U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

# COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD CARE *and* PROTECTION

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. Department of Labor,
Children's Bureau,
*Washington, May 9, 1922.*

Sir: There is transmitted herewith a report on County Organization for Child Care and Protection in which are described what are among the most important recent administrative advances in the local care of dependent, defective, and delinquent children. Those who have been in large measure responsible for this development in Minnesota, North Carolina, California, New Jersey, and New York have cooperated in the writing of the report, and it contains not only their evaluation of what has been accomplished but plans for future development.

Emma O. Lundberg, director of the social service division of the Children's Bureau, planned and edited the publication and contributed the introduction on the development of county social work.

The bureau desires to express its appreciation of the generous cooperation of officials outside the bureau who have made this report possible.

Respectfully submitted.

Grace Abbott, *Chief.*

Hon. James J. Davis,
*Secretary of Labor.*

# COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION.

## UNIFYING COUNTY WORK FOR CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION.

EMMA O. LUNDBERG.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTY SOCIAL WORK.

The recent rapid development of organized social work in counties as a public function is chiefly the result of the emphasis that has been given during the past few years to the problems of rural and small-town communities. While the large cities were busy developing their machinery for dealing with individuals in need of special types of care, the social problems of the smaller cities, towns, and rural districts were very generally neglected. But here and there experiments in rural social work were undertaken and various forms of constructive community activities were growing up in smaller cities. These were promoted usually by some individual or group sufficiently interested to assume considerable financial obligation in meeting the social needs of the community. It was not until the unifying and developing of public-welfare activities were undertaken as part of a state-wide plan that scattered rural populations were reached by comprehensive social-welfare programs.

County organization, however, does not deal entirely, or even mainly, with rural conditions. The principles of coordination of effort, socialization of the work of public agencies, and cooperation with a central State body are applicable to counties containing largely urban populations, as well as to those that are sparsely settled. But in the larger cities, and in counties containing such cities as centers, the establishment of "boards of public welfare" has pertained mainly to the reorganization and development of work already being done in some manner. Among the more scattered populations, on the other hand, county organization must originate work of care and protection. It implies uncovering neglected social needs and building up means of dealing with them constructively. In most counties there has existed some form of "poor relief," either care in almshouses or county homes, or scanty doles to families; but child-welfare activities in behalf of the 49 per cent of the children of this country who are living in rural communities have been largely neglected. It is, therefore, on child welfare and on reconstructive work with fami-

lies that the emphasis has been placed in the movement for organization of county activities.

The impetus to the movement for unifying and socializing local activities which has come from the development of State supervisory and administrative work in the care and protection of handicapped children and adults, has been due to increasing recognition of the needs and rights of the individuals concerned. This individualizing of "charities and corrections" has led rapidly to search for causes and preventive measures. Prevention and reconstruction call for local action. The county and community must function here; the State can go no further than to point out the obvious results of neglected social problems.

The methods of social case work are being applied by public as well as by private agencies, and are mainly responsible for the changing emphasis. Home care for dependent children has become a recognized principle, with the emphasis on the prevention of child dependency through constructive aid in preserving the child's own home whenever possible. In the care and training of deaf and of crippled children progress has been in the direction of supplying corrective treatment through clinics and the necessary equipment for training in local public schools, so that the handicapped child, while remaining a member of his own group, may be helped to gain a normal relation to the community. Likewise for children who have committed offenses against the law, supervision has largely taken the place of commitment to institutions, and such children are more and more coming to be considered as in need of special care and guidance, while custodial care is used only as a final resort.

This ideal of prevention and reconstruction is an outstanding feature of the plans of work of the county organizations usually given such titles as "county board of child welfare," or "county board of public welfare." The law directing the establishment of county boards of public welfare in North Carolina,[1] for example, include among the duties and powers of the county superintendents of public welfare the promotion of wholesome recreation, study of the causes of distress and "other investigations in the interest of social welfare." The law passed in Missouri in 1921 [2] states that the county superintendent of public welfare "shall seek to discover any cases of neglected, dependent, defective, or delinquent children in the county," and secure for them the full benefit of the laws enacted in their behalf. A far cry from the old-time conception of poor-relief! The Missouri official is further directed to "investigate the conditions of living among the poor, sick, and delinquent in the county and to examine thoroughly into causes of crime and poverty in the

[1] See text of law, pp. 151–153.
[2] See text of law, pp. 149–151.

county and to make recommendations from time to time to the State board of charities and corrections, and to the proper local authorities, as to any change in conditions or in legislation necessary to prevent or reduce poverty, crime, or distress in the State."

It is significant of the importance of the county organization movement, that so many of the State commissions appointed to study child-welfare needs and recommend revision of existing laws have emphasized the desirability of some form of county board that would tie up the local work with the activities of the State board charged with the care and protection of children. The Minnesota Child-Welfare Commission was responsible for the act providing for county child-welfare boards in that State in 1917.[3] The bills proposed by the third Missouri Children's Code Commission to the legislature of 1921[4] resulted in the passage of the law providing for the appointment of county superintendents of public welfare.

Two State commissions reporting to their respective legislatures in 1921 included the creation of county boards among their recommendations. The Nebraska Children's Code Commission[5] recommended an act[6] "to consolidate the child welfare work in each county of the State; to establish county boards of child welfare; to provide for county superintendents of child welfare." The Kansas Children's Code Commission in the same year included in its recommendations[7] a plan, which also failed to become law,[8] for county departments of public welfare, to prevent duplication of welfare administration in county and city governments, and to centralize the work under a county superintendent of public welfare.

One of the measures sponsored by the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare was the bill passed by the legislature in March, 1922, permitting the extension of the powers of the county boards of child welfare heretofore limited to the administration of mothers' allowances.[9] In the same month the Virginia Legislature of 1922 enacted a law recommended by the State children's code commission, providing for the establishment of county or city boards of public welfare to work in cooperation with the State department of public welfare.[10]

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[3] Report of the Minnesota Child-Welfare Commission, 1917, p. 23, St. Paul, Minn.

[4] See Monthly Bulletin of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, vol. 22, no. 2 (December, 1920). Jefferson City, Mo.

[5] Report of the Nebraska Children's Code Commission, 1920, p. 231–234. Department of Public Welfare, Lincoln, Nebr.

[6] See text of proposed bill, pp. 158–160.

[7] Report of the Kansas Children's Code Commission, January, 1921. Proposed child-welfare legislation, p. 10.

[8] See text of proposed bill, pp. 157–158.

[9] An act to amend the general municipal law, in relation to the establishment, powers, and duties of certain boards of child welfare. Senate Bill, 1922, adding Art. 7–B to ch. 24 of Consol. Laws of N. Y. Does not apply to New York City and Dutchess and Suffolk Counties.

[10] Senate Bill, 1922, No. 86, sec. 12–15. See text of law, pp. 154–156.

The purpose of county organization is well stated in a recommendation made by the Illinois Children's Committee. This committee, appointed in 1920 by the director of the State department of public welfare, was assigned the duty of "setting forth a program of adequate child care, of correlating efforts of existing boards and departments in the interest of children, of codifying the laws relating to children, and establishing throughout the State minimum standards of child welfare."[11] On the subject of county boards the committee reported as follows:

> The principle should be accepted that the State departments are primarily concerned with the carrying out of the State laws. In order, however, to prevent the State from becoming paternalistic, and the State departments from becoming overloaded with duties and details, the departments must work largely through the existing agencies in the local communities. Since the county is the unit of local government in this State, the working out of State programs may best be accomplished through this unit. At the present time, however, the methods adopted by the 102 counties in the State for the execution of their responsibilities differ very widely, and there are also many gaps unfilled in their service for human welfare.
>
> In order to crystallize the potentialities of the counties and local communities, both urban and rural, it is recommended that the department of public welfare promote the formation, by the officials and citizens, of local committees which might be known as county welfare boards. Experience in other States has shown that such boards do much to prevent duplication of effort and to arouse interest, and lead to a common understanding of community resources and responsibilities and a fine spirit of cooperation in service for the common good.

## TYPES OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION.

It is difficult to define categorically the types of county organization that have developed so rapidly within recent years. Many of them, as pointed out above, have resulted directly from the efforts of State boards to secure local attention to the causes and the treatment of dependency and delinquency. Frequently the change has come about through local effort to combine modern principles of social work with business methods. The State's function has been educational and has been directed toward bringing into cooperation the various county agencies in the interest of better standards of work.

The fundamental differences in the several States and their various needs—inherent either in basic conditions or in local preferences for certain methods of handling situations—are indicated by the fact that in no two States are the plans of county organization exactly similar, even though they may follow the same general trend. It is, indeed, doubtful if the methods of work undertaken in any two counties of the same State are identical. Probably no State will find it practicable to follow in detail the plans adopted by any other

[11] Report of the Department of Public Welfare, Children's Committee, pp. 1, 7, Springfield, Ill., 1921.

State, however successful they may have proved. The material presented in this publication in regard to the methods of organization and the work undertaken by county units in various States indicates certain fundamental principles as a guide for the development of similar activities. In their application they must be made to fit local conditions and requirements.

In general, the forms of county organization as they exist to-day in different parts of the country may be divided into three groups: First, those represented in this publication by Minnesota,[12] North Carolina,[13] and California,[14] the county organizations provided for by the Arkansas[15] and Virginia laws[16] and the duties designated for county superintendents of public welfare in Missouri.[17] In these States the county work is public, is in direct cooperation with the State board of charities or a similar department, and includes varied programs of child care and protection, relief of dependent families, probation and parole, enforcement of social legislation, and other forms of assistance and of reconstructive and preventive effort. The work in Alabama, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina also belongs in this class of organization.

The second type of public county organization is concerned mainly with the care of dependent children. It is found in Indiana[18] and Arizona,[19] in the permissive law passed in Ohio[20] in 1921, in the two New York counties of Dutchess and Suffolk,[21] and in the provisions of the general law passed in New York State in 1922.[22]

The third type of county organization is that under private auspices, and directed to the development of either a broad program or work with a specific group. The county activities undertaken in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Florida are examples of this type.

## COUNTY ORGANIZATION WITH A BROAD PROGRAM, IN DIRECT COOPERATION WITH A STATE BOARD.

From the standpoint of the future development of constructive county-wide work, the most significant form of county organization is that represented by Minnesota[23] and North Carolina,[24] and pre-

[12] See pp. 19–42.
[13] See pp. 43–53.
[14] See pp. 55–71.
[15] See text of law, p. 148.
[16] See text of law, pp. 154–156.
[17] See pp. 149–151.
[18] Burns' Annotated Statutes, 1914, secs. 3657–3660, 3662–3664; Supplement of 1921, sec. 3661.
[19] See text of law, pp. 147–148.
[20] See text of law, p. 154.
[21] See pp. 101–106.
[22] Senate Bill, 1922, adding Art. 7–B to ch. 24 of Consol. Laws of N. Y.
[23] See section on Minnesota, pp. 19–42.
[24] See section on North Carolina, pp. 43–53.

sumably to be developed in Arkansas[25] and Virginia[26]—a statewide plan for county boards undertaking broad programs of child welfare or public welfare, and acting to some extent as local representatives of the State board. In California[27] this system is being worked out along somewhat similar lines through an educational campaign by the State board of charities and corrections, which delegates to these county departments certain powers and duties. In Missouri, the law enacted in 1921[28] provides for county superintendents of public welfare with duties very similar to those of the North Carolina officials, and acting as agents of the State boards. The Missouri arrangement lacks the very important feature of a board representing the varied interests of the county, and giving assistance and backing to the executive officer. This omission may be partly compensated for through cooperation by the existing county boards of visitors or other voluntary groups, acting in an advisory capacity with the county superintendents of public welfare. The Alabama State Child-Welfare Department, the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Committee representing several departments, and the South Carolina State Board of Public Welfare are each undertaking the work of county organization.

The Minnesota and Arkansas laws relative to the appointment of county boards by the State board do not specify in detail the work of these local boards, but merely designate that they shall perform such duties as may be required of them by the State board. In Minnesota, the law states that the executive agents and assistants appointed by the county child-welfare boards "may also, when so directed by the county board, perform the duties of probation and school attendance officers, and may aid in the investigation and supervision of county allowances to mothers." The duties delegated to the county boards by the State board of control, as pointed out in a discussion of the Minnesota plan later in this publication, relate mainly to investigation of proposed adoptions, supervision of placed-out children, protection of the interests of children born out of wedlock, and supervision of feeble-minded children. The Arkansas law providing for the appointment of county boards of public welfare by the State commission of charities and corrections, states that each county board shall organize according to the instructions of the State board, and that they shall work under the direction of the commission, and shall have "similar powers and duties of inspection regarding institutions and agencies within their respective counties to those of the commission." The county work in Arkansas is still to be developed.

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[25] See text of law, p. 148.
[26] See text of law, pp. 154–156.
[27] See section on California, pp. 55–71.
[28] See text of law, pp. 149–151.

The varied duties that have been placed upon the county superintendents of public welfare of North Carolina include enforcing school attendance, poor relief, aftercare of persons released from hospitals or institutions, parole, probation, preventing juvenile delinquency, promoting wholesome recreation, supervising children placed in family homes, finding employment, enforcing the child labor law, inspecting county institutions, acting as agent of the State board "in relation to any work to be done by the State board in the county," and, as a general provision, ascertaining conditions and causes of poverty and distress in the county. The Missouri law, which applies to counties with a population under 50,000, specifies an equally imposing list of duties: Acting as an auxiliary to the State board of charities and corrections; administering all the funds of the county devoted to outdoor relief and allowances to needy mothers; aftercare of the insane; supervision over persons placed on probation or on parole; oversight of dependent children; securing employment; acting as deputy State factory inspector and as attendance officer; investigating causes of distress and delinquency; and protecting neglected, dependent, defective, or delinquent children of the county. It should be noted that in both States it is the intent of the law that the county superintendents of public welfare shall be furnished such assistance as may be required for the proper performance of these manifold duties.

The new Virginia law authorizing the creation of county and city boards of public welfare and the appointment of superintendents of public welfare as executive officers of such boards, as the first item invests the superintendent with the powers of a police officer or constable. This is followed by a list of duties that include: Care and supervision of the poor; administration of mothers' aid funds; parole and probation work; supervision over dependent children placed in the city or county by the State board; acting as agent of the State board in any work to be done in the locality; investigating the causes of distress and other conditions, and fostering cooperation among the public and private social agencies of the county or city. The Virginia law specifies that two or more counties, or a city of the first class and a county, may unite in providing for a superintendent of public welfare. The power to combine the public welfare work of two or more counties makes possible the development of a constructive program in counties in which the volume of work would be too small or the expense too heavy to permit the immediate establishment of independent units.

The question of the scope of work of the county board—whether it should be limited to child welfare or should include all types of social welfare work—is largely a matter of local expediency. The policy adopted must depend mainly on the amount of work that

will devolve upon the board and its executive officer and the adequacy of the assistance that can be provided. State and local resources for agency and institutional care are also important factors in considering what types of work it is practicable to undertake. In Minnesota the county work is under the auspices of the children's bureau of the State board of control, and the work of the county boards is primarily related to child welfare. In the other States mentioned above the field of work is more general, though considerable emphasis is placed on child-welfare activities. In the list of duties of the North Carolina county superintendents of public welfare six relate to children, six to children or adults, and three to adults only.[29] Likewise, in Missouri and Virginia the duties of the superintendents of public welfare as outlined in the laws relate somewhat more largely to child care and protection than to work concerning adults and community conditions. In populous counties it is obviously more practicable than in counties with scattered populations to separate out the work dealing with children. Work with dependent families and activities delegated by State boards having general powers and duties, as well as efforts for social reconstruction in the community, can not always be divided to advantage into child and adult problems. It is, of course, conceded that where the work of child care and protection, public health, family relief, or other special groups of activities, is extensive enough to warrant dealing with each separately, it would not be practicable to develop the same type of centralization as would be suitable in counties where all the work can be coordinated through the medium of one worker or of a superintendent with the necessary assistants.

Organization of social work in counties is a basic part of the developing field of activity of the Alabama Child Welfare Department. The law creating this department, passed in 1919, places upon it the duty "to advise with the judges and probation officers of the juvenile courts of the several counties of the State and to encourage and perfect the work of such courts throughout the State; to exercise general supervision over the administration and enforcement of existing laws governing apprenticeships, adoptions, and child-placing agencies; to require reports from courts, * * * to make surveys, and to hold conferences and conventions for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act and of promoting the welfare of minor children, and to that end to enlist the cooperation of any State, county, or municipal official."[30] The law further provides that the county board of education shall divide the county,

[29] Beasley, R. F.: Program of Work for County Superintendents of Public Welfare Including Instructions in Methods and Procedure of Keeping Records, pp. 5–6, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C., 1919.

[30] Alabama Laws, 1919, No. 457, sec. 2.

exclusive of cities, into one or more attendance districts, and shall appoint an attendance officer for every district created, and that the board of education of each city of 2,000 or more inhabitants shall appoint one or more attendance officers, "provided that this article shall be so interpreted as to make it possible for city and county boards of education, boards of revenue, and courts of county commissioners to jointly employ any person or persons to carry out the provisions of this article and such additional duties as may be assigned them by such boards or governing bodies in connection with the juvenile court of the county or the State child-welfare department."

Under the provisions of the law quoted, the Alabama Child-Welfare Department has undertaken a program of county organization. The plan of this work is stated as follows by the director of the department:[31]

"The juvenile court is fundamental to the organization; a probation officer is fundamental to the court. Without the local machinery of the juvenile court it would be impossible to build up an adequate system of child welfare; without trained workers as probation officers little constructive work can be hoped for.

We have found counties we have visited willing and anxious for the work, but finances sufficient to carry on intelligent activities have not been available. Trained probation officers have likewise been impossible to secure.

We have outlined a plan to meet the first difficulty by persuading the board of revenue or court of commissioners of the various municipalities to pool their interests, thus securing sufficient funds for the employment of an all-time worker.

It has become pretty generally recognized that practically every attendance problem involves a family problem. * * * It is our ultimate aim to build up county welfare units in such a way that there may be no loss of motion, no overlapping of effort. For the present, we have been satisfied simply to secure a probation officer for a county, expecting to gradually persuade the counties to pool all their interests. * * *

In the counties we have visited, in order to show each county the special need existing, we have undertaken social surveys. The results have been amazing * * * Until the counties are organized, and until trained workers assume the responsibility, we can only move in a vicious circle. * * * We must build up public sentiment; we must show every county that it has the destiny of its children in its own hands * * *

The Pennsylvania county program, which is just being developed, is of special interest because it includes the health, industrial, educational, and social service interests.

The Pennsylvania Departments of Health, Labor and Industry, Public Instruction, and Public Welfare have entered into cooperation for the promotion of general community welfare work and for the coordination of their own activities within the State. To

[31] Mrs. L. B. Bush, in Alabama Childhood, the Official Bulletin of the State Child-Welfare Department of Alabama, vol. 1, no. 1 (April–May–June, 1921), pp. 30, 35, 36.

this end, a Commonwealth committee has been organized composed of six members—two members of the commission of public welfare; one representative appointed by the commissioner of health; one appointed by the commissioner of health; one appointed by the commissioner of labor and industry; one appointed by the superintendent of public instruction; and one appointed by the commissioner of public welfare. The committee will serve as a clearing-house for public-welfare plans and programs of State departments and for the coordination of such plans for presentation to the county organizations for their development.[32]

The Commonwealth committee on invitation from any responsible group of citizens within a county undertakes the organization of a county welfare board. The chairman of the board is selected by the committee and approved by the State commissioners of labor and industry, health, and public welfare, and by the superintendent of public instruction. The county board is composed of 11 members, including ex officio the county medical director and the county superintendent of schools. The mothers' assistance fund board, the county commissioners, and the county poor board appoint representatives to the county welfare board. The six members thus chosen, together with the Commonwealth committee, call a conference of representatives of all reputable organizations within the county doing general or special welfare work. At this meeting a county welfare council is organized, consisting of one delegate and one alternate from each of the member organizations, individual members, and the members of the county welfare board. The council nominates to the Commonwealth committee citizens of the county to serve as members of the county welfare board. Not more than five are appointed by the Commonwealth committee from the persons so nominated. The Commonwealth committee may also nominate members of the board.

The county welfare board, under the plan, will organize throughout the county, in townships, boroughs, and cities, "social machinery to promote welfare activities, both private and public, along lines of health, education, labor and industry, and general welfare. These various subdivisions of public welfare work shall be known as divisions and shall be represented in each community by a director who shall be immediately responsible to the county welfare board."[33]

The duties of the county welfare board are outlined as follows in the plan prepared by the Commonwealth committee:

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[32] From mimeographed statement entitled "County Welfare Organization, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." Commonwealth Committee, Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa.

[33] From mimeographed statement cited.

The county welfare board shall, in cooperation with the county welfare council, promote the establishment of a county (and local) social service exchange; it shall promote in every way possible all social-welfare activities of private institutions and agencies which conform to approved standards, but it shall not dictate plans or policies of private member organizations; it shall endeavor to discover any omissions in the social-welfare program of the county and to make provision for that lack; it shall call to the attention of the Commonwealth committee any failure on the part of the several State departments to live up to their obligations for service to the county; it shall endeavor to promote the special welfare programs submitted to it from time to time through the Commonwealth committee so far as time, money, and personnel permit.

It shall cause to be compiled and made available in suitable form, a directory of social-welfare agencies within the county and in addition such State agencies and institutions as may be available to the State as a whole.

When practicable, office space centrally located shall be provided for the records of the organization and to facilitate the transaction of business. (This office space may be provided by a cooperating organization or in county municipal or school buildings, if available.)

The county welfare board shall encourage regular conferences of all welfare workers in the county, teachers, public-health nurses, probation officers, social-case workers, etc., for the purpose of stimulating coordinated effort in connection with common problems. If the work of the county welfare board warrants, the board shall be encouraged to employ a county welfare agent (or superintendent) whose duty it shall be to furt r all social activities of the county welfare board and to develop the efficiency of the organization.

The Commonwealth committee shall, in addition to its duties of organization, also serve as a clearing house for the various programs of the several State departments of health, labor and industry, education and welfare, as they concern the public welfare, in order that duplication of effort may be avoided and to promote efficiency in the efforts of the county welfare boards.

Two counties have already[34] been organized under the plan, and two more have progressed so far as to have county councils of social agencies. The county organizations will probably work for such measures as better school conditions; better conditions in poorhouses and jails; trained workers for child placement; social-service exchanges on a county basis; the development of mental-health clinics, in cooperation with State departments; the development of baby-health stations and prenatal work; and the enforcement of child-labor laws.

