

A CHILD WELFARE SYMPOSIUM

TWENTY-FIVE SPECIAL PAPERS
CONTRIBUTED BY LEADING PENNSYLVANIANS

EDITED BY
W. H. SLINGERLAND, PH. D.
SPECIAL AGENT, DEPARTMENT OF CHILD-HELPING
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Supplement To
CHILD WELFARE WORK IN
PENNSYLVANIA

A CO-OPERATIVE STUDY OF CHILD-HELPING AGENCIES
AND INSTITUTIONS



NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF CHILD-HELPING
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INTRODUCTORY

WHILE directing the field work of the co-operative study of child-helping agencies and institutions in Pennsylvania, Dr. Slingerland counseled with a large number of leading citizens and social workers who were greatly interested in the various problems of child welfare. Twenty-five of them responded to requests for special papers on topics relating to these problems, and this symposium is the result.

The book prepared from the material gathered in that study has been published under the title *Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania*, a volume of several hundred pages, with many valuable tables and numerous illustrations.

Originally it was intended to include these papers as a section of the book, but later it was decided to publish them separately as a supplement to the volume. In the book, limitations of space would have required the use of syllabi of the papers; in the form here used the entire articles appear as written, except for slight editorial changes.

The Russell Sage Foundation assumes no responsibility for the views of the authors, but publishes the symposium as a valuable contribution to child-helping literature.

The Département of Child-Helping hereby returns grateful thanks to the authors for their careful preparation of the articles. It is hoped that their publication and distribution may aid in solving some important child-welfare problems.

HASTINGS H. HART,
Director Department of Child-Helping

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ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE SYMPOSIUM

WILLIAM H. SLINGERLAND, PH. D.

AS an adjunct to the direct work of the co-operative study of Pennsylvania child-helping agencies and institutions, whose results have been published, a topical symposium on child-welfare themes was arranged in order to record the plans, proposals, and conclusions of a number of the state's own citizens. The reports and schedules of the study dealt with numbers, methods, and conditions, rather than with causes, preventive agencies, and remedies. In the book based on material gathered in the study, the more general chapters on social themes and state relations express mainly the views of the author. But this collection of carefully prepared articles represents the child-welfare situation in Pennsylvania as seen from viewpoints within the commonwealth.

Leading agency and institutional executives, and unofficial social workers, were invited to express their views, to state what they considered special needs, and to suggest remedies for existing ills. The favorable responses showed appreciation of this effort to secure co-operation, and resulted in twenty-five valuable papers, full of facts, ideas, and practical suggestions.

It was intended to make the symposium truly representative of the varied child-caring interests and institutions. How well the effort succeeded may be judged from the list of themes and writers. The names of writers include state and county officials, agency and institution executives, and prominent private citizens. From the religious standpoint there are Jews, Catholics, and Protestants.

The state officials are represented by the Honorable Bromley Wharton, secretary of the board of public charities; county officials by H. P. Richardson, superintendent Philadelphia House of Detention for juveniles; the semi-public institutions for juvenile delinquents by J. S. Heberling, superintendent of the Wm. T. Carter Junior Republic, and F. H. Nibecker and Martha P. Falconer, superintendents of the Glen Mills Schools; the humane

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societies by Roy Smith Wallace, secretary of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty; the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania by its secretary, Alexander Fleisher.

The child-caring agencies are represented by articles from the pens of Belle Chalfant of Pittsburgh, J. Bruce Byall, Mrs. E. A. Puncheon, and E. D. Solenberger of Philadelphia; the child-caring institutions by William Bradford Buck, Aaron D. Faber, and Frank D. Witherbee, all of Philadelphia. The problems relating to the care and training of dependent Negro children and youth are considered by Iva E. Burr and Dr. William A. Creditt, both heads of worthy Negro institutions.

Suggestive themes are treated from the Jewish viewpoint by Rabbi Max C. Currick, Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, and Mrs. Henry Finkelparl. The Roman Catholics are represented by Professor Joseph Beck of the University of Pittsburgh, and Father Thomas Coakley, secretary to Bishop Canevin. Other unofficial writers are Bertha Rauh, Bernard J. Newman, Dr. Charlotte Abbey, and Dr. Walter L. Mason.

No effort has been made to harmonize the views of the participants in this symposium. Each paper appears substantially as written, and each writer alone is responsible for what he has said or advocated. As was expected, there are great differences of opinion, and widely variant recommendations. This collection of them will give to each the viewpoint of others and open the way for mutual concessions, by which alone progress is possible.

I
SOME CAUSES OF CHILD DEPENDENCY AND THEIR
CURE

RABBI MAX C. CURRICK, Erie

THIS article is from the standpoint of the layman or amateur, and not from that of the professionally trained and experienced social worker.

1. I do not like the term "child dependent." All children are dependent. Whether they depend upon their parents, their near relatives, their friends, or the public, does not alter the intrinsic status of their dependency. The better the conditions of life and the higher the civilization, the longer do children remain dependent. On the other hand, the very children to whom the term "dependent child" is usually applied, inside of institutions or out, are frequently in reality the least dependent.

By this I mean that they receive less from others than most other children and they are in many instances actually self-supporting until the public steps in and restores to them their right of being dependent. For the public nowadays wants to keep them dependent very much longer than they are likely to be if they were to be left to their own resources and to the tender mercies of their fate. All this is not a mere verbal quibble but relates very closely to the attitude of society itself to those children who are known to have been left without parents or other natural or adoptive guardians.

2. The social question of child dependency is then basically not one of child dependence at all. It is a question of the dependence or neglect of parents, of the absence of one or both parents or of other guardians, or, exceptionally, of child delinquency. Thus it is but another form of our general social problem and resolves itself into an analysis of the causes of poverty and crime.

It is poverty, crime, and the industrial stress that give us the greater proportion of the number of children dependent in one way or another upon the public. It is surely poverty and crime that furnish us with the large and increasing number of deserted

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families. The deserted children whose number has mounted so rapidly during the last two decades may in great part be accounted for by the uphill struggle for existence which so many of the poor have to wage. This aspect of the problem is industrial as much as it is criminal, if indeed it is basically criminal at all.

3. Society has to deal with the orphan, the deserted, the delinquent, and the children of the very poor. The mere statement of the classes really sums up the causes. It may be worth while mentioning that the time may not be so far off when we shall pay as much attention to the last mentioned class as we do to the other three. Following the thought in the opening paragraphs, the cure is the prevention of those causes which throw children either upon their own resources or upon the benevolent public. The facts then will show:

1. When you will have succeeded in reducing the number of parents who die prematurely because of the social and industrial wrongs of our day, there will still remain an irreducible number of orphans who will need the attention of the public.

2. When industrial wrongs are righted and crime is lessened so that the present large number of desertions will be reduced, we shall still have to care for some children deserted by heartless parents.

3. Some of the social reforms now contemplated will also probably reduce the number of children born out of wedlock, but there will always remain a number of these poor waifs to be sheltered from the buffets of an unkind fate.

4. In our own time we have seen the decrease of the number of delinquent children who become a public charge when they leave their own homes.

4. The first problem to be attacked is that of the abnormal number of so-called dependent children, a number which seems to increase with the multiplication of the agencies to care for them. This is caused both by the stress of our times and also by ill-considered philanthropic munificence.

1. We shall have to ease the stress of present conditions so that parents of good instincts will not find themselves so hard pressed that they will desert their children in the unhappy knowledge that only in that way they can assure them sufficient and proper food and clothing and a decent

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home. This is a problem of a decent living wage, of the prevention of unnecessary accidents, of liability insurance, of better housing conditions, and of all those requirements of our time for the strengthening of the independence and the home life of the worker.

2. Something also must be done to lessen the encouragement offered by institutions and charitable organizations to despondent parents to desert their children, although I have neither the experience nor the hardness of heart even to suggest what this might be.

5. Social progress and education will, then, lessen the causes of child dependency. The former I have adverted to. The latter may be seen in the effort now making to provide that persons entering the marital relationship shall be physically fit, and morally and intellectually prepared for their marital and parental responsibilities. Much of our present evil is due very directly to the utter unfitness of one or both parents for their duties. This refers not merely to the intelligence required for sensible physical care but also to the moral and spiritual development which is a prerequisite to the founding of the right kind of a home.

6. The successful rearing of children depends much on the atmosphere of the home. In many cases of delinquent children the most active factors in their downfall are the unfit home and the unfit parents. So also the absence of the right kind of a home has only too often been shown to have been the forerunner of parental neglect of children and of desertion, vice, and illness, both of the parents and of their offspring. Perhaps the greatest social problem of our day is the restoration of the high social value of the family and the home as the units of our larger organism. The individualism of the present, and the social and industrial conditions attendant upon it, tend to break up instead of strengthening the weaker homes and thus to create crime and dependence.

7. So the cure I am suggesting is one that will first of all eliminate as many as possible of the cases of dependency that are created by our unfavorable conditions, the problems that our blindness and injustice have brought upon us. It will make ever smaller and smaller that large number of entirely unnecessary cases of dependence with which the public has now to deal.

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It will leave us with the number of orphans and deserted children which even the best organized society has a right to expect and for which it must provide. The reform movements which are now afoot will afford the individual a better opportunity than he now has to achieve a dignified independence, to complete a normal length of life, and to take good care of his children.

8. There is no need in this article to recount the various efforts now making for the safeguarding of health from disease and dangerous occupations, from insanitary living conditions and ignorance. There are also the humanitarian laws which will prevent child labor, for the boy who is permitted to work too early in life, especially under unfavorable conditions, may become the sickly father of children destined to be orphaned early in life. So child labor has its significance for the second generation as well as for the first. Industrial readjustment will reduce the cost of living or raise the average wage, thus bettering the living conditions of the poor and lessening the strain which shortens life and breaks down character. This will mean fewer orphans and fewer desertions.

9. This very inadequate outline has in view prevention more than cure, but that is the better part of cure. Our present attempts at cures can not be said to have proven very effective. In fact it is my humble judgment that society is today suffering also from some of the cures it has been trying to administer.

1. The breaking up of a home in which a good, conscientious mother is to be found is thoroughly bad both from the viewpoint of the child itself and from that of society. But that is just what has been done for many years in the building up of some of our immense institutions for orphans and deserted children of which we have been so proud.

2. Most of our institutionalism is only a lesser evil instead of a minor good. The statistics of orphan asylums and homes for friendless children may look very good but they do not touch the essential factor of the development of the full individuality of the child.

3. It is pleasant to think that this rather fine point needs no elaboration because even institutional workers recognize that the best institution is a poor substitute for a real home.

4. The method of the future, one that is now used only comparatively little, is that of home-finding for homeless children, thus affording each

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child the benefit of being brought up in a normal family in which its individuality may have the fullest freedom to develop.

5. There may remain a need for institutions for the care of children before a permanent home is found for them. But even for that the congregate system has been universally condemned and the cottage plan is taking its place.

10. How splendid would be the improvement if instead of the cottage colony our institutions would be willing to forego the pleasure and pride of the demonstration of size and build cottages in different localities according to the need. This would cost more and would require a larger administration force, but it would bring the cottage plan very near to the real home. It would then be possible to provide the real home atmosphere.

An excellent illustration of this observation may be had in the recently established Jewish orphanage in the vicinity of Erie. The children are now housed in a temporary home while the first cottage is being built. It is presided over by a matron, who requires little assistance because there are only about 10 children. In this substantial rural home there is the real home environment and the children are as free and natural as they would be in their own natural homes. Whether this delightful home spirit can be maintained in the colony which it is proposed to build in time is very questionable.

11. At all events the modern tendency is away from the institutional, especially the congregate method, and back to the individual family and home. It aims first of all to preserve the natural home of the child. And whether it will be state insurance or widows' pensions matters little, so long as the home of the half-orphan child is preserved. With Illinois and soon Ohio leading the way, it will not be very long before many other states will follow.

12. There need be no apprehension of the increase of pauperism because the beginning of the new system has shown the same faults which older methods of charitable administration have uncovered. Improvements in administration can in a little while minimize these.

13. The remarks with respect to home-finding for the homeless and the saving of the home of the orphan refer to the irre-

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ducible minimum of dependent children our society will have to support, because there is no cure for the causes that produce their dependency. But they are the minority of the present great horde of dependent children.

14. Society must first stop creating this extraordinary number.

1. It must cease permitting fathers and mothers to be hurried into premature graves.

2. It must guard mothers from the need of earning the subsistence of herself and her children.

3. It must not blink at industrial conditions which make it impossible for some parents properly to care for their children and thus lead them to desert them.

4. It must not permit children to be robbed of their natural right of fresh air and sunshine, play and schooling, the opportunity to develop fully both in mind and body. Child labor must no longer remain a national disgrace.

5. It must stir itself to remove those wrongs that now abound and which are the prolific causes of preventable child dependency.

6. In short, instead of the rule of barbarous strife and might it must so reform itself as to usher in the era of social justice. For what the world wants, after all, is justice and not charity. Indeed, the social workers of the country, no matter what their special field may be, are little concerned with charity in the old sense. They are merely seeking justice for the many who have been for so long ruthlessly deprived of their human rights.

II HOUSING CONDITIONS AND CHILD DEPENDENCY

BERNARD J. NEWMAN

Secretary Philadelphia Housing Commission, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE acceptance of the demonstration of the ill effect of bad housing depends, as in most other proof, on the willingness of the doubter to be convinced by facts. Yet the doubter can always muster up some argument to justify his doubt even in the face of an array of syllogisms. A Philadelphia judge once determined the question of the insanitation of a pig pen on a tenant's back porch by calling the tenant—a big, strapping fellow, six feet in his stockings—to the bar, and after sizing him up, saying, "If you are the product of this so-called nuisance, I guess we had all better keep hog pens on our back porches."

To him who analyzes the causes for the breakdown of so many homes in the slum areas of our cities, and for the great amount of child dependency and delinquency prevalent there, bad housing looms large as a chief factor. It is the hub of a many-spoked wheel. Consider some of the spokes attached to the bad-housing hub:

1. **POVERTY.** Customarily poverty has been counted the chief factor of dependency. The tenants of the slums are poor, but it is not poverty that creates insanitation nor that breeds depravity. With poverty there is virtue as much and often more than with wealth. Back of every such breakdown are a number of causes some of which are direct while others are contributory. Poverty is a contributory cause. It may and often does send a family into a cheaper apartment, but by so doing it does not radically injure that family unless that apartment is in a neighborhood or house that is unfit for habitation by reason of the insanitation within or about it, or some other equally grave housing defect. It would be a mistake to underestimate the hardships of poverty, but even more would it be a mistake to attribute to it a responsibility for evils that rightly belong elsewhere; for then the remedy of the ills arising from environmental defects would be delayed until great economic changes had been introduced, a postponement unnecessarily long to secure an improvement that, even with the present economic conditions, is realizable.

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2. **BAD ENVIRONMENT.** It is almost a truism to state that the environment is one of the greatest factors in determining the welfare of the family and its individual members. If bad, it is a serious handicap to a good home; if good, it is a strong tonic to a bad home. It can and often does disintegrate family life and ruin every member; though its heaviest batteries are trained on the mother and the children. In a sense the children experience a double assault, prenatal and postnatal. The pregnant mother is most sensitive to her surroundings. The insanitation that devitalizes her, devitalizes her offspring. The languor produced by vitiated or poisoned air, the dirt that is the daily guest in her home, the lack of sunshine that makes her surroundings gloomy, the vulgar sights forced upon her through living in small, crowded rooms, all stamp their imprint upon the unborn babe. "To the manor born" is true not only of the castle but of the slum. Parental influences—physical, mental, and moral—predispose the child to the easy dominance of similar influences after its birth; they make it easier for the child to go with the current of life in its environment.

3. **PHYSICAL DEBILITY.** Illustrative of this is the physical condition of the newborn babe, a physical condition that is the product of all the influences at work upon the mother while the child was in the formative state. On the average one child out of every five dies during the first year. Before the second year is over another out of the five also dies. The rate for some slums is higher. In the alleys of Washington one babe out of every three dies before it is a year old. The percentage of babies that die during the first month is larger than for any other month in the life of man. They have not the vitality to make a successful fight to live. Were there satisfactory records to show the number of stillbirths and the number of miscarriages between births, the full effect of the defects that are grouped under bad housing would stand out more conspicuously.

4. **LESSENERD VIRILITY.** It is natural to suppose that the causes that reap such a harvest of deaths among the weaklings, affect the stamina of those who survive and leave many of them less capable of effectively overcoming their bad environmental conditions. It is hard to select the chief cause from among the many that are responsible for defects. Yet when we remember that though the class of people in the less crowded areas does not differ materially from that of the more crowded, while the line of deflection from normal growth is greater among the latter, it is strong presumptive evidence that bad housing is in a large measure responsible. The stunted physical and mental development of school children living in one-room apartments in Glasgow as compared with those living

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in larger apartments, would indicate that the evidence was more than presumptive.

5. **INJURED MECHANISM.** It must not be forgotten that the child is a wonderfully delicate piece of mechanism. The magnetism of things pulls him. His body re-acts, but so too, his mental grip and his moral temper. Disease germs do not avoid him. Sights, sounds, and suggestions affect him. Nothing is too small to be a factor in influencing his health, character, or power of concentration. In the absence of a normal environment, it can not be expected there will be for the average youngster a normal development.

6. **LOSS OF SELF-RESPECT.** Consider briefly what the child of the abnormal home has to contend with. Take the prime requisite of morals—self-respect. In a wooden house, built on a rear lot in an old section of Philadelphia, two families lived. The kitchen floor had rotted away and the family walked on the bare earth. In a rain storm, the roof leaked and puddles formed on this soil. Three rooms were occupied by a man and wife and seven children. Seven of the family slept in one room. In another room, six by ten feet, with a hole for a window, two boys, twelve and thirteen years old, slept on vermin-covered mattresses. That such a house, devoid of every feature that helps to make a home, alienates the self-respect of its tenants hardly needs saying. Yet there are thousands of children in our cities subject to similar conditions year in and year out. If self-respect is a fundamental element of moral rectitude, these and like conditions must necessarily and, as a matter of fact, do subtract that element from those who live within their influence, and their morality suffers.

7. **MENTAL DEPRESSION.** It is equally difficult to secure mental alertness when the home is a cellar and the life there confined to one room. The trail of a chronic truant one day led to a cellar apartment where the lad lived with his father and mother and four sisters and brothers. The outside measurement of the room was twelve feet on each side. The ceiling was seventeen inches above the level of the ground. The light was poor, the ventilation bad, the room, of course, overcrowded; its 1,080 cubic feet of air space materially reduced by the furniture and truck stored there. What could be expected but that the boy would be a truant? There was nothing in his cellar life to give him ambition. His brothers and sisters were defectives; his mother mentally soporific and his father a drunkard. There are thousands of such cellar homes in our cities where children are born and live to become defectives or delinquents, or to be

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the victims of parental brutality, itself the consequence of irritation caused by such close, depressing, living quarters.

8. DECENCY DESTROYED. Assiduous are the assaults on morals of the overcrowded rooms and houses. The greatest safeguard of childhood's innocency is the instinctive repugnance the young feel about the exposure of their bodies. Where families occupy one room, or share it with the ever-present boarder and perform all their personal duties, sleeping, dressing, and undressing there, witnessing certain unmentionable practices common where family life exists, there is no shock when their privacy is intruded upon, for there is no possible way for them to have privacy from the time they become a member of the family until they go from under the paternal ceiling. Added to this handicap is the suggestiveness of the conspicuous outdoor toilets, foul of odor, standing in the open court, near and in full view of the front windows of a dozen or more houses.

9. MORALITY SUBVERTED. The lack of privacy within and without the home is especially hard on the young girls entering womanhood. The strain of this transition is severe enough, but this added burden is too much. Hence so many of these girls lack the moral character to resist the allurements of vice. The chief probation officer of Philadelphia is the authority for the statement that many of the street walkers that frequent certain streets of that city came from homes in an area where overcrowding and insanitation and like defects were acute. The effect on the boys is much the same. The period of adolescence is critical for both boys and girls. "It is time I got more room," said a mother one day. "Mary is getting too old to sleep with Joe." Mary was fourteen and Joe fifteen.

Typical conditions are these of many that might be cited where the abnormal life in the bad housing areas re-acts upon the mentality and morals as well as the physique of children. Childhood normally has a superabundance of energy. Rightly liberated, it results in good for the child. Liberated in the homes and environs where these children live it results in evil, petty vices, and practices that in an adult would be termed crimes. Where there is building congestion there are few places for child play. This means amusement away from parental supervision, mischief, and the juvenile court. "Gee," said one youngster after he had heard a talk by a judge of the children's court, "I've been up before that guy four times already."

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Ninety per cent of the children that go into our children's courts come from homes in bad environments. One overcrowded Philadelphia block where there are 13 alleys, from three to eight feet wide, upon which houses face, sent representatives from 10 of the alleys to the children's court in the year 1910. Some went because of deeds that were pure mischief, a perverted play instinct; other deeds were the result of a failure to grasp the meaning of "mine" and "thine." The promiscuous life they had lived made them feel that property rights were not very important and led them into violations of law.

Manufacture reformatory agencies by the score, raise money for charities by the millions, place out individual children in private homes, build reformatories, establish juvenile courts and probation offices, adopt the commission form of government or any other governmental machinery, form child hygiene agencies, anti-tuberculosis societies, and child labor associations, and the host of other good agencies; but neglect the home, fail to provide for it a decent house in a decent environment, and no more permanent results will accrue to society than would follow the effort to push back the tide with a broom.

It has been a noticeable fact that when an average family has been taken out of its bad environment, or its insanitary house, and placed in a better building and neighborhood, it has improved. The power of imitation is mighty. Monsieur La Tarde estimates 99 per cent of our actions are the result of imitation. Whether his statement is overdrawn or not, we know that as Professor Sidis says, repetition and last impressions are the great influential factors in shaping conduct. The good of these is, as a rule, denied the children in the congested areas, for the sights they see, the sounds they hear—indeed, their whole environment is against them!

The school, the settlement, the church, and other uplift agencies work to counteract the effect of these surroundings but the wage of battle is unequal. Good will assert itself if given the opportunity, but it must be relieved of its handicap. This is not to be accomplished by selecting here and there one of the victims, the depth of whose need has brought him into promi-

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nence, but by going back to the source and correcting it. A little Pennsylvania town of 8,000 people a few years ago was suddenly overwhelmed by a typhoid epidemic, and 1,100 were made ill. It had received its water from a mountain spring. It took care of the victims but it did more. It went to that mountain spring and cleared away the nuisance caused by the typhoid patient who had contaminated the water. Similar work is needed here. By eliminating the bad houses, preventing the overcrowding of rooms, correcting the insanitary neighborhoods, the brood of evils they cause will be subtracted from the number now receiving the attention of so many betterment agencies.

Would any stock breeder try to raise stock by stabling it in a dark, windowless, unventilated room? Yet that is where some cities are trying to raise children. Would any breeder of fancy chickens try to raise them in a house where there was four feet of stagnant water in the cellar? Yet scores of homes in the city of Philadelphia have tried to raise children in such houses. Would any bird fancier try to raise singers in a house where the clapboards were torn away and holes spotted the plastered walls; where the temperature fell to zero in the cold winter nights? Yet in such houses lads go to bed at night with scanty coverings and through such walls the fierce winds of winter blow in on the shivering families. Would any dog enthusiast try to raise healthy stock in a room where the air was close and foul; where the humidity was abnormally high and the organic impurities reacted as a poison upon the pups? Yet in many such places babes are born and children live and die.

The lives of the future men and women of America are of sufficient importance to have society see to it that they are not warped, dwarfed, or demoralized by the kind of houses and the kind of neighborhood in which they are being reared. When we want the voter to vote for civic purity, civic righteousness, civic progress, we are not going to get an intelligent vote from the man who is the product of the slums. The slums of Pennsylvania and of America are enlarging. Their population is swelling; their effect upon the body politic is increasing. The only way to attack the problem they present is to wipe out the slum

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itself. The cost is small when compared with the gain. Even if it only puts a stop to the increasing avalanche of child misdemeanants, the price is relationally insignificant no matter how big it may total. "The strength of the nation is in her homes"—not of the few and the well-to-do, but of all her people.

III

ADEQUATE RECORDS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

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A CHILD-CARING agency or institution is at best a substitute, trying to do for the child what its own home has failed to do. In order to perform this service adequate records are as essential as temperature charts are in a sick room. Personal devotion and ability on the part of the board of managers, superintendent, or matron in charge do not in the least diminish the need for complete records.

When an institution receives a child, it assumes an obligation to the child, to the family and relatives, to the public, and to the state. To the child the institution says: "We will be responsible for your health, your education, your spiritual training, and your safe return to the life of the community." To the family the institution may make alternative statements. If family inability is the cause of dependence, it says: "We are taking care of your child simply as a matter of duty and humanity; we will cooperate with you and return your child to you as soon as you have established a suitable home." If family unfitness is the reason for taking the child, the institution must say: "We will take care of your child; you must if possible pay the bill, and your child will not be returned unless you regain your moral qualifications and reconstitute a proper home." To the contributing public and to the state the institution says: "We are taking care of no child whose care should properly fall on family or relatives; and we are making good citizens of those entrusted to our guardianship."

This attitude can not be taken by any institution unless its work is based on adequate, permanently recorded information, and not on memory and guess work. The decision as to whether or not a child is to be received at all should rest on a careful personal investigation, a report of which is written out in detail,

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and not on a pathetic appeal by the applicant, nor an urgent insistence by some employer or acquaintance. And the kind of treatment, instruction, and oversight that the child receives after admission should be a personal matter, determined by a special study of each child's actual needs.

When the child is ready to leave the institution, the question of return to family or relatives, working home, adoption, and so forth, should not, as is so often the case, follow the line of least resistance, but should be decided by positive evidence on file in the office.

