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# **HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL WORK IN CHILD AND ADOLESCENT SEXUAL ABUSE**

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**CAROLYN HILARSKI, PHD  
JOHN S. WODARSKI, PHD  
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*Editors*

## **Handbook of Social Work in Child and Adolescent Sexual Abuse**



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EVALUATIONS . . .*

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To Chris Hilarski

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## Chapter 1

# Historical Overview

Carolyn Hilarski

### *INTRODUCTION*

Almost 40 years ago, when Henry Kempe and colleagues first described the “battered child syndrome,” no clinician or researchers would have predicted how common the abuse of children actually is today, nor would they have predicted that the spectrum of maltreatment would come to include neglect [and] sexual abuse.

(Leventhal, 2000, p. 268)

The abuse of children is a phenomenon that spans the breadth of human existence (Kalichman, 1999). Throughout this time, infants were considered feeble, immoral, mentally incapable, and connected to sickness and wickedness almost universally (Colon, 2001). As such, they were and continue to be sold, exploited, neglected, murdered, mutilated, raped, and prostituted in spite of laws meant to curb this behavior (Robinson, 1995).

### *EARLY CIVILIZATION*

This chapter explores the story of child maltreatment across millennia and cultures with the anticipation that their chronicle will influence the reality of the future of our offspring.

Historians cite Mesopotamia as the birthplace of civilization (Van Loon, 1999). The Sumerian peoples of southern Mesopotamia settled

in that area around 5000 BC (Pollock, 2004). They used pictograms and later the cuneiform (wedge shaped) alphabet (3000 BC)—honed even further by the conquering Semites (Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians, 2000 BC) who adopted the Sumerian culture—to document political, religious, personal, and financial affairs (Crawford, 2004). King Lipit-Ishtar (1934-1924 BC), and later King Hammurabi (1792-1750 BC) of Babylon employed this language to elaborate on the first written laws or codes of behavior meant to defend the feeble and/or infirmed lower classes (Colon, 2001). At this time, the judicial system worked more as a mediator leaving the litigants to carry out any punishment. Unlike today, the accused was required to show proof of innocence. In ambiguous circumstances, a trial by *ordeal* was necessary. It was believed the Gods would declare the verdict by allowing the accused to live or die while, for example, being bound and thrown into a freezing river or forced to swim forty yards across an icy current<sup>1</sup> (Bottero, 2001).

Males owned their children, wives, animals, slaves, and all named properties. A child who did not respect his or her father was predisposed to any sort of punishment from dismemberment to death. In this circumstance, a child might lose his tongue for lying or an eye for an evil look (Sulzberger, 1915). If a man went into debt, he might settle it with his own slave labor along with his children and wives, or he could sell his children or wife into slavery or servitude to repay the debt. However Hammurabi's Code paragraph 117 limited the child or wife's enslavement to no more than three years (Weber, 1988).

Before the law codes, females were sold into marriage and sometimes to more than one man. Later, arranged dowry or contracted marriages were common (Dixon, 1992). The female child remained with her biological family until the arranged time for relocation to her husband's home where she resided until her death (Weber, 1988). The female, upon her marriage, came with assorted possessions depending upon the wealth of her family. She owned these and all other bestowed gifts throughout her life. A female wishing to divorce her husband would need to rally all of her personal resources and use any covert means such as feigning madness or denying her husband intimacy to persuade him to release her. She could sue for divorce according to Hammurabi's Code (Tinsley, 2006). However, she was required to prove deserving of such a request. If, after investigation, the husband

was found guilty of, for example, abandoning his family, he was obliged according to code 137 to liberate his wife with all of her possessions in addition to giving the wife the custody of their children (Colon, 2001). However, if *she* was found guilty of, for example, waywardness or maliciousness, or her accused husband was not convicted, she would be killed (Tinsley, 2006), although the husband was granted the right to spare her if he wished (Bottero, 2001).

