discussion of Harry Briggs and Richard Brooks; Meeting of June 1, 1885, History of Edith Conant; Meeting of December 4, 1887, Notes on George Crabson; Meeting of October 5, 1891, Discussion of Willie Whalen; Meeting of February 1, 1892; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, Meeting of October 1908, Case of Florence Tall.

³¹ For examples of HOF children who were arsonists, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, History of Jane Lanahan; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Account of Willie Seinow. HOF officials only named one of the children they understood as dangerous to other children; this girl was Beatrice Tyler, and officials discussed her in 1904. According to HOF representatives, the girl had a very “demoralizing” influence on the home, and this was the reason for her dismissal. See WC, HOF, Board Minutes, December 1901-June 1913, Meeting of April 24, 1904 for more on this girl. See also WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Third Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1856 and November 23, 1857; HOF, Board Minutes, December 1901-June 1913, Meeting of November 26, 1906, for the unnamed children whose influence proved “too pernicious” and too “degenerate” to stay in the asylum. For the records of runaways who officials located, please see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Charles McCafferty and Eugene Young.

³² WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of February 4, 1884, Case of Willie Robertson ; January 4, 1886, Discussion of Francis Tresize; October 4, 1886, Notes on Willie Reid, Frank Keller and Harry Seibert; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of April 6, 1896, June 1, 1896; Discussion of John O’Neill; March 1, 1897, Notes on Willie Dibbern and Wilfred McComas.

was because the boy engaged in “gross insolence and insubordination to myself [headmaster] and the other masters.”³³ A number of other boys engaged in this type of disobedience as well, including Lattimer Frederick, William Ward, and Francis Monks.³⁴ Yet there were other types of resident insubordination that caused the LAOB Committee an extensive amount of consternation between 1860 and 1910. In the 1870s and early 1880s, LAOB authorities contended with a number of boys including WD Griffiths, R. Kellingham, and James Leatherbarrow whose “dirty habits” and incontinence were understood as unacceptable. By the early 1900s, these officials faced a new form of misconduct, in the form of runaways such as George Walker and Middleton Peel.³⁵ The examples of these LAOB residents demonstrate misbehavior was a gendered problem not only in Baltimore but in Liverpool as well, and that girls were far less likely to engage in misconduct; Mary Griffiths was the only girl LFOA authorities officially identified as a troublemaker and cited for misbehavior.³⁶

In Baltimore and Liverpool, the enforcement of asylum discipline was a serious matter, and there was a hierarchy of asylum authorities who disciplined “naughty” children based on the nature and repetition of their misconduct. In the Baltimore asylums, children’s misdeeds were regularly uncovered by the Matrons who resided in the asylums with the children, and it was these women who were supposed to initially address children’s misconduct.³⁷ HOF children who disregarded the Matron’s reprimand and persisted with unacceptable behavior were subject to the next level of asylum authority in the form of the asylum Managers who served on the House

³³ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of April 1871.

³⁴ Please see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of October 1872, for the discussion of Lattimer Frederick. LAOB officials spoke about William Ward and his “gross insolence and insubordination” in Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of June 1879, and of Francis Monks in Journals, Boys Asylum Journal, December 1897-December 1921, Entries for September 16-October 11, 1909.

³⁵ It remains unclear from surviving asylum documents whether or not “dirty habits” was a euphemism for masturbation or not. LAOB officials did use this phrase to refer to boy’s incontinence in other instances. Please examine SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of November 1871 and August 1872 for the discussion of WD Griffiths and Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 1878 for the case of James Leatherbarrow. Middleton Peel ran away twice in early 1903, and LAOB officials decided to discharge him to his brother in March or April 1903. For more on this boy and George Walker, see SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for October 13-November 10, 1902.

³⁶ SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 5, 1900, Meeting of December 2, 1896, Minutes on Mary Griffiths.

³⁷ WC, HOF, Constitution and By-Laws, By-Law Fifteen; The Orphaline Society, Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of February 4, 1856.

Committee. It was the responsibility of these House Committee Managers to “see that the rules of the Institution are observed by all inmates,” and to present reports to the entire Board of Managers about problematic asylum residents.³⁸ At the BOA, this second level of asylum discipline involved the Visiting Managers; two members of the Board of Managers were made Visiting Managers each month and expected to visit the BOA at least once a week during their month-long appointment. These Visiting Managers were empowered to “act upon their own judgment in all cases requiring immediate attention,” and to “reprove and admonish” unruly inhabitants.³⁹ BOA residents who persisted in their bad behavior encountered the final step in the disciplinary chain, and were “brought before the Board,” so that the entire group of Managers might confront these children about their disobedience, and render a decision about what punishment such actions merited.⁴⁰

A similar chain of discipline existed at the Liverpool orphanage, where Matrons and the LAOB Headmaster were charged with the initial discipline of children, and the members of the Ladies Committee and General Committee were responsible for the punishment of children who engaged in continued disobedience. Like their counterparts in Baltimore, the Liverpool Matrons and Headmaster resided in the orphanages with their charges, and were often the first asylum representatives to encounter children’s misconduct. That the Matrons and Headmaster were supposed to discipline inhabitants for misconduct was not in dispute; LFOA officials actually went so far as to empower the LFOA Matron to “use the rod in extreme cases” of misbehavior.⁴¹ Children who engaged in more serious forms of misbehavior faced discipline at the hands of

³⁸ WC, HOF, Constitution and By-Laws, By-Law Six.

³⁹ WC ,BOA, Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules governing the asylum,” By-Laws, Article III, Section 1; The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of December 1, 1856.

⁴⁰ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of December 1, 1856.

⁴¹ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 5, 1871. For more on the role that the LIOA and LFOA Matrons and the LAOB Headmaster played when it came to enforcing discipline in the Liverpool orphanages, please examine: SHSR, Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, February 8, 1859; Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 5, 1871; March 6, 1872; For more on the LAOB headmaster’s responsibilities when it came to asylum discipline, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of September 29, 1863; March 11, 1864; February 19, 1883; Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of April 1871; July 1874; Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of January 1878; October 1879; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 4, 1909.

asylum administrators, and though these cases were rare at the LFOA, the Ladies Committee did expel sixteen-year-old Mary Griffiths in November 1896 for her “bad behavior and bad influence.”⁴² At the LAOB, members of the General Committee played a similar role in disciplining children. In a number of cases during the 1860s and 1870s, including those of James Thompson, William Jones, W. McFarlane, James Vickers and James Leatherbarrow, the LAOB General Committee determined the punishment these children should receive for their misdeeds, which included attempted violence against the LAOB Headmaster, lying, stealing, bedwetting, and other unspecified acts of misconduct.⁴³ In some cases from the 1870s, it was not the full Committee that regulated children’s behavior, but the two LAOB Visitors, who were appointed on a monthly rotating basis to deal with pressing asylum business.⁴⁴ These asylum administrators served as a second line of disciplinary authority in the Liverpool orphanages, much as the BOA and HOF Managers did in Baltimore.

Public and Private Funding

The Baltimore and Liverpool asylums relied on private funding for much of their support, yet during the second half of the nineteenth century, these institutions were increasingly dependent on public monies for their survival. At the HOF and BOA, legacies and donations

⁴² SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 5, 1900, Meetings of December 2, 1896.

⁴³ According to the LAOB Committee Minutes, James Thompson was expelled for his refusal to obey asylum officials and because he tried to hit the LAOB Headmaster. W. McFarlane was dismissed from the orphanage because of his constant lying and stealing, and James Leatherbarrow was expelled for his continued bedwetting. LAOB officials did not name the type of misconduct that William Jones and W. McFarlane engaged in during their tenure in the orphanage. For more information on James Thompson, William Hounslow Jones, W. McFarlane, and James Vickers, examine the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of December 29, 1862; May 19, 1864; September 29, 1868; November 28, 1881. For the case of James Leatherbarrow, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 1878. For other examples of misbehaving LAOB boys the LAOB Committee dealt with, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of September 29, 1863, History of Roy Evans; Meeting of October 23, 1871, Examples of W. Cearn and W. Griffiths; Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of August and September 1872, Histories of R. Kellingham and Hugh McMillan; Meeting of July 1874, Discussion of Thomas Jackson; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meetings of October 4, 1909 and June 14, 1910; Discussions of unnamed boys.

⁴⁴ For the histories of misbehaving children whose behavior the LAOB Visitors regulated, please see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of April 13, 1870, Case of F. Foster; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of October 1870, Notes on R. Williams; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of July 1875, Case of A. Fulton; Meeting of January 1877, Discussion of Edwin Bolton.

assisted the asylums in their survival, though evidence indicates that the BOA received far more private support during the second half of the nineteenth century than did the HOF. HOF authorities rarely reported the reception of legacies and donations, and even they recognized that the private funds the HOF received were not enough to fund the asylum on a regular basis.⁴⁵ The situation at the BOA was markedly different, with the asylum deriving much of its support between 1860 and 1900 from donations, legacies, and the interest from invested funds. The donations the BOA received were both non-monetary and monetary; in 1867 for example, the non-monetary donations included twenty straw hats, eleven turkeys, one clothes wringer, four bushels of potatoes, two bottles of medicinal brandy, fifteen bushels of turnips, and other assorted items.⁴⁶ The monetary donations were of a dual nature, with asylum administrators and annual subscribers making some, and others arriving from Baltimoreans unaffiliated with the asylum.⁴⁷ The legacies that BOA officials mentioned were perhaps the most significant form of funding the asylum received during this period. Between 1860 and 1888 alone the BOA received seventeen bequests, which ranged in total from \$25 to \$10,000. Most legacies were from wealthy Baltimoreans, including the 1874 bequest Johns Hopkins made to the asylum. Yet the asylum also received a few bequests from deceased BOA Managers.⁴⁸ BOA authorities invested some of these funds, including the \$5000 legacy from William Patterson and the \$500 bequest from Mrs.

⁴⁵ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Twenty-Third Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1877. HOF officials reported in the Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1877 that the annual cost of running the HOF was at that time \$8000, and that it was very difficult to achieve this sum without state appropriations, as donations and other contributions only amounted to \$4000. See also WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Twenty-Third Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1887.

⁴⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1886 Annual Report. For more on the 1867 donations, please see: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 8, 1867. The donations for this year also included two chests strawberries, six gross buttons, one barrel crushed sugar, one bag of coffee, one large cake; two bottles; six pairs of chickens, cakes and candies, one cart-load of turnips, twenty-five lbs. of buckwheat, mince pies and jelly, and a Christmas bush.

⁴⁷ For examples of such monetary donations, see: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for year ending April 8, 1863; 1890 Annual Report; 1892 Annual Report; 1893 Annual Report; 1894 Annual Report; 1896 Annual Report; 1898 Annual Report; Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of November 1881; January 3, 1883; July 6, 1885; February 7, 1887.

⁴⁸ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1868; 1872 Annual Report; 1874 Annual Report; 1879 Annual Report; 1883 Annual Report; 1886 Annual Report; 1887 Annual Report; There were several donations from deceased BOA Managers, including Mrs. Baynard, Miss Cordelia Hollins, and Miss Hannah Gaither. See WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1884 and 1892 Annual Reports for more information. BOA officials did not identify the amount of money Miss Baynard left to the asylum, though they did report that Miss Hollins bequeathed \$1000 to the BOA, and Miss Gaither left the asylum \$10,000.

Susan McKim, and used the interest these accrued to help sustain the BOA as well.⁴⁹ The funds, as well as the other types of private funding that the BOA received during the second half of the nineteenth century, played an important role in the sustenance of this particular Baltimore asylum.

In Liverpool, the orphanages also benefited from the individuals who contributed to the asylums or willed legacies, as well as from subscribers who provided annual funding. Yet many of the private grants the Liverpool orphanages obtained came specifically from local churches, and this source of financial support was unique to Liverpool. At the LAOB, contributions made to the asylum by private citizens proved particularly important during the second half of the nineteenth century. The offers and provisions various Liverpool gentlemen made to the asylum during this period regularly resulted in the entertainments the LAOB boys enjoyed, including performances, concerts, and shows at Wavertree Park, St. James Hall, and St. George's Hall, as well as steamboat and tug rides.⁵⁰ There was no evidence that the LFOA received any significant amount of contributions from Liverpoolians who were unassociated with the asylum and chose to assist it financially. The LFOA did, however, receive a significant amount of funding between the 1850s and 1870s from annual subscribers who paid the asylum a set amount of dues each year, as well as from the legacies that various individuals willed to the LFOA.⁵¹ In addition to these funds, the LFOA and LIOA benefited from funding that local religious institutions provided to these asylums. Both asylums received aid from various Liverpool Protestant churches, such as St. Saviour's, St. Bride's, St. Ann's, St. Peter's and Holy Innocents.⁵² These churches held regular charity collections, and distributed the funds their congregants provided to local

⁴⁹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1868.

⁵⁰ For examples of such contributions, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of September 25, 1865; October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of May 1871; July 1871; May 1872; November 1873; February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of July 1878; July 1881.

⁵¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Reports for the years ending February 24, 1845; February 22, 1858; February 26, 1865; February 26, 1867; January 31, 1872; December 31, 1874.

⁵² For notes on the specific contributions local churches made to the LFOA, examine SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending February 25, 1856. Information on the LIOA and its reception of church funding can be found in SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880. According to this report, the LIOA obtained £60 in 1879 from these charity collections.

organizations like the LFOA and the LIOA. There is no mention of these church-derived funds in the surviving LAOB records, yet it is probable that such monies were provided to the LAOB because of its close association with the LFOA and LIOA. The non-secular assistance the Liverpool orphanages received proved particularly valuable, and was itself the most significant difference between the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums when it came to funding during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Not all of the support that orphanages in both cities derived came from private sources. The HOF was the first of the asylums in either city to receive public funding, and this turn was apparent as of the 1860s. HOF asylum officials sought and won \$3000 from the Baltimore City Council in 1860 and money from the State of Maryland in 1860, 1864, and 1867. HOF authorities justified the 1864 appeal in terms of the HOF residents, who came “from a substratum of society to which the ordinary agencies of neither Church nor State reach down,” and the fact that the HOF was the only Baltimore asylum to house boys younger than eight who were not full orphans.⁵³ In the decades that followed, HOF officials continued to win state and city funding. The HOF received state appropriations that included \$2,000 in 1874, and \$3000 in 1880, 1896, and 1908, as well as Baltimore City grants which totaled \$1,925 in 1896 and \$1,228 in 1908.⁵⁴ At the BOA, it was not until the 1890s that the asylum became heavily dependent on state monies for support. The asylum did receive state funding in 1868 and 1884, but this was the extent of its reception of public monies until the last decade of the nineteenth century; BOA officials never appealed to the City of Baltimore for monetary aid, “fearing it might interfere with the class of

⁵³ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Sixth Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1859 and November 23, 1860; Tenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1864; Thirteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1867. The State of Maryland awarded the HOF \$5000 in 1860, \$5000 in 1864, and \$7500 in 1867; this last sum was intended to allow the asylum to construct a Boy’s Department Building.

⁵⁴ WC, HOF, Annual Report, Twentieth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1874; Twenty-Sixth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1880; Forty-Second Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1896; Fifty-Fourth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1908.

children taken.”⁵⁵ This worry may have been a valid one, as children began to be committed by Baltimore Justices of the Peace to the HOF in the mid-1860s, after that institution first received grants from the city of Baltimore. These commitments certainly suggest asylums that took Baltimore City money were expected to admit whatever children local officials decided they should have the care of, despite asylum officials’ own understanding of who was an acceptable candidate for admission. BOA officials obtained state appropriations in 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, and every year between 1902 and 1909. These awards remained static in the 1890s at \$1,000 per annum, though BOA officials managed to convince the Maryland Legislature in 1906 to raise the award to \$2,000 per year.⁵⁶ These state appropriations reveal that government monies played a significant role in the finances of both Baltimore asylums as the nineteenth century progressed.⁵⁷

The histories of the three Liverpool orphanages demonstrate that the Baltimore asylums were not unique in terms of their eventual turn during the nineteenth century to government assistance. The LFOA, and LAOB directed their attention in the late 1880s and early 1890s to public funding, and it was during this period that public monies began to be provided to these institutions. The reception of these funds coincided with Liverpool asylum officials’ decisions to place these institutions under the control of the English government as public elementary schools,

⁵⁵ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1869; 1885 Annual Report. For BOA officials worries about appeals to the City of Baltimore for public aid, see: WC, BOA, “An account of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum during the Active Management of Mrs. Appleton Wilson.”

⁵⁶ Even with the State appropriation in 1869, the BOA still had a budget deficit at the end of the year; see WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1869. For more information on these state appropriations, examine: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Annual Reports for 1885, 1892, 1894, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1909.

⁵⁷ Evidence from St. Francis’ Orphan Asylum (SFOA) reinforces it was not only white orphanages in Baltimore that were increasingly turning to state funding for assistance, though the SFOA began to receive state funding well after either the BOA or HOF. The earliest discussion of state funding occurred in October 1910, when SFOA officials noted the \$125 appropriation that the asylum received from the state of Maryland. SFOA records make clear as well that this appropriation was not a one-time occurrence; in March 1912 letters to then-Maryland-governor Philip Goldsborough and the members of the Maryland Senate, SFOA officials discussed the efforts of the asylum to provide for colored orphans, mentioned the continuing financial difficulties they faced in connection with their work and the great debt the orphanage had accrued, and appealed for an increase in their annual appropriation, from \$500 to \$2500. For more on the public funding that the SFOA received during the early twentieth century, see: Oblates Sisters of Providence Archives, Motherhouse Record Group, Series 9: Orphan Asylum, Box 18, Folder 7, Financial/Ledger, 1910-1914; Box 17, Folder 23, Application for Aid 1915 (Board of State Aid and Charities). Nurith Zmora points out that the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and the Dolan’s Home received state monies, though she does not identify exactly when either of these asylums began to receive this assistance; see Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Childcare Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 44; 182-184.

and to allow annual government inspections of the asylum schools. The LIOA placed the asylum school under government control in 1887, and was the first of the three Liverpool asylums to benefit from this profitable arrangement. In the first sixteen months of this association alone, the LIOA was awarded £65 14s 8d from the state.⁵⁸ The LIOA continued to amass public funds in the years that followed, as did the LFOA and LAOB after these institutions decided to allow government control of the LFOA and LAOB schools in 1893.⁵⁹ In June 1893, LFOA officials reported that the asylum school had achieved grants of 28/- per student, out of a total possible 31/- per student. The LAOB proved even more successful in its efforts to win public monies, and by December 1900, the LAOB had received grants from the English education department that amounted to £104 7s 0d.⁶⁰ All three institutions continued to receive assistance from the English government in the early 1900s, and in a number of instances, to win the highest grants available when it came to these public funds. This Liverpoolian turn to government funding, as well as that which occurred in Baltimore, suggests the economic difficulties that asylum officials in both cities encountered as these institutions aged. These asylums faced increasing competition in the late nineteenth century from other institutions (both private and public), as well as decreases in capital as they lost supporters to death, disinterest, or competitors who were more successful in attracting donations.

Despite the state aid the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums received during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the BOA and LAOB experienced pronounced financial crises during this period. BOA officials first complained about the scarcity of funds they were receiving from the State of Maryland in 1898, despite having received multiple grants that same decade. BOA officials warned that “there are many things both for their [the children’s] advantage and that of the Institution, that we are compelled to leave undone owing to our

⁵⁸ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 30, 1889.

⁵⁹ For more information on this change at the LFOA and LAOB, see SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for June 1893, “The School;” Edition for October 1893, “The School;” Minutes, GC, February 1892-March 1903, Meeting of September 13, 1892; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of September 26, 1892.

⁶⁰ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for June 1893, “The School;” Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1900.

straitened means.”⁶¹ BOA authorities attempted to alleviate the asylum’s financial woes that same year by requiring the surviving parents of half-orphans to pay a small monthly amount while their children were in residence, and by closing the asylum for a month during the summer.⁶² At the LAOB, the financial crisis appears to have been even more desperate, with that asylum’s debt totaling £1,191 12s 6d in 1903. LAOB administrators managed to reduce this sum, but the asylum still owed £1,092 9s 10d as of 1908.⁶³ In 1908, LAOB Committee Members warned that “the valuable work of the Institution cannot be carried on if this debit balance continues to increase year by year.”⁶⁴ Like their BOA peers, these officials attempted to remedy these troubles with requests to supporters, though these appeals targeted private citizens rather than the English government. The LAOB did not, however, attempt to fund its operations by gathering monies from the family members of LAOB residents.

What is perhaps more significant than the ways in which asylum authorities in both cities dealt with these financial worries, however, is what these crises indicate about the changing childcare landscape. During the late-nineteenth-century, a new generation of American reformers rejected orphanages and congregate institutions as the proper way to care for dependent children, and posited instead that children should be placed in foster homes. Public and private support for orphanages was waning, and with it funding for these institutions; asylum administrators at the BOA and LAOB appear to have experienced this changing reality firsthand.

Asylums and Education

Asylum officials understood secular education as a proper component of children’s residence, but they did not focus as much on children’s education as they did on administrative issues, religion or even vocational preparation. It is clear, however, that for much of the second

⁶¹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1898 Annual Report.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1902.

⁶⁴ Ibid., Report for the year ending December 31, 1909.

half of the century, the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums schooled their residents within the asylums, and that this education was sex-segregated.

Both of the Baltimore orphanages originated as charity educational facilities, though the secular instruction HOF inhabitants received for much of the second half of the nineteenth century was more extensive than that BOA residents received during this same period. Between 1854 and 1859, the HOF operated as a joint day school and orphanage, and the principal form of education was oral instruction in the Scriptures. This training involved the HOF teacher calling out a certain letter, “like an A- a child rises and says, ‘Ask and ye shall receive.’ Teacher calls out R—another child rises and says ‘Rest in the Lord.’” When the children tired of this, the asylum teacher engaged them in singing, blackboard exercises, recess or a simple gymnastic performance, in order to keep HOF pupils motivated and focused.⁶⁵ HOF officials closed the day school in 1859, and subsequently expanded the instruction HOF residents received. By the early 1860s, HOF children were being taught to read, write and cipher, were taking classes in geography and American history, and were singing hymns and scriptural verses.⁶⁶ HOF residents continued to be educated in the asylum in the decades that followed, though officials said little about whether or not this instruction was the same. HOF authorities only mentioned in 1886 that the HOF boys “a little outrun the girls at their books” when it came to secular education.⁶⁷

At the BOA, children’s secular education appears to have been far more restricted in scope, with asylum residents receiving instruction in English and lessons in domestic economy as

⁶⁵ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Fifth Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1858 and November 23, 1859. According to the Second Annual HOF Report, over 100 pupils attended the HOF day school between November 1855 and November 1856, though daily attendance in the school was less than this. HOF officials also noted in this same report that the school had room for additional students as well; refer to WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Second Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1855 and November 23, 1856, p. 4. For additional mentions of the HOF day school, please examine the following: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Third Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1856 and November 23, 1857.

⁶⁶ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Ninth Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1862 and November 23, 1863.

⁶⁷ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Thirty-Second Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1886.

of 1870.⁶⁸ BOA officials said little else about the education they provided for children, and BOA inhabitants appear to have received a far more limited education than their HOF peers during this period. Though it remains unclear why boys' education was apparently given such short shrift, the restricted nature of girls' secular education was related to the amount of time BOA officials expected them to spend sewing each day and the income that the BOA derived from these girls' work. According to the 1867 BOA Annual Report, BOA girls spent the entire afternoon "devoted" to sewing and knitting, and the asylum's older girls were "ever ready to receive [sewing orders from the public] and obey orders for work promptly."⁶⁹

Officials in Liverpool were even more reserved in their discussion of education and far more concerned with other aspects of children's institutional life, though there were similarities between asylums in both cities when it came to the secular education of asylum residents. As in Baltimore, the education of asylum children in Liverpool was for the most part sex-segregated, with only the LIOA housing children of both sexes and educating them together. Like their counterparts in Baltimore, these Liverpool asylum residents were also educated within the orphanages. Internal education of children occurred at the LFOA between 1840 and 1893, at the LAOB between 1850 and 1893, and at the LIOA between 1858 and 1887.⁷⁰ Perhaps more importantly, the nature of Liverpool asylum inhabitants' education appears to have been quite limited, as it was for BOA residents in Baltimore. At the LAOB, officials emphasized the importance of boys' religious education, but only said about secular instruction that the boys were to receive a "plain education."⁷¹ Officials at the LFOA were more specific about the type of education LFOA girls were provided with, though even this instruction was extremely limited in

⁶⁸ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1870 Annual Report.

⁶⁹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 8, 1867, p. 7.

⁷⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1845-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845; Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1872-1888, Report for the year ending January 31, 1872; December 31, 1874; Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of January 1, 1873; April 17, 1885; January 15, 1887; Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, "Proposal for Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys;" Minutes, Boys Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of September 1862; January 5, 1881; September 26, 1881; Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meetings of May 4, 1859; May 2, 1867.

⁷¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, "Proposal for Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys." See also Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the years ending January 23, 1853; February 27, 1856.

its scope. According to the 1845 LFOA Annual Report, girls were taught “reading, writing, math, household duties and needlepoint.”⁷² This course of educational study continued into the 1880s, with the inspectors LFOA officials employed to evaluate girls’ education reporting that the instruction in math, reading, and writing continued “to be careful and sound.”⁷³ These girls and their LAOB counterparts received a basic education that appears to have been comparable to the instruction occurring at the BOA during this period. In both cities, asylum education was severely limited during much of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Educational practices at the BOA and HOF diverged in the late nineteenth century, when BOA Board Members decided to send BOA residents to the public schools for their education, and the HOF continued to educate children in the asylum. In October 1894, the BOA Board sent a small group of asylum residents to Baltimore public schools for the first time, and by 1896, BOA officials were so pleased with this scheme that most BOA residents under fourteen were being sent out to the public schools.⁷⁴ These officials cited marked improvements in the BOA children’s “conduct and regularity,” and were pleased with “their [BOA children] being thrown with other children and no longer regarding themselves, or being regarded, as a separate class.”⁷⁵ Yet it was not just the benefits to BOA inhabitants or the breakdown of social stigmas that

⁷² SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845.

⁷³ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1872-1888, Report for the year ending December 31, 1882.

⁷⁴ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1896 and 1897 Annual Reports. Officials at the BOA were not the only asylum administrators to decide to send asylum children to public schools during this period; during the later years of the nineteenth century, all the children at the Hebrew Orphan Asylum save for kindergartners attended Public School Number 65 in Baltimore. Inhabitants of the Dolan Home were sent to the Catholic school that the Sisters of the Holy Cross administered; this school was next door to the asylum. Children at the Samuel Ready School were, like HOF inhabitants, educated within the asylum. For more on the education that the male and female inhabitants of these orphan asylums received, refer to: Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 97-100,

⁷⁵ Ibid. Officials at the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum (JHCOA) also decided to send that asylum’s inhabitants to the Baltimore public schools, though the shift to public schooling occurred fifteen years after it did at the BOA. The first mention of this practice at the JHCOA appeared in the 1910 Annual Report; the first year that the asylum engaged in this practice (1909), all the female residents save for thirteen older girls, to the public schools. The African-American girls who inhabited the asylum continued to attend Baltimore City public school in the years that followed, until the Committee on the Colored Orphan Asylum and the Johns Hopkins Hospital Board of Trustees decided in 1914 to dismiss most of the children from the asylum and convert the JHCOA to an institution that would house thirty to forty disabled African-American children. For more information on the shift to public school education at the JHCOA, examine the following: JHCOA, The Johns Hopkins Hospital Superintendent Reports, Twenty-First Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1910, p. 33; Twenty-Second Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1911; Twenty-Third Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1912; Twenty-Fourth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

asylum officials appreciated. The BOA Board was satisfied that the local elementary schools allowed BOA School Committee Members to visit biannually, and discuss the children's education with their teachers and principals. The asylum also derived benefits from the decision to send the majority of BOA children to public schools. BOA officials were able to establish a kindergarten for younger BOA children, send boys who passed an educational exam to the McDonogh School in Owings Mills, Maryland, to receive instruction in farming and agricultural science, and allow a few older BOA girls with "special or average aptitudes for books" to continue with their studies.⁷⁶ This last provision was especially significant, as it allowed the BOA Board to justify the decision to keep girls twelve and older who had attended public schools but had no aptitude for further study in the asylum, in order to "assist in the sewing and housework of the Home."⁷⁷

Perhaps the most beneficial aspect of the shift to public education at the BOA was that such a decision allowed the asylum to counter late-nineteenth-century critics who derided orphan

⁷⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1905 Annual Report. The McDonogh School was established per the wishes of John McDonogh, who was born in Baltimore, and who became a prominent New Orleans businessman. McDonogh willed one-eighth of his estate to the city of Baltimore, so that a "school farm" might be created. Poor boys that were between the ages of four and sixteen were eligible for admission, and the school was not to be racially segregated. The school was supposed to provide its students with lodging and sustenance, and boys were to receive Biblical instruction as well as a secular education that included reading, arithmetic, geography, history and writing. Boys at McDonogh also received vocational education in farming and animal husbandry. For a history of the McDonogh School, see: Hugh F. Burgess, Jr. and Robert C. Smoot III, *McDonogh School: An Interpretive Chronology* (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing, 1973).

⁷⁷ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1905 Annual Report. BOA officials were not the only asylum authorities in Baltimore who understood asylum inhabitants as workers and who employed these children for their productive labor. Evidence from the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum reveals that during the late-nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the girls who resided in that orphanage did all the work that was required to keep the asylum functioning on a daily basis, save for the heavy washing. JHCOA girls were also expected to sew the items that the asylum needed to function, including pillow cases, sheets, and children's clothing; some girls were taught how to use sewing machines, and all asylum girls were taught what asylum officials termed hand sewing for two hours each afternoon. In 1896, JHCOA officials indicated that the labor these girls performed to keep the asylum functioning took precedence over girls' secular education when they reported that children attended classes regularly within the asylum "when [they were] not needed for work;" see JHCOA, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, Superintendent Reports, Seventh Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1896; Fourteenth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1903. For more evidence of the emphasis that JHCOA administrators put on girls' work and on providing them with vocational training, see the following: JHCOA, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, Superintendent Reports, Ninth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1898; Twelfth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1901; According to JHCOA authorities, the secular education these girls received included instruction in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, morals and manners, and physiology [eventually labeled hygiene]; for information on girls' secular education at the asylum, see JHCOA, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, Superintendent Reports, Eighth Report of the Superintendent of Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1897.

asylums as improper places for children. One of the most popular anti-asylum critiques during this period was the claim that such institutions stultified their residents, and produced children who lacked individuality or autonomy.⁷⁸ The decision to send children outside of the asylum for their education allowed BOA officials to claim its children were:

avoiding the evils which come from too close a confinement to set methods and the consequent benumbing of their faculties; so that it cannot be said of our little ones as has been registered of a large percentage of this class, 'that all spontaneity, independence and individuality have been well nigh pressed out of them.'⁷⁹

The BOA Board was also able to use its decision to deflect the criticism that reformers who advocated placing poor young children into country homes leveled at institutions like the BOA, and to defend the BOA decision to keep children of both sexes in the asylum over the age of twelve. The Board Members acknowledged that this retention was

rather contrary to the thought of modern charity workers, but our experience of many country homes shows that the children get a very poor education, whereas we are able to give them the advantages of Public schools, and also the Sunday school during all these early years. There is a marked difference in the letters written by our boys who have been placed in the country at an early age and those who have remained in our Home until the age of fourteen.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ David I. Macleod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), p. 17; Priscilla Ferguson Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850-1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 197.

⁷⁹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1897 Annual Report.

⁸⁰ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1902 Annual Report.

In this manner, BOA officials turned the notion of country life for children on its head; according to the BOA Board, there were no guarantees once children left the asylum. Indeed, life outside the asylums meant exposure to the whims and fancies of non-asylum adults, while asylum residence granted children access to the Baltimore public schools and the watchful supervision of BOA officials.

Officials at the BOA were not the only Baltimore asylum administrators who revised asylum educational practices during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Authorities at the HOF altered that asylum's educational practices in 1901, but these changes did not include sending the asylum's residents to the public schools for instruction. As early as the 1870s HOF officials voiced their belief that though the public schools were "admirable and indispensable," they were limited in their abilities.⁸¹ According to these authorities, the public school system

covers only half the ground, working only one way—*upward*;
but it does not start low enough down, and it remains for
Houses of Refuge, Homes of the Friendless, and Industrial
Schools to strike *downward* to the rescue of the most needy
classes.⁸²

These officials believed that the asylum's "grade of instruction is beyond that of our primary schools," and so they eschewed sending children out for their education.⁸³ The internal education changes HOF officials enacted in 1901 involved the reorganization of the asylum school into four departments: the Grammar School Grade, an Intermediate Grade, the Primary School, and a Kindergarten. Each of these departments targeted children of certain ages, and the Grammar School and Intermediate grades were segregated according to sex. At the time of this reorganization, thirty-four of the older HOF boys were in the three classes that comprised the

⁸¹ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Eighteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1872.

⁸² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Twenty-Third Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1877.

⁸³ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Forty-Seventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1901.

Grammar School, and these boys were taught history, geography, arithmetic, reading, writing, and spelling. Forty-five of the older HOF girls, meanwhile, were in the Intermediate Grade in four separate classes. HOF authorities said little about the instruction these girls received, save for the fact that they were taught the “the elementary branches.”⁸⁴ Thirty-two girls and boys between five and six years of age made up the primary school, and twenty-two children ages three to five comprised the kindergarten department. According to HOF officials, a child in the primary school required only a few months before he or she could “add, divide, multiply, subtract, write pretty well, [and] read script,” while kindergartners were taught “self-control,” and to do the “right thing at the right time.”⁸⁵

Liverpool orphanage officials became much more concerned with children’s education during the 1880s and 1890s, and it was during this period that authorities’ at all three asylums acted to place asylum schools under government inspection. The LIOA was the first of the three Liverpool asylums to shift from internal control of education to government regulation, and this change occurred in 1887. LIOA officials explained their decision in terms of the instructional benefits, as the LIOA would now be able to “secure the efficiency of instruction which the Government examination ensures.”⁸⁶ Yet the decision to classify the LIOA education department as a public elementary school was also clearly financially motivated. As a public elementary school, the LIOA School was eligible for grants that government inspectors awarded to schools whose students performed well in annual exams. For the LIOA, the economic benefits from this arrangement were immediate. Indeed, during the first sixteen months that the LIOA school was

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Forty-Sixth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1900; Forty-Seventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1901. Little information is available about the type of education that African-American asylums in Baltimore provided to their wards, though a report that SFOA officials sent to the St. Vincent de Paul Society in August 1916 provided some insight into that institution’s educational provisions. According to the report, girls were educated within the asylum. There were an average of forty students assigned to each teacher, two classrooms, and the secular education SFOA girls received was such that it took girls through the fifth grade, and occasionally the sixth grade. SFOA authorities suggested the importance of vocational training at the SFOA, well into the twentieth century; girls at the asylum were instructed in sewing and domestic work while in residence. See OSP, Motherhouse Record Group, Series 9: Orphan Asylum, Box 18, Folder 10, Financial/Ledger and Register, 1910-1926, “Policy and Practice of Catholic Institutions in the Case of Children,” p. 65.

⁸⁶ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 31, 1888.

identified as a public school, the asylum received £65 14s 8d of funding from the English government.⁸⁷ The LIOA derived additional economic rewards as well with Parliament's passage of the Elementary Education Act of 1891. This Act made compulsory school free, and allowed the English government to pay public elementary schools ten shillings towards the education of each child who attended these schools.⁸⁸ This money, as well as government involvement, had a direct impact on LIOA children as well; their education was no longer of secondary importance to LIOA administrators or overlooked in favor of other asylum concerns. By 1893, these children were participating in clay modeling, drawing, cardboard work, and other educational activities that trained the "eye, ear, hand, and brain, under the kindergarten system."⁸⁹

Officials at the LAOB and LFOA waited until 1893 to place those institutions' education departments under government control. At the LFOA, this delay was the direct result of Ladies Committee's refusal to abandon the internal regulation of girls' education. Members of the Ladies Committee understood girls' industrial work as more significant than their educational course of study, and clearly feared government regulation of education would impinge on girls' labor. Their privileging of the girls' work was clearest in April 1885, when they first rejected a request the General Committee made to place the school under government control. According to the Ladies,

the best interests of the children should be promoted and the highest standard of education attained compatible with the industrial training and vast amount of needlework which forms an essential and most important part of the duties of the children.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1889.

⁸⁸ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 29, 1892.

⁸⁹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for August 1893.

⁹⁰ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 7, 1885.

The Ladies hinted as well at the negative repercussion that external control of education would have on the children themselves; such changes would clearly prevent the girls from filling the orders for fine needlework that asylum officials collected from interested parties, and from producing the “upwards of 3000 garments” they sewed every year for the asylum and others.⁹¹ These women clearly understood the dangers external revue posed to the labor system they had established for LFOA girls, and to the influence that their own vision had previously exerted at the LFOA when it came to education.

In the end, LFOA and LAOB officials allowed the asylum schools to become public elementary schools subject to government inspection because of internal economic and external social pressures. When LAOB officials discussed this decision in October 1893, they admitted their motivation was financial, as this change would allow them to obtain government grants, and, in turn, “strengthen the teaching staff” of the asylum.⁹² LFOA officials cited the influence of the Elementary Education Act of 1891 as central to their resolution to make the LFOA school a public school. According to LFOA Committee Members, the Act had complicated the asylum’s ability to hire good teachers, as few teachers would now work without “the stimulus of an annual examination, on which depended, not alone a money grant to the School, but, what to them would be far more important, a successful record of their own abilities as teachers.”⁹³ The repercussions of the Elementary Education Act were so far-reaching that even governesses refused to work in the LFOA prior to the switch to government control. These women did not want to teach in schools not under the government, “since by doing so they break their record, forfeit all chance of pension, and render it exceedingly difficult to obtain employment afterwards in any Public Elementary School.”⁹⁴

⁹¹ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 7, 1885.

⁹² SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for October 1893, “The School.”

⁹³ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for June 1893, “The School.”

⁹⁴ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for June 1893, “The School.”

Vocational training in the asylums

The asylums in Liverpool and Baltimore also provided children with vocational training that asylum officials expected children to use during and after their residence. For much of the second half of the nineteenth century, the training male and female asylum children in both cities received was similar, as was much of the labor they engaged in while in the asylums. Yet by the late nineteenth century, there was a notable difference between the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums, as the former had abandoned this more flexible division of labor in favor of one that was rigidly gendered.

The earliest mention of vocational training at the HOF occurred during the 1850s, when HOF officials stated asylum girls were taught the “use of the needle and general housework.”⁹⁵ By the 1870s, both sexes resided in the HOF, and received instruction in housework. In addition, boys learned to knit and girls learned to sew.⁹⁶ During this same period, BOA male and female residents were also taught how to perform domestic labor, with older BOA girls receiving additional training in needlework so that they could sew their own garments, or work on sewing orders individuals placed with the BOA.⁹⁷ Yet Baltimore asylum children were not only receiving such training, they were also utilizing it on a daily basis in the asylums. By 1859, BOA male and female residents were doing all the asylum’s kitchen and household work, and by 1863, HOF girls and their one adult aide were performing all the “heavy domestic duties” of an asylum in which the “weekly consumption of bread is never less than 160 loaves; the family wash averages 250 pieces,” and fully “one-half of the girls in residence were under eight years of age.”⁹⁸ Once boys began to be admitted into the HOF in 1864, these girls received more substantial assistance, and children of both sexes continued to labor domestically at this asylum and the BOA during the 1870s. None of the labor these children performed was covered by the

⁹⁵ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1860; HOF, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending November 23, 1863.

⁹⁶ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1873.

⁹⁷ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 8, 1867.

⁹⁸ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Ninth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1863.

numerous American child labor laws that were passed during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Children who resided in the Liverpool asylums during the second half of the nineteenth century received the same types of vocational training and performed the same types of labor as did their Baltimore counterparts. LFOA girls were instructed in “the business of the house and kitchen” and taught “to make and mend their own linen, [and] to do all kinds of plain needlework,” and it was this work that they actually performed in the asylum⁹⁹ Older LFOA girls performed domestic labor within the asylum, and all the LFOA girls sewed garments and linen for the asylum, as well as produced fine needlework for orders the LFOA collected from interested parties. This needlework proved extremely profitable during the 1850s and 1860s, and netted the asylum £96 in 1855, £112 in 1857, £106 in 1858, £113 in 1862, and £110 in 1864.¹⁰⁰ Though there was a significant slip in the revenue that LFOA girls’ sewing produced in the 1870s and afterward, LFOA officials continued to expect girls to produce fine needlework, and understood this work as a way to help alleviate the funding crisis the asylum experienced in the 1880s and afterward.¹⁰¹

At the LAOB meanwhile, boys also received vocational training, in domestic labor and in shoe manufacture and repair, and this training informed the labor these boys performed in the asylum. According to LAOB officials, these boys did “much of the household work; [and] they make and mend all their shoes.”¹⁰² Older LAOB boys continued as well to perform housework in the asylum in the decades that followed and the division of labor thus remained flexible when it came to gender. A 1908 review of the LAOB labor situation revealed twenty-four children worked as House boys, and that “eight extra servants would be required to do the work at present

⁹⁹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845.

¹⁰⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Reports for the year ending February 26, 1855; February 23, 1857; February 22, 1858; February 24, 1862; February 29, 1864.

¹⁰¹ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 17, 1885.

¹⁰² SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 25, 1857.

done by the House boys.”¹⁰³ LAOB officials voiced no worries about boys performing domestic labor in the asylum that was normally performed by women outside the institution, and were far more concerned with the fact that servants would cost the asylum an additional “£5.1.0 per week.”¹⁰⁴ And there was certainly no external opposition to the labor practices in place at either the LAOB or the LFOA. Though the British Parliament passed Factory Acts in 1819, 1825, 1833, 1844 and 1864, these labor laws pertained only to children who worked in industrial settings and locations.¹⁰⁵

The flexibility that was evident at the LAOB in the early 1900s in terms of the sexual division of labor was completely absent from the Baltimore asylums during the same period. In the late nineteenth century, Baltimore asylum officials began to expect children to receive only the training and perform only the labor that was appropriate to their gender. Girls in the asylums were to be instructed in the domestic arts and perform domestic labor, while boys in residence were to attend manual labor classes. This shift was first apparent at the HOF in 1886, when officials noted the girls’ afternoons were “devoted to the needle, and often, as they sew, they sing.”¹⁰⁶ These HOF girls were instructed in all types of housework, and in hand and machine sewing, and it was these types of work they did on a regular basis. There was no evidence that boys were still performing the domestic duties they had previously done in the HOF, and as of 1891, asylum officials began to provide HOF boys with manual training that asylum officials claimed made the boys “more self-reliant and manly.”¹⁰⁷ During the early 1900s, this pattern continued, with HOF girls attending cooking, gardening and sewing classes, and HOF boys

¹⁰³ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of September 14, 1908.

¹⁰⁴ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of September 14, 1908.

¹⁰⁵ For additional information on these Factory Acts, please refer to: Bernard Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 34-35.

¹⁰⁶ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Thirty-Second Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1886.

¹⁰⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 4, Admissions and Dismissions, Boy’s Department, 1873-1884, “Weekly Household Routine for the Home of the Friendless, Boy’s Department.” See also WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Forty-Eighth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1902.

learning basket weaving and chair caning.¹⁰⁸ Similar changes occurred at the BOA as well during this period. In 1888 BOA officials began to offer BOA boys classes in manual labor, in which the boys were taught the “first principles of handling tools, and by which we hope they are better prepared for their future lives.”¹⁰⁹ The BOA girls were not allowed manual training, but were instead provided with instruction in “plain sewing, and the first principles of housework and cooking” during the 1890s and early 1900s.¹¹⁰ The girls’ domestic focus extended as well to their asylum labor. These girls helped with the asylum cooking, sewing, and mending, and did all the asylum housework. The fact that these BOA girls and boys, and their HOF counterparts were engaged in the labor and training that middle-class reformers understood as suitable for each sex suggests a hardening in late-nineteenth-century Baltimore reformers’ attitudes about gender.

Asylums and Religion

Children in the Baltimore and Liverpool institutions received Protestant religious instruction on a regular basis while in residence. Religious training was more varied in Baltimore than Liverpool, as HOF and BOA officials repeatedly altered the religious arrangements they made for children, though weekly church or chapel services remained the norm between the late 1850s and 1910.

Between the late 1850s and 1873, HOF children attended various Protestant Sabbath Schools in Baltimore, as well as a weekly Church service.¹¹¹ As of 1873, Protestant ministers from various denominations began to conduct weekly church services in the asylum for HOF residents, and this arrangement continued into the 1880s.¹¹² By 1900, HOF officials had asylum residents attending the asylum’s chapel service, where Protestant ministers gave short Bible talks,

¹⁰⁸ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Fifty-First Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1905; Fifty-Third Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1907.

¹⁰⁹ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1890 Annual Report. For more on the boys’ manual labor training class, please see the 1889 BOA Annual Report.

¹¹⁰ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1890 Annual Report.

¹¹¹ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Third Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1856 and November 23, 1857.

¹¹² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1873.

and the HOF children learned Scripture, sang hymns, and prayed.¹¹³ The final change in the asylum's religious training occurred in 1907, when HOF officials began to hold Thursday and Sunday HOF chapel services, and once again allowed children to attend Baltimore Sabbath Schools.¹¹⁴ At the BOA, there were fewer such alterations, though BOA officials did emulate their HOF counterparts twice between the late 1860s and 1910 when it came to religion. Like HOF officials, the BOA Managers had BOA children attend local Sabbath Schools, and go to Protestant services in the asylum; this occurred at the BOA between the late 1860s and the early 1890s.¹¹⁵ BOA Managers also began rotating Protestant clergymen of various denominations into the BOA to preach in 1895, some twenty-three years after HOF officials had done so at that asylum. That same year, the BOA Board made residents' attendance at asylum prayers mandatory, and implemented religious instruction in the BOA kindergarten; these changes remained in effect into the early 1900s.¹¹⁶ These BOA policy changes, and those of the HOF reveal confusion on the part of asylum officials as how to best provide asylum children with Protestant religious training, yet they also reinforce how committed the Baltimore asylums were during the second half of the nineteenth century to this type of religious education for residents.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ For HOF representatives' comments about turn of the century religious instruction at the asylum, examine: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Forty-Sixth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1900; Forty-Seventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1901.

¹¹⁴ The Thursday Chapel services were more irregularly held than the Sunday services. HOF officials did not conduct the Thursday Chapel service during the summer months, in times of outbreaks of illness and sickness, or on the third Thursday of each month, as this was Visiting Day. For more on religious instruction for children as it existed in the HOF in 1907, see the WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Fifty-Third Annual Report, For the year ending December 31, 1907.

¹¹⁵ For evidence of this behavior in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, see: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1869; 1871 Annual Report; 1886 Annual Report; 1890 Annual Report; 1891 Annual Report; 1892 Annual Report; 1893 Annual Report.

¹¹⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1896 Annual Report.

¹¹⁷ There was some variation as well when it came to the religious instruction that African-American girls at the JHCOA received during the late-nineteenth century, though it is clear that JHCOA residents received a Protestant religious education. According to the annual reports from the 1890s and early 1900s that the Committee of the JHCOA submitted to the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, asylum girls attended church services every Sunday. In 1896, JHCOA girls began to receive instruction to prepare them for confirmation or baptism, and by 1901, communion services had been implemented and were being administered in the asylum on the first Sunday of each month. Asylum officials explained that they had approved the administration of communion services within the asylum because they believed it was more advisable to keep the girls within the asylum for these services, rather than send them out. For information about the JHCOA and its religious practices, examine: JHCOA, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, Superintendent Reports, Seventh Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1896; Eighth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1897; Ninth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1898; Tenth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1899; Eleventh Report of

The Liverpool orphanages were equally dedicated to providing their inhabitants with religious instruction between 1840 and 1910, though in the cases of these asylums, this Protestant instruction was in “the form of teachings of the Anglican Church.”¹¹⁸ In the 1840s and early 1850s, LFOA officials guaranteed such instruction by sending LFOA girls out to St. Catherine’s Anglican Church. Outside religious instruction was no longer necessary, however, with the completion of the Holy Innocents’ Church in 1854. The Church physically bridged the space separating the LFOA and LAOB, and hosted religious services for children of both institutions. Children at the LFOA and LAOB continued to receive religious instruction via Holy Innocents in the decades that followed, as did LIOA inhabitants after that orphanage opened in 1860.¹¹⁹ In 1880, LFOA representatives began to hold annual examinations to test the religious knowledge of LFOA asylum residents. A “diocesan inspector in scriptural knowledge” conducted these tests, and reported back to LFOA authorities with results and suggestions about how girls’ Anglican religious instruction might be improved.¹²⁰ This type of examination was implemented at the LIOA in 1890, and at the LAOB as of 1900, and children at all three Liverpool orphanages continued to participate in annual religious examinations in the early years of the twentieth century as well.¹²¹ These religious examinations, and the religious instruction at Holy Innocents’

the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1900; Twelfth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1901; Thirteenth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1902; Fourteenth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1903; Twentieth Report of the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for the year ending January 31, 1909. Less information is available about the religious instruction that the girls who inhabited the Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church received, though asylum minutes make clear that the Matron was to conduct family worship services each day in the morning and evening, and that as many of the asylum’s girls were to be present at these services as possible. Asylum officials at the Kelso Home also expected the girls in residence to attend Sunday School and church services every Sunday; see *The Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Baltimore City, Minutes, 1874-1887, Meeting of November 6, 1880, Rules for the Government of the Kelso Home, Rule Third and Rule Eighth.*

¹¹⁸ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845; Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1900; Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1879-1889, Report for the year ending January 30, 1880.

¹¹⁹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending February 27, 1854; Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending March 13, 1854; Minutes, Infants Asylum Committee, September 1858-December 1870, Meeting of April 4, 1860.

¹²⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending December 31, 1880.

¹²¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 31, 1900; Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1881-1890, Report for the year ending December 31, 1900. For evidence of the continued administration of these annual religious examinations, see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Reports for the years ending December 31, 1902; December 31, 1907; December 31, 1908; December 31, 1909; IOA, Reports for the

Church demonstrates how focused the Liverpool orphanages were on children's religious training, and underscores the similarities that existed between these orphanages and the Liverpool asylums when it came to Protestant religious instruction.

Though evidence from both cities confirms it was Protestant religious instruction that occurred in these institutions, Baltimore asylum officials claimed the BOA and the HOF were non-sectarian, and willing to admit children of any religious denomination.¹²² Yet authorities at both asylums hindered Catholic children's involvement with their faith while these children resided in the BOA and HOF. A group of Catholic children gained admission into the BOA during the 1820s and 1830s, and BOA officials engaged in repeated attempts to limit these Catholic residents' association with their religion. In April 1835, the BOA Trustees forbade Catholic residents from receiving the separate religious instruction the BOA Managers had approved for these children five years earlier. The Trustees instead ordered these children to "attend the different Sunday schools, and places of worship to which their friends belong," despite the fact that these were Protestant Sunday Schools and churches.¹²³ In May 1835, the BOA Managers rejected a measure that would have allowed Catholic children "cathedral worship ten days of the year exclusive of Sunday," and further restricted the children's access to Catholic doctrines.¹²⁴ There is no evidence that HOF officials enacted resolutions prohibiting Catholic children access to their religion, as did their BOA counterparts. Yet between the 1850s and 1900, HOF authorities did not allow Catholic children the involvement with their religion that Protestant HOF children possessed. HOF officials sent Protestant asylum residents to Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Associated Reformed church services in the late 1850s, but made no

years ending January 30, 1890; January 30, 1891; January 29, 1892; January 27, 1893; January 29, 1897; January 30, 1900; January 31, 1904.