The minimum record that can be called adequate must establish the identity of the family—names and ages of each member, together with the names of near relatives on both sides; home conditions; the exact age, with date of birth, of all children received; the religion and whether christened; the school grade attained; the condition of health; the legal residence; whether legitimate or illegitimate; and other charitable agencies or churches dealing with the family. Other questions such as occupation, employer, former address, and so forth, are less important parts, although essential to a complete record.

No child should be received by an institution (except in the occasional emergency case) until an investigation has been made, and all efforts to utilize the resources of the family and relatives have failed.

Workers among children know how customary it is for well-meaning friends to advise a family overtaken by some misfortune to "put your children in a home," and that many parents will make application at once, although they may have relatives perfectly able and willing to take the children or to assist in some other way. At other times relatives who are not kindly disposed can be influenced to lend the helping hand in the time of need.

Even if no material assistance is secured from relatives, their information as to the cause of the breakdown of the home of the applicant is always helpful. Incidentally the visitor will form a definite idea of the health conditions, moral standard, mental ability, occupations, and so forth, of the entire family group, and be better able to be of assistance to the children if later received.

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Failure to get addresses of relatives frequently means that children are deserted and the institution has no clue through which the parents can be traced.

Quite recently one of the Philadelphia institutions applied to the Children's Bureau for a family home for a boy who had been in its care for nine years. His mother was dead and the father had deserted him. The boy was placed but did not prove satisfactory. The institution records contained the name of a sister of the boy's mother, and through her the father was finally located. He had remarried and willingly, apparently gladly, took the boy into his re-established home which was recommended as satisfactory by the Associated Charities. At least \$1,000 had been expended by the institution for the care of this boy.

Let us specially note some of the most important items for institutional records:

1. One of the first things to learn when considering an application is whether any other charitable agencies are or have been dealing with the family. This information can be secured either directly from the applicant or, better still, by consulting a central registration bureau, such as the bureau for the registration and exchange of confidential information in Philadelphia. Full reports should be obtained at once from any other agency knowing the family. This usually makes re-investigation unnecessary or very simple.

2. Legal residence of the applicant is an important factor. Institutions can not afford to compete for children. Each locality should be held legally responsible for its own dependents, and families should not be encouraged to migrate for the purpose of finding easier charitable support.

3. The institution must have the exact age of each child with date of birth in order to comply with the laws governing school attendance and factory employment. Intelligent co-operation with the juvenile court necessitates the same information. Apart from the legal side, the institution that fails to observe birthdays has probably lost most of the personal touch between management and child.

4. The religion should always be noted. Institutions should not proselyte. A child's religious training can not be abruptly changed with good results. If finally the child must be placed in a family home the state requires that it be placed with a family of its own religious faith.

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The family adopting or giving a free home to a child is quite likely to ask whether or not the child has been christened, in order to properly relate it to their own faith and church.

5. When a child is admitted to an institution, the medical examination should be most thorough. Study of 4,320 examinations of the children received by the Joint Shelter of the Children's Bureau disclosed 2,464 children requiring medical treatment. Of this number 684 had contagious diseases, and 1,592 had deformities and defects such as bow legs, knock knees, enlarged tonsils, decayed teeth, defects of the eye, and so forth.

In many instances a child's future is almost hopeless until his physical defects have been corrected.

For example, the Children's Bureau received from another agency a boy in bad physical condition recommended for country care. Upon careful examination the physician discovered an abscess at the root of a tooth which had eaten through the alveolar process into the antrum. As soon as this was remedied the boy began to gain weight. In another case a lame girl, sixteen years old, was received by an institution for the purpose of giving her a home in return for what institutional sewing she could do—a dead-end job for life. The examining physician found that a slight operation on the knee would cure the lameness. After a short stay in the hospital the girl was able to accept a good position.

The educational attainments and mental condition of each child should receive special attention. The best clue to a child's mental caliber is the school grade attained. The backward and retarded child should have every opportunity for development before being classed defective.

Some months ago a girl came to my notice, diagnosed as feeble-minded and epileptic. She failed in two institutions. In the third she received special personal attention and her condition rapidly improved, and now, for three months, she has been receiving the grade of "excellent" for both deportment and class standing in the public school. Another girl, fifteen years old, was received by the Children's Bureau, being reported by her own family as incorrigible, cruel, and probably insane. During two weeks' observation, under changed conditions, she showed none of these traits. A good working home was found for her where she proved industrious and capable.

Every institution should keep a careful physical record of each child and, in addition to the regular physician, should have the

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services of oculist, dentist, and neurologist. Mental and moral health must rest on good physical health.

How shall records be kept? The old-fashioned way was a book with a page for each child. It was not satisfactory, as letters and additional information had to be filed elsewhere and when wanted were not available. The better plan is the vertical filing system with a folder or envelope for each child. On a printed history card, preferably eight by eleven inches in size, should be answered the more important questions about the applicant. All additional information, reports of visits, letters received, and copies of letters sent, medical examinations, and so forth, should be clipped to the back of this card.* These records can be filed either alphabetically or numerically. In a small institution the alphabetical method is probably the better.

The first thought to get definitely in mind is that a good record system is not "red tape," any more than a good bookkeeping system in a bank or good recipes in the kitchen are red tape. It is safe to say that consistent, high grade work is impossible without good records. If this is true, how is our record keeping to be improved?

1. Through increasing co-operation between institutions, vigorous local and state conferences, and more trained workers as superintendents and matrons.

2. The second method, which will prove even more effective than the first, is standardization through the board of public charities. This board, both in authority and personnel, should be competent to recommend record forms and require prompt reports from all institutions and agencies, under severe penalty for failure.

The two plans should work hand in hand, but certain types of institutions will never voluntarily adopt high standards and others will do so slowly. Only a positive constructive policy on the part of the proper state authority will reach all institutions quickly and effectively, and accomplish a greatly needed reform or improvement in this matter of records.

*Sample history cards can be secured from the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia. The Department of Child-Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation has in press a book on Elements of Record Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations.—EDITOR.

IV THE PROBLEM OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

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A DISCUSSION of the illegitimate child is rather a discussion of the moral, social, and economic condition of the parents and immediate relatives.

The writer has assisted in the care of several hundred dependent babies, but for the subject of this paper will take 100 illegitimate infants under the age of one year which have been admitted to the Pittsburgh Home for Babies, and of whom was kept as nearly perfect a record of the antecedents, as well as knowledge of their conditions for some time after they left the home, as was obtainable. The observations are based upon personal contact, and conclusions are deduced from actual experience.

Whether the child be born in or out of wedlock each one has a natural father as well as a natural mother to be considered, but in only a few cases (especially among those who are in a class considered usually above the lowest strata of society) are the grandparents willing that the necessary steps be taken to legally compel the man to accept his share of the responsibility, simply because they use every means in their power to prevent the misfortune of the daughter from being brought to public notice.

In the cases of 18 children of this class between the ages of eighteen months and thirty months, I observed that by careful co-operation after the shock had worn off and their moral obligations had been forced upon the relatives, the children were returned to the mother, grandparents, or other relatives and became a part of the family. This is in my opinion often due to the natural affection re-asserting itself, and many times the attractiveness of the little one is responsible for the change of heart.

The mothers of six of these 100 babes married good men, who were acquainted with the facts; and it is not unusual for the mother to speak of her approaching marriage and visit the baby

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with her prospective husband, who being fully informed has accepted the woman and her child. One of these cases was that of a young Swedish girl who supported her baby at the institution here by working in her own country; and when the age limit for the child at the institution expired, she returned to America and took her baby home. The man she married was a young engineer and he was as much attached to this boy as though he had been his own.

Often there are family differences which keep the young people apart, and prevent the father and mother of the baby marrying; and such differences in a number of cases have been adjusted.

For each healthy child, where it was impossible, or was not advisable, to bring the baby back to its own family, a home was found. Of this class there were 28 placed in families. The families were thoroughly investigated before placement, and supervision was continued for some time wherever possible. The child must be legally adopted in order that it may become in reality a part of the family, and entitled to the same rights that it would have had had the foster parents been the parents by birth. Childless couples, of which there are a large number in this country, looking for babies for adoption, do not seem to take into consideration legitimacy or illegitimacy; in other words, the moral history of the child plays no part in the selection of the infant; it is the physical features that are considered. The prospective foster parents make up their minds as to the sex, then as to the complexion and general type of child, and then they set their heart on some special child—and if that infant is too young to be adopted they wait until it can safely leave the institution.

Of the remaining 48, more extended explanation is necessary. They failed to survive, and yet while they were 48 per cent of the 100 under consideration, the facts and circumstances must be taken into account. First of all, let it be noted that nearly all the deaths occurred years ago, before modern scientific methods were adopted by the institution. Forty-six of the 48 died in the first five of the eight years of this work, and only two in the last three years. Twenty-three died in the institution's second year,

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owing to the use of old-fashioned insanitary methods, which were then accepted as all right but later discarded as all wrong.

These children without exception were brought to us in very poor condition, the result of neglect and poor nourishment. Illegitimate children are always unwelcome and it is my belief that often the treatment of the mother before the birth of the child is responsible for the conditions we had to face.

I am including a tabulated statement of the disposition made of the entire 100 illegitimate babies.

DISPOSAL OF 100 OF THE ILLEGITIMATE INFANTS ADMITTED TO THE PITTSBURGH HOME FOR BABIES IN 8 YEARS

Disposition of children	Children
Taken by mother who married	6
Returned to parents or relatives of mother	18
Placed in families for adoption	28
Died in institution	48
Total	100

The parentage of these 100 illegitimate children was as follows: Both parents American, 68; both parents foreign, 20; one parent foreign, 12.

Less than 5 per cent of the total number of the babies admitted to this institution are illegitimate. This average is about the same as that of the general average of this city, where, according to official registration of births, 95 per cent are legitimate and 5 per cent illegitimate.

Death of one of the parents, generally a mother, sometimes a father; wife desertion, family disturbance, illness of a mother, or illegitimacy seem to be the causes of dependency. Only about 50 per cent of the total can be regarded as financially dependent. The conditions change, and with the return of the child to parent or relatives it resumes its normal place in society; or this failing, adoption of the child by a family places the little one where it should be. The latter course is practicable, for by experience more applications for children from really worthy and suitable homes have been received than could be filled.

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Let us now consider the more general work of the Pittsburgh Home for Babies. In the case of young infants brought up on artificial feeding much difficulty is experienced by those not familiar with proper methods. Therefore, no child is placed until it is in first class physical condition and all danger from this source past.

In a period covering eight years there have been four children placed in other institutions. In the case of two this was done by the parent; and in one case under the supervision of the juvenile court. A child whose mother was tubercular was deported to relatives in England.

In the case of babies too much stress can not be laid upon the necessity of keeping children under two years of age by themselves. In institutions with whose work I have acquainted myself, contagious diseases have been carried in usually by larger children who go to school and in this way carry infection. In eight years the Pittsburgh Home for Babies has been quarantined only once, on account of whooping cough brought by the mother of a baby whose three other children were temporarily cared for in another institution where they had this disease. We have had no measles, diphtheria, skin infections, or other diseases of like character. Of course all children are examined carefully by a physician before admission, and those only refused who show symptoms of or have some infectious disease. They are carefully watched during the first period of their stay.

Institutional care for young babies is given in this and some other large cities with great success, due largely to the method of administration. I speak only of the young infants. The head of the institution should be a capable and experienced trained nurse and teacher, and her assistants should receive a thorough training to fit them to become trained nurses of babies and children.

The practice has been to have one nurse care for only four children and to have them under supervision during the night also.

The only food used, with but very rare exceptions, has been cow's milk; for the very young it is modified by our nurse, but

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as soon as the child's condition warrants it, the modification is stopped. The children are weighed weekly and show the largest gains in weight after being on plain milk for a short time. They are not affected by the heat to the extent that the babies outside are, nor do we find that they suffer very much during the course of teething. During the last period of smallpox in this city they were all vaccinated and not even the youngest and weakest showed any ill effects, and all completely recovered.

The management of the institution should be an active, progressive, and watchful one. From the condition of children admitted under the age of one year, who had been boarded in private homes, the condition in which they came to us make me rather dubious as to whether this is really the best that can be done for the babies. One of the reasons very often given to me by women forced to place their children, when they are changing from a private place to an institution, is that they believe they will get better care.

Concerning the high rate of mortality, a division should be made between the institutions such as homes and hospitals, and the children who die at home. The Pittsburgh Home for Babies began eight years ago with a high death rate. In the two years following it materially reduced the percentage. The third year the rate was 11 per cent and the fourth and fifth years about 4 per cent. During the past three years only two deaths occurred, one from meningitis and the other from malnutrition and lack of care. Both of these children were orphans. Almost all of the deaths have occurred within a short period of the time of entrance and very few of all the children admitted were really in good health.

For prompt attention in urgent cases needing immediate care, the properly conducted institution seems to me the first necessity in the case of the legitimate as well as the illegitimate, dependent child.

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THE problem of illegitimacy can be solved only when the truths evolved from a study of eugenics and economics are practically applied to the education of children.

The writer, therefore, in outlining the methods of procedure pursued by the Woman's Directory in regard to illegitimate children, is not able to give general statistical information that might have been obtained had the Directory been more intent on tabulating the effects of ignorance and injustice than in trying to remove the causes.

The Directory was started in 1894 for the purpose of preventing the establishment of a foundling hospital in Philadelphia. The belief that if the hand of friendship were held out to the unfortunate mother, especially before the birth of her child, she could be persuaded to keep her baby, has proved true.

The work of the Directory has been largely educational, in that it has striven to give every unfortunate mother who came under its care clearer ideals in regard to life; this not only for her own sake, but that she might, in a few simple words, teach her child and other children, vital and therefore practical truths in regard to life. While this plan of procedure can not be said to have resulted in preventing all our protégés from again falling victims to their sex weakness, it has been a tremendous force in awakening maternal love and preventing child desertion. So far as we can tell, not 2 per cent of our mothers desert their infants.

The majority of unmarried mothers who apply to the Directory for help belong to the domestic service or factory class. When an infant is over two months old a situation is found where the mother can have the child with her. In placing the mother with a child in a situation, unless care is taken to ascertain the character of the employer she is liable to fall into the hands of those whose only interest is to secure cheap labor. Under such con-

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ditions the child becomes rachitic from being kept abnormally quiet and deprived of the healthy exercise and playful attention which every mother loves to give her child, and which is as important as correct feeding.

Three years ago, the writer found one of her girls in the venereal ward of the Philadelphia Hospital. She learned that the girl had taken to prostitution for the purpose of paying the board of her two-year-old child. This led the Directory to tell every mother who had a child to support that when the child became old enough to walk or to be weaned, if it were difficult for the mother to keep a situation with the child, the Directory would undertake to find for it a boarding place where the mother might place the little one and contribute to its support. In the three years that have intervened since this girl was found and rescued, not another such case has come under our notice; that is, of a girl who having been under Directory care had afterward become a prostitute.

In looking over our index books with their long catalogues of names, we can not avoid asking ourselves the question: What has become of all these mothers and children?

All have had offers of friendship and all have had clearer views of life given them. Some have given a permanent response. Several classes and deductions may here be indicated:

1. Girls who have disappeared from our observation for several years and whom we have met accidentally, are found to have married, are getting on well in situations, or have returned to their friends; the child whom we knew as a baby, unless it has died, is with the mother.

2. Occasionally we have found that the child has been adopted. All mothers who are making headway against past trouble naturally prefer to leave the past alone, though in no wise ungrateful for help received in time of trouble.

3. The third reason why girls whom we have helped keep away from us is because of their having a second illegitimate child. When we meet one of these girls she is overwhelmed with shame. We generally find that she has not deserted her first child, but her sex tendencies have been too strong for her.

4. The one who is ashamed to again ask help from those who have helped her in the past is not a degenerate; she is, as far as her sex tendencies

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go, on a level with an intelligent female animal, but the sense of shame is evidence of the womanly nature which will develop as the power of self-control grows stronger.

5. As a general thing the first child has either died, or the mother has through good conduct, in other directions than sex, become reconciled to friends who are willing to continue taking care of the first child while again discarding the mother on the arrival of the second.

6. In cases where the mother is helped to board a child when the former is able to work, the difficulty is to find a home in a private family where the child will receive intelligent care necessary for its normal development. Kindness and good judgment on the part of caretakers are rare qualities; hence if a private home can not be found where intelligent care will be given, it is better to place the child in a small institution, run on the cottage or family system, and under the care of one who has been trained for the purpose, and who while supervising the household is not hampered by being required to give time and energy to matters that a less competent person can perform. Such homes are greatly needed.

7. Judging from the character of the boys and girls whose mothers we knew before their birth, and of whom we have knowledge at the present time, the effort to inspire hope and courage in the mothers' hearts for the sake of giving brave and moral tendencies to the unborn child has not been wasted.

8. As before stated, the numbers with whom we have kept in touch are few compared with the many who have passed through our care. Among these is a girl of twenty, who is almost the sole support of her mother and six young stepbrothers and sisters, a girl loved by all who know her. A young man who is making his \$12 per week as a printer; another who is a graduate in pharmacy; another who is a partner in the real estate business of his stepfather; and a number of boys and girls who are doing well at school, are among the illegitimate children now growing into young manhood and womanhood, whom the writer has known and whose mothers have come under her direction and care, some before she took up Directory work.

9. The old idea that illegitimate children must always be branded is absurd. The mother who makes herself respected, notwithstanding past delinquency, redeems her child from its stigma, and it is this thought that elevates her.

As a study in eugenics, or prenatal influences, the following may be quoted:

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1. Recently two boys over sixteen years of age, whose mothers had been known to the writer before their birth, came to the Directory. The mother of one had died a few days before his visit and before her death had asked that the Directory would keep in touch with her boy. The other boy is still living with his mother.

Previous to the birth of these boys, both mothers had wept bitter tears of regret for the inherited weakness which had allowed them to become victims of the men who had deserted them. Both these boys, although not possessed of more than the average intelligence, have clearer ideals in regard to sex than the average boy or girl. Both have eyes that look as if the color had been washed out of them. The thought came to the writer, Are those pale eyes the result of the tears the mothers shed before their birth? Is this clear ideal of sex the result of their mothers' penitence?

2. The young women who voluntarily seek the aid of the Directory are of the average intelligence and are not vicious. An imbecile is usually brought by her relatives and the latter are helped as far as possible to place the girl under permanent care; but, as is well known, homes for the feeble-minded are greatly needed. An imbecile with an illegitimate child is consigned to the care of the city, or the relatives keep her.

3. It is the belief of the writer that many who are called feeble-minded at adolescence are only so because no effort has been made to give them the industrial and moral training necessary to their normal development. With a view to the saving of child life it would be well, except in cases of imbecility, to obtain legislation making separation of mother and infant a criminal offense.

4. There is a large class of girls whose relatives and friends place them under care of private maternities and pay money for the disposal of the child. No effort is made to awaken the mother love and through it to teach the mother not only to love her own child but to extend that love to all children.

Many a valuable life is thus wrecked through the cupidity that induces people to make revenue out of the misfortunes of others. The opinion of the Directory is that probably the majority of foundlings come from these private maternities. A rigid investigation should be made of these places.

5. Illegitimate children have, as a rule, happier temperaments than those born under wedlock. Probably the reason for that is that until the mother's condition becomes noticeable she believes that the father of her child will take care of her; and the second reason is that the mother is exempt from the constant response that so many wives have to make to their husbands' passion during pregnancy. These are conditions that

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should be taken into account by all who are concerned in child welfare and the raising of marriage to a chaste level.

6. Illegitimate children born with syphilitic taint are not frequent among our protégés. They are as a rule healthy youngsters, and where an infant is a weakling, it is just as likely to be due to the mother's attempted abortion as from syphilis. This is a subject that should be taken up in child-welfare discussions.

7. As before said, the problem of illegitimacy can only be solved by a consideration of the truths evolved by the study of eugenics and economics and the educational methods necessary to prepare the children of the present day, whether legitimately or illegitimately born, to respond to the vital truths elucidated through such studies.

Owing to the higher cost of living, the extravagant tastes of young people, lack of employment, and incapacity to keep positions, marriage is too often made a secondary consideration. When marriage is entered into, sex perversion and race suicide are oftentimes the results. The unmarried girl who is confiding and is unconsciously longing for the sympathy and companionship which is a normal attribute of sex, but which requires rational adjustment through a perception of the evolutionary nature of life, becomes an easy dupe of the man who is looking for just such an innocent victim. Not 5 per cent of these men can be found and held responsible.

The fact that these men know their victims will be cared for in rescue homes probably makes them feel more free to carry out their villainous intentions. This argument causes many people who readily contribute to philanthropic effort in other directions, to refuse contributions to rescue work. But one thing is certain, so soon as a man who is a villain knows that his victim is under the care of the Directory he leaves the city or keeps under cover.

If rescue work consists only of providing shelter and food for the unfortunate, if the inmates feel that the officers and managers of the home think more of getting work out of them than of trying to train them to be more capable of earning their living, then such homes certainly encourage immorality. But if the society or home makes the most important part of its work the awakening of the true maternal love, and shows the mother

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how, through determination to do her duty bravely in the midst of difficulties, she is giving her unborn child tendencies that will render its future life happier, and also shows her how she can teach her child as it grows to adolescence that the sex instinct common to all creatures must, in the human race, be held sacred to its purpose through marriage, then such work is the reverse of immoral. It is one of the most important assets of a city or nation.

More and more the need for homes for young Negro girls with illegitimate infants is being forced upon us. The time was when a sense of disgrace in regard to illegitimacy was not felt; the Negro mother with illegitimate children was an expected social outcome. It is essential that the negro girl be strengthened in her ideals the same as the white girl. The educated class among the Negroes is doing its best to uplift its own people. The Woman's Colored Protective Association, 1506 Catherine Street, Philadelphia, is ready to extend its quarters and take care of the young mother and her illegitimate child, but has not the funds to do this.

While illegitimacy is greater among the Negro race than among the white, the percentage of child desertion is less. In the Philadelphia Hospital in the last three years the numbers stand as follows:

Year	White infants	Negro infants
1910	64	10
1911	67	14
1912	40	14

The Negroes as a race are strongly affectionate and grateful. As yet they have not resorted to any great extent to the vicious practices of their white sisters in the prevention of child birth. It should be the object of social endeavor to prevent this coming to pass.

And now in regard to the system of education that will enable a child, as it grows up, to respond to the truths evolved through a study of eugenics and will do away with the unjust economic conditions that obstruct the normal evolution of family life and make relief work necessary:

1. In the first place, the aim must be to bring about a spirit of high comradeship between boys and girls and a clearer estimate therefore of

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the natural law pertaining to human life. This can be practically carried out only by a system of industrial training based upon obedience to the divine law of "Love to God (our ideal of all that is good, beautiful, and true) and thought for others." This law handed down through the ages underlies all the religions of the world and through a brief study of its physiological action on the human organism when followed, can readily be seen to be intended for the guidance of human desires.

2. The child whose education is based on the carrying out of this law will see that the true worship of God consists in living a life of kindness and usefulness. Constant kindness requires constant self-control, and usefulness evolves the creation of the best.

3. Side by side boys and girls must be taught domestic science and this would include all that pertains to the comfort and beautifying of home life—its architecture and furnishings, the value of light, air, and wholesome food, cleanliness, exercise, and pure mindedness, and grafted onto this should be a clear perception of the sacredness of all the bodily functions and especially of the sex relations.

4. One of the great mistakes made at the present day in the teaching of sex hygiene is the bringing before the child's mind details of the subject instead of a simple statement of an evolutionary fact. The child need not be taught the anatomy of the stomach nor the chemistry of the digestive fluids in order to understand that if he eats a green apple he will have pain. Sufficient then is it to tell the child in regard to sex that God created all creatures male and female for the purpose of being fathers and mothers, bringing each its own kind into the world; that the act that brings a puppy or kitten into the world is the same act that brings a child; that marriage is necessary to distinguish men and women from other male and female creatures and for the protection of children; but that the procreative act must not be, even in marriage, unless a child is desired.

5. The child must also be told that the worst disease that afflicts human beings results from disregard of God's law in regard to sex. Whatever truth is of vital importance to the race should be taught to children.

6. We all know that the age of adolescence generates a new physiological process and that this new force gives a greater impetus to the circulation and greater nutritive power to the blood. It is as necessary that this new force be directed to the higher brain centers as it is for the blood of a newborn child to be directed to the lungs. In the case of the baby the change is purely physiological, while at adolescence the normal direction of the new force is entirely dependent upon the moral status obtained by

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the boy or girl. To wait until the age of adolescence before the truth in regard to sex is taught is criminal.

7. The child who has an education that makes him see the divine life in all things, and is also led to perceive that by clinging to past animal ideas he obstructs the ideal workings of this divine life by his disobedience to the law given for the guidance of human desires, is the child who will emerge from the humanly brutal to the humanly divine life of the race.

This is the solution of the problem of illegitimacy, perversion of sex, and race suicide.

VI
THE WAYWARD GIRL
MARTHA P. FALCONER

Superintendent Glen Mills School for Girls, Darling

THE wayward girl in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, is usually a girl who is misunderstood and has been misdirected. Coming into adolescence, she has often been denied the sympathy and companionship of an intelligent mother and has been left to the care of those who have misunderstood her.

Most of the delinquent girls come from a broken home, where the mother has died and the girl has been left to the care of an unwise relative, or a stepmother has come into the family who has no sympathy for the girl. This is a factor of the situation which we will always have to meet. Many of the delinquent girls in Pennsylvania are defective delinquents, because in the central and eastern part of the state no provision is made for the custodial care of the feeble-minded girl. The state institution at Polk, situated in the western part of Pennsylvania, cares for the feeble-minded in that section of the state.

