Child Abuse Investigations

FROM DISPATCH TO DISPOSITION

Donald A. Hayden

CHILD ABUSE INVESTIGATIONS

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By

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FOREWORD

Unlike so many texts on investigations, no one has really addressed the issue of child abuse investigations like is presented in this book by Don Hayden. If his Prologue about Ellie's Story doesn't get your attention, nothing will for it is extremely compelling and contains lessons that all investigators should heed. This is a delicate process that has to be investigated carefully and with compassion, yet at the same time realizing that the investigator needs facts to not only establish the crime but to help identify the perpetrator and assist prosecution without losing sight of the victim.

Mr. Hayden has thirty-five years of experience in law enforcement with thirty of those investigating felony crimes. He has not only a Master's Degree in Forensic Science but also attended a one-year fellowship in Forensic Medicine at the US Armed Forces Medical Examiner's Office. He is a fully trained and well experienced Child Forensic Interviewer where the results of which can be seen throughout his writings. Besides being a senior Special Agent conducting investigations and supervising other agents in the investigative process, Mr. Hayden has been teaching child abuse investigations for many years and has been recognized in both military and civilian courts as an expert in child abuse investigations and crime scene examination and reconstruction. Mr. Hayden has authored a Crime Scene Processing Manual in 2004 through CRC Press, Boca Raton, Florida and in 2008 was the recipient of the State of Missouri Governor's Medal of Valor for Public Safety.

Mr. Hayden has authored this text with the investigation at the forefront, while concentrating on the multi-disciplinary team concept. It artfully describes the interaction between law enforcement, prosecutors, forensic interviewers, child advocates, child protection workers and the medical community and the impact those agencies have upon the ultimate success or failure of the investigation. While written from the criminal investigation perspective, Mr. Hayden has incorporated all facets of the multidisciplinary team to demonstrate how the team concept enhances the investigation and ultimate care of victims of abuse. He utilizes case studies that provide the reader first hand exposure to the concepts discussed. These case studies demonstrate teaching points in a manner not normally seen in text books. The fact that Don was involved in virtually all of the case studies only serves to enhance the teaching points.

Lastly, Mr. Hayden's book on Child Abuse Investigations will become a stable book on the shelves of all investigators, especially those that work with either child abuse cases or special victim's units. And, I would suspect that it will become the standard by which all other books of this nature will be defined.

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PREFACE

750,000

A n average of 750,000 children are victims of child abuse every year. The United States Department of Health and Human Services produces a booklet annually containing many statistics concerning abuse. The number changes each year, but stays very close to 750,000. About 1,500 children die every year from some form of child abuse. The underlying reasons for abuse may change slightly but the fact remains, about 2,000 children are victims of abuse each day (U.S. Department of Health, 2015).

In 1985, when I was a rookie detective, the girl outlined in Case Study 13.1 walked into our police department. I was only an observer in that investigation, but I have never forgotten the attitudes of the seasoned detectives and ultimately the complete truthfulness of that young girl. That investigation solidified to me that, no matter how farfetched the victim's story, you must believe it until the evidence says otherwise. That investigation has stuck with me for over 30 years.

In 2011, I met Ellie Hagen and her parents. You will read about Ellie and her parents several times in this textbook. Ellie was seven when she was abused by a family friend, and she was ten when she began to speak publicly about the abuse. She is a survivor and a hero.

While the case in 1985 was the first time I learned believing the victim was critical, it was Ellie's story that catapulted me over the edge and finally made me put words on paper for this textbook. Ellie's story made me realize that the "win" is not the only thing that matters. Competency and compassion are what matters. Competency gets the win, compassion gets the victory for all involved.

Much like the investigation in 1985 and Ellie, the case studies in this text are all true. I was involved in those investigations either as the lead investigator, an observer of that investigation, or as a supervisor of the investigation. Some modifications have been made to the details in the interest of making the cases relevant to the twenty-first century or to protect identities, but they are, at their core, true. The case studies are interspersed in the text to demonstrate points and help clarify the text.