¹²² For instances in which BOA officials stressed the asylum's non-sectarian nature, see: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 8, 1867; 1872 Annual Report; 1886 Annual Report. For comments HOF representatives made about religious tolerance at that asylum, please examine: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Third Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1856 and November 23, 1857; Fifty-Second Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1906.

¹²³ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of April 1835.

¹²⁴ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of May 4, 1835.

similar provisions for Catholic children.¹²⁵ HOF authorities also held regular chapel services at the HOF during the 1870s and 1880s. They invited ministers of various Protestant faiths to officiate at these events on a rotating basis, but no invitation was extended to Catholic clergy to provide the HOF Catholics with their own services.¹²⁶ For Catholic children who gained admission into the Baltimore asylums, there was literally no possibility of access to the Roman Catholic religion or rites.

That Baltimore asylum authorities prevented Catholic children from attending Roman Catholic services is not surprising, given the religious origins of many nineteenth-century American orphanages. As Timothy Hasci recognizes, asylums such as the BOA that were nonsectarian were usually created by people from different Protestant denominations who were working together. The Trustees and Boards of Managers of such asylums included Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists, and this difference allowed for claims of nonsectarianism.¹²⁷ Yet as the example of the BOA demonstrates, these claims did not translate into true religious tolerance for children who were not Protestant and were in residence. Those adults meanwhile, who sought the admission of their children into the various Baltimore asylums either knew, or quickly discovered, which institutions catered to which religious groups. It was no doubt this awareness, as well as the proliferation of Roman Catholic charities and asylums in Baltimore, that led so few Roman Catholic families to turn to the BOA after the 1830s. There is no evidence that any Catholic children were admitted into the BOA between 1836 and 1874, and between 1874 and 1910, John Ross, Harriet Lang, and Marguerite Lang were the only Catholics to become BOA inhabitants.¹²⁸ What is remarkable, however, is the number of Roman Catholic children who continued to enter the HOF during this period; between 1854 and 1910, at least

¹²⁵ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Third Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1857.

¹²⁶ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1873; Twenty-Ninth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1883.

¹²⁷ Timothy Hasci, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 19. See the following as well: Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*.

¹²⁸ For information on John E. Ross, see the following: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893. Harriet and Marguerite Lang were twins who were nine years old when they were admitted into the BOA in July 1904; see WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913 for these case histories.

thirty Catholic children were admitted into the HOF. In twenty-seven of these cases, the parents of these children placed them into the HOF, despite the existence of a number of Catholic orphanages in Baltimore and the fact that the HOF offered its residents only Protestant religious services and instruction.¹²⁹ This entrance of Catholic children may have had more to do with parental level of need than with religion; twenty-five of these children came from homes in which only one parent remained in the household, and the other parent was absent because of death or desertion. Indeed, pure need may have outweighed parents' concern about the religious instruction their children would or would not receive in the HOF, and led them to have their children admitted into the asylum.

Unlike their counterparts in Baltimore, Liverpool orphanage administrators never claimed that the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA were nonsectarian institutions, or open to children of different faiths. These officials were quite explicit in their support of the Anglican Church and its teachings, most notably in their directive that asylum children be educated only "in the principles of the Established Church."¹³⁰ This support was also apparent in terms of the children admitted into the asylums during this period; the baptismal records of the children who resided in the Liverpool asylums suggest that the majority of these children came from Anglican families. The only three children to be baptized in Roman Catholic institutions and seek admission into the Liverpool asylums between 1840 and 1910 were Mary Richardson, Charles Myers, and John Burns. Richardson and Myers did win entry into the LFOA and LIOA, but Burns was rejected

¹²⁹ St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum, St. Vincent de Paul's Male Orphanage, and St. Patrick's Orphanage were all in existence by the time the HOF was established, and during the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of other Catholic orphanages were created. These included: St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys, St. Anthony's Orphan Asylum, the Dolan Children's Aid Society, St. Elizabeth's Home for Colored Infants and Children, and St. Frances Orphan Asylum. See the following for accounts of Roman Catholic children who entered the HOF between 1854 and 1910: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Bridget, Margaret, and Mary Ann Beatty; Grace, Winifred, and Mary Heyburn; Anna E. and Mary Handley; Catharine, Susannah and Margaret Dorris; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Jane Lanahan; John and Margaret Trainor; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Nicholas T. Lawless; Mary Ann and Robert Ryan; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Rosa, Mamie and Willie Scروت; Willie and Joseph Boyed; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Cora and Victor Messmer; Cornelius, Marie and Michael Joseph McAuliffe; Edward Moore; Bernard and William Eichelberger.

¹³⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending January 31, 1872.

from the LAOB after he failed the asylum's medical exam.¹³¹ These case histories reveal how uncommon it was for children who were Roman Catholic to reside in the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA, and certainly confirms Catholics in and around Liverpool avoided these orphanages when they required help with dependent children. Though there is no evidence that suggests a prohibition on the admission of Catholic children in the Liverpool orphanages between the 1840s and 1899, there is an account from the LFOA which demonstrates such a ban did go into effect at some point in that asylum. According to the LFOA Committee Minutes for April 1900, two children had been presented for admission into the asylum the previous month, but these children "having proved to be Roman Catholics were ineligible and therefore not admitted."¹³²

Vacations, Outings and Entertainment in the Asylums

Officials at the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums implemented routines in the asylum that allotted time for study, work, religious instruction, and any other endeavor they deemed worthy of children's attention. Nevertheless, asylum authorities in both cities also allowed these children annual celebrations and periodic excursions that provided them with some leisure. The earliest mention of such activities appeared in the 1865 BOA Annual Report, when the Ladies Committee noted the items donated for the asylum's Christmas celebration. BOA residents continued to have Christmas parties in the years after this, and as of 1870 it was clear they enjoyed at least three annual celebrations: a July park picnic, Thanksgiving, and Christmas.¹³³ These observances continued in the years that followed, and actually increased in number and scope during the 1880s and 1890s. By 1888, the children were enjoying multiple outings in Baltimore, which included visits to Druid Hill and Patterson Parks, summer excursions to the Chesapeake

¹³¹ Mary Jane Richardson entered the LFOA in May 1868; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875. She had been baptized in St. Anthony's Catholic Church. LIOA authorities reported that Myers had been baptized in a Roman Catholic Chapel, but they did not provide any further information about the name or location of this site; see SHSR, Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, November 1873-December 1881, Example of Charles Edward Myers. According to the LAOB admission registers, John Burns was also baptized in a Roman Catholic Chapel. For more on this boy's history, please examine: SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Asylum, November 1878-April 1905, Example of John Burns.

¹³² SHSR, Minutes, GC, February 1892-March 1903, Meeting of April 5, 1900.

¹³³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1870 Annual Report.

Bay, and picnics.¹³⁴ At the HOF, a similar pattern developed when it came to holidays and external excursions, with Thanksgiving and Christmas celebrated in 1876, and steamboat and park outings occurring during this same period. HOF officials said nothing about such activities during the 1880s, but by the 1890s, children were going on outings that included summer visits to country homes, trips to local beaches, and visits to local Baltimore parks.¹³⁵ The increased frequency with which these excursions occurred during the 1880s at the BOA and the 1890s at the HOF reinforces the impact that late-nineteenth-century middle-class beliefs exerted on the children themselves. Indeed, “by the 1890s respectable opinion assumed the necessity of play for [children’s] proper development,” and Baltimore asylum children were the direct beneficiaries of these notions.¹³⁶

Officials in the Liverpool orphanages also provided their residents with leisure outings and annual celebrations that allowed children a temporary respite from institutional life, though LIOA and LFOA inhabitants had less access to such leisure activities than did LAOB residents and Baltimore asylum children. The first mention of leisure events appeared in the 1860 LAOB Annual Report, when LAOB authorities mentioned that the LAOB boys had gone on several ferry trips and outings in the country during the year.¹³⁷ Asylum authorities continued to provide LAOB pupils with entertainments between the 1870s and 1910, including boat trips, expeditions to New Brighton, concerts, pantomime shows, dramatic entertainments, swimming parties, and trips to the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool to see art exhibits.¹³⁸ At the other two Liverpool

¹³⁴ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1888 Annual Report.

¹³⁵ For recreational events at the HOF during the 1870s and 1880s, see the following: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Fifteenth Annual Report for year ending November 23, 1869; Twentieth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1874; Twenty-Second Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1876. For the 1890s leisure activities at the HOF, please examine: WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1890; Fortieth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1894; Forty-First Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1895.

¹³⁶ Macleod, *The Age of the Child*, p. 23. For additional information on later nineteenth-century beliefs about play and children’s leisure, please see: Clement, *Growing Pains*, p. 150-167; Howard P. Chudacoff, *Children at Play: An American History* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), p. 67-97.

¹³⁷ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Report for the year ending February 29, 1860.

¹³⁸ For examples of these events, please look at: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of May 1875; July 1876; September 1876; August 1877; January 1880; January 24, 1881; June 17, 1887; October 24, 1881; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for January 13, 1898;

orphanages, leisure activities were provided to children on a rarer basis. Between 1860 and 1903, LFOA and LIOA residents accompanied the LAOB boys to a pantomime show and to New Brighton, but these outings marked the extent of their access to leisure events.¹³⁹ It was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that LFOA girls and LIOA children were allowed more outings and entertainments. During this decade, LIOA children had teas and concerts given to them in the LIOA, and LFOA girls went to teas, parties, concerts, the Walker Art Gallery, and even to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. All three of the Liverpool orphanages continued as well to allow the children to interact with one another during the early 1900s, at teas, concerts, and annual Christmas parties.¹⁴⁰

The boys who resided in the LAOB had greater contact with the world outside of the orphanages than their peers in Liverpool or in Baltimore. Yet a small group of LAOB boys possessed even more privileges than their fellow LAOB residents when it came to such matters because of their participation in the LAOB band. LAOB officials established the band during the late 1850s, and during the summer of 1858, the band played every Thursday evening at the Liverpool Botanic Garden. In the decades that followed, these boys entertained a variety of Liverpudlians, including local office workers, supporters of the Liverpool Customs Widows and Orphans Aid Society, cricket enthusiasts, and Liverpool City Council Members. The LAOB Band appeared at a number of different local venues, including the Prince's Park Gardens, Philharmonic Hall, Kensington Gardens, St. George's Hall [for the Window Garden Flower Show], Sefton Park, St. James' Mount, the Liverpool Institute of Sports, the Kirkdale Recreation

September 12-October 10, 1898; March 13-April 10, 1898; February 12-March 12, 1900; January 14-February 11, 1901; October 14-November 11, 1901; October 13-November 10, 1902; May 12-June 8, 1903; January 13-February 13, 1905; February 12-March 12, 1906; February 12-March 11, 1907; October 14-November 11, 1907; September 15-October 12, 1908; December 15, 1908-January 11, 1909; October 12-November 9, 1909; January 9-February 21, 1910; December 15, 1910-January 9, 1911.

¹³⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of October 1869; February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of July 1876; January 1880.

¹⁴⁰ For specifics on the leisure activities LIOA residents had access to during the early twentieth century, see: SHSR, Journal, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for March 16-April 10, 1905. For more information on the LFOA girls and their leisure activities during the period, please examine the following: SHSR, Journal, Female Orphan Asylum, January 1903-January 1916; Notes for January 1903; May 1903; October 1903; January 1904; January 1905; February 1905; April 1904; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for February 14-March 13, 1905; January 10-February 12, 1906; February 12-March 11, 1907.

Ground, and Whitley Gardens.¹⁴¹ These music-related functions allowed the LAOB Boys Band access to events occurring outside of the LAOB that were off-limits to other LAOB boys, as well as to LIOA and LFOA children. These band boys received music instruction, and a few boys such as James Harrison, William Moss, John Seddon, and William Carnighan parlayed this training into acceptance into the Royal Naval School of Music at Portsmouth, and in the cases of J. Samuels and William Short, into life as professional musicians.¹⁴² The LAOB also profited from this arrangement, as the Band and its performances attracted continual public attention to the asylum efforts to provide for poor young Liverpudlians. Though neither the LAOB Band nor the asylum were paid for these engagements, the free publicity that the Band generated meant the possibility of increased private funding for the LAOB, and continued interest in its endeavors.

The Liverpool and Baltimore orphanages presented asylum children with periodic recreational activities, and in the case of LAOB Band boys, with exposure to places to which other Liverpool asylum children did not have access. Yet during the late nineteenth century, the BOA, and the Liverpool asylums, began to provide children with longer breaks from asylum life, in the form of annual vacations. At the BOA, internal economic pressures contributed to this decision. The BOA financial woes of the 1890s gave rise to the requirement that the surviving parents of BOA half-orphans pay board, and to these month-long summer closures of the BOA.¹⁴³ The BOA Managers decided in 1898 to put “the children for a month in homes, sometimes back with their families, if possible in the country,” though they were initially able to send only half of

¹⁴¹ For more information on the LAOB Boys’ Band and the engagements they played, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of January 18, 1871; October 23, 1872; October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of June 1870; March 1871; May 1872; February 1875; August 1877; August 1879; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for May 8-June 12, 1899; August-September 1909; May 9-June 13, 1910.

¹⁴² The accounts of James Harrison, William Moss, John Seddon, and William Carnighan can be found in the following: SHSR, Journal, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for August 12-September 11, 1905; Notes for April 4-May 14, 1906; Notes for October 12-November 8, 1909. J. Samuels, who was a former resident of the asylum himself, applied in March 1877 to the LAOB for a clarinet player. See SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of March 1877. LAOB officials mentioned William Scott in connection with a cornet he donated to the LAOB Band in December 1899. According to asylum representatives, Scott was a former pupil of the asylum, who was now a “leading trumpeter in Her Majesty’s Private Band, in the Richter Orchestra, and at the Philharmonic Society’s Concerts.” See SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for December 11, 1899-January 8, 1900.

¹⁴³ For more on the 1897 BOA resolution that the surviving parents of half-orphans should pay board, see: WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1898 Annual Report.

the asylum's residents out in this manner.¹⁴⁴ In the early 1900s, BOA officials began to require relatives of newly admitted children to provide for these children during the summer closures.¹⁴⁵ Even orphans and BOA residents whose families were unable to guarantee summer provisions had access to summer breaks; the BOA Managers boarded these children out and the asylum paid their board during the summer recess.¹⁴⁶ According to these officials, the health of BOA inhabitants who left Baltimore and resided in country homes in the open air for four weeks greatly improved, and the "temporary closing of the building" alleviated some of asylum's operating costs, and actually allowed the asylum to admit "from four to six more children."¹⁴⁷ The profits that accrued to the asylum and its inhabitants from these summer recesses convinced BOA officials not only of their validity, but their necessity, and they continued to enact these annual breaks until the early 1920s.

The BOA was not the only institution to provide its residents with annual vacations during the late nineteenth century, as the examples of the LIOA, LAOB, and LFOA confirm. In Liverpool, the first asylum to grant children annual vacations was the LIOA, which did so a full fifteen years before the BOA. In August 1883, LIOA officials reported they had secured the assistance of an organization known as the "Children's Holiday Home," and had paid the organization one pound per child; in return, LIOA children were sent to country homes during the summer where they spent three weeks outside the asylum.¹⁴⁸ By the 1890s, all three Liverpool asylums were sending children on periodic vacations away from Liverpool. At the LAOB, the

¹⁴⁴ WC, BOA, "An account of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum during the Active Management of Mrs. Appleton Wilson."

¹⁴⁵ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group 1901-1913, Entries for Earl Jackson, Ellsworth Klausmann, Luther Bailey, Charles Spradling, Joseph Smoot, James William Beever, William Albert Finnegan, Kenneth Jenkins, Harry Weeks, Lawrence E. and Roy N. Kidd, August Wick, George Frederic Weber, Vernon Earle Price, Eugene Hanson Ferguson, Frank Hume Baum, John Thomas and James Herbert Brown, Leon Christopher, Edgar Allen Burgess, Justus and John Linduer, John Archibald Hissey, William H. and Edward L. McCormack, Melvin Ortman, Roland Leslie Gannon; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions 1901-1913, Examples of Pansy Morris McCauley, Edna E. and Elsie L. Eckman, Gladys E. Engler; Catherine E. Lichtenberg; Viola Estelle Smith, Lula M. and Sadie V. Fowler, Margaret J Redgrave, Mary Elizabeth Adams, Catherine E. Jenkins, Sarah Martha Adams, Ethel and Julia Smith, Gertrude E. Hess, Mary Evelyn V. Jones, Edna Fidler, Carrie Lavinia and Emma Blanch Fodor, Mabel Viola King, Helen O'Boyle Gains, Hazel L. Baxter, Mary Aleathea Ward, Minnie Muir, May A. and Ethel A. McGinnis.

¹⁴⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1909 Annual Report.

¹⁴⁷ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1900 and 1901 Annual Reports.

¹⁴⁸ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for August 1893, "In Holiday Time."

first annual summer closure occurred in summer 1893, when the boys were sent to camp “amongst the sand dunes and along the wave-washed shores of Formby.” LAOB officials fondly described the “tents, the cooking, the bed-making, the amusing makeshifts, the sea baths, the wandering walk among the sand-hills, the country life, [and] the sports” that the boys had experienced as part of this time away from the asylum.¹⁴⁹ The LAOB boys continued to embark on five-week-long summer breaks to the Holiday Camp at Freshfield until 1908; the breaks began in early July and ended in the middle of August, when the asylum re-opened and school resumed.¹⁵⁰ At the LIOA, the summer breaks remained three weeks long during the 1890s and became month-long affairs in the early 1900s. In the 1890s, LIOA officials turned to the Children’s Country Holiday Fund in order to make “three weeks of farm life” a possibility for all asylum inhabitants and were quite satisfied with the impact these annual breaks had on the LIOA children. According to these officials, these children “for a time enjoyed a family life as a change from the Institution routine and surroundings, and they returned to the Asylum benefited both in bodily health and mental capacity.”¹⁵¹ These Liverpoolian asylum officials were, like their Baltimore counterparts, certain of the merits of summer vacations, and of the tangible effects these breaks from the asylum had on the orphans in their care.

The commitment to annual holidays that LAOB and LIOA officials demonstrated was not absent at the LFOA. Indeed, the LFOA also sent children away to the English countryside in the 1890s on annual vacations, though these breaks were not confined to the summertime. LFOA representatives acquired a house in Heswall in 1890, and the ownership of the building allowed asylum officials to provide the LFOA girls with more extended stays in the countryside than their

¹⁴⁹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, The Myrtle Wreath, Edition for October 1893, “Under Canvas.” Formby is a town that is located in Northwest England, off of the coast of the Irish Sea. It is approximately thirteen miles northwest of Liverpool.

¹⁵⁰ Freshfield is part of the town known as Formby. For accounts of the LAOB summer breaks at Freshfield, see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Reports for the years ending December 31, 1900; December 31, 1902; December 31, 1903; December 31, 1905; December 31, 1906; December 31, 1907; December 31, 1908.

¹⁵¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Infant Orphan Asylum, 1889-1898, Report for the year ending January 31, 1894.

LIOA and LAOB counterparts enjoyed.¹⁵² The house was supposedly quite impressive, and it was surrounded by “the heathery moor, and the sandy Dee, and beyond the beautiful Welsh hills.”¹⁵³ The LFOA General Committee chose to use the facility not only as a holiday home, but as a country home, and so they kept it open for six months each year per this plan. LFOA authorities sent the girls in small groups for one or two months on a rotating basis, in order to insure all the asylum residents spent time away from Liverpool; asylum officials also sent teachers to Heswall to continue the girls’ educational instruction. Yet what LFOA officials found most important about Heswall was not the children’s education, but their exposure to a healthier environment. Like LIOA and LAOB authorities, LFOA officials were convinced of the tangible improvements that these vacations yielded when it came to asylum residents. Time in Heswall provided LFOA girls with “the joy of the bright open air” and led to “fewer pale faces” and less medicinal use in the asylum as well. It was this exposure to “the seaside air and country life,” that LFOA representatives understood as truly important, and it was this access to a less urban environment that LFOA authorities continued to provide to asylum inhabitants in the early years of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁴

Alumni Organizations

For a large number of children, dismissal from the asylum meant placement as an apprentice or the return to family, and an end to the association between child and asylum. Some orphanage officials in Liverpool did attempt to keep former residents connected to the asylums, though these efforts met with little success in the 1850s and 1860s. The LFOA LC held annual December tea parties between 1859 and 1864, in an attempt to keep former LFOA girls associated with the asylum and one another. At these teas, Committee Members mingled with the former LFOA pupils who “might have been sisters by ties of relationship, so affectionate were

¹⁵² Heswall is a town that is located on the Wirral Peninsula, southwest of Liverpool. SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for December 1892, “Heswall Ho.” LFOA representatives decided to buy the property in Heswall in order to commemorate the Jubilee year of the asylum’s existence.

¹⁵³ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for June 1893, “Heswall.”

¹⁵⁴ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for March 1893, “Heswall Ho.”

their greetings of each other.”¹⁵⁵ The LC was particularly satisfied with these events, and identified the girls’ behavior as “proof of their attachment to the home of their youth.”¹⁵⁶ It is clear, however, that these tea parties concluded as of 1864, and that LFOA authorities’ efforts did not lead to the establishment of an alumni association for former LFOA pupils. An alumni organization was established at the LAOB, yet even LAOB Committee Members found their attempts to keep former residents connected to LAOB problematic. The relationship between LAOB officials and the “Old Boys” who controlled the Orphan Brotherly Society (OBS) deteriorated in 1866, after the former reproached the OBS for electing a run-away LAOB apprentice to its Committee. The OBS subsequently responded with its own rebuke of the LAOB, and also rejected the LAOB Committee’s suggestion that the OBS should “appropriate a portion of their funds to the partial support of boys (if necessary) in the first year of their apprenticeship.”¹⁵⁷ All communication ceased between the OBS and asylum officials after April 1867, and no further mention of the OBS appeared in the Committee Minutes for twenty-six years.

Though the initial effort to establish an LAOB alumni organization failed, a similar attempt during the 1890s proved far more successful, and led to the creation of an OBS that provided former boys with assistance, entertainments for current LAOB residents, and financial assistance to the asylum itself. At the LAOB, officials attempted to reunite former residents and create an alumni organization for LAOB boys for a second time in 1893. LAOB officials explained their support for an “Old Boys” society in terms of former LAOB pupils’ appeals for aid in the formation of such an organization. Yet they also noted the malleability of former pupils and the benefits the asylum would accrue from such an alumni association:

¹⁵⁵ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending February 24, 1862.

¹⁵⁶ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Report for the year ending February 24, 1862. For more on the annual December tea parties held at the LFOA between 1859 and 1864, see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Reports for the year ending February 27, 1860; February 25, 1861; February 29, 1864.

¹⁵⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 25, 1867. For more on the disagreements between LAOB officials and the Orphan Boys’ Society during 1866 and 1867, please see: Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of December 31, 1866; March 25, 1867; April 17, 1867.

We want to make *workers* of them-to find them work and direct them in it. We believe that, young as many of them are, if we find them a room for recreation and reunion, we shall be able to utilize their youth and their energy for many good and practical works, and that very soon we shall have about us a valuable and energetic body of young men. In other words, we want to gather in a harvest.¹⁵⁸

By 1902, this “Orphan Brotherly Society” (OBS) was thriving as an association; there were 120 members, and the organization “assists the younger lads by grants of clothing, while wages are low, finds work for those out of employment or sick, and looks after the interests of old boys far and near.”¹⁵⁹ The OBS expanded its assistance efforts during this period, so that by 1905 its members were organizing annual meetings and reunions for former LAOB inhabitants holding swimming galas and other entertainments for current LAOB residents, and raising money for the asylum itself via musical concerts. The OBS fundraising efforts proved especially profitable, and the society presented the asylum with over £115 in 1907, £39 in 1908, and £84 in 1910.¹⁶⁰ As these contributions demonstrate, the OBS played a significant role in assisting the LAOB during a period of intense economic crisis at the asylum, and guaranteed as well support for current and former LAOB residents.

The LFOA also established an alumni organization in 1907 known as the “Old Girls Guild,” but there is no indication that this organization was as beneficial to the LFOA as the OBS was to the LAOB.¹⁶¹ Indeed, the financial aid known as the Benevolent Fund that the LFOA

¹⁵⁸ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for October 1893, “The New Church Room.”

¹⁵⁹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1903.

¹⁶⁰ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1906. For more on the Orphan Boys’ Society and its activities during the early twentieth century, please take a look at the following: SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, Reports for the years ending December 31, 1900; December 31, 1905; December 31, 1907; December 31, 1908; December 31, 1910; Journal, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Notes for March 10-April 10, 1908.

¹⁶¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Reports for the years ending December 1907; December 1910.

offered to its former inhabitants was far more significant than the asylum's alumni association, and the LFOA was the only Liverpool orphanage to provide such assistance. This aid began to be offered in 1880, after the LFOA LC received reports about former LFOA girls in economic distress, and was supposed to provide temporary assistance to girls of good character

who, through sickness, or reasons entirely beyond their own control, may be for a time thrown out of employment. The relief so granted would mainly consist in giving the opportunity of availing themselves of the Convalescent Homes in the neighbourhood, and in very exceptional cases, the Ladies of the Committee would enable the girls to find respectable accommodation for a short period until reengaged.¹⁶²

By 1886, the Benevolent Fund had already relieved the difficulties of twenty-four former LFOA girls at a cost of £55, and had "provided numerous small loans for temporary assistance," though there were a few "pensioners" who received continual aid because of long-term health issues or handicaps.¹⁶³ The Benevolent Fund continued to prove popular throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, when former LFOA pupils like Agnes Vichavance, Sarah Capper, Elizabeth Hopley, Dolly Doyle, Maggie Braithwaite, Jane Lawson, Emily Marsh and Eliza Bushell received assistance from the account.¹⁶⁴ In a number of these cases, girls fell sick and were without the financial

¹⁶² SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1880.

¹⁶³ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1886. According to LFOA officials, one of the two girls who received long-term aid from the Benevolent Fund was a girl who became blind shortly after she entered the orphanage. She was sent to the Home for Blind Children in Liverpool, so that she might receive training specific to her case. The Benevolent Fund provided half of the money it cost for her to reside in this home. See SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, Edition for December 1892, "Female Orphan Asylum Benevolent Fund," for more on this unnamed girl. The name of the other girl who received continual assistance from the Benevolent Fund was Ellen Coulter. The LC said that this girl had been in poor health for a long period of time, and that she was to be sent to the Home for Incurables in Liverpool. The Ladies also noted that the money to cover her stay was to come out of the Benevolent Fund; see SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of November 1, 1893 for this girl's history.

¹⁶⁴ For the cases of former LFOA girls who benefited from the Benevolent Fund, please examine: SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of February 5, 1896, Notes on Agnes Vichavance; Meeting of December 2, 1896, Account of Agnes Higgins; Meeting of September 1, 1897, History of Ruth Stevenson; Meeting of February 2, 1898, Case of Ellen Prescott; Meeting of May 4, 1898, Notes on Sarah Capper and Ada Grealey; Meeting of December 7, 1898, Accounts of Mary Rhodes Boyle; Meeting of September 6, 1899, Histories of E. Joy, Mary Doyle and

resources to afford the care they required to regain their health. Yet in at least two instances, much older former LFOA girls applied for Benevolent Fund support. Seventy-year-old M. Kelly asked the LFOA LC in May 1897 to provide her with a weekly stipend, that would “keep her out of the workhouse,” while Mrs. Parry asked for aid in January 1909 as her husband was out of work and she was dying. Though the LC proved unable because of the “present state of funds” to provide M. Kelly with a weekly stipend, they did agree to pay for her lodging until she had resolved her case with the Board of Guardians, and to provide Mrs. Parry and her husband with £1 and the “understanding that we could not help any further.”¹⁶⁵ These appeals suggest the precarious economic reality former LFOA girls often experienced once they left the asylum, and hint there was little financial security overall for former LFOA girls, no matter what their age. Though the Benevolent Fund provided former LFOA residents with necessary aid, it could not solve the larger economic difficulties of women’s lives.

Conclusion:

The women and men who governed the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums found themselves in a contradictory position during the nineteenth century. These reformers were quite independent when it came to certain issues, such as asylum discipline, or the vocational and religious training that children were to receive while in residence. But they and the asylums they administered were not totally autonomous; they belonged to a child welfare collective that

Elizabeth Hopley; Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1900, Discussion of Dolly Doyle; Meeting of December 6, 1900, Case of Maggie Braithwaite; Meeting of March 6, 1901, Example of Jane Lawson; Meeting of October 2, 1891, History of Emily Marsh; Meeting of April 2, 1902, Notes on M. Doyle; Meeting of October 1, 1902, Account of Eliza Bushell; Meeting of January 1903, Discussion of Benevolent Fund and four unnamed girls; Meeting of January 1909, History of Minnie McCormac; Meeting of March 1910, Discussion of Mary Cox. See also, SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Reports for the years ending December 1906; December 1908; December 1910.

¹⁶⁵ For the history of M. Kelly, please refer to: SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of May 1907, Notes on M. Kelly. Mrs. Parry’s maiden name was Minnie McCormac, and when she first appealed for assistance in January 1909, the LC identified her case as “hardly eligible,” because her husband was alive and out of work. The LC contacted the Vicar of Colwyn Bay in Wales, where Mrs. Parry resided, in order to find out more about her, and her situation. The Vicar told the members of the LC that Mrs. Parry was consumptive and was “very ill and expected to live only a short time.” The LC also reported that they had heard Mr. and Mrs. Parry were quite respectable, and that they believed the case to be a worthy one. See SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-October 1911, Meeting of January 1909, Notes on Mrs. Parry.

expanded dramatically during the second half of the nineteenth century in both the United States and England. Membership in this collective exposed orphanage administrators in both cities to greater funding opportunities, as well as to discourses and developments that directly affected the recreational and educational practices of the asylums. The changes asylum authorities in both cities implemented because of new ideas about the benefits of play and rural life and as the result of increased government involvement in education were truly substantial not only for the institutions, but for the children who inhabited the asylums. These alterations provided late-nineteenth-century asylum residents with considerably more access to the world outside of the institutions than their predecessors during the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s had possessed.

Chapter Seven: The Apprenticeship of Asylum Children

Children who resided in the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages faced a number of different possibilities when it came to their dismissal from these institutions including indentured and non-indentured placement with individuals who were not their blood relations, return to family, and transfer to other institutions. The remaining three chapters of the dissertation will evaluate the dismissal arrangements made for asylum children in both cities, and will consider how former asylum residents were reincorporated into the world outside of these institutions. There were significant differences in the arrangements made for orphanage inhabitants in both cities; Baltimore asylum residents were far more likely to be sent to their relatives or to be transferred to other institutions than were the majority of children in Liverpool, who were actually dismissed to the care of unrelated men and women. (See Table 7.1.) Yet the arrangements made for orphan asylum inhabitants in both cities were not completely dissimilar throughout the nineteenth century; a contingent of children from the BOA, LAOB and LFOA were formally indentured to the men and women to whose care they were dismissed. This chapter will make clear when children were eligible for dismissal from the orphanages and will examine Liverpool and Baltimore asylum administrators' use of indenture and focus particularly on the history of this practice at these institutions, the population of children eligible and ineligible for indenture, the social values that informed the apprenticeships made for asylum residents, the terms of these agreements, the expectations of the parties bound by these arrangements, and the changes to these agreements that asylum officials authorized at different points in the nineteenth century.

Table 7.1 Dismissal of orphan asylum residents, Baltimore and Liverpool, 1840-1910

Dismissed to whom?	Baltimore		Liverpool	
	HOF	BOA	LFOA	LAOB
To kin	1770 (66.8%)	492(49.2%)	152 (19.3%)	110 (30.6%)
To unrelated adults	643 (24.3%)	294 (29.5%)	626 (79.4%)	230 (63.9%)
To other local institutions	235 (8.9%)	192 (19.3%)	6 (2.0%)	6 (1.7%)
Total	2648	996	788	361

Sources: Woodbourne Collection, Inc., The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864; Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Book 3, April 1871-April 1875; Book 5, May 1875-November 1881; Book 6, 1881-1892; Book 7, 1892-1895; Book 8, 1896-1902; Book 10, 1903-1910; Baltimore Orphan Asylum, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898; Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893; Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900; Book 6, Males, 1887-1898; Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913; Salisbury House School Records, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851; December 1852-August 1865; April 1867-February 1875; November 1882-January 1895; February 1895-April 1907; April 1907-December 1910; Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880; November 1878-April 1905; April 1905-December 1910; Admission Registers, Infant Orphan Asylum, March 1866-August 1873; November 1873-December 1881; December 1881-January 1889; February 1889-April 1902; April 1902-December 1910; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum Committee, January 1861-June 1883; October 1869-October 1874; February 1875-November 1886; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921.

At what age were children eligible for dismissal?

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the BOA was legally empowered to keep female children until sixteen, as state-run institutions did. In 1822, BOA officials argued that sixteen was too young “to permit a chaste and delicate female to be turned loose upon the world,” and asked the Maryland General Assembly to increase the age to which the orphanage might have custody of girls to eighteen. The General Assembly quickly granted this request, and in 1852, the state legislature stipulated that BOA officials were to have custody of the male children in the institution’s care until these boys reached the age of twenty-one.¹ Yet the BOA Managers did not usually keep female or male inhabitants within the asylum until they reached these ages, but instead identified fourteen as the preferred age of dismissal. At this age boys were sent to the

¹ See specifically WC, BOA, Acts of Incorporation, By-Laws and Rules for Governing the Asylum, “A Supplement to an Act, Entitled “An act for incorporating a society to educate and maintain poor orphans and other destitute female children, by the name of the Orphaline Charity School of the City of Baltimore, passed February 5th, 1822-1821, Chapter 138, for the asylum’s petition to raise the age of majority to eighteen. For information on the decision that granted BOA authorities control over male asylum inhabitants until the latter reached the age of twenty-one, see: WC, BOA, Acts of Incorporation, “A Supplement to an act for incorporating a society to educate and maintain poor orphan and other destitute female children, by the name of the Orphaline Charity School, and to repeal the act of assembly therein mentioned, passed February 12th, 1847-1846, Chapter 54, Section 2; The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of November 1846.

Manual Labor School or bound out, and girls were bound out to learn a good trade or a “good home is secured for them.”²

The age at which children qualified for dismissal from the Liverpool orphanages proved remarkably similar to the age of majority BOA officials elected. LFOA administrators identified girls who were fourteen as old enough to make the transition from being a child to being an industrious woman, though they reserved the right to keep girls in the orphanage after fourteen if they were not yet deemed ready for service.³ LAOB Committee Members reached a similar determination about the boys in their care when it came to the age of majority, and fixed on fifteen years of age as the appropriate age at which boys should leave the asylum.⁴ The LFOA and LAOB ages of majority suggest there was a general consensus among Liverpoolian asylum officials about what constituted acceptable dismissal ages, though officials did not discuss why in particular they believed children of these ages should be eligible for dismissal, or why the age of majority was a full year higher for LAOB boys than for their female counterparts at the LFOA.

What types of arrangements were made for children dismissed from the asylums?

Some of the children who resided in the BOA in Baltimore, and many of the children who inhabited the LFOA and LAOB in Liverpool, were formally indentured to the adults who removed them from these institutions. Though many of these children were indentured to unrelated third parties, there was a group of children actually bound to their relatives. At the HOF, few children were formally indentured, and many more were sent out to households without contracts in place. HOF officials also allowed children to go out on a purely informal basis to potential masters and mistresses, and even permitted the “adoption” of children into

² WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1886 Annual Report, p. 6.

³ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845, p. 8.

⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 29, 1865. Rules at the LSOI were even more restrictive when it came to age, and forbade children who were older than fourteen from residing in the asylum; LAOI officials regularly dismissed female and male asylum residents once they achieved this age. For more information on this practice, please see the following: LSOI, Annual Reports 1869-1874, Volume 1, First Annual Report for the year ending December 1869, “Fundamental Rules of the Seamen’s Orphan Institution,” p. 9; Fourth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1872.

families. These options, as well as the informal apprenticeships HOF officials arranged appear not to have occurred at the BOA or the orphan asylums in Liverpool.

Formal indentures were central to the dismissal arrangements BOA authorities engineered for a number of BOA residents. In this regard the asylum proved quite similar to many other antebellum asylums that also dismissed children via indentures, but notably different from the Progressive Era Baltimore orphanages Nurith Zmora examined in her 1994 work.⁵ Between the late 1820s and 1901, a contingent of BOA girls and boys were apprenticed to adults who took them out of the institutions.⁶ The majority of these formally indentured BOA children were full orphans, though some half-orphans were also indentured to local adults.⁷ These children were legally bound to adults, though these contracts encompassed more than the legal tie

⁵ In her study, Zmora examines the case histories of 129 children total; forty-four of these children resided in the Dolan Home, forty-five were inhabitants of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and forty were inmates of the Samuel Ready School. According to Zmora, most of Hebrew Orphan Asylum inhabitants were returned to their family members, though there were eight children who were sent to other institutions for care, and some orphaned girls who remained in the orphanage until they reached their age of majority, which was eighteen; see Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Childcare Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 105-109. The girls who inhabited the Samuel Ready School were eligible for dismissal at sixteen years of age, though the school had a scholarship program which allowed a number of girls to remain for another two years, and receive vocational instruction. The exact number of girls who did win this scholarship remains unclear, though asylum officials did find positions for these girls once they completed this additional two years of study. Other Samuel Ready School girls were dismissed or removed by parents; the exact number of girls dismissed in each way remains unclear; see Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 68. At the Dolan Home, twenty-five children were returned to relatives, six boys were sent to St. Mary's Industrial School, one girl was placed in a city household, and eight boys were dismissed to farm families. Where children were dismissed depended on parental status as well as the way that children had entered the Dolan Home. Children who were half-orphans or whose parents or relatives paid board were dismissed to their parents. Those children who had been committed to the Home or who were orphans were dismissed to St. Mary's Industrial School or were placed out into families. The latter practice was understood as "adoption" by officials at the Dolan Home, and did involve contracts. The understanding in these instances was that these families would treat the children they were "adopting" as if they were their own children, that they would retain boys until the age of twenty-one and girls until the age of eighteen, that they would provide children with homes and some type of occupation, and that they would pay fifty dollars to each child once he or she achieved eighteen years of age. For more on the dismissal of children from the Dolan Home, refer to: Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 111-115.

⁶ Baltimore City was declared an independent entity separate from Baltimore County in 1851; prior to this date, BOA officials had submitted indenture documents to the Baltimore County Register of Wills. After 1851, they continued to submit indenture contracts to the Baltimore County Register of Wills, and also to the Baltimore City Register of Wills. For more information on the split between Baltimore City and Baltimore County, please see Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson: Friends of the Towson Library, 1979), Pages 127-134. For some examples of children from the BOA who were indentured, see the following: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1826-1829, Mary Youse Indenture to John Burneston, p. 427; Records for 1847-1850, Selinda White Indenture to David B. Prince, p. 284-284; Records for 1854-1913, George Rurges Indenture to Caleb Carman, p. 325-326; Sarah Bruchy Indenture to Richard G. Mackey, p. 348-349; Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, Indenture, p. 391-392.

⁷ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Records of Catherine Atwell, Kate Barry and Fannie Forrest; Admission Book, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Entries for Harry Lusby, Edward and Carroll Seibert, and Max Dibbern. For other examples of half-orphans who were formally indentured, see: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Histories of Carrie Ayshultz, Agnes Spradling, and Carrie Hampton; Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Examples of James Davis, William Spradling, Baker Pennell, Richard Smith, and George Andrews.

that bound the child to the indenture holder. BOA indentures regularly cited officials' legal and historic right to place children out formally in this manner, identified the length of service required of the child, and made clear the responsibilities that indenture holders and their new apprentices were obligated to convey to one another.⁸ This indenturing of children was, as historians Timothy Hacsí and Susan Porter point out, a carry-over from the colonial period, and was used to provide for some orphans and other dependent children during the nineteenth-century as well, though the practice grew increasingly less popular during the 1800s as the pre-industrial American economy gave way to an industrialized, wage-based economy.⁹

Orphanage administrators in Liverpool also used formal indentures to dismiss asylum residents. LFOA girls were bound as early as the 1840s to adults by a legal contract that the girls, the adults holding the indentures, and the President of the LFOA all signed prior to the girl leaving the asylum; unlike their female counterparts in Baltimore, LFOA residents were expected

⁸ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, George W. Melhorn Indenture to George Blake, Page 70-71; Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851 and onward, James Moore Indenture to Christian Barth, p. 325-326; Records for 1851-1913, William Olive Indenture to Josiah Price. For the histories of other boys who were formally apprenticed during the 1850s, see: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, James Murry Indenture to John Matthews; Charles W. Purse Indenture to John J. Purse; Robert Amos Indenture to Mordecai Matthews; Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1854-1858, Frank Bartholomew Indenture to M.A. Bartholomew, p. 5; William Mullen Indenture to Evan Matthews, p. 178; John F. Atkinson Indenture to Francis W. Casey, p. 239; James Harrod Indenture to his Unnamed man, His Uncle, p. 306-307; John Michael (aka John B. Michael) Indenture to Luther Sheridine, p. 337; John Smaltzell Indenture to John S. McClellan, p. 370-371; Thomas Edwards Indenture to George Matthews, p. 378-379; William Moore Indenture to Charles Hickman, p. 380-381; Michael Murray to Talitha Matthew, p. 460-461; Samuel Holland Indenture to James F. Ross, p. 483; Samuel Jenning Indenture to John McCoy, p. 516-517; Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1916, Records for 1858-1861, Arthur Lance Indenture to Tomas O. Gregory, p. 13; George S. Wright Indenture to T. Schaff Srocket, p. 86-87; Thomas Inloes Indenture to John Crownmiller, p. 103. Of these boys, Frank Bartholomew, John F. Atkinson, and James Harrod were indentured to relatives.

⁹ Timothy Hacsí, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 133; Susan Lynne Porter, "The Benevolent Asylum—Image and Reality: The Care and Training of Female Orphans in Boston, 1800-1840" (PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1984), 269-278. For more information on the colonial origins of indenturing poor children and the use of it during the nineteenth century as well, see: Steve Hindle and Ruth Wallis Herndon, "Recreating Proper Families in England and North America: Pauper Apprenticeship in Transatlantic Context," in *Children Bound to Labor*, ed. Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 19-38; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1971), p. 206; Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 43; Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), p. 95. Refer to T. Stephen Whiteman, "Orphans in the City and the Countryside in Nineteenth-Century Maryland," in *Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprenticeship System in Early America*, ed. Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 52-70, for an insightful article about orphan indenture in Maryland between the 1780s and 1860s. Whiteman focuses on Orphans' Court records from Baltimore, Prince George's, Kent, Washington, and Talbot Counties in Maryland. Though he does mention the creation of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum (a Catholic orphanage) and Protestant orphanages in Baltimore during the early nineteenth century, he focuses primarily on the indenture of white and African-American orphans not in-residence in Baltimore orphanages.

to demonstrate their acceptance of indenture arrangements.¹⁰ Girls continued to leave the asylum per prescribed documents during the second half of the nineteenth century, as did their counterparts at the LAOB.¹¹ Though LAOB representatives rarely discussed the specific details of boys' apprenticeships, anyone who applied for an apprentice but refused to sign the indenture papers could be rejected as an inappropriate applicant. This was certainly the experience that the gentleman seeking the dismissal of Duncan Willis had in the fall of 1863. This man refused to "sign the usual indenture," and so the LAOB Committee simply declared his appeal for the child invalid and declined further consideration of his application.¹² This was true as well for many of the relatives who removed children from the LAOB and LFOA; asylum administrators in Liverpool expected kin and non-kin alike to agree to indentures.

The commitment that Liverpool asylum officials demonstrated to indentures was not surprising, in light of apprenticeship's enduring use in England as a means to provide for poor children. According to historian Joan Lane, two types of apprenticeship in England targeted poor children: pauper and charity apprenticeships. Under the Old Poor Law (Elizabethan Poor Law, 1601) parishes regularly indentured poor children, including orphans, to reduce parish poor rates and provide these youngsters with training that would hopefully allow them to survive occupationally when they reached adulthood. Pauper apprentices were often sent to other parishes to lessen the economic burden on the child's home parish, and parish officials provided the adults taking on these apprentices with a cash payment, or premium, in exchange for the instruction and care they were to convey to their apprentices. The indentures parish officials

¹⁰ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture for April 30th, 1846 between Reverend Augustus Campbell, Elizabeth Porter, and Joseph Hampson; Indenture for May 9th, 1849, between Reverend Thomas Bold, Elizabeth Seddon, and John Wilson; Indenture for July 23rd, 1849, between Reverend Thomas Bold, Alice Bang, and Samuel Phillips. See also: SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture for November 16th, 1855 between James Buchanan, Hannah Dooley, and Maria Axford; Indenture for February 19th, 1856, between James Buchanan, Maria Betteley, and Jane Betteley; Indenture for June 27th, 1865, between John Bibby, Esther Jane Andrews, and Elisha Leigh; Indenture for July 8th, 1865, between John Bibby, Elizabeth Horrocks, and Henry Milling.

¹¹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture for November 16th, 1855 between James Buchanan, Hannah Dooley, and Maria Axford; Indenture between James John Hance, Ellen Hawkins, and Elizabeth Pemberton; Indenture between John J. Myers, Annie Watkins, and Roger Bolton. Hannah Dooley was indentured to Maria Axford on November 16, 1855, Ellen Hawkins was apprenticed to Elizabeth Pemberton on December 7, 1863, and Annie Watkins was indentured to Roger Bolton on June 8, 1870.

¹² SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1863-June 1883, Meeting of August 31, 1863.

placed these children into also identified responsibilities that children and their masters and mistresses were to fulfill during the child's apprenticeship.¹³ After the passage of the 1834 New Poor Law, government officials continued to indenture children in this manner and Liverpool parish officials apprenticed children to the mills in Backbarrow, Greys and Derbyshire in an effort to reduce the number of poor children in residence in the city.¹⁴ Yet the use of indenture was not confined only to government officials during this period. Reformers who were associated with a number of private English charities, including officials at the LFOA and LAOB, utilized indenture throughout the period in an effort to provide for needy children. There were notable differences, however, between these charity apprenticeships and poor children placed by parish officials. Charity apprentices were usually bound for shorter periods of time than pauper apprentices, had access to a wider range of occupations than pauper apprentices, were less likely to "travel long distances to be indentured" than pauper apprentices, and received their premiums from charity administrators rather than parish officials.¹⁵

The HOF dismissal policies proved significantly different from those in place at the Liverpool orphanages and at the BOA. HOF officials drew up indenture contracts and placed girls formally during the late 1850s and the 1860s, but there is no evidence that formal indentures played as significant a role in placing out at the HOF as they did at the BOA, LFOA or LAOB, or

¹³ Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p. 81; Deborah Simonton, "Apprenticeship: Training and Gender in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe*, ed. by Maxine Berg (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 229; Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, "Chapter Three: Child Labor and British Industrialization," in *A Thing of the Past? Child Labour in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Lavelette (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), p. 97-98; Steve Hindle, "'Waste' children? Pauper apprenticeship under the Elizabethan poor laws, c. 1598-1697," in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, ed. by Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K.D.M. Snell (New York: The Boydell Press, 2004), p. 19-24; Olive Jocelyn Dunlop, *English apprenticeship and child labour; a history, with a supplementary section on the modern problems of juvenile labour* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 248-260.

¹⁴ Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain* (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), p. 103; Katrina Honeyman, *Child Workers in England, 1780-1820: Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Labour Force* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), p. 80. For more on the Liverpool parish and officials efforts to indenture children extra-parochially during this period, please refer to: Mary B. Rose, "Social Policy and Business: Parish Apprenticeship and the Early Factory System, 1750-1834," *Business History* (November 1989), Volume 31, Issue 4, p. 17.

¹⁵ Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p. 84-85; Simonton, "Apprenticeship: Training and Gender in Eighteenth-Century England," p. 229.

that any HOF inhabitants were formally indentured to their relatives.¹⁶ HOF inhabitants who were not dismissed to their families were usually apprenticed to adults without indentures in place. These children entered outside homes per informal arrangements, in which children and adults were not legally bound to one another, and the latter might return children to the HOF at any point. In this respect, these arrangements were similar to those that Charles Loring Brace and other placing-out advocates made for poor children in various parts of the United States after the mid-nineteenth century, though HOF authorities' use of this type of placement may have had less to do with their objections to indenture contracts and the types of relationships they encouraged between children and adults, and more to do with the limited authority HOF officials had when it came to the children in their care.¹⁷ HOF officials did not regularly require living parents who placed children in the asylum to sign statements relinquishing control of their children until the latter were "of age," as did BOA officials.¹⁸ The absence of these types of parental release agreements meant that most HOF parents retained their custodial rights to their children, and precluded the regular use of formal indentures; HOF officials did not possess the same type of legal authority as did BOA officials to contractually bind children out to third parties.

¹⁶ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1854-1858, Mary Taylor Indenture to Jane S. Harrison; Records for 1865-1871, Kate McWilliams Indenture to William P. Hudgins, p. 283-284.

¹⁷ Placing-out advocates argued against indenture because the binding of children to families made it difficult for former to leave those situations that made them unhappy and also complicated reformers efforts to intervene if indentures proved problematic. Supporters of placing-out believed that non-contractual placement provided the children involved with more protection and greater freedom than did indenture contracts, and believed this non-contractual type of arrangement was the only way that an emotional bond might occur between the children placed out and the families they entered; indentures emphasized only the laborer-master relationship. Under the terms of the arrangements that Bruce's CAS arranged, adults as well as children could terminate the agreement at any point. For more information on the criticism placing-out supporters voiced during the nineteenth century in opposition to indenture, and the non-contractual placements they advocated, see: Holt, *The Orphan Trains*, p. 41-79; O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, p.95-97; p. Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850-1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), p. 197-200. See the following work for an examination of the early years of Brace's Children's Aid Society and its efforts: Bruce William Bellingham, "Little wanderers: a socio-historical study of the nineteenth century origins of child fostering and adoption reform, based on early records of the New York Children's Aid Society" (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1984).

¹⁸ For examples of these parental release statements please see: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Histories of Lulu Blanche Fordyce; Helen Christina Martin; Annie Fopless; Rossalla Shaffer; Lucy Watts; Mary King; Olive Virginia Martin; Lillie May and Clara Belle Ensor; Susan Olive and Maud H. Chenowith; Grace S. Jefferson; Ethel and Emma Thompson; Mary and Martha Klausman; Admission Books, Book 6, 1887-1898, Cases of George and Stuart Bailey; William Whalen; William S. McCleary; James Garfield Fordyce; Otto Weyrich; James Cundiff; James P. Graves; Grover Hopkins; Eddie Christl.