✓ Of the nearly 500 girls now at Sleighton Farm and about 300 more out on parole, at least 40 per cent are mentally deficient and should have custodial care past the child-bearing period. The courts commit to this school because they have no other place where they may send the girls, and it is folly for us to try to train a girl either to be self-supporting or go out into the world again to meet temptation when she is so mentally deficient that she is unable to properly care for herself.

We are beginning to realize everywhere the value of a psychologist to examine all delinquents. This school expects to employ one beginning this spring, to examine all new girls as they are committed to us, and try to make her work of value to the teachers and matrons who will have the training and care of the children. For how much can we hold her responsible? If it is worth while for a reform school to employ a psychologist, we hope that we can persuade the courts of the value of such a person, that all

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delinquents may be examined before the court passes judgment upon them; but as long as this state does not provide any place for the custodial care of a feeble-minded girl or woman, our number of defectives will greatly increase.

Why have these girls been sent to Sleighton Farm? What is the matter with the home conditions that they have been allowed to drift? Outside of the large cities there is very little done to enforce compulsory education, especially in the industrial centers where the boys are allowed to work in the mines, and where usually one finds a silk or hosiery mill to occupy the time of the girls. There has been very little public feeling to keep the children in school. We have girls sent to us who have been born and brought up in Pennsylvania and can not read or write. We have many girls who have been born and brought up in Pennsylvania who have been working since they were eleven or twelve years of age and have only been at school a very short time. We will have better results for these in the future because of our improved child labor law and of the hopeful prospect in the re-organization of the state factory inspection department.

There are many counties in Pennsylvania where there is no probation officer and no effort to enforce this provision of our juvenile court law. One of the greatest needs of Pennsylvania is to have probation extended into every county of the state. We must face the fact that delinquent children come not alone from the larger cities but often from rural districts, and there should be provision in every county for work in the smaller towns and rural districts.

In Pennsylvania Dutch communities, the girls have often had too much discipline. Their lives have been dull and monotonous. They break away from what seems to them an impossible life. There is little done in these communities to give the young people wholesome pleasures. In such places we need the larger use of the schoolhouse and to educate the people of the community so that they will be willing to spend money and make the schoolhouse in smaller towns a social center.

It is perfectly natural for the young girl to seek the companionship of the opposite sex. Where will she go to do this? Oppor-

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tunities are needed in most of the communities to have social life. In this connection we feel that there is a wide field of usefulness for the rural churches, realizing that the weekly prayer meeting will not fill the need, and that young people need more of an outlet and better opportunities to express themselves.

This school has a greater number of colored girls than any other reform school in this country, most of them coming from Philadelphia, a few of them from the adjacent counties. Philadelphia has its problem with the colored population, and the girls in this school are, many of them, children of degenerates, needing custodial care. They never can be trained to be good citizens.

In placing them out, we have found great difficulty in helping the colored girl who, like the white girl, is longing for an opportunity for recreation and pleasure. If it is difficult to provide this for the white girl, it is much more difficult to provide it for the colored. Instead of feeling that all picture shows are bad and immoral and are responsible for the downfall of girls, it would be much wiser to make the picture shows clean and wholesome. This can be done under the right sort of supervision in the small towns as well as in the larger cities. I do not know of any better work for a group of public-minded citizens to do than to study recreations for the young people in their community instead of allowing this legitimate need of the young people to be managed by uneducated, vicious people who see only the commercial side, and to place it in the hands of those who are in sympathy with young people and will provide the right sort of wholesome amusement.

✓ Let us always bear in mind that we are talking about the girl who has not had the wise care of an intelligent mother. In the smaller towns, a girl will often go to the railroad station, which is frequently the only light, warm place that is open and where she can meet her friends. Too often here she meets the traveling man who also has time on his hands. She goes without a thought of evil, simply longing for a good time. The enforcement of the curfew law will never help the situation unless we provide the right kind of places for our young people to meet. Is there a

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better and safer place for them than the schoolhouse under supervision?

This state has two reformatories for girls, the one at Morganza, near Pittsburgh, receiving both boys and girls in that part of the state; and Sleighton Farm, situated in Delaware County, twenty miles from Philadelphia, receiving girls from the central and eastern counties between the ages of eight and eighteen years.

There is at present no institution where the older girls may be committed by the court for training. A strong effort, endorsed by the State Federation of Women's Clubs and other organizations, is being made to get such an institution. For the third time the bill is to be presented to the legislature this winter and we have every reason to hope for its passage. The institution should be located in the central part of the state on the cottage plan, with opportunities for outdoor work which we have found so helpful here at Sleighton Farm. At present, women between the ages of eighteen and thirty are committed to our county jails or the workhouse, where they serve a sentence in idleness, often returning to society a little more helpless and hopeless than when they entered.

An effort is also being made to have the state make provision for its feeble-minded girls and women. These two things are among the most important needs at present but emphasis should always be laid on preventive work. When we can give all children more industrial work, make our schools more attractive to them, persuade the parents that the child is going to be of greater economic value if left longer in school and have the co-operation of the rural churches and the schools to provide the right kind of recreation for the young people, then there will be fewer wayward girls.

We need an aroused public conscience on these questions outside of our larger cities. We must have provision in every county of this state to help the children who need a friendly visitor and this is what probation ought to mean to the child. For those who can not be helped in this way and who are too old to be sent to Sleighton Farm, we hope to have a state reformatory for women, but we must first plan to care for our defectives.

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With the hearty co-operation of all of these agencies, and with custodial care of the defective delinquents, there will be fewer wayward girls needing our attention in the future.

There never has been a time when the outlook of Pennsylvania has been more promising than at present, because we are learning to co-operate and have a better understanding of the rural situation and the needs of the different sections of this state.

VII

THE PROBLEM OF DEPENDENT COLORED CHILDREN

IVA E. BURR

Matron Home for the Homeless, Philadelphia

WE have in this country ten millions of colored people; in the state of Pennsylvania, over 100,000; and in the city of Philadelphia alone about 51,000. Of so large a number some proportion must necessarily be dependent. In dealing topically with the dependent children of the nation, it is but fair to consider also those of this race.

Dependency is usually the result of abnormal conditions; sometimes the outgrowth of forces within, sometimes the result of surrounding conditions and environment. Whatever the cause may be, the results are deplorable. To ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate ones, it is well for us, so far as lies within our power, to ferret out the many forces that operate to cause the conditions. Let us endeavor to enumerate the causes.

1. Most vocational and manual training is denied the Negro in the north, or rather he is restricted largely to the training afforded by the schools provided for such purposes. While these schools undoubtedly have their place to fill in the economic conditions of the people, such training will not enable the youth to cope creditably with that youth who has received his training in five or six years' service as apprentice or helper in workshop, factory, or store, under master mechanic or foreman. The colored youth is often accused of inability to apply his knowledge, when the facts are that much of it is simply theoretical knowledge and not to be compared with the actual knowledge gained by contact with the work in every stage of operation.

2. The Negro's dependency is frequently the result of actual poverty. The wages paid Negro labor, skilled or unskilled, are almost invariably lower than those paid any other people, and thrift is utterly impossible where the income is not sufficient to meet the actual needs of housing, fuel, light, food, and clothing. No provision can be made for tomorrow when we lack the necessities of today; and while half a loaf is better than no bread, yet fancy the demoralizing effect of an outlook for a lifetime, when the days roll into months and the months into years, with but half a loaf

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as the ultimate goal to be hoped for. Little wonder then, that with such a gloomy outlook, many sink into a condition that in the course of time makes them feel irresponsible and unable to cope with the situation, and the more helpless among them become the wards of the public.

3. A large percentage of the Negro population of Pennsylvania is either directly from the south or of southern extraction. Away from home, in an environment totally unlike that to which they have been accustomed, they become the easy prey of their unprincipled fellow men, the victims of unscrupulous persons of their own and the dominant race. Coming from sections of this country where they are so restricted, they oftentimes mistake liberty for license and place themselves by their rudeness and their general deportment in the limelight, where they are the cynosure of all eyes. Often their conduct is too childlike to be worthy of notice, if it were not in reality but part of the tragedy of the race.

4. They are subjected to housing conditions that are often insanitary and demoralizing; and in many instances there is a conspiracy on the part of landlords and agents to segregate them that forces them to live in districts that are ostracized by all right-thinking people.

All these, and many more forces combine to give the Negro more than his share if the burden of existence were equalized; for all men's necessities are the same, however much they may differ in taste as to what may or may not constitute the luxuries of life.

With so many handicaps to contend with, the burden must fall heavily on the weaker members of the race, especially those who have less than the average equipment of intelligence or opportunity; and in its turn must fall most heavily on the weakest—the dependent children and the often helpless mothers. Especially does this prove true when the little one has but one parent, in many instances the mother. However deep and strong mother love may be, the battle for existence with the burden of a helpless infant is a situation that many are utterly unable to cope with, and the provision for a home amidst any surroundings that could possibly make for good citizenship is almost impossible.

The opportunity for the dependent Negro child is very limited. Institutions for the care of colored children are few in number, but fortunately the average Negro mother will suffer many inconveniences and deprivations before consenting to part with

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her children. This holds true with the mothers of illegitimate children, for even though the mother be ignorant and untutored, she seems to have an innate feeling that the innocent child should not be made to suffer for his parents' sins, and that he should be given the care and protection of at least one parent.

Permit me to state right here that there is a spirit among all classes and conditions of the colored people in this land to better the environment of their children, to give them a better opportunity than the parent had. When the parents of colored children ask for aid, in almost 90 per cent of the cases it is simply that the child may not feel the pressure of actual want or pinching poverty.

The institutions now in existence are doing a great work for colored children, but they lack both space and funds to accomplish half or even a smaller percentage of the work that is needed. There is but one institution in Philadelphia that provides for boys over four years of age. Another institution in the city, intended to afford only temporary shelter to women, girl children, and the mothers of young infants, has at present in its care three small boys; but these boys will soon outgrow the limitations of this institution, and then they must either be placed in the other institution or in private homes. But what of the number of helpless little fellows that need care and training?

There is little better provision for Negro girls, but we argue that the training of the boy is the training of the people. In 90 per cent of dependent cases we find a lack on the part of the male parent to perform his duty. If the man were trained to take his responsibility in life as husband and father, there would be fewer deserted wives or illegitimate children; for, after all, the provision for the home must be made by the man. So these dependent boys should be given an opportunity to be trained in good citizenship and taught to assume the responsibility cheerfully, particularly the responsibility of their own making.

There are several institutions that provide for the care of dependent girls, and endeavor to make them capable of self-support and to fully equip them for the responsibility of life. They are taught cooking, sewing, and many things useful in

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housekeeping and home making. But the number of these institutions is totally inadequate to meet the demand.

In looking over the field, we have come in contact with any number of parents who are working in such a way that they can not possibly give the proper time and care to the training of their children. More especially is this true in cases where through death, desertion, or other causes the child is left without a father's care, and the mother is compelled to work at service or do "day's work" and is still endeavoring to give the child some oversight.

The day nurseries are doing a noble work in endeavoring to meet the needs of this class, but often it is impossible for the mother to comply with the rules and regulations of the nurseries because of her long working hours. Often, too, the mother is employed under such conditions that she can not be with the child at night, as when she is living in service.

Now some institutions, in which such children, both boys and girls, could be provided for, and the mother or father, as the case may be, would only have to pay a nominal board—\$1.50 to \$2.00 a week—would meet the needs admirably. Although the amount asked for board would be so small as to compel the institution to seek outside or state aid, yet if it is all the parents could afford to pay it would simply stand for good faith and an earnest desire on the part of the parents to do all in their power for the welfare of the little one.

Where the child is parentless, it is well for the state to assume all of the responsibility; but where the child has one parent who is able to work, some responsibility should be placed upon that parent, even if the sum stipulated is too small to be an actual factor in the support of the child. It practically means the assumption of as much of the obligation and responsibility of parenthood as the parent in this instance is able to take, and makes for better citizenship and a tendency to train away from dependency.

This plan also keeps parent and child in close touch with each other, and if through proper training the child is made a desirable citizen, he in his turn is more than liable to assume the support

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not only of his own family but also of his parents, and thus relieve the state of the support of them in their old age.

Putting the matter in a few words, more institutions for the training of the young, where the stipend required of the parents is rated in accordance with their earning capacity, would be the means of lowering the percentage of old-age pensioners in institutions and almshouses, and of creating a self-respecting citizenship among men and women who would otherwise be dependents.

The placing of children in private homes is desirable where the child is orphaned, or where his parents are invalidated or totally unfit for association with the child. Otherwise, we advocate the institutional plan.

When a private family undertakes the responsibility of caring for a child, in most cases it is because its members are capable and desirous of providing for the child, and mean to give him all the care and comforts of home life. This is usually the result sought for by both the family and the organizations that place him in such care. He is then often raised in an environment totally unlike that to which he was born, and often, unfortunately for all concerned, looks down with contempt upon his parents and relatives.

Now, if the condition that separates the child from its parents is simply poverty or misfortune such a result would be most lamentable; for although such a training would tend to elevate the individual and in that way raise the general tone of the race, yet such results hardly cover as broad a scope as could be accomplished where the child has institutional training but comes in contact with the parent from time to time.

On the other hand, if the child is placed in a private home and still permitted to come in contact with the parents, he is bound to make comparisons. His childish mind will hardly be able to appreciate the breadth and depth of the love that could make such sacrifices for his benefit, and the parent in 99 out of 100 cases would suffer in the comparison. The parent, realizing that the child is receiving far more advantages than he or she could possibly give it, is possibly tempted to abandon it altogether, or else

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a strong feeling of jealousy is engendered that bodes ill for all concerned—parent, child, and guardian.

The field is wide and many-sided. Much good is being accomplished through homes, day nurseries, and industrial schools. But oh, the many little unfortunate ones that these at present are unable to reach, little ones who are so much in need of training along every ethical line if they are to become desirable citizens and not eventually a burden to the municipality!

“The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth laborers into his harvest.”

VIII

THE NEGLECTED OR OVERLOOKED NEGRO YOUTH IN THE NORTH

Rev. WILLIAM A. CREDITT, D. D., Philadelphia
Principal Industrial and Agricultural School, Downingtown

IF THERE is anything in which the north may boast, it is her splendid system of education. She throws open her educational facilities to all the youth within her territory. It almost seems foolish, therefore, for one to say there is a neglected or overlooked class of young people in her midst.

Great numbers of colored youth are actually shut out from the educational advantages of this section. The majority of the colored boys and girls drop out of school before they have finished the grammar grades. Only a few enter the high schools and trades schools.

Why do they drop out? Living is expensive in this section; by far more expensive than in the south. Colored families average three or more children. When the children are very young, the burden of food and clothing is not heavy. As they grow older, the burden gets heavier and there is no increase in wages.

There are additional expenses when they would enter the high or trades schools. It is next to impossible for the average colored family to meet these demands. The older children are allowed to drop out of school as soon as they are fourteen or fifteen years of age. The parents argue that the younger children must be given a chance.

In many cases, the father and mother both work out during the day, or they are employed as domestics. There is actually no home life for the children. There are cases where the younger children are locked indoors while the parents are out at work. These children get out of these locked houses and are often picked up by the agents of the various societies, or they drift into petty vice and are picked up by the officers.

There are many cases where the father dies and leaves a family of children dependent upon the mother. The mother must either work in service where the children are not allowed to come,

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or she does "day's work" where the children can not be with her. The case is worse where the mother dies and leaves the children with the father.

It is true, to be sure, that these same conditions exist in white families that are poor and whose children likewise drop out of school at the age of fourteen or fifteen. But opportunities are different. White children of these classes have many things open to them. There are the factories; the great department stores; they may secure work as messengers and as office boys; they may be apprenticed in the many trades. But none of these opportunities are opened to colored boys and girls.

Foreigners of whatsoever type, fresh from their own country, may avail themselves of all opportunities open to the native-born white youth, while our colored youth stand at the same doors asking for privilege to work and are refused.

These colored boys and girls have not been trained as first class domestics; they are too young to do an adult's work at manual labor. Skilled mechanics are so few that these boys may not be apprenticed. Trade unions shut out colored men who are skilled and, of course, the boys have no chance. Many would attend the night schools if they could find work during the day. Factories, department stores, and telegraph offices will not employ them.

Where do they go? They drift into crime. All forms of vice are open to them. Vice sets a premium upon young life. They crowd pool rooms and dens of evil. Walk certain streets at night or by day and you will find that it is not the older Negroes who make life miserable for us, but the young Negroes, those who have grown up under the conditions and handicaps mentioned. Such do not reach old age. They either die with tuberculosis or something worse, or they end their days in prison.

What is the remedy? If we would improve conditions, we must cut off the sources of supply or turn them into a different channel. There are a number of worthy efforts and institutions which to a large degree do provide for these Negro children until they reach the age of twelve or fourteen. The dangerous age is at fourteen. In many cases, the parents can not be found, or if

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found, are no better able to take care of the children than they were when the children were younger. Such children, in many cases, are put into homes which have been found by these institutions. The supply is much larger than the demand. The question with some of these institutions today is: What shall we do with these Negro children when by age they have outgrown institutional care and when by age they have reached their most dangerous period in life? The great need for Negro children today is an institution that will receive them at this age, and mother and train them in domestic service, in practical farming, and in the trades.

The Downingtown Industrial and Agricultural School, located at Downingtown, Pennsylvania, represents an effort to provide for these overlooked or neglected young people. It aims to do more than what Tuskegee and Hampton are doing. The conditions in the south are not as intense against the colored youth as here in the north. We have a different and a harder problem. The Downingtown Industrial and Agricultural School does not exist for those whose parents can send their children to the public schools or trades schools of our state. The Downingtown Industrial School exists rather for those boys and girls who are absolutely homeless, or whose parents and guardians are not able to send them to the public and trades schools. Public schools are only free to those who are able to send their children to them.

The plan of the Downingtown Industrial School is: Self help through self work. All students must work a part of the time. All boys must learn a trade or be taught practical agriculture. All girls must learn a trade and become skilled in domestic science.

All parents and guardians are required to pay what they can towards the expenses of their children, which expenses are put at a minimum. The majority of the parents are not able to pay anything.

The school is in its seventh year, with an enrollment of 144. More than 200 have been refused because of inability to accommodate them. If the farm were better equipped, if the trades were more fully installed, and if we were able to complete the new building, many of those who have been refused might come and

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work their way through school. We aim to do a work that the city and state should do for these neglected or overlooked ones. Isn't it cheaper and better to train them and to save them in their youthful years than to support them in prisons after they have committed crime?

There is an increasing demand for farm hands; there is a demand for high grade domestics and the Armstrong Association is opening opportunities for skilled mechanics. Why should colored people be encouraged to come here from the south to meet this demand when there is a full supply at our door, if they were trained? Why not rather help to train those who are right here with us? Why not induce them to return to the country and take up farm life? The Downingtown School held in August, 1912, the first Negro farmers' conference ever held in the north. The state board of education and the state board of agriculture sent their representatives to the conference. More than 50 Negro farmers and farm helpers in Pennsylvania were in attendance. This conference will be held annually. The motto is: Back to the farms.

Those Negroes who are crowding our northern cities are used to farm life. As a pastor of 2,000 of these people I know their needs and their wants. They want to return to the farms. Their children can be easily induced to go with them. Here is a great opportunity for a farm school that will help largely in our problem of the Negro child. Take the Negro child to the country—he is a child of the farm.

While every boy is compelled to take a trade or to learn farming, special oversight is had to encourage the brighter minds to continue their education. By special arrangements, Lincoln University helps those of the Downingtown Industrial and Agricultural School students who show aptitude and express a desire for higher education.

These overlooked or neglected colored youth appeal to you. The problem of the Negro boy in the north is solved, if the youth is trained in industry and in character. Let us get hold of the sources that supply the dens of vice and control them. Let us save the Negro man and woman by saving the Negro child.

IX
THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN
PENNSYLVANIA
BROMLEY WHARTON

General Agent and Secretary Board of Public Charities of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

THE board of commissioners of public charities, of which the writer has the honor to be secretary, has supervision of Pennsylvania's state, semi-state, eleemosynary, and philanthropic institutions. Among these are a large number dealing with and caring for neglected, destitute, and dependent children. The work done by these institutions has been thoughtfully canvassed by our board, and year by year such recommendations made as seemed consistent and desirable.

Among the things especially noteworthy in relation to child-helping work are the following:

1. There recently has been a large increase in the number of homes applying for state aid, particularly for children.
2. There is a tendency toward duplication in this kind of charitable work, owing to the activity of several societies and homes in the same field.
3. In a number of counties it is found that the directors of the poor place children in state-aided homes, without making any payment for the children so placed. This means that the local poor authorities are entirely relieved of the expense.
4. This tendency toward duplication of work, and the evasion of responsibility by poor directors, has led to an urgent recommendation for a comprehensive system of consolidation and supervision of these homes.
5. The suggestion is made that the situation could be simplified and very much of the child-helping work done better and more economically by officially placing the boarding-out and placing-out work under the control of the Children's Aid Societies of eastern and western Pennsylvania, respectively.

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6. Honorable Francis J. Torrance, president of the board, in his latest report, presents the following definite recommendations:

(1) The Board recommends the adoption of some uniform method of caring for dependent children who are not defectives. At the date of the last census there were 10,151 such children in the various institutions of the commonwealth. The present practice in caring for such children is inefficient, expensive, and lacking in uniformity. Dependent children are often brought together in large numbers, and maintained in so-called Homes, apparently without limit as to the period of their detention, and subject to institutional life and usage, without plans for their future. The result of the congregate system is too often a permanent dependence, terminating in mendicancy.

(2) In the opinion of the Board it would be preferable to place juvenile dependents in foster homes, the cost of maintenance to be paid by those responsible, whether it be the county or the commonwealth. This policy, if it be adopted, should be entered upon at once, as the number of institutional Homes for dependent children is now large, and annually increasing, with a resulting increase of property interests.

(3) The Board earnestly recommends that a Commission be appointed, charged with the duty of examining the various systems for the care of dependent children, and reporting thereon.

7. Our board advocated last year, and still urges the legislature to enact, a law prohibiting the incorporation by courts of common pleas of corporations formed, or to be formed, to establish or maintain charitable or eleemosynary institutions in which indigent persons are treated or maintained, unless proof of the consent of the state board of charities is first produced to said courts, certifying that these institutions are needed. This would enable the board to check the unnecessary increase in child-helping institutions and the wasteful duplication of efforts and property.

8. In defense of the policy of the state in making appropriations to private and semi-private institutions for the indigent and dependent, so frequently criticized, let me again quote directly from President Torrance's able report, already drawn upon:

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(1) The members of the Board incline to the belief that the dependent classes are better cared for in such (private) institutions than they would probably be in institutions operated directly by the state.

(2) It is not true that the Pennsylvania system dries up the springs of local charity. More than one-half of the cost of maintaining the private and semi-private institutions in the commonwealth is contributed by the institutions themselves and their friends.

(3) Where the bounty of the state is expended by persons who have themselves given an equal amount, the funds will naturally be expended with caution and much judgment.

9. I cannot better voice the ideas, conclusions, and desires of our board in relation to child welfare matters than in these paragraphs from one of our reports, that to the legislature of 1911:

(1) The condition of abandoned children, destitute and obviously dependent, appeals with peculiar force. The entire range of human derelicts contains none more dependent, or more worthy of state relief.

(2) Ample provision has been made for the institutional care of the delinquent and defective classes; but there is no institution where abandoned but otherwise worthy children may seek shelter, except upon terms of private philanthropy.

(3) Of the various methods employed in the shelter and maintenance of this class, institutional care is perhaps least desirable.

(4) Almshouses are properly closed as a permanent shelter to children, for they have a direct influence toward creating in the individual a permanent sense of dependence.

(5) The same objection applies to the congregated care of abandoned and homeless children in the so-called "Children's Homes," operated under local auspices, and maintained only in part by the state.

(6) While much good is accomplished by the so-called "Homes," much room for improvement remains, less, perhaps, in the actual care than in the system, by which the child is, to a certain extent, deprived of the domestic influences of the family circle, which make for good citizenship.

(7) The work of societies devoted to child aid, which secure and place children in foster homes, is more commendable, as arriving at once at the actual solution of child aid problems.

(8) We respectfully recommend that steps be taken for the examination of the several systems of "Children's Aid" as now dispensed,

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with a view to the establishment of a uniform system on a more substantial and exalted plane; either by the creation of a special Commission, or relegation of authority to this Board.

10. What has so far been given, largely in quotations from recent utterances of President Torrance, indicates clearly some of the urgent needs of our board, if it is to do efficient work in regard to dependent children and keep pace with the new methods and needs of the times. Special attention may be centered on these few points:

(1) The state board of charities needs enlarged authority, covering matters relating to the incorporation of private child-helping institutions, the establishing of standards of child care, the supervision of work done, and the closing of unnecessary institutions, or those failing to give satisfactory care to their wards.

(2) The board needs a much enlarged force of workers, both in its office and record departments, and for essential field work. We believe that there are few states in the Union where the proportion of work done by the board of public charities is so large in comparison with the resources at its command, as it is in Pennsylvania.

(3) The enlargement of scope and authority, greatly increasing the work to be done, and the concomitant and absolutely necessary multiplication of employees, will require an equivalent increase in the annual appropriation for this department; an increase which, if properly expended, will probably bring as large and helpful results to the people of the commonwealth as any similar amount in any department of the public service.

X THE JUVENILE COURT IN PENNSYLVANIA

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THE juvenile court law has been on the statute books of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania for almost twelve years; but the principles underlying the law and the importance of the movement have received scanty recognition from the bench and the bar. While the total effect upon delinquency can not be measured because of the lack of adequate probation records and the inaccessibility of the police and court records; yet the general impression of the police officials and those who have to do with delinquent children is that the volume of new delinquency has not sensibly diminished and that as many of the young offenders are becoming old offenders as did before the passage of the law.