As you read the text you will notice the phrase "reported abuse" is frequently used instead of "alleged abuse." This is intentional and represents what I hope will be a mindset shift. Does a heart attack victim have alleged chest pains? Does a burglary victim have an alleged break-in? No, these are incidents that are reported. The word alleged implies some level of disbelief. We, as a society, must get away from that mindset. In the same vein as reported versus alleged, the term "grooming behavior" should be replaced with the phrase manipulative behavior. When something is groomed, it is normally for a positive event or experience. The manipulation child abusers accomplish is most certainly not for a positive encounter with the child. This is a mindset change we should make and hopefully this text will assist with that.

The multidisciplinary team (MDT) concept is very effective at bringing various child protection officials together. Each member of a multidisciplinary team brings a different skillset to the report of abuse. Across the country, some jurisdictions have very strong MDTs while others have very weak teams. This text is not designed as a "how to" guide for an MDT, rather it is intended to shed some light on the MDT concept and then concentrate on the investigation. The vast majority of child abuse reports will not result in criminal charges being filed, yet will require some inquiry, if not a full investigation. The various disciplines must be engaged in the investigation. Although this text is written with the police or child protective services investigator in mind, all members of the MDT conduct investigations and benefit from understanding investigations.

The concept of the text is that the people involved in the investigation, whether law enforcement, child protective services, medical, courts, or advocacy, are responsible for the investigation from *dispatch* to *disposition*. Dispatch is a reference to the initial notification of the need for involvement in a child's life and is a law enforcement centric term. Disposition is a reference to the ultimate conclusion of the case involving the child. That may mean after a sentencing in a criminal trial, the completion of counseling and reunification of the family, or some other ultimate disposition of the case. The point of the title and concept is for the reader and the child protection professional to understand they will be responsible for the matter for quite some time. The short interlude in the beginning of a case is not the end. You own it—you are responsible from the moment you get involved until the very end.

The challenge investigators face is the infinite number of ways a child can be abused. Victims of child abuse may be physically assaulted or killed, raped or sexually exploited, or neglected in a myriad of ways. This text was prepared with those differences in mind.

Preface

Some Notes About the Book

Many times gender neutral references are made. This is intentional as perpetrators are male and female; victims are also male and female. It is important not to gender stereotype.

Many times in the text the terms multidisciplinary team (MDT), investigator, interviewer, police, child protective services (CPS), or child protection professionals are used seemingly interchangeably. This is intentional as those people all play a role in the investigation and each person's contribution is as vital as the others. A multidisciplinary team cannot function with only one discipline, so each discipline and its respective title(s) is mentioned throughout.

Throughout the chapters, you will find key terms italicized in the text. These are important terms or phrases and are enumerated at the end of each chapter. These words and phrases will serve to expand your vocabulary and understanding of the topic.

Also at the end of each chapter are four critical thinking questions. These questions are designed to expand your thinking about the information contained in the chapters and, hopefully, will generate discussion concerning those, and other topics. We learn best through not only individual study, but through the exchange of information and ideas. These questions will facilitate the learning.

The information contained in the text concerning either medical examinations or mental health treatment is in no way designed to endorse a particular medical or mental health procedure, treatment, or act as counseling The information is presented for academic purposes and must be expanded upon by individuals in their respective geographic jurisdictions.

The opinions expressed in this textbook are the opinions of the author and do not represent the official position of the Department of Defense, the Department of the Army, The United Stated Army Criminal Investigation Command, or any subset of those or any other organizations.

Prologue

ELLIE'S STORY

First, a note about Ellie's Story. The story is true. The facts of the case as detailed are verified. The investigation was thoroughly investigated by both state and federal investigators and resulted in convictions on both the state and federal level. The perpetrator received significant confinement and by every standard the investigation was successful. But that is not the purpose of the story. Ellie and her parents, who were unfamiliar with the investigative process, felt many aspects of the investigation were not handled as well as they could have been. The feelings Ellie and her parents have toward the investigation and the process can be challenged, however, cannot be changed. The experience of a victim and their nonoffending family members during the conduct of a criminal investigation are oftentimes forgotten by child protection professionals. It is for that very reason this story is the beginning of this text.

The author first learned of Ellie's story through a news story that aired on KY3 Television, an NBC television affiliate in Springfield, Missouri. The investigation, and prosecution of the offender was complete and Ellie, a 10year-old, had been awarded an "Everyday Hero" award by the Springfield, Missouri chapter of the American Red Cross. The author has interviewed Ellie and her parents many times since 2011, and the information in this text pertaining to their story is based on personal communication.