In addition to informal indentures, HOF officials also allowed trial placements and the “adoption” of children as well. Neither of these practices occurred at the BOA or at the orphanages in Liverpool.¹⁹ Trial placements actually involved the temporary loaning out of children from the HOF to adults, to see if particular children suited the needs and purposes of potential masters and mistresses. The earliest of these placements occurred during the late 1860s and early 1870s, when girls like Ella Garrison and Mary Stewart were sent out with Mrs. Higgins and Miss Hope “on trial.” Girls and boys continued to be sent out via these arrangements during the decades that followed, yet a number of case histories make clear it was not uncommon for children to return to the HOF very shortly after the start of these trial periods. Ella Garrison was sent back to the HOF in May 1868, after having resided with her potential mistress for only two weeks, and Mary Stewart was returned equally as quickly in May 1870 after the woman who removed her deemed her “unreliable.”²⁰ Though trial placements did not usually yield lasting apprenticeships, they did prevent some adults from entering into long-term arrangements with which they would ultimately prove dissatisfied. Such a provision may have facilitated more successful placements in the long-term, as it prevented HOF children from being placed permanently with adults whose expectations they would never be able to fulfill.

Yet HOF trial placements could still prove problematic. There are instances in which applicants kept the children placed with them for an extended period of time and then suddenly returned them to the orphanage. Eliza Constadt’s case was representative of this experience. She

¹⁹ HOF, Constitution and By-Laws of the Home of the Friendless, Article II. This article stated specifically that the “object of this Association is to provide a “Home” for friendless or destitute girls, either orphans, half-orphans, or abandoned by their parents, where they may be received and provided for, until permanent homes in Christian families can be secured for them, by adoption or otherwise.”

²⁰ For the history of Ella Magdalena Garrison, please see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864. For information on Mary Stewart, see HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870. See the following records for other HOF children who were placed out on trial: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Bridget Sprangin; Margaret Kenly; George Moffat; Lewis Stouch; Annie Saunders; Laura Connolly; Sadie Rolph; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Accounts of Mary E. Smith; Sarah Doyon; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Bessie Wilson; Fannie Bowman; Belle Hogg; Mary Seibert; Jennie Kirchner; Mary Ruppert; Jessie Armstrong; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Example of Laura Virginia Gibson; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of Pauline Laurent; William Wolf; Mary Fulka; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Catherine Gorman; Mabel Fiol; Margaret Snack; Ella Fleischer; Mary Blanch Selden; Bertha Sylvester Selden; Robert Manns; Lillian Smith; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Case of Jeanette C. Hammond; Sophie Rose Schmidt; Jennie Leila Riley.

resided with her mistress Mrs. Holmes for fifteen months before the woman returned her to the HOF in December 1870 without any explanation.²¹ Other HOF girls like Bridget Sprangin and Margaret Kenly were abruptly returned to asylum as well after having served in a trial position for an extended period of time. Bridget Sprangin was sent out in 1867 when she was eight years old to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Mount in Cecil County, Maryland. She remained in this home for over two years, before her mistress returned her, complaining she was unable to “make a useful and trustworthy girl” of her.²² Bridget’s case suggests that HOF authorities imposed few conditions on those who chose to take children out on trial, and that this informality allowed applicants to simply renounce their responsibility for these children when it suited them. Margaret Kenly’s reappearance at the asylum in 1871 further demonstrates the lax attitude HOF authorities assumed towards trial placements. Margaret’s mistress returned her after a year-and-a-half trial, as she said she had experienced “much trouble in managing her.”²³ Officials offered no resistance to Margaret’s return, and her mistress found herself freed from her responsibility after she had already extracted more than eighteen months of free labor from the child.

HOF officials also allowed the placement of asylum children into homes not as apprentices, but as adoptees, and in this respect, the HOF proved quite similar to the Catholic orphanage [the Dolan Home] Nurith Zmora evaluated in her work *Orphanages Reconsidered*.²⁴ HOF authorities advocated this type of dismissal when American understandings of adoption were changing, and used altered indenture contracts in an effort to make the adoptions they

²¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Admission record of Eliza Constadt.

²² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Bridget Sprangin. This girl’s father was a miner who was killed in a mine bank in 1862. His death deprived the family of the primary breadwinner, and left her mother alone to support their five living children.

²³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record of Margaret Kenly. Margaret Kenly originally entered the HOF in January 1865. She was a half-orphan, and her father, though living, was identified as “intemperate and poor.”

²⁴ Children who left the Dolan Home via what officials there termed adoption went out according to contracts, as did their counterparts at the HOF. The families that took children from the Dolan Home agreed to keep boys until they reached twenty-one years of age and to retain girls until they achieved their eighteenth birthdays; these families also promised to provide these children with some type of occupational training or instruction. In addition, these families promised to treat former Dolan residents as if they were their own children, and to convey fifty dollars to these children once they achieved eighteen years of age. Dolan asylum officials did not identify what children were expected to provide to these families, though it is clear they were supposed to aid the family. For more on this orphan asylum and adoption, see: Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, p. 111.

arranged legally binding. At the mid-nineteenth-century mark in the United States, adoption was “not as a rule, a legal proceeding, but a socially understood contract,” which “implied that the child would be treated as a member of the family, could take that family’s name, and inherit.”²⁵ Legislators in Massachusetts had managed to pass a law in 1851 that made adoption a legal contract between the parties involved, and other states began to follow suit in the years that followed. HOF reformers appear to have been influenced by these developments, but also stymied by their understanding that many adults were simply in search of laborers and by the few adults who proved willing to engage in such adoptions. HOF administrators attempted to combat the former by using the indenture contract as a template and rewriting it in an effort not only to legally bind “adopted” HOF children into their new families, but to encourage familial bonds between these children and the families to which they were sent. When Leander Warren adopted Mary Wright in May 1864, she went “into his family and home as an inmate and member thereof, on terms of equality and consideration, as if his child.”²⁶ HOF administrators also included other clauses in these contracts that were meant to differentiate between apprentices and adopted children. Mary Kaufman’s 1867 adoption arrangement stipulated that the girl wanted

to live on the terms and in the position aforesaid [as if the man’s child], and be comfortably and amply found and provided with maintenance, lodging and clothing becoming her said position; and suitably thereto shall be educated and instructed at least in reading, writing and arithmetic thoroughly; and have and enjoy

²⁵ Marilyn Irvin Holt, “Adoption Reform, Orphan Trains, and Child Saving, 1851-1929,” in Lori Askland(Ed), *Children and Youth in Adoption, Orphanages, and Foster Care: A Historical Handbook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 20.

²⁶ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1861-1865, Mary Wright Indenture to Leander Warren, p. 411-412. For another example of a girl who was sent out according to these terms, refer to: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1865-1871, Indenture for the female child Fanny Watson from Home of the Friendless to Andrew S. Jones & Wife, p. 268.

all things needful for her support and comfort.²⁷

These terms emphasized the inclusion of the child into the family as a family member, and reinforced as well the permanent nature of this bond. Mary and other adopted children were not workers who were to go after a set period of service, but rather children who were to receive the emotional and material provisions that the adoption holder's own biological child received.²⁸

Despite these efforts, as well as HOF officials' attempts to encourage adoptions, few HOF residents left the asylum under these adoption arrangements. Indeed, the relative paucity of these agreements reinforces the men and women turning to the HOF wanted workers, rather than children to treat emotionally and materially as their own.

The Beginning

The BOA was apprenticing children by 1819, the HOF sent children into situations with adults the same year it opened, and the orphanages in Liverpool began indenturing children between two and six years after each asylum commenced operations.

Surviving BOA documents demonstrate a number of girls including Mary McCormick, Margaret McNichols, and Polly Roberts were bound out from the asylum as of 1819, and in the years that followed, though no records survive to confirm whether or not this type of binding

²⁷ Ibid., Indenture for the female child Mary Kaufman from Home of the Friendless to Robert A. Duhamell & Mary E., his wife, p. 285. Mary Kaufman was adopted on August 7, 1867.

²⁸ Case histories from the Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church (KHOME) and St. Francis' Orphan Asylum (SFOA) demonstrate that both of these Baltimore orphanages also engaged in informal adoptions. Hattie Cook was adopted from the KHOME in September 1880 by Mr. William Robinson of Winchester, Virginia. The terms of this adoption remain unclear, though Mr. Robinson did agree to take the girl and "care for her as one of his own children." For information on this girl's adoption, refer to: Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes, 1874-1887, Meeting of September 13, 1880, Account of Hattie Cook. Evidence from the SFOA does not make clear whether or not its officials allowed adoptions prior to 1910, though the asylum did engage in this practice during the early decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, a group of SFOA inhabitants that included Sarah Murphy, Marie Santanelli, Edna Martinez, Ethel Williams, and Mary Bell, were adopted by the adults that removed them from the asylum during the first two decades of the twentieth century. These adults promised to "be a mother" to the children in question, and each adult swore to "educate her [the former SFOA inhabitant in question] and train her in virtue and to bring her up in the Roman Catholic faith." For these adoptions refer to: OSP, Administrative Record Group, Series 2: Twentieth Century Mother Superiors/Superior Generals, Box 2, Folder 2, Superior General: Fieldien, Frances: Correspondence: Orphan and Students, Adoption agreements for Sarah Murphy; Marie Santanelli; Edna Martinez; Ethel Williams; Mary Bell

happened between 1801 and 1819.²⁹ Boys were not dismissed from the BOA via indentures until 1851, some six years after they were first admitted into the orphanage, when officials bound George Melhorn to Mr. George Blake in Baltimore.³⁰ The HOF began operations that same year, and within the next twelve months, officials at that asylum were also dismissing children to unrelated adults. Indeed, the very first HOF Annual Report, which was published in November 1855, noted asylum authorities had already begun to enter many HOF inhabitants “in Christian homes in this city and in other parts of this state.”³¹

Orphanage officials in Liverpool also allowed relatively little time to pass after the establishment of the LFOA and LAOB before initiating the binding out of children to adults who were not their kin. The LFOA was founded in 1840, and by 1845, the first female orphans had left the asylum as the apprentices of unrelated men and women. A total of four girls were indentured in 1845, with one girl who wanted to remain in the asylum indentured to the Matron, and three other girls entered into service in “respectable” families.³² The LAOB followed suit in 1856, some six years after its own creation. Ten boys were sent out during the first year in which LAOB officials arranged apprenticeships, and of this group, four boys were reported to be pursuing “a seafaring life.”³³ The placement of LOAB boys and LFOA girls into situations in which they were not with relatives demonstrates that this type of arrangement was not unique to Baltimore, and confirms the turn to binding out of children occurred rapidly at asylums in both of these great Atlantic port cities.

²⁹ WC, *The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857*, Meeting of April 6, 1819, Discussion of Mary McCormick, Margaret McNichols, and Polly Roberts. For the examples of other girls bound during 1819, please see the following: WC, *Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857*, Meeting of February 1, 1819 Account of Mary Beaty; Meeting of April 6, 1819, History of Juliana Smith.

³⁰ Baltimore County, *Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851*, George W. Melhorn Indenture to George Blake, May 21, 1851, p. 70.

³¹ WC, *HOF, Annual Reports, First Annual Report for the year between November 23, 1854-November 23, 1855*, p. 6.

³² SHSR, *Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Annual Report for the year ending February 24, 1845*, p. 8.

³³ SHSR, *Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Annual Report for the year ending February 25, 1857*, p. 7.

Though the LFOA and the LAOB began to indenture children soon after the creation of these institutions, the Liverpool Seaman’s Orphan Institution (LSOI) apprenticed children even more quickly; LSOI officials allowed only two years to elapse between the orphanage’s creation in 1869 and initial efforts to indenture boys. According to the 1871 LSOI Annual Report, thirteen boys had been apprenticed to “the sea or trades or provided for by their friends;” see Liverpool Seaman’s Orphan Institution, *Annual Reports, 1869-1874, Volume 1, Seventh Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1874*, p. 7.

What cultural and social values affected the work assigned to apprentices?

The middle-class men and women who controlled the Baltimore and Liverpool asylums applied their own ideas about gender and the proper sexual division of labor when it came to the training and placing of children, and understood asylum residents as members of a potentially dangerous underclass that needed direction into particular sorts of labor. Middle-class values meant girls should become servants, and that boys should work in suitable working-class trades and occupations, though there were significant differences in the types of trades asylum officials favored for boys in each city, with Baltimore asylum officials preferring agricultural-related placements, and Liverpool asylum authorities favoring non-agricultural situations for boys.

Reformers in Baltimore voiced understandings of the training and work for girls that were primarily informed by their own middle-class conceptions of class and gender. BOA girls were, as females, suited to domestic labor, and BOA officials emphasized that the asylum's female residents received "industrial training" fit for their sex, and also instruction that was characterized by a "practical knowledge of domestic work." Asylum girls participated in weekly cooking lessons, and spent extensive amounts of time developing their skills as seamstresses, and were thus fully prepared to engage in any type of domestic labor they might be called upon as women to perform.³⁴ Though HOF officials did not require asylum girls to spend four years engaging in a domestic education program, they did provide HOF girls with intensive training that privileged the performance of housework, sewing, and other needle-related tasks. HOF Committee Members also voiced their expectation that asylum girls would "enter the service of Christian families," and would prove to be capable and productive members of the working class.³⁵ Though officials at both asylums rarely specified what positions they found for these girls, and were more likely to simply note that children had gone out to good homes, girls were

³⁴ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1893 Annual Report, p. 6.

³⁵ WC, HOF, First Annual Report, p. 5.

sent into gender-appropriate employment such as mantua-making, dressmaking, and of course, domestic service.³⁶

The influence that middle-class ideas about gender exerted on asylum girls' training and placement was as evident at the LFOA as it was at the Baltimore asylums. LFOA administrators emphasized that all of the girls who resided in the asylum received two complete years of "practical training under the matron, to make them as far as it is possible for institutional training to do so, *efficient* domestic servants."³⁷ In this manner, LFOA administrators echoed BOA officials' sentiments about how prepared girls were to work in service, and demonstrated as well their understanding of girls as particularly fitted by their sex to domestic labor. It was this latter belief that promoted a course of study for female residents which privileged training in the domestic arts. The actual apprenticeship arrangements reflected as well the influence middle-class ideas had on girls' indentures. LFOA residents were repeatedly dismissed into domestic situations, and were expected to be virtuous and productive workers who would provide female "comfort" to the masters and mistresses in whose homes they ended up as servants. Though there were a few rare instances in which LFOA inhabitants were not entered into situations in which housewifery was central, these girls were not allowed to undertake any employment that did not correspond with reformers' own ideas about the types of work girls should perform, but were rather apprenticed to the asylum as teachers or sent to receive teacher training.³⁸

³⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1870 Annual Report, p. 15; Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 3, 1882. See also WC, HOF, Seventh Annual Report; Eleventh Annual Report, p. 8.

³⁷ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, December 1892 edition, "Twelve Reasons for Supporting the Female Orphan Asylum." The LSOI Lady Visitors did not make clear whether or not LSOI girls received domestic training that was as extensive as that which LFOA girls obtained. The Lady Visitors did, however, argue as late as 1900 against changes to the asylum routine that would cause female residents to dedicate less time to their sewing and more time to educational instruction. These LSOI officials claimed that an increase in education for girls was completely unwarranted, with the "girls going into domestic service as they are." For more information, see: LSOI, Letter from A. Cliff, Honorable Secretary of the LSOI Lady Visitors to the LSOI General Committee, January 2, 1900.

³⁸ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1844-1847, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845, p. 9. For examples of children who were apprenticed to the asylum as teachers or sent to receive teacher training, please refer to: SHSR, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending February 24, 1856, Discussion of Miss Fisher, p. 7; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of December 7, 1870, Notes on Sarah Wainwright; Meeting of October 7, 1885, Case of Emma McClelland. LSOI records make clear that girls sent out from the asylum were also restricted to apprenticeships in which their domestic labor was central. Of the thirty girls the LSOI discharged in 1887 alone, ten were returned to family members, one went to an unspecified trade, and nineteen entered domestic service; please see:

The support LFOA administrators voiced for sending asylum girls into domestic service was common among nineteenth-century middle-class English reformers who focused on working-class families and poverty. Many reformers argued the central problem of the working class was the home itself, or more specifically, the adult working-class woman on whose skill and talents the home's success depended. These reformers contended that poverty resulted from wasteful spending and deficient house-keeping, and those working-class women who failed in their wifely and motherly duties were specifically responsible for the downfall of their families. Yet these philanthropists claimed as well that working-class girls who received education in correct domestic training would grow up to become adult women whose families would flourish because of their proper education.³⁹ Many middle-class philanthropists supported domestic service as “particularly suitable for a working-class girl as it would give her a sound training for her later life as a wife and mother.” This was certainly true in Lancashire, where reformers first established a charity school in Lancaster in 1772 to provide poor girls with domestic service training. This school continued “to educate girls with the expectation that they would go into service when they left,” well into the 1870s, and by that time it had been joined in its efforts by several other Lancashire institutions working towards the same ends.⁴⁰ Yet this sentiment had broad support nationally as well, and many girls who resided in nineteenth-century English charities were regularly “regarded as future domestic servants.”⁴¹

LSOI, Annual Reports, 1885-1887, Volume 4, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1887, Page 5.

³⁹ Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), Page 81. For more information on nineteenth-century middle class reformers, their views of and their interactions with the poor, please see: Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Meg Gomersall, *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Ellen Ross, *Love & Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁴⁰ Janice Adams and Stella Clarkson, “Work fit for girls,” in Michael Winstanley(Ed.) *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 122-124. The Walkden Moor Servants School was established in Manchester by Lady Francis Egerton in 1842, and it trained “miners’ daughters who were no longer able to work as pit girls.” The schedule that girls at this institution adhered to was completely rooted in the order and routine that characterized the lives of female servants. Girls were expected to wear particular clothing, and to follow a rigorous daily schedule that made use of every moment of the day explicitly

⁴¹ Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p. 197.

Though reformers in Liverpool and Baltimore were particularly concerned with insuring the girls received gender-appropriate training and entered sex-suitable positions, middle-class beliefs also determined the training of male asylum residents in both cities. HOF officials expected boys who resided in the asylum to knit garments and help with asylum cleaning, but they never committed boys to the same extensive domestic instruction that girls received in preparation for placement.⁴² When officials in Baltimore did articulate the specific type of instruction they understood as fitting for boys, it was firmly rooted in middle-class gender understandings. BOA boys were to be taught “the first principles of handling tools” and were to attend manual labor training classes that would eventually allow them to labor in male working-class vocations.⁴³ Though BOA and HOF authorities rarely discussed the types of occupations that were appropriate for these boys, officials at both asylums dismissed a large number of boys to the homes of farmers, and in the case of the BOA, to the Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys in Baltimore, where they received agricultural instruction or training in other occupations.⁴⁴ Baltimore reformers hoped these placements would allow boys to work as farmers or as other types of agricultural laborers once they achieved their adulthood.

LAOB reformers expected boys in that asylum as well to enter into positions that were suitable for their sex, and they too were not opposed to male residents’ performance of domestic labor within the asylum. They placed far fewer of these boys, however, into agricultural positions than did their counterparts in Baltimore. LAOB inhabitants were allowed to perform some domestic labor while they resided in the asylum, but were excluded from the two years of

⁴² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1873, p. 7. HOF officials provided no further details about the knitting that HOF boys were expected to engage in, and it remains unclear whether or not knitting was mechanized in the asylum.

⁴³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1890 Annual Report, p. 6.

⁴⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Joseph Walter; William Geary; Thomas Geary; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Charles Taylor, and Alexander Connolly. For specifics on the BOA and their entrance of children into the Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys in Baltimore (MLS), please see: BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy’s Book, 1847-1893. The asylum sent thirty-eight boys to the MLS between 1852 and 1864. The MLS was established in 1839 as a place where poor boys five and above could be housed and educated. Once the boys at the school reached an age that MLS officials deemed appropriate, they were taught to farm or to practice some other trade. This instruction was intended to prepare the young man to earn his living once he was dismissed from the asylum.

domestic training that girls at LFOA received. For LAOB boys, this domestic labor included “industrial training” in sewing and cleaning, and waiting on other boys’ tables at mealtime.⁴⁵ There were, of course, male servants of various kinds during the nineteenth century. Yet no evidence exists that boys were given any type of specialized domestic training in preparation for their dismissal from the orphanage, or that they were sent to homes to work as servants. The specialized training that LFOA residents received was appropriate only for girls and nineteenth-century-middle-class reformers would have found the notion of training boys in this manner completely improper. The types of trades that these boys were dismissed to also reflect the influence that Victorian middle-class understandings of the sexual division of labor had on LAOB boys. LAOB boys were regularly sent into the sea trades, to work for the railway, or into other trades that Liverpool asylum officials favored for male asylum residents, though it was very uncommon for boys to go as apprentices to farmers, as so many BOA boys did in Baltimore.⁴⁶ Though the majority of these boys ended up in working-class trades, they still possessed more

⁴⁵ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of August 30, 1869.

⁴⁶ For examples of LAOB boys apprenticed to non-agricultural trades, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 21, 1862, Minutes on John Wilson and William Lloyd; Meeting of November 7, 1866, Discussion of Henry Linstead; Meeting of September 29, 1868, Account of John Sharples; Meeting of April 25, 1870, Discussion of Richard Anson; Meeting of November 21, 1875, Notes on John Cunliffe; Meeting of May 26, 1879, Case of John Marriott; Meeting of September 25, 1882, Minutes on John Hadley; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of October 1869; Meeting of March 1870, Case of RJ Anson; Meeting of July 1870, Discussion of Thomas Nicholson; Meeting of December 1870, Notes on George Hollingshead and D. Menzies; Meeting of March 1871, Focus on R. Coxon and GH Williams; Meeting of January 1872; Meeting of February 1872, Histories of John Cunliffe, William Jones, Robert Hughes and Peter Floyd; Meeting of June 1872, Cases of John Donaghy and William Fellingham; Meeting of March 1873, Accounts of Erwyn Flynn, Will Robinson, Peter Littler, WH Edwards, Meeting of October 1873, Discussion of Griffith Jones and George Nixon; Meeting of February 1874, Focus on Edward Witham, John Jones, Hugh Jones, William Bolton, William Kirby, Joseph Weaver and William Edwards; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of February 1875; Meeting of February 1876, Notes on Leonard Barber, Thomas Bason, William Drysdale, William Mitchell and Thomas Fanvel; Meeting of April 1877, Discussion of Joseph Beckett, Frederick Ellis, Thomas Guy, Isaac Wilson and Walter Whitewood; Meeting of November 1877, Cases of William Manifold, Thomas Barber, Henry Lockett, Thomas Shaw and James Bolton; Meeting of April 1879, Discussion of John Edwards; Meeting of September 1879, Examples of John Lockett, Richard Clarke, William Johnson and Thomas Ashley; Meeting of October 24, 1881, Minutes on Jonathan Haygarth and George Drenon. Annual Reports from the LSOI indicate the LAOB was not the only orphan asylum in Liverpool to place boys in these types of trades; of the fifty-six boys LSOI authorities placed out in 1876, six went to sea, thirty-six entered unspecified trades, five went to work for the London and North-Western Railway(LN&W) Office as office clerks, and nine were sent to the Indefatigable Training Ship onboard which poor and orphan boys whose fathers had been seaman were taught to be sailors; see LSOI, Annual Reports, 1875-1879, Volume 2, Seventh Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1875.

possibilities than did female asylum residents in Liverpool when it came to the variety of situations available to boys, and the actual occupations they might enter as adults.

Were all asylum children fit for apprenticeship?

A small group of asylum children in both cities suffered from health problems that rendered them ineligible for service, though children in Liverpool were more often characterized as unfit for service, and girls in both cities were more likely than boys to be so identified. Children of limited intellect were not regularly disallowed from going out under indentures at the BOA or LFOA, though they were banned from apprenticeship at the LAOB. Indeed, BOA and LFOA officials adopted rather unique approaches when it came to this latter group of children. BOA officials apprenticed children of limited intellect to their relatives and LFOA authorities advised potential indenture holders of these children's limitations so that there would be no problems once children were in their care. It was only at the LAOB that the issue of fitness for servitude actually took on another aspect, which was children's behavior.

There were very few children in the Baltimore asylums who were identified as unfit for service because of health problems. Surviving Baltimore asylum records suggest only three girls had health problems that rendered them ineligible for placement via indenture at the BOA between 1840 and 1901, and that eight HOF children were unsuited to service because of health conditions between 1854 and 1910. At the BOA, these three cases involved Maggie Casper and Laura Granger, who had vision problems and had to be admitted into the Blind Asylum in Baltimore during the 1870s, and Lizzie Osman, who was placed in the Hospital for Women of Maryland in Baltimore City in February 1895 because she was very "melancholy" and she refused to eat.⁴⁷ At the HOF, health problems and disabilities did prevent a few more children

⁴⁷ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Accounts of Maggie Casper and Laura Granger. For Lizzie Osman's case history, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of December 3, 1894; January 7, 1895; February 4, 1895; April 1, 1896. BOA officials were unable to determine what ailed Lizzie Osman and her transfer to the Hospital for Women occurred after both asylum doctors examined her and one concluded that she was not suffering from mental health problems, but rather a physical ailment and that medical

from being sent to service, and resulted in their transfers to other institutions for treatment or care. Virginia Windsor and Laura Smith were transferred to the Union Protestant Infirmary in Baltimore in the 1860s, and George Higgins and Emma Wayes were sent to the Blind Asylum in the 1870s.⁴⁸ Poor health and disabilities did disqualify a small number of Baltimore asylum children from service, though such an occurrence remained uncommon overall.

In Liverpool, a larger number of asylum children were identified as unfit for placement for indenture because of health-related conditions than had been in Baltimore, though this was not a common phenomenon in that city either. At the LFOA, girls like Margaret Griffiths, Margaret Crilley, and Emily Goud whose health prevented them from being placed out to service were variously described as “unfit for service,” “delicate,” or not “strong enough to work in service;” asylum officials characterized twenty-six girls in these ways between 1870 and 1910.⁴⁹ There was a notable difference in Liverpool between the numbers of LFOA girls who were identified as

care “might greatly benefit her.” She was eventually dismissed from the Hospital for Women in April 1895, and sent to Spring Grove Hospital, a psychiatric hospital in the Baltimore area.

⁴⁸ For the histories of Virginia Windsor and Laura Smith, please refer to the following: HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Virginia Windsor; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Case of Laura Smith. Virginia Windsor entered the HOF in December 1863 and spent approximately two weeks in the asylum before officials decided the spinal curvature and hip disease she suffered from was serious enough to warrant her placement in the Union Protestant Infirmary. Laura Smith and her two brothers were admitted into the HOF in September 1865, and she died in September 1868, after having been a patient in the Union Protestant Infirmary for over a year; HOF officials never identified the cause of her illness. See the following for the accounts of George Higgins and Emma Wayes: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of George Higgins; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Emma Wayes. Higgins and Wayes returned to the HOF during the summer when the Blind Asylum held its annual summer vacations. For accounts of other HOF children who suffered from health issues or had a disability that precluded their placement with unrelated third parties, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Virginia Herrick; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of Charles Miller; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Account of Charles Price; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Annie Eleanor Parker.

⁴⁹ SHSR, Minutes Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 4, 1874, Notes on Margaret Griffiths; Meeting of March 4, 1880, Discussion of Margaret Crilley; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of January 2, 1895, Case of Emily Goud. For the histories of other LFOA girls that asylum officials identified as too unhealthy for service, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 5, 1873, Notes on Annie Duncan; Meeting of November 4, 1874, Focus on Elizabeth Hadson and Sarah Blades; Meeting of August 4, 1874, Account of Mattie Brown; Meeting of March 1, 1876, Case of Elizabeth Darlington; Meeting of April 5, 1876, Case of Julia Kennead; Meeting of September 6, 1876, Example of Nellie Jones; Meeting of April 4, 1877, Minutes on Eleanor Clarke; Meeting of March 1, 1882, History of Catherine Alice Balmer; Meeting of October 4, 1882, Focus on Emma Robbins; Meeting of January 6, 1885, Minutes on Mary Williams; Meeting of May 6, 1891, Notes on Annie Higgins and Mary E. Leeson; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of January 2, 1895, History of Clara Williams; Meeting of May 1, 1895, Discussion of Elizabeth Brocklebank, Elizabeth Lenister, and Minnie Barnwell; Meeting of June 3, 1896, Case of Nellie Thompson; Meeting of September 1, 1897, Minutes on Jeannie Laurenson; Meeting of January 7, 1900, History of Georgina Hoos; Meeting of October 1, 1902, Example of Ethel Laurence; Meeting of June 6, 1904, Example of Elizabeth McDowell; Meeting of October 1904, Notes on Agnes Rogers.

unfit for service and the number of LAOB boys who were so identified, just as there had been at the Baltimore asylums. Indeed, only ten of the boys who resided in the LAOB between 1861 and 1910 were labeled too unhealthy for service. This group of boys included William Bolton and John Briscoe who were “too weak and delicate for a situation,” as well as boys like John Martindale, who suffered from the more severe complaints of hip disease and curvature of the spine.⁵⁰ These boys were, like a small number of their LFOA, BOA, and HOFpeers, rendered ineligible for apprenticeship or placement by their poor health and physical impairments, and prohibited from leaving the asylum via indentures.

Yet asylum officials in both cities faced difficult decisions not only about whether or not to apprentice unhealthy children, but about whether or not children with limited intellects should be eligible for indenture as well. Officials at the BOA and LFOA allowed these children to be indentured, while the opposite was true at the LAOB. The BOA Managers first addressed the issue of whether or not to indenture children with limited mental capacities in December 1855. That month the Managers decided that John Atkinson was “apparently dumb,” and had been so since his entrance into the BOA, and they immediately contacted the boy’s uncle and made arrangements to bind John to this man.⁵¹ Many years later when the Board of Managers became concerned that Lucy Moil was what they termed feeble-minded, they began to investigate whether or not the girl had any living family members who might prove willing to take her as an apprentice, and to try to make arrangements so she too ended up with her kin. This indenturing of

⁵⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of February 1878, Case of William Bolton; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 28, 1881, Notes on John Briscoe; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886; Meetings of January 23, 1882 and February 1882, Example of John Martindale; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of March 28, 1870, Focus on unnamed boys; May 26, 1879, Notes on unnamed boys. SHSR, Minutes, SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of September 28, 1874, History of Unnamed boy; October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of November 1871, Discussion of unnamed boys. Boys and girls at the LSOI were also prevented from service because of poor health, what officials described as debility, and weakness. These children were “invalided” from the asylum and dismissed from the LSOI; see LSOI, Annual Reports, 1875-1879, Volume 2, Ninth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1877, Page 6; Annual Reports 1885-1887, Volume 4, Nineteenth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1887, Page 5; LSOI, Annual Reports, 1906-1910, Volume 9, Fortieth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1908, Page 7.

⁵¹ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of December 3, 1855, Focus on John Atkinson.

these children to their relatives appears to have been unique to the BOA and there is no evidence that any Liverpool asylum officials acted in a similar fashion and apprenticed children of limited intellect to their own kin. Perhaps even more significant than the binding of BOA children with limited mental capacities to family, however, was the financial benefits indentures would provide these children. These children were not ideal apprentices, but they were apprentices nonetheless, and eligible for the same type of financial remuneration as their counterparts.⁵²

In Liverpool asylum officials responded in contradictory ways to the issue of whether or not asylum inhabitants with intellectual limitations were fit for service. Like their counterparts at the BOA, LFOA officials decided to allow these children to enter service via indenture, and simply chose to inform potential indenture holders about these children's limitations. LFOA administrators told two applicants seeking apprentices in June 1872 that one of the potential servants was not "a clever girl as regarded her lessons" and that the other girl was said to be "dull at lessons."⁵³ Yet each gentleman agreed to take the apprentice the asylum offered to him, and these girls were sent out in the same manner as other apprenticed LFOA girls. LAOB officials meanwhile, took a very different approach to children of limited intellect, and rather than apprentice them, chose to remove them from the asylum. Two LAOB boys were returned to family members in 1874 as "their general intellect and intelligence was such as to unfit them for the class of situations to which they are sent by the Asylum," and in the years that followed, boys with such limitations were simply not admitted into LAOB, in order for officials to avoid these problems.⁵⁴ Indeed, LAOB officials proved so hostile to children of limited intellect that they not only ruled them ineligible for service, but also unsuitable for residence in the asylum itself.

⁵² WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 7, 1892, Account of Lucy Moil. BOA officials only prohibited children of limited intellect from serving as apprentices in a few instances in which the BOA doctor advocated professional care as the only option for such children; see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of May 1897, Notes on Eugene Rhodes and Emma Sieger.

⁵³ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of June 3, 1872, Histories of Elizabeth Richmond and Amelia Kirby.

⁵⁴ For the specific cases of these two unnamed boys, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of January 1874. Please examine the following for cases that demonstrated the unwillingness of LAOB officials to allow boys they identified as of limited intellect to enter the asylum: SHSR,

Though asylum officials in both cities grappled with the issue of which children were not suitable for service, LAOB officials proved particularly concerned with this issue, and actually understood one physical behavior as a bar to boys becoming male apprentices; this behavior was bedwetting.⁵⁵ During the 1870s, LAOB officials railed repeatedly against boys like William Cearns, WD Griffiths, and H. Lockett for bedwetting, and regularly discussed these boys' "dirty habit" in Committee Meetings.⁵⁶ Griffiths' behavior in particular so frustrated asylum administrators that they asked the boy's friends to remove him, and when the latter proved unable to do so, LAOB officials took the uncommon step of placing the boy in the Workhouse. During this same period, other boys were also disqualified from service and sent out of the asylum for bedwetting; these children were identified as "addicted to wetting the bed" or "addicted to dirty habits," and quickly dismissed to family members as the result of these pronouncements.⁵⁷ LAOB authorities even turned to the asylum doctor in some of these cases, in the hope that he might prevent this behavior. The doctor's involvement and the experiments he employed to cure what he identified as an infirmity regularly failed, however, and boys continued to find themselves categorized as unsuitable for situations as the result of this "behavior."

Were all healthy asylum children entered into positions that parted them from the asylums?

A small number of orphanage residents at the BOA, LFOA, and LAOB were identified as exceptional and were not dismissed via indentures to outsiders, but were instead apprenticed to

Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 23, 1882; Meeting of January 29, 1883.

⁵⁵ Though we now perceive bed-wetting as a developmental physiological problem, asylum administrators in Liverpool clearly understood it as a behavioral issue.

⁵⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of October 1871. For more instances in which the Committee focused on these boys and their incontinence, please see: Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of October 23, 1871; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of June and November 1871. LAOB officials were so upset with the bedwetting of WD Griffiths and another boy named H. Lockett in June 1871 that they noted that they included a count of the number of times each boy had engaged in this behavior over the past three months. Lockett was said to have wet the bed twenty-two times, and Griffiths a total of twenty times.

⁵⁷ For examples of boys identified in this manner, please see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of March 1870, Cases of unnamed boys; April 1872, Discussion of unnamed boys; Meeting of August 1872, Notes on R. Kellingham; Meeting of September 1872, Case of Hugh McMillan; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 1878, Discussion of James Leatherbarrow; Meeting of August 23, 1886.

institutional officials, or taken on as asylum employees. In both cities, many of the girls who were indentured to the BOA and LFOA labored in domestic capacities to keep the asylums running on a daily basis, and served as an inexpensive labor force. Yet there was a significant difference between the boys apprenticed to the BOA and those indentured to the LOAB when it came to their labor. There is no evidence that BOA boys stayed on at the asylum in administrative positions, as did some of their counterparts in Liverpool.

At the BOA some asylum residents were retained by asylum officials as bound apprentices or hired staff, though the former practice apparently ceased in 1880. The majority of these BOA apprentices were girls, and they were bound to Mrs. Eliza Baynard, who was the President of the BOA Board of Managers, according to the same terms as BOA girls who were indentured to third parties. Girls apprenticed to the asylum were to serve until eighteen, were to receive training in plain sewing and housework, and were to be awarded ten dollars upon the completion of their service.⁵⁸ Asylum apprentices like Charlotte Rowe, Caroline Bergess, Sallie Simon, and Annie Robrick owed their productive labor, however, not to their master or mistress, but to the asylum itself, and the Board of Managers certainly employed this type of indenture in order to guarantee the asylum's labor needs were satisfied.⁵⁹ The BOA Managers never specified whether or not these female apprentices were employed as kitchen workers, laundry workers, or

⁵⁸ Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1842-1846, Eliza Fulton Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 417-418; Records for 1847-1850, Martha W. Forman Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 424; Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, Catharine C. Hitzelbeger Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 78. These girls were apprenticed to the asylum at a variety of ages; Eliza Fulton was nearly fourteen years old when she was apprenticed to Mrs. Baynard on April 6, 1846, Martha Forman was ten years old at the time of her apprenticeship in May 1850, and Catharine Hitzelberger was twelve years old when she was made a BOA apprentice in June 1851.

⁵⁹ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, Charlotte Rowe Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 203-204; Records for 1854-1858, Caroline Bergess Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 532-533; Records for 1865-1871, Sallie Simon Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 485-486; Records for 1871-1879, Annie V. Robrick Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 308. For other girls apprenticed to the BOA, please see the following: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1858-1861, Josephine E. Weeks Indenture to Mrs. Baynard, p. 324; Records for 1865-1871, Ellen Dennis Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 142-143; BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Entries for Madeline Fanwinkle; Adeline Beckham; Mary Jane Ogelby; Catherine Anderson; Catherine, Louisa, and Anne Schmaltzell; Lucinda Rowe; Cinderella Micks; Hannah Skinner; Elberta Gaines; Margaret and Harriett E. Adams; Elisa Tucker; Marion Lowman; Mary E. Paign; Josephine Patterson; Mary Rodgers; Catherine Lowman; Eliza Sanks; Avarilla Robb; Josephine E. Weeks; Mary V. Jackson; Mary A. Dennis; Alice Murray; Louisa Burgess; Josephine Hudgins; Lavinia Dennis; Henrietta McKildoe; Mary E. Evans; Jane Charles; Kate Burke; Alverda Lewis; Sarah E. Jenkins; Elizabeth McClary; Margaret Smith; Mary Hitzelberger; Cecilia Dobbins; Mary J. Everett; Annie Clark; Mary Hollingsworth; Malvina Fowler; Mary Marshall; Susan Tall; Mary Gordon; Sallie Cantville.

even seamstresses, yet whatever capacity they worked in, they certainly provided the asylum with a cheap labor force that kept costs down and allowed the BOA to function successfully.

Not all BOA girls who continued their association with the asylum were indentured to the institution. BOA officials emphasized in the asylum's 1860 Annual Report that of the two matrons and four teachers staffing the asylum, all except one had been raised in the BOA.⁶⁰ Some of these girls no doubt remained asylum employees for only a short time, though some former residents proved quite indispensable as employees. When asylum administrators celebrated the life of Miss Amanda Kane in the 1890 Annual Report and profiled the history of Miss Lissie Seibert in the 1904 Annual Report, they highlighted the examples of two girls whose residence in the asylum had eventually led to extended careers as BOA employees. Amanda Kane was admitted to the BOA in the late 1830s, and by 1868, she was working as the Directress of the Sewing Department. She was promoted in 1870 to the position of Teacher in the Girls' Department, and she continued to work in this capacity until her death in June 1889. After her death, BOA officials praised her as "the great assistant of the ladies in their care of the children" and mourned as well the loss of the asylum's "most trusted advisor."⁶¹ They voiced similar sentiments in 1904 when Lissie Seibert died, noting that her love for asylum children "was so great, and her kindness and interest in their welfare so marked, that the children, one and all, could not fail to love her in return for all she did for them." Siebert was another former BOA resident hired by asylum officials, though she served not only as the BOA Directress of Sewing and as Girls' Teacher, but also as the Superintendent of the entire asylum during her tenure as a

⁶⁰ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 4, 1860.

⁶¹ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1885, Meeting of June 3, 1889; BOA, Annual Reports, 1890 Annual Report. The Annual Reports for 1868, 1870, 1871, 1874, 1875, 1878, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1889 list Laura Kane as an asylum employee. It is unclear exactly when she left the position of Directress of Sewing and was promoted to Girls' Teacher, though this clearly occurred sometime prior to 1871, when a Miss Josephine Hudgins was listed as Directress of the Sewing Department. According to the BOA Board Minutes, Miss Kane had been sick for two weeks with peritonitis before she actually died. Miss Kane's age at death remains unclear from surviving asylum documents; for more about Miss Kane's life and her childhood residence in the BOA, refer to: WC, BOA, Miscellaneous, "An Account of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum," 1918.

BOA employee.⁶² The examples of Miss Seibert and Miss Kane reveal that some former BOA inhabitants left the dependency of their childhood behind, and became adult providers who assisted the asylum in helping the next generation of poor children.

Though a select few BOA girls were more able to move from residence in the asylum to asylum employment, there are no examples to suggest that BOA boys ever entered into such employment with the asylum. There were, however, two male residents of the asylum by the names of John Tannyhill and William Hawkins, who were indentured to Mrs. Baynard in 1865 and 1872 respectively. Both of these boys were bound according to the same terms as BOA boys apprenticed to third parties, and were expected to serve until the age of twenty-one, and to receive thirty dollars once they achieved their freedom.⁶³ Much remains unclear about these boys' indentures, however, including why they were indentured to Mrs. Baynard, what type of occupational training they were supposed to receive, and whether or not they actually performed any labor within the asylum while indentured. It is possible that they were apprenticed in this manner so they could remain in Baltimore City and pursue professional training in a field in which apprenticeship was not the norm. After all, apprenticeship was declining in popularity during the nineteenth century, and not all adults were willing to take on indentures.⁶⁴ In addition, not all occupations involved apprenticeship, and these boys may have been pursuing further vocational instruction in such a field. The actual motivation of BOA administrators in

⁶² WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1904 Annual Report. Miss Seibert was admitted into the BOA in October 1879, though the age at which she was admitted remains uncertain, as does her age at death. BOA officials first mentioned her as an asylum employee in the 1888 BOA Annual Report as an employee, and she became the BOA Superintendent in 1901, after a Mrs. Taylor resigned from this position. Miss Seibert continued to serve in this capacity until 1903, when she resigned from her position because of her impending marriage to Mr. Edgar Hamilton. Officials praised her capable service as Superintendent in the 1902 Annual Report, and thanked her for her efforts. They suggested she was particularly insightful when it came to the children, and that "she can sympathize with them and understand them as perhaps another in a different position could not." Officials noted that she died in December 1903, but provided no information as to the cause of death. For this information and more about Miss Seibert, please examine the following: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 3, Girls Admitted, 1846-1898, Case of Lissie Seibert; BOA, Annual Reports, 1888 Annual Report; 1889 Annual Report; 1890 Annual Report; 1898 Annual Report; 1900 Annual Report; 1901 Annual Report; 1902 Annual Report; 1903 Annual Report; 1904 Annual Report.

⁶³ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1865-1871, John Tannyhill Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 143-144; Records for 1871-1879, William G. Hawkins Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 190-191.

⁶⁴ For more on the decline of the apprenticeship system in the United States during the nineteenth century, please see: Hacsí, *Second Home*, p. 133-137; Patricia Ferguson Clement, *Welfare and the Poor in the Nineteenth-Century City: Philadelphia, 1800-1854* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985), p. 134.

engineering these indentures is perhaps, however, not as important as what these cases reveal overall. The examples of both boys illustrate BOA officials were not opposed to making male residents asylum apprentices, though the likelihood of apprenticeship to the asylum was even more uncommon for boys than it was for girls.

Fewer asylum children were made institutional apprentices in Liverpool than in Baltimore, though there were LFOA and LAOB residents who were indentured to these orphanages, and remained within these institutions as laborers. At the LFOA, this practice occurred during the first forty years the asylum was in operation, and Elizabeth Fisher was one of the earliest girls to be apprenticed in this manner. She was bound in July 1848 to LFOA Treasurer Harmood Banner and was subsequently sent to Warrington to obtain teacher training. In 1852, she became the Assistant Teacher in the LFOA, and by August 1855, she was the asylum's principal teacher. Fisher's placement was rather unique, in that she was bound to an asylum official rather than the asylum itself. Yet she eventually ended up working in the LFOA, and in this respect she was exactly the same as girls who were apprenticed to the asylum, as these arrangements were engineered in order to satisfy labor vacancies within the institution.⁶⁵ Girls like Jane Bootle, Charlotte Ashley, and Mary Crilley were all bound to the asylum as domestics, laundry workers or cooks because asylum officials had not yet found appropriate workers to fill these openings, and these girls were of age and suitable for such service.⁶⁶ Girls continued to be apprenticed well into the 1880s in this manner, even during internal debates over whether or not girls should spend less time working and more time focusing on their education.

It was not only girls in Liverpool who were identified as exceptional and kept at the asylum for long-term service. Indeed, several LAOB boys found themselves apprenticed to that

⁶⁵ SHSR, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Account of Elizabeth Fisher. Most girls placed in this way were apprenticed to the asylum and as such beholden to the Matron or another female asylum official. The terms of Fisher's apprenticeship never included such binding.

⁶⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of October 1, 1873, Discussion of Jane Bootle; Meeting of April 1, 1874, Notes on Charlotte Ashley; Meetings of April 7, 1880, and May 5, 1880, Minutes on Mary Crilley. For other cases such as these, please see SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of August 4, 1880, Account of Lucy Padley; Meeting of April 2, 1884, Example of Margaret Clark.

institution and eventually worked as LAOB administrators, though this practice appears to have occurred only until 1878. Robert Jones was the first LAOB boy to be identified not only as a resident of the asylum, but also as “an apprentice in the Institution.” By November 1866, LAOB officials had appointed him Under Master to the asylum and had set his salary at £20 per year. His new responsibilities included “attending to the band and copying music” and receiving an additional £5 for the performance of these duties.⁶⁷ In the years that followed, LAOB officials indentured two other boys to the asylum, and at least one of these boys, AB Smith, was also hired by asylum officials as an LAOB administrator. Smith was bound to the asylum in October 1872, and by May 1878, the LAOB Committee had hired him to stay on as an Assistant Master at a salary of £25 per year.⁶⁸ It remains unclear whether George McCorsnick, who was the third boy apprenticed in this way, also continued in an institutional position once his indenture was complete, as the LAOB Committee did not specify in what capacity the boy was apprenticed to the asylum.⁶⁹ Despite the mystery surrounding this LAOB apprentice, the histories of Robert Jones and AB Smith suggest there were children who ended up in both cities not only indentured to the asylum, but working as orphanage administrators as well. For a few BOA girls and LAOB boys, administrative opportunities existed within the asylums.

Did asylum officials require adults seeking apprentices to fulfill application prerequisites?

During the later decades of the nineteenth century, authorities at the Baltimore asylums and at the LAOB attempted to make some of those unrelated adults applying for asylum inhabitants submit satisfactory testimonials as part of the dismissal application process. BOA officials did not, however, confine their efforts to these character references, but also occasionally interviewed adults as part of their effort to guarantee they were suitable to have the care of BOA children.

⁶⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of November 7, 1866, Case of Robert Jones.

⁶⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of October 1872; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 6, 1878.

⁶⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of June 1871.

Character references were in theory supposed to be central to the HOF dismissal process, as the institution's 1859 by-laws stipulated that those parties seeking to remove children from the asylum, "must, in all cases, furnish satisfactory references as to character, &c."⁷⁰ Yet the cases of the Lee sisters marked the only instance in which HOF officials required such references during the early years in which indenture occurred. HOF administrators dismissed Anna and Kate Lee at an unspecified point in the 1860s to the unrelated individuals seeking their release after the references these individuals provided "were visited by the Committee and [they] gave satisfactory accounts of the parties applying" for these sisters.⁷¹ In the 1880s, HOF authorities disinterest in references gave way to renewed attention to this issue, and the dismissal records of Willie Williams, Verney Smith, and Flora Jenkins illustrate that HOF authorities achieved some success in their attempts to make unrelated adults provide references as part of their efforts to obtain children from the asylum.⁷² HOF authorities continued this effort in the 1890s, and at least a few children, including Bertie Sheffield, Annie Lambert and Harry Stebbing were dismissed during these years to adults who had provided HOF authorities with satisfactory character references and testimonials.⁷³ In the 1880s and 1890s, asylum officials were clearly more focused on references than they had been in earlier decades, and intent on making at least some of the men and women seeking children from the asylum submit these types of references.

This interest in character references was also evident at the BOA during the last two decades of the century, and BOA officials appear to have experienced even more success when it

⁷⁰ WC, HOF, "Constitution and By-Laws," By-Law Seventeen.

⁷¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Examples of Anna and Kate Lee. For an indepth discussion of these girls and their cases, please see: Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, p. 32. The two girls left the asylum in 1863 to live with members of two related families who resided several miles outside of Baltimore City, after HOF officials recorded the references were "visited by the committee and gave satisfactory accounts of the parties applying."

⁷² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Account of Willie Williams; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of Verney Smith; Flora Jenkins. For additional examples of adults who provided HOF administrators with references as part of their efforts to have children dismissed to their care, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Willie Kauffman; Alverda and Mamie Cook; Carrie Brown; Charles Schneider; Thomas Lawrence; Rachel Fenton; Florence May; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Harriet and Justine Hobbs; Emma Williams.

⁷³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Examples of Bertie Sheffield; Annie Margaret Lambert; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Harry Stebbing. For another case in which adults provided BOA authorities with references during the 1890s as part of their efforts to get children dismissed to them, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Charles Lupus.

came to obtaining testimonials than did their peers at the HOF. Between the 1880s and 1901, BOA Managers asked applicants like Mr. Riley, Mr. Day, Mr. Blunt and Mr. Johnson, who had not yet submitted suitable references to the asylum to do so, and made clear that other applications for apprentices hinged as well on whether or not adults' references proved satisfactory.⁷⁴ The BOA Managers deferred a number of decisions on dismissal applications that unrelated third parties submitted for BOA inhabitants until they could arrange to meet with an applicant's witnesses, and hear first-hand what these individuals had to say. Mr. Miller discovered this in April 1884, when he asked permission to have Baker Pennel come and work for him. It was only after the Committee confirmed that the man's "references were satisfactory" that Mr. Miller was allowed to take Baker out of the asylum.⁷⁵ The Board reinforced the centrality of character testimonials publically as well. In the 1896 Annual Report, the BOA Managers reported that they intended to find children homes in "which the children shall not only be taught to grow up into useful men and women, but where also the child's true welfare will be regarded."⁷⁶ In this manner, asylum authorities emphasized their commitment to determining whether or not the adults seeking apprentices were satisfactory candidates for the care of these children.