The annual report of the South Carolina State Board of Public Welfare for 1921[35] states that the board, "appreciating the fact that the success of any movement for the betterment of society's institutions or of social conditions depends upon the extent and character of the education of the local community and the imperative need for improvement in the penal and charitable institutions of some of the counties of the State," in 1920 created the position of county agent of the board "whose duty it is to be a liaison officer between the com-

[34] By May 5, 1922. In June a community organizer was employed by the State.

[35] Second Annual Report of the State Board of Public Welfare of South Carolina, 1921, Vol. II, No. IV, p. 27. Columbia, S. C., 1921–1922.

munity and the central office of the State board of public welfare." According to this report there is now a local committee, appointed by the board, in every county of the State. The local committees inspect quarterly the jails, chain gangs, and almshouses, and report on them to the State board. They assist persons paroled from public institutions, cooperate with the probate court judges and the State board in handling dependent and delinquent children in their counties, and aid the State board in other ways.

## COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

In Indiana the duties of the county boards of children's guardians relate specifically to the care of dependent children, including aid to children in their own homes. The duties of the county child-welfare boards of Arizona—which are adjuncts of the State child-welfare board—also are limited to the care and protection of destitute and neglected children, and aid to mothers of dependent children. In place of maintaining county children's homes, Ohio counties were in 1921 empowered to appoint county boards of child welfare which should provide care for dependent children, especially through placing and supervising them in family homes. The county boards of child welfare created in Dutchess and Suffolk Counties through special acts of the New York Legislature are charged with duties respecting destitute, neglected, delinquent, and defective children under 16 years of age. A general law was enacted for New York State in 1922, authorizing the extension of the powers and duties of the previously existing boards of child welfare, which had the administration of mothers' allowances, to include the relief and care of dependent children received by them as public charges or committed to them by the courts.

## COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE WORK DEVELOPED BY PRIVATE AGENCIES.

The outstanding example of the development of county work for children through a private organization with a state-wide program of work is described in a later section[36] of this publication dealing with the county organization work of the New York State Charities Aid Association. For almost 30 years this society has been working out cooperation with public officials—in a total of more than 20 counties—looking toward eventual centralizing of child-welfare activities under properly equipped public boards. The recent rapid development of interest in county child-welfare work as a public function in New York State is evidence of the value of this experiment, which

[36] See pp. 93–108.

undoubtedly has also influenced county welfare activities in other States.

Monmouth County,[37] N. J., is another well-known example of county organization under private auspices. The work in this county is more diverse, including child-welfare work of various types, public-health activities, and work in cooperation with the State department of institutions and agencies. The plan developed in this county has not as yet been extended into other counties of the State.

The Florida Children's Aid Society, which occupies a leading position in social work in a State having as yet no State board dealing with problems of dependency, correction, and social welfare, has been making a study of the counties of the State in regard to the relief situation, mothers' pensions, the need for probation work, and similar problems, with special reference to the possibilities of securing organized social work on a county-wide basis.[38] This activity was occasioned by the difficulties met with by the society in its child-caring work, which indicated the need for organization of the resources of the counties and development of constructive social work for child welfare.

## RAISING THE STANDARDS OF COUNTY WORK.

The character of the work accomplished depends on what the county board and the superintendent make of it. The law may enumerate the duties, but it can not fix the quality of the service given. It is here that the supervisory authority of the State board is of the greatest importance in securing the appointment of executive officers qualified for the work, and in furnishing advice and assistance to the county boards. In most of the States in which the central board has a direct relation to the county work, the State board has some control over appointments of superintendents or executive secretaries of the local boards, either through authority given by law or in an advisory capacity. Some provision is usually made for periodic reports by the executive of the county board to the State board or boards most directly concerned in the work done.

Especially in rural communities where there has been no activity of the kind, the impetus to organization of county social work must come from an outside source. The county organization program undertaken by the Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections illustrates the type of aid that is usually found necessary in order that laws relating to county boards of public welfare may become effective. Under the Missouri law of 1921, the county court

[37] See pp. 79–88.

[38] Johnson, Marcia Pratt: "County Relief and Probation Systems in Florida." Paper presented before the Florida State Conference of Social Work, April, 1922.

(corresponding to county commissioners in most States) appoints the county superintendent of public welfare, usually on petition of a committee of citizens. The State board, in order to arouse local interest in establishing the county work, has undertaken a campaign of education in regard to existing conditions in the counties and the purposes of the proposed county work. A field worker especially assigned to this county activity secures preliminary information in regard to dependency, delinquency, and other problems in a county, and organizes a civic committee composed of representatives of each town. Meetings are held in order to bring the situation before the citizens of the county, and the committee presents to the county court a formal request that action be taken to appoint a superintendent of public welfare. The State board endeavors to guide the selection of superintendents, in order that they may be appointed because of fitness for the work rather than by political preferment. The State board is to supply record forms for the use of the county superintendents, who will report regularly to the board.

The problem of securing for this public social work executives and assistants who have had the advantage of training that equips them for their duties, offers, perhaps, the greatest difficulty in connection with county organization. It is essential that the workers in this for the most part new and uncharted field shall be persons of understanding and of judgment broadened through study and practical experience. They should have knowledge of the best standards of practice in specialized agencies in highly developed urban communities, as well as of the conditions which must be met and the methods which must be followed by the general rural practitioner. The developing work of the State universities, through their special departments for training in social work, their extension departments, and similar activities that reach into the remotest parts of the States, is a most important factor in the movement toward socializing and localizing governmental functions. Not only in the States long credited with being progressive in State and local work, but—even more significant—in the States in which social legislation is of recent growth, the State institutions of higher education are becoming important agencies for promoting understanding of social problems and providing training in constructive methods of dealing with them.

One of the most important phases of the development of county social work in North Carolina is the cooperation between the State university and the State board of charities and public welfare in equipping workers for county activities. There is an active relationship between the two bodies in that the head of the State university school of public welfare is the "consulting expert" of the State board. The university gives special courses in training for social work, combining theory and practice, especially as applied to condi-

tions in a State that is largely rural. In cooperation with the State board the university has given summer courses for county superintendents of public welfare, and two weeks of intensive training have been provided free of charge.

The development of standards of county work is in several of the States carried on partly through bulletins or news letters, in printed or multigraphed form, issued monthly or at longer intervals by State boards.[39] In the States having county organization of the types under consideration, these bulletins serve as a medium for the exchange of information concerning social welfare activities in the State, and other items of special interest to local workers. In some States, for example Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina, the State departments publish quarterly bulletins dealing with special problems. The series of quarterly bulletins issued by the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare[40] is especially noteworthy in connection with the promotion of county organization. Several of these publications are in the nature of handbooks for the information and instruction of the county workers in the purposes of the laws relating to the county boards of public welfare, their local application, and the relation of the county activities to the State board.

In May, 1919, there was held under the auspices of the Minnesota State Board of Control the first State conference of child-welfare boards.[41] The first sessions were devoted to discussion of the functions of the various State boards in regard to child welfare, State institutions for children, and explanation of child labor and compulsory school attendance laws. At the later sessions the discussion concerned the problems to be dealt with by the county boards, and reports were made on county activities already underway. The Minnesota law, recognizing the value of this form of education, provides that one representative from each county child-welfare board may, at the expense of the county, attend the annual State conference of social work. In this way is continued the work begun in the first special conference of child-welfare boards, through

[39] Following is a partial list of such news letters or bulletins issued by State boards, including States in which there is no special county organization: *Arkansas:* The Commission of Charities and Corrections, Little Rock, "The Round Table." *California:* State Board of Charities and Corrections, San Francisco, "County Welfare Letter" and "Child Welfare Letter." *Georgia:* Department of Public Welfare, Atlanta, "Children's Institutions News Letter." *Massachusetts:* Department of Public Welfare, Boston, "The News About the Department." *North Carolina:* The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, "Public Welfare Progress." *Ohio:* Division of Charities, Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, "Welfare Exchange." *Oregon:* Child Welfare Commission, Portland, "Bulletin." *Pennsylvania:* Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg, "The Common Weal"; also news letter issued by the Division of Juvenile Delinquency. *South Carolina:* State Board of Public Welfare, Columbia, "The News Letter."

[40] See list, pp. 172–173.

[41] Proceedings of the First Conference of Child-Welfare Boards with the Board of Control, St. Paul, Minn., 1919.

special sessions for county board members and workers. North Carolina has a State organization of superintendents of public welfare, which holds its annual meeting just preceding the State conference of social work. The object of such conferences is not only to furnish opportunities for discussion of special county problems, but to give the county workers an opportunity to become acquainted with the wider work of the State and with the trend of social progress in the country.

## THE TYPES OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION REPRESENTED IN THIS PUBLICATION.

The examples of county organization described in the succeeding sections of this publication represent varied types of work in progress under differing State and local conditions. Diverse as have been the methods of approach and the scope of activities of the county organizations here dealt with, the basic principles are in agreement.

In this introductory section there has already been discussion of the Minnesota and North Carolina types of county organization as representing definite coordination of work between the State and local boards—the one devoted to child welfare, the other covering the wider range of public welfare activities. It has been pointed out that these States have placed special emphasis on the development of high standards of work, through educating the citizens of the State and the county board members and workers in the purposes and methods of constructive social work. The California program of county organization, promoted directly by the State board of charities and correction, is the outcome of the State board's desire to secure the unification of all public social work in the counties, primarily in order that the State may thereby have local assistance in its work and also for the advancement of such reconstructive work in the community as will lessen the burdens imposed upon the State through poverty, delinquency, crime, and mental deficiency. The county board plans in Minnesota and North Carolina were the subjects of special legislation, the laws of the former giving general authority to the State board of control to appoint boards when there was local request for such action; in the latter an act of the legislature provided for the creation of county public-welfare boards and county superintendents of public welfare, with a detailed outline of duties. California is of interest as representing work undertaken by the State board, not as the result of a special legislative act, but in virtue of its general powers, and as a part of a constructive program of state-wide effort to improve conditions and to provide better care and protection to children and adults in need of public assistance.

County social work in New Jersey, especially the outstanding organization in Monmouth County, and the county child-welfare work developed by the New York State Charities Aid Association in some twenty counties, have been referred to as examples of such activities fostered by private agencies working in cooperation with public officials. In these undertakings the main purpose has been to demonstrate the desirability of unification and extension of county child-welfare or public-welfare activities. The adoption of the county child-welfare organization idea as a public policy in New York State has borne out the value of the experiments made in this State.

The section on the growth of the Westchester County child-welfare work has been included because it is an outstanding illustration of a high type of public administration of child-welfare work in its various phases. The organization in this county may perhaps be considered more applicable in general to State than to county conditions, because of the large population and the complexity and extent of the problems dealt with. But it is an especially valuable experiment in public work on a county-wide basis, with the equipment necessary to make such work a constructive force for child welfare. It is also of interest because it had its origin under private auspices, and has always maintained a close relation to other child-welfare activities in the county.

These various demonstrations of the methods and value of organization of county child-welfare work bring out emphatically the primary need of having workers who are equipped for the varied duties. This is essential if the work is to follow sound principles and have a constructive purpose. The social worker in a rural community must be all types of worker in one, equipped not only to diagnose needs and prescribe treatment, but to provide the means of treatment, and gradually to work out local resources. The linking up of each local community with the central State board has been shown to be of great importance in county social work. In the organized county work described in the following pages, the local communities have been left free to develop their own resources, while the State body has acted as adviser and has helped to solve problems and coordinate activities. The assistance given by the central State board may be summed up under the following items: Providing the means for interchange of information and experiences between county and State workers; aid in the wise utilization of the State's resources for institutional care; putting the county worker in touch with available agencies; interpreting the social legislation of the State and assisting in its application; guidance in special types of work; and, above all, encouragement and inspiration in working toward a broader program of prevention and reconstruction.

# ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS IN MINNESOTA.[1]

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## STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN CHILD-WELFARE WORK.

In the field of social service, as in Government, much thought has been directed to the most effective method of securing a proper centralization of authority without destroying the principle of local autonomy. It is generally recognized that in both fields there are many matters of equal concern to all persons within a given geographical or governmental area, requiring a single administrative unit upon which definite responsibility can be fixed and through which a harmonized program based upon reasonable uniformity can be achieved. However, without a recognition of purely local differences in situation, experience, and ideals, and of the necessity for local control if self-conscious development is to be secured, centralized administration is likely to be bureaucratic and unsuited to its intended purpose by reason of its isolation.

When the Minnesota Child Welfare Commission began its study in 1916, it was confronted with the problem of the proper relation between State and local governments in child-welfare administration. State machinery for the protection of children seemed essential, but the commission early felt the need for local adaptation and control. A quotation from the report of that body is illuminating in this connection:[2]

> At present the function of ultimate guardianship is exercised by the State, with respect to handicapped children, only through the courts and the public institutions to which the court makes commitments * * *. Except as to the limited work done by the Bureau of Women and Children of the State Department of Labor, it is literally true that no State agency in Minnesota is charged with the duty of seeing that children who need the help of the State by reason of their peculiar social handicaps have that help afforded them, either through court action or otherwise. The initiative is left with private persons and organizations. Present laws lay upon the board of control general duties in the matter of inspecting certain child-helping organizations and institutions conducted by them; but these laws are far too vague to be thoroughly effective, and as to children not in institutions, public or private, the board has no duties whatsoever.

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[1] This manuscript was completed in March, 1922.

[2] Report of the Minnesota Child-Welfare Commission, 1917, pp. 10, 11. St. Paul.

It has seemed to the commission, therefore, that the prime requisite of its scheme is to centralize the State's authority and duty, so far as practicable, in an official group [the State board of control]. * * * This machinery operates in every part of the State through the county child-welfare boards.

The coordination of local agencies with a central one is expected to be an educative force of great value in developing right ideals and methods of work for children throughout the State, besides affording opportunity and responsibility for initiative now nowhere found.

In this discussion of the organization and development of child-welfare boards in Minnesota, it is the purpose of the writer to discuss the relation between the State and the local government in the child-welfare field, with particular emphasis upon the powers and duties of the county child-welfare boards. It is hardly to be claimed that Minnesota has an ideal plan for local administration. The effort is merely to describe it as it exists after three years of operation. Before turning directly to the subject it is necessary to consider first the sphere of governmental activity as distinguished from private effort, and second the general functions of the State department from which the local boards in part derive their powers.

## THE SPHERE OF THE PUBLIC AND OF THE PRIVATE AGENCY.

What duties in behalf of children are naturally within the sphere of governmental as distinguished from private agencies? Apart from institutional care, this question has not been given the amount of consideration it deserves, because in most parts of the country State and local governments have been content to permit the private agency to assume the chief responsibility for child care and protection. Naturally enough, the more farsighted agencies have been leading the movement for a larger measure of State activity.

It is only within very recent times that a mother with dependent children could secure financial cooperation from the county or State in keeping her family together, and in most States, even to-day, that assistance has to be supplemented from private sources. Whatever may be the weaknesses of charitable organizations, they have done for the State what it should have done for itself by one means or another, and they have in countless cases laid bare the results of social and industrial maladjustment in a manner which has resulted in remedial measures of a fundamental nature. Certainly the family case-work agency has played no insignificant part in the development of workmen's compensation laws, the minimum wage, and the prohibition of child labor. If the jurisdiction of the public and of the private agency in this field has been up to this time largely a matter of circumstance, the time has come when some general principles must be formulated for the guidance of those States which are undertaking social-welfare programs.

In the children's field the report of the children's committee of the National Conference of Social Work made a distinct contribution to the subject when it stated[3] that public departments should devote themselves to such work "as is based on principles that are well established, require the more permanent care, are more general in application, or contain an element of compulsion or control, while private organizations should seek development in directions that are more experimental, require more temporary care, are more unusual in their application, or are carried on with the cooperation of the families benefited."

The report further expressed the judgment that children's work not carried on by the State should nevertheless be subject to State regulation and supervision. In other words, it is the obligation of the State to undertake protective work in those fields where a public board can operate with the greatest propriety and effectiveness, and to be assured that a minimum standard of efficiency is maintained by private organizations in the lines of work which they can perform more properly.

## DUTIES OF THE MINNESOTA STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

To some extent the Minnesota plan conforms to these principles. The State board of control is the official agency of the State in fulfilling its obligations to children. This board consists of five members, of whom two must be women, appointed by the governor for terms of six years. Prior to the adoption of the 1917 legislative program, the board had supervision and control over 17 State institutions, including those which cared for dependent, delinquent, and defective minors; it was therefore natural that it should assume the additional powers necessary to an enlarged program of care for children outside institutions. Moreover, with a long record of efficiency behind it, the board had the respect and confidence of the legislature and of the community. Under the law of 1917 the State board of control was authorized to create a department within itself to administer the new laws relating to child welfare. In pursuance of that authority, it has established what is known as the children's bureau of the State board of control.

The powers and duties of the board in relation to children are of a threefold character:

First, those of a general protective nature, such as enforcement of laws which are designed to protect children from their own antisocial conduct or the harmful acts of adults, and taking initiative to conserve the interests of children in all matters where adequate provision has not already been made. The protective laws are those

[3] Carstens, C. C.: "A community plan in children's work," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1915, p. 95.

requiring that the cases of juveniles under 18 years of age charged with delinquency be heard in juvenile courts and not in the courts of ordinary jurisdiction; laws which require children to attend school and which prohibit their employment in industry at an early age; laws relating to sex offenses against young children and girls under the age of 18 years; laws regulating dance halls, pool rooms, and other places of commercialized recreation; the law providing for the establishment of the paternity of children born out of wedlock; and the county allowance (mothers' pensions) law for dependent children.

The second group of duties relates to the authority which is conferred upon the board to accept the guardianship of handicapped children of all types who are committed by the juvenile courts, and to make such disposition of the children, in either a temporary or a permanent way, as the facts may warrant.[4]

Third, specific duties are imposed upon the board with regard to particular classes of children and institutions for their care.

**Licensing of maternity hospitals and organizations caring for children.**

The law enjoins the board to cooperate with juvenile courts and all reputable child-caring agencies, and also requires it to license and supervise private societies, agencies, and institutions which receive children for board and care or which place them in family homes. Maternity hospitals—i. e., all hospitals which receive more than one woman within a period of six months for confinement care—are subject to the same licensing and supervising power. Here is recognition of the right of the State to assurance that the care which children are receiving at the hands of private institutions and organizations is of such a nature as to provide a fair opportunity for growth and development. In the exercise of this right, it has been necessary to prevent many who sought to undertake such work from doing so, usually those who were looking for a business opening. In the great majority of cases the problem has been one of mutual counsel between the State and the private groups in the attainment of higher standards and of at least a minimum of uniformity in principles and technique.

**Supervision of placed-out children.**

Those agencies which place children in free homes for permanent care or adoption are required to investigate and to report their place-

[4] This authority has been modified somewhat by a recent decision of the Minnesota Supreme Court, which holds that after commitment to guardianship and before legal adoption by third persons, the juvenile court has jurisdiction, upon a proper showing, to remand children so committed to the custody of their parents from whom they were originally taken.

ments to the State board of control, which investigates such cases and may order the return of the child if in its opinion the home is not a suitable one. The procedure here involves a duplication of investigations by the private agency and the State, which is cumbersome and should be avoided if possible by an agreement to accept as final the reports of such agencies as attain a reasonable standard of proficiency in child placement. Good placement is fundamental in child-welfare work. Nowhere is there greater need for general agreement between the public and the private agency as to principle and method than in this field, where individual judgment so easily leads to differing opinions and diametrically opposed conclusions.

**Investigation of adoptions.**

Correlated with the subject of placing children is that of their legal adoption. It has been the prevailing custom to regard adoption as a strictly legal process based upon the sufficiency of the papers and affidavits presented to the court having jurisdiction. However, under the Minnesota law, the State board of control now receives copies of the petitions filed in such cases and is required to investigate and report to the court as to the suitability of the child and the foster home, each to the other. The social factors have been given a place of prime importance in a proceeding which is essentially social in all its implications, as is shown by the fact that adoptions can not be legally perfected until the child has been in the foster home for six months.

**The problem of the unmarried mother and her child.**

The adoption and placement of children naturally relates itself to the age-long and baffling problem of illegitimacy, for the child born out of wedlock is frequently in need of a foster home. The State board of control functions here by assisting the mother to secure proper care before, during, and after the birth of her child, and by making it possible for her to perform her natural maternal function in the early care of the child. It assists in establishing the paternity of the child and in conserving the rights and interests of the mother and child in whatever ways may be necessary. The responsibility of illegitimate paternity is by law made the same as that of legitimate, so far as care, maintenance, and education are concerned. The board is usually required to be represented in court at these hearings and is authorized, with the approval of the court, to make financial settlements for the child's support, to hold money in trust for the child, and to disburse it from time to time, as needed. If the settlement is made in lump sum, the principal can thus be conserved during the full period of the child's minority; in any event, money need be paid out only after a showing, by the mother or other custo-

dian of the child, that good care and wholesome environment are being provided with the money received. Moreover, the activity of a public body in securing adequate settlements, either in lump-sum or monthly payments, tends to raise the amounts paid in such cases and consequently improves the standards of maintenance.

The duty of the board does not end with the settlement, but relates also to the problem of follow-up care and the determination of whether the child shall remain with the mother or whether other provision shall be made for him, as good case-work methods may dictate. In general, the duties of the State office may be summarized in the language of the law:[5]

> It shall be the duty of the board of control when notified of a woman who is delivered of an illegitimate child, or pregnant with child likely to be illegitimate when born, to take care that the interests of the child are safeguarded, that appropriate steps are taken to establish his paternity, and that there is secured for him the nearest possible approximation of the care, support, and education that he would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage. For the better accomplishment of these purposes the board may initiate such legal or other action as is deemed necessary; may make such provision for the care, maintenance, and education of the child as the best interests of the child may from time to time require, and may offer its aid and protection in such ways as are found wise and expedient to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood.

**County allowances for mothers.**

Minnesota had made provision for county allowances (mothers' pensions) for several years, and the relief had been administered by the county juvenile-court judge, with such assistance in the way of social investigation as the individual judge might desire and be able to obtain. In practice very little investigating of such matters was done except in the counties containing large cities, and the law was administered in a loose, unstandardized fashion.

The statute of 1917 makes it the duty of the State board of control to promote uniformity and efficiency in the giving of this relief by cooperating with and lending assistance to probate courts. It also provides for a State refund of one-third of the amount expended by the counties, to be paid upon the approval of the board. No appropriation has ever been made for this purpose, but in spite of that fact an interrelationship between the courts and the State and local boards has been developing; this cooperation has seemed to bring about some improvement, and the situation gives hopeful promise for the future.