With justice it might be said that the poor showing in Pennsylvania is because of the indifference of the legal fraternity to the new principles which now in every highly civilized nation are reflecting the changing attitude of society toward the delinquent—both juvenile and adult. In the whole state not a single champion has arisen from among our judges to study the situation and work for its betterment. To this lack of interest, and in some cases opposition, on the part of those on whom the responsibility for administering the law was placed, can be attributed the slow progress of the juvenile court movement in spite of earnest work of many individuals and societies interested in the welfare of children. To this indifference also can be attributed the fact that the two large cities, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, are the only remaining examples in the country of the vicious system of the rotation of judges.*

In less than half of the 67 counties of the state has the mandatory clause of the act requiring the court to appoint probation officers to serve in the juvenile court been complied with; and in

* Since the above was written, Philadelphia has ceased rotating judges, and now assigns a judge to juvenile court work for a year.—Editor.

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less than one-third has a detention home for the reception of children awaiting trial been provided. Today in Pennsylvania, with few exceptions, we have juvenile courts in name only—small and negligible parts of the machinery of the state for suppressing the criminal.

The delinquent child is arrested, detained, bailed, tried (usually twice), and punished as a criminal. In about one-half of our jurisdictions the concession is made to the letter of the act in that he is not confined with adult criminals unless he is unruly or a chronic runaway. The comparatively few special detention rooms for children which are maintained are usually in the jail building. In a few counties the cases are heard in the judge's chamber, and in all, no doubt, they are heard separately from adults. Probation is utilized in about one-half of the jurisdictions but it is usually of a formal and legal sort.

Worst of all, the lack of conviction of the judges of the juvenile court upon the true aims of the court reacts upon the local officials, making them either indifferent or antagonistic. Neither they, nor the community, nor the judges themselves realize that the juvenile court is not merely a part of the state's legal machinery but that it is a vital social agency with a great work before it.

There are four distinct types of communities making four distinct problems, and what may be said in regard to one may not always be strictly true in reference to the others. There are roughly speaking:

1. Counties occupied completely by a city, such as Philadelphia.
2. Counties occupied by cities with their suburbs and rural districts like Scranton, Harrisburg, Wilkes-Barre, and so forth.
3. Counties with mainly semi-urban conditions complicated by the presence of industrial centers—more or less congested, but not incorporated.
4. Entirely rural counties.

In each of these the problem differs somewhat, but in all we find some of the following evils, and in a great majority all of them:

1. Shifting the duties and responsibilities of the juvenile court by retaining the preliminary hearing before police magistrates, justices of the peace, aldermen, or other local authorities.

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2. A lack of understanding and sympathy with the true aims of the juvenile court act upon the part of the court itself, the local police, constables, and magistrates.

3. Disregard or evasion of the duty of providing for separate places of detention for children.

4. Failure of the judges to avail themselves of the privilege of appointing probation officers, or if appointed, the lack of development of standards as to appointment, salaries, duties, and so forth.

5. Formal and legal view of probation and failure to give the probation officers power to settle cases out of court.

6. Failure on the part of courts to punish those contributing to the delinquency of children.

7. Failure of the courts to get the best medical and psychological advice before the final disposition of each case.

The remedy for these conditions is easy to prescribe:

1. One interested judge whose court shall be available at all times.

2. A broad, able, and well-paid chief probation officer who shall be summoned at once in cases of arrest or complaint against children, and who is empowered by the court to dispose of certain classes of cases.

3. The probation officer must have as many assistants as the work of the county demands, and an efficient office force to insure adequate and correct records.

4. The winning over of the judge or judges is the first step, and each community must be first aroused to the point where the election of a judge will depend upon his attitude on this question.

5. For the state at large such campaign work should be done by some private agency such as the Public Charities Association.

6. A bill creating a state probation commission is to be introduced at the present session of the legislature. If it provides for an advisory commission only it can do immense good in an educational way, but if it is given any administrative powers it will only make a bad situation worse.

Given a properly organized juvenile court with a judge who is interested, the court will soon realize that it is no longer merely a legal tribunal before which a stream of cases passes for adjudication but that it must take cognizance on the one hand of the manner in which the children are arrested and brought into court and on the other hand on what is being done for those whom it entrusts to probation officers, institutions, or to any other agency.

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In regard to police and court actions:

1. The police officers who investigate and arrest in the offenses of children must be more or less under the control and direction of the court.
2. In smaller jurisdictions the probation officers of the court, when given power by the court, will gradually, if they are the right sort of officers, come to have a strong influence on police activity in children's cases.
3. In the cities a special children's police of both men and women, responsible in some degree to the court itself, will doubtless be a development in the near future.
4. The court will also soon realize its own responsibility in committing to institutions, and do away with a condition such as at present exists in one of our reform schools, where each and every month 40 or more of the children must be released on parole to make room for new ones whom the court sends. Many of these thus released are no doubt ready for parole and the conditions in the homes to which they go are good; but with such a pressure on the school to release, and with a very inadequate force of parole officers, there is great chance of error.
5. The court will also find that the present wholesale methods of treating delinquents do not accomplish much with difficult cases. It will, as soon as it begins to follow up each case and observe the results of its experiments, realize that it must have help in studying the child whose life it is called upon to interfere with.
6. Therefore, it will call upon the best medical and psychological talent available before it commits to an institution, or to a child-helping society, or even before the child is sent home under probationary oversight. It will be reasonably assured that there is some basis for believing that the treatment selected is the best one.
7. Such a court will insist that it have great, big, broad-spirited men and women as probation officers—not appointed because of influence but because of fitness—and will pay adequate salaries to such people. Such a court will insist that when it says to a boy, "Son, I am going to send you where you can learn a trade and get some education," that the place to which he sends the boy is equipped with teachers who are expert and well paid.
8. It will demand smaller and more specialized institutions where the individual child may be trained.
9. Such a court will insist that if it commits a child to a child-helping society that the untiring and ceaseless efforts of trained and expert workers

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shall be given to the care of the child until he shall be fitted into a suitable environment.

10. All of these things will cost money but I do not believe that any community will begrudge the money when the court submits the facts.

Because the juvenile court movement took definite form in Philadelphia earlier than in other parts of the state the unfortunate experiences of the movement there have deterred to some extent the judges of the other counties from taking advantage of the provisions of the act in full. For this reason it would seem profitable to consider first the present methods and needs in Philadelphia and then pass to a discussion of the situation in other parts of the state.

1. In Philadelphia County when the juvenile court act of 1901 went into effect the members of the judiciary and the bar were not, with a few exceptions, in sympathy with it and the act was soon declared unconstitutional. A second act (that of 1903) has withstood the attacks of the enemies of the movement but the judges of the common pleas court, upon whom the carrying out of the act was imposed, had neither the time nor the inclination to devote to this work for children. Few of the judges had, or have yet, after ten years, any deep conviction of the necessity for, or any conception of, the possibilities of a juvenile court.

2. While the revised act retains the essential features—the separate trial, the substitution of summons instead of arrest, a system of probation, and a house of detention—yet the judges have so administered the law and so organized the court that not a single one of these has functioned in the way which the spirit of the law intended.

3. Some of the judges have accepted, and as an administrative body they all acted upon, the presumption that the act had been put through upon a sentimental and emotional wave of enthusiasm and that they, as preservers of the dignity and integrity of the law, would so surround the practice and proceedings that the well-intentioned but mistaken enthusiasts would do as little harm as possible.

4. Instead of assuming, as they naturally should had they been interested, that the juvenile court to be effective must have the services of one judge to give continuity to the work and to direct and inspire the probation work, that the court must be available for the trial of cases as often as necessary, they fixed one day a week for the sessions of juvenile court—thus making necessary the subjection of the children to a police magistrate's hearing. The bringing in of cases directly before the court by

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petition and summons was discouraged, and arrest and magistrate's hearing was made the regular process.

5. The board of judges refused to assign one of their number to undertake all the juvenile court work for a long enough period to become expert in it. They continued to hold the sessions of the juvenile court in the criminal court room with all the paraphernalia and associations of such a court, even after beautiful and adequate quarters were provided for the juvenile court at the house of detention. Now let us see the train of consequences in the administrative side alone.

6. Those who were interested in the movement saw the necessity of having one place where the preliminary hearings (thus arbitrarily made necessary) might be held, and by voluntary action the board of magistrates agreed that the same magistrate should sit at the house of detention and hear the cases every day. The magistrate has no committing powers, however, and can only discharge or hold to await the action of the juvenile court.

7. For a number of years the probation system continued to be more or less independent of the juvenile court and these three separate and independent bodies all dealing with the same children created a most pretty situation for misunderstandings and cross purposes, even to the extent of subjecting the whole juvenile court movement in this city and the state to ridicule.

8. The organization of the probation system at its inception was exceedingly faulty and added to the complications. The probation officers' salaries were paid by various interested societies and organizations, and as there was no one authoritative head to oversee and direct the work and no adequate records required, many mistakes were made. However, during this period, because a large section of the public was interested and there was considerable enthusiasm, much excellent work was done by the probation officers.

9. To mend the intolerable situation which existed, the board of judges secured the passage of an amendment placing the appointment of the probation officers under the control of the board of judges and making them responsible to the juvenile court alone, through a chief probation officer.

10. This cleared away some of the administrative difficulties but on the other hand there came a reaction from the earlier, rather slipshod, but earnest and comprehensive view of what probation is, to a more formal and technical view. The probation officers have ceased to be live factors in the education of the community toward the newer view of our duties

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to the child and have come to be parts of the legal machinery of the state. Likewise the detention house is now more or less isolated. In fact there is no continuity anywhere in the process.*

In describing the present situation we will first take up the manner in which the children are arrested and then pass on to the magistrate's hearing, the detention home and the juvenile court trial, and dispositions:

1. Nowhere in the country has the manner of arrest of the young delinquent been thoroughly studied and, except in smaller places where there is an exceptional judge or a strong probation officer, no improvement has been made upon the old methods.

2. In Philadelphia County, owing to the causes outlined above, there has been little sympathy or understanding between the police and the probation officers. The former look upon the latter as interferers, and the number of children who have become nuisances to them and who are allowed to return home on probation, makes them think lightly of the court.

3. On the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of the police, just because there is a juvenile court, to bring in many cases which should not be brought in and throw the responsibility on the court.

4. As the probation officer has no rights until after the child is held for court by the magistrate, and as there are no men probation officers, the entire field of arrest is left to the police.

5. In fact there is a marked tendency on the part of the probation officers to ask the police to make arrests of probationers whom they wish to report back to court and whom they think it will be difficult to locate or handle.

6. Another serious evil is the issuing of warrants for arrest by the magistrates to citizens without some social investigation. In adult cases prosecutors must pay \$3.50 for a warrant unless poverty is shown, but in juvenile cases the practice is to give all warrants free. The result is that many arrests are made and children haled before the magistrate, which could be avoided.

7. There should be a careful social investigation made before warrants are issued. In many cases the trouble might be adjusted without the case coming into court at all. In many others a summons would suffice

* It should be said that since this was written, direct action by the judge assigned to juvenile court work for an annual period, and other improvements, have lessened the bad conditions indicated in these 10 paragraphs. However, not all the evils complained of have been removed.—Editor.

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and only in extreme cases would a warrant have to be sworn out especially if the \$3.50 cost were insisted upon.

8. A large proportion of the arrests take place after a complaint has been made at the station house. Very few children are "caught in the act," and in almost all cases of this kind a summons would be sufficient if the parents were certain of fair treatment for their children.

9. It is the custom for special plain clothes officers, where complaints are made of losses of property and children are suspected, to use all the arts known to detective methods to get evidence from the children. Informing is encouraged and even promises of immunity are made.

10. In some cases such methods are perhaps necessary but the indiscriminate use is very bad for the children and makes the work of the court and the probation department much more difficult by hardening the children and making them suspicious. It also antagonizes the parents.

11. A number of strong men officers of the juvenile court, under the chief probation officer, to assist the regular police in making investigations of all complaints against children would soon become indispensable to the lieutenants of the districts and their policemen. Such probation officers should have power to settle cases out of court, but full records should be put on file with the court records.

12. A large number of arrests for trivial offenses—crap shooting, corner lounging, and the infringement of city ordinances could be avoided by more intelligent police activity.

13. A school of instruction is now being established and no doubt we shall see improvement in the future. In addition a specially trained corps of children's policemen and women to assist in the oversight of children should be established. It should be responsible to the police department and only bring children into court after consultation with the officers directly connected with the court.

14. It is most important too that special consideration be given to the large number of arrests made by railroad officers. In 1911, 500 children were brought into the house of detention by such officers in Philadelphia. How many more were arrested and not brought in no one can tell. The property of the railroads is very inadequately guarded; the yards and tracks are the natural playgrounds of the boys in many parts of the city. Throwing stones at moving trains, taking waste from the journal boxes, gathering up coal and junk spilled from the cars are interesting and sometimes profitable amusements for the boys. Hopping freights, consorting with tramps, stealing coal from cars, breaking switches, stealing couplings and brasses, and breaking and entering box cars come next.

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15. It may be that it is impossible to keep the boys away from the railroads but much more than is now done could be attempted. Two or three officers sometimes have to cover miles of territory and usually the minor depredations go on for some considerable space of time until complaints are so numerous that the officers suddenly swoop down and make many arrests to set an example; or they arrest one or two of the less active depredators and learning from them the names of others who were present, bring a dozen or more into court.

16. The railroad officers are not always of the highest grade of men and their judgment is often at fault. The result is that the courts are reluctant to take serious steps with these minor offenders and the children are let go again and again. This is bad all the way through. The companies should be required to police adequately their property and then such arrests as are made should be dealt with on the merits of the case.

Up to this time the benefits of the juvenile court and probation system have not reached the large class of wayward and immoral girls. This is, no doubt, because probation officers have not had the power nor the time to go out for such cases and only such cases as are brought in on complaint of their parents are taken cognizance of by the court. The girls of the street are wise enough to give their ages as over sixteen because they know in the adult court the worst that can happen to them is a short commitment. Doubtless with the giving of more authority to the probation officers to bring in cases and the advent of women police, a large number of girls may be brought under the care of the juvenile court.

The holding of preliminary hearings is an unmixed evil. In addition to the danger of conflict in authority, the magistrate's court is purely and simply a police court.

1. If a prima facie case is made out against the child, the duty of the magistrate is to hold the child to await the action of the juvenile court; if not, he must discharge the child.

2. All the magistrate has to base his decision on is the testimony of the police officer. There is no special investigation made.

3. Furthermore, the magistrate has no direct authority over the police officers, at least no way of knowing how much or how little of an investigation has been made.

4. To one who is watching the cases as they pass through it is evident that in a great many cases, unless there is some large amount of property

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involved, or unless the particular children have become a nuisance to the police, the investigations made are quite perfunctory.

5. The result is that in the new cases (children arrested for the first time) the evidence is not well prepared, and in the old cases it is very often prejudiced against the child.

6. There is also opportunity for the various evils common to our lower courts in almost every community—political influence, the buying off of prosecutors, and witnesses, and so forth.

7. The probation officers have no definite right to make independent investigations, not even when children who are on probation to them are arrested. They have no voice in the magistrate's hearing except on sufferance. Of course, in many instances their opinion is asked by the magistrate and in some cases he holds the child for a further hearing and requests the probation officer, as a favor, to make an investigation and to report to him.

8. Strictly speaking he had no power to do this and the probation officer has no right to make an investigation until after the child is held for court by the magistrate. So it happens that many cases are held for court which should be discharged and a greater number discharged which should be dealt with in some definite manner by a court with power.

This restriction of the juvenile court to simply sit upon those cases returned to it by the magistrate for the final disposition nullifies the spirit of the act, which is, that the young offender shall not be tried as a criminal. All the young offenders are tried once as criminals in the magistrate's court and those for whom it is desired to obtain the benefits of the wise provisions of the act must be tried as criminals twice on the same charge.

1. I have seen excellent people in trying to get the magistrate to hold a child for the juvenile court, actually perjure themselves because, while it was perfectly evident to all that the child needed the care and oversight of a probation officer, or of an institution, there was no direct evidence of a particular offense which would make out a *prima facie* case before the magistrate.

2. Therefore, children often are allowed to go from bad to worse until they commit some overt act and can be legitimately held by the magistrate to await the action of the juvenile court.

3. On the other hand, in a large number of cases children arrested for overt acts, the case is so well made out by police and prosecutor that the magistrate can do nothing else but hold the child, when in reality the case

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is one that should be settled at once, the child admonished and sent home.

4. The most learned and best intentioned magistrate could not do the right thing under the present system. He will do either of two things—perform his work in a perfunctory and formal way, or else usurp some of the powers of the juvenile court and dispose of some of the cases as his judgment directs.

5. The duplication of hearings also deters police officers from following up cases, as they do not care to take the time necessary to attend two hearings.

6. After the hearings comes a scramble to bail the children (who have been held for court). Personal and political favor with the magistrate or policeman, whether the magistrate is feeling well or not, the number of children in the detention home, or perhaps the particular time of the year, are criteria as to whether a child is bailed out or shall stay in detention. Generally no actual property qualification is necessary, but it may be required at a moment's whim.

7. Another evil of this double system is that all cases held for court by the magistrate come before the juvenile court arbitrarily upon the next court day following the hearing.

8. There may not be time enough for a proper investigation of the home and a thorough study of the child. The case comes up automatically and while, of course, it may be continued, there is great temptation to let it be disposed of, and if it is continued the parents, police, and witnesses must spend another entire day in court.

Under the present system of having juvenile court only once a week—the detention house serves the same purpose as the county prison, being a place where those children who can not secure bail are kept awaiting their trial. With the methods now in use of arresting children as criminals, giving them a trial as criminals, holding them in bail as criminals, and so forth, it is not to be wondered that the ideas as to detention are also unscientific and far removed from the true spirit of the juvenile court act.

1. Punishment as a deterrent dies hard. Experienced probation officers feel that they can begin a period with a child more successfully when he goes to court after a period of detention than when he goes from his home, having been released on bail, and some are inclined to attribute this to the fact that he has been punished by his detention.

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2. Logically, they call for more punitive measures during his detention. Probably there are many cases in which the enforced separation from indulgent parents or those who have been made indignant by police and court methods, and the chance for the child to think over his misdeeds away from the street companions, do bring the child to his senses.

3. I suspect, however, it is the different attitude of the parents which most helps the probation officers. They are less independent and more inclined to rely upon the good offices of the probation officer. As far as the child is concerned, I am sure that the less of an idea he has that he has undergone a punishment as a criminal, the better probationer he will be.

4. Punishment at the right time and in the right place can never be dispensed with, but punishment as a criminal weakens the best basis on which you have to work for his reformation—his self-respect and his belief in the real good intent of society towards him. The psychological effect of detention on the child under our present system is seldom realized.

5. We accept the theory that the child is not responsible in the sense that an adult person is, and should therefore not be treated as a criminal, but we apply that theory only at the last minute in court.

6. We have already, in the child's mind at least, made a criminal out of him. He is chased like a thief and caught and taken to the station house; slated; taken to the detention home (and kept there unless his folks have money or influence enough to bail him out); subjected to the examination of detectives, and in many cases he is made into an informer against others; tried before a magistrate (a regular police court trial); held for juvenile court; put back in detention unless, as before, his people can get him out; taken to juvenile court—up to this time clearly a criminal process in every step, except that he is not in court with, or confined with adult criminals; and then at the last minute, as if ashamed of our previous treatment, we weaken and say, "Now, Johnnie, you have been a bad boy but you may now have another chance." What is the effect upon the boy? What is the effect upon the community? The boy feels that he has been playing a game with society and has won the first trick.

7. There is a tendency also on the part of some judges to use the detention house as a place for short commitments for punishment. This is not only distinctly contrary to the spirit but to the letter of the act, and is fraught with the same danger as punishment before the hearing.

8. The detention home should never be thought of as a place of punishment, but as a place where the individual child can be cared for and studied until his case can be properly disposed of by the court, and as a general rule no child should be kept in detention who can be kept safely in his own home.

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9. The detention home is the logical place for a thorough examination and while the field officer makes an investigation of the environment from which he comes, the child should be studied so that whatever treatment, probationary or institutional, is determined upon by the court, it will be suited to the particular case and the particular child. Difficult cases and those who must be removed from their homes may be remanded for further and more intimate study as to mental and physical equipment, vocational leanings, moral tendencies, and so forth.

10. In fact, provided the child comes into the detention home, not as one having been tried on a criminal charge in a criminal court and who is held under bail and has a price on his head, but simply as a naughty child who knows he must be corrected and must regain the confidence of those in authority, a great deal may be done in the way of preparing him either for a subsequent probational term or institutional treatment.

11. I have said that the true function of the detention home was child study. Well, child study is not alone making a scientific diagnosis of his mental and physical defects. It is trying to get at his real nature and the reasons for his badness, and to this end all the activities of the home should tend.

12. There is another legitimate and proper use of the detention home which is of importance to the court and to the police; namely, children may be isolated there under good influence in order that they may realize the necessity of telling the truth and the whole truth, or in order that pressure may not be brought upon them by outside parties to continue their deception. Such detention should not be used as a threat to hold over the child's head, but he should be held in detention to see if kindly and sympathetic, but firm guidance, will not lead him to tell the true facts.

Refusal of the board of judges to assign one judge to sit in the juvenile court for an extended period was based upon the fact that with their organization divided into five common pleas courts and three courts of quarter sessions, it was impossible without disarranging the entire schedule. But lying back of this is the misconception that the function of the judge is the same in the juvenile court as in any other court; that is to say, to pass upon the cases which come before him in accordance with the law. Laboring under this misconception it is easy to see why the judges look upon the questions as to what sort of a court room, or where the judge shall sit, as more or less unimportant and mere fads of sentimental theorists.

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1. They forget that very many children come before the juvenile court having committed no crime, but because the public looks upon the juvenile court as a place where a child who is thought to be in need of the care and guidance of the state may be taken; and so a great injustice is being done to such children in bringing them into a court which, after all, in spirit and surroundings is only a criminal court.

2. Being a juvenile court in name we cast aside most of the safeguards which the legal development of centuries has placed about the criminal courts, and this is apt to work more harm than good unless the court itself and all the processes from the arrest to the final disposition are conceived to have social rather than purely legal functions. We simply want to show that having already cast aside these safeguards to a great extent in the practice of this court, we are not substituting properly organized social machinery and safeguards to take their places.

3. Under the orthodox practice, the district attorney with the attorney for the prosecution on one side and the attorney for the defense on the other, bring out before the bar of the court evidence which is vital to the case, and from their contest under strict rules, the real facts of the case are sifted out.

4. If we do away with this process we must substitute in its place such high standards of investigation that all of the real facts come before the bar of the court in the reports of the probation officers and we must have a court which will place upon such facts a social interpretation instead of a legal one.

5. High standards can not be maintained under the present system of 12 or 14 judges each sitting perhaps eighteen to twenty hours each year in juvenile court; that is, on four Mondays in succession and about four or five hours to each day, then not coming back into the juvenile court for a year or perhaps two. There must be one judge who is assigned for a year at least, in order to become familiar with the work, to give coördination to all the parts of the process and to vitalize and inspire the probation work.

6. In handling the "repeaters"—the boys who come again and again into court—this evil of the rotation of judges is most apparent. Hundreds of cases may be shown of boys who have been four and five times in court and each time before a different judge. In fact the necessity of having one judge for a juvenile court is so apparent and so obvious that it seems incredible that in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, after twelve years, the system of rotation of judges still exists.*

*Already properly assigned in Philadelphia County; but rotation and all similar defects of method, such as preliminary action in a magistrate's court, may be considered in reference to other populous counties of the state.—Editor.

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7. The recent change in New York City leaves Pennsylvania's two great cities the last ones in the country to retain this system, which shows that in our communities the social function of the court is not yet appreciated. When the essence and spirit of a juvenile court is so entirely lacking, it is not surprising that the physical surroundings are as unsuitable as can be imagined.

8. We now pass to some details of present practice. The young offender after a "joy ride" in a police patrol wagon together with some 20 to 40 other youngsters, is disembarked in the court yard at City Hall before the usual curious crowd; he is hustled by the sheriff's officers to the large criminal court room and seated next the iron-barred cage in the darkest corner of the big room. There are four or five hundred parents, police officers, and the usual crowd of idle curiosity seekers. The judge sits on his high marble rostrum and the children are brought by the court officers to the rail which is so high that often all the judge can see is the tops of the youngsters' heads.

9. The cases must be hurried through as the list is long. Parents and children and witnesses are tired out with waiting. Whether the judge is good natured or severe is soon known to the children. One case is waiting to be put on while the previous one is being hurried away by the officers. "Cruelty" cases, improper homes, dependent children, and delinquents are not separated, and the degradation of parents before their children is a common sight. The judge coming from other courts does not get into the spirit of the thing; he is still a judge sitting in criminal court. It is a fitting climax to the arrest, the preliminary hearing, and the detention of the child.

The low estimate of the board of judges as to the possibilities and great opportunities of a probation system is shown by the fact that the salary paid to the probation officers is \$65 a month each and the chief probation officer's salary is \$100 a month. They have appointed none but women officers, provided no adequate system of records or office force to aid the chief probation officer in administering the work. The regard in which the judge holds probation work is shown by the fact that for the three courts of quarter sessions they have appointed two probation officers to act in adult cases. One of these is a man at a salary of \$75 a month, while the same court pays the ordinary tipstaves a salary of \$166 a month.

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1. While an individual probation officer may and often does have a large view of the preventive and constructive possibilities of the work, the general attitude of the juvenile court judge is that probation officers are required only to do what the act says: "Make such investigations as may be required by the court and to take such charge of any child before and after trial as may be directed by the court." As a different judge sits each month and each one has a more or less different view of the value and possibilities of probation, there is a lack of standards and a lack of personal relation between the judges and the probation officers which is prejudicial to efficient work.