LAOB officials also grew increasingly concerned as well during the later nineteenth century with character references, though their emphasis on this issue appears to have slightly predated that of Baltimore asylum officials. The importance of references was not emphasized in the earliest years of the asylum's existence, but by the 1870s, final decisions about whether or not to place a LAOB boy in a particular household were subject to delay or even denial without this

⁷⁴ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of January 5, 1885, Discussion of Mr. Thomas Riley; Meeting of March 2, 1885, Notes on Mr. Riggs Hobbs; Meeting of November 4, 1889, Minutes on Mr. TJ Blunt; Meeting of November 6, 1893, Case of Nellie Smith.

⁷⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of April 7, 1884; May 5, 1884. For other instances in which the BOA Board deferred decisions about apprenticeships until its members could talk to these adults' references, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of May 4, 1891, Discussion of Mr. Miller and Mr. B.M. Miller; Meeting of December 1893, Discussion of Edmund Wiley; Meeting of June 4, 1894, Minutes on Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Webb; Meeting of October 1, 1894, Minutes concerning Mr. Columbus Hobbs and Mr. William Day.

⁷⁶ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1896 Annual Report, p. 7.

information. A Blackburn skiff maker who sought an apprentice in May 1871 had his application postponed after his reference failed to provide LAOB officials with a testimonial about the man. According to the Committee Minutes, this impediment was in no way resolved, and the man was never approved to have a boy as an apprentice. A pawnbroker from Oswaldtwistle who applied the same month as the Blackburn skiff maker, was rewarded with an apprentice, after officials concluded his “reference [was] satisfactory.”⁷⁷ Other cases from the period reinforce as well how central the fulfillment of the character reference prerequisite was to the success or failure of applications for apprentices at the LAOB. Peter Littler, WH Edwards, and John Marriott were all dismissed from the asylum to adults seeking apprentices after the latter promptly provided LAOB Committee Members with the names of references and these references vouched for the character of the applicants.⁷⁸ These applicants had satisfied LAOB officials’ preoccupation with references, and were positively rewarded for the fulfillment of acceptable testimonials.

Though officials at the LAOB, HOF and BOA increased their efforts to make some adults seeking apprentices submit character references during the later years of the nineteenth century, BOA authorities appear to have been the only officials in either city to occasionally conduct interviews with potential indenture holders. When Mrs. Hagner appeared in front of the BOA Board in April 1895, she told the Board that she lived on a farm of 200 acres, had no children, and that if the asylum allowed her a male apprentice “she would send him to school and his work would be light, [he would] attend to the cows put the horse in the carriage and assist her in the garden.”⁷⁹ Though the Managers failed to record the outcome of this case, they offered no

⁷⁷ For the original discussion of both of these men and their applications, please see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of May 1871. Additional information on the pawnbroker is also present in the minutes for the July 1871 meeting.

⁷⁸ Peter Littler and WH Edwards were sent out to two grocery and provisions dealers from St. Helens. These men were in business with one another, and each wanted an apprentice for their business. For more on these boys and the unnamed applicants’ compliance with the reference provisions, which “appear to be satisfactory,” see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of January and March 1873. John Marriott was made the apprentice of an unnamed Liverpoolian poulterer and fishmonger in June 1879, soon after LAOB Committee Members reported this man’s references and testimonials as to character etc., appear to be satisfactory.” See SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of May and June 1879, for more on John Marriott’s case.

⁷⁹ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 1, 1895.

criticism of this woman after the interview, and noted that they were waiting on the results of the reference examination. Not all potential indenture holders fared as well as Mrs. Hagner when interviewed. Mr. Shaw and his sister-in-law came to the BOA in October 1890 and met with the Matron [Mrs. Powell]. Though Mr. Shaw told Mrs. Powell that he and his wife wanted a “boy more as a companion but wanted him to do light work,” Mrs. Powell “felt sure he wanted the boy to work” and that he was seeking a younger child as he would find it easier not only to manage but also to dominate such a child. These concerns, as well as the belief that his sister-in-law “was a harsh looking woman,” led the Managers to make further inquiries into Mr. Shaw.⁸⁰ After these inquiries yielded no information, the Board dropped the matter entirely because of their limited knowledge of Mr. Shaw’s character and home; only when Mrs. Shaw appeared in front of the Board in January 1890 and answered their questions satisfactorily was the couple approved to have the care of a child.

Were asylums required to provide anything per indentures or informal placements?

The LFOA was the only orphanage in Liverpool or Baltimore to dismiss children according to agreements that mandated particular provisions from the asylum itself. These provisions included material goods and a financial bonus to apprentices during the early years in which apprenticeship occurred, and an even larger financial bonus during the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the 1840s, when LFOA officials first began to place girls, they ordered that each girl sent out of the asylum as an apprentice was to have proper clothes provided by the asylum itself. LFOA authorities also incorporated a clause in the indentures that was according to historian Joan Lane, common to charity apprenticeships in England during this period. This clause required trustees to pay the children they apprenticed a premium, though there was a significant difference between when other charity apprentices received this premium and when LFOA apprentices could expect this sum. Charity apprentices usually took the

⁸⁰ Ibid., Meetings of October 6, 1890; November 3, 1890.

premium with them when they left these institutions, while LFOA girls had to wait until the end of their apprenticeship to receive this sum.⁸¹ The two guinea premium that LFOA authorities promised each apprentice who faithfully executed her duty was the amount that girls could obtain at the end of their apprenticeship.⁸² The intention here may have been twofold; the financial return would provide additional funding to guarantee the girl's good behavior while she fulfilled her apprenticeship, and it would also allow community members to retain obedient and well-trained servants for a fixed period of service overall. Yet LFOA authorities' decision to wait until the end of the apprenticeship to pay this premium may have actually done a disservice to LFOA girls, as these girls left the asylum without any funds to sustain them if they encountered difficulties in their apprenticeships.

Girls who proved to be satisfactory apprentices continued to have access to the two-guinea premium until 1912, though LFOA officials made an even larger financial award of £4 available to female apprentices in 1874, with the creation of the Jeffrey's Bounty (JB).⁸³ The JB was actually the result of a legacy LFOA officials received from a Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffrey, and was established to reward those former LFOA residents who remained in "one situation for five years, exclusive of the term of apprenticeship."⁸⁴ Some of the earliest winners of the award included Jane Pierpoint, Elizabeth Shepherd and Mary Dennis, who were awarded the JB in June 1876. Jane had served her mistress Mrs. Smith for over twelve years, Elizabeth had worked for her mistress for eight years, and Mary had actually served in her previous place for fourteen years

⁸¹ Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p. 82; 89-92.

⁸² SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845, Page 9. For early mentions of the two guinea sum as a prize that would be awarded to apprentices who successfully completed their terms of service, and satisfied the contractual obligations of their indentures, see SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between Reverend Augusts Campbell, Elizabeth Porter, and Joseph Hampson, April 30, 1846; see also Indenture between Edmund Molyneux, Ellen Davies, and Richard Breimand, July 25, 1850.

⁸³ For evidence that LFOA officials continued to pay the two-guinea premium in the 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, please see: SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1858-1880, Reports for the years ending February 29, 1864; January 29, 1870; January 31, 1876; January 31, 1879; 1872-1888, Reports for the years ending January 31, 1882; January 31, 1885; January 31, 1887; 1903 Annual Report; 1909 Annual Report; 1912 Annual Report; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of October 7, 1891; March 2, 1892.

⁸⁴ For information on the creation of the Jeffrey's Bounty please examine SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, 1873 Annual Report; Report for the year ending December 31, 1874, p. 6. See the following for information on the financial sum the Jeffrey's Bounty provided to girls who received it; SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of February 3, 1875; January 5, 1876; January 7, 1880.

and had been with her current mistress Mrs. Graves for over six years.⁸⁵ By 1877, eleven girls had received the JB, and in the decades that followed, LFOA officials continued to award the JB, and to use this bonus to encourage indentured girls to continue in the type of service-oriented positions LFOA officials believed they were best suited to in the long-term, to track former asylum inhabitants, and to improve the economic fortunes of former asylum inhabitants who had long since left the asylum itself. Yet it was not only LFOA officials who benefitted from the JB, The Bounty proved an attractive prize for many former LFOA inhabitants, as it offered girls who were adults working in low-paying unskilled positions a way to supplement their meager wages.⁸⁶

What were the responsibilities of adults who had asylum children bound to them?

Adults in Liverpool and Baltimore who hoped to receive asylum children into their homes as formally indentured apprentices discovered there were a number of prerequisites asylum officials expected them to fulfill. Masters and mistresses were expected to take children on for fixed periods of service, provide them with sustenance, teach them particular skills, and provide them with economic remuneration for their service. Yet there is no evidence that indenture holders in Liverpool promised to provide children with the same type of secular education as did their counterparts in Baltimore.

Adults who entered into indentures with the BOA were required to keep their apprentices for set periods of time, sustain them, and give them gender-appropriate educational and vocational instruction. The expectation that masters and mistresses would keep children for fixed periods of service was an underlying part of all indenture contracts, and BOA indentures were no different. Adults agreed to take on apprentices until girls reached eighteen and boys reached twenty-one, or later in the century until boys reached either eighteen or twenty-one. Adults also

⁸⁵ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 5, 1876, Notes on Jane Pierpoint, Elizabeth Shepherd, and Mary Dennis.

⁸⁶ According to the December 1892 edition of *The Myrtle Wreath*, fifty girls had earned this premium by 1892. This was cited as proof that “the girls trained in the Female Orphan Asylum can show a long record of service rarely to be met with in these days of frequent change.” See the article entitled “The Female Orphan Asylum Benevolent Fund,” p. 3-4.

promised to provide BOA apprentices of both sexes with “suitable clothing and maintenance” for the duration of their apprenticeship, to give girls “a reasonable education in reading and writing” and instruction in “plain sewing and housework,” and boys a “reasonable education in reading writing and arithmetic,” and instruction in the “art, trade and mystery” of a particular occupation.⁸⁷ Farming was the most commonly listed of these occupations, though there were a few BOA boys like James Moore, John Woods, and Ezarial Bryan who were taught alternative trades like shoe and boot making, plumbing, and ship’s carpentry.⁸⁸ These provisions may have

⁸⁷ See the following examples of BOA indentures for girls and boys, Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1838-1842, Louisa Lawrence Indenture to David Evans, p. 124-125; Sarah Hinton Indenture to Mr. Z. Collins Lee, p. 384; Records for 1842-1846, Catharine Donaho Indenture to John Silly, p. 46-47; Josephine Brown Indenture to Christopher Johnson, p. 261; Matilda Durity Indenture to Eliza Rogers, p. 434-435; Records for 1847-1850, Anny R. Sylvester Indenture to John A. McKean, p. 46; Mary Keplinger Indenture to James Henry Ferguson, p. 287; Barbara E. Battice Indenture to Elisha Lewis, p. 355; Baltimore City, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, George W. Melhorn indenture to George Blake, p. 70-71; Catharine C. Hitzelberger Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 78; James Moore Indenture to Christian Barth, p. 325-326; Missouri Pindell Indenture to George Poe, p. 362; Records for 1854-1858, Martha Atkinson Indenture to Philip Ball, p. 105-106; William Mullin Indenture to Evan Matthews, p. 178; Virginia Ogilby Indenture to Talitha Matthews, p. 220; John T. Woods Indenture to Amelia Graham, p. 336; Frances Tanner Indenture to Henry Krager, p. 520-521; Records for 1858-1861, Aria Ann Mitchell Indenture to George Matthews, p. 280; Charles A. Owens Indenture to John Schombs, p. 281; Biddy Hunts Indenture to Jonathan Cross, p. 281-282; Records for 1861-1865, Edward Jones Indenture to Micajah Meredith, p. 98-99; Maria F. Hudgins Indenture to Ann M. Whitaker, p. 234-235; Henry Baker Indenture to Charlotte M. Griffith, p. 308-309; Jane Carter Indenture to Thomas Shank, p. 317-318; Lucy McKildoe Indenture to Amelia Goldsborough, p. 528-529; Records for 1865-1871, Mary V. Currents Indenture to William H. Heald, p. 122-123; George Evans Indenture to F. Harman Brown, p. 144; William Mitchel to John Mitchel, p. 192-193; Rosanna Everett Indenture to Mary E. Williams, p. 414; Records for 1871-1879, John Nuhn Indenture to David Wagner, p. 1; Carrie S. Ayshultz Indenture to Francis Deville, p. 35-36; Anna J. Hines Indenture to Mary E. Armstrong, p. 220-221; George W. Green Indenture to Julius C. Ruehling, p. 349; Records for 1879-1916, Fannie Forrest Indenture to William S. Reed, p. 18; James Davis Indenture to John C. Halbert, p. 29-30; Elizabeth Freeberger Indenture to Mrs. William Burlin, p. 38-39; Robert Andrew Indenture to BF Hess, p. 100-101.

⁸⁸ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, James Moore Indenture to Christian Barth, p. 325-326; Records for 1854-1858, John T. Woods Indenture to Amelia Graham, p. 336; Records for 1861-1865, Ezarial Bryan Indenture to George Popp, p. 361-362. For other examples of boys who were to be taught trades other than farming, refer to: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1854-1858, John Smaltzell Indenture to John S. McClellan, p. 370-371; Williams Moore Indenture to Charles Hickman, p. 380-381; Samuel Holland Indenture to James F. Ross, p. 483; Records for 1861-1865, David Fishack Indenture to John Fishack, p. 78-79; Joseph A. McCleary Indenture to John F. Underwood, p. 317; Ezarial Bryan Indenture to George Popp, p. 361-362; Records for 1865-1871, William Hoffman Indenture to Peter Kettering, p. 35-36; Perry McCleary Indenture to August Spelshouse, p. 468-469; Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Charles W. Purse Indenture to John J. Purse, p. 65. These boys were to be taught hat making, plastering, stone cutting, harness making, the confectionary trade, gardening, the blacksmith trade, and the apothecary business. See the following for indentures of BOA boys who were to learn farming: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1916, Records for 1854-1858, Frank Bartholomew Indenture to MA Bartholomew, p. 5; Thomas Edwards Indenture to George Matthews, p. 378-379; Michael Murray Indenture to Talitha Matthew, p. 460-461; Samuel Jenning Indenture to John McCoy, p. 516-517; Records for 1858-1861, Thomas Inloes Indenture to John Crownmiller, p. 103; Thomas E. Jennings Indenture to John W. McCoy, p. 516-517; Records for 1861-1865, Samuel Poole Indenture to William Gorsuch, p. 142-143; Thomas F. Frazier Indenture to Ephraim Stouffer, p. 152-153; John Grahame Indenture to Susanna Warfield, p. 334; William Hamilton Indenture to Samuel Gaither, p. 484; James L. Smith Indenture to Alfred Gent, p. 524-525; Records for 1865-1871, Wallace Mullen Indenture to Augustus W. Nichodemus, p. 311; William Cooper Indenture to Samuel W. Meredith, p. 482-483; Records for 1871-1879, George Fadely Indenture to Charles D. Parker, p. 286; Hugh Jelly Indenture to Annie Clarke, p. 409; Records for 1879-1916, James Davis Indenture to John C. Halbert, p. 29-30; Robert Andrew Indenture to BF Hess, p. 100-101; Baltimore

marked BOA officials' efforts to guarantee indenture holders would not only use children for their labor, but that they would provide them a basic education and domestic training to allow children some measure of success as working adults, and would prevent adult unemployment and dependence on public and private relief.

Yet BOA officials did not confine their expectations of indenture holders to particular time commitments, or to material, educational and vocational provisions. BOA indentures required indenture holders to pay particular sums of money, or freedom dues, to apprentices upon the completion of the indenture. Male apprentices were entitled to larger financial remuneration than female apprentices. Adults who had female apprentices like Margaret Scrivener, Hannah Wilson and Amelia Heall bound to them were ordered to pay ten dollars to the girls at the end of their apprenticeship; this sum does not appear to have varied between 1829 and 1884, no matter when the girl in question was apprenticed.⁸⁹ This was significantly less than the amount of

County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, William Olive Indenture to Josiah Price, p. 131-132; William Ferguson Indenture to Abraham C. Scott, p. 234-235; William Baxter to Caleb C. Carman, p. 346; Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1913, Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, p. 391-392. For indentures in which the trade BOA boys were to learn was not identified, see: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, George W. Melhorn Indenture to George Blake, p. 70-71; Records for 1854-1858, John F. Atkinson Indenture to Francis W. Casey, p. 239; James Harrod Indenture to unnamed uncle, p. 306-307; John B. Michael Indenture to Luther Sheridine, p. 337; Records for 1858-1861, Arthur Lance Indenture to Thomas O. Gregory, p. 13; George S. Wright Indenture to T. Schaff Stockett, p. 86-87; Records for 1861-1865 Edward Deppish Indenture to Kitty Forrester, p. 270-271; Thomas Barrot Indenture to Anne Hardwick, p. 271-272; Records for 1865-1871, James Featherall Indenture to John W. Shane, p. 231-232; William J. Thompson Indenture to Mary Huston; Robert Thompson Indenture to Mary Huster, p. 540; Records for 1871-1879, William G. Hawkins Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 190-191; Harvey Kirk Indenture to John H. Betts, p. 365; Harman Peters Indenture to Conrad Garbe, p. 391; Records for 1879-1916, William Spradling Indenture to JW Williams, p. 12-13; Henry L. Wilson Indenture to Berlerma A. Mellon, p. 228-229; Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Walter Grischer to William T. Gill Indenture, p. 390.

⁸⁹ Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1847-1850, Margaret Scrivener Indenture to John W. Middleton, Page 34-35; Hannah Wilson Indenture to A. Joseph Robinson, Page 212; Amelia Heall Indenture to Daniel Kauffman, Page 350. See the following for BOA girls indentured between 1829 and 1884 who were to receive ten dollars: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1916, Records for 1826-1829, Mary Youse Indenture to John Burneston, p. 427; Ann Kendy Indenture to Margaret Blake, p. 452-453; Margaret Giles to Joseph Hedley, p. 462; Records for 1829-1832, Lovey Bell Indenture to John C. French, p. 10-11; Mary Tatum Indenture to Mary McClure, p. 320; Mary Powers Indenture to William Mosher, p. 439; Records for 1832-1835, Mary McLauren Indenture to Elizabeth McLauren, p. 88; Mary J. DeCourcy Indenture to Harriet West, p. 448; Records for 1835-1838, Catherine Duffee Indenture to Joseph Tucker, p. 254-255; Catherine Hewes Indenture to Baker Bentley, p. 270; Jane Fairgrove Indenture to James Tumey, p. 404; Records for 1838-1842, Elizabeth Murray Indenture to William P. Lemmon, p. 29; Louisa Lawrence; Records for 1842-1846, Eliza Aitchinson Indenture to John A. Ellicott, p. 107; Sarah Allen Indenture to John Berger, p. p. 234-235; Mary Doxen Indenture to NF Blacklock, p. 283-284; Frances Anne Burriss Indenture to William W. Sawrason, p. 376-377; Records for 1847-1850, Georgianna Brannaman Indenture to George Brannaman, p. 172-173; Rosina Gittings Indenture to Charles Faringer, p. 387-388; Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1913, Records for 1851-1854, Sally Alder Indenture to Catharine A. Dunnington, p. 46-47; Ellen Patterson Indenture to William C. Tolman, p. 315; Records for 1854-1858, Sarah C.

freedom dues that adults in charge of BOA boys were expected to provide to them when their indentures terminated. Between 1851 and 1896, the majority of indenture holders were ordered to pay their apprentices thirty dollars, though there was a small cohort of boys who were to earn twenty dollars at the end of their service, one boy who was to be paid ten dollars when free and one boy who was to receive only five dollars as freedom dues. BOA officials offered no explanations as to why some boys were to receive less than thirty dollars, and the indentures of these boys suggest that these smaller sums of money were not connected to the ages at which they had been bound, the length of their service, or the occupations they were expected to learn. BOA officials did increase the amount of freedom dues they expected indenture holders to pay female apprentices in the later years of the nineteenth century to between twenty and fifty dollars, but they also raised the freedom dues for boys to fifty dollars. This change suggested girls might earn the same amount as boys while apprentices, though Lillian Fowler was the only BOA girl whose contract ordered the payment of fifty dollars from indenture holder to apprentice.⁹⁰ Asylum authorities never explained why indenture holders were required to provide female apprentices with smaller sums than male apprentices, though differences in the amounts awarded to members of each sex is in keeping with the cultural norm that men should earn more or be paid more than women.⁹¹

Jenkins Indenture to Evan Matthews, p. 177-178; Mary Winder Indenture to Wilson Scott, p. 351; Sarah Tarr Indenture to Joshua Niblet, p. 527; Records for 1858-1861; Cleopatra McKildoe Indenture to Thomas E. Bond, p. 216-217; Margaret Earl Indenture to Thomas Myers, p. 283-284; Records for 1861-1865, Mary J. Rache Indenture to Susan R. Hays, p. 138-139; Amelia Long Indenture to Isabella Taylor, p. 259; Records for 1865-1871, Magdalen Darcy Indenture to Mary J. Zimmerman, p. 464; Records for 1871-1879, Minnie Hoffman Indenture to George T. Tyler, p. 217-218; Carrie Frampton Indenture to Charles H. Ely, p. 366-367; Records for 1879-1916, Fannie Forrest Indenture to William S. Reed, p. 18; Elizabeth Freeberger Indenture to Mrs. William Burlin, p. 38-39.

⁹⁰ For the indentures of girls whose masters and mistresses were supposed to pay them between twenty and fifty dollars as freedom dues, refer to: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Laura Ashley to Mrs. Edward Fite, Indenture, p. 388; Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1916, Records for 1879-1916, Ida Bramble Indenture to Philip Smith, p. 136-137; Lillian Page Fowler Indenture to Mary B. Horwitz, p. 224; Della Gosnell Indenture to Mrs. F. Waterman, p. 225. See the following for BOA boys who were supposed to receive fifty dollars when their indentures ended: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1913, Edmund Wiley to JT Williams, Indenture, p. 380-381; Edward A. West to A. James Elliott, Indenture, p. 383-384; Walter Grischer to William T. Gill, Indenture, p. 390; Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, Indenture, p. 391-392.

⁹¹ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 45-72.

Like their counterparts at the BOA, officials at the LAOB and the LFOA expected indenture holders to assume responsibility for the apprentice for a fixed period of time, and to retain custody of male apprentices for longer periods of time. Though the earliest LAOB indentures have not survived, documents from the 1870s and 1880s make clear LAOB indenture holders regularly agreed to bind themselves to the boys like John Wharam and Henry Durnbell for a period of five or six years.⁹² Potential masters and mistresses who refused to acquiesce to the LAOB requirement that they take on apprentices for a specified time were rejected, as was a local man who asked to have one of the LAOB boys work in his home for a brief period of time in 1870. LAOB officials quickly denied this request, as “such permission would be contrary to rule and altogether inadvisable.”⁹³ LFOA authorities also required early indenture holders to retain girls for as many years as it took the latter to reach the age of twenty.⁹⁴ Asylum authorities did institute two changes to this period of service during the later years of the nineteenth century. The first of these occurred at some unspecified point during the late 1860s and early 1870s and

⁹² SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of March 1875, Focus on John Wharam; Meeting of June 17, 1881, Notes on Henry Durnbell. For the adults who agreed to keep LAOB boys as apprentices for five or six years, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of March 1870, Discussion of RJ Anson; Meeting of March 1871, Notes on R. Coxon and GH Williams; Meeting of April 1871, Cases of William Peacock and James Nixon; Meeting of July 1871, Focus on John W. Bridson; Meeting of November 1871, History of William Flynn; Meeting of December 1871, Discussion of W. Bootle; Meeting of May 1872, Case of unnamed boy; Meeting of June 1872, Accounts of John Donaghy and William Fellingham; Meeting of September 1872, History of Edwin Thomas; Meeting of March 1873, Notes on Peter Littler; Meeting of September 1873, Cases of Hugh Hughes and Richard Wood; Meeting of February 1874, Minutes on Richard Bolton and Joseph Weaver; Meeting of September 1874, Examples of Peter Hice, James Forshaw, and John Steen; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of April 1875, Cases of Francis Lane and William H. Gore; Meeting of July 1875, Minutes on Robert Cherlers and Daniel Flynn; Meeting of February 1876, Histories of Leonard Barber, Thomas Bason, William Drysdale, William Mitchell and Thomas Fanvel; Meeting of March 1876, Accounts of Joseph Lloyds and Edward Arden; Meeting of April 1876, Discussion of William Bayes; Meeting of September 1876, Notes on Frederick Martin; Meeting of March 1877, Minutes on WH Trail and Edward Ashton; Meeting of May 1877, Case of Richard Curtis; Meeting of November 1877, Account of James Bolton; Meeting of February 1878, Discussion of W. Warriner, J. Almond, E. Simmister, and W. Wilson; Meeting of July 1878, Histories of Thomas Thirlwall, Robert Malkin; Meeting of September 1878, Focus on Henry Jones; Meeting of June 1879, Record of John Marriott; Meeting of September 1879, Cases of John Lockett, Richard Jones, William Clarke and Thomas Ashley; Meeting of December 22, 1879, Minutes on William Brownless; Meeting of March 1880, Focus on Benjamin Green, James Warriner, and George Drenon; Meeting of June 1880, Case of Benjamin Croderoy; Meeting of July 1880, Notes on William Evans; Meeting of November 1880, Discussion of William Malkin; Meeting of February 28, 1881, History of John Beattie; Meeting of June 17, 1881, Discussion of John R. Hough.

⁹³ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of December 15, 1870.

⁹⁴ The LFOA Discharge Registers make clear that a number of indenture holders agreed as late as the 1860s to care for girls female apprentices until the age of twenty, but surviving asylum documents, do not make clear exactly when in the late 1860s or early 1870s that the terms of apprenticeship were reduced; see SHSR, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-October 1866.

shortened the term of girls' service to three years rather than five.⁹⁵ LFOA authorities shaved another year off of the term of service in 1890 and made adults accountable for the care of female apprentices for only two years.⁹⁶ No such alterations occurred at the LAOB during these decades, and LAOB indenture holders remained responsible for their apprentices far longer than their counterparts at either the LFOA or the BOA during this later period.

Between the 1840s and the 1870s, LFOA officials also identified the daily physical maintenance of the apprentice and the instruction of these girls in the domestic arts as central to the indenture holder's duties. LFOA indentures required the masters and mistresses of apprenticed LFOA girls to provide "good and sufficient meat, drink, clothing, physic, washing and lodging, and all other necessities, during the whole term of the apprenticeship" to these children.⁹⁷ Each indenture holder was also commanded to "the best of his skill and knowledge [to] teach and instruct the said [girl's name] or cause her to be taught and instructed in the Art of Housewifery," so that girls received enough domestic training to allow them to develop into satisfactory apprentices and with the expertise that would eventually serve them as working adults.⁹⁸ Yet LFOA officials never specifically defined what qualified as adequate housewifery training of a female apprentice, and though indenture holders were no doubt familiar with the duties and tasks associated with housewifery, there was no guarantee that asylum officials and indenture holders shared the same understanding of what constituted proper training for these girls. This probably led to a range of experiences for the girls in question, and some female

⁹⁵ Evidence of this change can be found in the following documents: SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between John J. Myers [President of the LFOA], Annie Watkin, and Roger Bolton; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of July 1, 1874, Notes on Phebe Simpson; November 4, 1874, Minutes on Margaret Griffiths; Meeting of September 5, 1888, Discussion of Mary Black.

⁹⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of January 2, 1890 and February 5, 1890.

⁹⁷ For indentures which identified these particular duties as the responsibility of masters and mistresses, see: SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between Reverend Augustus Campbell, Elizabeth Porter, and Joseph Hampson, April 30, 1846; Indenture between Henry Torres Browne, Alice Bang, Samuel Phillips, April 11, 1853; Indenture between Edmund Molyneux, Ellen Davies, and Richard Breimand, July 25, 1850; Indenture for December 7th, 1863, between James John Hance, Ellen Hawkins, and Elizabeth Pemberton, December 7, 1863; Indenture between John Bibby, Esther Jane Andrews, and Elisha Leigh, June 27, 1865.

⁹⁸ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between Henry Torres Browne, Alice Bang, Samuel Phillips, April 11, 1853. See also WC, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between Dr. Edward Molyneux, Ellen Davies, and Richard Breimand, July 25, 1850; Indenture between George William Ewing, Mary Casson and Mary Smith.

apprentices undoubtedly were quite proficient in domestic work and prepared to assume other situations upon the completion of their apprenticeships. Those LFOA apprentices whose masters and mistresses had taken a relatively dim view of such training, however, may have finished their term of service with relatively little instruction, and fewer future employment prospects.

The indentures Liverpool asylum officials engineered were remarkably similar to the Baltimore indentures when it came to what was expected of children's masters and mistresses, and this extended as well to the financial terms of these contracts. During the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, LFOA indentures ordered indenture holders to make annual payments to female apprentices. These payments involved the "deposit [of] one Guinea in the Savings Bank" during each of the last three years that a girl was in service, so that each apprentice would have money available for "her use at the termination of the agreement."⁹⁹ These three guineas provided this group of female apprentices with savings and funds they might use as a dowry if they chose to marry, or to support themselves if they were between situations or experienced some type of illness or disability. The money conveyed from master to servant may have served additional purposes as well, in that it demonstrated to apprentices the good-will and reciprocity of the adults in whose households they resided, and may have encouraged girls to remain in their positions for an extended period of time. These realities suggest LFOA officials intended this financial remuneration not only to allow girls some economic security, but also to prevent any extremes of behavior from either party. Girls were discouraged from acting out or rebelling against indenture holders as good behavior would earn them financial reward, and any adults who might have been inclined to deny even worthy apprentices a financial reward for their services were in theory prevented from taking such action.

During the last several decades of the nineteenth century LFOA administrators implemented changes to the financial terms of asylum indentures that made wages an intrinsic

⁹⁹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870. If a girl successfully completed her apprenticeship, LFOA officials established an account in her name at the Savings' Bank in Liverpool and placed the usual two-guinea premium that the asylum awarded these girls in such an account.

part of these contracts, and required indenture holders in Liverpool to provide even greater sums of financial remuneration to their apprentices than had their earlier predecessors. LFOA officials implemented the first of these changes in the 1870s, when they started to require indenture holders to pay pocket money of “5/-per quarter” to female apprentices during the first two years of service, and to pay “not less than £7(which is payable quarterly)” to girls during the third year of service. In July 1896, LFOA officials again altered these terms. Adults who took on LFOA apprentices after September 1, 1896, were required to give female apprentices with wages during the second year of service to the sum of £9 per month.¹⁰⁰ LFOA authorities never discussed why they made indenture holders provide greater financial compensation to their apprentices during the later nineteenth century, though their actions and those of their BOA counterparts suggests asylum officials in both cities increasingly favored dismissal arrangements that were more equitable to the children involved, and more akin to waged labor contracts.

What were the responsibilities of indentured asylum children per these arrangements?

Children who left the BOA as apprentices during the early decades in which indenture was practiced were expected to fulfill certain responsibilities in connection with their indenture contracts, which varied according to their age and gender. The first children to go out of the asylum as apprentices were girls, each of whom was expected to serve until “the said female child shall attain to the age of eighteen.” This was true for children like Margaret Giles, Elizabeth Addon, and Isabella Grimes, who were placed during the late 1820s and the 1830s, as well as for girls who were indentured from the BOA during the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰¹ It did not matter

¹⁰⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of July 1, 1896.

¹⁰¹ Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1826-1829, Margaret Giles Indenture to Joseph Henley, p. 462; Records for 1835-1838, Elizabeth Addon Indenture to George Poe, p. 15; Records for 1838-1842, Isabella Grimes Indenture to William A. Pleasants, p. 187. For additional examples of girls indentured until the age of eighteen between the late 1820s and the 1850s, refer to: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1829-1832, Lovey Bell Indenture to John C. French, p. 10-11; Elizabeth Stimats Indenture to Silas Silver, p. 11-12; Amanda Harris Indenture to Richard Dorsey, p. 297; Mary J. Moulton Indenture to John Dushan, p. 439; Records for 1832-1835, Mary McLauren Indenture to Elizabeth McLauren, p. 88; Elizabeth Glanville Indenture to David Evans, p. 116-117; Sarah Buck Indenture to J. Starman Brown, p. 332-333; Mary J. DeCourcy Indenture to Harriet West, p. 448; Records for 1835-1838, Catharine Martin Indenture to William Eichelberger, p. 186-187; Anna Martin Indenture to Patrick Savage, p. 257-258; Mary J. Roney Indenture to Jonathan Mullan, p. 295-296; Margaret

whether or not these girls were bound out at fourteen like Laura Kane and Selinda White, or at slightly younger ages like Mary Ann Smith and Caroline Fury; whatever their age at the time of their binding, BOA girls were expected to remain as apprentices in the homes in which they were placed until they achieved eighteen years of age.¹⁰² The length of service expected of these female BOA apprentices was significantly less than that which their male counterparts were required to serve once they began to be bound out in the 1850s. Boys including Charles Purse, William Olive, and Robert Amos were all indentured to their masters and mistresses until the “age of twenty-one years,” and this continued to be the age at which indenture ended for boys until 1874.¹⁰³ As these examples illustrate, age and gender were variables that shaped the terms

Pearce Indenture to Thomas B. Rutter, p. 313; Records for 1838-1842, Theresa Leahy Indenture to Frederick Neill, p. 221; Records for 1842-1846, Sarah Heath Indenture to J. Wheelwright, p. 284; Matilda Durity Indenture to Eliza Rogers, p. 434-435; Records for 1847-1850, Elizabeth Harrington Indenture to Alfred Crawford, p. 39-40; Amelia Heall Indenture to Daniel Kauffman, p. 350; Records for 1851-1913, Ellen Speddy Indenture to George Matthews, p. 64-65; Fanny Rhoden to Thomas T. Griffith, p. 70.

¹⁰² Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1794-1913, Records for 1847-1850, Laura Kane Indenture to John A. Ellicott, p. 18-19; Mary Ann Smith Indenture to Araminta Betts, p. 19-20; Caroline Fury Indenture to David B. Prince, p. 165; Selinda White Indenture to David B. Prince, p. 283-284. Mary Ann Smith was twelve years old when asylum officials bound her out, and Caroline Fury was eleven years old.

¹⁰³ Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Charles W. Purse Indenture to John J. Purse, p. 65; William Olive Indenture to Josiah Price, p. 131-132; Robert Amos Indenture to Mordecai Matthews, p. 162. For examples of BOA boys who were bound out of the asylum between 1851 and 1874, and were expected to remain apprentices until they achieved the age of twenty-one, see the following: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1854, George W. Melhorn Indenture to George Blake, p. 70-71; James Moore Indenture to Christian Barth, p. 325-326; Records for 1854-1858, Frank Bartholomew Indenture to MA Bartholomew, p. 5; William Mullin Indenture to Evan Matthews, p. 178; John F. Atkinson Indenture to Francis W. Casey, p. 239; James Harrod Indenture to Unnamed Uncle, p. 306-307; John T. Woods Indenture to Amelia Graham, p. 336; John Michael Indenture to Luther Sheridine, p. 337; John Smaltzell Indenture to John S. McClellan, p. 370-371; Thomas Edwards Indenture to George Matthews, p. 378-379; Williams Moore Indenture to Charles Hickman, p. 380-381; Michael Murray Indenture to Talitha Mathew, p. 460-461; Samuel Holland Indenture to James F. Ross, p. 483; Samuel Jenning Indenture to John McCoy, p. 516-517; Records for 1858-1861, Arthur Lance Indenture to Thomas O. Gregory, p. 13; George S. Wright Indenture to T. Schaff Stockett, p. 86-87; Thomas Inloes Indenture to John Crownmiller, p. 103; Charles A. Owens Indenture to John Schombs, p. 281; Thomas E. Jennings Indenture to John W. McCoy, p. 516-517; William Melville Indenture George Matthews, p. 540-541; Records for 1861-1865, David Fishack Indenture to John Fishack, p. 78-79; Edward Jones Indenture to Micjah Meredith, p. 98-99; John W. Bell Indenture to John Williams, p. 139-140; Samuel Poole Indenture to William Gorshuch, p. 142-143; Thomas F. Frazier Indenture to Ephrain Stouffer, p. 152-153; Timothy P. Frazier Indenture to Ephrain Stouffer, p. 153-154; George Pilkerton Indenture to Eliza O’Neale, p. 221; Edward Deppish Indenture to Kitty Forrester, p. 270-271; Thomas Barrot Indenture to Anne Hardwick, p. 271-272; Henry Baker Indenture to Carlote M. Griffith, p. 308-309; Charles Warner Indenture to Richard G. Mackey, p. 309; Joseph A. McCleary Indenture to John F. Underwood, p. 317; John Grahame Indenture to Susanna Warfield, p. 334; Ezarial Bryan Indenture to George Popp, p. 361-362; William Hamilton Indenture to Samuel Gaither, p. 484; James L. Smith Indenture to Alfred Gent, p. 524-525; James Russell Indentures to John Russell, p. 541; Records for 1865-1871, William Hoffman Indenture to Peter Kettering, p. 35-36; John Tannyhill Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 143-144; George Evans Indenture to F. Harman Brown, p. 144; William Mitchel Indenture to John Mitchel, p. 192-193; James Feahterall Indenture to John W. Shane, p. 231-232; Wallace Mullen Indenture to Augustus W. Nichodemus, p. 311; William J. Thompson Indenture to Mary Huston, p. 312; Perry McCleary Indenture to August Spelshouse, p. 468-469; William Cooper Indenture to Samuel W. Meredith, p. 482-483; Sallie Simon Indenture to Eliza Baynard, p. 485-486; Robert Thompson Indenture to Mary Huster, p. 540; Records for 1871-1879, John Nuhn Indenture to David Wagner, p. 1; George Fadely Indenture to Charles D. Parker, p. 286; Baltimore County, Register of

of service expected of apprenticed BOA boys and girls during the early decades in which BOA inhabitants were indentured.

The duties expected of Liverpool asylum residents who were placed out as apprentices also varied according to age and gender, though LFOA girls who were apprenticed during the early years in which Liverpool asylum officials practiced indenture were bound for longer periods of time than were their Baltimore counterparts. LFOA officials emphasized as early as 1845 that girls were to be apprenticed at fourteen or above, and that each girl was to serve a period of six years, or until she reached the age of twenty, whichever came first.¹⁰⁴ LFOA residents continued to be bound according to these rules throughout the 1850s and 1860s, so that apprenticeship meant four years of work for sixteen-year-old girls like Hannah Dooley and Ellen Hawkins, and five years of labor for Ellen Davies and Maria Betterley, who were only fifteen years old when they were bound out from the asylum. It remains uncertain whether or not LAOB boys were held to similar terms of service when they began to be apprenticed in the mid-1850s. Yet it is clear that by June 1865 LAOB officials had fixed on fifteen as the age at which boys were to be indentured or leave the asylum, and that by the early 1870s, LAOB officials had also identified an appropriate length of service for apprenticed boys, with some boys like RJ Anson apprenticed for five years, and others like R. Coxon bound for six years.¹⁰⁵ These case histories suggest girls in Baltimore were eligible for their freedom as apprentices a full two years before their female counterparts in Liverpool, and boys in both cities were apprenticed until nearly the same age.

The orphanage in which asylum children resided and the point in time in which they were indentured played a significant role as well in determining the responsibilities of apprenticed

Wills, *Indentures 1794-1913, Records of 1851-1913, George Rurges Indenture to Caleb Carman*, p. 233; William Ferguson Indenture to Abraham C. Scott, p. 234-235; James A. Christy Indenture to Caleb C. Carman, p. 340; William Baxter Indenture to Caleb C. Carman, p. 346.

¹⁰⁴ SHSR, *Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending February 24, 1845*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ SHSR, *Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of March 1870 and March 1871*. For other examples of boys apprenticed for five or six years during this period, please see: SHSR, *Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of March and April 1871*. GH Williams was apprenticed to a Liverpoolian plumber for six years, William Peacock went to a blacksmith in Liscard for six years, and James Nixon was apprenticed for five years to a Southport toy dealer.

children in both cities. LFOA authorities drew up indentures between 1845 and the mid-1850s which required girls to swear an all-inclusive type of loyalty to their masters and mistresses, and to reject particular behaviors. Each girl swore to “faithfully serve her master his lawful secrets keep his lawful commands every where gladly do and obey” and also promised to “do no hurt or damage to her said master nor suffer it to be done by others but to the utmost of her power shall hinder or prevent the same or immediately give notice or warning thereof to her said master.”¹⁰⁶ In addition, each female apprentice declared she would “not waste purloin or steal any of the goods or property” that belonged to her master, and that she would not abscond from her master’s household.¹⁰⁷ The concern that an apprentice would act in her own individual interest led as well to a clause in the indenture that forbade her the right to “contract matrimony” while in her master’s service.¹⁰⁸ As historian Joan Lane has noted, the marriage prohibition was a normal feature of English apprenticeships arranged for children whose parents were not poor, as well as of charity apprenticeships that were arranged for poor children by charity schools and other benevolent institutions such as the LFOA.¹⁰⁹ It remains unclear if LAOB boys were required to make the same type of promises to their indenture holders, as LAOB indentures for the period have not survived. What is clear, however, is that BOA children in Baltimore were not obliged to provide similar assurances to the men and women who held their indentures. Male and female children from the BOA were never required to explicitly swear they would act as faithful agents to their masters and mistresses and protect their best interests, nor were they asked to guarantee their proper behavior.

While indentures varied not only according to city, orphanage, children’s ages and genders, the point in time during the nineteenth century when children were apprenticed also proved particularly significant. Girls who left the LFOA in the mid-1850s went out according to

¹⁰⁶ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between Edmund Molyneux, Ellen Davies, and Richard Breimand, June 25, 1850.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England*, p. 82.

altered contracts in which the clause that forbade marriage had been removed. When Mary Casson was apprenticed in March 1856 to a woman in Lancashire, she left according to the same terms of service as her predecessors, and was still expected to “not absent herself from her said mistress’ service day or night without her consent,” but she was not prohibited from marrying while an apprentice.¹¹⁰ Indentures from the 1860s reveal this particular change was permanent, and that no girls were sent out in the years after 1856 according to the older phrasing and stipulation against marriage.¹¹¹ It remains unclear why exactly LFOA officials decided to make this change, and why they implemented it in the mid-1850s. The Ladies Committee may have discussed the proposed removal of the clause and the reasons why such a significant change was made in female indentures, but none of the Ladies Committee Minutes prior to 1870 have survived. Other LFOA documents from the period provide no clues either as to why the prohibition against marriage was removed from LFOA indentures. LFOA administrators may have eventually deemed the clause itself irrelevant, especially as the marriages of LFOA girls to working-class men meant the formation of families in which properly trained working-class women practiced as wives and mothers the domestic skills the asylum had conveyed to them.

Girls who left the LFOA in the mid-1850s and afterwards were not the only asylum children in either city to go out according to terms that were significantly different from those their earlier counterparts had been expected to fulfill. Indeed, for one group of BOA boys and an even larger contingent of LFOA girls, apprenticeship during the last three decades of the century meant shorter periods of service time than it had for their predecessors. These boys were apprenticed between 1874 and 1900 and were bound not until twenty-one as had been their earlier counterparts and another group of boys in residence in the BOA during the later nineteenth

¹¹⁰ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between George William Ewing, Esq. and Mary Casson and Mary Smith, March 18, 1856.

¹¹¹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Indentures, April 1846-June 1870, Indenture between James John Hance, Mary Hughes, and John Bond, April 12, 1860; Indenture between James John Hance, Ellen Hawkins, and Elizabeth Pemberton, December 7, 1863; Indenture between James John Hance, Margaret Coombs, and Maria Beswicke September 29, 1864; Indenture between John Bibby, Esther Jane Andrews, and Elisha Leigh; June 27, 1865; Indenture between John Bibby, Elizabeth Horrocks (16 years old), and Henry Milling; July 8, 1865.

century, but only until they reached eighteen years of age.¹¹² This marked a significant reduction in service times, demonstrates how later residence in the BOA might have significant repercussions on children's terms of service, and suggests more flexible legal understandings in late-nineteenth-century Maryland when it came to the age at which children achieved adulthood. Yet BOA boys were not the only asylum residents who enjoyed shorter terms of apprenticeship because of their later asylum residence. By the mid-1870s in Liverpool, former LFOA residents like Elizabeth Sewall, Winifred Samuel, and Jane Robinson were winning the two-guinea premium for only three years of service, rather than the five years of service earlier LFOA inhabitants had to provide as apprentices.¹¹³ Girls who left the LFOA in February 1890 and afterwards proved even more fortunate when it came to reduced terms of service; in January of that year the period of service for female apprentices was shortened to two years, rather than three.¹¹⁴ These changes did not occur as the result of legal alterations to the age of majority as they did in Baltimore, but rather because LFOA administrators were increasingly determined to shorten the terms of service expected of former asylum inhabitants.

Later-nineteenth-century apprentices in both cities also benefited from asylum administrators' decisions to increase the amount of financial remuneration indenture holders were expected to provide to these children. Girls who were bound out of the BOA in 1885 and afterward were to get twenty to fifty dollars as freedom dues, as opposed to the ten dollars that female apprentices placed earlier in the century were to receive. BOA boys also benefited from late-nineteenth-century increases in freedom dues. Boys who left the asylum as apprentices after

¹¹² For examples of BOA boys who were indentured during the 1890s or afterwards and expected to serve until they reached eighteen years of age, refer to: Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Edmund Wiley to J.T. Williams, Indenture, Page 380-381; Edward A. West to A. James Elliott, Indenture, Page 383-384; Walter Grischer to William T. Gill, Indenture, Page 390; Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, Indenture, Page 391-392. For the case history of a male BOA resident who was apprenticed during the 1890s under terms that bound him until he reached the age of twenty-one, examine: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures, 1851-1916, Records for 1851-1916, Henry L. Wilson Indenture to Belerma A. Mellon, Page 228-229. Henry Wilson was placed with a woman in Baltimore City on November 12, 1896. According to this document, Wilson was sent out to his mistress when he was four years old, and would have served her for a total of seventeen years before he would be identified as eligible for his freedom.

¹¹³ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, 1870-1892, Meeting of September 1, 1875, Cases of E. Sewall; W. Samuel; Jane Robinson.

¹¹⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 2, 1890.

1894 usually received fifty dollars, rather than the thirty dollars most apprenticed BOA boys received in the years prior to this change.¹¹⁵ Children in Liverpool were also positively affected by increases in the financial aspects of indentures, though LFOA girls actually began to derive benefits from such changes earlier than any of their counterparts in either city. Girls who left the LFOA after the mid-1870s received pocket money during their initial two years of service and £7 quarterly during the final year they were indentured. This was of course, far more than the three guineas earlier apprentices could expect from indenture holders.¹¹⁶ Girls who were apprenticed after September 1896 were guaranteed even larger wages; these girls were to receive £9 wages during the second year of their apprenticeships.¹¹⁷ Boys at the LAOB also profited during the 1890s from an increased emphasis on wages, as asylum officials tried to keep boys out of positions that paid too little and looked for positions for each child that would be just “enough to keep him.”¹¹⁸ As evidence from the Liverpool and Baltimore asylums demonstrates, late-nineteenth-century apprentices in both cities possessed greater financial security than what was available to their earlier placed LAOB, LFOA and BOA counterparts.¹¹⁹

When did officials quit the formal indenturing of children?

According to historian Timothy Hasci, changes to the United States’ economy caused most American orphan asylums that placed out children to shift “from indenturing children to placing them in free homes” between 1865 and 1900. Hasci suggests that orphanages’

¹¹⁵ Baltimore County, Register of Wills, Indentures 1794-1913, Rcdords for 1851-1913, Edmund Wiley to JT Williams, Indenture, Page 380-381; Edward A. West to A. James Elliott, Indenture, p. 383-384; Walter Grischer to William T. Gill, Indenture, p. 390; Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, Indenture, p. 391-392. The only exception to this change appears to have been Henry Wilson, who was apprenticed in November 1896 to Mrs. Mellon, and was to earn twenty-five dollars upon the termination of his indentures; see Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1879-1916, Henry L. Wilson Indenture to Berlerma A. Mellon, p. 228-229.

¹¹⁶ SHSR, Female Orphan Asylum, Ladies Committee Book Notes, “Rules for Apprenticeship,” Undated.

¹¹⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, Meetings of June 3, 1896; July 1, 1896.

¹¹⁸ SHSR, Miscellaneous, *The Myrtle Wreath*, January 1893 Edition, “A Friendly Lift,” p. 13. See SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, for an example of a office job which LAOB officials identified as problematic because of the limited wages associated with it.

¹¹⁹ Though there were significant alterations for both LFOA apprentices and masters, none of these changes interfered with the Jeffreys’ Bounty, which continued to be presented to LFOA girls until 1916. The last specific mention of the Jeffreys’ Bounty occurred in the LFOA Ladies’ Committee Minutes for September 1916. The award was presented that month to Annie Wilson, who had served in the same position for fifteen and a half years and who was reported to have an excellent character. See SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, January 1912-1920, Meeting of September 1916, p. 145.

abandonment of indenture was so pronounced that “reform schools seem to have been more likely to continue apprenticing children than were orphan asylums in the last few decades of the nineteenth century.”¹²⁰ Yet evidence from the orphan asylums in Baltimore and Liverpool suggest that the reality of the situation in Baltimore and in Liverpool was more nuanced when it came to the end of indenture and which type of institutions practiced indenture during the later nineteenth century. Officials at the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages remained committed to indenture, with BOA and LFOA officials indenturing children throughout the end of the nineteenth century, and LAOB officials abandoning indenture sometime between 1886 and 1900.

Records from Baltimore reveal that the BOA Managers waited until 1901 to abandon the practice of indentures. BOA inhabitants like Laura Ashley, Walter Grischer, and Henry Wilson continued to leave the asylum during the 1890s according to indenture contracts which identified them as the bound apprentices of adults and which required apprentices and indenture holders alike to fulfill certain responsibilities to one another.¹²¹ And it was not only these contracts which reflected asylum administrators’ persistent support for indentures during this period. The BOA Managers reminded indenture holders in October 1897 that they were expected to provide a “fund for children when they reached their majority,” and again reinforced their continual support for indentures and the expectation that the terms of these contracts would be met by the parties involved in them.¹²² Yet the indentures that asylum officials were able to arrange for children dropped significantly in number during the 1880s and 1890s, and these indentures began to more closely resemble wage-based agreements between the parties involved than the more traditional indenture contracts into which asylum administrators had placed earlier asylum residents. In the

¹²⁰ Hacsí, *Second Home*, p. 136-137.

¹²¹ Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1879-1916, Henry L. Wilson Indenture to Berlerma A. Mellon, p. 228-229; Baltimore County Indentures, 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Laura Ashley to Mrs. Edward Fite, Indenture, p. 388; Walter Grischer to William T. Gill, Indenture, p. 390; Edward Robertson to Mrs. Randolph Slade, Indenture, p. 391-392. For other children formally bound to adults between 1890 and 1901, see: Baltimore City, Register of Wills, Indentures 1851-1916, Records for 1879-1916, Lillian Page Fowler Indenture to Mary B. Horwitz, p. 224; Della Gosnell Indenture to Mrs .F. Waterman, p. 225; Baltimore County Indentures, 1794-1913, Records for 1851-1913, Edmund Wiley to JT Williams, Indenture, p. 381-382; Edward West to A. James Elliott, Indenture, p. 383-384.