Hammurabi's Code also attempted to protect legitimate, illegitimate, abandoned, and unborn children from harm or losing their inheritance. For example, children abandoned to dung heaps had to be registered as part of the family so they would inherit (if they lived) their share of the father's wealth upon his death. In the event of a parent or parents' death, several codes supported the rearrangement of the family roles and wealth to ensure the maintenance and stability of the unit (Colon, 2001).

Around 550 BC, Cyrus the Great of Persia conquered Mesopotamia. The Aramaean alphabet replaced the 3,000-year-old cuneiform language (Nissen, Damerow, & Englund, 1993). Education was no longer valued, and children, women, and slaves lost their meager independence and rights under the new law of the land (Fuentes, 2004).

## ***ANCIENT GREECE***

### ***Exploitation***

It was considered a medical necessity for Greek females to engage in intercourse once menarche began (Demand, 2004). The reason for this was straightforward and related to the child's well-being. The menstrual blood had no way of leaving the body with the "orifice of egress" (hymen or maidenhead) unbroken. As a result, the menstrual blood (considered a toxic fluid) accumulated near the heart threatening the health of the virgin. Females experiencing such symptoms as bloating (understood as the filling up of lethal blood) or madness (from toxicity) might be cured with marriage and intercourse as long as the virginal state was short lived once puberty began. Thus, it was the male's duty, as the bearer of health and sanity, to have sex with the female child and the younger the better (Garland, 1986).

Bringing children into the world was no small matter in ancient Greece. Giving birth was a dangerous task and commonly took the life of the mother or child or both. This was due in part to unclean environments. However, a significant factor was the mother's age (barely pubescent). If a child was born to a child-mother without incident, a special offering was made to Artemis to celebrate the miraculous event (Garland, 1986).

The Greeks may have celebrated the miracle of birth, however, once the child was born, its chances of remaining in the family were slim. Children were commonly thrown away for the slightest of reasons (Colon, 2001). Killing the child outright (infanticide) was considered immoral (Symonds, 2005) unless the infant appeared "sickly" (Donohue, Hersen, & Ammerman, 1995). However, abandoning or "exposing" an unwanted child on a street corner was acceptable, especially if the child was female, injured at birth, or had a birth defect (Boswell, 1984). The reasons for this behavior were varied. Female children were limited in the jobs that they could do, and they needed a considerable dowry to marry. As such, it was rare for a poor or common family to raise a female child and a rich family to raise no more than one (Garland, 1986). Moreover, the purpose for raising a child was to carry on the family name, property, and genetic code—a job only the healthiest child might accomplish. It was thought foolish to waste one's time raising a defective or weak individual (Wiedemann, 1989).

In Sparta, it was customary to present all male children to the Council of Spartan Elders, which decided whether the male infant was suitable to be raised. If the child was lacking in any way, the decision to *expose* was proclaimed. The reality was that *all* children were considered a burden to their relatives and one male heir per family was deemed adequate. If a male child lived beyond the age of ten, its parents were less concerned about its mortality and more likely to relieve the family of another mouth to feed (Boswell, 1984).

Mothers had no parental privileges in ancient Greece. The individual who provided the seed possessed ownership of the children. Consequently, the child's destiny was decided by the father or his family, if the father was deceased, in concert with the state or local government, and needed to be made within the first ten days of the infant's life prior to the welcoming and naming ceremony (Garland, 1986). The

child was considered nonexistent until he or she was given a name and registered. Therefore, killing or exposing an infant during this time was standard practice and bereft of moral indignation (Rawson, 1991).

A bond, often sexual, between an adult male and a young boy is referred to as pederasty. In ancient Greece, pederasty was a common behavior (Block, 2001). Indeed, according to Plato, it was acclaimed as an educational opportunity and right of passage for male citizenship (Percy, 1996). However, male adults having sex with male children had little to do with the child's formal education or becoming a better citizen and more with serving the adult pedophile's sexual needs (Verstraete, 2004). At the age of seven, free male children left their home and lived at school until the age of eighteen. This was often the ideal circumstance for a male child to be harmed or sexually abused (Block, 2001). Solon, the lawgiver (see Dixon, 1994), attempted to curb the sexual abuse of male children by proclaiming that no child would be schooled before sunrise or after sunset, however, the pedophiles prevailed (Colon, 2001).

