

Jill Lepore, "Baby Doe: A political history of tragedy," *The New Yorker*, February 1, 2016.

A Note about Sources

N.B. For readers who'd like to read more, or who are undertaking their own research, here is a select bibliography of my sources for this piece. As with all the bibliographies for New Yorker essays that I post on my Harvard faculty website, this brief discussion mentions a good number of works consulted but it's neither an exhaustive inventory of my sources nor a survey of the scholarship in a given field. Instead, I've listed works I found most useful or especially provocative. I have generally only included manuscripts, journal and magazine articles, and books; I haven't listed interviews here at all; I've generally not included things like newspapers, advertisements, patents, legislation, and policy statements; and I've left out citations from specialized bodies of literature in fields like medicine and law. A last caveat: these brief bibliographies are all frozen in time: I do not update them, and they therefore don't include anything written on these subjects after the date on which my essay was published.

My accounts of the Baby Doe investigation and the pre-trial proceedings relating to criminal charges against Rachelle Bond and Michael McCarthy are derived from court documents, press coverage, and interviews, especially with Bond's attorney, Janice Bassil, and with employees of the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority. Sources for my account of the current controversy at the Massachusetts Department of Children and Families include published investigations into recent deaths, including reports published by DCF itself, by the Massachusetts Office of the Child Advocate and by the Child Welfare League of America. My thanks to everyone I interviewed, including DCF Commissioner Linda Spears and the Massachusetts Child Advocate, Maria Mossaides.

My account of the Gallison case is based on the complete records of the separate criminal trials of Denise and Edward Gallison (including court briefs, dockets, and trial testimony); newspaper accounts from 1978-1980; the results of the state-mandated investigation, "Report of the Massachusetts Child Abuse and Neglect Fact-Finding Commission: First Case Study," typescript, June 26, 1978; and interviews with Denise Gallison, with members of her family, and with her caregivers, that appear in a one-hour documentary, *Denise: The Tragedy of Child Abuse* (Boston: ABC-TV, 1980). I also interviewed Eleanor Dowd, who served as a staff member for the Fact-Finding Commission.

Primary sources that I cite regarding the history of child protection in the nineteenth century include Florence Davenport Hall, *Children of the State: The Training of Juvenile Paupers* (New York: Macmillan, 1868); Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, *Revised manual of the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children: Laws of Massachusetts Concerning Children* (Boston: The Society, 1882); and Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Junior Division, *A Few Words to Children about Some Other Children* (Boston, MA: Junior

Division, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1920). A secondary account of the MSPCC is Ray S. Hubbard, *Crusading for Children: The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (Boston: MSPCC, 1943).

My accounts of the history of child welfare, of child protection, and especially of the post-1974 report-abuse regime are derived from materials that include articles in medical journals (most notably, John Caffey, “Multiple Fractures in Long Bones of Infants Suffering from Chronic Subdural Hematoma,” *American Journal of Roentgnology* [1946] and C. Henry Kempe et al, “The Battered-Child Syndrome,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 181 [1962]: 17-24); coverage of the issue in newspapers and magazines; and public records (including legislative hearings, legislation, and newspaper accounts of legislative debate). These individual sources are too numerous to cite here. A representative Progressive era account is Homer Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1902). An element of this history that I did not discuss is the Children’s Bureau, but see Katharine Briar-Lawson et al, eds., *The Children’s Bureau: Shaping a Century of Child Welfare Practices, Programs and Policies* (Washington, DC: NASW Press, 2013). Popular polemics about child abuse about from 1962-1980, see, e.g., Naomi Feigelson Chase, *A Child Is Being Beaten: Violence Against Children, an American Tragedy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975) and Joseph Goldstein, Anna Freud, and Albert J. Solnit, *Before the Best Interests of the Child* (New York: The Free Press, 1979).

I also relied on the considerable scholarship in the fields of history, political science, and public health policy, tracing the history of child welfare, as well as on a significant body of academic literature critiquing the scandal-reform cycle. A sample of notable works in this field includes: LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History* (New York: Twayne, 1997); Ian Butler and Mark Drakeford, *Social Policy, Social Welfare and Scandal: How British Public Policy is Made* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Lela B. Costin et al, *The Politics of Child Abuse in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Juliet Gainsborough, *Scandalous Politics: Child Welfare Policy in the States* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2010); Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880-1960* (New York: Penguin, 1988); Ruth Homrighaus, *Baby Farming: The Care of Illegitimate Children in England, 1860-1943*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003); Emily Horowitz, “‘I was a child abuser!’: What we read when we read about child abuse,” *Psychology of Popular Media Culture* 3 (2014): 79-96; Duncan Lindsey, *Child Poverty and Equality: Securing a Better Future for America’s Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Duncan Lindsey, *The Welfare of Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), specially chapter 5, “The End of Child Welfare: The Transformation of Child Welfare into Child Protective Services”; John E.B. Myers, *Child Protection in America: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Barbara J. Nelson, *Making an Issue of Child Abuse: Political Agenda Setting for Social Problems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Nigel Parton, *The Politics of Child Protection: Contemporary Developments and Future Directions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child: Governing America’s Young in*

the Twentieth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Eve P. Smith and Lisa A. Merkel-Holguin, eds., *A History of Child Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1996); and Peter N. Stearns, *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2003). I have written about the history of childhood in several essays, including in a book called *The Mansion of Happiness: A History of Life and Death* (New York: Knopf, 2012), whose endnotes point to a broader literature on the history of childhood as a stage of life.

The Adverse Childhood Experiences studies are available online, as are many materials relating to Yale's Minding the Baby Program. My particular thanks to the faculty and staff at Minding the Baby, for particularly illuminating interviews regarding the provision of preventative care. Publications reporting the results of the clinical trial include Monica Roosa Ordway et al, "Lasting Effects of an Interdisciplinary Home Visiting Program on Child Behavior: Preliminary Follow-Up Results of a Randomized Trial," *Journal of Pediatric Nursing* (2013).