¹²² WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of October 1897, p. 102.

1901 Annual Report, BOA authorities finally announced their decision to abandon indentures, noting that “we have decided to do away with papers binding out the children until they are eighteen, preferring to ask small wages, which method we hope will stimulate the child’s ambition.”¹²³ This marked the end of the asylum’s more than seven-decade-long use of indentures as a means of children’s dismissal.

Support for formal indentures also waned in Liverpool at the LFOA during the later 1890s, as asylum officials grew more supportive of wage-based placements, and increasingly frustrated with the number of indentured girls they had to transfer from households that proved unsatisfactory.¹²⁴ In March 1899, the General Committee began to discuss the possibility of ending the use of formal indentures and by May of that year a Special Committee comprised of members of the Ladies Committee and General Committee had “unanimously resolved that it is desirable that the system of indentures be abolished.”¹²⁵ By the fall of 1900, LFOA girls were being dismissed from the asylum according to contractual agreements that emphasized the dynamic between child and adult was to be that of employer and employee rather than master-apprentice. Sarah Laurence and Mary Scholfield left the asylum in October 1900 and May 1901 respectively, under terms that identified the service position each was to occupy and the wages each girl was to be paid during their two-year-long period of service. Sarah went to a kitchen position and was to earn £10 for the first year and then £11 during the second year, while Mary was to earn £6.10 for the first six months she worked as an under-waitress, £7 for the second half of the first year, and £8 for the second year as wages.¹²⁶ LFOA officials certainly understood

¹²³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1901 Annual Report, p. 8.

¹²⁴ For evidence of increased support among LFOA administrators for waged-based placements, see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of June 3, 1896. For evidence of asylum officials frustration with the number of girls they had to remove from household and with transfers, see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of May 5, 1897.

¹²⁵ SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of March 22, 1899; May 10, 1899. For additional information on efforts to abolish the indenture clause from LFOA documents, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of October 12, 1899.

¹²⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1900 for Sarah Laurence’s case. See this same set of Ladies Committee Minutes, Meeting of March 6, 1901 for the example of Mary Scholfield. For other cases that were illustrative of this new emphasis on wages, please see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1900, Examples of Lilian Jones,

these wages as acceptable, though they were far less than that advocated in the 1906 edition of Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management*.¹²⁷ The pay Sarah Laurence was to earn as a kitchen maid more closely approximated the wages of £9-£14 that was suggested for such a position in the 1861 version of the book than the £16-£28 proposed for the same position in the early twentieth century edition of this work.¹²⁸ In the years that followed, LFOA girls like Frida Richardson, Susan Chambers, and Sarah Spencer continued to be dismissed from the asylum to wage-earning positions, and there is no evidence that formal indentures resumed at the orphanage.¹²⁹

Annie Shaw, and Kate Capper; Meeting of October 1906, Histories of Jessie McGregor, Flossie Rogers, Susan Chambers, and Esther Bushell; Meeting of December 1908, Focus on Amy Mason and Maggie Brough; Meeting of October 1909, Discussion of Mabel Pertre, Sarah Spencer, and Ethel Coventry,

¹²⁷ Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management* was an English cookery book that contained a variety of recipes, advice, and information for its intended audience of Victorian middle-class-women. The work was originally published in sections between 1859 and 1861 in connection with the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, and was published as one complete work in October 1861. The book was quite successful in terms of sales and readership. More than 60,000 copies were sold during the first year in which it was published as one volume, and almost two million copies had been sold by 1868. The work itself was massive in its scope, and intended to instruct the mistress of the home about her role, the housekeeper's duties, the duties of other household servants, the running of an efficient kitchen, the care and treatment of sick children, the appropriate menus for various dinners, dining experiences, and even legal information that women might need to familiarize themselves with in connection with their interactions with servants and even tenants. Prior to the compilation of this work, Isabella Beeton produced a number of articles and pieces for the magazines that her husband published. She died only six years after the work was originally published, as the result of a puerperal infection she contracted following the birth of her fourth child. For more information on Mrs. Beeton and this work, see: Isabella Beeton, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, ed. Nicola Humble (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹²⁸ Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1990), p. 149. The £9-£14 that Beeton's *Book of Household Management* identified as proper for a kitchen maid in the 1861 edition was the amount a girl was to earn when there was no extra allowance made for tea, sugar and beer. Girls working as kitchen maids who did receive an extra allowance for tea, sugar and beer were only to receive wages in the range of £8-£12.

¹²⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of May 6, 1903, Notes on Frida Richardson; Meeting of October 1906, Discussion of Susan Chambers; Meeting of October 1909, Minutes on Sarah Spencer. For the accounts of other LFOA girls who were dismissed from the asylum to wage-earning positions during the first decade of the twentieth century, refer to the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1900, Cases of Annie Shaw, Kate Capper and Lillian Jones; Meeting of February 6, 1901, Histories of Gertrude Huxley and G. Tillery; Meeting of March 6, 1901, Notes on Harriet Read, Elizabeth Gushell, Mary Scholfield, and Ada Harrison; Meeting of December 4, 1901, Notes on Jessie Johnson; Meeting of October 1, 1902, Minutes on Esther Brownrigg, Lily Wilson, Lilian Sheppard, Flora Bannon, Elisabeth Eaton, Annie Hoos, E. Bevan, Kate Blackhurst and Lucy Winslade; Meeting of May 6, 1903, Histories of Marion Isaac, Ada Ryan, and Edith Clews; Meeting of February 1904, Discussion of Elizabeth Houghton and Hanah Heywood; Meeting of October 1906, Histories of Jessie McGregor, Flossie Rogers, and Esther Bushell; Meeting of December 1906, Minutes on Ellen Rickles, Ethel Dermott, and Edith Jones; Meeting of March 1907, Account of Frances Maguiness; Meeting of February 1908, Cases of Elsie Arrundale, Emma Hadfield, Kate Birchall; Meeting of December 1908, Notes on Amy Mason and Maggie Brough; Meeting of April 1909, Discussion of Lizzie Patterson and C. Prithcard; Meeting of October 1909, Histories of Mabel Pertre, Mary Kay, and Ethel Coventry; Meeting of November 1909, Record of Florence Roberts; Meeting of November 1910, Minutes on Marjory McLarty, Annie McIntyre, and Minnie Barnes.

LAOB officials also shifted away from the use of formal indentures around the turn of the century, though a paucity of LAOB documents for the period between 1886 and 1900 makes it impossible to know exactly when this change occurred. LAOB officials decided at some point between these two dates to cease the practice of formally binding children out, and were, like their LFOA and BOA counterparts, dismissing children via new arrangements in which wages were central. A number of LAOB inhabitants, including George Jordan, David Stokes, and Robert Patterson were sent out of the asylum in this manner during the early years of the twentieth century. George Jordan became the employee of a hairdresser whose business was near Preston, David Stokes entered the employ of some solicitors in Liverpool, and Robert Patterson went to work for a green grocer in New Brighton.¹³⁰ LAOB boys continued to leave the asylum and enter the waged employ of a variety of trades people and individuals throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, and though several boys including Jervis Sandiford, Norman Fay and H. Grafton left the LAOB as what LAOB authorities identified as apprentices to men in particular trades, there is no evidence that these boys were legally-bound to these tradesmen.¹³¹ The turn of the century marked the end of formal indentures at the LAOB in the same way that it did at the LFOA and the BOA in Baltimore.

¹³⁰ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of May 14, 1900, Notes on George Jordan; March 11, 1901, Minutes on David Stokes; Meeting of January 23, 1903, Discussion of Robert Patterson.

¹³¹ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 12, 1903, Discussion of Jervis Sandiford; Meeting of November 13, 1905, Case of Norman Fay; Meeting of May 14, 1906, Account of H. Grafton. For additional examples of LAOB boys who went as employees to wage-earning positions during the first decade of the twentieth century, please refer to the following: SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of June 11, 1900, Notes on Robert Blackhurst; Meeting of January 23, 1903, Case of James Tyrer; June 8, 1903, Discussion of William Killip; Meeting of October 12, 1903, History of Isaac Hamblett; Meeting of February 8, 1904, Focus on Frank Wilson; Meeting of May 9, 1904, Minutes on James Blundell, Peter Griffiths, and William Russell; Meeting of January 9, 1905, Case of Arthur Piercy; Meeting of October 8, 1906, Discussion of G. Murray; April 8, 1907, Notes on Samuel Parry, James Wallace, and W. Winstanley; February 10, 1908, Minutes on James P. Cane.

Chapter Eight: Once Outside the Asylum: The Realities of Dismissal to Unrelated Adults

In June 1872, Mary Ann Young left the LFOA, after asylum administrators arranged her indenture to the Reverend Sheppard of St. Thomas' Vicarage in Preston. LFOA officials heard nothing about the girl and her apprenticeship until January 1875, when the Ladies' Committee expressed its surprise upon learning the Reverend Sheppard's wife had allowed the girl to leave her situation without notifying the Committee. The Ladies possessed no other information about the girl, and her whereabouts remained unknown.¹ More than five years after the LFOA indentured Mary Ann Young, Baltimore orphanage officials sent Albert Cochran to live with Mr. Lee in Hampton, Virginia. Mr. Lee returned the boy to the HOF after only four months, in the middle of December 1879, and two weeks later the HOF Committee sent Albert to live with Mr. Bennett in Carroll County, Maryland. Mr. Bennett brought the boy back to the asylum in November 1880 because Albert was suffering from some type of unspecified eye problem, and it was another two years before HOF authorities were finally able to locate a lasting and satisfactory placement for the boy at the Manual Labor School.² At a basic level, Albert's and Mary Ann's histories hint at the variety of possibilities that children faced once they left the orphanages in Baltimore and Liverpool. The very different experiences of these two children certainly indicate there was no uniform post-asylum experience for the poor boys and girls who had resided in these institutions.

The histories of Mary Ann Young and Albert Cochran also suggest the complexities that children, adults, and asylum authorities in both cities experienced in cases in which children were indentured to or informally placed with unrelated adults. Between 1840 and 1910, orphanage administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool found themselves continually faced with the problematic issue of monitoring placed children, as well as with a large volume of complaints

¹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of June 3, 1872, and of January 6, 1875, Notes on Mary Ann Young.

² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Albert Cochran.

from adults and children engaged in unsatisfactory arrangements. A number of frustrated adults in both cities accused former asylum inhabitants of misbehavior, or complained that the children in their care were poor workers or were too unwell to serve. Unhappy children voiced a different set of complaints that were no less serious. They protested their masters and mistresses treatment of them, and lobbied asylum officials for assistance or acted on their own to resolve these difficulties.

What efforts did asylum officials make to monitor or follow-up on apprenticed children?

Though a significant number of asylum children in both cities entered the homes of unrelated third-parties between 1840 and 1910 as apprentices and servants, orphanage administrators never developed a coherent tracking program to check up on them once they left the institutions. Asylum authorities' efforts to monitor these children are best understood in terms of three periods. Between 1840 and 1869, orphanage authorities in both cities reached out to former asylum inhabitants with letters, visits and social gatherings, but it was HOF and LFOA officials who were most active in efforts to check on dismissed children. In the 1870s and 1880s, the monitoring of apprenticed or informally placed children remained much the same as it had between 1840 and 1869, though there were significant changes at the BOA and LFOA when it came to tracking children. BOA officials appointed an overseer to try to reverse years of monitoring indifference, and LFOA officials nearly terminated their observation of apprenticed children during these two decades. During the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, orphan asylum administrators in both cities, save for LAOB officials, renewed their interest in dismissed children, and recommitted themselves to this focus by charging their own representatives with this responsibility. Whether or not the surveillance of former asylum children broke down along gender lines in all three periods remains unclear, though it is evident that orphanage administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool tracked girls who had left these institutions more often during the period between 1840 and 1869 than they did boys, and that

boys who left the LAOB in Liverpool received the least attention of all dismissed former orphanage residents in either city when it came to post-asylum surveillance.

Early period (1840-1869)

Orphanage administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool employed a variety of different techniques to track dismissed children between 1840 and 1869, including the creation of a visitors' box, written correspondence, visits to the homes in which children resided, and the establishment of a Christmas party that was designed to bring children back to the asylum annually. Yet at two of these institutions, the BOA and the LAOB, officials demonstrated a level of indifference when it came to monitoring placed children.

The BOA Managers seldom discussed children after they left the asylum, and did not visit the homes they sent children into as apprentices between 1840 and 1869. The Visitors Box that officials placed outside the BOA soon after the asylum's creation perhaps best exemplified this laissez-faire attitude. The box allowed people to anonymously inform BOA officials about problems involving indentures, but this was the only real manner in which orphanage administrators turned their attention to former BOA inhabitants in these early years.³ BOA administrators did investigate the apprenticeships of a few BOA girls like Matilda Grimes and Sarah Heath in the 1840s, but in these cases, it was not the BOA Managers who initiated inquiries, but rather determined former asylum residents and their adult guardians who notified BOA officials about problematic placements.⁴ The BOA Managers attempted to broaden asylum knowledge about indentured BOA children in 1854, by resolving that "those who take children from the Asylum, shall on the expiration of their apprenticeship present them to the Board, or

³ WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of May 1820. Board Members discussed the Visitor's Box itself at this particular board meeting, and also a complaint that had been discovered in the box during the month. This objection involved a girl named Mary Burns, who had been bound to William Dawson in January 1820. The complaint was "against William Dawson for bad treatment of Mary Burns." It remains unclear from the Board Minutes what course of action the Board took in response to this case.

⁴ For the accounts of Matilda Grimes and Sarah Heath, see: WC, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meetings of November 3, 1846, and July 4, 1847.

otherwise make report of their character and prospects.”⁵ This resolution applied, however, only to the completion of apprenticeships, and BOA officials continued to make no effort to investigate children’s lives once they left the asylum and were actually in residence in outside homes as apprentices.

HOF officials were more pro-active than their BOA counterparts in their early efforts to follow-up on asylum residents. In February 1862, the HOF Committee sent seventeen letters to families who had recently taken children into their households, in an initial attempt to monitor placed adolescents.⁶ HOF officials built on this first information-gathering effort with visits to eight former HOF girls in February 1864.⁷ These visitors spoke with children and adults, evaluated the girls’ physical appearance and the education each was receiving, and gauged adults’ treatment and care of these children. Some of these visits suggested successful placements; Serena Goodison’s willingness to show HOF representatives her spelling book confirmed to the visitors that she was receiving a suitable education, while Fanny Parker’s guardians’ praise of the girl made clear that “she was their household treasure.”⁸ Other visits proved less satisfactory, and provoked officials’ concern. Annie Troy was “anything but cleanly in her appearance,” and Florence Taylor “did not look at all neat in her person.” Even more disturbing to the HOF visitors was the fact that Florence’s mistress did “not we think, treat her, as she professes to do, as her own daughter, [and] has not sent her to school, as she promised.”⁹ These visits provided asylum authorities with immediate feedback about the households in which former HOF inhabitants resided, and though these efforts were limited in their scope, they reflect the tangible efforts HOF administrators made during this early period to monitor some past asylum residents.

⁵ Ibid., Meeting of April 6, 1854.

⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864.

⁷ The former HOF residents that asylum officials visited in February 1864 were: Mary Bosley, Fannie Parker, Florence Taylor, Annie Troy, Annie Calle, Mary McWilliams, Annie Ball, and Serena Goodison; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864.

⁸ For HOF officials’ account of Serena Goodison, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, p. 70. See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, p. 68, for the HOF Visitors’ discussion of Fanny Parker.

⁹ See WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, p. 68, for these descriptions of Annie Troy and Florence Taylor.

Though visits to former HOF inhabitants' homes' allowed asylum authorities to interact directly with the residents of these households, there were limits to this type of evaluation as well. In five of the eight cases from February 1864, visitors encountered both adult women and girls together, and interviewed them in the presence of one another. This was problematic, as there was clearly a power inequality that existed in these homes, with mistress trumping child in terms of dominance. The HOF visitors were either unaware of or untroubled by this dynamic, and seemed unconcerned that in all five instances the women provided them with detailed comments in answer to their inquiries, while the girls remained virtually silent about their lives.¹⁰ Officials failed to comment on these girls' silence and were most attentive to what they actually saw in these visits, especially when it came to girls' physical appearance. Florence Taylor and Annie Troy were both cited for their disheveled appearance, while Annie Ball was reported to be "in a clean dress and apron" and Serena Goodison was said to look "healthy and comfortable."¹¹ These comments suggested HOF officials' were most interested in reading the bodies of these children for signs of sufficient care, rather than talking to the girls themselves in order to determine how they were actually treated in these homes.

HOF authorities' own perceptions of HOF children as workers and adults as employers, also impinged on the usefulness of visits to former residents, and on the feedback officials accumulated. Asylum administrators knew the majority of adults applying for HOF children intended to employ them as workers, and they supported this understanding of children as laborers. HOF administrators stressed repeatedly the services children might provide to unrelated adults, as well as the "habits of industry and useful handicraft" that were conveyed to children while they resided in the asylum.¹² This particular perception of children as workers directly influenced what visitors paid attention to when they called on these former HOF girls. One girl was recognized for her fondness "of all kinds of work," while another was reported to clean

¹⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, p. 68-70.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Seventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1861, p. 8.

“silver and glass as well as any one-has a taste in arranging a table; is quite a miniature milliner, and her capacity as hair dresser is equal to the adjusting of a water fall.”¹³ These comments emphasized children’s love of work, familiarity with it, and happiness in performing it, and reflected HOF authorities’ intense focus on the labor aspects of these placements, perhaps at the cost of inquiries into other facets of these arrangements. HOF visitors noted for example that Annie Troy’s mistress found her to be a good worker but untruthful, and that Annie Ball’s mistress reported she was “industrious and saved her many steps but would get pouty sometimes when not allowed to have her own way of doing things.”¹⁴ These observations made clear whether or not these girls were satisfactory workers, but they did not convey to asylum administrators what the girls experienced on a daily basis as children in these homes.

The notably different approaches and attitudes to monitoring adopted by the HOF and BOA during this early period were also evident at the Liverpool orphanages, where LAOB officials were far less involved in the tracking of former asylum residents than were their LFOA peers. Indeed, though LAOB authorities communicated in 1857 and 1858 with the masters of those boys recently indentured, and received good reviews from the majority of these men about the boys in their care, this marked the extent of their early endeavors to track apprenticed boys.¹⁵ This attempt was more extensive than that which occurred at the BOA, but more limited than the visits to apprentices and interviews with children and masters that comprised HOF monitoring during this early period of placement. The use of visitors and visits at the LAOB was confined during this period to initial investigations into the suitability of proposed apprenticeships, and to those rare instances in which adults contacted the asylum about apprenticeship problems.¹⁶ This inhibited use of visitors, as well as the restricted communication LAOB administrators

¹³ Ibid., Eleventh Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1865, Page 8.

¹⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Annie Troy and Annie Ball.

¹⁵ SHSR, Annual Reports, Boys Asylum, 1851-1860, Reports for the years ending February 24, 1858 and February 23, 1859.

¹⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of October 30, 1865, Example of James Park. There are very few cases in the LAOB records in which officials ordered a Visitor to investigate apprentices’ situations and complaints from either indenture holders or apprentices. Please see Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of August 27, 1866, History of RD Jones.

participated in about apprenticeships, illustrates how restricted and indifferent early LAOB attempts were to track indentured boys after they left the orphanage.

LFOA officials did not subscribe to the same type of apathy during this period when it came to monitoring placed-out children as did their LAOB peers. Like HOF administrators, LFOA officials employed two schemes to provide themselves with information about former LFOA girls and to keep dismissed girls connected to the orphanage. In the 1840s, LFOA authorities kept former LFOA residents “under the constant guardianship of the Institution” even after they left the LFOA, and provided deserving children who had to change situations with some form of temporary aid and even accommodation if possible.¹⁷ This early effort remained disorganized and unsystematic, however, and so in December 1859, LFOA officials established an annual Christmas celebration in an attempt to improve their supervision of former LFOA residents. The asylum was decorated, a tree was purchased, and all former LFOA girls were invited to return for the holiday to the asylum. Eighty young women showed up at the first Christmas celebration, and provided LFOA officials with intelligence about their own positions and about girls who were unable to attend. LFOA officials continued to hold this annual celebration during the next several years, and they stressed the “great satisfaction they felt at their [former LFOA girls] general demeanour and respectability and at the good characters they brought with them from their respective situations.”¹⁸ Asylum administrators also cited the girls’ affection for one another as “proof of their attachment to the home of their youth, and of the principles with which they are impressed and taught there.”¹⁹ These celebrations served a dual purpose. They not only allowed LFOA officials to reinforce that their efforts on behalf of these children had been successful, but they also allowed LFOA authorities to avoid the development and implementation of a widespread program to track former LFOA girls.

¹⁷ SHSR, Female Orphan Asylum, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending February 14, 1845, p. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid., Report for the year ending February 25, 1861, p. 7.

¹⁹ Ibid., Report for the year ending February 24, 1862. For information on the original celebration, see SHSR, Female Orphan Asylum, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending February 27, 1860.

1870s and 1880s

During the 1870s and 1880s, Baltimore and Liverpool orphanage authorities engaged in efforts to monitor placed children that were irregular and inconsistent at best, and negligent at worst. Administrators at the HOF, BOA, and LAOB continued to pursue nearly the same course of action when it came to monitoring as they had between 1840 and 1869, though BOA officials did during the late 1880s, attempt to improve monitoring with the appointment of an overseer to investigate the treatment of indentured children. Perhaps the most surprising change during this period, however, was the notable decrease in LFOA efforts to check up on placed children. The asylum discontinued its annual Christmas celebrations, and follow-ups on LFOA apprentices virtually ceased during these decades.

In Baltimore, the HOF Committee Members used the asylum's twenty-fifth annual report in 1879 to emphasize that "our indefatigable committee maintains a watchful oversight over them [former HOF residents], by a systematic correspondence, until they reach the age when the law relaxes our authority over them." They reported that they had sent out over sixty letters that year alone to children or adults involved in such arrangements, and had received mostly satisfactory responses.²⁰ In the 1880s, HOF administrators continued to privilege written correspondence when it came to former inhabitants, and to feature letters in annual reports, as proof of the success of these placements, and evidence of asylum representatives' diligence when it came to the supervision of these children. Yet there were real gaps in the knowledge HOF officials possessed about former asylum residents during this period, as they acknowledged in 1879, when they noted that "in these years some have eluded our guardianship; they have left the homes provided for them, and we have lost track of them. We call it 'bread cast upon the waters,' and trust to see if 'after many days.'"²¹ HOF representatives were clearly aware how limited their follow-ups on

²⁰ WC, HOF, Twenty-Fifth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1879, Page 8.

²¹ Ibid.

former residents had been during this period, but they also emphasized that it was only normal that an institution like the HOF was unable to account for all of its former residents.

BOA administrators were also frustrated during the 1870s and 1880s in their attempts to track former inhabitants, though BOA efforts at monitoring during this period never matched those at the HOF. It was not until 1887 that the BOA officially appointed an overseer by the name of Mrs. Garrett to monitor asylum children. Her efforts to investigate the situations children had been dismissed to were met with resistance and displeasure, and she reported she “feared those having the children bound to them resented any interest manifested by her as tending towards interference.” These experiences in turn, led Mrs. Garrett to ask the Board to instruct all adults to whom children were bound that “oversight would be exercised and made from time to time” into these cases.²² The hostility that Mrs. Garrett encountered suggests just how lax BOA officials had been in terms of following-up on children entered into apprenticeship arrangements. There had clearly been little effort to monitor placed BOA children and the homes they were entered into, despite the fact that asylum by-laws dictated that each Manager was “when the children are bound out, to inform herself of their situation, visit them, if in the city, and if out of the city, write to them, and encourage them to write to her.”²³ Indeed, so few visits to apprentices had actually occurred, that the BOA had to implement a new policy that actually established its right to track children once they were indentured out.

The BOA found it difficult to overcome so many decades of inattention to apprentices, and problems continued to plague the orphanage in the years after the creation of the overseer position. Edward Seibert’s father wrote to BOA Board in October 1889, some two and a half years after Mrs. Garrett’s appointment, in order to try to get information about his son’s whereabouts. The BOA Board told Mr. Seibert that the boy had been apprenticed in 1884 to a man in Harford County, Maryland, but that “since then there has been nothing heard of the

²² WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of March 7, 1887.

²³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending April 10, 1869, p. 5.

boy.”²⁴ This response suggests efforts to follow-up on former BOA children remained irregular, and that the overseer was able to effect little change in this regard. The experiences of John Cornelius reinforce these conclusions as well. BOA officials were shocked when John reappeared at the asylum in the middle of a storm in February 1892, complaining of unpaid wages and “almost without shoes and in much need of clothing.”²⁵ The boy had lived for the past three years with a man in Howard County, Maryland, and during this period there had been no attempt on the part of asylum officials to check on his situation. It had fallen to John to protest his treatment, and to pursue the wages and clothing his employer had guaranteed BOA officials he would provide to the boy, despite the fact that this was not John’s responsibility, but that of the BOA. His example, as well as that of Edward Seibert, makes clear the limited nature of BOA efforts to supervise former asylum residents during this period, despite the BOA Managers’ efforts to expand asylum monitoring.

The problems with monitoring that occurred at the Baltimore asylums during the 1870s and 1880s were not unique to that city’s orphanages. The LFOA discontinued its Christmas parties after the early 1860s, and this left administrators at that orphanage without their principal method of intelligence-gathering about apprentices. There were no efforts to substitute some other annual event for the lost Christmas fête, and asylum officials engaged in no active efforts to monitor placed-out children regularly. LFOA officials were occasionally given pause by cases such as Mary Ann Young’s, in which an apprentice was dismissed by her mistress and nothing more was known about the girl’s whereabouts, and they did investigate such cases.²⁶ Yet the investigation of individual cases did not translate into a coherent and consistent effort to observe

²⁴ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of October 7, 1889. Mr. Seibert had originally admitted Edward, as well as his brother, Harry Seibert, in the BOA in September 1879. The boy was nearly nine years old when he was apprenticed to Mr. May in Harford County.

²⁵ WI, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of February 7, 1893. John Cornelius was eventually returned to his situation, after the man he had been placed with promised BOA officials that he would pay the boy’s wages every two months, and the boy himself was notified of this arrangement.

²⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 6, 1875. Mary Ann Young’s mistress was a woman by the name of Mrs. Shepperd. According to the Ladies Committee Minutes, Mrs. Shepperd notified the Committee of this girl’s dismissal well after it had happened, and there was no trace of the girl. The Ladies Committee contacted the Gentleman’s Committee once they learned of this event, and asked the latter to investigate the matter thoroughly.

former LFOA residents once they left the orphanage, and monitoring remained irregular at the LFOA as it was at the HOF and the BOA. The only other notable effort LFOA administrators made to follow-up on placed children during this period occurred in 1883, when the Ladies Committee engaged in an investigation of girls placed out of the asylum between 1879-1880 and 1881-1883. Officials launched this investigation in response to the large number of complaints adults had recently lodged about former LFOA girls, and because there was “danger of injury to the reputation of the Asylum.”²⁷ The Ladies Committee discovered that only nine of the seventy-two girls sent out during these years had proven troublesome, and that four of these nine were improving in their situations. This limited investigation appeared to reassure LFOA administrators, as they made no further efforts to consistently monitor their apprentices or to systematically follow-up on their lives in the world outside the orphan asylum during this period.

Like their counterparts at the LFOA, officials at the LAOB devoted little effort during the 1870s and 1880s to the monitoring of placed children. These officials engaged in no regular investigations into the lives of apprenticed boys, and there was a large group of boys who simply were not heard from again after they were indentured. In those rare instances in which LAOB administrators did investigate what had happened to former LAOB residents, the boys themselves notified asylum representatives of problems with their placements, just as some of their LFOA peers did at that asylum. It was only after John Kirby and two other unnamed boys appeared at the asylum in January 1876, that LAOB officials began to investigate the realities of these boy’s lives. All three boys told tales of adult desertion, though the particulars of Kirby’s story and those of the other two boys varied somewhat. Kirby informed LAOB administrators that his master had recently died, and the two unnamed boys reported their master’s voluntary abandonment of them.²⁸ According to these two boys, their master had gone bankrupt, sold his

²⁷ SHSR, Female Orphan Asylum, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending December 31, 1883, p. 6.

²⁸ SHSR, Admission Registers, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1866-August 1880, Entry for John William Kirby. John Kirby was approximately eight and a half years old when he entered the LAOB in March 1866. The boy was a half-orphan whose mother was dead, and whose father resided in an asylum for lunatics. The exact date of the boy’s apprenticeship was not listed in the LAOB records, though he would have been fifteen in 1872, and thus eligible for

business and left the area, “and sent his two apprentices away without any provision for their maintenance.”²⁹ Though most male apprentices did not find themselves completely bereft of adult guidance during their terms of service, these boys’ experiences illustrate the limits of LAOB officials’ monitoring efforts, as well as the dangers that faced those LAOB boys whose masters did not honor their responsibilities to these children. There was simply no monitoring system in place at the LAOB during the 1870s and 1880s that offered former residents protection from such difficulties.

The 1890s and the early twentieth century

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, BOA, HOF, and LFOA officials reexamined the issue of supervising placed children, and articulated the centrality of asylum officials to this effort. The BOA Board of Managers criticized its members in March 1890 for having “entirely overlooked” the part of the BOA Constitution that required each female Manager to have a certain number of asylum inhabitants under her guidance, and subsequently began to require daily meetings between BOA residents and Managers.³⁰ BOA officials hoped this communication between asylum residents and Managers would continue once children were dismissed, and in April 1895, the Board proposed each Manager should also “follow them [BOA inhabitants] after they left the asylum,” and monitor dismissed apprentices in this way.³¹ The BOA was not the only Baltimore asylum to empower its administrators in such a manner during the late nineteenth century. HOF authorities appointed an Examining Committee to track former asylum residents just as the female Managers did at the BOA. The HOF Examining Committee checked up on former HOF inhabitants, and actually removed children such as Katie Imhoff, Katie Berger, William Canoles, and George Richards from situations they found unacceptable

placement. LAOB records make clear that there were no inquiries made into his apprenticeship after the boy was dismissed from the asylum.

²⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-May 1886, Meeting of January 1876.

³⁰ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of March 1890.

³¹ Ibid., Meeting of April 1, 1895.

during the 1890s and early twentieth century.³² HOF officials also hired a temporary visiting agent in July 1902. This agent held regular hours at the HOF, provided interested parties with information about the asylum, accepted applications from adults seeking children, and visited former HOF residents apprenticed to country homes.³³ These HOF appointments, as well as the newly expanded responsibilities of the BOA Managers, confirm late-nineteenth-century orphanage officials in Baltimore shared the belief that it was the duty of asylum administrators themselves to monitor placed children.

Like their counterparts in Baltimore, LFOA administrators formulated a new approach to the tracking of former asylum residents during the late nineteenth century that was predicated on asylum authorities' surveillance of dismissed children. At the LFOA, it was the members of the Ladies Committee who found themselves charged with this responsibility, after the duties of the Ladies Committee were officially revised and expanded in 1903. The Ladies were from this point onwards commanded to "keep watch as far as possible over the girls in service for the first two years after they have left the Institution."³⁴ The Ladies were also directed to "see that a temporary home was provided for any deserving girls who during the first two years are out of a situation," and in this way to make material provisions for those former LFOA girls whose situations proved unsatisfactory.³⁵ These commitments reflected LFOA officials' awareness that their past efforts at monitoring children had been insufficient and irregular, and hinted as well at the difficulties placed children had experienced as the result of LFOA representatives limited follow-up attempts.

Though representatives at the LFOA, HOF and BOA attempted to improve asylum monitoring of dismissed children during the 1890s and early twentieth century, there was no

³² WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Katie Imhoff; Registers, Book 8, Accounts of Katie Berger, William Edgar Canoles, and George Richards. For additional examples of children the Examining Committee checked up on and removed, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Annie Hohlbein, Grace Maud Main, and Bertha Sylvester Selden.

³³ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Forty-Eighth Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1902; Board Minutes, December 1901-June 1913, Meeting of July 28, 1902.

³⁴ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum Reports, Report for the year ending 1903, p. 7.

³⁵ Ibid.

comparable effort at the LAOB. LAOB officials continued to dismiss boys from the orphanage to situations they deemed suitable, but they did not make any asylum representatives responsible for the surveillance of dismissed children. LAOB representatives did occasionally hear about some of the asylum's former inhabitants, including David Birch, who was apprenticed to a blacksmith in Blackpool in April 1898, and Harold Harrison, who was discharged from the asylum in the winter of 1907 to work for a farmer in Chorley.³⁶ Yet the information they gathered about these boys came from the dissatisfied adults employing these children, rather than from investigations LAOB officials themselves initiated. LAOB administrators voiced no concern about tracking former LAOB residents at all in turn of the century Liverpool, formulated no specific plan to monitor their former wards, and engaged in no efforts to actually follow-up on LAOB boys, as did their counterparts in Baltimore and officials at the LFOA. The dismissal of boys from the LAOB marked the end of asylum officials' regulation of these children, and often a complete break between boy and institutional authorities.

Were there cases involving the serious mistreatment of asylum children dismissed to unrelated adults?

Histories from both cities reveal there was a group of former orphanage residents who were abused in the placements asylum administrators arranged for them. It remains unclear whether or not these occurrences were the exception or the rule, though these children's experiences hint at a dangerous disconnect between what orphan asylum officials intended for former residents and what actually occurred in some of these situations.

In Baltimore, the histories of Rosa York and Albert King illustrate the harm and neglect some HOF children encountered in the homes of unrelated adults. In June 1867, Rosa York left the HOF and her sister Rachel, and went to the home of Mrs. John Shanklin, who lived some

³⁶ For information on David Birch, see: SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-June 1921, Entries for April 1898; September 12-October 10, 1898. For the case history of Harold Harrison, see the same source, Entries for December 9, 1907-January 13, 1908; October 13-November 9, 1908. For additional examples of such cases, refer to: SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, LAOB, Boys Asylum, Entries for November 11-December 14, 1908, and November 14-December 11, 1911, Discussion of William Dodd; Entry for February 14-March 13, 1911, Minutes on Charles Schwarz.

seven miles outside of Baltimore. Fifty-six years later, HOF officials replied to an inquiry Rosa's daughter had made about her mother's family of origin, and asked Mrs. Barrus (née Rosa York) to tell them about her placement with the Shanklin family. Rosa's daughter responded that her mother's experience was "anything but pleasant," and went on to report that she was "illtreated, given no education, not allowed to eat at a table sitting and compelled to do the chores and housework, then beaten many times with a cow hide." Rosa endured this treatment for several years, and then fled to Baltimore after a particularly "severe beating." She traveled barefoot, and had in her possession only the twenty-five cents that an unnamed "lady sympathizer" had provided to her after witnessing Mr. and Mrs. Shanklin's mistreatment of her.³⁷ The sorry state Rosa was in when she fled the Shanklin household, as well as the narrative of abuse she recounted, make clear the horrors that Rosa endured at the hands of the very people HOF officials expected to care for her once she left the asylum, and demonstrates as well the importance of follow-ups.

Albert King's correspondence with the HOF Matron in January 1930 reinforced that Rosa York was certainly not the only former HOF resident who was overworked and poorly treated after being dismissed from the asylum. He revealed his master's [Mr. Matthews] failure to educate him, noting that the man was supposed "to give me my board clothes and send me to school for my services but I never saw [the] inside of a school house the four years and nine months I stayed there." He testified as well that his work in the Matthews' home was all-consuming, and that he regularly performed extensive field and house labor which exhausted him:

I had to keep up with the rest of the men. After my days work

³⁷ Rosa Ann York's daughter [Mrs. Laura L. Moses] corresponded with HOF administrators about her mother in November and December 1923. Her first letter to the asylum was dated November 12, 1923 and was sent from Chicago. In this letter Mrs. Moses explained she was unable to travel to Baltimore, and was writing to ask HOF administrators for information about her mother's parents. In the second letter, which was dated December 5, 1923, Mrs. Moses indicated she had received a reply from HOF officials, and went on to describe the realities of her mother's life with the Shanklin family. It is clear from these letters that Rosa and her sister Rachel had managed to stay in touch with one another after their dismissal from the HOF to different homes, but that Rosa had lost contact with Rachel after the latter's second marriage. For more information on Rosa Ann York, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870.

was done in the field I had most of the chores to do their [sic] were five cows to milk. I had to go get them from the pasture [and it] often would be dark before I got through. Sometimes I would think I would get in bed on one side roll over on the other and get up again and start the fires. I had all the fires to start before [sic] I went to the barn to do the chores then I would do a ½ days work before breakfast.³⁸

Yet it was not only overwork and no schooling that Alfred contended with in this situation. Mr. and Mrs. Matthews regularly “read all of my letters before they would mail them [and] also the letters my mother would send me.” The couple continued the subterfuge when Albert’s mother visited their home, allowing him to eat with the family at the table during these instances and praising him as a “wonderful boy.” Despite his own unhappiness, however, the boy’s primary concern was not himself, but his sister Mary, who also resided in the Matthews’ home. Only after Alfred achieved his sister’s removal did he finally flee from this household.³⁹ The boy’s protection of his sister highlights the emotional bond that existed between the two, and reinforces the tangible dangers some Baltimore children faced once they left the asylums and took up residence in the homes of unrelated third parties.

Accounts from the LFOA confirm that mistreatment of dismissed asylum children occurred in both cities, though the punishment Liverpoolian masters received in response for their misdeeds appears to have been unique to that city. The earliest of these LFOA cases involved fifteen-year old Mary Macnamara, who was apprenticed in May 1846 to Henry Scrivener for five years. Legal action was soon taken against Mr. Scrivener for his ill-treatment of Mary and his expulsion of the girl from her apprenticeship. The punishment meted out to Mr. Scrivener

³⁸ WC, HOF, Miscellaneous, Letter to Miss Isabella Wilmer from Albert Oliver King, January 30, 1930.

³⁹ Ibid. In all other instances, Alfred was expected to eat in the kitchen. For the history of another former HOF inhabitant who was severely mistreated in her placement, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Margaret Tudor.

suggests his vicious behavior toward this girl; Scrivener was forced to donate £10 to the Blue Coat School in Liverpool and to pay the costs associated with this case.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Mary was not the only former LFOA girl whose master's behavior towards her attracted the attention of asylum administrators. LFOA officials indentured Elizabeth Malcolm to Josh Pemberton in 1849, and apprenticed Sarah Perry to Harold Perkes in September 1850.⁴¹ Elizabeth and Sarah suffered what LFOA administrators identified as great cruelty in these households, and both girls' masters were tried for their unacceptable treatment of them. The Liverpool Magistrates fined Mr. Perkes £5 for his misdeeds, and sentenced Mr. Pemberton to two months imprisonment, which was the most severe of the punishments dispensed for LFOA apprentice mistreatment. These cases highlight the legal and financial repercussions facing abusive LFOA masters during the 1840s and the differences that existed between Liverpool and Baltimore in cases involving former asylum residents' mistreatment in their new homes. There is no evidence that adults who took children from the Baltimore asylums were sued or prosecuted because the children in their care were ill-treated. Unfortunately, there is also no evidence that the prosecution of abusive masters or mistresses in Liverpool continued beyond the 1840s either.

What types of complaints did adults lodge about the children dismissed to their care?

In Baltimore and Liverpool, adults complained primarily about the behavior, health and physical realities of the children in their care. Some unsatisfied adults protested that former HOF and LFOA residents misbehaved and were poor workers, and that HOF, LFOA, and LAOB children were in poor health. In Baltimore, a few adults voiced displeasure as well about the physical size of the former HOF inhabitants in their care.

⁴⁰ SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851, Entry for Mary Macnamara; Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, History of Mary Jane Macnamara. LFOA officials transferred Mary's indentures to Mr. Gunning in February 1847; according to the terms of this new arrangement, Mary was to remain as Mr. Gunning's apprentice for five years.

⁴¹ For more information on these girls, please refer to the following: SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1851, Records of Elizabeth Malcolm and Sarah Perry; Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Accounts of Sarah Perry and Elizabeth Malcolm.

The largest number of complaints in Baltimore involved former HOF residents' behavior and their poor work performance. The majority of the objections adults lodged about these children involved the latter's disobedience and their disdain for adult authority. The mistresses of Annie Saunders, Clara Ward, and Bertie Sheffield reported these children were respectively "untruthful, high-tempered and stubborn," "too difficult to manage," and "impertinent [and] sulky," and adults in charge of other HOF children voiced similar complaints.⁴² It was the bad behavior of these children that these adults ultimately found intolerable, and that led to the lodging of protests or even the return of children to the HOF. In a number of other cases, it was not children's conduct, but rather their poor work performance that drew the ire of their adult masters. When Mrs. Crough took Mary Ann Lanahan out of the HOF in July 1862, she expressed her desire to "bring her up well." After a few days, however, Mrs. Crough realized the girl did not know "how to do the work required" in her household, and so she promptly returned Mary Ann to her mother.⁴³ Some adults were even harsher in their assessments of children's work performance and the children themselves. Mary Dillon's mistress told HOF officials not only that she was dissatisfied with the girl, but that Mary was "stupid and could not milk a cow."⁴⁴ Her comments, like those of Mrs. Crough, suggest there was a significant difference between the training children received while in the HOF, and the work they were expected to do

⁴² WC, HOF, Register Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Annie Saunders; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Clara H. Ward; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Record for Bertie Sheffield. For additional examples of former HOF children whose masters and mistresses complained about their behavior, please refer to the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Catherine McWilliams; Florence Virginia Taylor; Mary C. Basler; Elizabeth Hieronimus; Martha J. Sancho; Emma Steiner; Agnes Moore; Nettie Buckman; Alice Taylor; Eliza Constadt; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Martha D. Wood; Bridget Sprangin; Margaret Kenly; Joseph J. Baldwin; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Amelia Chrie; Rudolph Constadt; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Grace R. Jackson; Maggie Cripps; Addie Spangler; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records for Mildred Kelly; Florence Tannencliff; Harry Schaum; Register Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Oscar Woltz; Margaret Snack; Ethel C. Blecker; Louisa Holt; Ella Fleischer; Register Book 10, 1903-1910, Example of Jennie Leila Riley.

⁴³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Mary Ann Lanahan.

⁴⁴ For the admission record of Mary L. Dillon, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, History of Mary L. Dillon. For additional examples of adults who complained about the work performance of the former HOF residents in their care, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Cases of Eleanora Ortl, Mary Sowers; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for Annie Bennett; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Examples of Jeannette C. Hammond; William G. Sipes; Richard E. McCullough.

in the positions asylum officials arranged for them. These HOF children were often ill-equipped to satisfy their masters' and mistresses' expectations.

Asylum officials in Liverpool also heard from a group of adults who proved dissatisfied with their apprentices because of the latter's poor work performance and misbehavior.

Misbehavior was central to a majority of these complaints and to the objections that Mr. Hurlton and Mr. Norwood lodged with LFOA authorities in March and May 1871. Mr. Hurlton claimed Margaret Cox had engaged in "unsatisfactory conduct" and Margaret Forshaw's guardian accused her of being "troublesome and careless."⁴⁵ Other adults voiced displeasure not about children's misbehavior, but about their apprentices' limits as workers. The frustration Elizabeth Clarke's and Caroline Rowbotham's mistresses [Mrs. Atherton and Miss Clegg] felt with these girls was palpable in their actions and their declarations to LFOA officials. Mrs. Atherton brought the girl before the Ladies Committee in June 1874, and objected to Elizabeth's "want of capacity or willingness to learn."⁴⁶ Miss Clegg engaged in this same course of action eleven months later, and declared she "would not keep her any longer, as for two years she had tried all in her power to train her both for service and for business, and now felt that it would be better for all parties

⁴⁵ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of March 1, 1871, and May 3, 1871. For other LFOA cases in which adults identified similar problems with apprentices, see Meetings of February 1, 1871; July 5, 1871; July 3, 1872; November 5, 1873; April 7, 1875; January 2, 1878, Discussion of Mary Price; February 6, 1878, Case of Margaret McCall; October 2, 1878, Account of Elizabeth Breckell; May 7, 1879, Case of Margaret Jones; June 4, 1879, Example of Elizabeth Brown; November 3, 1880, Discussion of Catherine Williams; April 6, 1881, Account of Maria McElroy; October 5, 1881, Cases of Jessie Mitchell and Agnes Jackson; September 6, 1882, Minutes on Jane Bond; October 4, 1882, History of Elizabeth Bradbury; January 12, 1884, Account of Emily Porter; April 1, 1885, Minutes on Sarah Shannon; October 7, 1885, Discussion of Emily Kirby; June 1, 1887, Example of Mary Ann Gore; July 4, 1888, History of Eliza Waddington; December 5, 1888, Minutes on Jane Brunner; January 2, 1889, Rosina Young; August 6, 1890, Account of Margaret Rawlinson; November 5, 1890, Minutes on Elizabeth Wilkinson; March 4, 1891, Case of Alice Baltenson; April 1, 1891, History of Mary E. Jones; July 1, 1891, Entry about Annie Jones; December 2, 1891, Example of Lucy Cook; February 3, 1892, Account of Ruth Stevenson; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meetings of April 4, 1894, Cases of Maggie Massey, Maggie Foster; August 20, 1894, Entry about Alice Turner; November 6, 1895, Minutes on Martha James; April 1, 1896, Account of Elizabeth Birch; June 2, 1897, History of Agnes Smith; January 4, 1899, Discussion of M. Dalton; April 5, 1899, Focus on E. Watthew; December 6, 1899, Minutes on Ada Walkley; Meeting of January 5, 1901, Discussion of Laura Stott; Meeting of September 3, 1903, Account of Emily Bevan; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of March 2, 1882, Minutes on E. Bradbury; Meeting of April 2, 1891, Notes on Mary Jones.

⁴⁶ LFOA officials sent Elizabeth Clarke to Mrs. Atherton's house four months before the woman lodged this complaint. In April 1875, Mrs. Atherton contacted the LC once more, to inform them that she had returned Elizabeth Clarke to her Aunt; see SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of February 4, 1874, June 4, 1874, and April 7, 1875.

that another place should be found” for the girl.⁴⁷ These adults clearly expected, as did dissatisfied masters and mistresses of HOF children in Baltimore, a level of performance that that these LFOA girls proved unable or unwilling to provide.

Another group of unhappy adults in Baltimore and Liverpool informed asylum administrators that the problem was not children’s bad behavior or their work performance, but rather their poor health. At the HOF, many of these adults not only complained about children’s health issues, but often returned former asylum residents because of these ailments. Alice Warmsley’s mistress [Mrs. Jarrett] brought the girl back to the HOF in September 1863, after having the care of her for less than a month. Mrs. Jarrett protested that Alice “had a sore head” and refused to keep the girl, despite the fact that she had been pleased with her up until this point.⁴⁸ Other adults lodged similar complaints about former asylum residents, soon after removing these children from the HOF. Mr. Wood reported within a month of the arrival of Sophy Heck in his home that the girl’s “blood seemed to be in a very bad condition,” and Mrs. Jessup allowed only a week to pass before she determined Kate Hinkley was “not healthy.” In both of these cases, these adults returned these girls to the asylum.⁴⁹ It remains unclear from HOF documents whether or not these children had innocuous ailments that might be easily remedied, or if they suffered from more serious health problems. These examples do make clear, however, that a number of adults had no intention of keeping children with health problems, and understood these ailments as justification for the return of these children to the HOF.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Miss Clegg took Caroline Rowbotham on as her apprentice in March 1873. The Ladies’ Committee made sure to tell Miss Clegg of Caroline’s problems with her eyesight before they placed the girl out. For more information on this girl, please refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of March 5, 1873, and May 5, 1875. For additional examples of apprentices whose masters or mistresses complained about their work performance, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of January 3, 1900, Case of E. Shepherd; Meeting of October 2, 1901, Notes on Sarah Jones.

⁴⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Alice Warmsley.

⁴⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Case of Sophy Heck; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of Kate Hinkley.

⁵⁰ For additional examples of HOF children who were returned to the asylum because of health issues, see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Willie Kauffman and Albert Cochran; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Example of Frank Young; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, History of Charles Lupus.

A group of dissatisfied adults in Liverpool also argued that the children in their care were unhealthy and unfit for the work to which they had been apprenticed. In September 1884, LFOA officials found themselves considering the cases of two such girls. Katie Edgar's mistress appeared in front of the Ladies Committee and told them that the girl was "in a very delicate state of health with diseases of the lungs and was not fit for her duties." This woman was "very anxious" to do anything she could to help the girl, and she said she would keep Katie until October, when the Committee could arrange to send the child to West Kirby for treatment.⁵¹ Emma Hargreaves' mistress, meanwhile, wrote to the Ladies Committee about the serious case of eye inflammation the girl had developed soon after she arrived. Unlike Katie Edgar's mistress, however, this woman volunteered no additional aid to the girl, and seemed intent only on notifying the Ladies Committee of a potential problem with the arrangement.⁵² Perhaps Katie Edgar's mistress was somewhat unique in this respect, as the majority of adults who communicated with Liverpool asylum officials about unhealthy children were seeking replacements for children they understood as unfit apprentices. The tailor to whom Richard Anson was bound protested that the boy had "defective eyesight" that made him completely unsuitable to work in the trade, as did the hairdresser in charge of John Hadley.⁵³ The grocer [Mr. Lloyd] that T. Sharples was placed with complained the boy "was physically incapable of doing his work," and went to the extent of presenting the LAOB Committee with "a medical certificate that he [T. Sharples] was unfit for active employment."⁵⁴ In these cases and others, adults in

⁵¹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of September 3, 1884, Account of Katie Edgar.

⁵² Ibid., Meeting of September 3, 1884, Minutes on Emma Hargreaves. Please refer to the following for other examples in which masters and mistresses objected that their apprentices were not fit for service: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of October 4, 1871, Account of Jane Norris; September 2, 1874, Discussion of Dora Gass; March 2, 1892, Entry about Ellen Galilee; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meetings of May 4, 1898, Discussion of Sarah Capper; December 7, 1898, History of Elizabeth Hopley.

⁵³ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meetings of April 25, 1870; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of September 1882. LAOB officials apprenticed Richard Anson in March 1870 to this unnamed tailor in Southport for six years; see SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum Committee, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of March 1870, Discussion of R.J. Anson.

⁵⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of March 16, 1871, Discussion of T. Sharples.

Liverpool seemed most intent not on getting the child assistance, but rather on extricating themselves from these unsatisfactory arrangements. In this regard they approximated the behavior of masters and mistresses in Baltimore who found themselves saddled with unhealthy asylum children.