The provisions of the law permit relief from the county in the maximum sum of $20 per month for the first dependent child and $15 for each of the other dependent children. Allowances are

[5] Minn. Laws 1917, ch. 194, sec. 2.

granted, within the discretion of the judge of the juvenile court, for those children who are under the age of 16 years and not lawfully entitled to an employment certificate, upon a showing that the mother is a widow, or that her husband is an inmate of a penal institution or a hospital for the insane or for inebriates, or is physically disabled, or has abandoned his family and has been under indictment for so doing for one year; that the dependency of the child is not due to the mother's fault or neglect; that she is a proper person to care for the child; and that the mother is a citizen of the United States, or that she or her husband has made declaration of intent to become a citizen, and has resided in the State two years and in the county one year. A mother is not eligible if she has personal property in excess of the value of $100, exclusive of specified exemptions.

**The care of the feeble-minded.**

In the general State program the needs of the mentally defective have not been ignored. A feeble-minded person is subject to compulsory commitment to State guardianship when his own interests and those of the public require it, and the board of control becomes responsible for the supervision or custodial care of the patient. It may make such provision as may be needed, within the limits of its facilities, which in common with those of all States are somewhat meager. Some relief will be afforded, however, when the new colonies on State land are put into operation as a supplement to the present institution for defectives. The board may also provide for these patients outside the institution, if such a course seems advisable and proper arrangements can be made.

## SOME OBJECTIONS TO A CENTRALIZED STATE PLAN.

Whether this grouping of functions in a State department is regarded as in conformity with the suggestions of the committee on children referred to above, will depend, of course, upon the individual point of view. Many will find in such a program too much centralization and too little recognition of group diversities within the State—for example, the various religious organizations, which cherish the privilege of unhindered welfare activity among their own adherents, and which see in the State organization too little of the spiritual approach.

The Minnesota plan was not intended as a limitation upon private initiative, of whatever character. Numerous private institutions for children and private child-caring and child-placing agencies exist, and the number of the latter is increasing, though not rapidly. However, Minnesota law frankly accepts the principle that the State, representing all the people, has a right through its

licensing power to be assured of the type of care which all children's agencies are affording their wards.

To prevent the worst type of individual or agency from exploiting the child, it is necessary to give the State power over all agencies, the best included, for law to be constitutional must be uniform in its application. The real nub of the argument, probably, lies in the manner in which the licensing power of the State is exercised, the contention of some private agencies being that such power may result in restriction, unwarranted regulation, and eventual control. This danger must be admitted in theory, though experience seems to show that private philanthropy on the whole shapes its own destiny, and that public opinion can be relied upon to protect it from undue State interference.

Public administration, in the last analysis, must respond to the thoughts and beliefs of the majority or suffer extinction. That agency which has the highest standard of service has the least to fear from State interference, because of the intrinsic merit of the work it does and because that merit is usually well known to a large group who are vigorous in the support of its activity.

In Minnesota the effort has been to emphasize the standards generally accepted as fundamental to child care, involving among other things the placing out of children in properly selected foster homes, balanced diet, wholesome recreation, regular medical inspection, and proper record keeping. No attempts have been made to interfere with internal management or individual policy as to methods. As to standards of care, the plans for the coming year provide for a committee on medical inspection to formulate a program, the committee to have a majority membership from the boards of directors of the institutions themselves. It is not too much to say that, with proper cooperative effort on the part of the State, the child-caring institutions will eventually set for themselves a standard higher than any which the State would dare to impose.

Many of the functions of the State department here outlined seem to come within that class of duties which can fairly be regarded as of settled technique and application, or at least as dependent in some measure upon the exercise of compulsion through the police power of the State. This is especially true of law enforcement, the discharge of guardianship for special classes of committed children, adoption, and the supervision of placed-out children. The treatment of the unmarried mother and her child, while it has an element of compulsion on the legal side and presents a peculiar claim upon the public conscience, is nevertheless an experimental field where private agencies can make an increasingly important contribution, particularly in the matter of follow-up care. For the feeble-minded, commitment to a public agency, such as the State board of control,

is a necessity by reason of inadequate State institutional facilities and the frequent need for the exercise of public authority in supervising such patients as are not provided for in institutions.

The remainder of this article will be devoted to a consideration of the extent to which this broad centralized program of child care has been decentralized in its application to the local community through the county child-welfare board, in accordance with the principle of local autonomy and control.

## THE COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS.

Minnesota has 86 counties. At the close of 1921, 69 counties had child-welfare boards which had been appointed by the State board of control at the specific request of the boards of county commissioners. In its original form the bill proposed by the Minnesota Child-Welfare Commission provided for a board in every county, but the legislature amended the plan so as to make the organization voluntary with the local authorities. It is a fair assumption that a community not sufficiently interested to make the request would offer scant support to a board organized from without. It has not been necessary to stimulate the local communities in this regard, for they have already made requests faster than the State department could meet the demand. The initiative has frequently been taken by the local membership of such organizations as the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the various chapters of the American Red Cross. The movement attained considerable momentum during the war period, due to the general stimulus toward organization at that time and the heightened interest in human values. It has by no means stopped, though the pace is now somewhat slower; and the problem ahead is how to sustain and further public interest in the work of these boards as they launch into their various permanent programs. There has been some tendency to regard the community job as completed when the board is organized. This tendency is comparable to that which is sometimes apparent in people who labor unceasingly for legislation, but who are far less concerned about the humdrum routine of law enforcement.

### Personnel.

The child-welfare boards are composed of from five to seven members—the latter number in the largest counties of the State, which contain the three largest cities. The membership is partly appointive and partly ex officio. The county superintendent of schools and a member of the board of county commissioners selected by that board serve by virtue of their official position.

The whole subject of child welfare is intimately related to the school system, which is an accurate reflector of the conditions under

which children are living and which has unlimited possibilities in the field of correction and prevention. Moreover, the enforcement of the compulsory education law, which is still very imperfect, is one of the chief problems of child welfare in any community. Medical inspection in the schools, supplementing diet, recreation, the development of special classes for the physically and mentally handicapped—these are all a vital part of a well-organized child-welfare program and relate naturally and logically to the work of a child-welfare board. It is for these reasons that the county superintendent of schools is an ex officio member. As a rule, the county superintendent is asked to serve upon every county organization having even a remote bearing on education or educational problems, and he is often overburdened. For this reason, or occasionally because of embarrassment which may result from the handling of cases coming to the attention of the board, a few superintendents have objected to serving. Usually, however, these officials are efficient members of the boards, and in many cases they are leading spirits; and as the boards are not without value to the superintendents in the solution of their educational problems, the relationship is one of mutual profit.

The board of county commissioners has general charge of the administration of county affairs. It administers the poor-relief fund and the county institutions for the sick, the aged, and the indigent. This board has controlled to some extent the administration of the county allowance law, by reason of the fact that it appropriates the money for that purpose. The recommendations of its members as to the granting of the allowance in individual cases have frequently had weight with the juvenile-court judge. Again, the commissioners are called upon to appropriate money for the expenses of the child-welfare board, and their contact with the board through official representation gives opportunity for education as to the needs of its work. The commissioners, with a few splendid exceptions, have been slow to grasp the importance of the work of the county child-welfare boards and have not shown that interest which it is hoped may develop as the efficiency and prestige of the boards grow. It may be added that the solution of this problem is within the power of the local boards themselves.

In addition to the two ex officio members, three (or five) persons are appointed annually by the State board of control, and of these at least two must be women. In making these appointments it has been the policy of the State office to consult the local public officials and others interested in the work of the board. By reason of the close contact which should exist between the board and the juvenile court judge, his wishes and opinion are of especial importance, as are those of the county attorney and the members of the board of county

commissioners, who frequently make recommendations as to membership in the resolution which asks for the organization of the welfare group. In the appointment of members an effort has been made to have various parts of the county represented, though in some instances the membership has been selected from or near the county seat. When the members come from remote parts of the county, some difficulty has been experienced in securing regular attendance at board meetings. Train service is not always convenient, and this means considerable loss of time in going to and from the place of meeting—which is nearly always the county seat, for the reason that the county superintendent of schools has his office there, and the county commissioners convene at the same place. The question of expense for railroad fare, and for hotel accommodations when it becomes necessary to stay overnight, also, is involved. The obviously ideal arrangement, which has seldom been possible, is to select the membership from within a convenient radius of the county seat.

Among the appointive members of the child-welfare boards are a total of 45 men on 68 boards. In every case the county commissioner is a man, and in 35 counties men hold the office of county superintendent of schools. About 43 per cent of the total membership of the boards is male, though in most cases the principal burden of the work is borne by the women. It is important that the movement should not be regarded as exclusively of interest to women, for the obligation rests upon the community as a whole and should be shared by all. The drawing of the sex line in matters of social welfare leads almost inevitably to a sentimental conception of the task in hand, which is fatal to sound development.

Qualifications for board membership are not specified, nor should they be. Interest and activity in social and civic problems, a desire to share in the community life, and a willingness to undertake the duties of the child-welfare board, are of course essential. Every community has a few public-spirited citizens who are usually asked to serve upon the various boards and committees which the community sustains. It is, therefore, inevitable that such private or semipublic organizations as the American Red Cross chapters and the county public-health associations should be fruitful sources of membership for county child-welfare boards, and this interlocking directorate ought to make for cooperative effort within the community. But effective results in that line have not been achieved save in those counties where plans have consciously been made to secure it. Cooperation does not "just grow;" it must be nurtured.

**Organization.**

The boards organize by electing a chairman and secretary, and an effort is made to carry on all the board's correspondence through

the secretary (except where the board has an executive agent), in order that he may have a complete file of all matters coming to the board's attention. This plan is not without its difficulties, because it would often be a saving of time for the State office, for instance, to write directly to the member of the board who lives nearest the case needing attention. Reference through the secretary and report back through the same source sometimes delay matters for a considerable period; but any other plan too often means that no official record is kept by the local board, because the secretary is not advised of the correspondence.

It has been exceedingly difficult to impress upon the boards the need for carefully kept records of all cases and other matters coming to their attention. Not only should correspondence be carefully preserved, but all the steps in the treatment of the case should be noted on the file. A public group can not afford to be placed in the position of not knowing what has taken place in the cases within its jurisdiction. This is particularly true where subsequent court action is involved, and the record is put in evidence. It is equally important to orderly progress that full minutes should be kept of the board's transactions, just as the proceedings of any public body should be available for the information of those who are entitled to it. As a matter of business policy and for the convenience of the board itself a proper record in this regard is essential.

The boards are urged to meet at least once a month for consideration of their problems. Some of the boards, especially those which are most inactive, meet only upon the call of the chairman; others find meeting more than once a month a necessity; and in the case of the boards in the larger communities a part of the work is done through permanent committees, such as those on adoption and the unmarried mother.

**Financing.**

The county treasury is the source of funds for the child-welfare board, and the county commissioners are authorized by law to defray the "traveling and other necessary expense of the several members of the child-welfare board while acting officially as members of such boards, and of the executive agents while exclusively employed in the business of the board." "Necessary expense" is construed to cover that of attendance at meetings and the investigation of cases. The board members do not receive compensation. The salaries of executive agents must be approved by the commissioners.

There is considerable diversity in the manner of providing funds for the use of the boards and in the sources of these funds. In some cases (when no executive agent is employed) the bills as they

are incurred are submitted for monthly audit and approval. In others, and particularly in the large counties, a yearly budget is agreed upon in advance, with the various items of the budget specified. The yearly budget plan has proved to be the most satisfactory, and it is clearly a more dignified and effective arrangement. In a few counties the American Red Cross pays the salary of an executive agent, who is the joint representative of that organization and the child-welfare board. In one county the salary is paid jointly by the county and the American Red Cross. Still another plan, adopted in a few counties, is to utilize the services of the county nurse, giving her the title of executive agent for the board.

So far as financing is concerned, the State plays no part. It is worth considering whether, in view of the functions and character of these boards, the State should not contribute to their maintenance; and the county commissioners might well ask that the State office approve all expenses or budgets, as a matter of local protection. Such a plan would tend to eliminate unlawful expenditure, which sometimes occurs, and would afford a means for standardizing budgets through comparative study—although this latter result might be achieved in part under the present plan. Certain it is that more careful study must be given in the future to the subject of financing the county boards. Outside perhaps a dozen of the Minnesota counties there is little plan or purpose on the financial side.

## THE NEED FOR TRAINED SERVICE.

Enough has been said herein to indicate the breadth and the scope of local administration in child-welfare work. It remains to be considered how the most effective results can be obtained in the carrying out of so comprehensive, and at the same time so technical, a program. For the problems faced by the local boards are frequently of a character which would tax the patience, ingenuity, and capacity of the most skilled social worker.

The treatment of child problems involves (to use a medical term) diagnosis rather than investigation. The social worker strives to seek out all the facts and to prescribe a remedial course of action based on full knowledge. She wants to know the history of the family, in order to determine whether there is material upon which to build so that the child may remain in his own home and with his own parents instead of being placed in the unnatural environment of the institution. Such a basic process as the verification of the marriage of the child's parents may lead to information which will change the whole course of treatment. If the parents are divorced, accurate knowledge of that fact and of the time and place may result in securing alimony for the support of the children. The death of

the father or his desertion, if the facts are fully known, may lead to the granting of a county allowance for the mother. Frequently an analysis of the family budget will disclose ways in which the income can be increased or more wisely used. An undernourished child may be restored to full capacity. By securing proper medical examination and such treatment as the needs of the child may make necessary, possible delinquency may be checked and a laggard in school transformed into a normal pupil.

Much is said in these days of the value of recreation; if the child's family does not appreciate the value of play, and if the community offers no opportunity for it, someone must undertake the job of readjusting the conditions.

The mental condition of the unmarried mother is of the utmost importance in solving her problem, and it should be known as well as her age and place of residence. All are basic facts of primary concern to the treatment of the case. Again, full knowledge will prevent unwise marriage between the parents of children born, or to be born, out of wedlock, where a criminal record or a history of syphilis, for example, makes such a marriage an almost certain failure from the start.

The method of gathering facts in children's cases emphasizes the need for training and experience. In the large cities the multiplication of social agencies makes an interchange of information between them imperative where two or more agencies are dealing, or have dealt, with the same case. Such exchange of facts results in saving time, in avoiding duplication, and in more intelligent case treatment, because more facts are available. Even in the small town a single child or his family may be known to the school nurse, the county commissioners, church organizations, the county agent, and the county child-welfare board. Each may be ignorant of what the other knows about the case and may work blindly as a result. The proper use of all available sources of information is an art which is acquired by training and experience alone. The doctor, the hospital, the dispensary, the clinic, the school nurse may each have facts which, if known, will mean the difference between success and failure in case treatment.

Too often in children's work, as distinguished from family case work, the relatives and the neighbors are overlooked, yet they may have a fund of information useful in itself or as giving clues to further facts. To approach relatives with tact and sympathy, to be able to distinguish between neighborhood gossip of a malicious or biased character and the true situation, is a difficult and delicate job. One should know what information to seek, what method to use in obtaining it, how to correlate all the facts obtained and apply the sum total to a successful solution of the problem; and how to do all this

tactfully and with the cooperation of all concerned. Perhaps this ideal is seldom attained even by a trained worker.

In theory, the board should be a policy-making group, directing and supervising the work of its trained agents, educating the community as to methods, and dealing with fundamental improvements in community life as the need is shown through the cases actually handled. Persons of experience and training in social work should be employed to do the active case work, and they should be the technical advisers of the boards. But, as was anticipated from the inception of the program, public opinion moves slowly in such matters, and a trained social worker in every county is a hope rather than a reality. The board members for the most part have undertaken to do the board's work themselves, and they have been serving with unusual fidelity and with marked success. They may well be compared to the friendly visitors of the average charity organization society, giving freely of their time and service, with the State office striving to supply instruction, assistance, and supervision. This situation has not been without its incidental benefits, for it has brought home to the board members a sense of the reality and extent of their problem, as only actual contact with cases can do, and, more than this, has demonstrated the need for an experienced full-time worker.

Each of the two largest counties of the State, Hennepin and Ramsey, whose annual budgets are in the neighborhood of $12,900 (an additional $12,500 is allowed for the maintenance of the county nursing staff) and $11,500, respectively, has a staff of workers numbering about five. St. Louis County, the third in size, has three full-time agents with a budget of approximately $5,000. Seventeen other counties have either part or full-time service of various types and under various financial arrangements. In some instances a member of the board with special qualifications has been appointed executive agent on part or full time. In 7 counties the local chapter of the American Red Cross has generously placed its executive at the disposal of the welfare board, the county in some cases contributing toward his salary and expenses.

In five counties in addition to the three largest already mentioned the county bears the full expense, and the executive's full time is devoted to the welfare board. In other counties the county nurse has rendered special service from time to time; but this arrangement raises several questions of policy: For instance, whether the extent of social training possessed by the nurse is sufficient for these other duties, and to what lengths she can devote herself to them without jeopardizing the success of her nursing work; in its favor is the argument of economy in expense and the elimination of duplica-

tion of traveling expenses and visitation of families. On the whole the effort should be made to divorce the two types of effort, because of the large amount of work to be done and the dissimilarity in the training required.

One of the chief difficulties has been to find agents of maturity and experience in social work who have knowledge of the rural problem and point of view and who would stay in one place long enough to do a constructive piece of work. It is indeed the rare person who will consecrate herself to the comparative isolation of rural life, particularly when she is not working in her home community and does not foresee compensating financial rewards. Salaries average from $125 to $150 per month.

The Training School for Social Work of the University of Minnesota is seeking to meet the problem by offering instruction in child-welfare work to its students, many of whom come from small communities, to which they may return and labor with contentment and with understanding of the point of view and particular problems of the small town and open country. These qualifications may in part overcome the handicap of youth and comparative inexperience.

From the standpoint of the welfare board there is a danger, which has already appeared, that the employment of an agent may be regarded as the occasion for shifting the entire burden, thus leaving the board itself practically inactive. Nothing could be more damaging to the program in the long run, and a wise executive will require a full quota of interest and assumption of responsibility by her board. It is one of her most important duties to hold regular meetings of the board, secure full attendance, submit reviews of all cases which are ready for final decision by the board, and require the board to pass judgment upon questions of policy and in regard to important steps in the treatment of cases—court action, for instance, should that appear to be necessary. There is a tendency, in the desire of the executive to get results without delay, to forget that the board has the ultimate authority and responsibility in these matters, and, incidentally, that it is frequently in need of education.

## DUTIES OF LOCAL BOARDS IN RELATION TO STATE DEPARTMENTS.

The law provides that the county child-welfare board "shall perform such duties as may be required of it by the said board of control."[6] The general duties of the State board have already been outlined. The duties of the local board are for the most part delegated, though, as will hereafter appear, this is not always the case.

[6] Minn. Laws 1917, ch. 194, sec. 4.

The guiding principle in the Minnesota plan has been that of centralization of responsibility in the State board of control and decentralization of administration through the county child-welfare boards. The children's bureau of the State board of control is organized to accomplish that purpose in the following manner:

A director in general charge.

A case supervisor in charge of case work.

Five field representatives, each of whom has a district including from 15 to 20 counties, which she visits for advice and consultation.

A department for the feeble-minded.

A department for the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals and children's institutions.

The precise relationship between the State board and the county group, and the manner in which they cooperate, may be shown best through a description of the procedure in various types of cases.

**Adoption proceedings.**

When an adoption petition is filed with the clerk of the district court which has jurisdiction, a copy is sent to the children's bureau of the State board of control. The case supervisor immediately refers the petition to the secretary of the child welfare board in the county where the petitioners reside, which in each case is the county where the petition was originally filed. With the petition is sent a general letter of instruction bearing on the procedure and manner of investigation, and a standard form upon which to record the necessary information concerning the proposed foster parents, their home, and the history of the child. The secretary of the local board, if there is no full-time executive secretary, refers the matter to that member of the board living nearest to the petitioners, who makes a personal investigation and reports back to the secretary. The matter is then taken up by the local board for the purpose of making a recommendation either for or against the petition; the recommendation, with the information blank properly filled out, is forwarded to the children's bureau. The case supervisor then goes over the report to determine whether the investigation has been carefully and thoroughly made and whether the facts disclosed support the recommendation. A formal recommendation, with a detailed report, is then sent by the State office to the court from which the petition was forwarded, unless further information or investigation is desired of the local board. In the latter event further inquiry is made by letter from the case supervisor or by personal contact between the field representative and the county board. Through this contact the effort is made to keep the county board organization active and functioning and to establish the best possible standards of investigation and case work.

If the petition is forwarded from a county where no child-welfare board exists the investigation is made directly by the field representative, unless there is a suitable correspondent in the community. A decision in these matters made by the local board is rarely overturned by the State office, for the reason that the investigation made in the community by those living there, if conducted in a proper manner, ought to be a more satisfactory basis of decision than any other. Moreover, the placing of full responsibility upon the welfare board is conducive to better work and a broader conception of duty. The exercise of judgment and discretion and a share in the final decision transform the local board from a mere agent of the State office to a group having not only responsibility, but power as well. The emphasis of the State office is laid upon proper method and technique in securing the necessary information.

In the case of legal adoption the power of the State board of control is merely to recommend to the court a proper disposition, the court then determining what action shall be taken. If the adoption is granted in the face of an adverse recommendation, the matter is closed. If the adoption is denied the child can be taken from the petitioners without their consent or that of the guardian of the child if there is one, only upon proof in juvenile court of dependency, delinquency, or neglect.

It should be noted here that facts which might lead an administrative body to disapprove an adoption may not be regarded by a juvenile court judge as legally sufficient to justify the removal of the child upon the grounds just mentioned. Consequently, in some cases the State board of control has disapproved of adoptions and has at the same time been powerless to remove the child from the home. In some cases a final disapproval is not recommended, but a request is made for a continuance of the matter for a stated period pending possible improvement of conditions.

**Placed-out children.**

In the case of children placed out for permanent care in foster homes (which frequently results in adoption) the procedure is the same, save that the agency which places the child makes a full preliminary investigation, which is forwarded to the children's bureau of the State board of control when the report of the placement is made, as required by law.

In the case of a placed-out child the placing agency, which is always licensed by the State board of control, usually has guardianship of the child, and upon disapproval of the placement the board has authority to order the removal of the child by the organization which placed him.

**The child born out of wedlock.**

In the treatment of the problem of the child born out of wedlock and his mother, the procedure is not so simple and clear cut. The cases are usually reported to the State office in one of three ways: (1) Every hospital in which a child is born out of wedlock must report such birth to the State board of control (many illegitimate births do not occur in hospitals, and some are not reported accurately as illegitimate by the hospitals themselves); (2) the county attorney who prosecutes the proceedings to establish paternity, or the judge by whom the case is heard, may report the matter to the State board of control; (3) the case may be reported by the physician, a friend, a relative, or other interested person or agency. In some instances the case may originally be brought to the attention of the county child-welfare board and reported by it to the State office. In any event the local board in the county from which the report or inquiry comes is charged with the initial responsibility, whether the matter comes to its attention originally or is referred by the State office.

If the child is yet unborn, the mother is visited by a board member or agent and advised as to her rights and duties; plans are made for proper confinement care, the identity of the father of the child is ascertained, if possible, and steps are taken to establish paternal responsibility either through agreement or through court action, with the cooperation of the county attorney who prosecutes such cases.