2. In addition, the service has suffered because there has been no adequate system of keeping records, no means of supervision over the officers' work in the field. While at least half of the cases handled are boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen years, there are no men in the service. Most of the probation officers have more cases than can be properly handled. The judges place many children on probation because that seems to be the thing to do; some judges place all who come in for the first time, without regard to the needs of the particular child.

3. Now in the early days of the juvenile court movement, when there seemed to be some magic in the word probation, such loose and wholesale methods may have been justified. Most juvenile courts have grown away from them, but our court, faulty in organization and lacking the means for analyzing and criticising its own acts, continues to do this and so the probation officers are overloaded with cases, and efficient work is impossible.

4. There is a large number of first cases which might be safely held open and the child allowed to go home without the formality of probation. The fact is that when the probation officers are overloaded with work such children really get nothing but a formal oversight. It would be better if the child had no probation rather than probation be looked upon as a light matter.

5. In a crowded court room, with the judge seated upon a high dais, parents and children are more or less intimidated, or bold and defiant. The atmosphere is not conducive to starting that most delicate and difficult of all tasks—the guidance of a wayward child. Furthermore, the attitude of the court officers toward the probation officers and the children and their parents makes an exceedingly bad start. Children and parents who are in the court for the first time are often shoved out of the room by the attendants without knowing what is going on except the tangible fact that they have escaped from the clutches of the law, and

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the first knowledge that the child is on probation comes through a notification by mail.

6. A probation officer wishing to report a case back to court for failure to respond to the probation must usually go before a different judge than the one who placed the child on probation. She must, before most of the judges, show legal evidence of wrongdoing and the proceeding is practically another trial. There is little of that spirit of friendly guidance and advice or personal relationship which mark the conferences between the judges, the probation officers, and the children, which is shown in most of our juvenile courts.

7. The pernicious effect of the present organization and administration of the court and probation system can not be better illustrated than by the fact that it is practically impossible for the probation officers to use the help of Big Brothers and Big Sisters organizations or volunteer probation officers. So soon as we have a real court, the great unused and unrealized community interest in the problem, waiting to be directed what to do, will spring to the court's aid. Only the other day a single pathetic newspaper story of a child brought into the magistrate's court, brought 12 different applications to be allowed to help the family or to take the child.

In order to have a real juvenile court in Philadelphia we must first accept the underlying principles of the juvenile court act and then act upon them.

1. We must have a court which will be presided over by one judge for at least one year. The judge must be in sympathy with the tendencies and principles of social work and look upon his court as an institution for social service. The court must be at the service of the community either at its daily sittings or through its chief probation officer all the time.

2. It must sit in a place set apart from the old criminal associations and conduct its hearings in such a manner that the fundamental purpose of the court—the reformation of the child—will be helped and not hindered.

3. Our probation department must have a number of men officers and must be presided over by a man chief. The salaries must be higher and an adequate system of records installed.

4. More provision must be made for oversight of the field work of the officers.

5. Our court must extend its influence on the one hand over the arrest of children which precedes the court's action, and over the reformatory institutions and caretaking societies which receive the children after disposition has been made by the court.

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6. The development of a domestic relations court with two branches, one for adults and one for children, is undoubtedly the logical and proper step; but it must be remembered that the delinquent child needs special treatment and that officers who are expert and suited for investigating delinquency and have delinquency under their oversight might not necessarily succeed as well in work with the family. This is a detail which can easily be overcome by suitable administrative machinery.

7. In this summary we have purposely omitted presenting the great need for increase in effort along preventive lines, because we feel that first of all we must have a real juvenile court. No doubt such a court will early emphasize the need and point the way to extension of all the activities working for the child.

XI HUMANE SOCIETIES AND THE JUVENILE COURT

ROY SMITH WALLACE

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Philadelphia

THE best way that I know to determine the proper relationship between a juvenile court and a society to protect children from cruelty is to determine the proper function of each of the two organizations and then to observe where they overlap, or come in contact, or leave gaps.

The primary function of a juvenile court is to treat delinquent children. In so doing, it will frequently find itself called upon to treat family delinquency. This I believe is proper and should be enlarged and developed as a function of the juvenile court.

The proper function of a society to protect children from cruelty, assuming that by cruelty we mean much more than merely physical cruelty, that we mean also moral neglect and improper guardianship, is to deal not with delinquent children but with delinquent parents. In the course of its work such a society will naturally come in contact with delinquent children. If they are sufficiently delinquent to merit the attention of the court, such a society should at once refer the whole case, including of course the delinquent parents, to the court for treatment. This of course assumes that the court is willing to treat families as such. If the court is not willing to treat families as such, it seems to me proper for the society to treat the family, securing the co-operation of the court in the treatment of seriously delinquent children.

Increasingly, as the juvenile court enlarges its function to include delinquent parenthood, which it will do to a greater extent as it becomes recognized as a family court of domestic relations, the function of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children must decrease. When the time comes, as it has already come in some communities—for instance, in St. Louis—that the juvenile court will assume the treatment of delinquent

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parents who neglect their innocent children, the function of the society diminishes to the point where it will merely be to work with delinquent parents whose delinquency is not of sufficient gravity to warrant the attention of the court. Whether this function is of sufficient scope and importance to warrant a special society for this purpose, is an open question. A "cruelty" society has a certain power in working with such delinquent parents which an ordinary society for family rehabilitation does not seem to have. It might perhaps, therefore, be more effective than such a family rehabilitation society in dealing with these potentially delinquent parents.

Another agency which might undertake this last function would be a department of the police consisting of women. This would seem to me better for the potentially delinquent cases than the court. It would seem also not beyond the realm of immediate possibility. And it would seem to me much more desirable to have this work done by the public than by a private organization.

This latter organization, namely a special department of the police manned by women, with perhaps a few men, could handle also potentially delinquent minors of good parents, who are at present in many cities not covered by the activities of the probation department—not having been arrested and taken before the court—and whose cases are not properly covered, in my judgment, by a society which is primarily organized to deal with delinquent parents and with family rehabilitation, and not with children.

I believe the correct theory for the determination of the proper work of public and private agencies of the kinds mentioned in this statement, is that the public agencies should take over, so far as possible and so far as they are competent to do so, every bit of work. So long, however, as they are not able or willing to do this, I believe a private agency should handle all cases of parental delinquency, giving coercive treatment to the parents, and presenting the cases to court for the removal of children as a last resort.

XII

ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS IN THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

FATHER THOMAS F. COAKLEY, S.T.D.

Secretary to Bishop Canevin, Pittsburgh

IT IS a truism to say that for normal children a good family is better than an institution; that a family should be kept together wherever possible; that only in exceptional cases is an institution the final solution of the dependent child problem; that in the case of deaf, mute, blind, imbecile, feeble-minded, crippled, backward, diseased, or tubercular children, where their very afflictions make it impossible to do much for them in their own homes, an institution is an absolute necessity; that institutions are not yet perfect, but still present many opportunities for improvement.

Institutions of all kinds for dependent children have recently been subjected to considerable criticism. Much of it has been harsh, unjust, and unmerited, and it has not entirely died out. On the other hand a great part of it, prompted by the proper motives, has been along the lines of real construction, and can produce only good results.

There is a lurking germ of materialism in much of the assault being leveled at institutions. Love for the poor, the sick, the blind, and the destitute was unknown to the pagan world. It came into being with the birth of Christ, and can not be dissociated from Christianity. No real charity is possible without Christianity, for without the Christian religion there would be no love for dependent or defective children at all. Once we let slip the idea that the child's moral and religious education is of paramount importance, to which everything else in this world must be subjected, there is absolutely no reason under heaven why unproductive, dependent, and defective children should not be put to death at once, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans. The only reason we have any regard for them at all is because they are God's creatures, and He has commanded us to love them. Institutions are consequently a manifestation of

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Christianity, and for this very reason they are made the object of atheistic attacks.

In scarcely any other field is it so easy to fall into statistical error as when dealing with dependent children. Good statistics on this subject are rare; many of what we have are false and unreliable, unscientific and incomplete. Better figures can and should be obtained. There is a temptation to make sweeping generalizations from very particular premises. The number of institutional children who fail in life is far less than we suppose, and the failures are due largely to influences altogether outside of and beyond the control of the institutions.

Those noting defects in institutional life frequently overlook the fact that the average institutional children start life with a severe handicap. Institutional children are ordinarily not so well equipped as those from good family homes. Sin, neglect, ignorance, poverty, heredity, and environment have left their marks upon many of them prior to their admittance to an institution; and the failures in after life are often due to the defects acquired antecedently, which the institution could not eradicate because of the necessity for removal from institutional care at too early an age.

There is a great danger of placing children out too young. Those who stray from virtuous paths after leaving institutions do so, not because of the institutional training, but in spite of it, by reason of the risk to which they have been exposed after being placed in supposedly good homes. Domestic work, office employment, factory and store work, are too often fraught with unspeakable temptations, and the reluctance of wise and experienced heads of institutions to place girls as domestics is based upon the vast number of disastrous experiences to which virtuous children have been subjected, and to the carelessness and sinful neglect of the families with whom they took service. All these things must be pondered when examining statistics bearing upon the dependent child question.

Please note now some institutional conditions:

1. Institutions, with their formal discipline and their standards and set methods for everything, from rising to retiring, have an undeniable tend-

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ency to place all children on a low level of mediocrity, although this is by no means necessary, not indeed the rule. The voice of authority surrounds them at every step, and they are in danger of becoming helpless, without a directing force to point the way. The individual character is thus not drawn out and developed to its full potentiality. The children have no opportunity to acquire a practical knowledge of money values. There is an absence of the little home worries, struggles, rivalries, and difficulties which have their place in teaching children self-reliance and fitting them for independence later in life.

2. There is compulsory attendance at school, recreation, meals, and religious exercises. Everything is mapped out in advance, with one day the same as another, and the children move in serried ranks to the sound of the bell. The military precision and clock-work movements and management of the institutions are supposed to stifle originality. The child finds itself a unit amid a hundred or a thousand, and the constant drill in moving only at a signal does not tend to produce a forceful, original character. Hence the very best system in an institution, while good for the institution, is perhaps the worst for the child's individuality.

3. The large numbers in the average institution make it impossible for the teachers and instructors to come into such immediate and personal contact with each child to an extent that will allow a personal influence to be exercised, and the children run the risk of imitating their classmates rather than their teachers. And yet these possible defects in institutional training must not be exaggerated. How often in good families, for instance, do we see the "only child" growing up a "spoiled child" without strength of character, devoid of originality, and with no manifest purpose in life?

4. The great wave of criticism against institutions loses sight of the fact that the life of the average American child is largely institutional. From at least nine in the morning until certainly three in the afternoon, and sometimes later, he is at school, and the school is a vast institution, hedged in and about with a set of rules and regulations quite as rigorous as those which obtain in any institution for dependent children. Moreover, the settlements, clubs, Boy Scouts, brigades, playgrounds, and libraries, with their great crowds of attending children, are subjected to an added institutional training that in the case of the average child amounts to an hour or more every day in addition to school hours. Then, too, a fair percentage of American children spend a good portion of their lives in boarding schools, where the discipline is quite as rigorous, where the sound of the bell is quite as incessant, and where everything must be done

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on time, and where the entire student body must move as a solid phalanx, just as in any institution for dependent children.

5. No one ever yet accused West Point or Annapolis of making molly-coddles, and the system in vogue in each place is perhaps the most rigorous on earth. It is that which the common consent of mankind has established as best calculated to produce strong, forceful, robust, independent characters; men, masculine men, dashing, bold, fearless, and in every way fitted for future leadership. Hence all the disadvantages of institution discipline can be urged equally as well against that large portion of the population who are in day and boarding schools, colleges and academies.

6. Furthermore, the assaults leveled at institutional life suppose that there is no discipline at all in the average home; whereas the very reverse of this is true. The best home is that in which there is absolute obedience to parental authority; rising promptly, reporting promptly for school, instantly responding to the voice of authority, and in every way being subjected to the direction of superiors. The best home is not a ring around the rosy process, but it is a place where authority exists, is enforced and respected.

7. It is not at all necessary that in institutional life there should be a dead level of uniformity and a general weakening of character or disposition. It should be observed, too, that there is a growing opinion that we are laying a little too much emphasis today upon individuality. The swelling ranks of the criminal classes, where delinquents exercise their individuality to the extent of taking the law into their own hands, make us feel that the pendulum has already swung too far and needs to be reversed. There will always be enough individuality in the world. What we need is precisely the fundamentals of character upon which an institution lays great stress; more submission to authority, divine and human; more obedience to parents and superiors; more reverence for law and order; more respect for the rights of both God and man, for individuality is too often only another name for selfishness, pride, greed, and lawlessness.

8. In addition to this, the criticisms against institutions too often suppose all homes to be ideal ones, when as a matter of fact it is poor homes and bad ones that make institutions necessary. Hence the comparison based on published and available statistics is not always true, nor are the resultant criticisms sound.

One great disadvantage in institutions for every form of human need is that they enlarge the notion that parents can be rid of their children easily. It tends to weaken the ties that should bind them together and lead parents to submit to heroic sacrifices

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rather than part with their children. It increases the possibility of the spread of children's diseases. Then, too, it becomes increasingly difficult to find places for the very needy children, because institutions are full nearly all the time, due to the fact that many children are found there who should really not be admitted since sheer neglect on the part of their parents or relatives is responsible for their institutional life. This is particularly true of orphan asylums. The obvious remedy for such conditions is to refuse to take children who are not orphans, and to compel relatives to provide for them when possible.

The very magnificence of the buildings in which many dependent children are sheltered is a disadvantage, because such splendor can not be paralleled later in life when they go out into the world to make their own living. Nevertheless, a qualification must here be made, for model sanitary buildings, with their great conveniences, are an incentive to live forever afterward only amid hygienic surroundings. Another difficulty encountered in very large institutions is the installation of every known device to economize labor. As a consequence the children, especially the girls, lack even a fair knowledge of the ordinary methods of housekeeping.

The children, being in large congregated groups, are separated from their families and relatives; they grow up with only a "community" love and affection. But here, too, it should be noted that such children, outside an institution, would lack "mother love" anyhow. Hence the institution does not accentuate the separation. The absence of maternal love was antecedent to the institution. Moreover, the children receive everything free, without reacting upon it, display little or no gratitude, and come to believe sooner or later that the world owes them a living. This might be overcome by a system of rewards or prizes or special privileges for individual effort.

The advantages of institutional life are manifold. Let us note some of them:

1. There is a regular system of medical inspection; there is hospital isolation in the case of transmissible diseases; the physical ills of the children are attended to promptly and efficiently; specialists in every de-

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partment of medicine and surgery, hospital staffs, and trained nurses, are unwearied in their attendance; eyes, ears, throat, teeth, and other outward and inward parts are under constant surveillance.

2. There is every opportunity for recreation; the children live largely outdoors; the buildings in which they reside are sanitary and healthy to the very last degree; scientifically lighted, heated and ventilated, and they are equipped with sleeping porches, pavilions and tents. The food is properly prepared, nourishing and abundant; there are open-air school rooms, and every facility for education, not only elementary, but classes in manual training, and in many cases it is possible to graduate up to technical schools.

3. But above and beyond all this there is good environment. Their surroundings are ennobling, and the consecrated lives that are devoted to their welfare should be and in fact are an inspiration to them. It would be difficult to surpass the keen sense of responsibility which the managers of institutions have, the nobility of their aims, their singular unselfishness, their anxiety to approximate as closely as possible the conditions which prevail in a good home, and their willingness to invite publicity and honest criticism of their work and methods.

4. The economic factor must likewise be considered. Many institutions today are maintaining dependent children at a far less cost than individual families, if we consider the surroundings of the institutional child. There is, however, a growing tendency to augment the cost of maintaining institutions for dependents, especially for delinquents. Theorists and social workers who are forcing kindness on juvenile delinquents are imposing an immense financial burden upon the commonwealth. The soundness of this policy is seriously to be questioned.

5. The religious education of the children is not neglected, depending upon the character of the institution. The moral training of the children is provided for, and it is safe to say that, putting it at its lowest, the children receive some degree of moral instruction, whereas if they were not placed in an institution they would receive little or none at all, according to the moral status of the family with whom they resided.

6. Moreover, the children are kept off the streets at night; their reading is supervised and nothing that would jeopardize their virtue is allowed to approach them, so that their moral fiber may have time to grow before being subjected to the rude blasts of temptation.

The narrow limits of this article prevent a treatment of the placing-out system, because it is a very large subject and merits a special study. It can be stated, however, that it too has its

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attendant dangers, and very great ones; it is more costly, it requires an expensive system of regulation, it must be systematized and established by law, and even then it has a tendency to encourage a mushroom growth of farmed-out children.

It is sad to be an orphan or a dependent child, placed in an institution; but it is sadder still to be the child of bad parents. And if every institution is not the ideal, neither is every family the ideal family, and vast numbers of institutions do exist with all the excellencies herein mentioned. If such advantages are absent in some institutions, no efforts should be relaxed until they too have reached the same high standard.

Hence, with all such fortunate surroundings, dependent children are on a level with other normal children when the time comes to leave the institution. While under institutional care they are in the formative period of their lives, and they are thoroughly drilled in obedience, justice, purity, honesty, and truthfulness, the very pillars of real character, and they enjoy an atmosphere a hundred times more elevating and ennobling than in many homes.

Life ceases to have any meaning or value when the religious element is neglected; and this is true no less of men and women than of children, dependent or not. Institutions in the past have aimed first and foremost at colonizing heaven, for they felt that if they failed in this, they failed in everything, and that if a child should be developed into an engineer who could stretch a hundred lines of railway through the length and breadth of the United States, and still lose his own soul, all their work would have been in vain.

In large institutions it is often impossible, for sheer lack of funds, to adopt the cottage system, in order to more closely attain the ideal of a refined family home; and yet every institution in the country would do so at once were it within the range of possibility. Hence the best solution of the problem is not to attack the institutions, but give them more funds to enable them to be surrounded with conditions more nearly approaching the ideal they wish to attain.

XIII

THE STANDARDIZATION OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

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TO those who have had any acquaintance at all with the methods used and conditions affecting child-helping work in Pennsylvania, it has been apparent for a long time that some standardization of these methods and conditions has been greatly needed.

The number and variety of the institutions and agencies engaged in this work, the wealth invested, and the large annual expenditures for maintenance and upkeep are evidence of the fine spirit which has animated our best citizens in their desire to provide protection for these most needy and helpless members of society.

Like most charitable efforts of past generations, however, nearly every institution or agency has been founded to meet some particular, immediate, and often limited need. Whether it were meeting a real and permanent need, or possibly only a temporary one; whether it were meeting the need adequately or only in part; whether there was any other way in which the need could better be met; these and similar questions, when a community is brought face to face with its social problems, are being asked with insistence only in comparatively recent years. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the majority of our child-helping agencies have grown up without any vital relationship one with the other, and in many instances without realizing or attempting to understand their relationships to some of the larger social problems involved.

Widowhood, wife desertion, illegitimacy, cruelty, vice, drunkenness, degeneracy, in fact poverty and need in every form have presented their problems of helpless and unprotected childhood, and each community has called into being some agency or institution to cope with each need as it arose. Church organizations, fraternal bodies, private societies and individuals, and local

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public officials have each faced these problems and each has been forced to apply some immediate solution.

Only through the agency of some department of the state government which will in some measure represent, and in large measure have power of control over these separate church, fraternal, and socially independent groups or individuals, is it possible to impose any standardizing methods. The limited powers possessed by the state board of charities have never been adequate to meet this need, and until these powers are increased or a new state department created which will be given some supervisory control over all institutions in the state, whether supported by state funds or not, there can not be any general advancement toward modern standards. Careful consideration of the facts developed by the recent survey of conditions affecting dependent, deficient, and delinquent children in Pennsylvania, made by the Russell Sage Foundation and several local co-operating agencies, makes it apparent that the time is ripe for a general understanding of the facts as they exist, and for the agitation necessary to establish new powers of education and control.

CARE OF CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

1. RECORDS. In the homes and institutions which care for children in most instances away from their own parents and friends and largely within the institution walls, there was encountered at the outset a defect in method which seemed hardly excusable even under the kindest interpretation. In many cases there was an almost utter lack of any adequate system by which to keep track of the number of children handled, to say nothing of recording their development and final disposition.

To record the names of the children and the date when they were received would seem of elemental necessity and yet there were some institutions which persistently neglected to do this. Most of the institutions, however, possessed a book of admission in which these facts were kept and also such added knowledge of the child's history as was known. But this history was generally of the most meager sort and rarely contained facts enough to help in understanding the conditions from which the child came, nor what the possibilities were for restoration to normal family life. Many of the alleged facts were admitted to be but the recorded and unconfirmed statements of the person responsible for having the child placed. And where investigation was often asserted to be thoroughly

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conducted, it was found to be in the hands of volunteer committees whose experience and time are, generally speaking, too limited to bring out information of any real value.

2. **PHYSICAL CARE.** On the side of physical care given, there was the greatest uniformity and the nearest approach to an established standard. There were instances where the care fell below the requirements of decency and healthful development, but these were the exception. In general, the diet and clothing furnished, the sleeping quarters and bathing facilities provided, and the medical attention given were sufficient to preserve the children in health and average physical condition, but while this is a commendable standard to maintain, it has been proven to be inadequate to the needs of normal children.

3. **COTTAGE AND CONGREGATE.** Institutions on a congregate plan are unquestionably cheaper of construction and maintenance than cottages housing small groups, but aside from certain types of defective children, the congregate institution is poorly adapted, especially to the higher needs of the child. This fact is what calls for the greatest change in method throughout the state, for cottage ideals and country sites are few in number as yet. It is a matter of regret that several institutions, forced to abandon plants that were crowded and inadequate, have rebuilt on ground which will cease to be country in a few years' time and, although the equipments are modern in many respects, still they preserve the institutional type of building with much of the former lack of individual treatment for each child. Many of these institutions are alive to the fact that institutional methods have a tendency to suppress the individual traits of a child, by the colorless uniformity which too great routine in the care and treatment gives. But where the desire for a change is strongest, limited means of support bids fair to retard greatly any general movement toward more individual treatment by means of cottage sites and smaller units of management.

4. **EDUCATION.** The education of the children in the separate homes varies greatly in method and efficiency. Many follow the practice of sending their children to the public schools and by thus mingling with other children who live in their own homes they receive marked stimulus to progress, and in most instances a better education. The school training provided by a few of the better institutions is exceptionally good and is especially designed to develop the individual aptitude and ability of its children.

5. **PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS.** In only rare instances, however; is any attention given to a very important phase of child care and training,

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namely, the determination of a child's mental fitness to mingle with other normal children. A casual observer can tell in visiting many institutions that certain types of children are so distinctly below normal as to make their association with other inmates a matter of grave concern. Yet the necessity for their immediate removal to institutions for deficient children is too little appreciated.

6. PLACING-OUT. Most of the institutions do some placing-out work on their own responsibility without the help of any agency especially designed and equipped for this purpose. The lack of trained service again makes it impossible to commend these efforts. Definite standards of requirements in these private homes, methods of investigation, recording of facts, and adequate supervision all appear to be lacking in the great majority of placements made, and the direful consequences possible by such disposal of helpless children makes a serious indictment of the system.

The really encouraging thing about the whole matter is the spirit of progress which is animating a number of institutions both large and small and the fervor with which both the managers and directing heads are seizing all possible approved methods to improve the care and training of their wards. Searching investigation, good record and bookkeeping systems, genuine co-operation and division of effort, all these and a constantly enlarging social viewpoint mark the progress attained by an increasing number of institutions. It is gratifying to find how few homes are downright neglectful of the best spirit and intention, how universal is the sympathetic loving type of matron in charge. Almost without exception are these conscientious leaders overtaxed, underpaid, and burdened with details which they never should be called on to assume. Most assistant workers are too poorly paid and overworked to attract a very efficient type and most children's work suffers outrageously from economy of this sort.

The point needing greatest emphasis, therefore, in the care of children in institutions is in raising the standard of training by which the higher life and needs of the child are fostered. With some active agency urging this necessity upon many of the institutions, ways and means would eventually be devised for making the needed changes.

It would seem that with the right spirit of co-operation, a

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larger use of the placing-out agencies might be made which would relieve the institutions of many of their charges. This would not mean that these institutions would necessarily be closed but rather that a more careful choice would be made of the inmates taken and each institution could make a specialty of caring for the type of child its facilities make it best adapted to handle.

CARE OF CHILDREN IN ALMSHOUSES

1. **CONDITIONS.** As this is the last resort in what is considered a helpless situation, there is scarcely any relieving feature about it. It is a reproach to any age and any country when young children have to be sheltered and cared for in close proximity to helpless old age, loathsome disease, vicious morals, and sometimes idiots and insane. The law prohibiting the care of children in almshouses for a period longer than sixty days is pretty generally lived up to, it would seem, but there are evident violations of it, due chiefly to a lack of initiative on the part of those responsible for placing the children elsewhere.

2. **INVESTIGATIONS AND RECORDS.** The same limitations are evident in the methods of admission as are found in the children's homes, only they appear greater. Practically no investigation is conducted to determine the exact facts regarding an applicant's needs, usually only a mere statement is required, sometimes sworn to, sometimes not.

3. **PLACING-OUT.** It is also when children are placed in foster homes that great danger to their welfare is possible. Scanty investigation of the home, sometimes none at all, and practically no supervision after placement characterizes much of this disposal of the county's wards, although there are instances of a genuine effort to place carefully and to oversee the child afterwards.

4. **GOOD EXAMPLES.** It is a relief to know that some counties do not permit children to be sheltered in their almshouses even for the shortest period, the use of some children's home in the vicinity making it unnecessary. Probably most efficient care of almshouse wards is given when they are boarded out or placed permanently through the children's aid societies, frequent use of these agencies being made by a number of the county officials.