Young females who lost their virginity, often against their will, would shame the honor of their family and, as a result, were commonly sold as slaves for prostitution (Colon, 2001).

## ***THE ROMAN EMPIRE***

### ***Exploitation***

The position of *paterfamilias* gave males complete control of their entire family's destiny (Dixon, 1992). An infant lived according to his or her potential value to the family. Youth disobedience at any time was cause for mutilation or murder (Colon, 2001). Women were not permitted to divorce, although the male could easily withdraw from the union. The *paterfamilias* was judge and jury of his domain and had the legal right to murder his wife for such a thing as drunkenness (Dixon, 1992).

Infants were generally inconsequential in Roman society. Poets, historians, and even physicians barely mention them. Indeed, it was inappropriate to mourn a young child's death or mark the infant's grave. The newborn or toddler's mortality rate was so high that it was hardly

worth taking the time to attach or even formulate a word to describe this time of life. Moreover, one never knew when one might have to sell or expose a child owing to indigent circumstances (Martin, 2005). Children were raised, at great expense, to carry on the bloodline and to mind their parents in old age. If an individual was childless, patron slaves or kin-friends often assumed the role of progeny and accepted the cultural responsibilities that went with that position (Colon, 2001).

Roman literature cites many examples of the sexual abuse of males and females. To illustrate, it was, at least in theory, illegal according to Roman law to engage in coitus unless you were married, with a slave, or paying for the service (McGinn, 1998). Incest, sodomy, rape, and abduction were additional criminal acts and the age of the victim was of little consequence. If a child appeared complicit with an unlawful action (e.g., complied out of fear), he or she was not a victim but a collaborator and therefore given the same punishment as the perpetrator (Killias, 1991). The type of penalty faced by the adult had to do with the actual crime and not the fact that he or she was hurting and abusing a child. If the child happened to be perceived as a victim, then he or she might be protected as an adult. For example:

We hear of one case where a mother is alleged to have conceived an unnatural passion for her son, thus driving him to suicide; she was exiled for ten years, to protect her [other] son. (Robinson, 1995, p. 56)

### ***Abduction***

The apprehending of a person for sexual purposes was a capital crime and severely punished in the Roman Empire (Robinson, 1995). All participating parties were punished.

If willing agreement is discovered in the [abducted] girl, she shall be punished with the same severity as her ravisher, since impunity must not be granted even to those girls who are ravished against their will, when they could have kept themselves chaste at home up to the time of marriage, and when if the doors were broken by the audacity of the ravisher, the girls could have obtained the aid of neighbors by their cries, and could have

defended themselves by all their efforts. But, we impose a lighter penalty on those [unwilling] girls. (Robinson, 1995, p. 72)

The “ravishers,” if convicted, were not allowed to appeal their death sentence. Moreover, their coconspirators (e.g., the victims) received the same sentence unless they were slaves (in which case they were commonly burned at the stake), or *other* caregivers (e.g., they might have molten lead poured down their throats), or parents (often banished). Persons *convicted* (rarely happened) of abducting slaves or a freed women were given much lighter sentences, often a small monetary compensation (Robinson, 2003).

### *Pederasty (Sodomy)*

Most Romans viewed pederasty as a common and inconsequential sexual activity rather than couching it in an educational or spiritual venue as in the Greek era (Verstraete, 2004). It was not illegal and generally esteemed (Boswell, 1980).

### *Incest*

It was legal for a Roman to marry a close relative<sup>2</sup> and illegal to wed a dissimilar class or ancestry. Children born of mixed lineage were illegitimate and not eligible to register as a Roman citizen. The Romans and Greeks went to great lengths to keep their bloodlines pure. The Greeks in particular ignored incest laws to preserve the Hellenic ancestry (Ottenheimer, 1996). An ancient wedding invitation illustrates this:

Herais invites you to the marriage of her children, at home, the 5th, starting at the ninth hour. (Colon, 2001, p. 95)<sup>3</sup>

Another example is a husband who is out of town on business and writing to his wife, whom he refers to as his *sister*:

Know that I am still in Alexandria. . . . I ask and beg you to take good care of our baby son, and as soon as I receive payment, I will send it to you. If you are delivered of child, if it is a boy keep it, if a girl discard it. (Colon, 2001, p. 95)<sup>4</sup>

This letter further reveals the attitude regarding female children and exposure.