Ellie Hagen is a resident of Missouri who courageously came forward, reported sexual abuse by a family friend, and eventually, saw the issue through to a successful resolution in court. Ellie comes from a hard-working, loving family that sought to see the good in people. Ellie's parents, Mark and Alicia Hagen, both have their own businesses and work hard to provide the best possible life for Ellie and her siblings. Mark and Alicia are deeply religious and have instilled those values in Ellie. Ellie has turned being a "victim into a victory" and has become a teenage advocate for abused children. Ellie and her parents have graciously allowed their story to be used as a part of this book.

Ellie's abuser, George, like many child abusers did not only have one victim. Joanie, a close friend of Ellie's was abused by George for years. The story that follows provides the opportunity to not only look at how Ellie's story unfolds, but also to see that Joanie, who was not as fortunate as Ellie, struggled with the abuse and did not have a stable home life.¹

THE INCIDENT AND REPORTING

Ellie was seven when she went to Joanie's house for a birthday/sleepover party in March, 2008. Ellie, like most children her age, was trusting of adults, particularly adults who were trusted by her parents.

Joanie came from a single parent home. Joanie's mother worked long hours, nights and weekends and struggled to provide the life she wanted to give Joanie.

George was a trusted family friend and Joanie's stepfather. George was a civic leader active in many public capacities in the community. He served on the local fire department, was a school bus driver, and an elder in his church. Everyone trusted George, and he did everything he could to create an atmosphere of trust.

The sleepover started like most slumber parties attended by seven and eight-year-old girls: games, snacks, movies, and laughter. At some point, George came to Ellie and in Ellie's words, "touched her in ways he was not supposed to." The abuse caused Ellie to question the trust her parents had instilled in her and the trust she had in her parents.

Ellie waited over a year to report the abuse to her parents because Alicia (her mother) had told Ellie that George was "a nice man." Ellie reported that she did not think anyone would believe her, so she did not say anything.

Alicia related that one day in June 2009 (about one year after the incident), she decided it was time to reinforce to Ellie that if anyone ever touched her in an inappropriate manner, Ellie should tell. Alicia called Ellie into the kitchen, and as soon as she brought up the topic of inappropriate touching Ellie's eyes began to well-up, and Alicia's motherly instincts kicked in. Alicia instantly knew something had happened, and when she asked Ellie what happened, Ellie immediately told of the abuse by George a year prior.

Alicia notified Joanie's mother right away, and they met to talk about the abuse. Alicia never once doubted Ellie's assertions and knew that she need-

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^{1.} The names of Joanie and George have been changed to protect their identities.

ed to contact law enforcement. Unfortunately for Ellie, Mark, and Alicia, the next few months were extremely trying.

That same day, Alicia took Ellie to the local police department and reported the abuse. Alicia walked into the police station and saw an officer on the other side of a bulletproof glass window in the reception area. The officer gave her a statement form and told her to write down what happened. Alicia had never been to a police station before to report a crime and did not know what to expect, however, she was stunned that the officer was so matter-of-fact in his actions when providing a statement form. Alicia felt like he was performing a routine task and wasn't taking interest in her daughter. She filled out the form and gave it back. The officer told her a detective would be in touch and she should go on home.

As Alicia puts it, this was very upsetting to her. She had just brought her daughter to the police station to report sexual abuse and the only thing that happened was Alicia prepared a handwritten statement and was told to leave. During this initial encounter with law enforcement, no one asked Ellie what happened or even talked to her about the incident. Alicia left the police station dismayed and distraught. She knew her daughter had been sexually abused by a man with considerable standing in the community and she felt like the police officer either did not believe the allegation, or did not care.

Alicia wanted immediate action. She expected that when she walked into the police station, someone would interview Ellie and go arrest George. Instead, she was sent away with no explanation other than "someone will get in touch with you." Alicia was now faced with what to do about her feelings, Ellie's feelings, and what she should do about Mark. Alicia knew Mark would be upset and he would want to take matters into his own hands.

Alicia and Ellie returned to their home, and Alicia called a family friend to come and remove Mark's firearms from the house. She then called Mark and asked him to come home so they could talk about something that had happened. Alicia told Mark and, as predicted, Mark immediately went to find his firearms so he could take care of the problem. Alicia then told Mark that she needed Mark and if Mark took matters into his own hands the family may never recover. Mark, who felt family was important, was able to control his emotions and let the system work.