No doubt the provision made in a majority of instances seems the only possible one under the circumstances, but the fact remains that the only standard which any enlightened community

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should permit is that no county in the state should ever be allowed to place a child in such an institution no matter what the conditions. The sixty-day clause in the law should be abolished and county officials forced to adopt means for the care of its dependent children which would keep them in normal and wholesome surroundings. To have it possible, as was observed in one case, for an eleven-year-old girl to mingle with adult males of a county poorhouse is nothing short of criminal neglect. And when feeble-minded children are retained there indefinitely, it seems high time that the capacity of Polk and Spring City be rapidly increased to meet the demands put upon them, and the almshouse authorities be compelled to send them there.

CHILDREN'S SOCIETIES

1. **SOME PROBLEMS SOLVED.** In this field of work lie some of the most encouraging possibilities as well as some of the best actual results as yet obtained in caring for dependent children. The work of home-finding societies when done with thoroughness has offered one of the best solutions for the care of the helpless members of many broken families.

2. **INVESTIGATION AND SUPERVISION.** Thorough investigation, both of the families from which the children come and of the homes where they are to be placed, together with adequate supervision, have been the ideals of the best work accomplished, departure from this high standard coming chiefly when the society has accepted a larger burden of responsibility than its available funds could cover. Most of this work has been done through the medium of trained paid workers, but use has also been made of volunteer assistants. Some children's aid societies feel that wholly satisfactory results can be obtained only by the use of volunteer service, but the experience of other states which have successfully carried on similar work, and always through co-operative efforts of paid and volunteer workers, would point the way toward that larger development which must come if we are to meet the problem of dependent childhood in this state. Enough poor work in this field was plainly evident to make the same necessity for standardizing the methods employed as imperative as in the other fields investigated.

3. **CO-OPERATION.** Through the co-operation of several large children's agencies, the Children's Bureau was established in Philadelphia, which has served as a clearing house for numerous organizations dealing with needy families and many societies dealing specifically with children. The

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Bureau's method of investigation and treatment of children's problems has set a standard which other cities have aimed to follow, and its efforts to bring the local children's institutions into closer relationships have resulted in very successful co-operation in some instances. A similar bureau established in Pittsburgh is accomplishing the same results in that community. This principle has been adopted by agencies dealing specifically with Catholic children, also by those dealing with Jewish children, and has resulted in both instances in increased co-operation among the institutions belonging to these respective faiths.

4. **WORK SHOULD BE EXTENDED.** The principles operating in the Children's Bureau in reality offer one of the best means for standardizing the whole field of work for children. By a careful consideration of the history and circumstances surrounding needy children it can be determined at the outset whether, in the first place, there is real necessity for caring for the child away from its relatives or friends; next, by careful physical and mental tests what sort of care is most needed; third, by co-operation with all existing agencies and institutions, which of these is best suited to provide this care; and finally making possible readjustments which are bound to become necessary with some children, according as they develop or fail to do so.

5. **PROTECTION FROM CRUELTY.** The rights of children subjected to cruelty are well cared for in Philadelphia and the immediate vicinity by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and some of the other organizations, such as the humane societies in smaller places, appear to care for the same class of children in their localities; but there are some communities which have no such interested organizations.

6. **SMALLER HUMANE SOCIETIES.** And here again we find in the smaller humane societies a lack of proper organization, a total ignorance of the social relations of their problems, practically no knowledge of adequate investigation, record keeping, wise placing, and supervision. Many communities are not awake to their needs, evidently paying heed only to such extreme cases of brutality as are glaringly forced upon the public gaze. The amount of preventive work which might be accomplished under intelligent guidance can hardly be measured.

SUMMARY

It is very evident from the foregoing that these unrelated efforts in behalf of needy children should by some means be brought into more vital connection with one another and with the larger problems to which they are related. Volunteer co-

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operative effort to this end is most desirable, but necessarily most difficult and slow of accomplishment. Standards enforced by law sometimes fail of the immediate results expected, but this method seems the only practical one under existing conditions.

1. **LEGISLATION.** Several bills are before the present legislature which are partially designed to meet the situation. One would confer larger powers on the present state board of charities and another would establish an entirely new department of charities, operating under fundamentally different methods.

2. **CENTRAL AUTHORITY NEEDED.** What is surely needed is the creation of power centralized somewhere in the state's administrative functions which shall be so organized and conducted that it will study the methods of child care as used in other states and countries, that it will accept the best approved methods and results, that it will standardize, then teach and enforce these ideas until it becomes a wholly realized fact that the best citizenship can only be developed from the very best care and training.

3. **CLASS AND WORK.** A clearer differentiation of function must be made before each organization or society can do its best work. If some such standard could be established for the state similar in effect to the volunteer co-operative work accomplished by the Children's Bureau for certain of the homes in Philadelphia, a long step will have been made toward the better administration of our children's charities.

In conclusion, I would suggest that whatever plans are ultimately adopted, three things stand out as most necessary to the welfare of the child-helping work in Pennsylvania:

1. That the methods and conditions of care be standardized as far as possible.

2. That a re-enforced or an additional central authority be arranged for, and given larger powers and field than are possessed by any now in existence.

3. That the social workers of the state be made to realize that the public interest will be best subserved and the welfare of dependent children best secured when each of our child-saving organizations performs only the work it is specifically organized to do, in cordial and systematic co-operation with all other agencies and institutions.

XIV

MODERN METHODS APPLIED IN THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

AARON D. FABER

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THE twentieth century can rightly be called the age for the redemption of the child. All child-caring agencies, whether they are individuals or organizations, under private or state control, are bending their every effort to solve the chief question that is confronting our everyday existence; namely, how to conserve the child, our future citizen.

Child labor laws, juvenile courts, children's aid societies, and institutions for helpless children of all classes are to be found throughout the entire country. Fortunately some communities have found the value in co-operation between the various agencies carrying on this noble work, but there are still a large number working blindly in their own spheres when the needed co-operation would insure progress such as would affect the entire community.

Especially is this true where the care of dependent children is involved. The agencies that have adopted the placing or boarding-out system instead of co-operating with the older established method of institutional care, insist on their slogan of "Do away with institutions." That this is folly and a waste of valuable effort is very evident to those who will judge the question with an unbiased opinion.

In this work of conserving the child, shall it be a question of the survival of any one system, or the adjusting of any good system to fit the needs of the child? Let each one in his own field be sure that the child is receiving its birthright,—a chance to grow up to live an honest and useful life. This can only be fulfilled by protecting the child, not the system.

If there are institutions whose methods are antiquated and retarding, and if there are boarding-out agencies that are in the youth of their activities, let every one join in that co-operation

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which is essential for the common welfare of not only the child but all human endeavor. With these facts in mind let us see what is necessary to strengthen the standard of those child-caring institutions which have not accepted the broader view of the modern idea in conducting them.

It is true that it is a very difficult problem to develop individuality when the population of an institution numbers into the hundreds. For these larger institutions this difficulty has been met by the establishing of cottage systems, thus breaking the large unit into smaller groups. Unfortunately, however, we are able to point out far too many institutions whose average population never exceeds 100 children, and whose methods are those of the old type congregate institutions. They are the ones to which we must appeal to open up their closed doors, give the children in their care that freedom of thought, of expression and action, which is essential to childhood.

To suggest changes and improvements in methods in any particular institution without personal observation would be similar to asking a doctor for a remedy without knowing the ailment. There are, however, a few suggestions which may be of assistance to those institutions which have not kept pace with the modern trend of thought and methods of caring for the children in their charge.

1. The question of the admission age is one in which the responsible parties should be exceedingly careful. Children under eight years of age should be cared for by the placing-out agency, for it is up to that age that absolute individual attention is needed for the physical and mental upbuilding of the coming boy or girl.

2. Complete records should be kept of the family and individual history of the case, showing the causes for the condition of dependency, and also to be used for future reference.

3. Having accepted the child as its ward, nothing must be left undone to assure it a happy and well-directed youth, in most cases even better than it could possibly receive in its old environment. True it is that a mother's love can not be replaced, but it is also as true that sympathetic kindness and regard for the child even to the smaller details, will bring into its life the spirit of confidence and love for its benefactors.

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4. The first meeting of the superintendent or matron will perhaps have more bearing to bring about the above condition than any other period in its stay with the institution. The child should meet these people in company with its own parent or relative if possible, and should be made to feel that it is not leaving one world to be shut up in another, but that this is indeed a shelter where it need have no fear to enter.

5. Nor should the parent be entirely relieved of its moral responsibility toward the child. It must be thoroughly understood that it is not the breaking of the home that the institution desires, but the tiding over of a condition, until such time as is feasible and proper for the return to its own home. The parent and child should be in constant touch with each other, exchanging letters and frequent visits. There should also be the examination of school reports and discussions of the welfare of the child between the superintendent and the parent.

The next point of consideration is the life of the child in the institution and its surroundings. Are we going to make of this new case an individual or one of a mass? Will it have its movements and thoughts all directed by the commanding voice of one who is to be feared, or will it be that of a sympathetic, kind-hearted, and understanding person, fitted by nature and training to bring forth the flower from the bud? The individual will only be developed if given the care and sacrificing devotion of the latter.

1. The living rooms should be cheerful with plenty of sunshine and air, pictures on the walls, and an atmosphere of the family home. Indoor playrooms should be provided with plenty of toys and games, where amusement could be obtained during inclement weather. Outdoor play apparatus must be a part of the equipment if proper physical development is expected, and it is advisable for this play at times to be directed by an adult. It is here where the most complete study of the child can be made, and both its physical and moral advancement watched.

2. One of the conditions to be found in institutions for children that tends to retard the individuality and initiative in the child, is the failure to permit the proper mingling of the sexes. There will be found in every institution brothers and sisters who on account of this ruling are unable to communicate with each other except by underhanded methods. In the dining rooms of these institutions you will find the boys ranged on one side and the girls on the other side of the room, regardless of the relationship of the children. Even on the playground the same condition exists in a great many institutions. The above arrangements never would fit

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or compare with the normal home of the child and it should not be deprived of the right to continue to know and live the natural way. Let the brothers and sisters and classmates eat and play together, allow them to romp to school together, and it will be found that by the proper mingling of the sexes a healthier and better moral tone will be created.

3. In connection with the physical development of the child, periodical examinations should be made and records kept of its growth and weight, and comparisons made with accepted standards. The eyes, ears, teeth, and the body in general should also receive this attention. The records should show in each individual case a complete history of any sickness the child may have had during its stay in the institution.

4. Children who do not measure to the standard should receive special treatment, either in medicine or diet, and should be under constant supervision of the physician. It will be found that such care and attention will be the means of making a good scholar of a slow and retarded one, a willing and obedient child of an irritable and so called "bad" one.

Having up to this point considered the question only from the physical viewpoint let us see what is necessary for the proper education and character building of the dependent child in our institutions. That each child shall receive a thorough training to grow up to be a part of a peaceful and industrious community, willing to assist his fellow man, is surely the aim of every institution. But the mere study of a catechism will not bring about the desired result. The children must live it in their own lives, and by the example of their elders must be given these lessons.

The question of schooling is one best solved by the local conditions. Those institutions which are located within the districts covered by the public schools should send their children there for their education. What more is there to retard and prevent initiative in the growing child than to be continually confronted by the same four walls for its play, its education—in fact, for its everyday existence. The very idea of the public school is to give each child the same right to receive its education, at the same time teaching children to rub shoulders with their more fortunate brothers, regardless of their condition otherwise. This in itself is one of the greatest opportunities offered to the institutional child, to stand shoulder to shoulder with his more fortunate brother and be ready to take his place in the world.

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But can he take his place and be ready to earn his livelihood with only the public school training? Have we not a special case to handle here? Is this child not handicapped to some extent so as to be unable to compete with his brother workers? If we take into consideration the fact of the cause of his dependency we will readily see that he must be better equipped than the average boy or girl. It is here where the institution must provide the auxiliary training to make the child confident in itself and its capabilities. Special classes in manual work, such as carpentry, printing, gardening, basketmaking, and so forth, for the boys, and sewing, embroidery, millinery, stenography, dressmaking, and other classes for the girls, should be given in addition to the regular school work.

It is not the trade idea that is here suggested, but more the direction of the various activities, with a view to observing in what particular direction each child might best develop. It is an impossibility to judge just what kind of work the children will follow in the future, but by giving them each a chance in the various departments you are laying a foundation for future success. It must be borne in mind that these suggestions are given only after they have been practically put into effect in an institution with 200 children all housed in the one building, but being conducted as near as is possible, under such conditions, to the cottage plan.

The third phase of the work with the child in the institution is the social atmosphere into which it is brought. One of the gravest charges made against the institutional child is that, when placed among other people, it loses self-confidence, can not carry itself without fear of being a nuisance, and is generally at a loss in its surroundings. These charges may have some significance if the institution in question does not see to it that the child obtains the knowledge of conducting itself properly and with assurance when among other people. The forming of social, literary, and athletic associations is the nucleus of such training. It should be the purpose of the one in charge to invite and interest the community in these social activities and obtain their services in conducting and directing the work. In this way new acquaint-

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ances (other than those who are resident workers) will be made, and the children will receive a proper view of the activities going on around them. The clubs should make various visits to points in the city and adjoining territory. The older children should be permitted to return visits, thus bringing about freedom of action which in most cases is lacking.

To summarize the standard of methods being used in a great many of our institutions, as it is impossible to cover the plan of activities in a short paper, let me conclude with the following:

1. Be sure that your staff of workers consists of broad-minded men and women who have an understanding of the true nature of childhood.
2. Remember that the child is only in your temporary care and must return again to take its place in life; and that any attempt to crush the individuality and initiative which it possesses, makes it unfit to enter the fight for existence on equal terms with other members of the community.
3. Use no mass formations where they can possibly be avoided.
4. Direct the children as you would your own by means of conversation, not by signals.
5. Educate them to some definite purpose and when they leave the institution proper be sure that they receive your careful guidance until you are positive that they are able to take care of themselves.
6. The after-care of these children is as important as their stay in the institution. A great mistake is made when they are left to shift for themselves at a time when they may easily be led in the wrong direction.
7. If your duty to the child has been faithfully and conscientiously performed no man can decry the institution as an agency for the rearing and education of the dependent child.

XV
ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF PLACING-OUT
WORK

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Philadelphia

BEFORE discussing the placing-out method of caring for children, let us acknowledge that this is not a universal formula by which all cases of destitute, dependent, deficient, or deserted children can be cared for. It is not a method which will work to the best advantage of every child; but it is a method which, properly and carefully administered, will work to the best advantage of most children, and its success depends wholly upon proper and careful administration, and upon the discretion and good judgment of those in charge.

The important consideration in any system for child-caring is the child. So the first step, before any method is applied, is the careful study of the individual. Who and where are his parents? What and why are the circumstances that bring him to a child-caring agency? What is his physical and mental condition? In what environment will he best and most quickly overcome the misfortunes of his earlier life and grow into a healthy, happy, normal child?

The answering of these first and all-important questions in child-caring is the work of the expert, one whose head and heart work together; one who approaches each child as a new problem and who recognizes that this particular child may be and probably is quite different from any other child and not to be measured by the same rule; the expert who knows psychology better than statistics, human beings better than sociological theories; the expert who loves and understands children and earnestly believes that the final solution of our large social problems lies in the corrective and preventive work done with little people.

In the hands of such a worker the placing-out method will, I believe, yield larger returns than any other child-caring system,

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for the fundamental principle of this plan is the recognition of the right of every child to family life, to individual care, to opportunity for the full development of his natural attainments, and to preparation for useful manhood or womanhood.

For the child, the advantages of the method are obvious and many.

1. It recognizes his individual rights, gives him a place in a home, a place which is his by every natural right but which has been denied him by circumstances for which he is in no wise responsible and over which he has no possible control.

2. It makes him a part of family life—the life which teaches “mine and thine,” which will develop the best that is in him mentally, morally, physically, and spiritually.

3. It places him in associations which strengthen and encourage individual thought and action.

4. In short, the method gives to the child conditions approximating ideal natural and rational living.

Nor is the ideal visionary and impractical; it is quite possible of realization. In the most unfortunate and unpromising little waif there is the spark which will respond to the touch of real home life. To our credit be it said that there are all over this great and generous country of ours devoted men and women ready to open homes and hearts to these little folks who come to us from the wrecked lives of grown people, relatives whose lives have failed, and no child-caring agency can consecrate itself to a nobler purpose than the fitting of these children to these homes.

We who believe in the family plan know only too well the obstacles which are in our paths. Some of these are:

1. The serious task of securing suitable homes for the various types of children.

2. The selfish individual and communal indifference to the welfare of child life.

3. The commercialism which so accurately measures the value of the service of the child.

4. The lack of knowledge of and sympathy with someone's else child.

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5. The further difficulty of securing for the work of supervision and instruction, stronghearted, highminded, tactful men and women, who will command the respect of the child, the family, and the community.

That the system is difficult and expensive must be freely admitted. It is difficult because we are dealing with human beings and the relation of human beings to each other; for unless the child be placed in the home best suited to his individual needs our system breaks down, and the study of the home is the work of the expert just as is the study of the child. The system is expensive, for after the child and the home have been seriously studied and brought together, both must be carefully and systematically followed up and watched over by workers who have the qualifications of mind, of heart, and of spirit which give them the right to direct the lives of little children, and such workers are not too easily found.

The materials are in our hands—the little children, unfortunately numerous, homeless, friendless, and perhaps worse than parentless, and the generous hearted men and women in homes yearning for little children. We who know these things and are in the child-caring work, believe that neither difficulty nor expense may properly be urged against any system which yields a larger per cent of good men and women than any other in return for expenditure of time and money.

Some of us who have used this method long enough to see results in manly, self-reliant, and self-respecting young men, and womanly, useful, and self-respecting young women, believe that by comparison the system is much less expensive in both time and money than are institutions; for in the care of most of those, children grow up untrained, uncontrolled, lacking in initiative and individuality, and unable to meet life's problems.

XVI

THE STANDARDIZATION OF PLACING-OUT WORK

EDWIN D. SOLENBERGER

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THE importance of right standards in child-placing is seen in the fact that approximately 3,200 children are placed out in family homes by Pennsylvania agencies and institutions every year. To this number must be added about 10,000 who have been placed in previous years, not yet old enough to be self-controlled and self-supporting, and still under more or less of control and supervision by the placing-out organizations.

The placing-out of these great numbers, and hundreds more not definitely recorded, is done by children's aid societies, orphanages, children's homes, humane societies, directors of the poor, probation officers of juvenile courts, police officers, constables, and even private individuals.

Some of these agencies and institutions keep complete records of their work, have trained agents devoting all their time and efforts to it, and use the best possible methods to safeguard their wards and patrons. Others combine the work of trained agents with that of volunteer service, sometimes with incomplete previous investigation of the homes, little physical or psychological examination of wards, and in some cases inadequate after-supervision of placed-out children. Still others depend wholly upon volunteer service. This is not intended as a criticism of volunteer service as such. Some volunteer work is very well done and it is often very useful, especially outside the large urban centers. Poor work may be and sometimes is done by paid agents. Whether the workers are volunteers or employed to give their whole time, the question of the standard and quality of the work is the important consideration.

The need of a standardization of placing-out work and methods must be apparent. The minimum essentials of a good placing-out system should be established by authority of the state through some appropriate channel. To maintain the standards

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of such work, agencies and institutions doing placing-out work should be required to secure a license or certificate issued by authority of the state, thus guaranteeing that they are properly qualified and equipped to do the work. Only those so authorized should be permitted to engage in the placing-out of children.

Some of the principal essentials of a standard placing-out system may be stated as follows:

1. All placing-out in families should be done by approved agencies and institutions which have satisfied a competent state authority that they are worthy and well qualified to do the work, have a reasonable assurance of permanent existence, and pledge themselves to investigate cases, examine and treat children, and give supervision to all who are placed out, in a manner at least equal to the minimum requirements laid down by the state.

2. Placing-out work should not be done by doctors, midwives, or other private individuals, or by public officers of any kind, save such as are connected with agencies or institutions for child-care duly approved for such work by the state authorities.

3. The appropriation of public funds to private agencies or institutions for child-care should be absolutely limited to such as are approved and certified by authority of the state, and all state aid should be granted on the basis of actual service rendered to children found to be proper charges on public funds.

4. Certificates of approval, renewable annually, should be required of all agencies or institutions actually caring for dependent, delinquent, or defective children, whether or not they ask for aid from public funds, and whether or not they propose to do placing-out work.

5. Child-caring agencies should secure adequate information before deciding to relieve parents of the care of their children. Then, at least all those for whom aid from public funds is desired, should be assigned to the agency or institution by the courts or some other proper public authority.

6. Authority to arrange for the adoption of children, or for their permanent relations as members of the family, should be given only to approved and certified agencies and institutions.

7. Every child-caring agency or institution should be required to keep adequate records of all wards on a definite plan provided by the state. These should include details in regard to the child's family, its former environment, its personal characteristics, both physical and mental, its

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needs, and the action taken in regard to it; the records to be continued as long as the child is in care or under supervision.

8. Every family home considered for the placement of a child should be carefully investigated before approval; and every child placed should be carefully watched over by the placing-out agency to secure its welfare. After-supervision is the real test of quality in placing-out work.

9. Small institutions, unable to provide special trained agents for placing-out work, should ally themselves with approved agencies with special facilities along this line. Such co-operation is already a fact in regard to some of the best Pennsylvania institutions, has proved satisfactory to them and the agencies, and a great benefit to the children.

XVII EFFICIENCY OF VOLUNTEER WORK IN CHILD- SAVING

BELLE CHALFANT

Actuary Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh

FOR the sake of those who are not familiar with the nature of the work carried on by our Children's Aid Society, it seems best to begin this paper with a short statement of its aims and methods.

Twenty-four years ago the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania received its charter and began the work which is now being carried on in 23 counties.

The object of this society, as set forth in its charter, is "To provide for the welfare of any destitute children that may come under its control." The method of accomplishing this, as stated in its laws, is:

First, by placing such children in carefully selected private families, paying a moderate rate of board where necessary, and following up each case with such supervision as may secure for the child the conditions of physical and moral wellbeing.

Second, by utilizing existing institutions as temporary homes for children while permanent homes are being sought.

Third, by putting as far as possible the support of a child upon its relative or parents, legitimate or otherwise, and by preventing the needless separation of mothers and children.

Fourth, the law forbidding the detention of children in almshouses can best be carried on by the co-operation of the directors of the poor with voluntary associations of discreet and benevolent women who are willing to find homes for the children, look out for their welfare, and report to the directors. It is for the interest of the taxpayers that these children be taken out of the pauper class as soon as possible and absorbed by the community.

The work of the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania is carried on by both volunteer and paid workers; there being a paid worker for Western Pennsylvania and one in each of the

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counties of Allegheny, Mercer, and Washington. By so combining the work of the paid representatives with that of the volunteer better results have been obtained, and often when a decision must be made at once in a difficult case, communication can be established in a few hours' time between the Western Pennsylvania state office and the several counties.

The volunteer work of our 23 counties is made most efficient through its being thoroughly organized by officers who are responsible for the children and work of their own county; and with us it has been found, through an experience of twenty-four years, that there are many advantages in volunteer work.

Women of prominence and standing in the community, who would not engage in this work if they were to receive a compensation for their services, will gladly do so for the love of the children. Then too, through their interest, the sympathy of husbands and friends is often secured. In this way, without money and without price, the services of able lawyers, skilled physicians, and men high in political affairs are often obtained. And this being a service of love, they do not give grudgingly, but with "good measure, pressed down, and running over."

Another argument in favor of the volunteer worker is that the cost of caring for the children is reduced to a minimum.

First, with few paid workers employed, the expenditure for salaries and office equipment is very small.

Second, use of volunteers lightens the expense of investigating homes, placing the children, and visiting them afterward, as in many cases the workers have their own conveyances and often bear their own traveling expenses.

Our statistics for the past year show that the work is carried on with less expense than that incurred by any organization with only paid workers. This last year, with 1,326 children under the care of our society, the expenses were only \$26,511.33, or about \$20 for each child.

According to the statistics of other societies, our record of 64 legal adoptions for the past year has not been equaled by any other child-placing agency.

Oftentimes the volunteer worker can accomplish more with

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the parents of the children because they know that her work is a labor of love with no ulterior mercenary motive.

A terrible catastrophe that occurred in the northern part of our state a year or so ago shows most forcibly what can be accomplished by the volunteer worker. The accident referred to had elicited sympathy all over the country, and doctors, nurses, and paid philanthropic workers, with money and supplies, had been rushed at once to the stricken town. The unfortunate sufferers, bereft of all their possessions and stunned by the awful calamity, became suspicious even of those bringing them relief, and in some cases they would not at first accept aid for their families, for they feared that back of the Samaritan desire to help was a scheme to take their children from them.

In sharp contrast to this unwarranted repulse of other workers was the grateful and trusting reception accorded the volunteer representative of the Children's Aid Society. Her presence and word seemed to allay all suspicion, so that she accomplished much that all the others had been unable to do. Consequently the children's relief work was given over to her and was so efficiently managed that it was afterward highly commended by the state authorities.

In closing this plea for the volunteer worker, no better example of faithful and consecrated service can be cited than that of the superintendent of our Girls' Industrial School at Indiana, Pa. No one will ever realize just how much anxiety and responsibility she has borne and how her loving motherly heart has gone out to many a homeless, friendless, wayward girl in the past fifteen years that she has had charge of this school. There never was a night too dark and stormy to keep her from responding to the call of duty. Many a time she has been aroused from her sleep to take a train or to drive far across the country to rescue some misguided girl. Constrained by the love of the Master she has given the best years of her life, her very self, to this work, and all without a cent of recompense.

The work of the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania would not be fairly presented without saying that, as far as we know, it is the only agency in this part of the state that

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the almshouse authorities can call upon to take children of all ages and find homes for them. We are proud of the fact that we have no age limit and that no baby is too young, or boy or girl too old, to be taken under our care.