### ***Enslavement***

The slaves of Rome were not all captives of war or children of slaves. Many were Roman citizens. Parents unable to support their children often sold them into slavery, left them exposed for others to use at will, or traded them as payment for outstanding debts (Dixon, 1992).

Abandoned male infants were excellent candidates for castration and for the life of a eunuch slave. Exclusive Roman homes purchased these children at great cost. Their worth as sodomy play toys was considerable (Boswell, 1980). It was illegal to engage in homoerotic sex with a free man; thus, a male castrated slave was a fine solution for a master attracted to buggery (Daniel, 1994). According to the famous physician Paulus Aegineta, castration should be completed by placing a very young infant in a hot water bath to aid the testicles to descend and become quite soft at which time they would be squeezed until they disappeared (Colon, 2001).

Very young infants found exposed were often sold into slavery as sexual “pets” or used for begging after they were deliberately mutilated. So many children were exposed as infants and forgotten by their natural parents that it was common for fathers to “bed” their daughters or sodomize their biological sons (Boswell, 1998).

A marriage or a family relationship was not an option for a slave. Any child born to a female slave belonged to the slave’s owner even after she was freed (Dixon, 1992).

## ***THE MIDDLE AGES (500 TO 1400)***

In the Medieval era, children were sold into slavery or prostitution on a universal and monumental scale to settle debts or for monetary gain. As infants, they were murdered, given to religious sects as payment for heavenly access, or employed as young as four years of age. Across Europe, two out of three children died before the age of six because of poor and laborious working or housing conditions, malnutrition, neglect, disease, or slaughter (Donohue et al., 1995). The infant

mortality rate was so high in the Native American communities that the naming ritual was delayed until the age of ten (Trigger & Washburn, 1996). An Incan child had to wait until puberty to receive a permanent name. Celebrating a birth was commonly delayed for several days to years across most cultures<sup>5</sup> (Colon, 2001).

### *Servitude*

Some children were forced to work in very hazardous environments. Their small size allowed them to perform jobs that an adult was incapable of doing, such as digging in small mine shafts or cleaning the walls of wells. The majority of children (of all classes and across many cultures) relieved their parents of their care by working on the family's farm or by becoming an apprentice. Both males and females left their homes for apprentice work, often around the age of seven, and were easy prey for sexual perpetrators. A ten-year-old girl working in her uncle's stable testified and the account read as follows:

She called Jean Merlin, the farmhand, to help load up. But as soon as Merlin was in the stable, he asked [her] to kiss him, took her, lay her down, exposed himself to her, grabbed her thighs, and stuffed her mouth with straw so that she couldn't cry out. (Alexandre-Bidon, 1999, p. 80)

### *Abandonment/Infanticide*

With rare exception, killing or deserting an infant was a common behavior across the globe (Breiner, 1990; Donohue et al., 1995). In Eskimo tribes, female infanticide was so customary that males wishing to marry often had to steal their female partners from neighboring villages (Douglas, 1966; Morell, 1995). Native American tribes consistently killed or abandoned malformed or twin infants—leaving them in badger holes or suffocating them (Ramsey, 1994). Pacific islanders strangled their unwanted female, twin, or deformed infants because of superstitious beliefs or for population control (Richard, 2005). In China, families were delegated to a certain number of offspring (four sons and three daughters). All other children were drowned or abandoned (Caldwell & Caldwell, 2005).