Though adults in both cities voiced their displeasure about children's misbehavior, their limitations as workers, and the poor health that some of them suffered from, it was only in Baltimore that some adults complained about the physical size of the former HOF children in their care. When Mr. Williamson returned Isabella Keys to the HOF in January 1862, he cited the girl's youth as the problem. According to Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, Isabella was "too much of a child to be of service to the family" and was "too small" to perform the labor they required of her.⁵⁵ The masters and mistresses of Josephine Blake, Georgianna Parsons, Katie Kirchner, and Thomas Lawrence articulated similar objections about the children in their care to HOF administrators. These children were simply too little to do the work that these adults expected of them.⁵⁶ This complaint is perhaps not surprising, in light of the relative youth of some of these former asylum inhabitants. Thomas Lawrence was only seven when he was dismissed to Mr. Stier, who was a farmer in Howard County, and Katie Kirchner was somewhere between eight and nine years of age when she was sent out to Mrs. Lee's home. Though it was certainly not unheard of for working-class children to labor at these ages, the work they did was often of a secondary nature and required no amount of great physical strength or size. Mr. Stier and Mrs. Lee probably expected these children to perform jobs outside of this realm that their size precluded.

⁵⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Isabella Keys.

⁵⁶ The accounts of these children can be found in the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Josephine Blake; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of Georgianna Parsons; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Katie Kirchner. See also, WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Account of Thomas Lawrence.

What did asylum officials in both cities do in response to complaints adults lodged about dismissed children?

In both cities, asylum representatives reacted to adults who complained about the children in their care with occasional refusals to intervene in these arrangements, as well as with the transfer of some children, and with efforts to oblige some adults to adhere to the terms of indenture contracts. Yet Liverpool asylum authorities also responded to difficult placements in ways their Baltimore counterparts did not; the former made efforts to convince female apprentices to modify their conduct, threatened adults with financial penalties, and even cancelled some apprenticeships.

Asylum officials' refusals to intervene in problematic placements

In Baltimore, BOA officials demonstrated an occasional unwillingness to involve themselves in problematic indentures. The earliest example of this behavior occurred in response to Reverend Harrison's September 1846 letter to the BOA Managers, asking permission to transfer Matilda Grimes' indenture over to her sister. When the Managers finally addressed this request in November, they announced that "the Ladies having bound Matilda Grimes to the Reverend Mr. H. Harrison have no longer any control over her."⁵⁷ In this manner, the Managers emphasized their inability to render any judgment in the matter; the indenture agreement with the Reverend Harrison transferred the responsibility for Matilda Grimes squarely to him, and it was simply not the place of BOA officials to intervene in any quarrel, problem, or decision related to the apprenticeship. The BOA Managers were equally unhelpful when Mrs. Morris appeared in front of the Board in June 1884 on behalf of her brother-in-law Mr. Miller. Mrs. Morris told the Board that although Mr. Miller had only had the care of his apprentice Baker Pennell for the past month, he found the boy "perfectly unmanageable and he desired to know what he should do with

⁵⁷ WC, The Orphaline Society, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of September 1846.

him, as it was impossible for him to keep him.”⁵⁸ The Board suggested that Mr. Miller ask the Children’s Aid Society of Baltimore to take Baker and situate him, but this advice marked the extent of their involvement.⁵⁹ BOA officials made no real effort in either of these cases to intervene in, mediate between, or sooth the frustrated parties involved in these problematic indentures, but rather left it to these troubled masters to resolve the difficulties they were experiencing with their apprentices.

Officials at the BOA were not the only asylum authorities in either city to decline to intervene in problematic apprenticeships. During the 1870s and 1880s, the LFOA Ladies Committee occasionally refused to respond to the complaints about apprentices as well. In some of these cases, like those involving Annie Chappell, Hannah Halliwell, and Martha Marsh, the Ladies Committee responded curtly to adults’ complaints, noting that they “could take no notice of it,” that they were unable to “interfere in the matter,” or that they could not “take any action in the matter.”⁶⁰ In other instances, they were less abrupt in their exchanges with masters and mistresses, though the message was the same. When the adults in charge of Jane Norris and E. Litterton contacted the Board in October 1871 and July 1872 because Jane “appeared too delicate for the work required her” and E. Litterton had behaved badly, the Ladies Committee reinforced its inability to intervene, but also expressed its hope that Jane’s master would “give Jane another

⁵⁸ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of June 2, 1884, Discussion of Baker Pennell. For more information on this boy, please see WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy’s Book, 1847-1893.

⁵⁹ The BOA did dismiss a group of BOA boys to Mr. Palmer, who was an agent of the Baltimore branch of Children’s Aid Society. The CAS assisted the BOA with the placement of boys who behaved inappropriately in the asylum or in the homes to which they had originally been dismissed; the CAS also referred a few children to the BOA for admission. For more on these CAS-related cases, refer to: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of November 6, 1882; Meeting of March 5, 1883, Notes on Willie Spradling; Meeting of July 2, 1883, Discussion of Eddie Sills, William Spalding, Raymond Bailey and Andrew Granger. Meeting of February 4, 1884, Minutes on Harry Briggs; Meeting of February 1, 1892, Minutes on Willie Whalen; Admission Books, Book 4, Boy’s Book, 1847-1893, Entries for Frank Hugo; Andrew Bridger; Marion Knight; Charles Hoffman; Andrew McNeale; Charles Bolein; William T. Price; Richard Shedden; Edward Hugo; Charles Ferguson; Robert Reese; Daniel Ball; R. William Walker; Charles Simms; Joseph Bruchey; Harry Denman; Samuel Taylor; Harry E. Norris; William Devine; Charles Smith; Willie H. Alls; Edwin Alls; Henry Myers; Conrad Myers; Harry Broogs; William Diamond; Charles Wallace; James Finnessy; Francis Howard; Robert Warner; Edward Buck; Harry Seibert; Philip Hopkins; Daniel Granger; John Bees; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Histories of Richard Wirt; Edward E. Berry; Willard McComas.

⁶⁰ For the cases of Annie Chappell, Hannah Halliwell, and Martha Marsh, refer to SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of July 2, 1873, April 7, 1875, and March 30, 1887.

trial” and that the other girl’s mistress would “try her for a while.”⁶¹ The Ladies Committee’s refusal to involve itself in these cases does not appear to have been connected to requests to transfer apprentices or cancel indentures. Indeed, a number of masters and mistresses lodged similar requests during the 1870s and 1880s, and in many of these cases, the Ladies Committee actively participated in the resolution of conflicts. The decision not to interfere in some cases may simply have been one of a number of strategies the Ladies Committee employed when it came to problematic indentures. In some instances LFOA officials decided to deal with problems, and in others they chose to ignore these issues.

Asylum administrators and the transfer of children

Asylum authorities in both cities responded to difficult placements as well with decisions to transfer children from one situation to another. HOF officials appear to have had little choice in the matter, as the absence of formal indentures at the HOF meant children and adults were not legally bound to one another, and unhappy adults could simply show up at the HOF along with children in tow, and return these children to HOF officials. HOF administrators allowed a large cohort of children including Margaret Kenley, Clara Ward, Mary Ghiselin, Bertie Sheffield, Louisa Holt, and Richard McCullough to reenter the HOF in this manner during the second half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century.⁶² Though HOF authorities proved willing to allow children to reenter the asylum, examples reveal that they were not

⁶¹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of October 4, 1871, Discussion of Jane Norris; Meeting of July 3, 1872, Notes on E. Litterton.

⁶² For the case histories of these children, examine the following documents: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Margaret Kenley; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Clara H. Ward; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Record for Mary Ghiselin; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Case of Bertie Sheffield; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, History of Louisa Holt; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Account of Richard E. McCullough. For additional examples of placements that proved unsatisfactory and resulted in the readmission of children into the asylum and HOF officials’ efforts to place them out again, see the following examples: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Histories of Bridget Sprangin; Margaret Sowers; Georgianna Parsons; Annie Saunders; Mary Stewart; Joseph J. Baldwin; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Account of Sophy Heck; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Example of Albert Cochran; Kate Hinkley; Thomas Lawrence; Willie Kauffman; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Cases of Addie Spangler; Grace R. Jackson; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Mildred Kelly; Florence Tannencliff; Charles Lupus; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Records for Oscar Waltz; Margaret Snack; Willie Williams; Daisy Virginia Stephens; Ethel C. Blecker; Mary L. Dillon; Annie Bennett; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of Jeannette C. Hammond; Sophia Rosie Schmidt; Mabel Graham; William G. Sipes; Jennie Leila Riley.

allowed to remain indefinitely. HOF administrators sent Martha Wood out of the asylum in November 1864 to what was the girl's second placement, only several weeks after her first mistress, Mrs. Terrett, had returned her for having "behaved in a very disrespectful manner."⁶³ This pattern continued as well in the decades that followed, with children like Thomas Lawrence, Maggie Cripps, and Annie Bennett reentering the asylum only to leave its confines again once HOF authorities located alternative situations that HOF Committee Members hoped would prove more satisfactory.⁶⁴

BOA officials proved less willing than HOF authorities to transfer children, and it was not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century that asylum administrators allowed this practice. The earliest example of such a shift involved Fanny Tall, whose mistress protested that Fanny was "incorrigible" in November 1882. The BOA Managers began that same month to discuss the alternative arrangements that might be made for the girl, and by December, the Board had reversed its initial decision to send her to the Female House of Refuge, and had transferred Fanny to a new situation in Howard County.⁶⁵ Fanny was not the only disruptive child that BOA administrators dealt with in this way. BOA administrators allowed Page Fowler's mistress [Miss Horvitz] to return the "disobedient and rude" girl to the BOA in May 1896, and decided that same month to transfer the girl out of the asylum into the care of her sister, as Page's relatives desired her return.⁶⁶ Both of these examples suggest BOA officials were becoming more flexible, or were being forced to be more flexible, during the late nineteenth century when it came to apprenticeship arrangements. The return of children like Ida Davis and Albert Gardner, who had

⁶³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of Martha D. Wood.

⁶⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Case of Thomas Lawrence; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Example of Maggie Cripps; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, History of Annie Bennett.

⁶⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of November 6, 1882 and December 4, 1882.

⁶⁶ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of May 4, 1896. For another case in which a former BOA resident was transferred from his original placement to another position, please see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of February 1897 and April 1897, History of Joe Purnell.

engaged in no misbehavior but whose mistresses subsequently brought them back to the asylum, reinforces the waning power of BOA authorities when it came to the enforcement of indentures.⁶⁷

Like their peers in Baltimore, LFOA officials occasionally agreed to transfers if children had health problems or misbehaved, though such shifts were not always assured during the 1870s. Asylum authorities transferred Margaret Kiddock from her position with Mrs. Tanzley in February 1877 because the girl's mistress complained she was "too deaf to be of use in her household," and they acted in the same manner twenty years later, when an unnamed former LFOA resident's health deteriorated while she was in service.⁶⁸ Though LFOA officials proved willing to transfer apprentices who suffered from health ailments, they were more conflicted during the 1870s when it came to transfers involving apprentice misbehavior, and the masters and mistresses of Elizabeth Steel, Margaret Cox, and Elizabeth Fewson all found their requests to send these unruly children to other positions denied.⁶⁹ Yet this reticence was short-lived, and between the late 1870s and the mid-1890s, the adults in charge of Elizabeth Cavey, Margaret Price, Ruth Stevenson, and other former LFOA inhabitants won permission to transfer these girls because of the misconduct the latter had engaged in while in these households.⁷⁰ Though it is impossible to know whether or not these children were truly unruly, or if they were simply reacting to bad treatment or engaging in "normal" child behavior, their behavior was clearly being interpreted by some of the adults charged with their supervision as bad. Indeed, these case

⁶⁷ According to the BOA Board Minutes from March 2, 1896, Ida Davis was seventeen years old when she was placed with a Mrs. Leopold, who was the wife of the Chilean Counsel. Ida was to receive four dollars per month until she reached the age of eighteen, and she was responsible for clothing herself. Mrs. Leopold returned Ida in early October 1895, some seven months after she originally took the girl into her home. For more on her case, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of March 2, 1896 and October 4, 1896. Albert Gardner was six years old and his brother Eduard was four when the two boys were placed in the BOA in April 1897; both were originally from Westminster, Maryland. The boy's mistress [Mrs. Hagner] returned him to the asylum in January 1907, and provided BOA authorities with no explanation for this return. For more on Albert Gardner, please see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of April 1897; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1914, Meetings of December 1906 and February 1909.

⁶⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 7, 1877, Discussion of Margaret Kiddock; Minutes, General Committee, February 1892-March 1903, Meeting of April 8, 1897.

⁶⁹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 1, 1871, Example of Elizabeth Steel; Meeting of March 1, 1871, Discussion of Margaret Cox; Meeting of May 5, 1875, Notes on Elizabeth Fewson.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Meeting of September 5, 1877, Focus on Elizabeth Cavey; Meeting of August 6, 1890, History of Margaret Rawlinson; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of May 1, 1895, Discussion of Margaret Price; Meeting of April 5, 1893, Notes on Ruth Stevenson; Meeting of September 4, 1895, Notes on Elizabeth Birch.

histories verify not only that apprenticeship transfers occurred in Liverpool, but that they happened, as they did in Baltimore, as the result of children's misconduct and poor health.

During the late nineteenth century, LFOA authorities also proved sympathetic to transfer appeals that came from adults who had experienced significant changes in their own situations. The Ladies Committee moved Jane Davies from the Whittaker household in October 1880 because Mrs. Whitaker could no longer afford to retain the girl as a servant.⁷¹ Between 1880 and 1900, asylum officials continued to shift former LFOA girls to new situations when unexpected developments in the lives of indenture holders made it impossible for female apprentices to remain with these adults.⁷² The master of Helena Rowland and Margaret Cowan informed the Ladies Committee in March 1893 that he was moving to Canada, and asked to transfer the indentures of these two girls to Mr. and Mrs. Widdup, who had purchased his laundry business. The General Committee asked the Ladies Committee to look into this proposal, and after a satisfactory investigation, the girls' indentures were so transferred.⁷³ As this example demonstrates, the issue for asylum administrators was whether or not Mr. and Mrs. Widdup were the right people to hold these girls' indentures, not whether or not the girls themselves should be transferred. LFOA administrators clearly understood the girls' original master as unable to continue in his duties, and made no efforts to oppose the transfer of these children to a more suitable household. This willingness to excuse adults from the apprenticeships they had entered into with the LFOA and its former residents was unique to Liverpool, and there is no evidence that Baltimore asylum administrators ever allowed the transfer of children because the adults in charge of these children experienced a significant change in their living situations or conditions.

⁷¹ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of October 6, 1880, Discussion of Jane Davies.

⁷² For the history of Jane Smith, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of December 6, 1899, Case of Jane Smith. For additional examples such as these, please see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of October 2, 1889, Account of Emily Irwin; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of September 1, 1897, Minutes on Amy Griffiths; Minutes, Meeting of December 6, 1899, Discussion of Jane Smith; General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of December 2, 1897, Notes on unnamed girl.

⁷³ For this case, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meetings of March 2, 1893 and April 6, 1893; Minutes, General Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of March 2, 1893.

Asylum authorities' efforts to oblige adults to adhere to the terms of placing out arrangements

Though asylum administrators in both cities yielded to some of the adults who complained about the children in their care, they also acted to protect some former asylum residents' rights and prerogatives. When Grace Jackson's mistress [Miss Browne] suddenly declared after six years that she could no longer control the girl and wanted to return her to the asylum, HOF officials could not force her to retain the child, as there were no indentures in place. HOF authorities adopted another tact, ordering Miss Browne to pay ten dollars for her [Grace's] services." In this manner, asylum authorities guaranteed Grace received compensation for the six years of service she had provided to her mistress.⁷⁴ BOA officials acted similarly when they discovered in 1893 that John Cornelius' master [Mr. Ridgeley] was not remunerating him for his work, and in 1894 that Edward Seibert's mistress [Mrs. May] "had for a number of years been hiring out" the boy.⁷⁵ BOA officials chastised John's master, informed him that financial compensation of the boy was mandatory, and obtained payments for John that occurred at two-month intervals.⁷⁶ The BOA Managers' reprimand of Mrs. May and her husband was far more severe. The Managers concluded Mr. May's binding of Edward was unlawful, that they could sue Mr. May "for the wages he collected beyond what he had provided Edward," and they ordered Mr. May to remain responsible for the payment of the twenty dollars Edward was to receive at the age of twenty-one.⁷⁷ These cases illuminate the efforts Baltimore orphanage

⁷⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entry for Grace R. Jackson.

⁷⁵ For the example of Edward Seibert, see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of April 2, 1894 and May 7, 1894.

⁷⁶ For the history of John Cornelius, please examine the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of February 7, 1893 and March 6, 1893. BOA authorities launched an investigation into Cornelius' placement in February 1893, after the boy suddenly returned to the orphanage in the middle of a storm, looking ragged and asking for financial assistance.

⁷⁷ WI, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of May 7, 1894. BOA officials first looked into Edward Seibert's situation in April of 1894, when Mrs. May appeared before the Board, and informed them that Edward had recently fled his position and that she no longer had any employment for him. She asked to be excused from the payment of the twenty dollars she was obligated to provide the boy when he reached twenty-one years of age. It was only after the Board looked into the matter that they discovered the boy had not fled his position but that the Mays had hired him out to other parties, and that asylum officials realized Mrs. May's story had been untrue; see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 2, 1894.

authorities made to compel some masters and mistresses to fulfill their responsibilities to the children in their care.

Officials at the LFOA also engaged in efforts to force unwilling adults to honor their duties to the former asylum inhabitants in their care. Between the 1870s and the 1890s, the Ladies Committee mediated between children and their mistresses repeatedly, and forced some adults to carry out their contractual responsibilities to female apprentices. When Elizabeth Ellerton's mistress [Mrs. Parker] asked the Ladies Committee in September 1870 for permission to transfer the girl, the Ladies Committee agreed, but stipulated that "Mrs. Parker still hold [continue to be bound according to the terms of the contract] the indentures and was responsible for the girl."⁷⁸ This decision prevented Elizabeth's mistress from divorcing herself from the original indenture, or from her obligations to the girl. The Ladies Committee buttressed this stance as well in a number of other cases, most forcefully to those indenture holders it believed were trying to find any method by which they might shirk their duties. One such case involved Margaret Cox, whose Master wrote to the Ladies Committee, complained about her behavior, and asked to exchange the girl for another apprentice. The Ladies Committee refused, saying it "could not sanction any change or transfer." When the man persisted with his complaints, the Ladies Committee responded vehemently that "to whatever occupation he was compelled to put the girl, he must provide her a suitable home, and hold himself responsible for the Indentures."⁷⁹ LFOA officials' reply emphasized the legal tie binding master and apprentice, that there was no way for this man to evade his duties to his apprentice, and that he was the party ultimately responsible for Margaret Cox's well-being.

Decrees that emphasized the duties of the original indenture holder continued in the years that followed, as the Ladies Committee tried persistently to require adults to honor the apprenticeship covenant. Some adults determinedly complained to the Ladies Committee about

⁷⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of September 7, 1870, Focus on Elizabeth Ellerton.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Meetings of March 1, 1871, and April 5, 1871, Minutes on Margaret Cox.

their apprentices, in the hopes that they might eventually be released from their contracts, but the Ladies Committee just as tenaciously refused to allow these parties to fully emancipate themselves from indentures. When a Mrs. Scott appeared before the Committee and wrote repeatedly to its members as well during the early months of 1875 to object to her two apprentices' behavior, the Ladies Committee simply directed the Secretary to write to the girls about this problem. When the woman sent yet another letter in May 1875, the Ladies Committee stated that it "could not release Mrs. Scott from her agreement." The Ladies Committee did agree to allow this woman to place the girls in another household, yet it stressed that even with the transfer the female apprentices remained her overall responsibility.⁸⁰ Indenture holders who applied to LFOA officials to transfer their apprentices for other reasons, such as illness, were often still held accountable for children. The Ladies Committee told Maria Cartwright's sick mistress [Mrs. Maxwell] she could send the girl to a friend, but this was to be permitted only on the condition that Mrs. Maxwell continue to retain the girl's indentures, and remain the individual charged with the girl's custody.⁸¹ This ruling indicated LFOA officials were perhaps sympathetic to Mrs. Maxwell's poor health, but it also demonstrated how determined the LFOA authorities were to prevent indenture holders from extricating themselves from the contracts they had made with the orphanage.

Liverpool orphanage officials' responses to problematic placements unique to that city

Orphanage administrators in both cities responded to placement complaints in remarkably similar ways, yet Liverpool authorities also attempted to resolve some of these conflicts with appeals to the children involved, the enactment of financial penalties, and even the cancellation of apprenticeships. LFOA officials proved particularly concerned with convincing female apprentices to modify their problematic behaviors. In some of these cases, like those involving M. Lamb and Ada Jones, the Ladies Committee corresponded with girls and instructed them to

⁸⁰ Ibid., Meetings of February 3, 1875, March 1, 1875, and May 5, 1875, Minutes on S. Matthews and M. Lamb.

⁸¹ Ibid., Meeting of March 30, 1887, Account of Maria Cartwright.

behave more appropriately in their situations, while in others they had girls appear in front of the Ladies Committee or the General Committee.⁸² When Harriet Chappell's mistress brought her before the Ladies Committee in November 1873, the Ladies "spoke most seriously to H. Chappell and begged her to behave better."⁸³ LFOA administrators were not as understanding in their dealings with Jane Bond and Elizabeth Bradbury in March and September of 1882. The General Committee "severely remonstrated" Elizabeth and "pointed out the serious consequences to herself if such bad behaviour was continued," while the Ladies "severely reprimanded" Jane.⁸⁴ Though the tone that LFOA officials employed in the case of Harriet Chappell differed significantly from the anger they expressed in these other two cases, the message LFOA officials sent to all three girls was consistent. These girls were endangering their apprenticeships, and they must immediately alter their behavior, as they were risking not only the loss of the premium that was to be awarded to them at the end of a successful apprenticeship period, but also the pocket money and quarterly payments that their masters and mistresses were supposed to make to them for the duration of their indenture. This effort to reach out to problematic apprentices was unique to the LFOA, and there is no evidence that any other orphanage officials attempted to guarantee the continued survival of apprenticeships in this same manner.⁸⁵

⁸² For cases in which LFOA officials corresponded with girls and instructed them to behave properly, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 3, 1875, Cases of M. Lamb and S. Matthews; Meeting of September 5, 1877, Example of Margaret McCall; Meeting of April 6, 1881, Example of Ada Jones; Meeting of February 2, 1892, Discussion of Susan Steen. In some cases in which girls appeared in front of the LFOA LC, the LC actually invited adults to bring these children to the asylum. In other instances, indenture holders simply showed up at a Ladies Committee meeting with their unruly apprentices in tow. For cases in which girls appeared before the LC, please refer to the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of May 5, 1875, Example of Caroline Rowbottom; Meeting of March 7, 1883, Case of Amy Pendleton; Meeting of August 6, 1890, Case of Margaret Rawlinson; Meeting of March 2, 1892, Account of Ruth Stevenson; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of April 4, 1894, Notes on Maggie Foster; Meeting of August 20, 1894, Notes on Alice Turner; Meeting of June 2, 1897, History of Agnes Smith.

⁸³ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 5, 1873, Focus on Harriet Chappell.

⁸⁴ SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of March 2, 1882, Discussion of Elizabeth Bradbury; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of September 6, 1882, History of Jane Bond.

⁸⁵ It remains unclear from surviving LFOA documents what ages these girls were when adults began to complain about their behavior, and whether or not these complaints corresponded to particular developments in these girls' lives, like the onset of their interest in the opposite sex.

In a number of other cases involving problematic apprenticeships, LFOA officials employed the financial terms of the indentures in an effort to compel adults to retain their apprentices. Repeated problems occurred between Eliza Waddington and her mistress Mrs. Whatham in 1887 and 1888, and by November of the latter year, Mrs. Whatham demanded LFOA officials release her from the indenture. The Ladies Committee responded to this demand with the instruction that Mrs. Whatham must either keep the indentures, or pay the forfeit of £2.2 to Eliza, as she had not fulfilled her part of the trust. The financial penalty associated with terminating the indenture apparently dissuaded Mrs. Whatham from pursuing the matter any further, as the Ladies Committee members noted the following month that she had decided to keep the girl until the end of her apprenticeship.⁸⁶ The Ladies Committee cited the same choice and fee when Elizabeth Wilkinson's mistress complained about the girl to asylum officials in November 1890. According to the Committee, this woman could either continue as the girl's mistress until the end of her term of service, or she could pay the money, and free herself from the arrangement.⁸⁷ In this manner, LFOA administrators used the monetary aspects of indenture agreements to deter some adults from efforts to divest themselves of their apprentices, and to oblige them to fulfill the oaths they had sworn per these arrangements.

Though LFOA officials employed financial penalties in an effort to guarantee the continuation of some troubled apprenticeship arrangements, they and their LAOB counterparts did cancel some problematic apprenticeships. Apprentice health problems and misconduct triggered a number of these cancellations, as they also did transfers at the LFOA. The LAOB Committee terminated the apprenticeship of T. Sharples in March 1871 because of the boy's

⁸⁶ Though it is clear from surviving LFOA documents that Mrs. Whatham agreed to keep the girl until the indenture contract terminated, the number of years that remained in this apprenticeship remain unclear. Mrs. Whatham had originally provoked the ire of the LC in August 1887, by allowing Eliza Waddington to allow the girl to leave her service. The girl returned to the mistress, but the problems between the two boiled over in July 1888, and the LC had to convince the girl to behave in a more satisfactory manner and also persuade the woman to give the girl another trial. See SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of August 3, 1887, July 4, 1888, November 8, 1888, and December 5, 1888.

⁸⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 5, 1890, Case of Elizabeth Wilkinson. LFOA officials offered no further information on this case, and the outcome remains unclear.

“physical weakness,” and decided to cancel John Hadley’s indentures in September 1882 in light of the boy’s deficient eyesight.⁸⁸ At the LFOA, the General Committee rescinded the apprenticeship of an unnamed LFOA girl in December 1888 because the girl became too sick to serve, and ended Sarah Capper’s indentures in May 1898, after the girl suffered a collapse in her health.⁸⁹ In all of these cases, children’s inability to engage in prolonged periods of service prompted officials’ rulings, and led to the termination of these arrangements. Liverpoolian apprentices who engaged in acute misconduct also occasionally earned themselves such cancellations. LAOB representatives ended William Lloyd’s indentures in February 1862 after they determined the boy was guilty of “bringing charges against his master which could not be sustained,” and they terminated Henry Linstead’s apprenticeship in November 1866 after hearing “repeated complaints of [Henry’s] misconduct.”⁹⁰ In both of these cases, Liverpool asylum officials understood the serious misbehavior these male apprentices were engaging in as completely unacceptable, and as a valid reason for the dissolution of the boys’ indentures.

What types of complaints did children lodge about their masters and mistresses?

Though asylum officials in both cities regularly recorded adults’ objections to the asylum children in their care, they provided far less information when it came to children who complained about their adult masters and mistresses. This was especially true in Baltimore, where children often ran away from positions and returned to the asylums. Though BOA and

⁸⁸ For LAOB officials discussion of T. Sharples, please see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of March 16, 1871. See these same set of minutes, Meeting of September 25, 1882, for the account of John Hadley and his placement.

⁸⁹ Though LFOA officials cancelled the indentures of the unnamed girl and Sarah Capper, they attempted as well to provide these two girls with some assistance during their illnesses. The General Committee asked the unnamed girl’s master to provide her with some money and a good outfit, and the LC used money from the LFOA Benevolent Fund to send Sarah Capper to the Woolton Convalescent Home, in the hopes that she would recover her strength. For the history of the unnamed girl in question, see SHSR, General Committee Minutes, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of December 6, 1888. The Ladies Committee as well as the General Committee discussed Sarah Capper’s case history in some detail, and her admission entry into the asylum also survives; please refer to SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of May 7, 1898; SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, Meetings of May 4, 1898 and June 1, 1898; SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entry for Sarah Capper.

⁹⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 21, 1862; Meeting of November 7, 1866. For another example, please see: SHSR, Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of April 2, 1891, Case of Mary Jones.

HOF administrators mentioned the reappearance of these youngsters, they only occasionally identified children's objections to their situations. These accounts, and others from Liverpool, reveal that former asylum inhabitants in both cities who complained about their masters focused on adults' treatment of them, and on their failure to honor their responsibilities to these children. A few histories also reveal the existence of another group of former asylum children who chose not to voice their displeasure with their situations to asylum administrators, but instead took matters into their own hands, and simply abandoned these positions.

In Baltimore, former asylum residents who raised objections about their apprenticeships cited adults' treatment of them as the principal problem they faced. When Mary Perry appeared suddenly at the BOA in June 1836, she informed the Managers that her master was hiring her out, despite the fact that she still had eighteen months left on her apprenticeship, and that this was a clear violation of the terms of the BOA indenture contract.⁹¹ Sarah Heath was less specific in her description of her objections to her mistress' [Mrs. Williams] treatment of her, though she clearly came to the BOA in July 1847 to "make complaints of Mrs. Williams."⁹² And Ida Zepp also suggested to BOA officials that she was ill-treated when she fled her apprenticeship with Mr. and Mrs. Everhart in May 1894, though the differences between the more familiar BOA and the Everhart household clearly had much to do with her complaint. According to the BOA Managers, Ida "gave no satisfactory reason for leaving Mrs. Everhart but homesickness and general charges of cross language etc."⁹³ Former HOF residents also indicated adults' poor treatment of them was central to their unhappiness with their situations. George Kennedy fled the Roberts household in March 1873 when he was nine or ten years old, and though the boy said little overall about his return, it was clear that his master's behavior had triggered this action.⁹⁴

⁹¹ WC, BOA, The Orphaline Society, Board Minutes, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of June 1836, Account of Mary Perry.

⁹² Ibid., Meeting of July 4, 1847, Case of Sarah Heath.

⁹³ For information on Ida Zepp and her placement, please see WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of February 5, 1894 and May 7, 1894.

⁹⁴ Information on George Kennedy is contained in two HOF registers; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875.

George Moffit, meanwhile, absconded from his master's home and reentered the asylum in January 1879. He reported that his master "had treated him very cruelly," and that this had prompted his return to the HOF, even though he was at this point too old to again be admitted into the asylum.⁹⁵ Adult misconduct and misbehavior motivated these former HOF residents and a few of their BOA counterparts as well, to voice their discontent to asylum officials, and to seek assistance from them.

Liverpudlian apprentices who contacted asylum officials about apprenticeship problems also suggested how central adult behavior was to their dissatisfaction with these arrangements. John Cunliffe wrote to the LAOB Committee in November 1875 to complain about his master's treatment of him, and John Kirby contacted LAOB authorities in January 1876 and objected to the "conduct and treatment" that his mistress accorded him. These apprentices turned to asylum officials in an effort to guarantee they received what was due them as apprentices, and to make their displeasure with their adult masters and mistresses known. Priscilla Ellams also pursued this course of action at the LFOA. Priscilla wrote to the Ladies Committee in April 1899 to protest her mistress' behavior towards her, and inform asylum officials that the woman had not upheld her recent promise to asylum officials to put the girl's clothes "in good repair" or to pay her wages regularly.⁹⁶ The communication that Priscilla Ellams and these two LAOB boys entered into with Liverpool asylum officials indicates they understood the reciprocal nature of the indenture contracts and what was due them as apprentices, and Priscilla's letter also hints she was aware that an appeal to asylum officials might allow her to sever her ties with an objectionable mistress. The girl's efforts won her transfer to a new mistress, and the opportunity to work for a woman who would hopefully honor her responsibilities to her new apprentice.

⁹⁵ Though HOF officials identified George as too old to be readmitted, they did not specify his exact age. HOF representatives decided to transfer George Moffit to the Boy's Home at the end of January 1879. For more on this boy, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of George Moffit. For the account of another HOF boy who objected to his master's poor treatment of him, prefer to the case of Willie Headley; information on this boy can be found in: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892; Registers, Book 9, 1896-1916.

⁹⁶ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of January 25, 1876, Account of John Kirby; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-September 1900, Meeting of September 7, 1898, History of Priscilla Ellams.

While some apprenticed children complained to Liverpool orphanage officials about their masters' and mistresses' improper treatment of them and the latter's failure to fulfill their responsibilities as indenture holders, others contacted these orphanage administrators to voice their overall discontent with their positions. John Sharples' "expressed his great dislike to the business of a haircutter" in his communication about his apprenticeship to the LAOB Committee in November 1867."⁹⁷ Sharples' complaint illustrates the boy possessed a developed sense of his rights to work in a trade that he desired, and the frequent complaints Mr. Sweetman [Sharples' master] lodged about the boy suggests perhaps even efforts on John's part to upset the man and escape an unhappy placement. Sharples was clearly angry about his situation, yet not all of the communication children had with Liverpool asylum officials turned on this emotion. When former LFOA inhabitants Lucy Cook and Freda Richards contacted the LFOA in 1891 and 1903 respectively, their unhappiness with their situations was palpable. Lucy Cook actually begged "to be taken away" from her mistress' home in her correspondence with the Committee.⁹⁸ Freda Richards was more restrained in her initial letter to the Ladies Committee, in which she identified herself as "unsettled and lonely in her situation." Yet by the following month, she too was "begging to leave her situation."⁹⁹ These letters reveal not only these girls' sadness with life outside the asylum, but their expectation that Liverpool orphanage officials would assist them. These children clearly understood LFOA and LAOB officials as mediators and even guardians, and appeals to them as the proper way to deal with difficult apprenticeships, as did the group of

⁹⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of September 29, 1868. The LAOB Committee decided, in light of these complaints, to cancel the boy's indenture once the boy's master had found him a new situation. For the history of another Liverpool apprentice who voiced objections to her position and anger about her situation, refer to the history of Catharine Hughes; see LFOA, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of June 4, 1873. The LC placed Hughes with her mistress [Mrs. Barnsdale] in January 1873, and five months later the Committee received a letter from the girl in which she voiced her dislike of situation as well as her mistress. Catharine Hughes was unique amongst the group of Liverpoolian apprentices who remained in their positions and communicated their discontent with orphanage officials; she fled her situation in May 1874, after officials did not provide her with the tangible assistance she was seeking. For more on this girl, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of May 6, 1874.

⁹⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of December 2, 1891, Focus on Lucy Cook. The LC received a letter from the girl's mistress that same month in which she objected to Lucy's bad behavior.

⁹⁹ For the correspondence Freda Richards engaged in with LFOA officials, and the account of this girl, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of October 7, 1903 and November 4, 1903.

former asylum inhabitants in Baltimore who made similar appeals to orphan asylum officials in that city.

Though asylum officials in both cities heard from children who were unhappy with their situations, a number of former asylum residents in Baltimore and Liverpool chose to run away from households, rather than voice the objections they had about these situations. Case histories from the HOF reveal that former HOF residents fled positions at a range of ages. Eight-year-old Mary McCafferty and ten-year-old Harriet Hobbs found their respective placements so intolerable that Mary ran away in January 1859, only days after entering Mrs. Dean's home, and Harriet fled after approximately three months of residence in Mrs. Harken's household.¹⁰⁰ Other former HOF inhabitants, including twelve-year-old Theresa Rose and Alexander Venner, and fifteen-year-old Ella Rossman, acted in a similar manner, and removed themselves from positions they clearly found undesirable.¹⁰¹ Liverpool asylum children also quit their apprenticeships, rather than remain in situations they found untenable, though the exact ages at which they ran away remains unclear from surviving asylum records. Jane Blundell fled the Scott household in 1871, and absolutely refused to go back, despite her mistress' request to have Jane returned to her home.¹⁰² In the decades that followed, a number of former LFOA girls including Agnes Eccleston, Mary Kirby, Elizabeth Danning, and Maud Roberts engaged in a similar course of action, and simply abandoned their situations of their own volition.¹⁰³ Though female apprentices were not the only

¹⁰⁰ Both of these girls were nine years old when they were sent to these households, though this was the second placement for Mary McCafferty and the first for Harriet Hobbs; for the histories of these girls, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Cases of Mary Catherine McCafferty; Register, Book 6, 1881-1892, Case of Harriet Hobbs.

¹⁰¹ For WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Theresa Rose; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for Alexander Richard Marmaduke Venner; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Example of Ella Rossman.

¹⁰² SHSR, Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum., August 1840-August 1851; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of June 1, 1870, and August 2, 1871. The LC eventually decided to allow this girl to stay with her sister, who agreed to keep her.

¹⁰³ SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 7, 1877, Discussion of Agnes Eccleston; Meeting of October 6, 1886, Minutes on Mary Kirby; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of July 4, 1894, Notes on Elizabeth Danning; Meeting of May 1, 1895, Case of Maud Roberts. For other cases in which former LFOA inhabitants left their apprenticeships, examine the following: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of September 7, 1870, History of M. McThuna; Meeting of November 2, 1870, Case of Caroline Evans; Meeting of May 6, 1874, Notes on Catharine Hughes and Faith Simpson; Meeting of November 4, 1891, Account of Amelia Roberts; Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-

former orphan asylum residents in Liverpool to leave their situations, boys rarely engaged in this behavior, and it was far more likely that a boy would run away from the LAOB itself. John Wilson was one of the few LAOB boys to flee his position. He abandoned his apprenticeship to a Liverpool ironmonger in February 1862, after only two months of service.¹⁰⁴ Like his LFOA and Baltimorean counterparts, this child chose not to turn to the orphanage for any help, or to provide LAOB officials with any indication of his dissatisfaction with his arrangement prior to his decision to flee from it.

What did asylum officials do in response to complaints children lodged about their masters and mistresses?

Asylum officials in Baltimore responded to children's complaints about their adult masters and mistresses, in a very limited and haphazard manner. While officials at the HOF proved most concerned with finding these children new situations, BOA authorities seemed unable to settle on a uniform and coherent response to such complaints. Officials in Liverpool reacted to children's objections with inquiries into these complaints, and with efforts to make adults fulfill their duties as indenture holders or with decisions to remove children from their situations.

HOF officials' proved more focused on locating new situations for children who complained about their situations than they did on investigating accusations of mistreatment or punishing masters and mistresses if they had engaged in unacceptable conduct. Asylum officials did contact George Kennedy's master after the boy fled his situation, and they quickly concluded that he had "better remain at the Home and study as his education appears to have been quite neglected."¹⁰⁵ Yet they took no action against Mr. Roberts for his lack of attention to this matter, but instead readmitted George and soon placed him out again into another situation that they

December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1894, Focus on Minnie Hather; Meeting of October 1905, Minutes on Elizabeth Eaton.

¹⁰⁴ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of February 21, 1862, Notes on John Wilson.

¹⁰⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entry for George Kennedy.

hoped would prove more satisfactory. HOF officials appear to have taken even less interest in the claims of mistreatment that George Moffit and William Headley lodged against their masters. Asylum officials sent both boys to new situations, but there is no evidence they made inquiries about these boys' objections. In Willie Headley's case, the HOF Examining Committee assumed the boy was responsible for the failure of his placement, but decided to "give him a chance to do better" and placed him again.¹⁰⁶ All three of these cases illustrate the restricted efforts HOF authorities made to address children's objections to their masters, but they also reveal the limited options these children had and suggest the limited recourse asylum administrators may have possessed in such cases. Even if HOF officials did believe some type of mistreatment had occurred, as they clearly did in George Kennedy's case, the options available to them were few. There were no indenture contracts in use at the HOF which stipulated the particular treatment of children, and the absence of these contracts prevented HOF authorities from pursuing any type of remuneration, financial or otherwise, from masters who may have mistreated the former HOF residents in their care.

BOA officials reacted to children's objections about their masters in a more varied manner than did their HOF peers. Though BOA authorities did place at least one child who lodged a complaint into a new position, they also responded to children's objections with correspondence with the master in question and with indifference. The BOA Managers did write to Mary Perry's master [Mr. Atlee] once they discovered he had hired the girl out while she was still his apprentice, in order to "inquire why she was sent away and inform him that he is responsible for her Board." This appears, however, to have marked the extent of asylum officials' involvement in this matter, and there is no evidence that Mr. Atlee made financial amends to Mary.¹⁰⁷ The Board's response to Sarah Heath's complaint about her mistress Mrs.

¹⁰⁶ HOF officials transferred George Moffit to the Boy's Home at the end of January 1879 because he was too old to remain in the asylum; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of George Moffit. For information on Willie Headley, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Entry for Willie Headley; Registers, Book 9, 1896-1916, Discussion of Willie Headley.

¹⁰⁷ WC, The Orphaline Society, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of June 1836, Minutes on Mary Perry.

Williams was even less remarkable. The Managers appeared indifferent to the girl's claims, noting immediately after their discussion of Sarah's case that the Ladies had resolved to "give the children a holyday." They never discussed Heath's objections again, and what happened to Sarah Heath as well as Mary Perry remains unclear.¹⁰⁸ BOA authorities reaction to Ida Zepp's protests about her mistress seem to have fallen somewhere between the limited efforts they made to get Mary Perry financial remuneration from her master and the indifference they demonstrated to Sarah Heath. The Managers talked to Ida about her objections, but quickly concluded they had little merit, and the BOA Admissions and Dismissions Committee soon dismissed her to another situation. Indeed, BOA officials seemed less concerned about the veracity of Ida's claims than they were with Ida's decision to run away from her position and return to the asylum. BOA officials were alarmed by the number of girls adopting this course of action during the 1890s and actually passed a rule following Ida Zepp's return which prohibited former asylum inhabitants from staying in the asylum for more than one night after their dismissal.¹⁰⁹

Liverpool asylum officials responded to apprentices' complaints about indenture holders with active investigations into children's claims and with judgments that attempted to compel adults to satisfy their responsibilities to children, or with decisions to remove them from the adult involved. After John Cunliffe and John Kirby lodged protests about their masters, LAOB officials sent visitors out to the households in which these boys resided to investigate the conditions in these homes. They did not, as their counterparts at the Baltimore asylums did, write to masters and mistresses, or simply ignore the adults involved in these arrangements.¹¹⁰ Though LAOB officials provided no further information about John Kirby or his complaint, it is clear that the visit asylum representatives made to the home of John Cunliffe's master confirmed the man was not fulfilling his duties to his apprentice. The LAOB Visitor discovered that John's master

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Meeting of July 4, 1847, Notes on Sarah Heath.

¹⁰⁹ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of May 7, 1894, Notes on Ida Zepp.

¹¹⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of November 21, 1875, Notes on John Cunliffe; ; Meeting of January 25, 1876, Minutes on John Kirby.

had “neglected to supply shoes when required,” and obtained promises from him to provide shoes “at once” and “to allow him [Cunliffe] 2/6 a week.”¹¹¹ Authorities at the LFOA did not act in quite the same manner as their LAOB counterparts when it came to Priscilla’s Ellams’ April 1899 claim that her mistress [Miss Clough] was treating her poorly, but this was because they had already conducted a surprise visit to Miss Clough’s house in September 1898 in response to the continual complaints the woman herself had made about her two apprentices. During this visit, the LFOA Visitor removed Dora Mott, who was the other former LFOA inhabitant serving as Miss Clough’s apprentice, and informed the woman that unless Priscilla’s clothes were “put in good repair and the money paid regularly, the girl would be removed.” They followed through with this ultimatum in the wake of Priscilla’s complaint, and decided to reassign her to a new position as soon as they “found a suitable situation for her, so that she could finish out her term.”¹¹²

Did any of the orphanages engage in repeat placements of the same children?

HOF officials were the only orphan asylum administrators in either city to readmit previously placed out residents, and to engage in repeated attempts to dismiss children to satisfactory situations. Between 1854 and 1910, a large group of HOF children including Sophie Harvey, Willie Brown, Ray Murray, Pauline Latham, and Lena Gross became repeat asylum inhabitants, who left the asylum in the care of unrelated adults and returned at least once because their situations proved unsuitable.¹¹³ The histories of Maggie Campbell and Carrie Brown

¹¹¹ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of November 21, 1875, Case of John Cunliffe.

¹¹² SHSR, Minutes, Female Orphan Asylum, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of April 5, 1899; Meeting of September 7, 1898.

¹¹³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Account of Sophie Harvey; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, History of Willie Brown; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Ray Murray; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Case of Pauline Latham; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Record of Lena Gross. For more examples of children who were HOF repeat residents, refer to the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for A. and Elizabeth Hieronimus; Mary Creighton; Margaret McWilliams; Florence Virginia Taylor; Josephine Blake, Isabella Keys; Agnes Moore; Eliza Constadt; Nettie Buckman; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Examples of Bridget Sprangin; Margaret Kenly; Mary Sowers; Eleanora Ortl; Georgianna Parsons; Annie Saunders; Edith Berkley; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Cases of Arthur Thompson; Verney Smith; Pearl and Albert Cochran; George Wallace Smith; Kate Hinkley; Sallie and Carrie Brown; Thomas Lawrence; Rachel Fenton, Florence

illustrate how extensive HOF authorities' efforts could become when it came to placing repeat asylum residents suitably. Maggie Campbell's initial placement in April 1878 with a woman in Sykesville, Maryland, lasted only a few days before the girl was returned to the HOF without explanation. She remained in the asylum for a month, was sent to a household in Baltimore, and returned again to the HOF after only a month, in June 1878. The following month HOF officials sent Maggie to a woman in Harford County, Maryland, and though she remained in this position for five months, she again reentered the HOF in January 1879. It was on the occasion of her fourth dismissal, some fifteen months after her initial placement, that officials finally found Maggie an agreeable situation with a doctor and his wife in Baltimore.¹¹⁴ It took HOF authorities nearly as long to find a satisfactory situation for Carrie Brown. The HOF Committee dismissed Carrie to five different households between March 1882 when she initially left the asylum and August 1883, when asylum administrators finally located a lasting position for her.¹¹⁵ In these cases and many others, HOF officials demonstrated a real commitment to insuring children ended up in situations that were acceptable to all parties, and in this respect had a more flexible approach to the placement of children than did their counterparts at the BOA, LAOB and LFOA.

It is impossible to know the exact impact that repeated shifts between the asylum and outside households had on HOF children, though the history of at least one repeat resident suggests asylum inhabitants might use HOF administrators' leniency when it came to readmissions to disengage themselves from unsatisfactory situations. The child in question was Margaret Kelly, who was indentured in June 1864 to a family living in Ellicott Mills, Maryland. Margaret remained with this family for nearly six years before she asked them to return her to the

May, Henrietta Kirchner; Frederick Denny; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Mary Ghiselin, Richard Harrison; Harriet Hobbs; Rosa Baker; Wallie Iglehart; Emma and Addie Spangler; Emma F. Dulin; Maggie Cripps; Ethel V. Crittenton, Annie Hall; Registers, Book 7, April 1891-December 1895, Cases of Goldie Hudson; Mildred Kelly; Florence Tannencliff; Bertie Sheffield; Charles McDaniel; Katie Imhoff, Mary and James Fulka; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Lizzie Deck; Estelle Haskell; Margaret Gorman; Margaret Snack, William Leephart; Ethel C. Blecker; Ella Fleischer; Mary Blanch Selden; Mary L. Dillon; Annie Bennett; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Histories of William G. Sipes; Jeanette C. Hammond; Mary Fulka; Reuben A. and Lottie B. Pitcher; Sarah F. Mitchell.

¹¹⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Account of Maggie Campbell.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Entry for Carrie Brown. The girl's final placement was with a family that resided in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

HOF in February 1870, and asylum officials soon arranged her second placement with a family in Frederick County, Maryland. Margaret resided in this home for four months, and then “not deeming her home a desirable one,” she requested another transfer back to the HOF.¹¹⁶ Margaret’s requests illustrate the girl possessed a developed definition of what she was entitled to, and of what a satisfactory position entailed. Her actions also indicate she knew HOF authorities allowed children to return to the asylum from unsuccessful placements, and that failure in one position did not disqualify a child from being dismissed again in the future. She had after all, resided in the HOF for seven months prior to her original binding out, and had witnessed during this period the return of several children from failed situations. She clearly understood that she could quit the positions she objected to, that HOF officials would willingly readmit her, and that she might eventually enter a satisfactory situation, given the continued efforts HOF authorities made to find the proper situations for its repeat residents.

The case of Margaret Kelly must have proven instructive to other HOF inhabitants, as did those of other children who acted to remove themselves from their placements. After all, children residing in the HOF found themselves joined by former asylum inhabitants who were not castigated or expelled for their actions, but simply allowed back into the HOF. Resourceful children might use this knowledge to engineer their returns to the asylum in the hopes that their next placement would prove better. Yet it would be erroneous to assume that all repeat residents were able to exploit HOF officials’ propensity to readmit children to their own advantage. Once children left the orphanage, they were the dependents and subordinates of the adults in whose homes they served and resided, and though the HOF proved extremely agreeable to readmitting children, this fact in itself did not suddenly alter a power dynamic that favored adults. The experiences of Annie Saunders and Ethel Crittenton illustrate the disadvantages easy readmission and continual placement efforts posed to HOF inhabitants. Annie Saunders spent six years of her childhood shifting between the asylum and situations in search of a suitable position, and though

¹¹⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of Margaret Kelly.

there were several instances in which the girl was able to remain in one location for an extended period of time, each of these was disrupted by yet another move.¹¹⁷ Ethel Crittenton was placed a total of seven times between October 1896 and January 1901, and at least one of her mistresses returned the girl because she did “not like her well enough to adopt her, as she hoped to do.”¹¹⁸ The numerous positions these girls and other HOF residents were sent to, and the relative ease with which adults returned them to the asylum, suggest many HOF residents possessed little control or input when it came to their placements.

Conclusion

According to HOF and LFOA administrators, there could be no question about the success of the dismissals to unrelated adults they arranged for many former asylum inhabitants, or about the happiness and well-being of these children. Indeed, HOF authorities cited letters from former asylum residents like Mary _ and Henry Rodgers, in order to reinforce how positive these children’s lives were outside the asylum. Mary _ informed HOF authorities in 1865 that she liked her new home, and that she had “a doll and box of toys, and a wash tub, and a wash board, and a clothes horse.”¹¹⁹ Henry Rodgers echoed Mary’s sentiments, noting that he was “much pleased with his new home,” that he attended school every day, and that he also went to “Church and Sabbath School” as well.¹²⁰ LFOA officials also emphasized the successful nature of the apprenticeships they arranged for girls with unrelated adults. They noted that only three of the twenty-five LFOA girls apprenticed out between 1879 and 1880 had “given trouble to their employers” and that only six of the forty-seven girls apprenticed between 1881 and 1883 had proven not satisfactory.¹²¹ This data certainly suggested the dismissal of asylum residents to unrelated adults was a nearly perfect means of shifting children from the asylum to the outside world, but it was misleading, because it obscured the numbers of children who simply

¹¹⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Account of Annie Saunders.

¹¹⁸ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Case of Ethel V. Crittenton.

¹¹⁹ WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Eleventh Annual Report for year ending November 23, 1865, p. 10.

¹²⁰ Ibid., Twenty-Ninth Annual Report for the year ending November 23, 1883, p. 6.

¹²¹ SHSR, Annual Reports, Female Orphan Asylum, Report for the year ending December 31, 1883, p. 6.

disappeared after leaving the orphanages, as well as the fact that many children were put into unsatisfactory situations and found it difficult to escape such placements. It is impossible to know how many children were truly happy and how many were miserable in the situations asylum authorities arranged for them, because orphanage officials in Baltimore and Liverpool failed to investigate what happened to the majority of children after they left these institutions.