And so the work has been carried on, volunteer and paid worker hand in hand trying to carry out the ideals of our blessed Saviour's care for little children. As some one has said, "It must always be remembered that neither a volunteer or paid worker is fit for so high a task unless he puts into the work not only his brain but his heart and soul. Only one who is capable of making sacrifice, in season and out of season, can do justice to the work."

XVIII

VALUE OF CO-OPERATION AMONG CHILD-HELPING AGENCIES

BERTHA RAUH

Social Welfare Worker, Pittsburgh

CO-OPERATION in its highest interpretation should express itself in a perfect reciprocal relation. It should be real, not nominal. It should be practical, not theoretical. It should represent a process involving "give and take"—an effective, harmonious, reciprocal, and co-operative relation between two or more parties or between two or more agencies.

Co-operation is a cumulative thing, beginning as a concept, but never complete until expressed in action. Co-operation cannot express itself without ways and means, without a definite plan. A spirit of co-operation is good, but that is not sufficient to insure superlative results. This spirit of co-operation must, if it is to meet the highest needs, be supplemented by a working basis. Co-operation does not mean a selfish, determined stand for work among agencies,—a "come and do this thing as *I* want it done" attitude,—but an application of its principles often means that individuals or agencies may have to yield long established opinions and methods—perhaps all unessentials. Thus only can all co-operating parties get down to fundamental principles, where together they can work out suitable methods of procedure which will make possible a better realization of the end sought—which should be (but unfortunately not always is) the best good of the children or families in the interest of whom they are supposed to be working.

Theoretically, most organizations realize this. The difficulties arise when any attempt is made to put the theories into practice. That institutions may prove of ultimate benefit to the children, co-operation must be insisted upon from the foundling asylum or the orphanage to the institutions which aim at vocational guidance.

Only by such co-operation, extending through all intermediate stages of care, can the wellbeing of the child be conserved, its

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physical, mental, and moral development be assured, and its material success be attained. To fortify the child for life's battles, all agencies must successfully and logically in a sane, sober, and orderly fashion, co-operate one with the other in an intelligent, sympathetic, and effective manner.

A rational working plan of co-operation among the 43 child-helping agencies and institutions of Pittsburgh should include a consciousness on the part of all these agencies of a need of co-operation, of a common ground of interest. Subsequently there must be analyzed out of this general consciousness the specific points at which, and times when, one agency or group of agencies needs the assistance of another agency or group of agencies to complete the service of the first agency or group in helping the dependent, neglected, or delinquent child.

Co-operation is necessary to the most economical and effective use of existing resources. It is necessary in order that we may come to know wherein, and in how far, our existing resources are inadequate to accomplish the whole child-helping problem of the community.

Since co-operation must express itself in practical ways, a central agency, that is, a common meeting ground for all agencies interested in child-helping, is the logical method of bringing co-operation to pass.

In Pittsburgh the greatest service of common value to all the agencies would be a co-operative child-placing effort conducted through a central agency. This effort should take the direction, in the first instance, of drawing off from the institutions those children which could more appropriately be cared for in foster homes, and after this pressing problem has been met, the placement would then take place instead of institutional commitment. At present there are in asylums and institutions for children in Pittsburgh approximately 4,000 children, yet not one agency has a systematic method of placing-out work.

A clear understanding of the practical application of co-operation will bring about that eminently desired good to the child and to the family for which we are all struggling, striving, and contending.

XIX

STATE PARENTHOOD FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

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LET me say in the beginning that I use the word state in the general sense, covering all political units, the city and county as well as the commonwealth as a whole.

The state, through the medium of the orphans' court, assumes the responsibility of a child left with property. The state also steps in and takes the place of the parents with the delinquent child. The violation of a city ordinance is all that is needed, according to the juvenile court laws of many of the states, to render a child delinquent; so that for no graver offense than playing in the street the state may assume the custody of the child. Failure to attend school is, in many places, chargeable as delinquency, though such failure may be caused by the child's lack of shoes. The line between delinquency and dependency is shifting and shadowy.

Under certain conditions the state assumes the responsibility of the simply dependent child; as, where it is proven that the parents or guardians of the child are guilty of great cruelty, or of exercising an immoral and debasing influence. The care of dependent children by the state is, therefore, a recognized fact. The question I wish to put at this time is, How far shall we go in our collectivity, that is, the state, in assuming responsibility for the dependent child?

Full responsibility, with all that it implies, is nothing less than the responsibility of parenthood. But before dwelling on the significance of state parenthood, it is necessary to note that parenthood is not a stable or unchanging relationship to child life. A new conception of child life, and of the rights of the child, has found a place in the modern mind. Formerly the child was owned by the parent as completely as his dog or his ox. Infanticide is practiced among all savage races, and was practiced among all the great civilized races of antiquity, including even the Hebrews and the Greeks and the Romans in the ages of their greatest glory.

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In China and Japan, down to our own time the father has had the right of life or death over his children. And even Christianity seemed powerless to effect a sudden change in this attitude toward the rights of the children. The practice of infanticide lingered on into the "Holy Roman Empire," and down to the twelfth century the charge of murder could be founded only on the death of an adult. And in the great awakening of the democratic spirit in the eighteenth century, it was only the rights of men which were taken into account; it was "all men are created free and equal." Children still remained without rights. Here in the land of the free, parents could, by provision of law, bind out their own little children into virtual slavery until they became of age. No wonder for the gloomy face of "the bound boy at the husking."

The early provision of the state for the orphans' court was prompted not out of regard for the child, but out of the sense of the sanctity of the property which should go to the child when he had become an adult. The ambition of the guardian was very commonly to hand over the entire property intact to his ward when he should reach his majority. The conscience of the guardian was all right, only he had no sense of the rights and needs of the child life.

It is this old tyrannical parenthood that has made our modern age afraid of paternalism in government, and sing the glory of fraternalism, going to the extreme of a modern social writer who makes the preposterous statement that "The rule obtains; the paternal relation, divine or human, is a divisive force, but fraternalism is a cement everywhere. . . . No person ever lived who needed a father over him, but all need an older brother."

The new and growing sense of the rights and needs of the child at this beginning of the "century of the child" gives a new parenthood. Not the old parenthood which someone has described as saying, "I will break that boy's will, no difference what it costs him"; but the new parenthood which says, "I will help that boy to control himself, no difference what it costs me."

In the establishment of the public schools maintained out of the public treasury, this radical departure from old English

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usage was urged on the ground of political expediency; the end sought was the educated voter. But today we dare to think and speak of the welfare of the child as a child.

The new and higher parental instinct is beginning in many ways to express itself through the laws of the state to protect children from the cruelty and neglect of their own parents; for all parents have not yet outgrown the old conception of ownership of their children. So the state obliges the parents to send their children to school, and forbids them to put their children at work not suited to their age and strength. And to some who pride themselves on being very practical, the cities are becoming almost grandmotherly in the sentimentality which provides children with playgrounds.

But there is something more in this new sense of parenthood of the state than mere soft-heartedness and goodwill for the neglected and dependent children of this generation. The man of character assures himself that he has the physical qualities and the material resources to justify the responsibility of parenthood before accepting it. We have wakened up within the past decade to the fact that the irresponsible and feeble-minded are the most prolific. This tendency unchecked for a few generations, with the increased care and conservation of infant and child life, would give us a deteriorating race. So the state, like the man of character, declares the right of the child to be well born, and one state after another is enacting laws that criminals and all feeble-minded persons who come into the custody of the state shall be sterilized.

I am merely mentioning these wellknown facts of history and these new laws to show the current in the stream of human progress. Social workers absorbed in the difficulties of pressing and urgent cases of need are often tempted to doubt that there is a stream, and to think rather that it is all a stagnant pool. Social workers especially need frequently to get away from their work and see it in its historic perspective.

And it may not be unprofitable to view this higher parental function for a moment in its philosophic perspective. John Fiske contributed to the theory of evolution the doctrine of the

importance of the prolonged infancy of the human species in the development of the affections directly, and indirectly in the development of intelligence and civilization. If the prolonged helplessness and dependency on the one hand strengthened the bonds of parental affection and stimulated the effort to improve and safeguard the home, and on the other hand increased the length of the plastic and teachable period of life, then is it not true that if the new parenthood has set itself to lengthen the years of childhood that the race will profit still further thereby?

G. Stanley Hall, in his book on Adolescence* says that there are indications at the age of about six of "the ripple marks of an ancient public beach now lifted high above the tides of a receding shore-line, as human infancy has been prolonged." Or in other words, a time when infancy and childhood was less than half as long as it is now. May this not throw some light on that too common failure of parenthood to respond to the needs of later childhood and adolescence? The parenthood of the young child has, by virtue of its long inheritance, become what we call an instinct, while the parenthood of later childhood and adolescence is yet a growing achievement attainable only by creative thought and active volition.

This is the new and higher note in reform and education. What democracy, what fraternalism was to the eighteenth century, this new paternalism will be to the twentieth century. The genius of democracy or fraternalism is mutual rights and mutual benefits, while the highest excellencies of human character can only come from that sense of obligation which gives to the weak and dependent, knowing that to the giver there can be no return save the satisfaction which comes from the exercise of the highest function of the mind and heart—parental love.

A bald democracy means "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Witness the use which has been made of the doctrine of the right of individual contract. As a matter of fact, quite one-half of the population must be taken care of by the other half. All have rights but only a part have powers. This

* Hall, G. Stanley: *Adolescence, Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, Vol. I, p. X. New York, Appleton, 1908.

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sense of obligation, which should rest with power, has been blunted by a false doctrine of equality, the claim of an equality which never did and never can exist so long as there are children in the world. And no adequate treatment can be meted out to the multitudes of dependent little citizens until the state is actuated by the spirit of noblesse oblige, the spirit of an exalted parenthood.

In former times, with the feebler parental sense, the state permitted its little wards to be herded in alms or poorhouses. But with larger intelligence and keener sympathy with child life it now forbids counties and municipalities so to deal with children. Realizing that not even the best institutions can take the place of home life in the needs of the child, the state now seeks to place its wards in private families.

This is a decided step in the right direction but only goes half far enough. The youth turned out to shift for himself with nothing but a common school education is, in our age, pretty nearly doomed to be a mere day laborer. The responsible parent knows that he has not done his duty to his child until he has given him a trade or vocational training. Can the state afford to do less for its wards? Entirely apart from all humanitarian sentiment, in the conservation of its resources, can the state afford to lose the skilled efficiency of its wards whom it has cared for in infancy and childhood? Now the state withdraws at the point where the youth could be made of value to society.

We have awakened to the fact that our common schools must be supplemented by vocational schools, mechanical and agricultural. The private free home or boarding home in which the state has placed its ward is the best possible place for the little child. But when adolescence is reached, the time when untrained parental instinct is so prone to fall short of meeting the need of the youth, then the state should see to it that its own wards should have full access to the higher or vocational schools which the state has created for the youth of all classes.

In brief, let us collectively through the instrumentality of the state assume the full responsibility of parenthood for dependent children, exactly as, individually, the responsible parent assumes it for his own.

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LIMITS OF STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

ALEXANDER FLEISHER

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THERE is general agreement on the premises underlying a discussion of the limits of the state's responsibility for the care of dependent children. There must be provision for the care of all children; they must not be allowed to suffer and they must be trained for an efficient and useful citizenship. Society as a whole is, in the last analysis, responsible for their training. The state suffers if the work is not well done and it gains if the work has been successful. In this paper we are to consider training for citizenship and consequently the responsibility for infants may well be omitted.

Theoretically there is no problem. The state must train all its children. Practically, however, the questions, What is the state doing? and What must it do? raise many interesting points. Efficiency is the important consideration. How may we obtain the greatest return for the least expenditure of energy? A definite result is desired. How may this be obtained at the least possible cost?—not money cost but social cost. How the greatest possible percentage of dependent children may be trained for self-supporting and effective citizenship, is the important point. The question of expediency is important. Any plan to be successful requires the support of intelligent public opinion; a public opinion ready to co-operate with the scheme because it feels that it will be efficient.

In various parts of the country different plans of state care have been tried and, in turn, have been imitated in other parts. Homer Folks, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, classifies the four ways in which states have treated their dependent children as follows:

- (a) The Michigan system of a state school and placing-out.
- (b) The Ohio County Children's Home system.

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(c) The plan of supporting children in private institutions, as in New York.

(d) Boarding-out and placing-out by the State Board of Charities in Massachusetts, by the State Board of Children's Guardians in New Jersey, and by private societies in Pennsylvania.*

All of these systems have for their chief aim the placing out of children in private homes. Each system has distinct advantages, but also certain disadvantages. The Michigan scheme, although probably the most successful, does not provide for the temporary support of the child. The large group of citizens who might be interested in private organizations have not been utilized for this work. The system of county homes, on the other hand, causes lack of uniformity and inefficiency. The subsidy system is open to grave abuses, because it opens the way for political "log-rolling," increases the number of institutions, and places a premium on the institutions that retain children rather than on those that place them out. In the boarding-out system no preliminary observation is required of the child, its habits, or its possibilities, so that the necessity for changes in the attempt to find a congenial home may be reduced to a minimum.

Many dependent children are, however, supported by private philanthropy. Over these dependents under the care of privately managed organizations there is, in some parts of the country, a system of state supervision. There is supervision of the work done and, in a few instances, supervision of the starting of organizations in the hope of avoiding duplication. These systems vary widely in the care and thoroughness exercised and, unfortunately, no measure of efficient supervision has as yet been devised.

There are definite advantages in allowing the state to control the situation, to provide for all public dependents, and to maintain effective supervision over all private organizations dealing with children. By such an arrangement responsibility is fixed; it is possible to state definitely who is responsible for mismanagement or good management, as the case may be; there can be no shirking of responsibility and it is possible to institute definite

*Folks, Homer: *Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, p. 82. New York, Macmillan, 1902.

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reforms of systems, because the community as a whole has charge of the work. Sufficient funds are always available. This is necessary for efficient placing-out work, as much of it must be done outside of the immediate neighborhood and sometimes even outside of the state. Heavy traveling expenses, both in initial visitation and in following up the children after they have been placed, are incurred. There is sure to be uniformity, and the possibility of disputes between various organizations as to their rights and duties is avoided. When the state is practically as well as theoretically responsible, the entire field within the state is covered. At present in Pennsylvania there are a number of counties in which there is practically no provision for dependent children.

On the other hand, however, state control brings with it distinct disadvantages. As long as we continue our present attitude towards the state, it would almost seem advisable to greatly limit the field of the state's activities. To most of us the state is not something of which we are a part and for which we are definitely responsible, but is rather something outside of our lives, to which we are accountable. There is not the feeling of personal responsibility that is essential for adequate work by the state. Until we begin to feel personally responsible for the actions of state officers and to feel that they are accountable to us for their work, it is a question whether state activity can be very successful.

There is usually a sameness in treatment and a lack of consideration for the individual or for the individual family. In treating children one of the essentials is flexibility; it is frequently necessary to make special arrangements in an individual case. It is usually difficult to obtain this under state-controlled activity. With this lack of flexibility comes the question of lengthy and cumbersome procedure—of “red tape.” Moreover, we are unfortunately accustomed to general inefficiency in state management and inadequate return for the money invested in an enterprise. Lastly, the public system unfortunately does not call upon private citizens who might otherwise be interested in the movements for the care and training of dependent children.

It would seem advisable that children be divided into two

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groups—the normal and the un-normal. Children who may be classed as normal, those whose environments and heredity have not been markedly peculiar, might well be handled by state machinery. The feeble-minded are, however, an exception, as long-continued restraint is in their case necessary and for this reason the state should accept the responsibility. The state, in order to do this work, should develop adequate machinery, similar to that of Michigan, but there should also be boards of private citizens to watch over the work in their own counties. The un-normal—the abnormal and the subnormal—can, for the present, be more successfully treated by privately managed organizations. The organizations can more readily make adjustments for special needs and for this reason would be more successful.

Although the dividing line between state and private child-helping work is not at present clearly drawn, yet it may be said that the state deals mostly with the left-overs. Those children for whom privately managed organizations have not made provision are left to the care of the state. In order to clearly divide the two fields, it would seem advisable that a board of children's guardians be created, who should have under their control all public work for dependent children and who should have under their supervision all privately managed work. They should encourage private philanthropy to turn its attention to the un-normal child and to leave to direct state care the normal and those requiring long-continued restraint. If successful work is to be done by the state, the present attitude toward the state and toward state activity must change and efficiency must be demanded of state officers and officials.

It seems, therefore, that there is a place for both types to exist and to do efficient work. The state should deal with all children whom it considers absolutely normal and turn over to private organizations such work as it can not efficiently do. It should, however, avoid the difficulties that have arisen in the subsidy system wherever tried, and seek to take control of the entire problem as soon as it can do this efficiently and successfully.

XXI

LIMITS OF STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

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THERE would hardly be an excuse for the discussion of this subject if the matter had not been thrown into a state of confusion in the public mind by certain customs and usages which became manifest before the governmental machinery of the state had developed to cover its whole field.

The early enlistment of individual and community sympathy in the dependent child led to activities on the part of individuals, religious organizations, and other bodies for their care to so large an extent that the duty of the state was wellnigh forgotten, or looked upon as being so limited as to provide only for simple existence, and not opportunity for normal life and such care as would equip the dependent child for even chances in life's later battles. The political body directly interested could not, of course, leave the orphaned or neglected children in its boundaries to die by the roadside of starvation, or live like wild animals by plunder and cunning; and so the helpless young were cared for in the almshouse, or by any individuals who could be induced to care for them. All are familiar with the pathos and tragedy of this period and these methods of caring for dependent children.

The earlier awakening of the state to its responsibility to and for these children was perhaps shown by the limitation of the time that children could be kept in almshouses and county homes. Since that time many steps have been taken in the recognition of the state's full responsibility, and yet the question is still asked, What is the limit of the state's responsibility *for* dependent children? The question should really be, What is the limit of the state's responsibility *to* dependent children, although there is good reason to ask to how great a degree the state is responsible for the lives of dependent children, and also regarding the state's

responsibility for the dependency of children, whether of ordinary character or classed as delinquent.

When we speak of the state in its broadest sense as comprising all of its political divisions, it can certainly be maintained that there is no limit to the state's responsibility for or to delinquent children short of the responsibility that applies to a parent.

How can it be otherwise when the state claims and exercises absolute control over its citizens. It proscribes certain occupations and so determines, within certain limits, what work its citizens may do. It goes further and not only determines what a citizen may do, but places restrictions and regulations upon how and under what conditions he shall work in the permissible occupations. It claims authority over the conditions under which he may live by assuming authority over house construction, and, through its boards of health and juvenile courts, over the living conditions, as to healthfulness of surroundings and the safety of the child's welfare under the everyday life of the home. It claims the time, services, and even lives of its citizens by requiring them to respond to the call of proper officers of the peace or law, to assist in maintaining the peace, apprehending criminals, or in securing their conviction through the regular courts of law. It even, in a very pronounced way, regulates their recreation by restrictions, forbidding some kinds of pastimes which personal inclination might select, but which are not considered as ministering to the individual or community welfare. On the same basis it orders the personal conduct, by making certain acts misdemeanors and certain others criminal.

How it is possible for the state to escape responsibility for its dependents, when it claims such absolute rights over the citizens who are the parents of the dependents themselves, it is hard to conceive.

Now, as to the class of citizens we are considering—juvenile dependents. These children can not come into existence excepting by the permission of the state under laws made by it for the regulation of marriage, or against such laws, for which violation the state must be held responsible. Whether the child is legiti-

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mate or illegitimate, the state is responsible for its existence. If a child can not be born, an adult live, work, be married, or even buried, except under state regulations (laws), complete responsibility surely follows.

But to go further and to be somewhat more specific—the laws require that every child shall live under favorable conditions (laws against neglect of and cruelty to children). The laws likewise require that every child shall attend school between the ages of six and fourteen years of age, and in certain cases, between the ages of six and sixteen (compulsory education laws). These laws alone throw the responsibility upon the state. But to go further, the larger proportion of juvenile dependents are dependent because one or both parents are dead, or because the parents are inefficient and can not provide for their children. If the parents have died natural deaths after demonstrated efficiency in life, before or without providing for their infant children, the state consented to their marriage and assumed the risks that might be involved. If the children are orphaned because of the premature death of the parents through accidents in industrial or transportation occupations, the state has prescribed how these occupations shall be carried on and so assumed the risks and their results. If the children are orphaned because of the premature death through the stress of occupation or dissipation or a combination of these causes, the state has made the methods of work in the occupation legal and has made legal the dissipation by permitting the cause to exist and regulating its operations, and so has assumed the responsibility for the results.

In short, every orphan is made an orphan under the law or because the state does not enforce its own laws. Even where children become dependent because of the industrial inefficiency of the parents—whether that inefficiency is the result of dissipation, improper or inadequate education, or of lack of capacity which is the result of heredity or of environmental causes that are permitted under or even against the laws of the state—they are legally dependent and there is no logical way for the state's responsibility to be combatted.

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The state itself, and not the political divisions of the state, is responsible. But this does not necessarily imply that the central government shall execute the functions implied in the responsibility directly through a department or bureau. It may do its duty in this way by direct levies or pro rata collections from the counties which are the usual units for the execution of the laws.

But the way more in conformity with usage and practice is for the state to function through the counties. However, the discretion as to the extent of responsibility and the methods of discharging that responsibility should not be left to the county or to other political divisions intrusted with the performance of the tasks imposed by the state's responsibility. The only possible way for the state to insure to its dependent children the kind of care which it of right should give to them, is by the enactment of such laws as will require the performance of the duties imposed by its obligation, and the provision of such central supervision as will insure obedience by the subordinate political division to the laws made. The peculiarly delicate and personal service required in the suitable and proper care of dependent children justifies the provision of a special commission or bureau to insure the proper obedience to the law of those representing the state in the execution of the laws for their welfare, so that there may be no short-comings on the part of the administrator or loss on the part of the dependent children.

There can be no doubt that the state can best and most economically provide properly for its dependent children by making some subordinate political division responsible for them under proper state regulation and supervision. If these public custodians are required to raise sufficient money to provide the care specified, there need be no direct appropriations by the state government for privately conducted societies which may or may not spend the money as the state would have it spent. If, however, there are appropriations to private societies engaged in the care of dependent children, a public commission or bureau is absolutely imperative in order that the state may know whether its intentions are carried out, both as to standards of care and

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the number of children so cared for, with the amount of money expended.

A much wiser and more satisfactory method is for the smaller political division to determine the agencies, either public or private, through which it will do its work. When such an arrangement exists and it is subject to rigid and intimate state supervision, both as to the work done and the results attained, a fair prospect if not the maximum, is offered for efficiency and success.

Another reason why the state can not fulfill its responsibility to its dependent children without a central commission is found in the necessity of fulfilling the family duty of preserving in permanent form the child's identity, family history, and social relations. The pathetic years-long searches of foster children for some knowledge of their antecedents, which so often come to our notice, emphasize the importance of the completest and most permanent records of this kind. Sometimes the knowledge contained in such records is of the gravest importance legally as well as sentimentally.

XXII

PUBLIC APPROPRIATIONS TO PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

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AT the present time the popular opinion with respect to dispensing charity and aiding the defective and dependent members of society is very different from that entertained in the early years of our present civilization. At that time there was little acceptance of the proposition that a man was his brother's keeper; but instead, the more prevalent conception was that exemplified by the Spartan, who exposed his children to the rigors of a mountain climate, content to lose those offspring who could not survive, because he believed that they were not worthy to become citizens of the state.

The change in sentiment resulted as a consequence of the general acceptance of the teaching of the Bible that one must love his neighbor as himself and the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Prompted by Christian feelings, individuals saw and now see that theirs is the duty of caring for the needy and the afflicted. At first this was done by individual effort.

Now we have changed circumstances and conditions, and it is impossible for individuals by the exercise of private charity adequately to cope with the problems and difficulties presented. There has been an amalgamation of large populations in the cities of our country. In those cities there are congregated in large numbers persons requiring assistance. Their number has increased by reason of their elimination from the possibility of obtaining gainful occupations, as such are not open to them in large cities. So also the advance of medical knowledge has disclosed methods of treatment, which are now rightly considered indispensable in the solution of many of the ills of society, but which require large funds. Furthermore, it is now clearly recognized that prevention is better than cure, and to resort to ade-

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quate means of prevention, large programs and ample funds are necessary.

So individuals are impotent as such; unaided voluntary associations of individuals have proved equally powerless; and there is left as the one solution the intervention of the state. There are some activities, such as the care of the criminal and the insane, which it is generally admitted the state alone can carry on, and which for the preservation of law and order are imperative. Public opinion is insistent that all defectives and dependents be properly cared for. As the state alone can adequately cope with the situation, the duty rests on the state and it must bear the burden.

The problem to be here discussed is whether institutions caring for the defectives or dependents shall be primarily those owned and operated by the state or whether the institutions shall be owned and operated by private individuals or associations, receiving and dispensing financial aid and support from the state. There is one other alternative, and that is for the state to allow private charity to face the situation unaided. This is admittedly impossible and so it need not be here considered. It is also true that in any event some private institutions would exist, because they would be necessary to satisfy the needs of individuals who would desire for religious or personal reasons to go to such an institution rather than go to one maintained by the state.

The duty being upon the state to care for the dependent and defective members of society, the crux of the question is, how can the work best be done? If it can be done best by private institutions, acting as agencies of the state, it should be done in that way. If it can best be done through purely state institutions, that plan should be adopted. Both reason and experience show that the work can best be done through private agencies.