In some European regions, children were eaten. Severe climatic changes caused famine between 600 and 800 AD (Fagan, 2000). Medieval storytellers write:

Many [hungry persons] would present eggs or pieces of fruit to children to lure them to isolated spots and then massacre and devour them. (Alexandre-Bidon, 1999, p. 35)

Indeed, the Western population declined during the early Middle Ages. Destitute families had few expectations that their “living” children would survive to a marriageable age. If, by a miracle, this happened, the offspring frequently did not legally marry. It was just too difficult to provide for a family. Clandestine marriages were common (Macy, 2000), and children born from these unions were considered illegitimate and often murdered. To reduce the number of children killed because of poverty or clandestine unions, the church sanctioned a certain type of abandonment by declaring thus:

[All priests] announce publicly to their parishioners that if a woman must conceive and give birth following a clandestine union, she certainly must not kill [her child] . . . but rather carry the baby to the doors of the church and leave it there . . . [for the faithful to raise]. (Alexandre-Bidon, 1999, p. 18)

## ***Violence***

The Middle Ages in Europe was chaotic from migrating barbarians, famine, and foreign invaders. The Thuringians, a Germanic clan, and later the Merovingians (Contreni, 1996), a French tribe, were especially violent to male and female captured youth. If children in their possession were not killed outright, they were enslaved for prostitution purposes (Colon, 2001).

In the Meso-American culture, captured, orphaned, or noble children, from age three months to eight years, were prime targets for sacrifice. Hundreds to thousands of children each year were ceremonially dismembered and murdered by having their beating hearts torn from their bodies, thrown into mud pits, bludgeoned, throats cut, or entombed alive (Fleming, 1987). Incan females (around the age of ten) were chosen by the state to spend their lives as concubines to nobles or as priestesses, a situation in which sacrifice was a likely fate.

Disobedient children were met with severe forms of punishment, such as being left out all night, submerged in mud holes, or beaten with thorny switches across the soles of their feet (Colon, 2001).

The Timucua and Natchez tribes of southern North America ritually sacrificed their first born or other children in homage to their chief or other Gods (Stojanowski, 2005).

During the Medieval Inquisition (1200 AD), any deviant behavior (colic, petulance, mischievous, sickly, etc.) by children might elicit a condemnation of being “filled with evil spirits.” It was believed that demons possessed infants who were conceived because of some broken religious taboo. Remedies for this affliction were parental abandonment, humiliation, imprisonment, torture, or death (Henningsen, 1996).

### ***Enslavement***

Slavery was alive and well in medieval Europe. As in Rome, child slaves were merchandise for the slave trade or were found as exposed infants and reared as slaves (Donohue et al., 1995). Italian slaves, in the late Middle Ages, were a diverse group purchased from Russia, Africa, Bulgaria, Albania, and England. Purchased slaves were often very young females meant for domestic labor, which included complying with the male family member’s sexual needs that sometimes resulted in pregnancy. Although, a rural landowner might embrace an added slave to his numbers, a master wishing household services might not appreciate such a condition and wish to rid the home of this inconvenience. The following letter from a slave merchant to a slave owner illustrates such a circumstance:

[Dear Sir]

The slave you sent [to sell] is sick, or rather full of boils, so that we find none who would have her. Furthermore, she says she is with your child, two months gone or more, and therefore she will not be worth selling. We will sell or barter her as best we can, and send you the account. (Phillips, 1985, p. 99)

The Goths<sup>6</sup> were especially avid and cruel slave owners known for mutilating and castrating their child and adolescent possessions (Alexandre-Bidon, 1999).

In China, it was acceptable and indeed common to sell children into slavery, as one observer reported:

Young slave girls are very cheap in China; and, indeed, all the Chinese will sell their sons as slaves equally with their daughters. (Colon, 2001, p. 263)<sup>7</sup>

### ***Rituals***

“Right of passage” or “beatification” ceremonies were universally common and often completed anytime before or at puberty. Rituals of adornment included tattooing, piercing, and head and feet wrapping or molding. Right of passage conventions included icy water baths, exposure to various insect stings, lengthy fasting and isolation, limb stretching, body cutting and skewering, castration, and carrying weights (Colon, 2001).