In a very considerable number of cases the unmarried mother comes to one of the large cities to be confined in one of the specialized maternity hospitals, where she may have seclusion before the birth of the child and during a nursing period consisting usually of three months. In such a case the welfare board of the county where the child is born has original jurisdiction, but cooperates with the board in the county of the mother's residence, which in most instances is the residence of the father of the child. Full jurisdiction may be transferred eventually to the latter county, where the matter of paternity must usually be settled and where the follow-up care for mother and child must be worked out if they return to the mother's place of residence. The disposition of the case is largely in the hands of the local board, subject to the approval and the general supervision of the State office, which makes suggestions as to procedure in the working out of general policies of care and treatment and the establishment of proper cooperation between the various boards concerned.

If financial support is obtained it is generally administered through the local board, which visits the mother from time to time to determine whether the money is being used properly and the child is receiving good care. If the mother desires to keep the child with

her or to board him out, though still retaining her right to custody, she is helped to do so. Assistance is given her in making such plans by reestablishing her contact with her home if she is to return to it, or by finding employment for her and a suitable boarding place for the baby if that is desired. If it appears that the mother is unwilling or unable to care for the child, or if his best interest will not be conserved by his remaining in her custody, the plan is to have the child committed to a suitable child-placing agency through a juvenile-court proceeding. In any event the direct and immediate contact is between the mother and child and the county child-welfare board.

When legal proceedings are undertaken the county board acts as next friend to the mother by aiding her in presenting her case to the prosecuting officer (the county attorney) and by having a representative in court during the trial of the case. The law provides for notification to the State board of control when the paternity of the child has been established and the matter of determining the settlement is to be considered. The local board is then requested by the State office to act as its agent and to appear and advise the court fully concerning the social facts of the case and the financial ability of the man. A recommendation is usually made as to the amount to be paid by him; but in all adjudicated cases the ultimate power to fix the amount, either in lump sum or in monthly payments, is vested in the court. The court may designate the State board of control or the county child-welfare board as the recipient and trustee of whatever money payments are required of the man. In either case the fund is disbursed under the immediate direction of the local board. If the case is one in which the settlement is to be without a legal adjudication of paternity, but by voluntary acknowledgment of the man and payment of a lump sum in discharge of the obligation, the law authorizes the State board of control to fix the settlement subject to the approval of the court. Here again the settlement is usually based upon the investigations and recommendations of the local board, and the funds may be held by that board as trustee for the use and benefit of the child.

Here, as in the case of the adoption and placement of children, the local board is required to keep a full record of its treatment of the problem and to submit its reports to the State office for advice and suggestion or ultimate decision. There is an obvious difficulty in this procedure, namely, that the mother may object to a number of persons being informed of her plight, especially those living in her own community. As a safeguard, the board members have repeatedly been pledged to regard such matters as of a confidential character, not to be disclosed except to the proper persons or officials.

The danger of disclosure is now fairly well avoided, though not entirely so. It is interesting to observe, however, that in most cases the community is already aware of the situation which the mother believes unknown. If she has been at all loose in her action, this, combined with her prolonged absence from home is sufficient cause for gossip. The object of the board is to aid and protect the mother and her child and to safeguard both from the malice of the community, and this responsibility is being met for the most part. Certainly no type of case emphasizes the need for trained social workers in the field of child welfare with greater force than does that of the unmarried mother and her child, in spite of the loyal and devoted service which board members have rendered in this connection.

**The feeble-minded.**

In the care and treatment of the feeble-minded, it is the duty of the county child-welfare board to see that cases needing public guardianship are brought to the attention of the probate judge of the county, who has jurisdiction to determine the existence of mental defect and to commit to the State board of control. The Minnesota definition of a feeble-minded person is "any person, minor or adult, other than an insane person, who is so mentally defective as to be incapable of managing himself and his affairs, and to require supervision, control, and care for his own or the public welfare."

The gathering of all the social facts involving family history and conduct is an administrative job and one which requires patient social investigation. If commitment is determined upon, three courses are open, the choice among which will be determined by the facts of the individual case: (1) The patient may be sent to a State institution; or (2) be taken from his present environment and placed in a new one; or (3) be left in his present surroundings but with supervision. In the two latter cases the county child-welfare board in cooperation with the State office can render and has rendered valuable service—in addition to that of preparing the case for hearing before the probate judge for commitment—by finding relatives, friends, or interested persons willing to take the patient, and by visiting the homes where patients are living, in order to assist in affording them protection from exploitation and in making necessary adjustments as problems arise within the family group or in the community.

The reports of the local board in these cases are sent to the State office and are reviewed by the supervisor of the department for the feeble-minded. The duty of the State office here is similar to that with reference to unmarried mothers.

## OTHER ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY BOARDS.

### Local administration of county allowances.

Thus far have been considered the duties of the county child-welfare board which are for the most part delegated by the State board of control, in which the ultimate responsibility is vested. Other responsibilities of a more direct nature rest upon the local board. The judge of the juvenile court may, at his discretion, call upon the board for investigation of applications for county allowances (mothers' pensions) and for follow-up supervision when the allowances are granted. Whether a mother is eligible for help can be safely determined only after careful inquiry, which a court proceeding alone does not permit. When the assistance is given, there is need for wise counsel in household problems and friendly advice in the determination of the family budget, and in the manner in which expenditures are made; for the county is entitled to know whether its money is being wisely spent in the interests of the dependent children and for their permanent benefit. This neighborly service is one which county child-welfare boards can well perform, and in many counties they are undertaking it with a fair degree of success.

The Hennepin County Child-Welfare Board has a specially organized committee, appointed at the request of the juvenile court judge, to consider all applications for county allowances, reviewing the facts of each case, preparing the family budget, and making recommendations to the court in each instance. Allowances previously made are regularly reviewed by this committee to ascertain that the purposes of the law are being fulfilled.

### Probation and school-attendance work.

The juvenile court judge may, and frequently does, call upon the members and agents of the local board to act as probation officers in the preliminary investigation and follow-up care of cases involving dependency, neglect, and delinquency, and the school authorities may call upon them to act as attendance officers in the enforcement of the compulsory education laws.

### County health nursing.

Under a recent law, the county child-welfare board may supervise and direct the activity of the county health nurses, and in Hennepin County (containing the city of Minneapolis) the entire county nursing system is under the board's jurisdiction.

### Law enforcement.

In law enforcement the welfare boards find a large field of endeavor. The prevention of child labor, the keeping of children in school for the full legal period, the prosecution of sex offenses (par-

ticularly those against young girls), and the proper regulation of places of commercialized recreation—such as public pool rooms and dance halls—are all matters within the peculiar province of these groups. With such duties the boards naturally become centers, to which all cases involving the care and well-being of children are reported, and in some counties they have become informal "confidential exchanges," where records are kept of all children who have come to the attention of social and philanthropic agencies.

## STATE CONFERENCES OF CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS.

The law provides for the attendance at the annual State conference of social work of one member of the county child-welfare board at the expense of the county. (The juvenile-court judge is also permitted to attend under the same circumstances.) At this conference special sessions are held for the county groups for the discussion of methods, relationships, and ideals.

In 1921 a plan was started for regional or district conferences whereby a small group of boards may meet together for the exchange of ideas and experience. Much is expected of these smaller conferences, which can be of a more informal nature and which a larger number of board members can attend. It is also hoped that public meetings can be arranged for in the community where the conference is held—and at the same time—so that an opportunity may be afforded for general discussion and education, which are so essential to the successful development of the work of these boards and the enforcement of laws for child protection.

## EDUCATION AND PREVENTION.

On the side of education and preventive work the boards are just beginning to realize their possibilities. Through attendance at the State conference of social work an opportunity is afforded for instruction, discussion of special problems, and interchange of views and experience, and the regional conferences will aid that process.

It is everywhere apparent that the various communities must be more thoroughly informed as to the meaning, purposes, and ideals of the laws for child protection, and the functions of the welfare boards. Moreover, the case-work method in this field—i. e., careful individual investigation and treatment of each case—is not understood by the average citizen, who is likely to regard this method, as the members of the boards themselves sometimes do, as officious meddling with private affairs in a manner that is odious and involves much red tape.

Again, the very technical nature of the job which confronts the lay members of county child-welfare boards places a special burden

of education upon the State office. The local conferences will achieve the double purpose of instructing the boards and educating the community.

A study of environmental conditions is needed to determine what community influences are restricting the child's full development or leading him into positively harmful paths. The child-welfare board as the official agency of the county for the protection of childhood must concern itself in the future with these fundamental factors while it deals with the individual cases of maladjustment. Too much absorption in individual problems without a vision of the larger underlying causes and the means of fundamental reconstruction frequently results in discouragement and disappointment to board members. People must be inspired to the broader field of prevention while they seek individual remedy. Minnesota is beginning to realize the possibilities of preventive work, and its program will develop in proportion as that phase is duly emphasized.

The Minnesota plan of county administration, with centralization of authority in the State department, has not been operative long enough to permit anything like a final judgment as to its ultimate success in establishing the right balance between these two units of government in the solution of their joint problem. Within the structure of the plan is found recognition of the need for local responsibility and control, and upon the proper development of the county child-welfare board system under wise and sympathetic guidance from the State board of control and its agents depends the future of the whole State program.

# THE NORTH CAROLINA SYSTEM OF COUNTY PUBLIC-WELFARE WORK.[1]

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## A COUNTY SYSTEM ADAPTED TO RURAL POPULATIONS.

The development of the North Carolina plan of public welfare to its present marked success presents a very interesting and instructive story, not only in the study of social service but in connection with political and legislative reactions thereto.

The State has both manufacturing and agricultural interests, the latter predominating. It has only a few cities containing so much as 40,000 or 50,000 population. Except for the lack of a foreign population, the social problems of its cities differ in magnitude rather than in kind from those of the large cities of the country. But the State's total population of two and one-half million, scattered over a wide area, was without any organized social service whatever, until four years ago. Obviously, the experience of such a State in developing its social resources must afford a valuable example to many of the States of the Union. North Carolina can offer nothing of value to the large cities where social work has reached its greatest development and has been longest in operation. But it does offer a great deal to States with conditions similar to its own and to those agencies which are now studying the small town and rural community—a field which, after too long neglect, is now quite generally recognized as offering great opportunities for achievement in social work.

The North Carolina plan may justly be called a state-wide plan, since it calls for an organization in each county amenable to the State board of charities and public welfare and dependent upon it for advice, for direction, for interpretation of the laws, and for that general assistance without which successful county work could not be accomplished. The whole scheme is flexible, and its execution gives wide latitude for the personality of the officials and workers.

[1] This manuscript was completed in December, 1921. See also paper by Mrs. Clarence A. Johnson, present Commissioner of Public Welfare of North Carolina, on "The Organization of county juvenile courts in a rural State," in Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile-Court Standards, U. S. Children's Bureau. Washington, 1922. Publication No. 97, pp. 75–81.

This latitude was its salvation in the initial period. It can readily be seen that, in a State where local self-government is highly prized and vigorously maintained and practiced, and where the amount of social work to be done in a single county might not be sufficient, in the estimation of the public, to warrant the expenditure of much money or the employment of many workers—if any at all—no cut-and-dried plan and method of work could be imposed from without in a short period. The State board, therefore, carefully nurtured the growth of the work in each county and gave it time for development.

The statute creating the State board of charities and public welfare[3] and defining its duties was passed by the legislature of 1917. It was intended that for two years the board should have $15,000 a year from the State to carry on its work. Through legislative oversight no appropriation was made. The members of the board borrowed $10,000 on their own indorsement for the two years. A State commissioner of public welfare was elected and began work. At this time the system was not obligatory on the counties but only permissive, and none of the counties chose to accept it. The commissioner therefore spent his time in educational work and in preparing the way for a better law and greater support at the following session. His experience and knowledge of the State convinced him of the necessity of having the county organization law made compulsory, of including in the general plan the enforcement of school attendance, and of enacting a state-wide and modern juvenile court law. At the time there was not a juvenile court in the State. The legislature of 1919 provided for all these things and made an appropriation sufficient for a fairly adequate staff for the State board.[4]

The plan upon which the North Carolina Board of Charities and Public Welfare is working has created considerable interest among public-welfare students and officials, as well as among those whose constructive thinking is directed toward a larger interpretation and development of the whole field of charities, corrections, and general public welfare. This interest is due largely to a number of special features, chief among which are the state-wide program, the county plan, the special emphasis upon the development of rural life, and the close correlation between education and public welfare. The feature about which most interest has centered is the county plan of organization, which this paper will briefly describe.

## THE STATE-WIDE PROGRAM.

The present organization of the state-wide system of public welfare comprises a State board of charities and public welfare, com-

[3] N. C. Laws 1917, ch. 170.
[4] N. C. Laws 1919, ch. 46.

posed of seven members appointed by the governor and serving without pay. This board elects a commissioner of public welfare and a consulting expert.

The work of the board is classified under five divisions: County organization; child welfare; institutional supervision and aid; mental hygiene; and education, promotion, and publicity. County organization includes cooperation with county boards of public welfare, county commissioners, and county boards of education; cooperation with and supervision of the work of the county superintendents of public welfare, standardization of work in child welfare; aid to mothers; and other social work, such as outdoor relief, work in the county homes, and the other features outlined under the county plan. The child-welfare work includes child-placing and allied activities, cooperation with children's institutions and juvenile courts, and aid in the enforcement of school attendance. The division of institutional supervision relates to all institutions for the socially deficient, including those for dependent, delinquent, and defective children, the penal institutions, the hospitals for the insane, county homes, and others. The mental-hygiene work includes psychiatric service in the form of clinics, special examinations, individual and group tests, research, and promotion of mental health in the State. The work of education, promotion, and publicity comprises special efforts to interpret the purposes and ideals of public-welfare work and to encourage its successful organization in the State. These include the Quarterly Bulletin, the Monthly News Letter, special studies and research, district conferences, institutes of public welfare, newspaper publicity, and participation in State and sectional conferences.

From this brief survey of the state-wide program something of the comprehensiveness of the county work begins to appear. The state-wide system emphasizes and makes easier the standardization of work in the counties and the development of public-welfare work in the rural communities, and it enables the board of public welfare to align itself closely with the departments of education and public health and with other departments. From the details of the county system other advantages will appear, such as the supervision of child placing and receiving and of mothers' aid; the training of social workers; the development of a state-wide social consciousness; and the promotion of efficient organization.

## ORGANIZATION OF COUNTY WORK.

The county plan of organization is as follows: Each county in the State is to have a superintendent of public welfare, jointly elected by the board of county commissioners and the county board of education. Their selection must be approved by the State commissioner of public welfare, after which an official certificate will be issued by

the board of county commissioners. The salary of the superintendent, which should be adequate, is to be provided, in equal shares, by the two boards. In counties of less than 32,000 population, the leadership in the work of public welfare may be assigned to the county superintendent of schools, who shall receive no additional pay for the work, but who may be given assistance in performing the duties involved. The county superintendent of public welfare may select such assistants and office force as are authorized by the county board. Working with the county superintendent of public welfare is a county board of public welware, the members of which are civic-minded men and women appointed by the State board of charities and public welfare.

The duties and opportunities of the county superintendent of public welfare are such as to challenge the best efforts of trained full-time workers and to constitute an incentive for the training of public leaders in this field. In general, the duties of the county superintendent of public welfare may be said to include work in the five divisions of State organization—administration and organization of the county office, child welfare, cooperation with institutions, care for the defective, and education of the people in the principles of public welfare.

Technically the duties of the county superintendent of public welfare may be classified as follows:

1. *Administration of the county office and cooperation with the State department.*
   - (*a*) To maintain and perfect the office of county superintendent, keeping a satisfactory set of records and making such reports as may be necessary.
   - (*b*) To act as agent of the State board of charities and public welfare in any work to be done by the State board within the county.
   - (*c*) To inspect and investigate county homes, convict camps, and almshouses, and report to the State board of charities and public welfare such matters respecting these institutions as may be required by the State board.
   - (*d*) To act as secretary of the county board of public welfare.
   - (*e*) To assist the State child-welfare commission in the enforcement of the child-labor law.
2. *Child welfare.*
   - (*a*) To look after and help children who are in danger of becoming delinquent or dependent and prevent such children from falling into delinquency or neglect.
   - (*b*) To exercise oversight of dependent children who have, under the direction of the State board, been placed in homes within the confines of the county.
3. *Charities and corrections.*
   - (*a*) To investigate applications for relief made to the county commissioners and advise them as to proper disbursements of poor funds or other proper action relative to such cases.

3. *Charities and corrections*—Continued.
   (*b*) To supervise and help persons discharged from hospitals for the insane and other State institutions, including prisons, reformatories, institutions for children, etc.
   (*c*) To exercise oversight of persons in the county on parole from the penitentiary and from reformatories.
   (*d*) To help the unemployed to obtain employment.
   (*e*) To study conditions and causes of poverty and distress in the county.
4. *Probation and juvenile-court work.*
   (*a*) To act as probation officer for children adjudged delinquent by the courts and to assume, under the direction of the court, the work of guardianship of children adjudged neglected.
   (*b*) To act as chief probation officer, where any probation officers are already employed or are subsequently to be appointed in the county or in cities in the county.
5. *School attendance enforcement.*
   As chief school-attendance officer, to enforce the compulsory education law, dealing particularly with those cases where unexcused absences require investigation and action.
6. *Community organization.*
   (*a*) To assist in the correlation of community social agencies and to cooperate with other groups.
   (*b*) To enforce laws relating to amusement places or other commercial recreation.
   (*c*) To promote wholesome recreation throughout the county for adults and children.

## STATE-WIDE SYSTEM OF JUVENILE COURTS.

North Carolina has a state-wide system of juvenile courts by which court protection and care are provided for every delinquent, dependent, and neglected child under 16 years of age in the State. Those familiar with the history of juvenile court development know that while courts of this character have generally been provided for urban populations throughout the country, the principle is being extended to rural populations slowly and with difficulty. How this State has undertaken to cover its whole territory at once is a matter of peculiar importance to all persons and agencies interested in the general subject.

Prior to the year 1919 North Carolina had a general statute by which any criminal court might voluntarily assume the functions of a juvenile court; but it is hardly necessary to say that nothing worth while came of this statute for lack of proper court machinery and of an understanding as to what a juvenile court should be. The legislature of 1919 established a uniform system for the State, made a court in each county mandatory, and included in the law the most modern principles of the juvenile court.

The court system of the State having jurisdiction over adults is embraced in 20 judicial districts known as superior-court districts, with 20 judges covering the districts and holding court at stated

periods in each of the 100 counties. A resident clerk of the court is elected in each county; he keeps the court open at all times for the transaction of all business not requiring the presence of the presiding judge. In order to divorce the juvenile court from the old ideas of criminal procedure and make it in fact an educational and disciplinary agency embracing the fundamental work of social adjustment, it was necessary to set up entirely new agencies in each county. In small rural counties there was not sufficient work to justify the employment of men devoted exclusively to carrying on a juvenile court, and it was, therefore, impossible to have such courts unless they could be tied up with some already existing and stable agency. The plan was adopted of making the superior-court clerks ex officio judges of the juvenile courts for their respective counties. The juvenile court statute is explicit as to procedure and puts into the hands of these judges the powers and duties attaching to the most modern juvenile courts.

"Here are 100 untrained men," it may be said, "who are suddenly given powers and duties with which they are not familiar, and for which they have had no special training. How will the plan work out in practice?" The answer is that it works out satisfactorily, for several reasons. These superior-court clerks are men of common sense and good judgment as well as of human sympathies, else they could not have been elected to their present position under the circumstances existing in this State. They are elected for long terms; they are thoroughly familiar with the people of their counties; many of them are Sunday-school and church workers or school officials; and they are always on the job, can be reached easily by the central authority residing in the State board of charities and public welfare, and are not only teachable but anxious to learn. Probably no other group of 100 men could have been selected who would be so well fitted to take up the work.

Given a juvenile-court judge and a mandatory procedure in each county, the next step was to provide a paid probation officer for each court. Here again a satisfactory combination was made. The county superintendent of public welfare, appointed by the county commissioners and the county board of education, is the chief probation officer for the county juvenile court. The 100 counties of the State vary in population from 5,000 to 80,000, and in area from less than 200 to nearly 1,000 square miles. This variation in size and population necessitates a certain elasticity in the county system, and this point is met by making the county superintendent the chief official and providing supplementary help where needed.

The county superintendents of public welfare are selected from former teachers and school superintendents, young men having had Y. M. C. A. training or having done some war-service work, and, in

the more populous counties, from those having some training in actual probation work and in social work of a general nature.

The juvenile-court judges and their probation officers (the county superintendents of public welfare) are called together from time to time and given instructions in their duties. The courts and the superintendents are both under the general supervision of the State board of charities and public welfare, whose approval is necessary for the appointment of all probation officials. At the head of the State board's division of child welfare, established in 1921, is a trained person whose business it is to keep in constant contact with the court and probation work and assist in difficult situations.

## ENFORCEMENT OF THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND CHILD LABOR LAWS.

The first child labor bill introduced in the Legislature of North Carolina was that of 1887. It was a typical prohibitive measure, and it was opposed and defeated by representatives of cotton manufacturers, aided by the general apathy on the subject existing at that time. Similar measures were brought before successive legislatures, and in 1903 a mild measure was passed without any special provision for its enforcement. There was no attempt at enforcement of child-labor legislation by State authorities in North Carolina until after the first Federal child labor law [5] came into existence. A bill drawn along the lines of modern legislation was introduced in the legislature of 1919 and was passed. This law not only prohibits the work of children under 14, but also carries the concept of positive child-welfare work. Its administration is closely linked with the enforcement of school attendance, with the promotion of a system of public amusements and recreation, and with social care for children who are forbidden gainful employment. After some contention as to what machinery should be provided for carrying it out, a special child-welfare commission was created, composed of ex officio members—the State superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of the State board of health, and the State commissioner of public welfare. Representatives of the cotton manufacturers took the lead in proposing this solution of the question. In each county the county superintendent of public welfare, besides acting as probation officer, serves as a compulsory school-attendance officer for the whole county and as the local representative of the State child-welfare commission in enforcing the child labor law.

The county superintendents of public-welfare work under the direction of the executive officer of the State child-welfare commis-

[5] 39 Stat. 675. This law became effective September 1, 1917, and was declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918. The Federal child labor tax law (40 Stat. 1138) became effective April 25, 1919, and was declared unconstitutional May 15, 1922.

sion, which has only enough funds to employ one general executive officer and an office stenographer. They are instructed to start with school attendance as a basis for their operations. Every child under 14 years of age is expected to be in school. If he is not there, the school authorities report his absence to the county superintendent of public welfare, who proceeds to find the child, to ascertain the cause that is keeping him from school, and to take such measures as are necessary to secure his attendance. Whether the superintendent finds the child on the street or in a mercantile establishment or in a manufacturing plant, the situation is the same; the child is required to enter school. No exceptions are permitted.