THE INVESTIGATION

Several days after their initial report, a police detective contacted Alicia and asked to interview Ellie. A trained child interviewer conducted a forensic interview at a Child Advocacy Center. Ellie recalls the interviewer was friendly and very good at her job. Ellie sat in bean bag chairs and talked about what happened. Ellie was at ease during the interview and found it easy to discuss the incident. What happened next, though, confused her.

Ellie said after the interview, she was required to undergo a Sexual Assault Forensic Examination (SAFE) to look for evidence and ensure she was healthy. Ellie said that this confused her since the incident had occurred more than one year earlier. Although Alicia had consented to the examination and understood the necessity, Ellie was left in the dark. Ellie described this as scary and stated that she just wanted to know what was happening and why.

According to Alicia, the next step in the investigation was a visit to George by the local police. The police told George they would be seizing his digital evidence the next day. Alicia found this very confusing and believed it was an attempt to warn George. While those in the system can see this is not likely the case, the lack of information provided by the police to Alicia or the family exacerbated this already tense situation. The police eventually executed a search warrant and seized several items of evidence. Among those items were a computer and a digital camera. Examination of those devices resulted in the discovery of several hundred images of child pornography, including homemade images of sexual abuse perpetrated by George upon Joanie.

Law enforcement arrested George approximately thirty days after Alicia made her initial report to the police. Alicia was incredulous that it took thirty days to arrest him, and Ellie was afraid other children were victimized in the interim. As the investigation progressed, George's abuse of Joanie was exposed. George had abused Joanie over an extended period of time and produced child pornography of Joanie. Because of the child pornography, federal authorities were involved and parallel federal and state investigations were initiated.

The parallel investigation further confused Mark, Alicia, and Ellie. There were now two different police agencies (local and federal), the child protective services representatives, two prosecutors, social workers, counselors, defense attorneys, and victim advocates involved. It seemed to Alicia that none of the agencies spoke to each other, and they all asked the same questions. Child protective services even told her to keep Ellie away from George and safe. As Alicia put it, "I was the one who reported the abuse and they ordered me to keep my daughter away from that man." Alicia had no idea there were parents who failed to protect their children.

Mark and Alicia recognized the potential trauma Ellie might have experienced as a result of this and enrolled Ellie in counseling.

After George was arrested, Ellie was assigned a victim advocate. The advocate, like the initial police officer, gave Ellie and Alicia the impression

Prologue

that this was a routine matter. Alicia and Ellie were unimpressed, so they went to a nearby county and met with a county victim advocate who explained the process, provided literature and educated Ellie and her parents about the court system.

Alicia requested a meeting with the prosecutor, and when she arrived for the meetings, the prosecutor referred to Ellie's case by the case number and explained to Alicia that he had not given the case much attention as he was preparing a murder case for trial. Alicia's reaction to the comment was to put a photograph of Ellie on the table and state, "This is my daughter Ellie, I don't care about your murder. I care about my daughter, she is not a case number, she is a person!" The prosecutor then paid closer attention during the meeting and the case began to work itself toward resolution.

George was initially arrested on state charges and given a \$50,000 bond. As is the right of any defendant, George requested a bond reduction hearing. Mark and Alicia were notified of the bond reduction hearing and they asked the prosecutor if they could speak at the hearing. Alicia said the prosecutor was very matter-of-fact in his statement that, "George is going home today, it's all arranged." This statement infuriated Alicia and she again asked to speak to the judge during the hearing. Alicia was allowed to make a statement and after hearing her position, the judge denied the bond reduction. The manner in which the prosecutor explained everything to Mark and Alicia only furthered their opinion that the system was "rigged."

HIRING A PRIVATE ATTORNEY AND BIKERS AGAINST CHILD ABUSE (BACA)

Mark, Alicia, and Ellie grew increasingly frustrated because of a lack of information from any of the agencies. Alicia was required to leave work frequently to meet with one of the many agencies responsible for Ellie's safety. This oftentimes required Ellie's absence from school, as well. Simple aspects of the criminal justice process were foreign and not understood by Ellie or her parents. On one occasion, when Alicia asked the prosecutor why the matter had not been resolved, she was told "This isn't like *CSI*; things take time." Alicia, who prior to this incident, had no interest in the criminal justice field, had no idea what "CSI" referred to. She later found out it was a popular television drama, *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* airing on CBS Television from 2000–2015.