## ***THE RESTORATION (1400 TO 1600)***

The Renaissance brought cultural and scientific revolution for everyone but children (Tucker, 1974). Child maltreatment continued, by the rich and the poor, as in the medieval era. The high infant death rate was in part due to infanticide (Sandidge, 2005). Marriage was a complicated and expensive venture especially for the common person. The bride needed to provide a dowry and the groom had to negotiate a *bridal deposit* in addition to a *morning gift* (Yalom, 2004) in payment for his bride’s virginity. Most important, marriage required access to land to ensure the family’s survival. The church taught that marriage was for procreation, yet youth were considered a great burden, as Eustache des Champs asserts:

Happy is he who has no children, for babies mean nothing but crying and stench; they give only trouble and anxiety. (Colon, 2001, p. 214)<sup>8</sup>

Children were often killed out of economic necessity, illegitimacy, and abusive discipline (Symonds, 2005).

Katherine by a blow on the ear given by her mother did bleed at the nose very much, which did stay for an hour and more (John Dee, 1589). (Colon, 2001, p. 299)<sup>9</sup>

During this period, parents were beginning to abandon their unwanted children to churches or orphanages rather than leave them on the street. However, children continued to die at alarming rates from neglect and illness (Boswell, 1984). One glimpse of concern for children's plight was displayed with the first book addressing children's disease by Thomas Phaïre in 1545 (Nutton, 2001).

### *Exploitation*

Pederasty existed in Italy (especially in Florence) among the leading figures of the day (e.g., Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo) (Colon, 2001). The Catholic Church attempted to suppress this behavior, acclaimed as sodomy, through civil and religious venues. The convicted adults were often fined and the youth *coconspirators* (the legal age of "consent" was six to ten years old) were tortured or flogged. Some were burned at the stake (Dupont, 1993).

London's population burgeoned during the Reformation. Poverty had increased in the outlying hamlets and the poor streamed to the city—especially abandoned youth. The punishment for thievery was death and children from age seven (considered adults) caught thieving were hanged. To reduce the ever-increasing numbers of street vagrants and the accompanying crime, the Act of 1536 decreed that beggar youth (age five to fourteen) must be appointed to apprenticeships (Panter-Brick, 2000). Children who did not agree to this arrangement were publicly beaten. When the strength of street youth outnumbered the apprenticeship placements<sup>10</sup> or a child ran away because of abuse while in an apprenticeship, they were enslaved, branded, and chained for two years according to the Act of 1547<sup>11</sup> (Judges, 2002). However, street children and crime continued to rise across Europe (Colon, 2001).

Female children, living in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, who became pregnant, suffered with a venereal disease, or were found in a sexual relationship with an adult were often tortured, imprisoned, or murdered for demonic possession. It was believed that the devil's power forced them to influence innocent adult men to commit sin. Hundreds of children, from the age of three, were exposed to all forms of abuse because they were deemed witches and needed to be purified (Kahr, 1991).

## ***Abandonment***

The Reformation laws (Council of Trent in northern Italy [1548-1563]) established the common rules of formal marriage. Namely, that marriage had to be registered in the parish church of birth and conducted by a priest in front of two witnesses after openly announcing the impending union for three consecutive weeks. Before this, individuals were considered married if they lived together in “free or common marriages.” The bond between the couple was verbal “I marry you,” which was sanctioned by canon law and presence. The new marriage law purportedly freed emancipated individuals to marry their beloved instead of a person their parents or an individual with authority chose for them (Sperling, 2004). However, the new Reformation marriage laws were slow to “take hold” among the common citizens. Consequently, their unions were considered illegal and their offspring illegitimate (Symonds, 2005). Infants born of adultery, rape, illegal unions, or from impoverished families were found almost daily in the sewers and streets across Europe. These children became the livelihood and/or sexual abuse victims of the pedophiles and sociopaths whether they were monks or lords (Merrick, 1998), orphanage attendants, slavers, or street beggars (Colon, 2001).