The work can be done cheaper in this manner. Instead of it being carried on by managers and assistants engaged in the work purely because of the financial return which they derive from it, as would in almost all cases be inevitable in state institutions, the private institution can command the services of voluntary workers, who of course serve without pay, or with compensation

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barely equivalent to the expenses of paying for the absolute necessities of life, and who by reason of their actuating motives and personal interest in their work are able to carry it on more efficiently, and hence at less expense. In addition thereto, the private institution secures contributions from the charitably disposed members of society, where the same could not be secured by a state institution. Therefore, the burden on the tax payers, many of whom are relatively poor, is reduced, and it falls in part upon those members of society best able to bear the burden, and at the same time there are secured the advantages resulting from the development of charitable dispositions in the hearts of the members of society.

No proof is required to maintain the proposition that philanthropically inclined people will not make donations to state institutions, while experience has shown that they will contribute to institutions under private management and control. Nor are statistics required to show that such contributions reduce the burden resting on the state. So also it is self-evident that if persons caring for the needy members of society do so without compensation or for such small compensation as is but sufficient to maintain life (in many instances as surprisingly low as \$200 a year), institutions enjoying the services of such persons will be operated at a lower cost than those paying their employes commercial salaries. A comparison of per capita expenditures for equal services is the way accurately to determine the relative efficiency of the two different kinds of institutions. Such statistics as are at hand are not as complete or reliable as is desired, but in so far as they are obtainable the statistics undeniably establish the conclusion that the work can be done cheaper by proper private institutions than by those purely state controlled.

But what is more important is that the work of caring for the needy and afflicted members of society would be done better. This would result largely from the long experience which those at present in charge of private institutions have had, and which with many of the associations now engaged in the work is a matter of tradition in the organization. In addition, most of those working for private institutions are actuated by nobler motives

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than that merely of earning their salary. In view of the fact that many of the persons engaged in philanthropy as a profession are imbued with a love of their fellow man, and are by reason thereof better qualified than those not so actuated, it may be well to call attention here to the fact that even this motive is not comparable with the motive of those who are engaged in caring for their neighbor as a manifestation of their love of God. To a very large extent the character of the work done depends upon the motive actuating the doer, and it therefore follows that the work of philanthropy can best be left in the hands of those engaged in the work by reason of the more noble impulses. Of course, issue will be taken with this conclusion by those not accepting the principle that the teachings of Christianity or religion generally are the foundation of true charity; but even they will not deny that work of philanthropy undertaken for a financial return is not to be compared with that done by those doing it because of the love of the work, whatever further considerations have induced them to be devoted to their task.

In considering what method will best accomplish the purpose, it is not to be overlooked that one of the tests whereby the results are to be measured is that of the satisfaction yielded to the public. We know that the public are now well satisfied by reason of the manifest general preference for private institutions and opposition to attention at public institutions. All know that public institutions would not satisfy the people, because each religious organization will always desire to have and maintain its own institution, and why should this desire be disregarded merely because of the outcry of the irreligious?

If we are to have state institutions it is to be anticipated that such institutions would be large and comparatively few in number, because if they be many the difficulties of adequate supervision are prohibitive, and accordingly each small state institution operated independently would in all likelihood be a hive of graft and corruption. Peculiar local needs have in most instances called forth the existing institutions. That the state never is responsive to local needs, the experience of all countries has shown. Instead of the institutions being located where the

people want them, where they are most accessible, not far from their source of supply (the particular persons to be served), the large institution would be located at a site selected in many instances by theorists who were not conversant with the local needs, if not actually chosen at the instance of the landlord with political influence who desired to sell his land. In any event, instead of the relief institution being an integral part of the life of the community, it would be divorced from the desires and needs of the public, and would be a place to be abhorred and not a refuge in distress.

There is a further reason for the state to perform its duty of caring for the defective and dependent members of society by aiding private institutions, and that is that the continued existence of private institutions retains and develops a charitable disposition on the part of its citizens. This would continue to be true to some extent even if no state aid were given, but with state aid it would be true to a greater extent. It is frequently said that the dispensing of state aid dries the wells of charity, but this does not follow. Instead, it is more reasonable to say that with larger and better institutions more people would come in contact with them, their stronger organization would bring home to more people the necessity of charity, and therefore it follows that there would be a growth of philanthropy in the hearts of the people.

It is not to be disregarded that many individuals and organizations have established institutions relying upon receiving continued aid from the state, and that without such aid these institutions could not continue to exist. It is a matter of grave concern whether the state shall now withdraw its assistance, establish institutions of its own to do the work, and in that way lead to duplication of plants to the great social loss of the people and to the manifest injury of the institutions at present nobly engaged in doing the work of aiding suffering humanity.

Of course, nobody will deny that if the state consciously adopts the plan of dispensing charity by aiding private institutions, the state has special rights, and must exercise some supervision and control over such institutions. Just what that measure of super-

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vision and control shall be, is a matter to be carefully considered. In general, it may be said that it shall extend no farther than is necessary to see that the institution effectively does the work for which it receives state aid. The less control the better, in order that the institutions may meet the peculiar local conditions which invariably have called into existence each particular institution. It may well be that the authority of the state should be exercised over all charitable institutions not only to the extent of seeing that the work for which it receives state aid is properly done, but also over all its activity, because of the vital importance of its work to society as a whole. It goes without saying that the state must gather adequate information to enable the legislature to apportion justly the aid which it proposes to dispense. The measure of justice should be the service rendered in the past, and in some cases where the need is great, the service to be rendered in the future.

The basic principle is that the duty is upon the state to care for the dependent and afflicted members of society, and that it should perform this duty in whatever way it can best be done. I have attempted to show that it can be done most efficiently through the agency of private institutions. If I am right in this, there is every reason why the state should continue to aid private charitable institutions. Any such secondary reasons as graft in the distribution of the aid can be corrected, without making it necessary to abandon in its entirety the plan. And whenever it is found that the aid given is diverted from the purpose for which it was intended, adequate punishment should be meted out and care should be taken that the same be not done in the future, by requiring full and complete reports of receipts as well as expenditures and in general the greatest degree of publicity.

In view of the fact that it is apparent that many of those opposing continued state aid to private institutions are doing so as a result of irreligious or anti-Catholic feeling, it may be well again to call attention to the fact that Christianity and religion is the basis of charity, and that this should continue to be recognized by the state. Merely because an institution is managed by a religious organization, is no valid reason for refusing

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it the assistance of the state, provided it is doing the work required of the state and doing it better than the state itself can do it. Let the facts be investigated and let the work be done in the best and most efficient manner possible, and let the state repay in part the charity dispensed in order that further charity in the future may be made possible.

XXIII

PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS IN GRANTING STATE AID

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THE subject of state aid to charities is of so delicate a nature, so elusive in certain aspects, and so intricate in its ramifications, as to give one pause. The further one inquires into the matter, the more difficult and involved it becomes. Any single discussion of the matter, therefore, must be considered as a first word upon the subject rather than the last. But however puzzling may be the situation in Pennsylvania in the matter of state appropriations at this time, it should be approached with entire fearlessness, but open-mindedly, reasonably, and above all, unselfishly, keeping in mind the welfare of the state's charities as a whole, rather than the special interests of any particular society or individuals.

Without going into the history of the growth and development of the policy of granting state aid to charitable agencies not under state management or control, which one must know in order to understand the present system and deal with it intelligently, an analysis of present conditions in the state reveals a most interesting situation which may be roughly outlined about as follows:

1. The amount of money and the number of charities involved in the matter of state appropriations are both enormous and increasing in geometrical progression. At the last session of the legislature, approximately sixteen millions of dollars were appropriated to the charitable and correctional interests of the state. The number of organizations receiving these appropriations was 298, of which 25 were purely state institutions; 10 were to all intents and purposes state institutions (though under private control, they performed more than a local function); 263 were purely local agencies under private management. The gross amounts appropriated to each of these classes of institutions were \$8,521,534, \$1,400,500 and \$6,183,900, respectively, or a total of \$16,105,934 to 298 organizations. As compared with a total appropriation of \$917,167 to 21 agencies in 1874, these figures are somewhat disturbing.

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2. There is a wide variety in the kinds of work for which the state appropriates its charitable funds, as shown in the following tabulation:

STATE APPROPRIATIONS TO CHILD-CARING AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE OF AGENCY OR INSTITUTION. 1912.

Agencies	Appropriation
Hospitals for the insane	\$4,806,408.41
Other state charitable institutions	1,217,887.53
State penitentiaries and prisons, juvenile reformatories	1,525,422.27
Placing-out societies for children	60,000.00
Homes for children	306,700.00
Homes for the aged	140,500.00
General and specific hospitals	5,441,300.00
Institutions for defectives	2,422,316.26
Miscellaneous	185,400.00
Total	\$16,105,934.47

3. At the present time there is no scientific basis on which the amounts appropriated to these different classes of institutions or to the different institutions in each class are apportioned. A small local hospital in the northern tier of counties sometimes receives a larger appropriation than a state-wide agency caring for hundreds of beneficiaries most of whom would otherwise be a charge on public funds. One of the 65 hospitals in Philadelphia under private management received a larger appropriation from the last legislature than was given the Eastern Penitentiary.

4. In recommending appropriations to charitable agencies, the state board of charities has not set forth with sufficient clearness or force the principles on which a sound public policy in this matter is based to guide the members of the legislature, who are laymen and not charitable experts, in making appropriations to these different classes of institutions. Furthermore, because of various considerations in many instances the recommendations made by the board have been ignored by the legislature.

5. The rightful basis of appropriations has been confused and any consistent policy on the part of the state has been subverted by the lobbying of managers of charitable institutions, and the injection of political considerations or personal influence in the granting of requests for state aid. Accordingly, institutions whose requests for state aid have been scaled down by the state board of charities have been able to induce the legislature to override the action of the state board.

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6. The Constitution of the state sets up the standard affecting appropriations to private or sectarian charities in the following paragraphs:

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SECTION 17. No appropriation shall be made to any charitable or educational institution not under the absolute control of the Commonwealth, other than normal schools established by law for the professional training of teachers for the public schools of the State, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House.

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SECTION 18. No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association.

It seems plain that the intent of the constitution is that appropriations to private charities be made only under extraordinary circumstances and that no appropriations to denominational or sectarian charities be made under any conditions, but such appropriations have been made as a customary thing.

7. It is a matter of common knowledge that the charitable appropriations of the state have been used as a club over the heads of independent members of the legislature and as a means of securing political support from men and women of high standing as legislators; and party organizations have been made instrumental in obtaining appropriations for those charitable agencies, in which these men and women are deeply interested.

With such a situation confronting the state, many of its private citizens and public men have come to realize, therefore, that a beginning should be made in dealing with this source of real peril to the charities of the state. To such may I submit for consideration and discussion the following statement in outline of certain basic principles upon which a sound state policy may rest:

1. The state may properly manage and support in entirety the following classes of institutions and agencies:

- (1) Universities, normal schools, and agricultural schools.
- (2) Penal, correctional, and reformatory agencies, both juvenile and adult.

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- (3) Hospitals for the insane.
 - (4) Training schools and custodial institutions for the epileptic, feeble-minded, and idiotic classes.
 - (5) State-wide agencies for the care of dependent children, such as a board of children's guardians, or a state public school, supplemented by a placing-out system.
2. Appropriations from the state treasury should not be made to charities under private management until the reasonable needs of the charities managed and supported by the state have been fully met and an adequate system of state institutions fully developed.
3. Appropriations from the state treasury to charities under private management should be made only to those agencies whose work is of more than local scope and importance and then only as a temporary expedient; such appropriations to be made with the following safeguards:
- (1) No appropriations should be made except upon recommendation of a competent body of experts such as the State Board of Charities, so constituted as to be independent of political or other irrelevant influences, and
 - (2) The state must exercise adequate and effective supervision over the expenditure of the funds so appropriated. If practicable, it would be highly desirable for state aid to end here, leaving to the local poor authorities the responsibility for the care of adult poor in the almshouse and for the care of children until such time as provision is made by the state for their care.
4. Private charity should be responsible for the maintenance and support of those hospitals, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, and other institutions which receive their beneficiaries without an official order from the local poor department of public charities or superintendent of the poor, and accept contributions from the general public or from relatives or friends of their beneficiaries.
5. In the absence of suitable state or county (public) care for any class of dependents, appropriations to local charitable agencies under private management may properly be made by cities, towns and counties, as a temporary expedient pending such provision, but they should only be made for maintenance upon a per capita basis for the actual care of persons adjudged dependent by a competent authority, such as the superintendent of the poor; and
6. These appropriations should be made in such amounts and with

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such safeguards as will prevent their becoming a substitute for donations and gifts from charitably disposed persons.

If these principles were in force in the state of Pennsylvania, it would appear that in granting appropriations the state would recognize (possibly in separate appropriation bills) at least three classes of institutions each of whose claims has a basis distinct from that of any other class. In the first would be placed the purely state managed institutions, as follows: Seven hospitals for the insane, nine prisons and reformatories, two institutions for the feeble-minded, one for the deaf and dumb, and various state hospitals and schools; in all 25 institutions. These, being managed and supported entirely by the state, and serving more than a local function, have a prior claim upon the state treasury. No appropriations can rightfully be made to institutions under private management and of local scope until the legitimate needs of these institutions have been adequately met.

In the second class would be placed those institutions and agencies which are under private management, but which perform a function which would otherwise be performed by a similar state institution and whose activities cover more than a local field, including one training school for juvenile delinquents, two institutions for the feeble-minded, two for the blind, one for the insane, two for the deaf and dumb and two children's aid societies—10 agencies all told. These agencies have an almost equal claim upon the state treasury with the purely state institutions. With appropriations to these institutions, however, should go conditions which insure representation of the state in the board of managers and efficient state supervision.

In the third class would come the great mass of institutions under private management and of purely local scope, for whose creation the state has not assumed responsibility, and which do not relieve the state treasury of any appreciable expenditure however valuable they may be to the local poor authorities. In this class are most of the children's homes and county children's aid societies, the local hospitals, both general and special, homes for the aged and the like.

An apportionment of the appropriation of the last legislature

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among these classes of agencies according to the above principles would result as follows:

To 25 institutions in Class I	\$8,521,539.47
To 10 institutions in Class II	1,420,500.00
To 263 institutions in Class III	Nothing
Total	<u>\$9,942,039.47</u>

This total is six millions less than was appropriated last year. As the institutions in Class III should have their appropriations reduced gradually if this basis of distribution were adopted, the state treasury would not save this entire amount (\$6,000,000) until the end of the period of reduction, say in 1920, but meanwhile there would be set free each year a part of that amount (approximately \$1,000,000) which would be available for the care of the feeble-minded, for women's reformatories, for relief to prevent overcrowding of the insane, and for other purely state functions.

In conclusion, I believe it is fair to say that the major responsibility for the present tangled condition and lack of standards in the granting of state aid rests largely with the charitable agencies of the state, and that the initiative in making reforms in this direction should come from the same group of high-minded men and women. The evils of the present system are not insurmountable and their wide recognition at the present time is a most hopeful sign. More than that, it is doubtless a first stage in the process of reaching a wiser basis for the disbursement of the state's money for charitable purposes.

XXIV

WHY PENNSYLVANIA NEEDS A WIDOWS' PENSION LAW

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FEW states in the Union have been more careless than Pennsylvania in protecting the lives of the workingmen. With thousands of men employed in the steel mills and on railroads, with another army of laborers creating wealth in the factories of this great state, and yet another body of men digging coal from the bowels of the earth, it might be presumed that wise legislation would safely guard these men in their hazardous pursuits. The contrary is nearer the truth. Whether indifference, or perhaps strong political pressure from interested parties, has been the cause, the fact remains that few and decidedly insufficient laws are on the statute books of this commonwealth. The result of such gross negligence is easily guessed. All too numerous are the deaths of men in positions of hazard.

It is manifestly impossible to recompense a widow and orphan children for the loss of the breadwinner as well as head of the family. Yet a solemn obligation rests on the state, which has so very directly contributed to the death. Through a lack of proper legislation, it has not done all within its power to minimize preventable accidents. Lest this point and its direct consequence be treated too lightly, the following facts are presented as instructive.

Two years ago certain factories were opened in Western Pennsylvania, in the vicinity of large coal mines. The heavy atmosphere of the district was hardly the ideal spot for turning out fabrics and dress goods. Nevertheless, the choice was deliberately made with the fact in mind that there were so many widows and orphans in the neighborhood that the factory could employ them at unusually low wages. An enlightened state, looking to the future and the citizenship of the next generation, would have provided extra safeguards for the family of a victim to the selfish commercialism of the day. Quite the contrary,

the Pennsylvania law is so lax, and its officers sworn to execute the law so inefficient—to use no stronger term—that thousands of children are today at work who should be in school, and tonight hundreds of boys will be employed in the glass industries who should be at home, asleep in bed.

Perhaps the best work on the subject, for figures carefully compiled is *Work-Accidents and the Law*, by Crystal Eastman.* Her figures for twelve months—July, 1906, to June, 1907—show an awful death toll in the city of Pittsburgh of 526 persons. For a large percentage of these deaths, the state is directly responsible. Had proper laws forced safety appliances, had we a conscientious mine inspection, had we an aroused public conscience to prevent this needless list of preventable accidents, the army of orphan children in Pennsylvania would not have attained the proportions that it today assumes. Of the 526 victims mentioned above, at least two-fifths were married men. If we knew how many more were the sole support of orphan brothers, nieces, and so forth, the total would disclose that one of every two persons killed was the sole support of children. Yet Pennsylvania, after having contributed so inexcusably to this death roll of dishonor, does still greater harm by its care, or lack of care, for the widow and the orphan.

At the epoch-making conference on dependent children, held in the closing months of President Roosevelt's administration, no two ideas were more trenchantly set forth than the principles (1) that the mother, save for compelling reasons, should not be deprived of her children, and (2) that the only proper place for a homeless child is a childless home. In other words, the orphan asylum and its like are absolutely antiquated and should be discarded as rapidly as possible. When the child is deserted, or the parents are unable through sickness or by temperament become unfitted to watch the needs of their children, a suitable home should be provided under proper supervision.

In the vast majority of cases, however, where a widow finds herself deprived of the breadwinner, and with no insurance or

* Eastman, Crystal: *Work-Accidents and the Law*. (The Pittsburgh Survey.) New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1910.

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bank account to protect her, the newer thought says, rather than break up the home, protect and support it.

In the past, the usual plan was to place the children in various institutions. We were afraid to pay the mother the same money and thus maintain the integrity of the home, because, forsooth, it might be heralded as too much paternalism, too socialistic. No longer are we afraid of terms or of isms. The best interests of the child are conserved by his being protected under the shelter of a home, be it ever so humble. Therefore, the movement now growing into such splendid proportions says, pay a pension to the widow and thus permit her to perform the highest function for which she was created, to fulfill the duties of the mother and rear her children under her own roof.

The problem is so simple that we marvel no one realized it before. Some will say this will remove the fine discipline so many young men experienced in their early days. Without the trials of their childhood, they might never have achieved success. The argument is childish. For the one who succeeded, hundreds have fallen by the wayside and succumbed.

Another objection urged is the financial aspect. The proposed plan, however, will be no more expensive in the long run, because the citizens of the next generation will be better equipped for their responsibilities. Even granting the expense, no person can object in all fairness, since the highest duty of the state is the training of its children, no matter what the cost. How much better for the state to support the widow, living together with her dear ones, than to scatter the children and entrust their education to strange hands.

The state owes every child a rounded education, such a training as will enable the pupil to remain in school till that boy or girl is able to go forth and earn a living. Education should not stop with the fourteenth year; no pupil is fit to cope with the problems of life unless he possesses the knowledge of some trade or occupation. Till the child has that knowledge, his place is alongside his mother, particularly when she is a widow, suffering all too many of the hardships of life. Pennsylvania, while giving so lavishly each year to charitable institutions, allows too many

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mothers to clean the large office buildings at night, when they should be at home with their little ones. Giving a pension to these widows would make better citizens of their children and would lessen the amount of charity money needed in the future.

From whatever angle we view this proposed legislation, the result appears so vastly superior to our present methods of handling the problem of the dependent child, that we heartily favor a bill to pension the needy widow.* It will enable her to devote her entire time to the rearing of her children, and not as now, to worry every day how to make both ends meet. Pennsylvania especially needs this law, as an attempt to repair the errors of the past and to safeguard the exigencies of the future.

* A Mothers' Assistance Act was passed by the legislature in 1913, granting public aid to needy mothers with children under fourteen years of age. It is likely to be revised by the legislature of 1915.—Editor.

XXV NEEDED LEGISLATION IN BEHALF OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

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AS AN introductory statement, I wish to emphasize this fact: The watchword of every person interested in child-helping in this state should be, Enforcement of present laws. The lack of enforcement of the splendid provisions now in the statutes is most discouraging to those who know the difficulty in securing for children the rights the state already gives them. For instance, the mandatory provisions in the juvenile court act regarding houses of detention for children pending trial are not only ignored but defied. On appealing to the court of one county, after the commissioners had refused to comply with the act, the court ruled that while the law was mandatory, yet laws must not be taken too literally, and that as the state board of charities had ruled that an annex for women and children was a compliance with the law, nothing could be done.

This attitude in several of our counties has resulted in children of eight years of age being imprisoned pending trial, without proof of their guilt, to say nothing of their mental or moral responsibility. Whether we confine such children in the apartments of the warden or in annexes with evil women, the stigma is not removed from the child's future reputation, and the protection the state provides is a mere mockery. When laws may have a half dozen meanings, and courts can not compel county officials to comply with the law, then we may well pray, "God save the commonwealth and its children who tomorrow are to be its law makers or law breakers."

A state probation commission with supervisory as well as advisory powers, will be welcomed by courts and district attorneys, who can meet the negligent attitude of local officials, whatever may be their motive, with state authority. The juvenile court

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is so essentially for the protection of children rather than for their punishment, and delinquency and dependency are so closely inter-related, that this one striking instance of ineffectual legislation serves to emphasize the vital need of enforcing our present laws before introducing new ones.

It may be well to pause in our efforts to secure any marked changes in our present laws and ask for the appointment of a state commission to study during the next two years the problem of the dependent, neglected, and delinquent children of this state. The duty of this commission shall be to report to the legislative committee of the next session of the legislature a codification of the present laws, the compliance or non-compliance of each county with the same, with suggestions, remedial or constructive, for the betterment of children who through misfortune become the wards of the state for maintenance, education, and training in citizenship. The commission should include men and women intimate with and experienced in the best thought in modern education and child-helping, and the children will be better protected if it be regarded officially as an educational commission rather than correctional or charitable. The unfortunate child has a right to be regarded with this respect, and not stamped as delinquent or dependent. Little "Orphan Annie" has a right to be remembered by what she succeeds in making of herself as a useful member of society through the help and training given her in her early misfortune, and not handicapped by the indelible title given her in the name of charity because she was compelled to look to the state as her parent for education and training.

A careful study of the present laws impresses one with the wisdom of codifying the same, suggesting the elimination of some provisions, the changing of others, and the necessity of new ones, all tending to increase their value in helping directly and most effectively the children who need their protection.* A good constitutional lawyer should by all means be a member of this commission. The secretary of the state board of education, by his office and by his personal qualifications, would be a most

* See recommendations for a "Children's Code" in *Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania*, of which this Symposium is a supplement.—Editor.

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efficient member of this commission, for this problem is nowhere greater than in our public schools. Compulsory education laws and the consequent importance of truancy as one of the most frequent juvenile misdemeanors is appreciated by all receiving agencies for juvenile offenders.

To make the report of this commission authoritative and reliable, financial provision should be made by the legislature for a traveling secretary to visit each county and to secure the facts and remedies suggested by reliable workers in the counties from personal knowledge and experience, and not by questionnaires or other correspondence devices.

Many private individuals and organizations have attempted a partial campaign for information of this kind, and from the material gathered, have endeavored to secure remedial legislation. Conflicting motives, misunderstanding, lack of co-operation, personal differences between workers, amounting almost to animosity, and other causes wellknown to those who are familiar with the history of legislative movements for child welfare in this state during the past decade—all of which causes have been self-destructive to the measures proposed, regardless of the political opposition—must be submerged, and a common understanding, with the personal element eliminated, reached and agreed upon, before we can hope to accomplish anything through processes of legislation for child betterment in Pennsylvania.

The problem of the counties is essentially different from that of the cities; and any proposed new legislation should be based on an intimate knowledge of facts from local workers, and not on any wholesale prescription which may be the personal remedy evolved in any one man's mind or experience.

After fifteen years of active experience in helping the dependent and delinquent children of this state to be self-redeemed for God and the commonwealth, during which time I have known the many workers throughout the state in a very personal way, sharing with them many unsuccessful efforts for juvenile legislation, I would most seriously urge the commission I have suggested. I would personally hope that such a commission would suggest legislation along these lines:

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1. Better child labor laws.
2. The pensioning of widows having children, whose husbands are dead, disabled, or imprisoned.
3. State supervision and frequent visitation of all institutions receiving state aid.
4. The placing of children when possible in private homes, through the agency of approved societies for child-placing, with a per capita payment by the state to said societies for the proper placement and supervision of each child, for whose welfare said societies shall be responsible to the state through a board of children's guardians.

This brings me to my thought that the commission I have suggested should merge into a permanent board of children's guardians, which shall be the administrative arm of the state for all matters pertaining to dependent and neglected children. This board, as well as the State Probation Commission, should be authoritative and supervisory, directly responsible to the state, and both auxiliary to and under the jurisdiction of the courts.

Membership in these two boards should be honorary, with payment only of the traveling expenses incurred by attendance upon the meetings, and financial provision for an office for this State Children's Bureau in Harrisburg with a stenographer and traveling secretary for each board. The appropriation equal to that made for a monument to some politician will provide for every necessary expense in carrying on this work for years.

I can not urge too strongly, however, the wisdom of moving slowly and intelligently in our desire to reach a common end, for I believe that we are all sincerely striving for the same thing. In order that we may lay a wise and strong foundation for that for which we would ask permanent enactment, I would suggest as a basis of efficient effort, systematic endeavor to secure the appointment by the legislature at its coming session of the educational commission first mentioned, for the purposes outlined in this discussion.