Chapter Nine: Return to Family

Though the majority of Liverpool asylum children and many of their counterparts in Baltimore were dismissed to unrelated third parties, another contingent of these youngsters left the asylums and returned to their families. Indeed, of the asylum children for whom dismissal arrangements are known, more than 62% of children in Baltimore and more than one-fifth of children in Liverpool were released to the care of their relatives. (See Table 7.1) Relatives sought the return of these children for a variety of reasons that ranged from changes in their economic status to their desire to keep families together or reunite them, and for other reasons that were unique to each city. They also encountered a range of responses from asylum officials to these applications. At least one group of family members was investigated, and though many family members had their applications approved, asylum administrators denied other requests because relatives were unacceptable, or because children were too young or voiced their opposition to living with their kin. Some relatives ended up with children, others gave up on these appeals, and still others utilized the agency they possessed to override orphanage officials' decisions about who should have the care of these children. One group of Baltimore and Liverpool relatives even engaged in efforts to find satisfactory situations for asylum residents with varying degrees of success that depended on which orphan asylum their kin inhabited.

What views did asylum officials possess when it came to the relatives of asylum inhabitants?

Children's residence in the asylums regularly brought orphan asylum administrators into contact with the parents and other family members of asylum inhabitants, yet asylum authorities had surprisingly little to say between 1840 and 1910 about the relatives of these children. Liverpool orphanage officials recorded no insights during these decades about children's families. Baltimore asylum administrators proved less reticent than their Liverpoolian peers, and their comments suggest a significant difference existed between HOF officials' positive understanding of children's relatives and BOA officials' more ambivalent notions about children's kin.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, HOF officials voiced their support for the dismissal of children to their families, and articulated their view that these men and women were productive citizens who turned to the asylum during moments of unexpected and unpreventable crisis. Though HOF by-laws required relatives to sign a statement swearing they would not “interfere with or trouble the Managers or the family with whom they [HOF residents] may be placed, nor claim the child until she arrives at the age of eighteen,” HOF officials regularly allowed for exceptions to this rule, in “cases of extreme *destitution*, when *temporary relief* may be afforded.”¹ It was this notion of temporary relief that was central to HOF officials’ understanding of children’s parents and relatives. According to the HOF Committee, the children the asylum housed were “mainly children of [the] virtuous and industrious poor, who from sickness or sudden misfortune, or in time of financial embarrassment and scarcity of labor, were thrown suddenly out of employment—people who toil one day for that which feeds them the next.”² Children’s relatives were not chronic applicants seeking relief, but rather hard-working men and women who had experienced some unforeseen calamity that had led them to appeal to the HOF and its authorities for aid. Indeed, it was this understanding of children’s family members that fueled HOF authorities’ willingness to make exceptions to the original asylum by-law that prohibited early exits, and to return children to their relatives on a regular basis.

BOA officials appear to have been more conflicted than their HOF counterparts when it came to their understanding of children’s parents and relatives. BOA administrators provided virtually no insight into their feelings about these individuals until the early years of the twentieth century. When asylum authorities finally did address this issue in 1902, they were clearly on the defensive against reformers who argued that the proper way in which to deal with poor children was to remove them from the city and place them in country homes away from their families of

¹ WC, HOF, Miscellaneous, Constitution and By-Laws, By-Law Number Nine.

² WC, HOF, Annual Reports, Report for the year ending November 23, 1861, p. 7.

origin. The BOA Managers argued that the country home dismissal of asylum inhabitants was simply “out of the question,” because “many of our children have either a father or a mother, and are eventually to be returned to a parent as soon as the child can be cared for by that parent.”³ In this manner, BOA authorities suggested the physical presence of relatives, and the rights of these relatives to guide children outweighed whatever dismissal plans BOA favored for asylum inhabitants, but they also revealed their own conflicted feelings about relatives and the return of children to them. The Board voiced its concern that in many instances the return of children to families meant the “retarding and perhaps the undoing of much that was for the welfare of the children,” and made clear it supported children’s return to family only because of the asylum’s need for “strict economy.”⁴ These officials clearly possessed doubts about the return of asylum inhabitants to their relatives, though there is no indication that these doubts ever translated into an actual effort to prevent children from going to their relatives.

Why did relatives seek the return of children from asylums in Baltimore and Liverpool?

Baltimore orphanage officials often noted what motivated relatives’ appeals for the return of these children, and authorities in Liverpool occasionally suggested what had prompted appeals as well. These accounts reveal that relatives in both cities asked to have children returned to them because they were able to provide for these children and because they were attempting to keep families together, either before or after a move. Yet relatives in Baltimore articulated other reasons as well for these dismissal requests that their counterparts in Liverpool did not identify as significant. The family members of youngsters at both the Baltimore asylums returned for these children in the wake of pronounced changes in family composition which resulted from remarriage, or because they required the work these children might provide to them. Relatives in Baltimore also applied to have children dismissed to their care for reasons that were unique to each asylum. HOF parents regularly returned for their children because of parental reconciliation

³ WC, BOA, Annual Reports, 1902 Annual Report, p. 10.

⁴ Ibid., Annual Reports, 1905 Annual Report, p. 7.

and improvements in parental health, while BOA relatives sought the return of children because the latter were of age and eligible for dismissal from the orphanage.

One group of relatives in both cities explained their appeals for the return of children from the asylums in terms of their ability to financially sustain children. In Baltimore, the largest number of these cases actually involved mothers of children such as John French, Amy Hogg, and Clinton Woolford, who suggested their economic situation had improved, and said they hoped or believed they could now provide for these children. These HOF and BOA mothers offered no other specifics about their situations, and though it is likely many had found employment and could support these children, it is not certain that this was true in all of these cases.⁵ While mothers at both asylums proved remarkably similar in terms of a newly acquired ability to provide for children, there was a notable difference in the number of appeals officials at each institution received from mothers who had obtained situations in which it was possible for children to reside with them. No BOA mothers indicated their appeals for their children hinged on these types of situations, or that they had attained such employment. At the HOF meanwhile, there was a group of women, including the mothers of Ida Reid, Maria Rogers, Thomas Hammond, and Rosa Froba who applied for children after finding situations that allowed each woman “the privilege of having her child with her.”⁶ The return of this group of HOF mothers to

⁵ For the admission record of John French, see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for John French. See the following for the histories of Amy Hogg and Clinton Woolford: WC, HOF, Registers, 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entry for Amy Hogg; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Notes on Clinton Woolford. For additional examples see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of Laura Bowman; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of Mary Lizzie and Henry Haupt, Josephine Smith, John French, Jessie Matthews, Thomas Connelly, Homer and Lawrence Johnson; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for John, Urias, and Maggie John; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Histories of Charles and William Hoffnagle, Amy Hogg; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Examples of Alma and Maggie Rickle; Walter Erno; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Records of Arthur and Robert L. Moore; Eleanora Amos; Jennie, Dora and Mary Henry; Kate and Frank Daily; Charles Edward and Herb M. Pensmith; Charles Holland; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Marie, Sadie and Leroy Peacock; Gertrude and George Parsons; Eva May, Thomas Jessop and Millie May Phillips; Clara Stella and Elsie Cain; Louisa and Kate Vogedes; Elizabeth and Margaret Verges; Henrietta Livingston; Thomas Elmer and Grace Viola Wright; Carrie Baudbender; Charlotte, Harry and Virginia Solomon; Elmer and Minnie Dungan; Cora Minola, Charles Edward, and William Howard Metz; George C. Watson; Dora Brashears; Edna Marie and Lawrence Winfield Allen.

⁶ HOF officials used this phrase specifically in the cases of Ida V. Reid and Maria Rogers; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Ida V. Reid and Maria Rogers. For the histories of Thomas Hammond and Rosa Froba, examine: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Thomas Hammond; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Account of Rosa Froba. See the following as well for the records of other mothers who returned for HOF children after having found situations in which they were allowed to have their children with them,

the asylum only after they had obtained this type of employment suggests these women were clustered in domestic service, or in other types of employment that occurred within the confines of a household, and also hints that these women possessed even fewer choices than their BOA peers when it came to their economic options and achieving a measure of economic stability.

Perhaps even more significant than the large number of HOF and BOA mothers who asked for their children because of changes to their economic circumstances was the rarity with which fathers made such appeals. At the HOF, the fathers of Grace and Eldred Householder, and Theresa and Amelia Naple, were the only men between 1854 and 1910 to make appeals for their children that were explicitly connected to changes in their economic situations. These fathers told HOF authorities in October and November 1900 that they could now support their children, and suggested they had remedied the previous problem of unemployment that had plagued them.⁷ HOF officials provided no other insights into these cases, and though BOA authorities encountered similar appeals, they were also quite vague about what had changed for these fathers. When they discussed the applications Mr. Brown and Mr. Schuberd made in December 1881 and March 1882, they noted only that Mr. Brown “felt he was now able to give her [his unnamed daughter] a good home,” and that Mr. Schuberd was able to “give them [George and Henry Schuberd] a comfortable home.”⁸ They were even less specific in their discussion of the appeals the fathers of Rosa Lang and Joseph Gray made in December 1883 and May 1884. In both cases, BOA Board Members noted only that fathers said they could now provide for their children, and offered no other information.⁹ Yet this lack of specifics did not conceal the significant shift that

see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, Cases of George King, Stephen Raybold, Kate Morrison, Emma Hildebrand; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record of Alphonsus Beiler; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Lewis Vogt, Orlando Smith; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for Kate Vragel; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Case of James McKenzie.

⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Theresa and Amelia Naple; Grace May and Eldred Watson Householder.

⁸ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of December 5, 1881, Notes on Mr. Brown’s application for the dismissal of his unnamed daughter; Meeting of March 16, 1882, History of Mr. George Schuberd. For more on George and Henry Schuberd, refer to: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 4, Boy’s Book, 1847-1893, Entry for Henry Schuberd; Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Example of George Schuberd.

⁹ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of December 3, 1883, Discussion of Rosa Lang; Meeting of May 5, 1884, Notes on Joseph Gray.

had occurred in all of these fathers' lives when it came to economics. These men had gained the financial means necessary to allow them to satisfactorily provide for their children.

Relatives in Liverpool also made appeals for the return of children that were rooted in their ability to financially provide for children, though far fewer relatives than in Baltimore suggested their appeals were linked to recent changes in their economic fortunes. In January 1872, Sidney Brook's married sister [Mrs. Sherlock] applied for her return, and promised to "provide for her [Sidney] and give her a comfortable home."¹⁰ This pledge of financial responsibility was enough to secure Mrs. Sherlock the release of her sister and in the years and decades that followed, the relatives of LFOA inhabitants like Mary Leinmark, Annie Harrison, Florence Sykes, and Elsie Mossman employed similar promises of economic responsibility and won the custody of these girls as well.¹¹ At the LAOB, children's kin also achieved the release of boys such as A. Patterson, Henry Atkinson, and John Mills with appeals that illustrated relatives' ability to maintain these children.¹² In a few LAOB cases, family members explained their appeals in terms of a shift in their economic fortunes. S.H. Jones' relatives declared only that "they could now support him," and William Glass' relatives informed LAOB officials that they were "now in a position to keep him themselves."¹³ Though changes to their economic situations did allow the relatives of children in Liverpool to ask for their return, these appeals were much smaller in number in Liverpool than in Baltimore overall. This certainly suggests relatives in Liverpool found it more difficult than their counterparts in Baltimore to alter their economic situation for the better and claim children, though parental death may have played a significant role in Liverpool as well. The majority of children in Liverpool were full orphans, and other

¹⁰ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 3, 1872, Example of Sidney Brooks.

¹¹ Ibid., Meeting of June 4, 1884, Discussion of Mary Leinmark; Minutes, GC, February 1882-February 1914, Meeting of January 6, 1885, Notes on Annie Harrison; Meeting of May 5, 1892, Focus on Florence Sykes; Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of April 1909, Minutes on Elsie Mossman.

¹² SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of August 31, 1868, Case of A. Patterson; Meeting of December 23, 1872, Focus on unnamed boy; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of June 1871, History of H. Stewart; Meeting of February 1872, Discussion of Henry Atkinson; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Case of John Mills; Minutes, General Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of September 9, 1901, Account of Walter Taylor.

¹³ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of January 1873, Notes on S.H. Jones; Meeting of October 1873, Account of William Glass.

members of their families may have been less likely to return to the asylum for them than their own parents would have been had they experienced a shift in their economic situation.

Relatives also asked to have children returned to them in the hopes of keeping families together prior to a move, or as part of their efforts to reunite family members after such dislocation had already occurred. In Baltimore, HOF parents regularly appealed for their children because they intended to relocate outside of Baltimore, and wanted to take children with them. Elisa and Charlotte Taylor's mother told HOF authorities in October 1859 that her husband had moved to Pittsburgh in the hopes of having better success there than he had had in Baltimore, that he had recently sent for the rest of the family, and that she was taking the girls out so that they might make this move.¹⁴ The family members of other HOF residents including Charles and Harry Bowers, Edith Hanson, Frank Zenanski, and Edward Hooper voiced similar intentions when it came to their dismissal applications.¹⁵ Many of these relatives intended to move with their children within Maryland or to other states in the mid-Atlantic region.¹⁶ Yet there was also some variety when it came to the intended destinations of these relatives. A few parents, including the mothers of Ferdinand and Alphonso Provost and Cary Dannelly, and the father of Kate, Alice and Frederick Urry, discussed upcoming moves to states in the northeastern, southern, and Midwestern parts of the country.¹⁷ There was even a small contingent of relatives

¹⁴ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Elisa and Charlotte Taylor.

¹⁵ Ibid., Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Examples of Charles and Harry Bowers; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Record of Edith Hanson; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Case of Frank Zenanski; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Account of Edward Demming Hooper.

¹⁶ For the histories of children whose parents were moving locally or to other states within the mid-Atlantic, refer to: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Carolina, Mary and Delia Schilling; Mary and Elizabeth McCann; Registers, Book 3, March 1861-March 1870, Accounts of John Thomas and William B. Connolly; Virginia and Rose Isabella Straney; Howard Fetchette; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Admission pages of Thomas and George Stone; Maggie and Louis Rhinehart; Sarah E. and Martha A. Clinton; Florence and Nora Goodier; Adolph and Theodore Weixalbaum; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Case of Ione Bent; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Irma, John and Raymond Qualey; Luther Cantley; Jessie Hayden; Susie and Ruth Miller; Edward Demming Hooper.

¹⁷ Ferdinand and Alphonso Provost's mother applied for their return from the HOF in March 1880. She said that she was moving to Massachusetts and that she could support her sons. Cary Dannelly's mother told HOF authorities in August 1882 that she was moving to South Carolina and wanted to take the boy with her. The father of Kate, Alice and Frederick Urry admitted them into the HOF in March 1873, and removed them in August 1873. He informed HOF authorities that he was moving to Chicago and would be taking his three children with him. For these records, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Entries for Kate, Alice and Frederick Urry; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Cary Dannelly; Ferdinand and Alphonso Provost. For the cases of other

who informed HOF authorities that they were leaving the United States and returning to their countries of origin. The parents of the Barron brothers removed them from the HOF in March 1874, after Mr. Barron regained his health and he and his wife decided to return to England, and Joseph Gibson's mother asked for his dismissal in August 1898 because she had decided to go back to Ireland.¹⁸ These parents and family members, as well as those intending shorter moves, acted to obtain custody of children prior to their relocations away from the area.

In Liverpool, the pattern was reversed when it came to relocation, with relatives actually appealing to have children dismissed to them after the former had already moved away from the city. The family members in this contingent proposed the long-distance transport of these youngsters and offered to cover the costs of this travel, as part of their efforts to reunite their families. Annie Williams' brother [Mr. Edward Williams] and Amelia Hay's uncle contacted LFOA officials in March 1873 and October 1900 with this type of plan in mind. Mr. Williams asked to have Annie sent to his home on Prince Edward Island in Canada, and Amelia Hay's uncle requested the girl be sent to him in New South Wales. The Ladies Committee agreed to these appeals, though they did require the men to send the money for the girls' passage, and they also asked Mr. Williams to make his sister's travel arrangements.¹⁹ LAOB relatives lodged similar appeals for the long-distance transfer of asylum inhabitants as well. Edward Tumber's relatives and Harold Gregg's sister contacted asylum administrators in March 1873 and October

children whose parents were moving to the Northern, Southern and Midwestern United States and applied for their return, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Discussion of Edith Hanson; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Examples of Joseph Basala; Clarence, Ivey, and Richard Sheckells.

¹⁸ For the accounts of children whose parents applied for their dismissal from the HOF and announced their intention to move to foreign countries, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Joseph and Frank Eden; Robert W., James M. and John J. Barron; Louisa, Charlie, Julius, William and Matilda Kruiker; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Records of Frank Zenanski; Mary Ann Smith; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Example of Charles Price; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entry for Joseph J. Gibson.

¹⁹ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of March 5, 1873, Minutes on Annie Williams; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of October 3, 1900, Account of Amelia Hay; Minutes, GC, February 1882-December 1903, Meeting of October 4, 1900, Discussion of Amelia Hay. According to the LC, Amelia was being sent to Sydney on one of the White Star line of ships. The LFOA Secretary was in the process of notifying the girl's Uncle of this fact, and was also busy trying to insure the girl remained safe until her family members claimed her at the end of her voyage. There were several other examples in which LFOA officials made clear their willingness to send girls in this manner if relatives provided the money for their travel expenses, though it remains unclear in these cases whether or not girls' relatives ever complied with this request; see: SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of September 5, 1888, Case of Jane Harrison; Meeting of April 3, 1899, Notes on Alice Dixon

1909 from New York, and asked for these boys to be transported to them. The LAOB Committee dismissed Edward to his family members four months later, after receiving the money they had sent to cover his passage and “part of [the] cost of [his] outfit,” and they released Harold Gregg even sooner, because his sister provided “the necessary funds for [his] landing” within a month of her initial request for the boy.²⁰ These children and their LFOA counterparts were reunited with their families because of the funds the latter could provide for children’s transport, and because of the desire these relatives had to reunite with their kin.

Though the relatives of orphanage residents in both cities asked to have children dismissed to them because they could provide for them or because they wanted to keep families together or reunite them, family members in Baltimore also returned for children because of remarriage, health improvements, parental reconciliation, because they needed children’s assistance, or because children were of age. At both the Baltimore asylums, one group of parents appealed for the return of their children after having remarried. Julia and Henrietta Ranke’s mother contacted HOF officials in April 1862, to inform them that she had married again and that she wanted her children back home with her.²¹ The mothers of William Ricper, Samuel and Mary Condell, John and Willie Padgett, Charlie Kane, and Gladys and Mildred Engler made similar reference to their remarriages, and a few hinted at the exact impact their shift to a new wife had in terms of their children.²² Annie and Willie Moore’s mother told HOF authorities in her February

²⁰ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of March and July 1873, Notes on Edward Tumber; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, September 1892-December 1911, Meetings of October 11, 1909 and November 8, 1909, History of Harold Gregg.

²¹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Henrietta and Julia Ranke.

²² Ibid., Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entry for William Ricper; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, History of Samuel L. and Mary Lizzie Condell; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of John and Willie Padgett. Charlie Kane and Gladys and Mildred Engler were BOA residents; for the admission records of these children and other information about them, examine the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 1, 1889, Focus on Charlie Kane; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1915, Meeting of November 1909, Notes on the Engler children; BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Records of Gladys E. and Mildred E. Engler. For additional examples of such mothers, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of James and Willie Owens; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Entries for Joseph M. Hunter, Lewis Jenkin; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Example of Ada Sanford; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Cases of Walter Simpson; John W. and Anne Clarke, Blanche and Alfred M. Shogogue, William Tyson; Registers, Book 8, Admissions and Monthly Reports, 1896-1902, Histories of Harry Earle, David Daniel Smith, Marie L. and Earle J. Haslup; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Admission records of Harry Nelson, Phillip and George May, Margaret E. and Anna May Harris, Robert Roland Johnson, Clarence R. Anthony,

1875 interview with them that she had recently remarried, and was “going to housekeeping.”²³ Her comments suggested her changed marital status meant a significant shift in her financial fortunes. Remarriage had provided her with the economic means to run a household and sustain her children, and had led to her request to have Annie and Willie dismissed to her. Records from the BOA demonstrate that marriage also positively affected some women who subsequently returned to the asylum to reclaim their children. The 1891 and 1907 remarriages of Frank LaPorte’s and Ethel Collison’s mothers supplied the former with “very comfortable circumstances” that allowed her to care for Frank, and enabled the latter to provide for Ethel.²⁴ These women gained financial security from their new marriages, and it was this change to their economic status that allowed them to remove these youngsters from the Baltimore asylums and reincorporate them into the family unit.

Fathers in Baltimore also profited from remarriage and sought the return of children from the asylums because of this change, though the benefits they derived were related to the physical presence of wives in the home rather than to increased financial security. Between 1840 and 1910, the fathers of Rosie and Lottie Yates, Rosa and Herman Obender, and the McKay children made clear that the key component in their applications for the return of their children was their recent marriages. The fathers in this group did not suggest, however, as many asylum residents’ mothers did, that remarriage had provided them with the financial means to provide for these children, but rather that the physical presence of their new wives had allowed for these appeals.²⁵

Walter Beach, and Alexander Russ; BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of November 2, 1882, Application made by Mrs. Stonecipher; Meeting of June 6, 1887, Focus on John Harvey Bramble; Meeting of October 3, 1887, Discussion of Joshua and Mary Poole; Meeting of October 1, 1888, Notes on Mrs. Myers; Meeting of June 3, 1889, Focus on Mrs. Kauffman; Meeting of April 6, 1891, Account of Frank LaPorte; Meeting of March 4, 1895, Account of Franklin Jones; Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of June 1, 1896, History of Isabella Wiseman; April 1905-December 1915, Meeting of November 1908, Minutes on Ethel Collison; Admissions Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Record of Walter Butler; Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Cases of Catherine E. Lichtenberg, Gladys and Mildred E. Engler, Ethel S. Knapp, Margaret P. Gale

²³ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Annie and Willie Moore.

²⁴ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 6, 1891, Discussion of Frank LaPorte; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1915, Meeting of November 1908, Notes on Ethel Collison.

²⁵ See the following for examples of HOF inhabitants’ fathers who remarried and subsequently applied for the return of these children: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Annie, John and Henry Sykes; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Louisa and Caroline Zell; Willie Kenly; Mary Disney; Registers, Book 3, April

Mr. Yates informed HOF officials in December 1900 that he could now “keep them [Rosie and Lottie] at home, in a household in which his newly acquired spouse would watch over these girls. The addition of the new Mrs. Yates to the household provided Mr. Yates with childcare options he previously had not possessed as a widower, allowed him to remove his daughters from the HOF, and to end the family’s association with that institution. The presence of Mr. Obender’s new wife had a similar impact on that family as well. Mr. Obender reported in August 1902 that he could “now take care of them [his children] at his home,” as the result of his remarriage.²⁶ Remarriage clearly allowed the fathers of asylum children in Baltimore relief when it came to the daily management and functioning of these men’s families, rather than the economic stability it meant for their female counterparts. The different benefits that mothers and fathers in Baltimore derived from remarriage reinforces the centrality of the nineteenth-century sexual division of labor to these men and women’s lives. Men’s duties as economic providers required the presence of spouses who could care for the family’s children and the domestic aspects of the household, while women’s roles in the domestic sphere, as well as the low wages they received in the work sphere, required the presence of spouses who would provide financially for these families.

There were also a small number of cases at both of the Baltimore asylums in which parents appealed for children because they required assistance within the home. These requests occurred far more frequently at the HOF than at the BOA, and primarily involved the mothers of asylum girls. In one group of these cases, the mothers of children like Mary McPoland and Annie Moran wanted their daughters returned so that the latter might assist them with childcare. Mrs. McPoland informed HOF officials that she had recently gotten a situation at a pickling house, and that she “wanted Mary at home to attend to two younger children” and Mrs. Moran stated she had recently changed jobs and had an infant at home that she needed Annie to care for while she was

1871-April 1875, Examples of Cora and Mary Kate Montgomery; Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Records of James Pridgeon; George and Eddie Koenig; Registers, Book 6, 1884-1892, Cases of Frederick G., Lulu and Harry Schaum; Rose, Sadie and Hugh McCoy; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Frederick William and Louis M. Schomm; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Histories of Joseph Edwards and Florence Sheedy; Lottie and Rosie Yates; Herman and Rosa Obender; Bertha and Marguerite M. Lehr; Susan V., Minnie M., and Jennie Petre.

²⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Lottie and Rosie Yates; Herman and Rosa Obender.

at work.²⁷ Other mothers required children's help with the piece work or outwork they performed within their own homes. Catherine Brogan's mother asked that the girl be dismissed to her from the HOF in November 1863, so that the girl might help her with her sewing work, and Marguerite and Elena Holland's mother removed them from the BOA in January 1896 because she wanted "her children to aid her" with the work she intended to obtain.²⁸ These examples, as well as those involving mothers who needed childcare help, verify that it was the real need for additional assistance that drove some mothers to return to the Baltimore asylums to reclaim their children. For some asylum families in Baltimore, the return of children was intended to alleviate occupational or maternal difficulties mothers were unable to resolve on their own.

Parents also returned to the Baltimore asylums to reclaim their children for reasons that were unique to each orphanage. At the HOF, parents asked for their children because they had reconciled with their spouses and were cohabitating together once again. Jennie and Joseph Dean's mother told HOF authorities when she appealed for their return in November 1869 that her husband had returned home, and had "promised to take care of his family."²⁹ Mrs. Dean's appeal suggested the positive impact her husband's presence had in terms of the family's viability, as did the narratives the mothers of Mary and Lottie Coxen, Annie and Lily Helfresh, and Dorsey Maguire provided HOF officials. Many of these women had entered more than one child into the HOF at the time their husbands had deserted them or become physically absent from the home, and all of these women returned for their children after their husbands had resumed their physical presence in the home.³⁰ A few fathers, including those of Joseph and

²⁷ Ibid., Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Records of Mary McPoland and Annie Moran. For the history of another child whose father asked to have her out when of age so that she might care for his younger children and administer the household on a daily basis, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of January 1896, Case of Anna Lee Marr.

²⁸ Catherine Brogan had been in the asylum for approximately twenty months at the time of her dismissal; see WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Catherine Brogan. Marguerite and Elena Holland were two short-term residents of the BOA, who remained in the asylum for approximately a month. For the histories of these girls, examine the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of December 1895 and January 1896, Records of Marguerite and Elena B. Holland.

²⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Examples of Jennie and Joseph Dean.

³⁰ Ibid., Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Accounts of Lottie and Mary Coxen; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Annie and Lily Helfresh; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Entries for Anne, Gertrude and William Taylor; Registers,

Fannie French, Eugene Madden and Blanche Talbot applied for the dismissal of children from the HOF after the return of wives as well. Yet men filed such appeals far less frequently than did women.³¹ The differences in the numbers of mothers and fathers who returned for HOF children after reuniting with a spouse reinforces the gender dynamics at play in these situations. Women's lower wages meant they faced greater economic constraints without a male spouse than did fathers who were separated from their wives, and the return of a male spouse meant an increase in economic stability and a woman's ability to keep her children within the household and not the orphan asylums.

The parents of some HOF inhabitants also sought their dismissal from the asylum because they had experienced a positive change in health that allowed them to again assume responsibility for their children. The mother of Annie, Emma and Willie Glass sought their return from the HOF in early September 1878, after she had recovered "from the spell of illness that obliged her to place the children in the Institution."³² At the time she filed this dismissal request, Mrs. Glass had only recently left the infirmary, and she was in this respect quite similar to a number of other mothers in this contingent. The mothers of Sophie and Willie Hirt, James Fisher, Irene Douglass, Clarence and Oscar White, and Howard Miller had only recently been discharged from the Baltimore medical facilities where they had been receiving treatment for undisclosed conditions and ailments, and they returned soon after these exits to ask HOF officials

Book 8, 1896-1902, Records for Alberta Miller, Oliver Miller. For the histories of other HOF children whose mothers returned for them after their husbands returned, please see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Accounts of Mary and George Maxwell; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records for Joshua and James Smith, Edward Turner, Annie Pursell; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Examples of Frank and Mary Poole; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Histories of Charles, John G. and Margaret Holland; Anne, Gertrude and William Taylor Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Louis H. and George F. Herzog; Dorsey Butler Maguire; Ella, Rosa, Loretta, and Charles Coates; Rosalie, Jack and Floretta Maurice Clinedinst; Oliver Miller; Eugene Godsey and Ethel Jones; Virgie and Ella Lowman; Mary Jane, John Irving and Mayfield Murphy; Alberta Miller.

³¹ Ibid., Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Records of Joseph and Fannie French; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, History of Eugene Madden; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Account of Blanche Talbot. For additional examples of fathers who asked HOF officials for the return of their children because their wives had returned, refer to the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Entries for Ida, Alice, Charlees Edward and Ann Elizabeth Sard; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Case of Irwin Eli Feucht.

³² Ibid., Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Annie, Emma and Willie Glass. According to HOF officials, both of their parents were sick at local infirmaries. Mrs. Glass had them admitted into the HOF in late August 1878, and returned for them as soon as she was better, some two and a half weeks later.

to dismiss their children to them.³³ Perhaps even more significant than the rapidity with which these women returned for their children was the nearly complete absence of men lodging similar requests. Henry and Samuel Greenwood's widowed father was the only formerly unwell father to request the return of his children. He applied for them in April 1902, and said he had "recovered his health and can give the boys a home."³⁴ The fact that it was overwhelmingly mothers who applied for HOF residents after their health improved suggests the threat that maternal illness posed to the stability of asylum children's families overall, and certainly demonstrates that there was a group of children in the HOF whose stay was only temporary, until their mothers' health improved.

Though there is no evidence that any BOA parents appealed for the return of asylum inhabitants because their health had improved or because of parental reconciliation, another group of parents asked for the return of their daughters and sons because these children were of age. Annie Jacobs' mother applied to have the girl returned to her in October 1881, and explained that the reason for her request was the girl's age. Annie was fourteen years old and was thus eligible to exit the BOA.³⁵ Other family members timed their appeals to coincide with children's recently gained eligibility for dismissal as well. Ernest Montgomery's grandmother [Mrs. Forest] appealed for his release in June 1882, when the boy was fourteen years old and "too old to remain longer in the asylum," and the fathers of Louis and Alger Browning and Harry Dennis acted in a

³³ Ibid., Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Histories of Sophie and Willie Hirt; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of James Milton Fisher, Irene Douglass, Clarence and Oscar White; Registers, Book 10, 1903-1910, Account of Howard James Wheeler. For other cases in which mothers left infirmaries and soon after appealed to HOF administrators for their children, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, History of Sarah Donald; Registers, Book 2, March 1860-March 1870, History of Maggie Sutton; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Documents involving Clarence and Elmer Williams, Esther Miller, Henrietta Kirsch. There were a few mothers who had not been in residence in infirmaries for their illnesses, and who returned to the HOF for their children as soon as they had recovered their health; refer to WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Record for Maggie Jones; Book 6, 1884-1892, Examples of Mary and Carrie Simmons, Samuel and Lawrence Stein,

³⁴ Mr. Greenwood placed these boys in the HOF in April 1902 when he was quite sick; for more information see the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Entries for Henry Burgess and Samuel Spencer Greenwood.

³⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of October 3, 188, Notes on Annie Jacobs.

similar manner, waiting until both boys were of age to present their applications for dismissal.³⁶ As these examples suggest, BOA residents' parents usually made these requests, though there were a few children, such as Ernest Montgomery, Alverda Davis, and Harold Holmes, who proved exceptions to this pattern, and whose grandmother, or siblings returned to claim them from the asylum.³⁷ There is no evidence that the relatives of HOF children waited until children were of age and then appeared at the asylum to appeal for their return, and the absence of such appeals certainly suggests more stringent dismissal rules were in place and were enforced at the BOA than at the HOF.

Did asylum officials make inquiries into the family members who applied for the return of children?

Asylum administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool did make inquiries into some of the family members who applied to have the care of children, but in both cities these investigations occurred irregularly, and were not compulsory parts of the dismissal process.

In Baltimore, the inspection of relatives and their situations were confined to the BOA, where officials occasionally scrutinized the appeals children's family members made. The BOA Board's earliest mention of these familial investigations happened in March 1835, when its members ordered the BOA Visiting Committee to make inquiries about whether or not Catharine Sullivan's sister and Caroline Pergoy's cousin were suitable to have the care of these girls.³⁸ There were no other mentions of this type of familial examination during the following two decades, and it was not until the 1880s that the BOA Board began to look more frequently into relatives seeking the dismissal of BOA inhabitants. BOA officials made inquiries into the

³⁶ Ibid., Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of June 5, 1882, Notes on Ernest Montgomery; Meeting of April 1, 1889, Discussion of Louis Browning; Meeting of March 6, 1893, Minutes concerning Harry Dennis; Meeting of June 4, 1894, Account of Alger Browning.

³⁷ Alverda Davis' married sister [Mrs. Wilson] applied for the girl's dismissal in March 1886, and Harold Holmes' brother asked for his return in December 1892. For more on these cases, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of June 5, 1882, Discussion of Ernest Montgomery; March 1, 1886, Notes on Alverda Davis; Meeting of December 5, 1892, Focus on Harold Holmes.

³⁸ WC, The Orphaline Society, January 1819-January 1857, Meeting of March 2, 1835, Accounts of Catharine Sullivan and Caroline Pergoy.

appeals for dismissal filed by Willie Frederick's and Fielder and Wallace Martindale's mothers in November 1883 and April 1884, as well as into the applications made by the family members of Walter Butler, Ambrose Whaley, George and Frederick Green, and other children between 1884 and 1910 before deciding whether or not to allow the return of these children.³⁹ The rise in the number of these investigations certainly suggests BOA officials were more concerned with the issue of relative suitability during the late nineteenth century than they had been in earlier periods. Yet these evaluations continued to occur haphazardly and remained an optional element of the dismissal process at the BOA.

Asylum officials at the LFOA and LAOB also investigated family members seeking the return of children, though as in Baltimore, these inquiries occurred only infrequently, and were not a precondition to the departure of a child. LFOA officials first mentioned this type of investigation in February 1874, when they decided to make inquiries about Harriet Norrich's aunt, who had asked to have the girl dismissed to her.⁴⁰ During the 1880s and 1890s, LFOA authorities made similar inquiries when the family members of girls like Bettina Foust, Ellen Prescott, and Elsie Mossman applied to remove these girls, yet this type of scrutiny remained rare overall when it came to Liverpool asylum girls' relatives.⁴¹ At the LAOB, these inquiries were

³⁹ See the following for the appeal Walter Butler's made for him: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of November 5, 1883. For information on the application Mrs. Martindale lodged with BOA officials for the return of her two sons and on the boys themselves, see the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of April 7, 1884 and May 5, 1884; BOA, Admission Books, Book 6, Males, 1887-1898, Entries for Fielder and Wallace Martindale. For other cases in which BOA officials investigated children's relatives, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting; Meetings of June 2, 1884 and July 7, 1884, Discussion of Walter Butler; Meeting of October 5, 1885 and November 2, 1885, Case of Ambrose Whaley; Meeting of November 2, 1885, Accounts of George and Frederick Green; Meeting of May 1893, Notes on Rosy Schaffer; Meeting of October 1, 1895, Histories of Alice and Bessie Groves; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1915, Meetings of November and December 1909, Example of Vjera Campbell.

⁴⁰ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 4, 1874.

⁴¹ It remains unclear from surviving LFOA documents whether or not Bettina Foust's Uncle and Ellen Prescott's Aunt were granted custody of these children; asylum officials said nothing more about the results of investigations into these relatives. Elsie Mossman's stepfather asked for the girl's return in April 1909, and the LC sent several committee members to discuss the matter with this man that same month. The Visitors reported that Elsie's stepfather had recently found employment with the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board, and determined he was a "very respectable man" who was in a "position to give Elsie a good home;" they agreed to return the girl to him that same month. SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of February 2, 1881 and March 2, 1881, Notes on Bettina Foust; Minutes, GC, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of July 2, 1891, History of Ellen Prescott; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of June 6, 1894; Meeting of April 1909, Notes concerning Elsie Mossman. For additional examples, see: SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 5, 1887, Discussion of Rose Coveney; Minutes, GC, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of July 4, 1894, Discussion of Edith Johnson.

even more limited in their scope. The only investigation LAOB officials mentioned prior to 1900 occurred in May 1879, when they stated that Thomas McGirty would be allowed to go to his sister “if upon enquiry by Mr. Bolton, it seems desirable.”⁴² In the early years of the twentieth century this pattern reversed, as LAOB administrators increased the numbers of inquiries they conducted into the family members asking for the return of LAOB boys, and LFOA authorities virtually ceased investigations. At the LAOB, the sisters of James Thomas, Albert Price, and Joseph Calveley, the brothers of Fred Rogan and Thomas Boothroyd, and the Uncle of Alfred Averill all found themselves subject to this type of inquiry in response to their appeals for the return of these boys.⁴³ The numeric increase in these investigations at the LAOB suggest increased diligence on the part of the LAOB Committee, yet as in Baltimore, these inquiries continued to occur only sporadically.

Was there a group of asylum children in both cities who were regularly dismissed to their relatives?

Asylum officials in Liverpool returned a large group of girls and a smaller number of boys to their relatives because the children in question were unfit for service. In August 1851, LFOA officials realized Emma Stone was “delicate and asthmatic,” and when they dismissed the girl two years later, it was not via indenture as a servant, but to the care of her relatives.⁴⁴ They continued to return unhealthy children in this manner, and though some girls such as Sarah Black, Annie Higgins, Elizabeth Brocklebank, Mary Johnson, and Ellen Prescott were close to, had achieved, or were over their age of majority at the time of their dismissal, there was also a

⁴² Thomas McGinty was dismissed to his relatives in August 1879; for the history of this boy, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 26, 1879, Focus on Thomas McGinty. For more on this boy and his dismissal from the asylum, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meetings of May 1879 and August 1879, Discussion of Thomas McGinty.

⁴³ Albert Price, Fred Rogan and Thomas Boothroyd were sent to their siblings, but James Thomas was not dismissed to his sister. Whether or not Joseph Calveley and Alfred Averill were returned to their relatives remains unclear from LAOB documents. For the histories of these boys, examine the following: SHSR, Minutes, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of October 8, 1900, Account of James Thomas; Meeting of April 10, 1905, Discussion of Albert Price; Meeting of September 14, 1908, History of Joseph Calveley; Meeting of February 10, 1902, Notes on Fred Rogan; Meeting of September 14, 1903, History of Thomas Boothroyd; Meeting of September 12, 1904, Account of Alfred Averill.

⁴⁴ SHSR, Discharge Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Entry for Emma Simpson Stone.

number of unwell girls who were dismissed to relatives well before they reached the age of sixteen.⁴⁵ In all of these cases, the reason why girls were returned to relatives was the same. These girls were “unfit for domestic service,” or “delicate,” and thus ineligible for the normal exit arrangements asylum officials usually made for LFOA inhabitants.⁴⁶ By 1910, LFOA officials had dismissed at least fifty-one girls in this manner, and this group of unhealthy girls comprised the largest contingent of LFOA inhabitants dismissed to relatives.⁴⁷ At the LAOB, this type of

⁴⁵ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 4, 1874, Case of Sarah Black; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of November 7, 1894, Notes on Ellen Prescott; Meeting of May 1, 1895, Discussion of Elizabeth Brocklebank; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Cases of Elizabeth Brocklebank, Mary Johnson, Ellen Prescott. For additional examples of such girls, refer to: SHSR, Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Account of Mary Ann Halpin; Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of June 5, 1878, Discussion of Augusta Bradbury, Meeting of January 1, 1879, Account of Ann Bell, March 4, 1880, Focus on Margaret Crilley; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, April 1867-February 1875, Examples of Augusta Alice Bradbury, Ann Bell, and Margaret Crilley; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of June 5, 1896, Discussion of Clara Williams, Meeting of April 1, 1896, Case of Hannah Waterhouse, Meeting of December 2, 1896, Notes on Jane Clementine Laurenson, Meeting of October 1904, Notes on Agnes Rogers; Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, History of Clara Williams, Hannah Waterhouse, Jane Clementine Laurenson, Mary Johnson; Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1904, Records of Florence Williams, Ethel C. Lawrence, Georgina Hoos, Marion Isaac; Minutes, LC, October 1900 Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1895-April 1907, Entries for Agnes Rogers. For accounts of girls who were dismissed well before they were sixteen to relatives because of their poor health, examine the following: SHSR, Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Case of Mary Ann Hind; Minutes, General Committee, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of June 6, 1896, Account of Isabella Waterson; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of September 5, 1894, Case of Mary Spears, Meeting of June 5, 1895, Notes on Esther Ward, Meeting of June 3, 1896, Account of Ellen Wilson, Meeting of Admission Registers, Female Orphan Asylum, November 1882-January 1895, Entries for Isabella Waterson, Mary Jane Spears, Esther Ward, Minnie Ellen Wilson; Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1904, Entries for Viola Melrose Bate; Jane Ellen Boothroyd; Mary Elizabeth Brumfitt; Ada Boycott; Ada Chesters; Esther Jackson Fillingham; Ann Wilson; Ann Thomas; Isabella Moore; Lilian Ryan; Elizabeth McDowell; Bessie Ann Cunningham.

⁴⁶ LFOA officials regularly used these terms to describe the girls in group; see SHSR, Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Example of Mary Ann Hind; Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 4, 1874, Case of Sarah Black; Meeting of August 4, 1875, Account of Mattie Brown; Meeting of March 1, 1882, Case of Catherine Alice Balmer; Meeting of October 4, 1882, Discussion of Emma Robbins; Minutes, GC, February 1882-March 1903, Meeting of June 6, 1896, Account of Isabella Waterson; Meeting of February 3, 1898, Discussion of Mary Johnson; Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1904, Histories of Viola Melrose Bate, Jane Ellen Boothroyd, Mary Elizabeth Brumfitt.

⁴⁷ SHSR, Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, August 1840-August 1863, Example of Mary Ann Hind; Minutes, Ladies Committee, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of November 4, 1874, Case of Sarah Black; Meeting of August 4, 1875, Account of Mattie Brown; Meeting of January 1, 1879, Notes on Mary Ellen Baron; Meeting of March 1, 1882, Case of Catherine Alice Balmer; Meeting of October 4, 1882, Focus on Emma Robbins; Meeting of May 6, 1891, Examples of Annie Higgins and Mary E. Leeson; Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of September 5, 1894, Notes on Mary Spears; Meeting of November 7, 1894, Account of Ellen Prescott; Meeting of May 1, 1895, Cases of Elizabeth Brocklebank, Elizabeth Lenister, and Minnie Barnwell; Meeting of June 5, 1895, Discussions of Esther Ward and Isabella Waterson; Meeting of February 5, 1896, Example of Clara Williams; Meeting of April 1, 1896, History of Hannah Waterhouse; Meeting of June 3, 1896, Minutes concerning Ellen Wilson; Meeting of December 2, 1896, Case of Jane Laurenson; Meeting of February 2, 1898, Discussion of Mary Johnson; Meeting of September 7, 1898, Example of Ada boycott, Meeting of June 7, 1900, Record of Ada Chesters; Meeting of October 2, 1891, Notes on Ann Wilson; Meeting of May 7, 1902, Minutes about Annie Thomas; Meeting of September 3, 1902, History of Isabella Moore; Meeting of October 1, 1902, Case of Ethel Lawrence; Meeting of January 7, 1903, Account of Georgina Hoos; Meeting of May 6, 1903, Notes on L. Ryan; Meeting of November 4, 1903, Discussion of M. Isaac;

return was less common, though LAOB officials did resort to these types of dismissals in particularly difficult cases. The LAOB Committee sent three unnamed boys to their relatives in December 1871 because they had “some physical defect” that prevented officials from placing them as apprentices. One of these boys stammered “very badly,” another was “very near sighted,” and the third was “small and weak for his age and delicate.”⁴⁸ LAOB officials returned these children because they, like LFOA officials, understood unhealthy children as unsatisfactory candidates for service and their relatives as the logical recipients of children who did not meet asylum criteria for normal placement.

Why did orphanage officials refuse to return children to some family members?

Asylum officials in Baltimore and Liverpool refused to return some children to their family members because they identified some aspect of these relatives as unacceptable, or because the children involved were too young to leave the asylums. Yet LFOA administrators also denied some relatives requests for children because the girls involved did not approve of these proposals.

In some cases in Baltimore in which orphanage administrators identified relatives as undesirable, they objected to the association between the relative in question and alcohol. The HOF Committee refused to return Mary Jamieson to her parents in March 1861 because they were intemperate and because Mrs. Jamieson was often in the Almshouse.⁴⁹ BOA officials denied relatives’ applications for dismissal as well when they feared the influence of alcohol. The BOA Managers rejected Mrs. Mink’s application for her daughter Leuwilla Winterode in April 1891, as well as the appeals Willie Myers’ Aunt and Franklin Jones’ mother [Mrs.

Meeting of March 1905, Focus on Lily Howells; Discharge Register, Female Orphan Asylum, February 1889-April 1904, Records of Viola Melrose Bate, Jane Ellen Boothroyd, Mary Elizabeth Brumfitt, Lillian Lyon.

⁴⁸ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of November and December 1871, Discussion of three unnamed boys with health problems. For additional children that LAOB administrators dismissed to relatives because their health issues precluded them from normal placements, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Case of John Briscoe; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of March 1870, Accounts of W. Boardman and Thomas Sharples; Meeting of January 1874, Focus on two unnamed boys.

⁴⁹ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Mary Jamieson.

Freeburger] made for these boys in March 1895 because of these women's links to alcohol. According to BOA officials, Mrs. Mink resided in a "saloon," and would take Leuwilla to live in this establishment, Willie's aunt ran a saloon, and Mrs. Freeburger was remarried to a man who "drank and was harsh" to her son.⁵⁰ Yet orphanage officials in Baltimore did not always identify the problem with relatives as alcohol. In some cases, BOA and HOF officials objected to the character of some of the family members asking for the return of children. HOF authorities declined Mrs. Catlin's request for the return of her daughter Jennie in February 1862 because they believed her to be "a depraved mother" whose home was in a "wretched condition" and whose character was questionable, though they never specified what it was about the latter that was problematic. BOA Managers also rejected the appeals Isabella Wiseman's mother and Vjera Campbell's aunt made in April 1897 and November 1909 because they regarded these women as "undesirable" and "irresponsible and inconsequent."⁵¹ Baltimore asylum administrators clearly understood these family members as unacceptable custodians of children, and acted to keep asylum residents away from them.

Liverpool orphanage administrators also denied relatives' appeals for the return of asylum children because they objected to some aspect of the individuals involved, though these types of rejections occurred only at the LFOA, and were far less common in Liverpool than they were in Baltimore. Between 1840 and 1910, LFOA officials discussed only two such cases. The

⁵⁰ This marked Mrs. Mink's second unsuccessful appeal for the return of her daughter. Mrs. Mink's first applied for the girl in April 1890, and in that instance, BOA officials offered no explanation as to why they denied her request. For information on Leuwilla Winterode, refer to: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of April 7, 1890; Meeting of April 6, 1891; BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only, 1882-1900, Case of Leuwilla Winterode. For the histories of Willie Myers and Franklin Jones, refer to the following: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of March 4, 1835, Histories of Willie Myers and Franklin Jones; Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Account of Willie Myers

⁵¹ Jennie Catlin's mother persisted in her efforts to win the return of her daughter, and eventually hired a lawyer to pursue this course of action. HOF officials noted that Mrs. Catlin believed her daughter had been taken from her in the first place because she was a Catholic. The HOF was soon advised by counsel to transfer Jennie to St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, which was a Roman Catholic orphan asylum in Baltimore City; for the account of this girl, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Example of Jennie Catlin. For the accounts of Isabella Wiseman and Vjera Campbell, examine: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of April 1897, Discussion of Isabella Wiseman; Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1915, Meeting of November 1909, Notes on Vjera Campbell. For the example of another such case, examine: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of May 4, 1896, Discussion of the Chenowith siblings; WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Admitted, 1882-1890, Records for Susan Olive and Maud H. Chenowith.

first of these occurred in October 1874 when Mrs. Ellison asked to remove her sister Louisa Banks from the asylum, and the second happened in June 1886, when Rose Coveney's uncle requested her dismissal. The problem with Mrs. Ellison's appeal was not the woman herself, but her neighborhood, which did not mesh with the Ladies' middle-class notions of what was an appropriate living situation for a LFOA girl. In their rejection of her appeal, the Ladies focused specifically on her residential setting, noting that the "neighbourhood where Mrs. Ellison lived was considered unfit for a young girl."⁵² The Ladies refused the application Rose Coveney's Uncle made for similar reasons. A member of the LFOA Ladies Committee visited this man's household in June 1886 and concluded both his home and his family were unsatisfactory to have the care of this girl.⁵³ In both of these cases, LFOA relatives proved remarkably similar to their counterparts in Baltimore. These family members failed to satisfy asylum officials' standards of acceptability when it came to the dismissal of asylum children, and were denied the return of their kin.

BOA and LFOA administrators occasionally refused to release asylum residents to their relatives because the children involved were too young for dismissal. When Mr. Wallace asked to have his sons James and William sent to him in June 1882, BOA authorities cited the age of the boys as the impediment that prevented them from acceding to his request. According to the BOA Managers, these boys were "too young to be bound out," and were thus ineligible for dismissal. This was certainly true in the case of William, who was not yet fourteen, though James had already achieved the age of fourteen and was clearly old enough to leave the BOA.⁵⁴ BOA authorities refused to release Susie Phillips and Mary and Joshua Poole, because of their youth as well. BOA administrators rejected the February 1887 application Susie's grandmother [Mrs. Huffington] filed because the girl was sixteen, and still two years shy of the age at which she

⁵² SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of September 2, 1874 and October 7, 1874, Focus on A. Louisa Banks.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Meeting of June 2, 1886, Discussion of Rose Coveney.

⁵⁴ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of July 3, 1882, Discussion of Mr. Wallace; Admission Books, Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893, Entries for James and William Wallace.

would be eligible for dismissal. They explained their decision not to release eleven-year-old Mary and seven-year-old Joshua Poole to their mother in October 1887 in similar terms, and Mrs. Poole soon withdrew her application for her children.⁵⁵ BOA officials demonstrated in their rejection of these appeals their commitment to retaining children in the asylum until they reached particular ages, and they also made clear a significant difference between themselves and their counterparts at the HOF, who appear to have never rejected relatives' requests for the return of children because they believed asylum inhabitants to be too young for dismissal.