## ***COLONIAL AMERICA (1600 TO 1700)***

Colonial expansion in America brought imprisonment, physical torture, sexual abuse, and murder to children. “Good parents” corrected defiant youth; *spare the rod and spoil the child* was the child-rearing colloquialism. A child who did not lead his or her life with religion, work, and family as a motivating force was considered neglected and badly reared. Children under the age of six were expected to work long hours for little rewards (Jordan, 2004). The Stubborn Child Laws allowed parents to put a disobedient child to death for any sort of non-compliant behavior (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 2003). Public health officials today have estimated that in Colonial America as many as two-thirds of the children died before they reached the age of four. Deaths were due, in part, to disease, starvation, accidents, beatings, and torture (Reinier, 1996).

In the early 1600s, the number of delinquent and homeless English and Irish children was so high that the politicians declared<sup>12</sup> that all street children would be indentured to the American colonies (Snow & Anderson, 1993). This was profitable for the colonist as each “bound” child meant an allotment of fifty acres of land (Price, 1995). Tens of thousands of children were indentured from England and Scotland between 1600 and 1800. William Green, 1762, described his experience:

We were put ashore in couples chained together and driven in lots like oxen [to be inspected by purchasers who] search us there as the dealers in horses do. (Colon, 2001, p. 333)<sup>13</sup>

Selling indentured children developed into such a big business that child kidnapping became a problem. The *contractors* of child cargo could fetch £25 per youth from the colonist. However, one purchaser argued:

White servants are . . . [an] . . . inferior sort of people, who have either been sent over to Virginia or have transported themselves thither, have been, and are, the poorest, idlest and worst of Mankind, the refuse of Great Britain and Ireland . . . (Hugh Jones, 1724). (Colon, 2001, p. 333)<sup>14</sup>

The French, Portuguese, and Dutch also “sent out” their unwanted children to Louisiana, the West Indies, Algeria, Africa, East Indies, and New York (Colon, 2001). Children working as factory, field, or domestic indentured slaves experienced sexual victimization at the highest level—some moving into prostitution after the indenture assignment was completed (Simpson, 1987).

### ***GLOBAL ISSUES (1700 TO 1900)***

The Industrial Revolution turned the civilized world upside down. Yet conditions for children remained morbid. High death rates and abuse of all sorts were still common. European youth had only a 50 percent chance of living to their fifth birthday (Donohue et al., 1995).

### ***Abandonment/Infanticide***

Young girls from poor homes across Europe were commonly forced to work in households far away from their villages of birth. Desperate to find a suitable union and unprotected by family and community, young women often became pregnant. Abandoning their infant to a “work house” or orphanage, or, in desperation, killing the child, often seemed the only resolution when the courtship failed or the father of the child was unable to obtain land to support a family (Symonds, 2005).

Many . . . [abandoned infants] belong to poor mothers . . . [or] widows who leave them . . . [to] find work . . . [others are] poor married women who, only seven or eight months after having one child, find themselves pregnant again and so expose the [newborn]. These infants are the worse for having been weaned at such an early age on soups of milk and wine and they become so weak that it is impossible to save them (Spain 1790: Pedro de la Vega). (Colon, 2001, pp. 324-325)<sup>15</sup>

Begging, mutilation, indentured slavery, or prostitution remained the common destinies of abandoned infants found alive. The sodomy and rape of young males (reported as young as six years) was so rampant in France (1700 and 1800s) that there were “pederast patrols” roaming the streets with hopes of reducing the numbers of victims. It was believed that male prostitutes engaged in their work because they had been violated at an earlier age. Legal agents tried to persuade the young sexual abuse victims they encountered to move on and stay away from the perpetrators, but they met with little success (Merrick, 1998, 2001).

Infants abandoned at orphanages had a one in four chance of living to the first year in France and to an even shorter period in Spain.<sup>16</sup> Overwhelming numbers<sup>17</sup> of abusive and neglectful wet nurses and *meneurs* (drivers responsible for transporting abandoned infants) who left their charges unfed and victims of the elements<sup>18</sup> in addition to general neglect, malnutrition, and disease were responsible for most deaths (Fuchs, 1984).