On visiting a county, the executive officer of the commission, with the county superintendent of public welfare, inspects the industrial plants, consults with their managers or owners, and in every way seeks to bring out helpful suggestions bearing upon the local situation. Many of the manufacturers are asking his advice in regard to plans along various lines of community development, including recreation, social-welfare work, playgrounds, vocational courses, and other forms of community welfare that bear upon child life.

## ADAPTABILITY OF THE COUNTY PLAN.

The county public-welfare workers are confronted with the problems arising from rural life and from life in villages, small towns, and small manufacturing communities. The system seems to be elastic enough and compact enough to meet them all eventually. The plans contemplate ultimately the adequate protection of every delinquent, neglected, and dependent child within the State, and it is believed that the State has the framework of the machinery for doing it.

The fact can not be stressed too strongly that the organization has wide latitude. It is capable of the utmost expansion to fit the needs of larger counties, and it can be enlarged indefinitely as a community becomes educated in social-welfare endeavor and is willing to provide increasing support. The county superintendent of public welfare and the juvenile court judge in each county form a nucleus for a staff which may increase as the needs of the county are recognized and support is granted. Some counties have only these two officials, while larger counties have staffs of considerable size. These primary officials are put to a great test in developing their work. All are being linked up with the State department in helpful ways. Some counties are much more advanced than others, owing to the greater skill of their superintendents or to the presence of individual citizens who are interested in social welfare, and are able to develop every resource of the community.

## THE WORK OF TWO COUNTIES.[6]

The quality and amount of work being done by the county superintendents of public welfare warrant the belief that the assignment and classification of duties has been well made, but the experience of years is necessary for an adequate test. For the purpose of this paper, the general work of two counties will serve as illustrations.

Durham County, with a population of 42,219, and with only one town—Durham, the county seat (population, 21,719), reports the following activities:

1. *Office administration and cooperation with the State board.*
   - (*a*) Employs a full-time superintendent of public welfare and a full-time assistant, whose duties center largely in the work of child welfare.
   - (*b*) Maintains an office with records and reports, as required by the State department and as needed for the work.
   - (*c*) Cooperated with the North Carolina Children's Home Society (Inc.), in the placing of about 20 children and in looking up similar cases referred by the State board of charities and public welfare.
2. *Child welfare.*
   - (*a*) Placed 37 children in homes, either in Durham County or in other counties, and maintained follow-up work; cooperated with the churches in regard to more than 30 orphans.
   - (*b*) Provided, through local agencies, the funds for building a cottage with a capacity of 30 boys at the Jackson Training School for Delinquent White Boys.
   - (*c*) Now working on plans for a detention home for children having social deficiencies and for children awaiting permanent placement.
   - (*d*) Granted aid to mothers in more than 20 cases.
   - (*e*) Cooperated with the county board of health and the American Red Cross in making 1,144 visits, in the examination of 395 children, and in the clinical dental examination of 1,484 children.
3. *Charities and corrections.*
   - (*a*) Inspected the County Home; assisted in its work and weekly religious services.
   - (*b*) Inspected the county jail and investigated a number of cases of families of those in prison and on county work.
   - (*c*) Placed a number of girls in the North Carolina Training School for Delinquent White Girls.
4. *Probation and juvenile-court work.*
   Assisted in the cases of 65 juvenile offenders.
5. *School-attendance work.*
   Made 538 visits to homes of children who were out of school, to improve child and family life.

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[6] By December, 1921, 50 of the 100 counties in the State had superintendents of public welfare who were giving all their time to the work, and 3 had part-time superintendents; in 43 counties the superintendents of schools were doing the welfare work, and in 4 the work was unorganized. (See North Carolina's Child Welfare Program for the Care and Protection of Dependent, Neglected, and Delinquent Children through Superintendents of Public Welfare, Juvenile Courts, and Child-Caring Institutions, issued by the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C., p. 7.)

Mecklenburg County, population 80,695, of which Charlotte (population 46,338) is the county seat, reports the following activities:

1. *Office administration and cooperation with the State board.*
   (*a*) Employs a full-time superintendent of public welfare with adequate assistance in the office.
   (*b*) Maintains an office with complete record and filing system for making reports.
   (*c*) Has been instrumental in organizing a local welfare committee in every district.
   (*d*) Cooperated with the State board in child-placing and in the publication of reports.
   (*e*) Made 168 inspections for child labor in cooperation with the State child-welfare commission.
2. *Child welfare.*
   (*a*) Provided for a cottage at the Jackson Training School for Delinquent White Boys.
   (*b*) Held conference on delinquency.
   (*c*) Assisted in the placing of a number of children.
   (*d*) Is planning a detention home for children.
3. *Charities and corrections.*
   (*a*) Inspected the county prison.
   (*b*) Inspected the chain gang.
   (*c*) Inspected the county home and gave rating (of 73 per cent).
   (*d*) Held conference in reference to morally deficient women.
   (*e*) Provided for a number of insane who could not be admitted to the State institutions.
   (*f*) Supervised paroled adults, of whom there were 6 at the end of the year.
4. *Probation and juvenile-court work.*
   Assisted in juvenile-court work, the total number of cases being 832—377 official, and 455 handled by probation officers. There were 144 children on probation at end of year. County superintendent acted as chief probation officer, assisted by an officer for girls, one for men, and one for colored children.
5. *School-attendance work.*
   Handled during the first year 657 cases of nonattendance, of which 5 were excused and 9 prosecuted, showing a successful management of the great majority of cases; during the second year 1,659 cases were handled, most of them successfully. The increased work was due to better facilities.
6. *Community organization.*
   (*a*) Organized the county council.
   (*b*) Organized a county welfare day.
   (*c*) Assisted in working out a county field day and district track meets.
   (*d*) Organized a county baseball league.
   (*e*) Organized a county play and recreation association.
   (*f*) Inspected moving pictures.
   (*g*) Aided in organizing recreation plans in a number of mills.
   (*h*) Cooperated with the Rotary Club in providing lunches for poor children; with churches in the care of orphans; with the Salvation Army, the American Red Cross, the department of health, school officials, mill villages, and community fairs.

For reasons partly outlined in this discussion, the public-welfare idea in North Carolina has been launched upon a very wide and comprehensive basis. The title of the county officer is "county superintendent of public welfare," but the speech of the people has cut out all surplusage and adopted the term "the welfare officer." This is expressive of their idea of what the functions of the official are—namely, to give help wherever it is needed and is not otherwise provided, especially to children. The success of the plan has been largely the result of the ability to cooperate closely with the organized philanthropic, political, judicial, religious, and educational agencies of the State. The work was designed not to revolutionize anything but as supplementary to the activities of other agencies, and as necessary for accomplishing things that other agencies could not do and that imperatively needed to be done.

# A STUDY OF THE COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENTS OF CALIFORNIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROVISION FOR NEEDY CHILDREN.[1]

Mrs. Cornelia McKinne Stanwood,
*Secretary, California State Board of Charities and Corrections.*

## ORIGIN AND LEGAL BASIS OF COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENTS.

The law creating the California State Board of Charities and Corrections makes it the duty of the board to supervise, inspect, and standardize all the public charitable and correctional work of the State.[2] That work is broadly divided into two parts. There is first the work performed directly by the State. This is mainly confined to the 15 State institutions—6 State hospitals, 2 homes for the feeble-minded, 3 State schools, a woman's reformatory, 2 penitentiaries, and a home for the adult blind. With them this study is not concerned. The other part comprises the work which is done locally in the several counties of the State. This work is varied, including in its scope the aged, the sick, children, and delinquents. Some of it has been done by private agencies, and some of it by public officials; it has all been supported entirely or in part by county funds.

In inspection and supervision of this complex local work, the State board of charities and corrections long ago realized that its various aspects were fundamentally related. It became clear to the board that the various agencies which were severally engaged in solving social ills were all in reality working upon the same problem, and that they ought therefore to be brought together under unified direction and control. Moreover, they were all agencies of the same community; that community politically was the county; and in the county the governing body legally was the board of supervisors, which alone could make appointments for public social service and dispense public funds for social needs.

The State board of charities and corrections therefore considered it logical, and of probable advantage in raising standards of social work, that all public work in the counties be unified under a group of socially minded citizens, on the one hand representative of the community, and on the other deriving legal standing and authority

[1] This manuscript was completed in February, 1922.

[2] Calif. Stat. 1903, p. 482, as amended by Stat. 1911, p. 1334, as amended by Stat. 1915, p. 847.

from the supervisors. A law of California[3] makes this possible. It gives the board of supervisors of the respective counties power to delegate to a committee, a person, or a society the investigation and periodic visiting of all persons receiving public relief in the county. The statute states that the purpose of the investigation and the subsequent visiting is to bring to self-support persons hitherto unable to maintain themselves; it requires that all records of investigation, supervision, relief, and rehabilitation shall be prescribed by the State board of charities and corrections.

In accordance with the program adopted by the State board of charities and corrections and with the provisions of this statute, the boards of supervisors of 12 of the 58 counties of California (containing three-tenths of the population of the State) have created bodies variously denominated "department of public welfare," "welfare department," "welfare council," "welfare commission," or "social-service commission."[4]

The first county to organize was Fresno, which in 1916, during the trouble with unemployment, established a relief and employment commission to distribute relief to the unemployed. In the same year San Bernardino County organized its social-service commission. In 1917 Fresno County added two supervisors to its relief and employment commission and changed the name to "Fresno County Welfare Department of the Board of Supervisors." A former county agent of the State board of charities and corrections became the first secretary of the reorganized body. Then San Mateo, Sonoma, Humboldt, Stanislaus, Merced, San Diego, Alameda, Santa Clara, Kern, and Glenn Counties followed in turn.

This study will concern itself with the 12 counties in which welfare departments of the type described have been organized.

## PREPARATORY WORK AND METHOD OF ORGANIZATION.

### Survey of the social work of the counties.

The State board of charities and corrections in its county organization program has directed its efforts to communities unorganized in social work; it has not aimed to supplant existing agencies of tested value. Information in regard to the actual conditions in individual counties has been secured by the State board through surveys made at the invitation of the supervisors.

These initial surveys by the board's county agent are offered upon a written request from the board of supervisors. So far the super-

[3] Calif. Stat. 1901, p. 637, as amended by Stat. 1917, p. 444.

[4] To avoid confusion, it should be stated that the county boards of public welfare provided for in the California law (Calif. Stat. 1915, p. 339) and existing in two counties have merely the functions of supervising local charitable and penal institutions and are not in any way related to the subject of the present study.

visors have never made this request of their own initiative. The suggestion has had to come to them from public-spirited and social-minded citizens of the county, who, after conference with the county chairman and the county agent, appeared before the supervisors to urge them to ask the State board of charities and corrections to make this survey. The board has always followed the policy of waiting for an invitation from the supervisors, for the reason that it wants their cooperation, and recognizes that it has not the power—any more than has it the desire—to coerce them. There can be no welfare department unless the supervisors are ready to have it. Their invitation to have the survey made is at least an expression of their good will, and makes it possible for the board, through presentation of the facts that have been gathered, to justify the organization of a welfare department, and to persuade the supervisors to take such action.

The survey follows this general outline:

A. Provision for children.
  1. Needy children.
    (*a*) With their own parents.
    (*b*) In foster homes.
    (*c*) In institutions.
  2. Wayward children.
    (*a*) In family boarding homes.
    (*b*) In special institutions.
    (*c*) Probation office.
      (1) Administration and policies.
      (2) Records; case studies.
    (*d*) Detention home.
      (1) Buildings and equipment.
      (2) Length of stay of children.
      (3) Dietary.
      (4) Segregation and supervision of children.
      (5) Education; recreation; discipline.
      (6) Records; types of inmates; case studies.

B. County out-relief.
  1. Organization and administration.
  2. Amount of aid given; nature of aid given.
  3. Method of distribution.
  4. Investigation and supervision.
  5. Records.
  6. Case studies, with special reference to children.

C. County hospital.
  1. Buildings and equipment.
  2. Administration and management; cost of maintenance.
  3. Care of inmates: (*a*) custodial; (*b*) hospital.
  4. Dietary.
  5. Records.
  6. Types of inmates; case studies.

D. County jail.
1. Administration and management; cost of maintenance.
2. Buildings and equipment.
3. Dietary.
4. Segregation and supervision of prisoners.
5. Daily routine; discipline; occupation.
6. Types of inmates.

Such surveys have been made by the county agent of the State board in 14 counties. As a result of these studies the following facts were revealed: In many counties persons dead or removed from the county were still on the lists, and relief was received in their names; children and the aged were neglected. It is fair to say that in general these conditions, though typical, were but vaguely if at all realized by the county authorities; however, there was a tendency on the part of some county officials to use the indigent as part of the political machines of their districts.

When the survey is completed the report is given to the supervisors in executive session by the chairman of the county committee and the county agent. It is not given out to the newspapers—or even to the citizens who ask for it, since, though intelligently interested, they are not charged with responsibility. The supervisors accept the findings in the spirit in which they are given. The advantages of the welfare department are set before them by representatives of the board. Gradually they come to see the inadequacy of the old system and to consider the claims of the new. There has been no unfavorable publicity to discredit them. Finally, supported by responsible public sentiment, they accept the plan and pass an ordinance creating a welfare department.[8] All this has usually taken a good deal of time and patience.

**Education and propaganda.**

The State board of charities and corrections gives continued publicity in every possible way to the needs and advantages of welfare departments. It issues monthly a county letter in mimeograph which carries to all social agencies, newspapers, and county officers a report of progress of the welfare departments in the counties. The following are typical letters:

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS,
COUNTY DEPARTMENT.

COUNTY WELFARE LETTER NO. 5.

RESIDENCE OF INDIGENT PERSON.

A recent decision of the attorney general on the point of county responsibility based on residence of an indigent person will be of interest to all supervisors and county relief workers. The controversy between two counties was brought

[8] For a typical county ordinance, see Note 10, pp. 60–61.

to the State board of charities and corrections for adjustment and was by them referred to the attorney general for decision. After reviewing the case in detail, he gives his opinion as follows: * * *.

COUNTY NOTES.

*Kern County Institutions and Welfare Department* created by the board of supervisors of that county on June 6, 1921, was organized for work on July 5. Appointment of members from the ranks of the county's most earnest and progressive men and women speaks well for the judgment of the supervisors and the future of the department. Two members of the board of supervisors are also members of the department. * * *. The county relief work will be continued under the direction of * * * and the health work under the county nurse, * * *. New work for dependent children and social service in connection with the county hospital will be undertaken under a new worker, * * * who was formally with the Children's Agency of the San Francisco Associated Charities. This department is really the social department of the board of supervisors and has supervision over the county institutions, the county relief and health work, and the care of dependent children. The organization is the democratic means adopted by the supervisors to bring the county government closer to the citizens in matters of social import.

*Merced County Welfare Department* combines with the Red Cross chapter to provide milk to dependent children in some of the rural school districts of that county. The Junior Red Cross of Merced contributes to the support of a dental hygienist in the schools. Certain dependent children who need dental work done are provided for by the county welfare department. This county presents one of the best examples of a true community spirit, where all the agencies fuse their money and energy into one object—to get the work done.

*Orange County* has established a social service department of the county aid commissioner's office. * * * The superintendent of that department * * * will have charge of the care of dependent children and rehabilitation of dependent families * * *.

*San Diego County welfare department* has assumed new responsibilities in the care of dependent children by accepting the work of investigating and supervising family boarding homes where children may be boarded. The homes are licensed by the State board of charities, which delegates to the county office the authority of local supervision and recommendation. * * * The secretary of the welfare department is in charge of the children's work * * *.

JULY, 1921.

COUNTY AGENT.

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COUNTY WELFARE LETTER NO. 8.

We are inclosing to you for your information a statement of the policies of the State board of charities and corrections regarding the organization of new charitable undertakings and methods of solicitation of funds for maintenance.

The State board of charities and corrections is not infrequently called upon to authorize or license charitable undertakings proposed or already started in places and under conditions which are very questionable; often these undertakings are not well conceived or necessary and are initiated by people who have an imperfect knowledge of what they are undertaking.

It would be a saving of money and social effort if the board were consulted before any definite steps are taken to inaugurate the new work. If this were done many foredoomed social failures would be averted and much valuable social effort might be diverted into needed channels.

Furthermore, the board from time to time has received complaints about the methods sometimes resorted to in the collection of funds for the support of

charitable organizations. As a result of its experience of many years, the board has formulated certain policies which are set down in the inclosed circular.

We are desirous that these policies shall be known throughout the State, particularly by the county welfare organizations, so that uniformity of action may be secured, waste of time and money and energy prevented, and the general cause of social welfare may be advanced wisely.

Will you, therefore give this letter such publicity—where it may be of service?

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

DECEMBER, 1921.

The Supervisors' Review, the official organ of the State association of county supervisiors, which goes to all the supervisors in the 58 counties, generally copies the county letters in full in its issues. Representatives of the State board and its staff have featured the county welfare department in their addresses throughout the State. They go into a county with the story of actual accomplishment in neighboring counties.

In a number of instances, as part of the plan of education and persuasion, the chairman of the county committee and the county agent of the State board have arranged visits by the board of supervisors to another county where a welfare department is in operation. Recently all the members of the Kern County Welfare Department, with its secretary, were conducted by the chairman of the Alameda County committee and a county agent through the institutions of that county, in order to make a careful study of county hospital conditions. They met in conference with the Alameda County Welfare Commission and with the local authorities on special problems of the children's work.

Thus, by publicity, by conference, and by cooperation between counties through specially arranged trips of inspection, the State board of charities and corrections develops its program for the formation of new county welfare departments and the standardization of existing departments. As a result of this program the State board usually receives support from public-spirited men and women in the county who realize the failure of the old system, seeing that money is wasted, that children are often neglected or inadequately aided, and that the insistent impose upon the county while the sensitive suffer and go without aid.

**Method of organization of welfare departments.**

The county-welfare department is created by ordinance of the board of supervisors.[10] A typical department is composed of seven

[10] A typical ordinance is that of Kern County, as follows:

Whereas, the increasing volume and growing complexity of the business of Kern County compel its board of supervisors from time to time to create new administrative agencies in order that the service rendered to the people may continue efficient and effective, and whereas, both from the survey of county institutions and social work made at the request of the board of supervisors by the State Board of Charities and Corrections

members; the supervisors appoint two of their own number to represent them, and five unpaid men and women interested in social

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and from independent information of the board of supervisors itself, it appears that the future needs of such institutions and such social work will be served best by delegating to a special department of county work acting under the board of supervisors the right of recommendations touching the administration and direction of such county institutions and the rights of investigation, supervision, and rehabilitation of county dependents (Stat. Calif. 1917, p. 444), therefore be it resolved, That: Section 1. A department of county work is hereby created to be known as the Kern County Institutions and Welfare Department. Said department shall consist of nine members to be appointed by the board of supervisors, two of whom shall be members of the board of supervisors. The term of office of each member shall be four (4) years except as hereinafter specified. The members of the department shall serve without salary. Section 2. As soon as the members of the department are appointed, they shall be divided by lot into three groups. The term of office for the first group shall be two years, the term of office for the second group shall be three years, and the term of office for the third group shall be four years. Section 3. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in the department, it shall be filled by the board of supervisors. Section 4. Whenever in this resolution the word "department" is used it shall mean the department of institutions and welfare; the word "board" shall mean the board of supervisors. Section 5. The department shall resolve itself into two committees, as follows: (*a*) An institution committee composed of three members which shall have supervision over the county hospitals, the County Infirmary, and all activities carried on therein; the committee shall make rules and regulations to improve and regulate such institutions and activities, the conduct and efficiency of the same, and to carry out the other purposes of this resolution. (*b*) A social service committee composed of six members, which shall have supervision over all matters relating to county relief, children's welfare, and other county social work. All matters coming before the department referring in essence and principle to the county institutions or allied activities shall be referred to the institution committee. All matters coming before the department referring in essence and principle to the county relief and social work shall be referred to the social service committee. Section 6. The powers and duties of the department shall be as follows: (*a*) To appoint a secretary and such officers as may be deemed necessary to carry on the work of the department; the salaries of such secretary and officers shall be fixed by the department subject to the approval of the board. To appoint a director of health and hospitals, who shall carry out the policies of the department as outlined by the institutions committee; such director may be the superintendent of the county hospital and direct the clinics and other public-health work of the county. (*b*) To investigate, determine and supervise the giving of relief to persons applying for county aid and to devise ways and means of restoring them to self-support where possible. (*c*) To investigate all applications for admission to the county hospitals. (*d*) To maintain a modern system of records on the county relief cases in accordance with forms and methods prescribed by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, as provided in Statutes of California, 1917, p. 444. (*e*) To investigate all charities dependent upon public appeal or general solicitation for support and to file its report thereon with the board, a copy of such report to be filed with the State Board of Charities and Corrections. (*f*) To cooperate with the juvenile court, probation committee, and probation office upon request. (*g*) To investigate, determine, and supervise family boarding homes where children may be boarded; the standards of investigation, care, and record to be in accord with those required by the State Board of Charities and Corrections. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section the department may be authorized to receive children on commitment from the juvenile court under Section 8 of the juvenile court law. (*h*) To act as a coordinating agency for all relief and welfare agencies and societies in the county which may care to avail themselves of the services of the department. Section 7. Applications for relief made to the board or to any member thereof shall be referred promptly to the department for investigation and recommendation thereon. Section 8. The department shall file with the board monthly a full report of all work done, with recommendations, and shall render to the board for its approval a statement of all relief claims against the county with list of persons receiving aid; it shall render also a report on the administration and conditions in the county institutions, with recommendations. Section 9. The department shall recommend to the board the duties of and terms of compensation for employees in the county institutions under its supervision. Section 10. The department shall make all needful rules and regulations for the transaction of its business. Section 11. This resolution shall take effect July 1, 1921.

work to share the responsibility of the department. There is no legal provision to fix this or any particular number, but seven is proving satisfactory as a working force. Eight of the departments are composed of seven members; four have nine members. Some supervisors have chosen the personnel geographically by supervisorial districts. Experience, however, seems to show that it is better not to adhere strictly to the geographical rule, but to strive to secure persons of differing interests, social and religious. It is necessary that the unpaid members of the department have the confidence of the community, that they represent varying viewpoints, and that they are willing to give time and counsel throughout a period of years to the problems of the aged, the sick, and the infirm, and to the special needs of children.

Three counties organized social-service commissions without including the supervisors in their membership. In two of the three counties, after a series of misunderstandings between supervisors and the commission, the supervisors reorganized the commission by placing two of their own members in the group and naming it "welfare department." The result has been most satisfactory in both cases.