Though BOA officials were the only Baltimore orphanage authorities who refused to return asylum inhabitants to relatives because of these children's youth, they were not the only orphanage administrators to reject dismissal applications for this reason. Indeed, there was a small group of cases at the LFOA in which asylum administrators made clear it was the age of the child that prevented the dismissal of children to their family members. When Amelia Clucas' sister [Mrs. Heckman] asked to have the girl sent to her in February 1874, the Ladies Committee refused because the girl was "too young to leave the Asylum."⁵⁶ They rejected other applications for dismissal for the same reason, including the appeals Mabel Williams' aunt made in February 1876 and John Cunliffe lodged in June 1877 for the return of his sister Elizabeth. The Ladies Committee informed Mabel's aunt that her application would have to wait until the girl reached the age of sixteen, when she would be eligible for dismissal from the LFOA, and they deferred John Cunliffe's application for a year, so that fifteen-year-old Elizabeth might achieve the age of majority.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meetings of February 7, 1887 and October 3, 1887. For another case in which BOA officials denied a relatives' appeal to return a child because the latter was too young, see: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of October 1, 1888, Discussion of Mrs. Myers.

⁵⁶ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of February 2, 1874, Notes on Amelia Clucas.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Account of Mabel M. Williams; Meeting of June 6, 1877, Discussion of Elizabeth Cunliffe. For another example of relatives whose appeals for the return of LFOA girls were denied because LFOA officials identified the girls as too young for dismissal, refer to: SHSR, Minutes, Ladies Committee, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of February 7, 1894, Minutes on Sarah Capper.

In a few instances at the LFOA, the impediment to a resident's dismissal was the child herself. LFOA officials denied the appeal Maria Cartwright's cousin made to have the girl sent to him in April 1855, not because they were opposed to this application, but because Maria "very decidedly declined going to her relatives" and told officials she "preferred to be apprenticed."⁵⁸ Sarah Dinsbury articulated similar sentiments in March 1891, after her brother-in-law wrote "begging" to have the girl dismissed to his wife and himself.⁵⁹ Both girls voiced their direct opposition to their family members' requests, and their resistance to these arrangements led LFOA administrators to reject these proposals outright. The exact reasons for Maria Cartwright's and Sarah Dinsbury's rejections of these proposals remains unclear from the surviving LFOA records, but it is clear that this type of inhabitant-originated refusal of relatives' appeals was unique to the LFOA. There is no evidence that LAOB or BOA children resisted family members' appeals in this manner and in the one instance at the HOF when a child [Mary Jamieson] did tell asylum officials she did not wish to return to her parents, officials had already decided not to return the girl because of parental intemperance.⁶⁰ The fact that a few LFOA girls were not only able to articulate their feelings about being dismissed to their relatives, but were able to refuse such placements suggests some female Liverpool asylum residents may have possessed more options than their male counterparts in Liverpool and their male and female counterparts in Baltimore when it came to dismissal.

What lengths did relatives go to in order to recover children from the asylums?

In theory, the return of asylum children to relatives was supposed to be a straightforward process, in which asylum authorities either granted or denied these requests, and this decision was final. Yet in their dealings with asylum children's' relatives, Baltimore and Liverpool orphanage administrators encountered a group of men and women who did not understand the dismissal

⁵⁸ Ibid., Meeting of April 1, 1885, Case of Maria Cartwright

⁵⁹ Ibid., Meeting of March 4, 1891, History of Sarah Dinsbury.

⁶⁰ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Case of Mary Jamieson.

process in this way. These family members were determined to reclaim children, and they employed a variety of tactics to get their children back. Relatives in both cities engaged in repeated requests for these children in an effort to wear asylum officials down and obtain custody of them, though it was only in Baltimore that some family members turned to local officials for assistance as well. Parents of children in Baltimore also won temporary custody of children and then attempted to keep children permanently, or simply stole children out of the asylums without officials' permission.

In Baltimore, the relatives of some HOF residents made repeated requests to have the children dismissed to their care, or appealed to local courts or community officials for assistance in their quests to obtain their kin. Christiania Myer's father made frequent and "very annoying" visits to the HOF in June 1862, and these visits, as well as Mr. Myers' threat to "put an end to his existence if he did not get possession of the child," culminated in HOF authorities return of Christiania to her father. The relatives of other HOF inhabitants also employed persistent appeals to win back children. HOF Committee Members "reluctantly resigned" Kate McQuillan to her mother's care in September 1864, after Mrs. McQuillan filed repeated applications to have the girl dismissed to her, and they sent George Keys back to his mother in October 1901, in light of her "determination to have him."⁶¹ A few relatives depended not on their own agency, but on the assistance of Baltimore officials to regain the custody of children. Charlotte Hill's mother asked the Reverend Rowland of the Franklin Square Baptist Church for help in the fall of 1891, and Charles, John and Mary Scharman's father turned to a local Justice of the Peace in April 1900 for assistance. The Reverend Rowland "urged" HOF officials to return Charlotte, and HOF officials subsequently sent the girl to her mother. Mr. Scharman, meanwhile, demonstrated his fitness to care for his children to the unnamed judge, and won their return with a court order that awarded

⁶¹ Ibid., Record for Kate McQuillan; Registers, Book 9, 1896-1916, Case of George Keys.

him custody.⁶² Relatives in Baltimore used the influence of local officials, as well as their own persistence, to regain the care of children whom Baltimore asylum officials had not intended to return to these individuals.

LFOA officials also found themselves dealing with a population of relatives who refused to take no for an answer when it came to dismissal requests, and who proved just as persistent as their HOF counterparts in Baltimore. The Ladies Committee refused the first appeal Mrs. Heckman made for her sister Amelia Clucas in February 1874 on the grounds that the girl was too young, but Mrs. Heckman would not be deterred, and made a second appeal for the girl the following month. The Ladies Committee referred this request to the General Committee in an effort to again dissuade Mrs. Heckman from her application, but she continued to pursue the matter. In April, Mrs. Heckman actually rejected the earlier written appeals she had made in favor of an appearance in front of the Ladies, in order to “press her claim to remove her sister,” and that same month the Ladies Committee yielded Amelia to her sister’s care. Mrs. Heckman’s determination ultimately thwarted LFOA officials’ efforts to keep Amelia away from her, as did the Mr. Harrison’s persistence. Mr. Harrison first appealed to the Ladies Committee for his niece Annie Harrison in January 1885, and the matter was referred to the General Committee, which denied this appeal. Mr. Harrison refused to accept this rejection, continued to submit additional petitions for the girl’s return in February and March, and finally achieved custody of Annie in April of that same year.⁶³ The relative ease with which Mr. Harrison and Mrs. Heckman obtained the LFOA girls they were seeking demonstrates the trouble that some determined and persistent relatives caused for asylum officials was not limited to Baltimore.

Parents in Baltimore did not limit their efforts to reclaim children from the asylums to only repeated requests or appeals to local officials. One group of relatives obtained permission to

⁶² Ibid., Book 6, 1881-1892, Entries for Charlotte Hill; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Cases of Charles J., John J., and Mary E. Scharman.

⁶³ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of April 1, 1874, Case of Amelia Clucas. For more information on this case, see: Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of February 4, 1874 and March 4, 1874, Discussion of Amelia Clucas. See SHSR, Minutes, GC, February 1882-March 1903, Meetings of January 7, 1886, February 8, 1886, and March 4, 1886, History of Annie Harrison.

remove children temporarily from the orphanages because they had planned special events for the children, and then kept children permanently. BOA authorities permitted Mrs. Saunders to have her daughter Isabella Wiseman on the girl's birthday in March 1897, and HOF officials allowed Clara and Beulah Lewins and Lula and Annie Earnest to go with their mothers in March 1895 and May 1899, so the former could visit some relatives who had traveled to Baltimore to see them, and so the latter could supposedly have family pictures taken.⁶⁴ In all of these cases, the outcome was the same. Mothers retained permanent custody of these girls, and children failed to reenter the orphanages. In other cases, parents were allowed to care for children during the BOA summer vacation, but were expected to return them when the BOA reopened in the fall. The fathers of Edith Myers and Mary Stahl, and the mothers of Mary and Martha Klausman, Midgie Kennard, and Ogle Tall were all granted the care of their children during the summer break, and opted to retain permanent custody of these BOA inhabitants.⁶⁵ It remains unclear why almost all of the children recovered in this way by parents were female, though some of these girls, including Isabella Wiseman, Clara Lewins, Lula Earnest, and Mary Stahl were old enough to provide assistance to adults within the family household, in whatever capacity was necessary. It is also unclear in a number of these cases why asylum officials were only willing to grant temporary custody to family members. Though BOA officials objected to Mrs. Saunders permanent custody of her daughter because she "had no home and was known to be unfit for the care of the child," they and their HOF counterparts did not make clear why they opposed the

⁶⁴ BOA officials were equally determined to keep Isabella away from her mother, because Mrs. Saunders "had no home and was known to be unfit for the care of the child." They had police officials summon Mrs. Saunders and Isabella to the Northwest Police Station, but Isabella's mother refused to give the girl up. The asylum's legal advisor [Mr. Wade] asked Mrs. Saunders if she would allow the man who had placed the girl in the asylum to resume his guardianship of her, and Mrs. Saunders consented to this arrangement. The matter was resolved in a manner that was satisfactory to everyone involved in the case. For the case history of Isabella Wiseman, refer to: WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of March 1, 1897, Discussion of Isabella Wiseman; Admission Books, Book 5, Girls Only 1882-1890, Entry for Ella Isabel Wiseman. The records for Clara and Beulah Lewins and the Earnest sisters can be found in the following sources: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 6, 1881-1894, Cases of Clara P. and Beulah Lewins; Registers, Book 8, 1896-1902, Examples of Lula and Annie Earnest. For an example of a girl whose sister removed her in this way, please see: WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, History of Pearl M. Kraft.

⁶⁵ WC, BOA, Admission Books, Book 5, Admitted, Girls Only, 1882-1890, Accounts of Mary and Martha Klausman; Book 13, Female Admissions, 1901-1913, Records for Midgie B. Kennard; Edith B. Myers, Mary Stahl; Admission Books, Book 12, Male Group, 1901-1913, Account of Ogle Wesley Tall.

outright dismissal of the other children in this group to their relatives.⁶⁶ What is quite clear from these examples is that some Baltimore parents did use the strategy of temporary permission to obtain the permanent return of their children.

Though the parents of some Baltimore asylum children parlayed temporary custody into permanent possession of children, it was HOF mothers and fathers who removed children without asylum officials' permission. The earliest of these HOF removals occurred in the late 1850s and the 1860s, when the fathers of Maria Ollenberger, Laura and Elisabeth Potect and Mary Jones arrived at the asylum and took these girls out without the BOA Matron's consent.⁶⁷ In the years that followed, a few fathers continued to remove HOF residents without asylum officials' permission. Annie Long's father "knocked a plank off the fence and stole the child while she was playing in the yard," in May 1878, and Edward Allason's father lifted him over the asylum fence and walked off with the boy in April 1891.⁶⁸ In other cases, HOF inhabitants' mothers engineered the removal of children without permission. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the mothers of Virginia Geddes, Mary and Rachel Poole, Marion Thomson, Mary Connaway, Mary E. Fisher, Andrew Pfister, Harry Nebb, and George Allason took them from the asylum without first obtaining the consent of the HOF Committee. Most of these women simply appeared at the HOF, located their children, and fled with them, though the mother of Mary Fisher did actually go to the Sunday school her daughter attended, and took the girl from that location.⁶⁹ The fact that a group of HOF mothers and fathers resorted to this type of removal, reveals that some parents in Baltimore did not believe asylum officials had ultimate authority

⁶⁶ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meeting of March 1, 1897, Discussion of Isabella Wiseman.

⁶⁷ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entries for Maria Ollenberger, Laura V. and Elisabeth Potect, and Mary Jones.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Book 5, May 1875-May 1881, History of Annie Long; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Example of Edward Henry Allason.

⁶⁹ For the accounts of these HOF residents, examine the following: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Entry for Virginia Geddes; Registers, Book 2, March 1861-March 1870, Records of Mary and Rachel Poole; Registers, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, Cases of Marion Thomson, Mary Connaway; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Accounts of Andrew Pfister, Harry Edward Nebb, George Frederick Allason. For the admission record of Mary Fisher, see: WC, HOF, Register, Book 3, April 1871-April 1875, History of Mary E. Fisher.

over their children, and demonstrates they understood it as their prerogative to remove children when it suited them.

What lengths did asylum officials go to in order to prevent children from being returned to unsatisfactory relatives?

Asylum administrators in Baltimore and Liverpool did go to some extraordinary lengths in their efforts to keep children away from their relatives, though their approaches were quite different. Orphanage authorities in Baltimore appealed to local officials and agencies for assistance after they determined particular relatives posed real threats to the children. Liverpool asylum officials also asked other agencies for their help when it came to certain cases, and actually acted in some cases to remove children from their problematic kin before the latter ever petitioned for the return of these children.

BOA administrators enlisted the aid of local officials and agencies in cases when they believed it was imperative to keep children away from their relatives. In March 1897, the BOA Managers appealed to the Baltimore City police for help after Mrs. Saunders refused to return her daughter Isabella Wiseman to the asylum after a birthday holiday. The Managers were particularly worried about Isabella, as Mrs. Saunders “had no home and was known to be unfit for the care of the child.” The police summoned Mrs. Saunders to the NW Police Station, and the asylum’s legal advisor convinced her to return Isabella to the man who had originally placed her in the BOA.⁷⁰ BOA officials turned again to local officials for help thirteen years later, after Vjera Campbell’s aunt applied for her and Vjera asked to see this woman. BOA officials contacted the Henry Watson Children’s Aid Society of Baltimore almost immediately, and asked the organization to “place her [Vjera] in a home far enough away to make association with the relatives impossible.” This appeal did not, however, yield the same success as BOA officials’ earlier appeal to the police, and Vjera ultimately ended up with her aunt. It was only after the

⁷⁰ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, June 1895-October 1897, Meetings of March 1, 1897 and April 1897, Focus on Isabella Wiseman.

BOA Managers asked the local Charity Organization Society to investigate Vjera's aunt and these officials recommended Vjera's aunt that BOA officials decided to allow the girl to remain with this relative.⁷¹ The common element in both these cases was BOA officials' use of local officials and agencies. In cases in which asylum administrators hoped to keep relatives away from children, BOA officials sometimes depended on local resources outside of the BOA itself.

Asylum administrators in Liverpool also sought assistance from other agencies when it came to relatives they did not believe should have the care of children, though LFOA officials did not wait for problems to develop, as did their counterparts in Baltimore, but acted preemptively to keep children from their problematic kin before the latter ever petitioned for the return of these girls. The Ladies Committee was so worried that Hetty Marsh's only and "very undesirable" relative would seek her return in 1903, and that Sarah Spencer's "undesirable mother" would appeal for her dismissal in January 1909, that its members acted beforehand to preclude these possibilities.⁷² The Ladies turned to Dr. Barnardo's for aid with Hetty Marsh's case in September 1903, in the hopes that this organization would send the girl thousands of miles away from her unnamed relative. The Ladies Committee emphasized that this was the best option "both for her health and also to get her out of the way of an undesirable friend—her only one in Liverpool."⁷³ The Ladies Committee resorted to a less grand transport scheme to distance Sarah Spencer from her mother in January 1909, and this time appealed to the Waifs and Strays Organization in Clapham to see if that organization might find a place for the girl in that town. Officials from the Waifs and Strays Organization agreed to assist the LFOA, to have one of their officials watch over the girl in her new situation, and to open the Clapham facility to Sarah Spencer on the days

⁷¹ Ibid., Board Minutes, April 1905-December 1915, Meetings of November 1909 and January 1910, Notes on Vjera Campbell.

⁷² SHSR, Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meetings of January 1903 and September 1903, Case of Hetty Marsh; Meetings of January and October 1909, Notes on Sarah Spencer; Discharge Register, February 1889-Onward, Entry for Sarah Ann Spencer.

⁷³ Ibid., Ladies Committee, October 1900-December 1911, Meetings of January 1903 and September 1903, Case of Hetty Marsh. LFOA authorities did not identify where Hetty Marsh was sent after going to Dr. Barnardo's, though the majority of the children who ended up in Barnardo's institutions were transported to Canada.

she was not working.⁷⁴ These examples reveal orphanage officials in both cities utilized the assistance of other organizations in their efforts to prevent difficult relatives from obtaining children, but they also make clear that LFOA officials were the only asylum administrators in either city who employed preemptive planning to preclude such developments.

What role, if any, did the family members of orphanage inhabitants play in the placing out process?

The relatives of some Baltimore and Liverpool orphanage residents located situations for these children to enter once they left the asylums, though the degree of success they experienced in these endeavors depended on which asylum children inhabited. Officials at the Baltimore asylums and at the LAOB in Liverpool allowed relatives to find positions for children, though their LFOA counterparts proved far more hostile to relatives suggesting particular places for children to occupy. LFOA officials appeared willing to tolerate this type of familial intervention only in cases in which extenuating circumstances made it difficult for asylum administrators to dismiss LFOA girls. Their opposition to relatives' involvement in the placing-out process was in marked contrast to LAOB officials' dependence on family members to make post-asylum arrangements for children. In a few instances, relatives in both cities did not limit their involvement in placing out to finding children positions, but actually contested the situations asylum officials had already made for these children, though this practice was more common in Baltimore than Liverpool.

There was a small group of family members in Baltimore who arranged placements for HOF and BOA residents during the 1880s and 1890s. The mothers of Charles Gosnell and Sallie Hedgger returned to the HOF in April 1881 and May 1882 and asked asylum authorities for permission to remove these children from the asylum. Both women informed asylum officials that they had obtained situations for the children, and HOF officials voiced no opposition to these

⁷⁴ Ibid., Meetings of January and October 1909, Discussion of Sarah Spencer.

women's actions or to the dismissal of these children from the HOF.⁷⁵ In the decade that followed, the relatives of Annie Haynes, Maggie Matthews and August Stahl found employment for them and won the return of these children as well.⁷⁶ At the BOA, this practice was more uncommon, though there were a few instances when family members located employment positions for asylum residents. When Edward Granger's mother applied for his dismissal in June 1885 and Miss Orem asked to have her son John Nelson returned to her in March 1886, both women had already obtained situations for the boys. Mrs. Granger had "secured him [Edward] a place with Mr. Epps a Cabinet maker," and Miss Orem had found "employment for him [John Nelson] at present in her linte store and expects later to give him a trade." In both cases, BOA officials approved these requests, and though they ordered Mrs. Granger to provide additional proof of her character and the employment, they offered no evidence that they were in any way opposed to relatives' involvement in the placing-out process.⁷⁷ Indeed, these examples reveal the active role that the family members of some Baltimore asylum children played in locating situations for children.

Relatives in Liverpool also located situations for asylum children, though LFOA officials proved far less willing than their counterparts at the LAOB or in Baltimore to allow relatives this role, and LAOB authorities demonstrated a dependence on children's relatives for placements that was not evident at the LFOA or in Baltimore. During the 1870s and 1880s, LFOA officials periodically rejected applications for dismissal that came from family members who assumed they had the right to place children. When Ann Heaton's Aunt asked LFOA officials to dismiss the girl in February 1872, she told them she was going to apprentice Ann to a shop in Southport. That same month the Ladies Committee declined her request, and the following month the Ladies

⁷⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 5, May 1875-November 1881, Accounts of Charles Gosnell, Sallie V. Hedgger.

⁷⁶ Ibid., History of Annie Haynes; Registers, Book 6, 1881-1892, Account of Maggie Matthews; Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Case of August Stahl.

⁷⁷ WC, BOA, Board Minutes, September 1881-December 1895, Meeting of June 2, 1885, Account of Edward Granger; Meeting of March 1, 1886, Discussion of John Nelson.

actually apprenticed Ann to Mrs. Richard Atherton as a servant.⁷⁸ The Ladies Committee also rejected the December 1880 and May 1885 requests that M. Shaw's grandmother and M. Duxbery's sister made to remove these girls from the asylum and place them into positions. The sentiments the Ladies Committee expressed in both these cases were similar. The Secretary told M. Shaw's grandmother that the "Committee took the responsibility upon themselves of apprenticing the girl," and M. Duxbery's sister that "when the girl is old enough, the Committee will place her out."⁷⁹ The Ladies Committee asserted its institutional authority with these statements, and reinforced that it, and not family members, possessed ultimate control of the girls who resided in the LFOA. The appeals Mrs. Heaton, M. Shaw's grandmother, and M. Duxbery's sister made were not rejected because of the unsuitability of these applicants, but rather because these women acted impertinently and overstepped the boundary between familial rights and institutional power.

Though LFOA officials rejected most of the applications girls' family members made to locate occupational situations for these children, they occasionally found themselves enlisting the aid of girls' relatives. The Ladies Committee allowed the family members of Jane Spencer, Emma McClelland, Dora Drew, Florence Brooks, Gertrude Hannons and Mary Patterson to take these girls out of the LFOA during the 1880s and in the early 1900s, with the understanding that they and not the Ladies Committee, would be responsible for finding these girls work.⁸⁰ LFOA officials did not make clear why they supported familial involvement in the placing out process in these cases when they had opposed it outright in other instances, yet some of these histories suggest the Ladies Committee may have had little choice but to allow these relatives' involvement. The family members of Dora Drew, Florence Brooks, and Gertrude Hannon lived

⁷⁸ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meetings of February 7, 1882 and March 6, 1882, Minutes concerning Ann Aspinall Heaton.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Meeting of May 7, 1884, Case of M. Duxberry.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Meeting of January 5, 1881, Account of Jane Spencer; Meeting of October 7, 1886, Focus on Emma McClelland; Minutes, LC, October 1900-December 1911, Meeting of March 1908, History of Dora Drew; Meeting of May 1910; Meeting of October 1909, Notes on Florence Brooks; Meeting of May 1910, Cases of Gertrude Hannons and Mary Patterson.

well outside of Liverpool and its surrounding environs, making it difficult for LFOA officials to situate these children, and prompting the turn to girls' family members for assistance. In the case of Jane Spencer, it was not relatives' location that was the problem, but rather the girl's age. Jane was nineteen years old, had yet to be placed, and possessed a brother who promised LFOA officials in January 1881 to provide her with a situation and "in all respects be responsible for her."⁸¹ Jane Spencer and the other girls in this group posed unique problems for LFOA officials that they did not usually encounter during their dismissal of girls, and it was simply easier in these cases for LFOA officials to include relatives, rather than shun their involvement.

LAOB officials' response to relatives who attempted to involve themselves in the dismissal process could not have been more different from that of their LFOA counterparts. LAOB authorities regularly allowed relatives who had found situations for LAOB inhabitants to have the care of these boys. Between 1868 and 1910, the LAOB Committee sent out sixty-three boys, including WH Lester, Hanry Chadwick, John Hough, Edward Prescott, and George Trail to family members who had located work situations for them.⁸² The employment that relatives

⁸¹ SHSR, Minutes, LC, May 1870-August 1892, Meeting of January 5, 1881, Notes on Jane Spencer.

⁸² SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of May 22, 1882, Case of WH Lester; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1874-November 1886, Meeting of July 1875, Notes on Henry Chadwick; Meeting of February 28, 1881, Minutes on John Hough; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Focus on Edward Prescott; Meeting of February 10, 1908, Notes on George Trail. For the histories of other LAOB boys whose relatives had found them situations, see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of December 28, 1868, Notes on G. Mackinnon; Meeting of July 24, 1876, Case of unnamed boy; Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of November 1869, Notes on unnamed boy; Meeting of April 1871, Minutes on Thomas Buchanan and Robert McAdams; Meetings of March and April 1874, Discussion of Percival Gelshon; Meeting of August 1874, Discussion of unnamed boy; Minutes, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of September 1875, Account of Charles Eaves; Meeting of July 1876, Case of William Harrison; Meeting of February 1878, Minutes on W. Monday; Meetings of May and July 1878, Notes on Thomas Ranson; Meeting of July 1878, Focus on Frederick Hardisty; Meeting of July 1879, Accounts of Archibald Fulton and Robert Edwards; Meetings of May and August 1879, Discussion of Thomas McGinty; Meeting of August 1879, History of James Boyd; Meeting of January 24, 1881, Minutes on Richard William, William Henshall, John Wilson, and Thomas Banks; Meeting of March 1881, Cases of John Jewett and George T. Walker; Meetings of March and May 1881, Focus on Archibald Wallace; Meeting of April 25, 1881, Cases of Joseph Briscoe and Henry Harrison; Meeting of August 22, 1881, Histories of Walter Huddart and Alfred Bibby; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for November 14-December 12, 1898, Discussions about Douglas Trowsdale and Robert Russell; Minutes for May 15-June 11, 1900, Account of William Wakefield; Minutes for August 11-September 10, 1900, History of Thomas Grafton; Minutes for September 10-October 8, 1900, Case of Thomas Johnston; Minutes for January 1901, Notes on Daniel McGregor; Minutes for March 14-April 15, 1901, Focus on William Lewis; Minutes for September 9-October 14, 1901, Account of Walter Taylor; Minutes for March 10-April 14, 1902, Focus on Henry McGivern; Minutes for September 1903, History of Charles Lynd; Minutes for January 11-February 8, 1904, Notes on George Johnson; Minutes for January 13-February 13, 1905, Discussions of Sidney Rankin and George Leonard Dunning; Minutes for February 10-March 9, 1908, Example of Edward Spread; Minutes for May 11, 1908, Account of Arthur Craine; Minutes for September 15-October 11, 1909 and October 12-November 8, 1909, History of James

located for these children varied enormously in its scope, though some of these boys were actual apprentices. Percival Gelshon's family members engineered his apprenticeship to a homeopathic chemist in April 1874, and the uncles of Archibald Fulton and Douglas Trowsdale arranged for these boys to be indentured to a joiner and a moulder in June 1879 and December 1898.⁸³ Other LAOB boys left the asylum to reside with family and work for local tradesmen, the Liverpool City Council, the London and Northwest Railway, or in unspecified positions.⁸⁴ In a few cases, boys were even sent to relatives who promised to teach them a trade. LAOB administrators dismissed George Gordon to his uncle in April 1903 with the understanding that he "would instruct him [George] in the business of a blacksmith," and they sent Sidney Rankin, William Grainger, and Herbert Hadfield to uncles who were plumbers, confectioners and butchers.⁸⁵

Bloomfield; Minutes for October 12-November 8, 1909, Focus on Richard Parry and Harry Westhead; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of April 6, 1903, History of George Gordon; Meeting of November 9, 1903, Cases of Thomas McLean and Edward Prescott; Meeting of January 11, 1904, Discussions concerning William Follett and Harold Griffiths; Meeting of March 14, 1904, Notes on William Bushell; Meeting of March 13, 1905, Minutes on William H. Grainger; Meeting of February 21, 1906, Case of Herbert Hadfield; Meeting of September 9, 1907, Focus on W. Rankin; Meeting of February 10, 1908, Discussions of Edward Spread and George Trail; Meeting of February 8, 1909, Minutes on David Craine; Meeting of April 11, 1910, Notes on LC Williams.

⁸³ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, October 1869-October 1874, Meetings of March and April 1874, History of Percival Gelshon; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of June 1879, Case of Archibald Fulton; Journals, Boys Asylum Journal, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for November 14-December 12, 1898, Discussion of Douglas Trowsdale.

⁸⁴ A number of the LAOB boys in this group ended up working for a variety of tradesmen; William Harrison went to work with a wheelwright in July 1876, William Wakefield was placed with a cabinetmaker in the summer of 1900, Thomas Grafton went to work for the Engineering Department at Messrs. Evans Shipbuilders, William Follett went to a position with a local painter, and David Craine was sent to work for a plumber. For the case histories of these boys and others who ended up in positions their relatives had found for them with tradesmen, please see: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of December 28, 1868, Notes on G. Mackinnon; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of July 1876, Discussion of William Harrison; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for May 15-June 11, 1900, Discussion of William Wakefield; Minutes for August 11-September 10, 1900, Focus on Thomas Grafton; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of January 11, 1904, Minutes on William Follett; Meeting of February 8, 1909, History of David Craine. For the records of boys whose family members obtained positions for them with the Liverpool City Council or the Liverpool and Northwest Railway, refer to: SHSR, Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for September 10-October 8, 1900, Focus on Thomas Johnston; Minutes for January 1901, Case of Daniel McGregor; Minutes for March 14-April 15, 1901, Account of Williams Lewis; Minutes for January 11-February 8, 1904, Discussion of George Johnson. For LAOB boys whose relatives found them situations in unspecified trades, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, October 1869-October 1874, Meeting of April 1871, Minutes on Thomas Buchanan and Robert McAdams; Meeting of July 1875, Case of Henry Chadwick; Meeting of September 1875, History of Charles Eaves; Meeting of July 1878, Focus on Frederick Hardisty; Meeting of March 1881, Minutes on John Jewett and George T. Walker; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for November 14-December 12, 1898, Account of Robert Russell; Minutes for October 12-November 8, 1909, Notes on Harry Westhead; Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, Meeting of March 14, 1904, Case of William Bushell.

⁸⁵ SHSR, Miscellaneous, Honorable Secretary of the Committee Minutes, May 1900-February 1914, Meeting of April 6, 1903, Notes on George Gordon; Meeting of March 13, 1905, Account of William H. Grainger; Meeting of February

These histories reveal the central role that many LAOB residents' relatives played in obtaining post-asylum situations for boys, and the cooperation that occurred between LAOB administrators and children's family members.

LAOB officials demonstrated a real willingness to allow boys' relatives to participate in the apprenticeship process, yet this acceptance of family members' involvement may have stemmed more from absolute necessity than from LAOB officials' belief that relatives should play a role in the placing out process. Liverpool was infamous in the nineteenth century for its large population of unemployed children. Its economy was dominated by commerce and trade, and this marked it off as different from other towns in Lancashire like Bolton, Oldham, Blackburn, and Preston, where the textile industry was of prime economic importance. The emphasis on trade and commercialism in Liverpool meant a paucity of regular, full-time employment for Liverpool children that was in stark contrast to the factory jobs so many of their peers in other parts of Lancashire were able to acquire.⁸⁶ Children in Liverpool were most likely to enter service-sector positions, if they were lucky enough to find such positions, and the LAOB and its efforts to indenture boys reflected the difficulties that occurred in Liverpool when it came to finding positions for children.

LAOB administrators were extremely apprehensive during the last four decades of the nineteenth century about finding enough apprenticeships for LAOB boys, and about the retention of too many overage boys within the asylum. The LAOB Committee worried as early as 1868 about the asylum's ability to locate an adequate number of positions for boys who were ready to leave the asylum, and they decided in July of that year to place advertisements in some local

21, 1906, Focus on Herbert Hadfield; Journals, Boys Asylum, December 1897-December 1921, Minutes for January 13-February 13, 1905, Discussion of Sidney Rankin.

⁸⁶ Michael Fielding and Michael Winstanley, "Lancashire children in the nineteenth century," in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 9-10; Barbara Copeland and Gavin Thompson, "The 'Boy Labour Problem' in Lancashire" in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 93-95. For additional information on the dominance of Liverpool's service sector and trade, as well as the limited employment opportunities for children, refer to: John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 211.

Liverpool newspapers asking for “situations for some of the boys.”⁸⁷ The decision to enlist the public’s aid in this matter suggests there were too few applications for LAOB boys during the period, and indicates LAOB officials had to adopt more flexible attitudes toward non-asylum officials’ involvement in the placing-out process than did their LFOA counterparts because of this shortage. The Committee’s decision seven months later to allow boys “occasionally to apply for situations for themselves,” confirms LAOB officials’ anxiety about asylum inhabitants’ placement, as well as their increased adaptability when it came to which individuals could play a role in locating situations for asylum residents.⁸⁸

LAOB officials continued to voice concern about locating enough positions for asylum inhabitants in the years that followed as well, and they sent increasing numbers of boys to situations outside of Liverpool and its surrounding towns, as the city’s economy simply did not have enough full-time, steady work for male children.⁸⁹ Even this out-migration of boys from the LAOB to positions at greater distances from Liverpool did not however, resolve the dismissal difficulties asylum officials encountered, however, and the latter increasingly turned to

⁸⁷ SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, January 1861-June 1883, Meeting of July 27, 1868. At the February 1869 Committee meeting, asylum officials elaborated on what such advertisements would say, and suggested they would read as follows: “The Orphan Boys Asylum Committee have several boys about 15 years ready for service and will be obliged to any friends of the Institution who will assist them in finding situations for them.” Please see notes for Meeting of February 1869.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Meeting of February 1869.

⁸⁹ For more on the enduring shortage of regular work available to boys in Liverpool between the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, refer to: Malcolm Fielding and Michael Winstanley, “Lancashire children in the nineteenth century,” in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 8-17; Barbara Copeland and Gavin Thompson, “The ‘Boy Labour Problem’ in Lancashire,” in *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, ed. Michael Winstanley (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995), p. 93-110. These authors agree that a principal constant of Liverpool’s economy throughout this period was the lack of work available to male and female children. For the case histories of former LAOB boys dismissed to positions outside of Liverpool and its surrounding towns during the 1870s, see the following: SHSR, Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of March 1875, Discussion of William Chadwick and James Penrose, Accounts of two unnamed boys; Meeting of April 1875, Notes on Job Steen; Meeting of July 1875, Example of John Barnes; Meeting of November 1875, Cases of three unnamed boys sent to London to work as clerks for the London & North Western Railway, Account of Richard Gore; Meeting of December 1875, Minutes on John Ambrose Thornton; Meeting of February 1876, Histories of Thomas Bason, William Drysdale, William Mitchell, and Thomas Fanvel; Meeting of March 1876, Focus on Edward Taylor; Meeting of May 1876, Notes on Daniel Foulkes; Meeting of June 1876, Examples of Richard Jones and James Brown; Meeting of August 1876, Case of Henry Stafford; Meeting of November 1876, Account of Henry Robinson; Meeting of May 1877, History of William Cottrell; Meeting of November 1877, Minutes concerning William Manifold, Henry Lockett, and Thomas Shaw; Meeting of November 1878, Notes on James McCall and John Leche; Meeting of March 1880, Account of George Drenon; Meeting of April 1881, Case of William Porter; Meeting of July 1881, Example of Edward John Morris; Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, Meeting of February 1874, Histories of John Jones, Hugh Jones, and William Edwards; Meeting of November 1874, Notes on Thomas Parr.

youngsters' family members in an effort to alleviate overcrowding and the retention of overage boys in the orphanage. One notable example of this phenomenon occurred in early 1879, when the LAOB Head Master told the Committee that there were sixteen boys residing in the asylum who were over the age of fifteen, and he stressed to them that "some of the boys are getting very old."⁹⁰ These warnings prompted the LAOB Committee to order the Head Master to contact the relatives of the six oldest boys in the asylum and ask them to remove the boys and provide for them. The families of these boys responded quickly to these requests; six boys returned to their family members between March and May 1879, and two more LAOB residents left in June 1879 to go to positions their kin had secured for them.⁹¹ Though asylum authorities were able to send eight more boys to positions they had located for them, it is clear there were moments of crisis at the LAOB in which there were simply too few positions available for boys, and families provided LAOB administrators with invaluable assistance during these periods by taking in boys or finding situations for them.

Another period of anxiety about placements and overage boys ensued at the LAOB in January 1885, when Committee minutes indicated that fourteen of the 147 children in the asylum were older than fifteen, and that no one had recently approached the asylum seeking apprentices. By February, there were 149 children in the LAOB, and nineteen boys were past the age of fifteen, which was the age at which they were to be dismissed from the asylum.⁹² LAOB Committee members continued to worry about these issues in the fall and winter of that year. In August they noted several boys in the asylum were almost sixteen years old, and there were still no appeals for apprentices, and in November they reported no children had left the asylum since October, and mentioned the continued absence of applications for apprentices.⁹³ The high point of this anxiety occurred in January 1886, when the LAOB Committee acknowledged that there

⁹⁰ Ibid., Minutes, Boys Orphan Asylum, February 1875-November 1886, Meeting of January 1879.

⁹¹ Ibid., Meetings of March 1879, May 1879 and June 1879.

⁹² Ibid., Meeting of January 1885; Meeting of February 23, 1885.

⁹³ Ibid., Meeting of August 24, 1885; Meeting of September 28, 1885; Meeting of November 23, 1885.

were 149 boys in the asylum and “some of these boys are now very old; two of them are over sixteen years of age, and several of them are very nearly sixteen.”⁹⁴ This dilemma was compounded by the fact that no boys left the asylum during the month, nor was anyone seeking apprentices at this time. This was a serious crisis for the LAOB, and it was boys’ relatives who once again came to the assistance of asylum officials. The family members of six boys removed them from the LAOB in April 1886, and thus provided LAOB administrators with a measure of relief from this placement predicament. During episodes such as this, in which a number of boys attained their majority at the same time the asylum had a limited number of applicants seeking apprentices, family members relieved asylum overcrowding by finding these boys places or by accepting them into their homes.

Not all of the relatives who participated in the placing-out process limited their efforts to finding children situations. Some family members actually involved themselves after children had already been placed, in an effort to terminate the arrangements asylum officials had made for their children. In Baltimore, the HOF relatives who engaged in this type of behavior proved particularly vocal about their unhappiness with asylum-arranged placements. Amelia Wildt’s mother complained almost immediately after the girl was sent to the household of Mrs. Dickerson, telling HOF authorities that she objected to the woman’s “adopting her [Amelia] or of her being indentured.”⁹⁵ Mrs. Wildt’s protests soon won her the return of her daughter, and other relatives acted in a similar manner to end the placements of their kin as well. Mrs. Messersmith demanded the return of her niece Catherine Newman in March 1896, though more than two years had passed since the girl’s placement with her unnamed mistress, and Mattie Martin’s sister caused her sister’s mistress [Miss Horwitz] a “great deal of trouble,” in her campaign to win her sister’s return.⁹⁶ These complaints soon yielded results as well. HOF officials transferred

⁹⁴ Ibid., Meeting of January 25, 1886.

⁹⁵ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 1, 1854-1864, Example of Amelia Wildt.

⁹⁶ WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, History of Catherine Newman; Book 8, Admissions and Monthly Reports, 1896-1902, Entry for Mattie Lavinia Martin. For another case in which relatives’ interfered with placements and expected the return of children, see: WC, HOF, Registers, Book 7, 1892-1895, Account of Florence George.

Catherine back to her Aunt, and sent another girl to Catherine's mistress as the girl's replacement, and Miss Horwitz returned Mattie to the asylum after having the care of her for only twelve days. As these examples reveal, familial opposition to third-party placements was certainly not unheard of in Baltimore, and did result in the return of some former HOF inhabitants to the relatives hostile to these arrangements.

Familial involvement in arrangements that asylum officials had already sent children to appears to have occurred far less commonly in Liverpool than in Baltimore, though at least one example reveals it did happen at the LFOA. In April 1908, Annie McAvoy's two sisters asked LFOA officials to remove the girl from her position in the laundry at the Adcote Home, though the girl had occupied this situation for eleven months, and to dismiss her to their care. LFOA officials responded to this familial interference with a combination of tactics that included the leveraging of a financial penalty, delays and an appeal to the other institution involved for assistance. The Ladies Committee ordered Annie's sisters to pay for the outfit the orphanage had originally presented to the girl, and made these two women apply to the Adcote Home directly for the girl. They also contacted the Adcote Home to express "the great unwillingness of this committee [the Ladies Committee] that Annie should leave Adcote," as part of their effort to more forcefully resist the McAvoy sisters' request. Unlike asylum administrators in Baltimore, LFOA officials were ultimately successful in their efforts to derail this familial interference in already made placements. Annie remained at the Adcote Home, won her premium in January 1911, and then left to become a cook in a new, unspecified location.⁹⁷ Annie's history suggests the resistance LFOA officials engaged in when they encountered relatives opposed to children's placements. These officials acted out against relatives in a manner that their peers in Baltimore did not, and made stronger efforts than their counterparts to actively combat familial interference in the dismissal process.

⁹⁷ SHSR, Minutes, LC, September 1892-December 1911, Meeting of October 1906; Meeting of November 1906; Meeting of April 1908, Meeting of January 1911, Notes on Annie McAvoy.

Conclusion

Children who ended up in the Baltimore and Liverpool orphan asylums came from families that had disintegrated as the result of death, disease, poverty, alcoholism, and other realities, and that required the aid these institutions could provide when it came to dependent children. Yet children's residence in these institutions did not necessarily mean the termination of the relationship between children and their relatives. For many asylum inhabitants in Baltimore and Liverpool, life in the asylum marked only the temporary interruption of their bond with their kin. Indeed, many of the same conditions or realities that forced parents and other family members to enter children into the asylums in the first place were subject to reversals that allowed kin to return to these institutions and petition for the return of children, and surviving asylum documents are filled with the accounts of relatives seeking the return of these youngsters. What followed these requests most often depended on asylum officials, though family members, and even asylum residents played a part in shaping the outcome of these appeals, and the arrangements made for the children involved. Many former asylum residents did ultimately end up living with their kin after their tenure in the asylums, though children in Baltimore had a much greater likelihood of being dismissed to their kin than did their counterparts in Liverpool.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

This dissertation has posed a number of different questions about nineteenth- and twentieth-century orphan asylums in Baltimore and Liverpool, the children who resided in these orphanages, and the families that utilized these institutions. Chief among these is how comparable orphanages in both cities were to one another, or if these institutions were really more different than they were alike. My analysis has illustrated there were some significant differences between orphanages in both cities, especially when it came to the types of children, full orphans or otherwise, that asylum administrators proved willing to admit, and to which asylum officials controlled the orphanages. Yet there were far fewer differences that separated these institutions from one another than there were commonalities among them. Put simply, the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages were remarkably similar overall, especially when it came to their staff composition, the funding that sustained these institutions, the treatment and training asylum officials accorded the children in their care, the goals orphanage representatives had for the children, and the dismissal methods these institutions employed when it came time to send children into the world outside orphanage walls.

Orphan asylums in both cities were staffed by Matrons or a Headmaster, and these employees, as well as asylum teachers, were central to the daily administration of these institutions. Though it was most common for Matrons and Headmasters to serve as asylum disciplinarians, asylum managers in Baltimore and members of the Ladies' Committee and General Committee in Liverpool also acted in this capacity as well, and these officials most commonly found themselves dealing with problematic boys. Private funding was central to the existence and continued survival of orphan asylums in both cities, though these orphanages also demonstrated a growing reliance during the second half of the nineteenth century on public funding. And the actual instruction that occurred in these orphanages was remarkably comparable as well: asylum children were segregated according to sex, and provided with a

secular education, Protestant religious instruction, and vocational training that they used in the asylum and were expected to use as well after their dismissal from these institutions.

It was only during the late nineteenth century that several of these orphan asylums altered these arrangements. During this period the BOA began to send children to city public schools and the Liverpool orphanages placed asylum schools under national governmental control. Though the emphasis in both cities' orphanages was certainly not leisure activities for the children in residence, asylum officials did make some efforts to afford these youngsters at least some outings and celebrations each year that would take them outside the institutions, if only on a very temporary basis.

Gender analysis provides additional insight into the realities of these orphanages, and illuminates not only who held the administrative power in these institutions, but also the nature of the sexual division of labor that existed within these institutions, for adults as well as children. Female asylum reformers in Baltimore were central to the administration of the BOA and HOF, and possessed more power than did their female counterparts in Liverpool, who served in subordinate roles to the male reformers associated with that city's asylums. Gender also played a central role in shaping the responsibilities that female and male teachers had in these institutions, and the division of labor that was in place in the orphanages. Female asylum teachers in both cities were expected to fulfill not only their professional duties as educational instructors, but a number of domestic tasks within these institutions that their male counterparts at the LAOB were exempt from because of their sex. More flexibility was apparent when it came to asylum children and the sexual division of labor, with children of both sexes in Baltimore and Liverpool performing much of the same types of work and labor within the asylum. Indeed, it was not until the late nineteenth century that this more flexible sexual division of labor gave way in Baltimore to a more rigid practice in which asylum residents were to receive instruction in and perform only that labor which asylum officials understood as gender appropriate.

Yet my investigation is significant not only for what it makes clear about the daily manner in which the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages functioned, the values and instruction provided to young inhabitants, or about the sexual division of labor within these institutions, but also for what it reveals about the continued commitment that orphanages in both cities demonstrated throughout much of the second half of the nineteenth century to the apprenticeship of children. The fact that apprenticeship was a practice nineteenth-century orphanages utilized in their placement of children is not surprising. Historians like Susan Porter, Steven Anders, and Timothy Hacsí have demonstrated the manner in which colonial and antebellum institutions used indenture to dismiss children.¹ Yet the general consensus among historians who study childhood and children is that indenture gave way in the later nineteenth century to other practices. According to a number of scholars, children might be returned to their families, placed informally in rural or country homes, or boarded in households with families to which they were unrelated, but it was exceedingly rare, or simply unheard of, for former asylum inhabitants to end up contractually bound to adults via indentures during this period.² My research reveals the enduring use of apprenticeship when it came to a number of the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages, and suggests the indenture of orphanage inhabitants was not perhaps as limited during the later nineteenth century as some historians have claimed. Perhaps my findings can be understood as an indication of the need to reconsider this particular claim, and also as a reason to continue exploring orphanages in other locales, as well as the labor arrangements made for these children once it came time to leave these institutions.

Though the Baltimore and Liverpool orphan asylums were remarkably comparable overall, the same cannot be said about the populations of children who inhabited these institutions

¹ Susan Lynne Porter, "The Benevolent Asylum—Image and Reality: The Care and Training of Female Orphans in Boston, 1800-1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1984); Stephen Anders, "The History of Child Welfare in Cincinnati, 1790-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University, 1981); Timothy Hacsí, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

² Priscilla Ferguson Clement, "Children and Charity: Orphanages in New Orleans, 1817-1914," *Louisiana History* 27 no. 4 (Fall 1986): 348; Joan Gittens, *Poor Relations: The Children of the State in Illinois, 1818-1990* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 21.

between 1840 and 1910. These children were in some ways strikingly similar. In both cities, the majority of orphanage residents was locally-born, healthy, and neither newborns nor infants. In addition, many of these children were not the only children from their families to enter these institutions, and they actually resided in the orphan asylums at the same time as one or more of their siblings. Yet the similarities between the two populations of children themselves did not extend beyond these realities. Indeed, whereas nearly all Liverpool orphanage residents were full orphans, the majority of Baltimore asylum children actually came from homes in which both parents were living. Asylum children in Baltimore entered the city's orphanages at younger average ages than did children in Liverpool, and there was even a small group of Baltimorean orphans who were younger than two when they were admitted. There is no evidence that any of the children in the Liverpool orphanages were this young at the time of their entry. But Baltimore children not only became residents of the city's orphanages at younger ages on average, they also remained in these institutions for shorter periods of time on average than did poor youngsters in the Liverpool orphanages. And it was not only in these respects that asylum children in both cities differed. Evidence suggests the absence of illegitimate, abused, or committed children in the orphanages in Liverpool, though a population of these types of children was certainly in residence in the HOF and BOA in Baltimore.

Conclusions about the families of origin that orphanage residents in Baltimore and Liverpool came from are more limited in their nature, because of the different types of questions that orphanage officials posed when children were admitted into these institutions. My analysis does highlight, however, the role that internal disruptions in these families played in the turn to orphanages for assistance, and suggests at least some of the similarities and differences that existed when it came to these families. Asylum children's fathers were concentrated in similar trades in both cities, though fathers in Baltimore had a greater likelihood of being unemployed, or employed as transportation workers, industrial employees, or of serving in the armed forces, than did their counterparts in Liverpool, and the latter more often worked in maritime trades than did

Baltimorean fathers. There was a more significant difference between the families of orphanage residents in Baltimore and those in Liverpool when it came to the payment of board for children's residence in these institutions. Indeed, there is no evidence that the relatives of children in the LFOA, LAOB, and LIOA compensated these asylums for children's stays, as did the family members of many Baltimorean orphanage inhabitants.

Additional information from each city may suggest additional avenues of comparative analysis when it comes to the families of asylum children in both cities. It is, for example, clear that the majority of Baltimorean asylum children were the offspring of American-born parents, though there was a group of HOF inhabitants whose mothers and fathers were foreign-born. These children came from homes in which mothers were far more likely than fathers to be affected by poverty and unemployment, and to be rendered single parents because of the death, desertion, or incarceration of their husbands. Illness, disability, intemperance, and unemployment all posed significant challenges to the stability and survival of asylum children's families in Baltimore, and mothers were more often than not the parent left responsible for weathering the myriad of problems that commonly threatened these families. On the first of these points, the reality in Liverpool remains unclear, as surviving asylum records from the LFOA, LAOB and LIOA do not make clear whether or not the majority of Liverpool orphans had parents who were English by birth, or if these parents were foreigners. Yet evidence from the Liverpool orphanages does suggest that the mothers in these families faced dilemmas that were similar to those that their counterparts in Baltimore experienced. Most of the asylum children in Liverpool came from families in which fathers died first, and the remaining parent died several years later. It is quite possible that Liverpudlian mothers who survived the deaths of their spouses confronted the same types of social and economic problems that so many Baltimorean mothers encountered prior to their turns to the orphanages, and that the families of asylum children in both cities were even more similar than this study demonstrates.

Though possible avenues of comparative analysis may remain for future scholars to evaluate when it comes to the families of asylum children in Baltimore and Liverpool, little question remains as to the centrality of orphanages the population of families that turned to these institutions. Orphan asylums offered adults options for the care of their children that they would otherwise not have possessed, and represented the private sector's solution to the difficulties that public officials in both cities proved unwilling and unable to address. These institutions provided children with a degree of stability that was in many instances missing when it came to their families of origin, and though there were a variety of experiences when it came to the children who resided within the orphan asylums, some children formed lasting emotional connections to the Baltimore and Liverpool orphanages. Indeed, in the period before the advent of mothers' pensions in the United States, and the expansion of social welfare provisions and the welfare state in England, orphanages played a critical role in the care that dependent children in both countries received, and this role deserves our attention.

Glossary

Baltimore Orphanages, Institutions, and Organizations

HOF=The Home of the Friendless of Baltimore City

BOA=Baltimore Orphan Asylum

--Original institution known as The Female Humane Association Charity School (FHACS) and incorporated in 1801.

--Institution renamed The Orphaline Charity School (OCS), and incorporated in 1807.

--Name changed in 1826 to The Baltimore Female Orphan Asylum (BFOA)

--Name changed in 1849 to The Baltimore Orphan Asylum (BOA)

SFOA=St. Francis Orphan Asylum

--Established and run by The Oblate Sisters of Providence (OSP)

JHCOA=Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum

KHOMEC=Kelso Home for Orphans of the Methodist Episcopal Church

CAS=The Children's Aid Society

--Renamed The Henry Watson Children's Aid Society in 1876

HOR=House of Refuge

MLS=Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys in Baltimore

Liverpool Orphanages and their representatives

LFOA=Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum

LAOB=Liverpool Asylum for Orphan Boys

--Alumni association known as Orphan Brotherly Society (OBS)

LIOA=Liverpool Infant Orphan Asylum

RLSOI=Royal Liverpool Seaman's Orphan Institution

Other abbreviations

JOP=Justice of the Peace

TOP=Trustees of the Poor

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Book 4, Boy's Book, 1847-1893

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Book 6, Males, 1887-1898

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Box 70, Folder 9 (Colored) Orphan Association/ Articles of Incorporation, By-laws, Constitution

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Box 17, Folder 23 Application for Aid 1915 (Board of State Aid and Charities)

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