On another occasion, a representative from George's attorney's office came to Ellie's school and asked representatives from the school about Ellie's propensity to tell the truth. At the time, Ellie was very confused to learn that her perpetrator was able to question whether Ellie was telling the truth, but no one would compel him to tell the truth.

Because of these and other similar occurrences, Mark and Alicia decided they would hire a private attorney to represent Ellie's interests in court. The hiring of a personal attorney strained their tenuous relationship with the prosecutor's office.

During the initial phases of the investigation, an organization known as Bikers Against Child Abuse (BACA) learned of Ellie and Joanie. BACA adopted Ellie and Joanie and made them feel safe. BACA members rode to Ellie's and Joanie's homes, gave the girls jackets and their cellular telephone numbers, and generally welcomed them. The well-being of Ellie and Joanie was the only thing that mattered to the BACA. They provided comfort to Ellie anytime she felt scared, even in the middle of the night. Representatives of the local BACA chapter also accompanied Ellie to court and made her feel safe when she confronted George.

Although BACA has a mixed reputation among criminal justice officials, in this case, Ellie felt BACA cared more about her mental and physical wellbeing than anyone in the law enforcement community.

THE COURT PROCESS

The case against George progressed in the criminal courts and, although, he was able to post bond through the state system, he was re-arrested by federal authorities fairly quickly. In comparison to other criminal prosecutions, the case against George was considered normal by criminal investigation professionals. For Mark, Alicia and Ellie, normal was not adequate. No one explained the delays, nor did anyone explain the rights of the defendant and the responsibilities of the prosecution to ensure the process was legally sufficient. Alicia became increasingly frustrated with the slow pace of the case and several times was tempted to ask the state to drop the charges so her family could heal.

Eventually, the federal and state cases were completed and plea agreements were reached. On August 2, 2010, George plead guilty to molestation charges against Ellie and Joanie. He was sentenced to 15 years in state prison, to run concurrent with a plea agreement in federal court to child pornography charges.

Timeline of George's Criminal Case in The State of Missouri

- 06/17/09-Original complaint made with local police
- 07/15/09-Arrest warrant on state charges issued
- 07/16/09-George was arrested
- 07/28/09-Bond reduction hearing held and bond was not reduced
- 07/31/09–George posted \$50,000 bond via a bondsman
- 09/28/09-George arrested on federal charges
- 10/01/09-Held without bond on federal charges
- 07/30/10–George pleads guilty to federal charges in the United States District Court, Springfield, MO, and remains in custody
- 08/02/10–George pleads guilty to state charges and sentenced to 15 years for offenses against Ellie and an additional 15 years for offenses against Joanie
- 11/23/10-George is sentenced to 15 years on federal charges, both state and federal sentences to run concurrently (*State v. Benson*, 2009; *U.S. v. Benson*, 2009)

THE AFTERMATH

Ellie was enrolled in psychological counseling almost immediately and the result was positive. Counseling prepared Ellie to face George in court, and with any feelings of guilt that she had. Counseling also opened unexpected doors for Ellie that aided in her healing. One morning about 5 a.m., Ellie got out of bed and went to get a drink of water. While walking to the kitchen in her home, Ellie says that God sang into her heart and told her to tell her story to anyone who would listen. As previously stated, Mark, Alicia, and Ellie have a very deep belief in God, and Ellie believes God chose her to help other children come forward. Ellie knew her parents would be reluctant to allow her to tell her story. She spoke to her counselor about her desire to tell her story and help other children and they discussed the peril of becoming a voice for victims of child abuse, particularly at such a young age. Ellie was only nine years old when she had this revelation.

After a few sessions with her counselor, Ellie's counselor agreed with Ellie that telling her story would be healthy for her. Ellie's counselor helped Ellie convince her parents to allow her to tell her story publicly. As Mark and Alicia put it, they come from the "shush generation" where they did not discuss child sexual abuse. Ellie and her counselor eventually convinced Mark and Alicia that it would be healthy for Ellie. Ellie's counselor was quick to point out that speaking in public about child sexual abuse is not healthy for everyone, and must be approached with caution. The counselor felt strongly that Ellie was the type of person who would benefit from telling her story. As of 2016, Ellie has been publicly speaking about her story of survival for five years and shows no signs of slowing down.