Of the total of 92 welfare-department members in the 12 counties, 50 are men and 42 are women; 21 are supervisors, of whom 1 is a woman. The 71 lay members represent the following interests and occupations:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Women's organizations | 18 | Editors | 3 |
| Merchants | 10 | American Red Cross chapters | 3 |
| Public officials | 5 | Probation committees | 2 |
| Housewives | 5 | Nurses | 2 |
| Social workers | 4 | Banker | 1 |
| Roman Catholic interests | 4 | School principal | 1 |
| Physicians | 4 | Real estate | 1 |
| Clergymen | 3 | Union labor | 1 |
| Lawyers | 3 | Librarian | 1 |

Once created the department elects its own chairman and effects its own organization. In no county thus far has a supervisor been chairman; in three counties the chairmen are women. In most of the welfare departments the majority of the members are men. The duties and powers of the department are determined by the ordinance establishing it. In the beginning they have usually been limited to relief work—investigation of every application for relief, periodic visitation of the persons receiving relief, and planning for the rehabilitation of such persons. To these duties have been added the responsibility for the care of needy children in the counties; maintaining the standards of care set by the State board of charities and corrections for homes receiving children not with their own

parents on either a free or a pay basis; making initial investigations and recommendations for license to the State board; the local responsibility of maintaining at an acceptable standard homes with minor children where there is insufficient income; and the responsibility of recommending to the State board of control allowances of State aid for needy children, of maintaining an adequate budget in the homes where a grant has been made, and of supervising the homes and reporting on conditions while aid is being allowed. The welfare departments all cooperate with the juvenile courts of the counties, and in most of the counties they place the dependent children for the probation office.

To the responsibility for administering and standardizing relief work and children's work is added the responsibility for the health activities of the counties. First, the control of admissions to and discharges from the county hospital was given to the welfare departments; gradually more responsibility was added. In one county the administration of all health activities, including the county hospital, was placed under the welfare department.

The following chart shows in brief outline the duties of the various committees as they are usually organized in the county departments:

| Committee on out-relief. | Committee on health. | Committee on children's work. | Committee on corrections. | Committee on research. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Relief to the poor in their homes.<br>Relief to the blind.<br>Cooperation with the county almshouse authorities and private charitable agencies. Unemployment.<br>Cooperation with children's committee in handling family problems. | Admission to county hospital.<br>Care of patient after discharge.<br>Medical social service. Cooperation with clinics, health centers, and visiting nurses: also with Federal, State, county, and city health authorities. | 1. Responsibility to State board of charities and corrections for maintaining its standards for care in homes receiving children not with their parents on either a free or a pay basis.<br>(*a*) Initial inspection and recommendations for license.<br>(*b*) Follow-up inspections and report on homes.<br>2. Local responsibility of maintaining at an acceptable standard homes containing minor children where there is insufficient income.<br>Placing dependent children in boarding homes for the juvenile courts.<br>3. Responsibility to State board of control for children eligible for State aid (children's agent).<br>(*a*) Recommendations of allowances of State aid to needy children.<br>(*b*) Maintenance of an adequate budget in the homes in which a grant is made.<br>(*c*) Supervision of homes while aid is being allowed and report on conditions.<br>4. Center of information and education concerning possibilities of the State for meeting the wants of all types of needy children. | Cooperation with juvenile court, probation committee, city and county jail authorities, and the police. | Special studies or surveys of conditions in the county, utilizing therefor the resources of State commissions, educational institutions, and local workers.<br>Charity indorsement. |

The support of the welfare department comes in all cases from within the county; in general, through an appropriation by the board of supervisors, as a part of the county budget. However, in one county[11] the American Red Cross supplements the salary of the secretary and pays for rent, light, heat, and telephone service; in another[12] the American Red Cross pays the salary of one children's agent; and in a third[13] it supplies a health nurse.

In order to meet local conditions in a county where private social agencies are well organized, the Alameda County Welfare Council differs from the other county welfare departments. This welfare council is a supervising and standardizing agency. The actual case work and distribution of relief is done by the three large private agencies in the county—Oakland Associated Charities, Berkeley Charity Organization, and Alameda City Social Service. These are called the "constituent agencies" of the county welfare council, and the members of the council include representatives from the directorates of these private agencies. The county budget for relief and social service is allotted by the council to the three agencies, and they in turn report monthly to the council.

The first important step for the newly organized welfare department is the choice of a secretary. A trained social worker of tested experience is chosen by the department but is paid by the supervisors. In most of the counties the secretaries are women. The qualifications of this officer are as important as those of the board. This position requires training and experience in social work; a definite knowledge of records and of office procedure; a wide sympathy, a sustained and abiding sense of humor, and ability to work with other county officials, to make adjustments easily, and to lead the community—largely through the results obtained—to understand the wisdom and necessity of adequate relief and constructive social work. This need for trained secretaries was one of the main reasons for the establishment of a training course for social workers by the department of economics of the University of California in September, 1920.

After a welfare department is created the State board of charities and corrections suggests that the newly appointed secretary study the methods of office procedure of one of the county welfare departments already in operation. The department divides naturally into committees—children's work, health, and relief. The staff is organized along the lines of the committee work. Two of the smaller counties have a secretary with no assistants, and four counties have

[11] Merced. [12] Alameda. [13] Stanislaus.

a secretary and a stenographer; in the smaller counties the American Red Cross cooperates very closely with the department and supplements its work.

It is the policy of the State board of charities and corrections to suggest that the counties begin with a small force and let the work justify an increase in staff, and the short experience of four years has shown a gradual and necessary increase. First, a nurse is added; then a stenographer, where the need warrants it. Salary increases follow recognized service. So far, no county has paid its secretary a salary higher than $2,400 a year. One county,[14] which started in January, 1918, with a secretary and one agent, now has a staff of six, with three automobiles in constant service. Recently the supervisors have placed the administration of the entire health service of Fresno County, including the county hospital, under the welfare department.

In seven counties the office of the department is in the county courthouse; in two it is in the hall of records; one department rents offices near the courthouse; and two have converted dwellings into very satisfactory offices.

Transportation is arranged for in various ways, from sharing the use of an automobile with the probation officer or hiring one when needed to the purchase or donation of one or more machines. One department, in addition to the automobile supplied by the county, is allowed mileage. The constituent agencies of the Alameda County Welfare Council own or use six machines.

All the departments meet at least once a month; three meet twice a month. They all meet at stated times, the plan being to have the welfare department meeting immediately before the regular meeting of the supervisors. At the department meeting the secretary's report and claims for relief are considered; the committees make their reports new cases are considered and old cases are closed. When claims have been approved by the department they are taken by the secretary to the meeting of the board of supervisors in the form of a financial report for final approval and action.

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[14] Fresno.

## PROVISION FOR NEEDY CHILDREN UNDER THE COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

The most constructive phase of work the county welfare department has is the work for children. Its possibilities for usefulness in this field are unlimited. The work for children is placed, not in a separate children's bureau, but with the family relief work, because the State board believes that the basis of all children's work should be the family. The State board of charities and corrections is given the responsibility, by law, of licensing all homes receiving children not with their parents, including free homes as well as boarding homes.[15] Any place conducted as a boarding home for children must be licensed, and the standards of the State board must be enforced by frequent and intelligent supervision.

It is the policy of the State board to intrust the work of selecting suitable boarding homes and of visiting and supervising them to the local welfare departments, as soon as these departments are prepared to assume this responsibility. Accordingly, after a county welfare department has been in operation for some time, a representative of the State board of charities and corrections goes to the department with the board's printed standards of child care and the State laws affecting children, and puts the secretary in possession of the information necessary to a discriminating choice among the various State and private institutions and homes for the placement of children. The representative of the State board helps in the establishment of the files and records, and visits with the secretary all family boarding homes in the county. Problem cases are discussed, and plans made regarding them. The board's agents return to the counties at frequent intervals to check up the local children's work of the welfare department, to see that the homes are up to standard, and to help with difficult decisions.

The departments record their inspections of homes on a form provided by the State board, and a report of the children's work of the county welfare department goes every month to the children's committee of the board, which keeps a complete file of all family boarding homes in California. The form of report is shown herewith:

FORM OF REPORT TO STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS FROM LOCAL AGENCY SUPERVISING FAMILY BOARDING HOMES.

Name of agency_____ Date_____
Number of active homes on first of month_____
Number of homes inactive during month_____
Number of licenses relinquished_____
Number of licenses revoked_____

[15] Calif. Stat. 1913, p. 73.

Number of applicants during month_____
Number pending action_____
Number voluntarily withdrawn_____
Number denied _____
Number recommended_____
Total active homes during month_____
Total active homes at end of month_____
Number of active homes_____
Number of children in active homes_____
Number of visits made_____
Number of homes visited:
City _____
Country_____
Number of homes not visited:
City _____
Country_____
Signed _____

To report submitted by local agencies supervising family boarding homes should be attached:

1. List of homes recommended for licenses: (*a*) State application blanks. (*b*) State inspection blanks with recommendations.
2. List of homes which have been denied permits.
3. List of homes which have relinquished licenses: (*a*) Licenses (State). (*b*) Registers (State).
4. List of homes which have had permits revoked: (*a*) Licenses (State). (*b*) Registers (State).

The organization of the work for children under a county welfare department is effected step by step. At first the department is limited to follow-up visits and reports on family boarding homes after the initial inspection has been made by the State board. Later, when the county welfare department has been tested by experience, more power is delegated to it by the board. Nine established departments are now authorized to make the initial inspection of family boarding homes, to make the subsequent inspections, and to report monthly to the board. On their recommendation the State board of charities and corrections grants and revokes licenses. The three departments last formed are in process of organizing their children's work, and agents from the State board are in these counties helping them to standardize it.

At intervals a "child-welfare letter" in mimeographed form goes to each welfare department from the children's committee of the State board, giving news of the progress in the children's work in the State and the counties, and frequently quoting from opinions of the attorney general in legal matters relating to child care. Its purpose is to give definite help in the children's work of the welfare departments, just as the "county welfare letter" gives information concerning progress in county organization. The letter which follows is a typical one.

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS,
CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

CHILD WELFARE LETTER NO. 1.

The State board of charities and corrections, through its children's department, plans to send out from time to time a "child welfare news-letter" to the institutions, agencies, and individuals engaged in the work of caring for needy and wayward children. The purpose of this bulletin is to report briefly notable happenings and developments in child care, to serve as a clearing house for the exchange of ideas, and to answer questions bearing on the care of dependent children in California. We want this letter to be informing and interesting. Any suggestions or items which help to make it so will be appreciated.

*General.*—The University of California Extension Division announces a lecture tour throughout California, in the interest of the health of children * * *.

The State board of charities has been asked to resume the regular quarterly *child welfare conferences* which were discontinued during the war. The first of the new series of conferences will be held at an early date, the northern section in San Francisco and the southern section in Los Angeles. Details will be announced in the next issue of this letter. We should be glad to receive suggestions of topics for discussion at these conferences.

The interesting film "Motherhood" is available for free circularization * * *.

A council of social and health agencies, representing 98 organizations, has been formed in San Francisco.

*Institutions.*—Within the past year, by virtue of an opinion of the attorney general of California, a new group of institutions has come under the supervision of the State board of charities. The attorney general rules that all institutions caring for children up to the age of majority are subject to the license of this board. The new group includes the George Junior Republic, Chino; the California Girls' Training Home, Alameda; St. Catherine's Home, San Francisco; and the Convent of the Good Shepherd, Los Angeles.

Another new group asking for State license includes preventoria and homes for convalescent children. Hill Farm in Marin County, St. Dorothy's Rest at Guerneville, Sonoma County, and the Stanford Home for Convalescent Children at Stanford University are splendid examples of this type of child care.

*Mother Cabrini Preventorium.*—A country home for anemic children and those predisposed to tuberculosis has been opened at Burbank, Los Angeles County, by the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart. The children will receive a medical examination prior to admission and will be under the care of a tuberculosis expert while in the home.

A new building and many other splendid improvements are progressing rapidly at the *Boys' and Girls' Industrial Home and Farm at Lytton.* The story of the fire in April, which destroyed the administration building and the girls' quarters, is a proud record of efficient organization and undaunted spirit. While the fire was still burning provision was made for the feeding and housing of the children. The boys turned over their quarters to the girls and made a lark of sleeping in the newly erected cow barn. Within twenty-four hours a "tent city" had sprung up and the institution was functioning with remarkable smoothness. The regard which the community has for Lytton was demonstrated by the prompt and generous help which was rendered. The summer has been a busy one, and the accomplishments have been many.

October 3rd marked the laying of the cornerstone of the new home of the *Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum.* The site of 13 acres is attractively located

on Ocean Avenue in San Francisco adjoining a very desirable residential section. The plan contemplates a group of nine buildings. The cottages are of two general types, two stories in height, and will house 20 children each, 10 boys and 10 girls. The interesting features of this new departure in child care are too numerous to mention here. The forward-looking spirit which animates the group responsible for this institution justifies the expectation of worth-while achievement.

CHIEF AGENT, CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

NOVEMBER, 1920.

There is a growing understanding in California of the needs of children. The legislature of 1919[18] raised to $10 per month the amount of State aid to orphans, half orphans, and abandoned children. The last legislature[19] raised to 16 years the age of eligibility for this aid, and made eligible the child or children of a father incapacitated for gainful work by permanent physical disability or by tuberculosis; it increased the aid for foundlings to $15 per month until they reach 2 years of age or are placed for adoption.

The county welfare departments share in this growing appreciation of the needs of children. This understanding is gradually shared by the community and gives that basis of public opinion which enables the supervisors to make adequate provision in their budget for the relief of needy children. The county welfare departments are becoming more generous in their support of such children. The California statutes permit the county to give $20 a month for the support of a dependent child, whether he be cared for in his own home, in a family home not his own, or in an institution.[20] The lowest rate given by any welfare department is $15 per month; most departments give $20 a month and supplement this amount from outside sources.

A study of eight county welfare departments shows that the monthly amounts, per child, given by them, were as follows: One, $15; one, $15 to $20; two, $17.50 to $20; two, $20; one, $20 to $35; and one, $25.

The welfare department in its many contacts draws to its aid all the available help in the community. The county chapters of the American Red Cross are generous in their aid in the care of children. They give milk, clothing, and facilities for recreation, and in some counties provide clinics for dental and medical care. The Needlework Guild of America and the county tuberculosis associations supplement the work of the departments, and cooperation is established with local dispensaries, baby hospitals, clubs, churches, and health centers. The county welfare departments are working closely with the probation officers, and in many of the counties needy children

[18] Calif. Stat. 1919, p. 473.
[19] Calif. Pol. Code, sec. 2289, as amended by Stat. 1921, p. 1689.
[20] Juvenile court law, Calif. Stat. 1919, p. 476.

are turned over by the juvenile court to the welfare departments for placement.

Through the power of its organization, its representative membership, and its official relationships, both State and county, the welfare department is able to care for needy children according to a standard comparable with the best work of the best private agencies caring for children.

## SUCCESS OF THE COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT PLAN.

The county welfare department plan has been tested for four years in California. It is proving successful. Unorganized counties are increasingly making requests for surveys by the State board of charities and corrections, and in the already organized counties more and more responsibility is being delegated to the department by the supervisors. The welfare departments are working under the standards of the State board of charities and corrections on a program of child care based on adequate food of the proper kind; intelligent medical guidance and nursing care; properly supervised recreation; and special provision for education and vocational opportunities for all needy children. The responsibility for child care in the county is placed definitely in the hands of the children's committee of the department.

The San Bernardino Welfare Commission has a broad constructive policy in its work for children. In the second year of its existence it was successful in closing the county orphanage, which had not been a credit to the county. The children were placed in private homes under the general supervision of a nurse and social worker. This not only saved money for the county taxpayers but was of untold value to the children, who are now receiving home care and have a chance to develop normally.

The Fresno County Welfare Department is working along the same modern lines in its children's work. During its first year it, too, was instrumental in closing the county orphanage and placing the children in private family homes. Many of the children in the orphanage were not entirely dependent, and it was found possible to place these with their own relatives.

The Humboldt County Welfare Department made a study of the homeless children of the county. It has developed a county dental clinic and a general children's clinic, and it works closely with the public health nurse, who is employed by the American Red Cross in the county seat. This department was also instrumental in the improvement of public recreation facilities for young people in the county; the Young Women's Christian Association assisted in establishing a recreation center in Eureka.

Each county welfare department has its own record of progress in work for children and in family relief work. More and more children are placed in well-supervised family boarding homes near at hand instead of in distant institutions, and the community is coming to assume its responsibility in the actual care of its less favored members. More and more are the welfare departments creating clinical opportunities for the medical care of dependent children and families; more and more are they availing themselves of the medical service offered by the universities of the State.

The county welfare departments are giving more efficient service than was rendered under the old system, and are undertaking not only remedial service but preventive work for children as well. At the same time it has been demonstrated that the welfare department saves the county money. Reports of county auditors show the following savings through the county welfare departments:

| County. | Amount. | Period. |
|---|---|---|
| Fresno | $20,129.97 | First year. |
| San Bernardino | 20,613.30 | First two years. |
| San Mateo | 6,476.72 | First two years. |
| Sonoma | 11,245.72 | First two years. |
| Humboldt | 4,848.00 | First six months. |

These reports show that five counties, the first to organize welfare departments, have saved thereby in less than two years the sum of $63,313.71.

The supervisors are approving the county welfare department plan. Although the initiative for organization has never come from them, after a department is in operation the supervisors have in all cases expressed themselves as pleased with the results. They are especially glad to be relieved of the burden of doling out relief; they are also pleased with the saving in money and with the favorable reports on the work from State agencies. The community is satisfied because the social work of the county is administered with standards as high as those of private charitable organizations.

As stated in the beginning of this paper, the various phases of social work form parts of one related problem. It seems logical and wise that the community, in attempting to solve this problem, should intrust it in its entirety to one representative agency. Such an agency is the welfare department. In its practical working it has justified the theory upon which it is founded. It originates in the community whence it derives administrative, financial, and social authority; it acts for the community in behalf of all those who need the community's support.

# COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD WELFARE IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.[1]

MRS. CORNELIA B. MEYTROTT,

*Assistant Director, Division of Parole and Domestic Relations, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies.*

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE.

A clear understanding of the status of the various counties of New Jersey with respect to organization for social-welfare work requires a knowledge of certain outstanding facts as to their general characteristics. The counties, 21 in all, differ widely in respect to area, distribution of population, and economic conditions. As a result there is considerable variation with respect to the type of organization most likely to function successfully on a county basis.

### General character of the counties.

Three small urban counties and part of a fourth are in the great metropolitan district adjacent to the city of New York. Within their combined area of approximately 400 square miles is gathered a population of more than 1,500,000. Some of the larger rural counties have about the same area and a population of not more than 75,000, and sometimes of only 25,000 to 40,000. Other counties, like Monmouth and Mercer, are partly urban in character, with total populations of 105,000 to 160,000, centered for the most part in one or more small cities and a number of boroughs.

The distinctly rural counties and the rural portions of other counties vary widely in many respects. Some are prosperous agricultural communities. Others embrace great stretches of waste land, more or less inaccessible. In the northern counties are areas of wooded or rugged hills. Near the lower border of the State miles and miles of pine swamp and sand follow the coast line and at some points extend far inland. In New Jersey, therefore, are found the social and economic problems of remote, sparsely settled, unproductive districts, and also all of the conditions ordinarily present in farm communities and in congested city districts. Within the borders of certain counties, notably in Monmouth County, all of these various conditions are present.

[1] This manuscript was completed in April, 1922.

**Civic organization.**

Political and civic organization for the counties of New Jersey centers in the county courts, the county board of freeholders, and the county school administration. The political parties of the State and state-wide organizations of more or less civic type, such as the war-time council of national defense, are grouped about county committees.

The judges of county courts are appointed by the governor. Except in counties of the first class—i. e., the two urban counties of Essex and Hudson—the judge of the court of common pleas is the one representative of legal authority in the county. The members of the board of freeholders are elected by the people to control the expenditure of money raised by taxation for the benefit of various county projects—such as county institutions, roads, and bridges. The county superintendent of schools is appointed by the State board of education for a three-year term. His chief functions are to administer school funds apportioned by the State from general school funds provided by revenues, and to maintain the educational standards which are required of schools participating in these benefits. The actual conduct of local school matters is in the hands of local boards of education. These are elected in all townships and boroughs, but are appointed in certain cities.

The office of county adjuster has recently been established by law for all counties, so that there will be in each a qualified person whose business it is to supervise all matters connected with the commitment of the insane, the tubercular, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded to State, county, and private institutions; to establish the legal settlement of patients; to look after the guardianship of patients; and to perform other related work as required.

Any social project or problem involving the welfare or protection of children should naturally be the common concern of the judge, the superintendent of schools, and the county adjuster. Through these officials and the welfare agency, when there is one, the contact of State departments with local and county child problems is necessarily established.

In addition to the usual officers connected with the courts, the county board of freeholders, and the school systems, there are in certain counties various special officers or boards appointed under permissive acts of the legislature. The probation officer, the county attendance officer, and the helping teacher represent this group. These offices are filled by special request, and usually upon the fulfillment of certain conditions by the community. Appointments are made by the head of the State department to which the office is most closely allied, except in the case of the probation office, which is under the

immediate jurisdiction of the county court. Salaries are paid, however, from the general funds available to the county from State revenues. The work of the "county helping teachers" and of the county attendance officer, for instance, is in close relation to the program of the State department of education for the development of the rural schools. They are appointed, and the amount of their salary is fixed by the State commissioner of education; but they work under the immediate direction of the county superintendent, and are paid from the general school funds appropriated to the respective counties from State revenues.

## STATE AND LOCAL PROVISION FOR CHILD WELFARE.

In the State organization no one department is assigned to handle all the problems of child welfare. Certain phases of this work are primarily the interest of the department of education; others are the concern of the department of labor, the department of institutions and agencies, or the department of health. In the department of institutions and agencies responsibility for child welfare is divided between the division of parole and domestic relations and the State board of children's guardians.

The most direct contact with local agencies and private institutions is through the division of parole and domestic relations. The policy to which this division is committed is to encourage the highest standard possible for all juvenile court and probation work, to bring about an increase in the number of separate juvenile courts, and to secure the very best kind of cooperation between the courts, the community, and the local agencies on the one hand and the State institutions and agencies on the other. This is essential if duplication and waste of effort are to be eliminated; for whatever the State may be able to do for an individual must be supplemented in the community to which he returns, if the good result is to be permanent.

Commitment of a juvenile (boy under 16, girl under 18) to a State institution for delinquents is for the period of minority, but the child may be released upon parole at the discretion of the board of managers. When so released he comes immediately under the supervision of the central parole bureau of the State department of institutions and agencies. No child is released by the board of managers until the home environment has been investigated by the parole bureau. Employment considered suitable for the individual or, if he is of school age, adjustment of his school relations must be guaranteed by the parole bureau before he is released. After release he is carefully followed and, if necessary, returned to the institution by the parole bureau. In a great many instances suitable placement in a foster home is made instead of returning the child to the environment which caused his delinquencies.