Ellie's story has great significance for all child protection professionals, as they must understand their role in the process. A process that will affect a young child for the rest of his or her life. Ellie and her story have been a big inspiration for this text. The victims must be the reason for the investigation. Everything child protection professionals do in furtherance of their investigation must be with the victim in mind.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No undertaking of this magnitude can be completed without the involvement of many individuals. My wife and son endured many long weekends with me at the computer and not spending time with them. Thank you, Dianne and Alex.

I want to thank Supervisory Special Agent Arthur "Steve" Chancellor for pushing me to complete this textbook. Were it not for Steve, I doubt this would have happened. There have been so many people and education courses during my career who impacted me professionally, I could not possibly mention them all, and since I do not want to slight anyone, thank you to those persons who shaped my career and influenced my actions. Your influences are clear throughout the text and forever embedded in my mind.

I must thank Gary Northrip and Cara Gerdiman from Kid's Harbor Child Advocacy Center, Osage Beach, Missouri, for allowing me to work alongside them for so many years to hone my skills. Without their support I would not be where I am today.

To Ellie, Alicia and Mark, your impact on me has been life changing.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, thank you to my daughter, Heather Gaddy, a high school English teacher who took my words and put them in the format you will read in this text. Heather's editorial skills cannot be understated and without them, this book would have never happened. Thank you, Heather.

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CHILD ABUSE INVESTIGATIONS

Chapter 1

WHAT IS CHILD ABUSE?

INTRODUCTION

Child abuse investigations are extremely important. That single sentence seems very obvious; however, many persons involved in the investigation of allegations of child abuse fail to see the long-term impact the investigation can have on a victim, a suspect, witnesses, family members, and child abuse investigations professionals.

Child protection professionals (child protective services, law enforcement, victim advocates, forensic interviewers, and legal professionals) are called upon to conduct investigations of child abuse, whether an allegation of physical abuse, sexual abuse, or neglect. The outcome of these investigations greatly impacts all parties involved.

Child abuse cases can frequently be hidden from public view. Sadly, this increases the risk for children as time goes on and seriousness of the abuse worsens. But, even in cases where obvious child abuse is not hidden from the public, when friends and neighbors know of the abuse, the abuse may still continue.

HISTORY

Before we can understand the depth of child abuse, take a moment and look at some of the history of how children were viewed through the years. Child abuse in the United States dates back to the founding fathers. Children were looked at as property and treated cruelly. Cruel treatment of children remains the single most common cause of childhood deaths.

In early colonial America, children were property and the male parent was the custodial parent. Because children had commercial value, parents sometimes sold their children to others for items needed for the family. Care of the child was left up to the custodial parent. Interestingly, if a child was harmed in some way (either physically injured or even impregnated) the custodial parent could sue the offender for damages due to a lack of productivity by the child.

A Short Chronology of the History of Child Protections Laws

May 29, 1866

Massachusetts passed "An Act Concerning the Care and Education of Neglected Children." There were four key sections in this act pertaining to child welfare. The first section authorized cities to make:

needful provisions and arrangements concerning children under sixteen years of age, who, by reason of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vices of parents, or from orphanage, are suffered to growing up without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing them to lead idle and dissolute lives . . . (p. 266)

The second section authorized:

The mayor and aldermen of cities and the selectmen of towns availing themselves of the provisions of this act shall severally appoint suitable persons to make complaints in case of violations of such ordinances or by-laws as may be adopted, who alone shall be authorized to make complaints under the authority of this act. (p. 266)

The third section proclaimed:

When it shall be proved to any judge of the superior court, or judge or justice or a municipal or police, court, or to any trial justice, that any child under sixteen years of age, by reason of orphanage or of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of parents, is growing up without education or salutary control, and in circumstances exposing said child to an idle and dissolute life, any judge or justice aforesaid, shall have power to order said child to such institution of instruction or other place that may be assigned for the purpose, as provided in this act, by the authorities of the city or town in which such child may reside, for such term of time as said judge or justice may deem expedient, not extending beyond the age of twenty-one years for males, or eighteen years for females, to be there kept, educated and cared for according to law. (p. 267)