The most important points of contact between the State institutions and agencies and the county and local agencies are in the work of investigation (which is begun on admission to an institution and continued at time of parole) and in the problems of placement and supervision on parole. The staff of the central bureau is inadequate to carry on successfully all of this field work. Through correspondence and by coordinating the work of the district field officer of the parole bureau with that of local agencies it may, however, be possible to meet the situation fairly well. Cooperation of this type is found at its best in Essex, Monmouth, Atlantic, and Mercer Counties.

All institutions and agencies, both public and private, which have to do with the care of dependent, defective, or delinquent children are subject to inspection by the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. A certificate of indorsement is issued at the discretion of the State commissioner of institutions and agencies. It is customary with the commissioner to refuse indorsement if the general standard acceptable to the department is not met.[1]

Many city and county institutions and several state-wide child-caring societies are doing good work in caring for neglected children. It is, perhaps, fair to say that the child whose need is brought to the

[1] The State board, the commissioner, and one of the chiefs of the various divisions enumerated in section 109 hereof, from time to time designated or created, and at such time so designated, in pursuance of powers vested in the State board by said section 109, which designation in form of resolution of the State board shall be filed with the secretary of state, and such designation when so filed shall be deemed to be due notice thereof, shall have full power to compel the attendance of witnesses, to administer oaths, to examine such persons as may be necessary or expedient, to investigate, or cause to be investigated, the record, health, ability, and character previous to admission or commitment and during the period of treatment or imprisonment of each and every patient, ward, or inmate admitted, received or committed to any institution subject to the examination, supervision or jurisdiction of the State board, and on complaint of any person or upon its own initiative investigate the treatment or care of inmates and the conduct or management of any such institution. It shall also be the duty of the said State board to establish a uniform system of records, reports, statistics, memoranda, data identifying and relating to persons admitted or received in any charitable institution and of persons convicted of crime and offenses punishable by imprisonment in any of the correctional institutions subject to the jurisdiction of the State board of institutions and agencies, and to make recommendations from time to time to the courts having jurisdiction therein or with respect thereto, for the purpose of enabling the courts or judicial officers having jurisdiction to more uniformly and effectively admit or commit persons, or impose sentences upon persons subject thereto. All persons summoned by the State board, the commissioner of institutions and agencies, or one of the division chiefs appointed by the State board, as provided in this section, shall receive, for attendance before the board, or such officer issuing such summons, the like witness fees and mileage as are now allowed to persons summoned to testify in the courts of this State, and the treasurer of this State is hereby authorized and directed to pay, upon the warrant of the comptroller, such fees and compensation as may be certified as correct by the commissioner, out of the maintenance fund of such department. All persons refusing to obey any such summons may be, on application to the common pleas judge of the county in which such hearing is to be held, brought before any judge of such court of common pleas in such county, and required to answer for his refusal to obey such summons. Such hearing shall be conducted in a summary manner and, in the discretion of the said judge, the said person may be held in contempt of court for his refusal or willful neglect of such summons. The person may purge himself of any such contempt on such terms as the court or judge may impose to effectuate or accomplish the purpose of this act. (N. J. Acts 1918, ch. 147, 200 (*b*), as added by Acts 1919, ch. 139.)

attention of public authorities or properly recognized agencies is very likely to receive suitable care. But children whose fathers have deserted or have been divorced, children of unemployed and destitute parents too proud to apply for relief, children whose mothers are employed and those whose mothers are dead, are often placed by relatives or friends in unauthorized so-called boarding homes whose existence may not at once be discovered. Under such circumstances abuses may arise.

Dependent children from other States may not be placed out in New Jersey except in compliance with section 646 of chapter 147 of the Laws of 1918, which provides for a license and bond, and forbids importation of children who are incorrigible or of unsound mind or body. The situation of New Jersey between two great cities makes the problem of controlling the importation of children an important one.

The child-welfare act passed in 1915 is a very comprehensive statute. In its definition of "abandonment, cruelty, neglect, and improper guardianship" is covered every conceivable parental sin of commission or omission. The statute provides penalties for the delinquent parent and suitable guardianship for the child. However, before the provisions of this act can be brought to bear on a given case, a person willing to make the initial complaint must be found, and that is often very difficult, because the persons most likely to be in possession of the facts—relatives or neighbors—are the least willing to initiate action or give evidence. No public agency is charged with the enforcement of proceedings against neglectful and delinquent parents and guardians under the act; both public and private agencies do, however, avail themselves of its provisions when flagrant cases are brought to their attention.

Provision for the welfare of widows and their children and for dependent children brought before the courts is in the hands of the State board of children's guardians, under direction of the State board of control of institutions and agencies. An "act to promote home life for dependent children" was passed in 1913 and has been several times amended. The work of this board in administering widows' pensions, and in placing and supervising children who have been committed to its care by the courts because of improper guardianship in the home or for other reasons, has been the outstanding feature of New Jersey's welfare program. Over 10,000 children have been in the care of the board. It maintains no institution. The law provides that children shall be kept only temporarily in "receiving homes" or in almshouses, and must be suitably placed in supervised boarding homes or with private families within a limited time. Applications for pensions are heard in the county courts;

when pensions are granted they are a charge upon the county but are administered from the central office.

There is need of greater clearness as to the scope and functions of the State board of children's guardians. It is the practice of the board to receive children into its care upon commitment only. There is, however, great need for some agency to take the initiative in seeing that a dependent child is placed without delay under proper guardianship.

## SPECIAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN CERTAIN COUNTIES.

The urban counties have well-organized probation departments, and Essex, Hudson, Union, and Mercer do particularly effective probation work, though a large share of the work in these counties is devoted to adults. Hudson and Essex have special officers assigned to juvenile cases. These two counties are already provided with parental schools, where juveniles awaiting hearing or held as witnesses may be detained, or to which they may be committed for observation and examination or for temporary care and training. Camden County has begun to build a juvenile detention home, and will administer it according to the best modern standards.

Burlington County has put forth special efforts to meet the problem of poor attendance in rural schools; so also have Monmouth and Ocean. Each has a county attendance officer. By virtue of "permissive" legislation, such an officer may be appointed at public expense after demonstration has been made through private support for a certain period. In each instance a woman well trained in social work has been appointed. In Burlington County much has been accomplished toward the consolidation of rural schools and the improvement of family life as related to child welfare in isolated communities. This county has also been especially successful in stimulating interest in backward and subnormal children and in making special provision for them. The county colony for feeble-minded boys, started some years ago, has been taken over by the State and is rapidly developing into a remarkably successful institution.

In the extremely rural counties of Hunterdon, Sussex, Warren, and Ocean, and in Morris, Somerset, and several of the southern counties, the county-helping teachers are not only aiding to secure better standards of teaching and of health for country school children, but are also creating a community consciousness in out-of-the-way places, drawing together and interesting everyone—parents, teachers, children, and officials—in better conditions for the children.

Bergen County has recently improved its county children's home. This county has four helping teachers. Morris County looks forward

to improving and developing its children's home. It now has at the county seat a thoroughly experienced social worker and is preparing for organization on a county basis.

In Middlesex, Warren, Cumberland, Ocean, and Atlantic Counties the local units of the American Red Cross have been very helpful to the State department of institutions and agencies in securing better child care. Many counties have no other organized social agencies. Four counties have county vocational schools. Passaic County, largely urban in character, has good schools for subnormal children and also has a well-organized social agency—not, however, on a county basis. Salem and Somerset Counties are unorganized for local welfare work. The former, however, offers any number of good foster homes, and is a favorite "placing ground" with several agencies; and the latter, which is populated largely by city commuters, contains many institutions for children of New York City who are in need of convalescent care.

In Monmouth County the work of the county organization for social service is unique for a number of reasons. First, it is not a part of any State or National organization for social work. It is affiliated with larger organizations, but is in no way dependent upon them for policy, direction, or finance, although it may cooperate with them in carrying out a demonstration or an experiment. Second, it is not subsidized from public funds, but is supported entirely by private contributions. Third, it has carried forward a work broader than that of most private organizations and more directly connected with public life and county government. This work has included surveys and research with respect to public offices and institutions, and it has also included experiment and demonstration of more effective methods of public administration in the work of public schools, health departments, courts, institutions, and relief agencies. The demonstration of family social service has been on a county-wide basis—this again is quite unusual. Finally, the organization has been successful in strengthening and multiplying local agencies and at the same time has established closer and more helpful relationships between local agencies and the larger organized bodies, State and National.

## THE WORK IN MONMOUTH COUNTY.

### Characteristics of the county.

Monmouth County lies midway between north and south Jersey. It has a long coast line, part of the "summer playground" district of the Atlantic seaboard. The shore has a large and shifting summer population, and both on the shore and inland are many beautiful summer homes. The county is also suburban in character. Fre-

quent trains carry commuters daily between their country or seaside homes and the two great cities of New York and Philadelphia. Back from the shore lie the rolling, fertile farm lands of what, according to Government reports, is one of the richest and most productive agricultural counties in the United States. Fringing the fine farming country are a number of townships where there are miles of pine and sand and the farms are few and poor. The county extends inland in wedge shape almost across the State. It has an area of 479 square miles and a permanent population of about 105,000, including 22,000 of foreign or mixed parentage, 13,000 foreign born, and 9,000 negroes. There are 43 political units, namely, 2 cities, 25 boroughs, and 16 townships.[2]

In addition to the railways which cross the county in several directions there are extensive highways, so that transportation by automobile is convenient. In many districts almost every farmer has a car. The county seat, Freehold, is located in the prosperous rural section. Near Matawan and Keyport is a more barren district adjoining Raritan Bay; here, and in the extremely sandy southern district, are found Italian, Pole, or Hebrew, or the indigenous "poor white," who, because he believes that a few acres and "liberty" are better than working a farm for some one else, has rented for himself a small tract of land. With no other visible assets than a hard-working wife, a large family of children, a spavined horse or two, and a few secondhand tools, he starts out to wrest a living from the land—and in some way or other does it.

The permanent residents of the two cities and the boroughs along the shore include, as one would expect, landlords, the professional groups, tradesmen, and servants (of whom many are negroes). All of these are to a great extent dependent upon the visitor and the commuter for an opportunity to earn a living. But there is one other group of inhabitants so distinctive as to require special mention, namely, the fisher folk and the oyster and clam diggers, many families of whom inhabit the shores of the numerous salty inlets and bays. Not a few of these families cling to the more primitive modes of life, and simple social standards naturally result from their isolated existence. Physical and mental deficiencies appear with greater frequency among individuals belonging to this group than among those in any other, unless it be the families of the "pine woods" and desolate sandy stretches, whose condition is also isolated and whose mode of life is similar.

Of manufacturing establishments there are few in this county. A rug mill, a cannery, and small tool works at the county seat, one or

[2] See Bulletin, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population, New Jersey: Composition and Characteristics of the Population, p. 10.

two plants employing mechanical labor in the northern section, and the clothing factories located in larger or smaller units in various parts of the county—these offer the only industrial opportunities.

The schools of the county represent every type from the one-room antique pattern of district school to the well-equipped, modern city system. Their total seating capacity is about 25,000. In 1920 there were still in use 77 schools of the one and two room type, in which were enrolled 3,435 boys and girls.

**The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service.**

*History.*—This organization, now so well established,[3] was the outgrowth of an investigation into conditions in the county made at the suggestion of a resident, who was at the time (1912) actively interested in the State organization known as the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association. It was as a county branch of this association that the Monmouth County society was originally organized. Later, when the State association went out of existence, the local society changed its name to the present one.

The original organization undertook to perform some of the functions of a children's agency, of an antituberculosis association, and of a county charity organization society. Its earliest efforts were put into a campaign for a county hospital for tuberculosis patients and for a county home and hospital for the aged and incurable. It endeavored also to help the overseers of the poor and to study the problem of dependency in the entire county. A paid secretary and a stenographer constituted its first staff.

Following the passage of the poor law by the New Jersey Legislature of 1911, the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association, a volunteer organization representing most of the counties, met to discuss the application of this law. The representative from Monmouth County volunteered to finance an investigation in her county to determine how far the law was really oper-

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[3] REPORT OF INSPECTION BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES.

Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, Second National Bank Building, Red Bank, N. J.

Date: December 7, 1921.

Object: To provide a clearing house for social and health activities in Monmouth County.

Source of maintenance: Voluntary contributions.

Employees, 12: Male, 2; female, 3 social workers, 2 nurses, 3 investigators, 2 clerks.

Qualifications for assistance: No race, color, or creed distinctions.

Child placement: None.

Activities: General social service, psychiatric clinic for school children, health clinics, family relief, extensive health program for children.

Remarks: Probably the most active private welfare organization in the State, touching every phase of family and community life. It is well organized and efficiently conducted.

Recommendation: Indorsement upon receipt of financial report. New report to be published early in 1922.

ative or could be made operative, and to present a survey of the general social conditions in the county. The paragraph which follows is quoted from the published report of this survey:

> This investigation revealed many needs, and at the same time showed that those who were trying to aid the unfortunate and to better community conditions were working without any thought of coordinated effort. Private charity was practically unorganized. There were no trained or paid social workers. No work was being done for children, except at long range by two State societies of limited function. The only public institution was the county jail. Children were lodged in jail and tried in open court. There had been no school census for a number of years; truancy was common; poverty, dependency, disease, and bad housing were all too prevalent. Neither public nor private charity was employing modern preventive or constructive measures. Disheartened groups here and there were ready to welcome some form of organization which promised better things.

Most people were surprised at this report, but the promoter of the investigation was by no means disheartened. She believed that most of the wrong conditions could be remedied by intelligent, concerted action. Accordingly she went to work to secure concerted action. Small groups of people, carefully selected, were asked to meet at her home and in the homes of those who became interested. A few large gatherings were held to arouse public interest. Before long the funds necessary to employ a secretary was raised, and the Monmouth County branch of the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association was organized on June 24, 1912.[4]

Membership of the organization has grown from 150 in the first year to over 600 at the present time. Contributions vary from $1 to $1,000 or more. The society has always striven for the highest possible number of dollar members in order to secure the interest of the largest possible number of people. In 1918 the income of the organization amounted to $12,966 and the disbursements to $11,956.

*Original constitution.*—The original form of organization provided for a president, four vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, constituted the executive committee. The standing committees were organized for active work in the discretion of the executive committee and were required to submit written reports at the monthly meetings of that committee and at the annual meetings of the association. The standing committees included those on (1) county institutions, (2) cooperation with churches and private charities, (3) tuberculosis, (4) finance, (5) education and publicity, (6) overseers of poor, (7) children, (8) vagrants and mendicants, (9) housing, and (10) mental defectives.

[4] At the annual meeting in 1917 the name of the organization was changed and a new constitution adopted.

The finance committee was required to secure the approval of the executive committee on methods to be employed by local committees in raising funds.

The committee on education and publicity was charged with the task of interesting people throughout the county in the objects of the association and of informing them concerning its methods, activities, and aims—through the press and by means of public meetings; and otherwise, as it seemed advisable, it was to acquire and disseminate general information on topics relating to the work.

The committee on children defined its duties as follows:

It shall study the condition and needs of the dependent and neglected children of Monmouth County. It shall inform itself of the character and work of institutions, both public and private, where children are maintained, and shall suggest to the executive committee such changes or improvements as may tend to increase their efficiency in the care and education of these children. The committee shall cooperate with the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians and other child-placing and supervising agencies, and with the public schools of the county, to the end that no child within this county shall be deprived of an opportunity to develop the physical, mental, and moral qualities that make for good citizenship.

The committee on mental defectives was enjoined to gather information concerning the number, whereabouts, and condition of feeble-minded, epileptic, and insane persons in Monmouth County; to learn how many such unfortunate individuals from the county were being cared for in State institutions, and the cost per capita of their commitment and maintenance, and to study the causes producing such mental defectives, so far as they are ascertainable, and suggest methods of alleviation and control.

Provision was made for the "Council of Social Welfare," an advisory council including one or more representatives of each of the municipalities in the county, as follows:

The members of this council shall be appointed by the president. They shall hold monthly meetings. It shall be the duty of the council of social welfare to consider and decide all questions relating to the external policy of the association, and no new course of action involving the outside relations of the association shall be entered upon without the knowledge and approval of the council. No legislation shall be proposed by the council, nor any effort made to influence legislative action either by the association or by any member thereof, as such, unless with the approval of the executive committee of the State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association of New Jersey.

The work of the organization progressed along many lines, representing in each successive year the thought and effort of a larger group of citizens, particularly of those who, whether in official or in private life, were sincerely interested in the betterment of social conditions.

*Policies.*—The organization has not received subsidies from public funds; on the other hand, it has in many instances supplemented the public funds available for the salaries of certain officials in order that persons of unusual ability or special qualifications might be attracted to positions of trust and responsibility. In each such case the work of the official had to do with the welfare of families or children, and the gift was made for the purpose of carrying out an experiment involving some principle accepted by the organization as worthy of demonstration. The county attendance officer, the county supervisor of child study, and the county probation officer were first appointed in this way. As soon as the importance of each type of work was thoroughly established, the maintenance of these officers was taken over by the county. From the beginning, finances have been handled on a budget basis and carefully audited each year. The success in securing memberships has undoubtedly been due to the public confidence resulting from this careful policy, as well as to the actual achievements of the organization.

Certain fundamental principles have never been lost sight of: First, the true function of the private agency is to experiment, to demonstrate, and to set standards, whereas permanent plans for child-caring should be developed from these demonstrations and expanded under public control. Second, the development of the local community must go hand in hand with that of the county and the State, the work of each of the three being closely related to that of the other. Third, an exact knowledge of facts is the first essential to a sound program. Facts should be determined at first hand, whenever possible, by someone well trained for the work and provided with the necessary resources. The keeping of careful, discriminating records in permanent form is indispensable to real service. Fourth, there must be sympathetic coordination of effort, mutual understanding, and cooperation between various private agencies, and again between these and public officials.

The president of the organization in an annual address made this statement:

> I feel that we have always had a spirt of real fellowship with our officials and an appreciation of the services they render the county—our county superintendent of schools, our various school men, the representatives of the other State departments, our board of freeholders, and one of the best county courts in the State. With these officials we have labored, helping to make possible plans already laid down by them, and making new demonstrations through their leadership, always realizing that theirs is the official responsibilty and that in them official authority resides. We have felt with them that experiments, even in their departments, should properly be made out of voluntary funds, always accepting in advance as a principle that, should such demonstrations prove to be a success, they shall be carried by public funds, thereby becoming a permanent service to society. We have also felt that it is our function to be, for them, and under their direction, a means of giving informa-

tion to citizens of the county. Social education is part of a preventive program.

*Some of the activities of the organization.*—In June, 1921, there were 736 families under the supervision of the organization with respect to one or more family problems. Its executive secretary has been made county adjuster for Monmouth County, a fact which insures a saving of expense to the county in the support of its wards in the State institutions, and more satisfactory service to the families who have relatives or friends in the State institutions. The organization handles practically all the complaints brought under the "child-welfare law"; it makes investigations in most such cases at the request of the judge of the juvenile court.

The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service is the agent of the State and national tuberculosis associations. In 1920, it raised a large amount of money through the sale of Christmas seals, portions of which were spent for preventive health work, for the county tuberculosis nurse, for children's clinics, and, in some places, for giving a small subsidy to boards of education to make possible the employment of a school nurse.

In December, 1920, the Allenwood Hospital was opened, and within two months' time it was filled to capacity—27 beds. It now has a waiting list. Three tuberculosis clinics are held monthly—one at Freehold, one at Red Bank, and one at Asbury Park.

The staff physician of the organization is school medical examiner for six of the townships, and the organization bears the cost of the medical inspection, the money appropriated for that purpose by the townships being used for nursing follow-up work. The Red Cross cooperates with it in employing a "county advisory nurse." Sixteen communities now have public-health nurses. The "county tuberculosis nurse," whose field service covers the county, works under the county advisory nurse.

In cooperation with National and State agencies a comprehensive program for making careful studies througout the county of the mental as well as the physical health of school children has recently been inaugurated. This is the second time that a county-wide study of school children has been undertaken. The first study, completed in 1915, revealed certain important facts with respect to the number of public-school children who were in need of special medical care, institutional treatment, special teaching, or changed environmental conditions. As a result of this investigation, the county bureau of child study was established with the following general purposes: (1) To stimulate interest in mental and physical hygiene in the schools and community; (2) to examine as to mental development and health all children who are seriously retarded in school or are atypical; (3) to detect early manifestations of tendencies to nervous

or mental disorders among school children and to combat these tendencies by preventive work in the school and the home; (4) to keep a permanent register of all who are mentally defective; (5) to plan for and encourage special provision for the training and supervision of the mentally defective in school and community. The organization hoped so to educate public sentiment that means would eventually be provided for adequately taking care of the neglected, backward, delinquent, and dependent children of the county.

It was necessary to secure special legislation in order to establish this bureau. The act creating it reads as follows:[4]

1. When in any county a survey has been made setting forth facts and conditions regarding juvenile delinquency and deficiency among children of school age, the results of which shall, in the opinion of the commissioner of education, warrant the establishment of a department of child study, there may be appointed by the commissioner of education, with the approval of the State board of education, a supervisor of such department, who shall work under the authority of the county superintendent. The term of office of such supervisor shall be for one year, and he or she shall receive an annual salary of not more than $1,500.

2. The county superintendent of the county in which a supervisor has been appointed, as provided herein, shall, before making his apportionment of school moneys, deduct from the amount of railroad tax appropriated to his county the sum of $1,500 for the salary of such supervisor, and the further sum of $350 for traveling expenses, which sums shall remain in the hands of the county collector and shall be available only for the payment of the salary of such supervisor and the expenses incurred by said supervisor in the performance of his official duties.

The county organization gave practical assistance in training teachers for this work by granting scholarships for study at the Vineland Training School and elsewhere. Naturally, the rural problem was emphasized. At first the welfare of the whole group of retarded and mentally deficient children was sought, instead of singling out the definitely feeble-minded who were in need of custodial care. It was felt to be important to establish continuity of effort by keeping careful records, so that change from grade to grade and from one school or community to another might not result in waste. This point is well emphasized by Dr. F. D. Porteus, when he says:

If we give some years of training in carpentry to a boy who after leaving school follows the occupation of running errands or petty thieving—for which he requires no training—then a great deal of patient, heartbreaking effort must be largely discounted in value, because the aptitude was never put to use. The crux of the whole problem—the provision for after care—lies outside the teacher's province. This essential part of the problem requires legislative and social action, which the teacher can not initiate.

[4] N. J. Acts, 1917, ch. 88, as amended by Acts, 1920, ch. 102.

Such a record will accomplish a very important purpose—the relation of the school to the big social problems of dependency, deficiency, and juvenile crime will be kept clearly in view. An age-grade distribution table, with its very plain lesson, should be regarded by principals as a measuring chart of their social responsibility and by boards of education as a criterion of how sincerely and wisely they have tried to make the schools the best possible training ground for the coming generation.

In the beginning the teachers gave voluntary service, because they could not be released from regular work. To do the special work, they made many personal sacrifices, working out of hours and in all sorts of corners. Later, the aid of normal schools was enlisted. Several student teachers were assigned to practice under the teachers who wished to do this special work. It was not long before the student teacher could relieve her critic teacher of the regular classroom work during part of the day.

Another of the purposes of the bureau of child study was to prevent the development of delinquencies in schoolboys by getting hold of the boys in time to win them away from habits of truancy and disorderly conduct.

After the bureau had been in operation for a time the allowance for the salary of the supervisor was materially increased and he was granted an assistant. Special teachers have now been appointed whose duties are not only to teach and train the subnormal children but also to act as "adjusters" in any case of particular difficulty, to assist the school principal in determining the special needs of exceptional children, and to establish in each case relations of greater helpfulness between the parents and the school.

In one district where "there really wasn't a corner" for a special classroom for subnormal children, not only a corner but a good-sized room was secured by clearing out a basement storeroom. A long "saw-buck" table, a dozen stools, a movable blackboard, long and short ladders, a kindergarten circle on the floor, and a discarded bench or two constituted the new equipment. Decorations consisted of new kalsomining, a red burlap display board, and a quantity of flags. But the spirit of work and of play, the childish eagerness and happiness which were magically put into that basement room, did not emanate from the equipment. Children begged to come for a part of the day, because here was a teacher who could "show you how to do things," and such interesting things. The work proved its value so quickly that the teacher was soon allowed to give full time to it and had the promise of equipment in the coming year. Within two months several groups had been organized, so that practically every child who needed it was receiving a share, at least, of

the attention of this special teacher. The personal daily contact afforded by this special work was one of its principal advantages.

In much the same way the work of the county attendance officer was begun, proved its worth, and finally became a public responsibility. In 1921 this officer was recognized by the judge of the county as an assistant probation officer.

The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service has not functioned as a placement office, since the New Jersey State Board of Guardians and other well-established agencies are prepared to do that work effectively. It has, however, cooperated closely with all of these child-placing agencies. Its chief emphasis has always been on constructive and preventive work bearing upon child care and protection, because it has felt strongly that the child is involved in all family social problems and in many community problems, since these largely determine the character of his home. As a result, most of the things achieved have related to provision for better health and education, for improved family and community life, and for suitable treatment or institutional care when either is necessary.

## THE RELATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES TO COUNTY WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS.

In its relationship to local groups, it is the function of the State department to stimulate, cooperate, and coordinate rather than to interfere or attempt to direct arbitrarily. Plans of organization drawn up in an office remote from the scene of action and superimposed by a State authority upon any community are predestined for the scrap basket, or, at best, for a short-lived usefulness. The permanently successful organization is indigenous to the community. Though it develop slowly at first, it will continue to grow so long as there is need enough in the community to give it root hold.

The function of central bodies, such as the State department of institutions and agencies represents, is not to govern by reason of superior authority, but to stimulate and strengthen local endeavors and so to plan its own program of social welfare that the work of the State will be the natural complement of that which is accomplished by the communities.

It is often necessary, first of all, to help a community to see that it has a social problem. The second step is to help in measuring the problem, and the third, to aid in making a plan to take care of it. This always leads to the realization by the community that it is without the necessary resources, or is without the organization which would use existing resources to the best advantage. At this point the idea of a community or county organization is likely to germinate. There are, of course, many ways in which the experienced

State leader may help to nurture it or to influence the direction of its growth. The following story will illustrate:

In May, 1921, a boy of 13 years was admitted to the State correctional institution from the county of X. The records showed that he had spent three months in jail. A State worker, learning this fact, decided that county X would be a good field for service. A visit was made to the county court, and friendly relations were established with the judge and county officials.

When the boy's case was mentioned, the judge showed that he had been sincerely desirous of doing the right thing by him. On the boy's first arrest, since there was some question as to the degree of his mental responsibility, the judge had hesitated to send him to the State correctional institution and had instead kept him under observation in the county jail. On trial he was released; but he was again arrested, and for this second offense was committed to the institution. The reports of the State psychologist and psychiatrist, who examined him soon after admission, confirmed the judge's surmise that he was not normal mentally, but stated that his condition was symptomatic of a mental breakdown rather than of feeblemindedness. It was unfortunate that three months of valuabe time had been lost before treatment was begun.

Some weeks after the investigation of this case by the State worker a group of school officials met in Trenton, among whom were a number from the county from which the boy was committed. The State worker secured an opportunity to address this meeting on the necessity of early diagnosis and special teaching or care for pupils of a defective or a delinquent type. A week later there came an urgent request that the State agent visit a certain school district of the same county. Here was a school principal fully aware that his district had a gravely important social problem which involved a number of families and the safety of little children. He did not know what could be done about it, but the State department of institutions and agencies, in its several divisions, afforded the special types of service he needed.

The ramifications of this particular problem brought to light several others. Plans for taking care of the situation involved the readaptation of a county institution, the cooperation of a State institution in training a special teacher, and that of the State department in providing custodial care for certain individuals. People in the community began to ask, "Why have things come to this pass?" The answer was, "Nobody knew; nobody cared." They began to wonder if it wasn't somebody's business to know and to help, and suddenly discovered that there were certain workers in the county who made it their business to know and to help, if given the chance. It was learned

that a social-service bureau had been started at the county seat, a good many miles away. Since the community could not support an independent agency, it began to seek for some way of combining its plan with the work of the agency at the county seat and to wonder if other districts might not be induced to do the same, thus building up a county work. The idea is still in the first stage of development, but it is sure to take root, and the State worker will be there to see that it is firmly rooted in the right place.

The incident just given illustrates the process of "stimulation" used in those counties which have little or no organized service for the welfare of children. In other counties, notably the more urban counties where various local agencies are already established, the State department has promoted a plan of cooperation; this amounts to a friendly exchange of information, sometimes of service, and occasionally of advice. There is, however, no recognized relationship of interdependence.

In Monmouth County there has been a demonstration of what can be accomplished by really coordinating the work of the county organization with that of the State. Interdependence and responsibility are recognized on both sides. It is understood at the State department that the county organization is to be notified at once of every admission from the county to a State institution, and of the anticipated parole from an institution of every Monmouth County ward. The organization assumes responsibility for investigating the circumstances of commitment and secures a history of the subject. If family problems are involved, it begins to work upon them, so that the improvement in conditions may be coincident with the improvement in the individual under State care, if that is possible. The organization also receives the reports of State examiners concerning the subject under care. These reports often throw light on the family problem, just as the facts of family and personal history, gleaned by the county, assist the State agent to understand the patient. When a ward of the State received from this county is released, the county organization takes up the burden of placement and supervision, coordinating its plans with those of the parole bureau of the State department, under whose authority the subject remains till the expiration of the parole period.

The executive secretary of the county organization has been appointed county adjuster, so that all questions with respect to the cost of maintenance and responsibility therefor are promptly taken up by the person most familiar with the facts. This, of course, prevents great loss of motion.

In many other specific ways the effort of State specialists is closely seconded by the local workers, to the greatest possible good of the persons in their care. It is not necessary to say how large a saving

of effort and expense is thereby accomplished. The important fact is that this community recognizes that the commitment of one of its citizens to the care of a State institution does not "forever roll the burden away," but that community and State must share it.

It is probable that the next few years will witness the development of similar organizations in several counties of the State which are more or less comparable to Monmouth in general character. The State department of institutions and agencies will continue to go back to the community with case after case, each time bringing home to the community conscience a real sense of responsibility, and guiding this awakened consciousness into helpful forms of activity. The growth of organizations qualified to undertake the highest type of coordinated effort can not be accomplished in one year, or two, but every effort is bound to strengthen the tie between State and community service.

In urban centers where social agencies are already active the desire for mutual helpfulness brings together State and local workers. The well-organized probation departments of certain cities furnish the institutions with extremely valuable information from court and probation records. Investigating agencies are regularly called upon for family histories and other data concerning State wards, and they are glad to respond as far as their facilities for securing information permit. In these communities, councils of agencies or bureaus for family service, already organized, function with considerable effectiveness, so that it would seem unnecessary to attempt a separate organization on a county basis. In the face of the complicated city problems, a single organization would be compelled to adopt a very cumbersome form in order to include the great variety of functions which it would be called upon to fulfill.

The president of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service is quoted in the following paragraphs:

> We are only a few steps away from the county council of agencies in which all the representatives of Federal and State departments and the county executives can cooperate, with a program agreed upon in advance and with every effort and every dollar working toward the same end.
>
> The field to be chosen for the demonstration of a principle of social welfare should be coextensive with a political unit. This is necessary if the funds to carry the program are to be appropriated as part of the official budget, and is equally necessary if proper stress is being laid on the value of educating the public to demand permanent service as the result of demonstration.
>
> Careful consideration should be given to the relation between needs and demand, and to the reaction to be expected from the community; and much weight should be given to the advisability of meeting a social need to which the people are already awake. The smaller communities must be kept alive to the necessity of knowing and caring for their own well-being. With this policy accepted, an almost unconscious step is taken by the public from a program of remedy to a program of prevention.

# COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD-WELFARE WORK IN NEW YORK STATE BY THE NEW YORK STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION.[1]

H. IDA CURRY,

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## THE EARLY PROGRAM FOR CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION.

In 1872 a group of public-spirited citizens of New York State were led by an interest in the welfare of the destitute and the sick to organize a society to study their needs and to aid in improving the State (or public) charities in New York State. The organization adopted the name "The State Charities Aid Association." Its interests were indicated by the appointment of three committees on (1) children, (2) adult able-bodied paupers, and (3) inmates of hospitals.

It is interesting to look back 50 years to the time when children in need of public support were cared for in county almshouses, and to note the duties of the committee on children as defined in the constitution of that early day:

> It shall be the duty of the committee on children to inform itself of the number, present condition, plan of education, and ultimate disposition of the children in the reformatories of this State, and in the State [public] institutions of public charities. It shall be the duty of this committee to urge upon the community the very great importance of enforcing such enlightened measures in the care and training of these children as may tend to effectually destroy hereditary pauperism in this State, and to best enable them to become useful citizens and good men and women.

In 1874 the following set of principles were adopted to guide the committee:

> 1. All children older than infants, whether sick or well, of sound mind or otherwise, should be removed from the poorhouses, and not be allowed to grow up exposed to the contaminating influence of adult paupers.
>
> 2. Healthy children who are orphans or abandoned should be placed in families, either by adoption or indenture. There should be intelligent supervision of the children placed in these families, by which it can be ascertained whether the terms of the agreement are carried out, and whether the children are kindly treated.
>
> 3. No healthy child of sound mind should be allowed to remain and grow up in any institution, public or private, however well managed. We strongly advocate the so-called family system as opposed to the institution system, be-

[1] This manuscript was completed in February, 1922.

lieving that the former is most conducive to the better development and ultimate welfare of the child.

4. For sick, crippled, deformed, and otherwise physically afflicted children, hospital homes should be provided. Here they should be tenderly cared for, educated if possible, and taught such light trades and household service as their condition permits.

5. An asylum for incurable idiot children is imperatively needed. The hopeful cases from the State generally are sent to the well-managed State Asylum at Syracuse, those from New York City to the excellent School for Idiots on Randall's Island, but the condition of the more unfortunate little ones left in the county poorhouses is most pitiable.

The New York State Charities Aid Association from the beginning has consisted of a central association with headquarters in New York City, and of county committees, each interesting itself in the problems of its county and all working together for state-wide programs and reforms.

Very soon after this association was organized a State law was secured, providing that children in need of public support should be cared for by the superintendent or overseers of the poor in "families, orphan asylums, hospitals, or other appropriate institutions for the support and care of children," and that, with the exception of infants under 3 years of age, with their mothers, they should no longer be sent to almshouses. Later this age was changed to 2 years.

The newly organized county committees rendered such assistance as they could to the poor-law officials in providing other care for the children when they were removed from almshouses. The placing of children in free foster homes by the county committees was encouraged by the central association, and large numbers were so placed.

In 1892 temporary boarding homes were recommended, as "it was impossible to find free homes under careful supervision, because children were beyond the age when usually desired for adoption, or were too young to make their service of value, or because of some physical defect, or because dependence was merely temporary during the period that parents or friends were unable to care for them."

It was not until 1898 that the association organized a central placing-out agency to unify and standardize the work of its county committees. This central agency has gradually taken over the responsibility for placing suitable children from the various counties of the State in free foster homes.

## THE NEWBURGH EXPERIMENT.

In 1894, in the city of Newburgh, was begun a work which proved to be the initiation of an effort by the association to secure a definite,

comprehensive public program for the care of destitute, neglected, and delinquent children in New York State.

While the county is the usual unit for poor-law administration in the State, by special act the city and town of Newburgh for many years has constituted a separate poor-law district, which, so far as the care of its poor is concerned, is entirely independent of Orange County, in which it lies. Newburgh in 1877 had built a children's home, to which all children needing public support were sent. This home was overcrowded, and in 1894 the commissioners of charities proposed to enlarge the building. The Newburgh committee of the New York State Charities Aid Association asked the opportunity to look into the circumstances of the children, in order to see whether some of them might not be better cared for elsewhere. An investigating agent was employed by the committee, who was also to visit all children previously in the home who had been placed in free family homes by the city commissioners of charities or by the local committee of the State charities aid association. By painstaking inquiry it was found that some of the children in the institution could be returned to their own homes, as their parents were then able to care for them; that others could be placed in free foster homes or in the homes of relatives willing and able to provide for them; and that still others could be transferred to the State school for feeble-minded children, which was better suited to meet their needs. The population of the children's home was materially reduced, so that no enlargement was necessary.

Visiting the children already placed out in free family homes disclosed that a number were living in undesirable surroundings, a fact which inadequate supervision had failed to discover. The wide range of provisions, through what is now called case work, which it was found possible to make for children who had hitherto been cared for in the children's home or other similar institution, was strikingly demonstrated. Investigations of the family circumstances of children for whom public support was asked developed hidden resources, and frequently care was provided which obviated the necessity of breaking up the family and of the expenditure of public funds to support the children either in the Newburgh Children's Home or elsewhere. The investigating agent saved both children and money, and she was kept in the field. Thus the first "agency for dependent children" in New York State came into being. After a short period of demonstration entirely at private expense, in recognition of the value of the work the city agreed to pay part of the cost of the agency, and in 1896 a formal agreement was drawn up between the Newburgh committee of the State charities aid association and the commissioners of charities of the city and town of New-

burgh which has continued to this day in almost exactly the same form.

Although the success of the Newburgh experiment was recognized, the limited staff of the central association was so absorbed in other pressing duties that for many years no concentrated effort was made to secure the establishment of children's agencies elsewhere; but in 1901 the Columbia County committee of the association and in 1905 the Rockland County committee organized such an agency. Both of these county agencies further demonstrated the usefulness of the Newburgh plan.

## THE PLAN OF COUNTY COOPERATION.

In 1908 the New York State Charities Aid Association organized a "Department of County Agencies," with a superintendent, to further the organization of county agencies for dependent children throughout the State. Usually the work has been started under an agreement between the county board of supervisors, the county superintendent of the poor, and a county committee of the State charities aid association, in the following form:

AGREEMENT between the board of supervisors and the superintendent of the poor of _____ County and the _____ county committee of the State charities aid association.

The committee for _____ County of the State charities aid association of the State of New York, for the consideration hereinafter stated, agrees to perform as an assistant to the superintendent of the poor, and subject to his approval, the following duties through an agent or agents in relation to dependent children in said county.

1. To investigate the circumstances of the families in said county having poor children who are public charges or for whom application has been made for commitment as public charges; and to assist in returning said children to their homes, provided their families are financially able and morally fit to care for them.

2. To investigate the circumstances of families willing to provide homes for such children or to provide good situations at domestic service for homeless women with young children who might otherwise become public charges, and to assist in procuring good homes or good situations in such families for such children or homeless women.

3. To investigate from time to time the condition of such children who have been placed out in family homes and the condition and circumstances of the homes themselves.

4. To assist in securing the transfer to State charitable institutions of dependent children in the county who are feeble-minded or epileptic or otherwise in need of special care or treatment.

5. To report monthly to the county superintendent of the poor, or such other public official or officials as he may designate, the result of its investigations, and, in general, to perform such duties from time to time as the superintendent of the poor may require to assist him in the discharge of his duties with respect to the poor children of families in _____ County.

The board of supervisors hereby agrees to pay said committee for _____ _____ County of the State charities aid association the sum of _____ dollars per month toward the expenses of said agency.

For the _____ County committee of the State charities aid association:

_____ *President.*
_____ *Secretary.*

For the board of supervisors of _____ County.

_____ *Chairman.*
_____ *Clerk.*
_____
*Superintendent of the Poor.*

The county committees are composed of public-spirited citizens, both men and women, selected to represent a diversity of interests. The original committee is selected by the State charities aid association. After organization the committees are self-governing, but constitutions have been uniformly adopted which provide that:

The _____ County committee shall receive its appointment, as the _____ County committee of the State charities aid association, from the board of managers of the State charities aid association, and shall work under the general direction of the board of managers.

In accordance with the by-laws of the State charities aid association the president and the secretary of the county committee are entitled to vote at the annual and other meetings of the State charities aid association.

The initial public appropriation secured has generally been large enough to cover the salary of an agent, private funds supplementing this amount to meet additional expenses. However, the public appropriations have varied. One county started the work with an appropriation from public funds of but $60 toward a $3,000 budget, while in another the full cost was assumed by the county officials from the beginning. Appropriations are made to the county committee and disbursed by its treasurer. Usually an office with telephone has been arranged for in the county courthouse.

It is to be noted that the agencies are organized primarily to deal with children receiving or in need of public support. By the terms of the agreement, county committees are assistants to the public officials charged with the duty of caring for dependent children. The committees have only such power as is delegated to them by the officials, but they have an obligation to investigate and to report. The committees function through trained social workers who are generally appointed on the recommendation of the central office of the State charities aid association. Young women with college training or its equivalent, and with special case-work training or experience, are selected. To be successful an agent must have, in addition to technical training, the pioneer spirit and unlimited tact and resourcefulness. Frequently the agent is the only social worker in a county

where the usefulness of case work is but little understood or appreciated, and where there are but meager resources upon which to draw. Above all, she must be able to get along well with all kinds of people—public officials, society leaders, and business men, as well as the families to be benefited.

The work of the agents is in the nature of public, not private, charitable relief, which means relief authorized by law and paid for through public appropriation. The support of children found to need care is borne by the public treasury, as heretofore. Private funds occasionally provide for some special need of a child, but the county committees of the State charities aid association do not take over the responsibility for the support of needy children, which rests on the different communities. The association aims to emphasize and to increase local official responsibility, not to carry the local burden.

While the first interest of the county agent is with destitute children coming to the superintendent or overseers of the poor for support, it devolves upon her to look after a wide variety of child needs. In a few counties there are societies for the prevention of cruelty to children which handle cases requiring court action, especially the neglect cases. In these counties, besides looking after children taken under care without court action, the children's agents have taken up the welfare of children where the work of the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children ended and have continued oversight until the children are returned to their families, placed in free homes, or otherwise permanently provided for. In the majority of counties no society for the prevention of cruelty to children exists, and there the agents have looked after the neglect cases, prosecuting when necessary, as a part of their every-day work. Gradually child protection has been accepted as a public responsibility. Defective children, and frequently defective adults, have claimed the special attention of the county agent, and securing their commitment to State institutions has become one of her duties. She also deals with the problems of the unmarried mother and the wayward girl.

A variety of other social problems come under the consideration of the children's agent. In some counties, at the request of the overseers of the poor, she makes investigations of families receiving outdoor relief; and in some counties, at the request of local judges, she acts as probation officer for children and young women.

In order that there may be a wider range in the choice of homes for county children in need of permanent free homes and that such children may be removed from neighborhoods where their unfortunate circumstances are, or may become, known and so handicap them, the placing of children in permanent free homes has been concentrated in the child-placing agency of the New York State Charities Aid Association, to which all cases of children eligible for placement

are referred by the county agents, a full family history being sent in for each child.

The State charities aid association, through its department of county agencies, which is under the direction of a superintendent (in later years the department has had two assistant superintendents) has by correspondence and by personal visits supervised and standardized the case work of the agencies. It has helped solve the more difficult problems and has acted as a center of information, of inspiration, and of help in all matters relating to the activities of the agencies, so that each of the agencies has benefited by the experiences of all.

Until some 18 or 20 counties had been organized, the cooperation of the central association through its field service was limited to agencies organized under formal agreements between county committees of the association and county officials, such as that quoted above. This policy was adopted because it seemed likely that reasonably uniform methods and standards of case work could be developed more rapidly through agencies controlled by committees of the association. From experience in many counties was gradually worked out a system of child care which seemed the most satisfactory possible under existing laws. In recent years the association has extended its cooperation to counties in which no formal agreements are entered into by association committees, but in which some private organization other than the State charities aid association is sponsor for the work, or in which the agency is entirely public both as to direction and as to support.

## THE NEED FOR UNIFYING COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE WORK.

The association has been eager to develop a more satisfactory and practicable public county program of child care than has heretofore existed in the State. In New York each county has a superintendent of the poor, but in addition the towns have overseers of the poor and the cities have commissioners of charity. Any one of these officials, or of the judicial officers, such as city judges and recorders, and four justices of the peace in each town, may determine that a child is in need of public protection or public support and designate the place in which the child shall be cared for. Altogether New York State contains more than 5,000 public officials who may be called upon at any time to render such decisions. Furthermore, there is no uniformity in the counties as to the source of support for the children, save that all children committed by magistrates as delinquents become county charges—and even here there are a few exceptions. Each county, by a vote of its board of supervisors, may determine whether all children except delinquents who need public care shall

be supported by the county itself or by the towns of the county in which they have legal settlement. If the children are county charges the county superintendent of the poor usually, but not always, becomes the committing officer; if they are town charges, the overseers of the poor act in that capacity.

Except in counties where agencies have developed boarding care for some children, those accepted by the poor-law officials or committed by the courts are sent to privately managed institutions, the county paying a certain amount per week for their care; the only exceptions are delinquent children committed to the State reformatories. The institutions are often from 50 to 100 miles distant from the county. Lacking information concerning home conditions, the institutions are naturally slow to discharge children, at least until they reach the age of 16, when public support usually ceases. Upon discharge the children very frequently return to the unfit homes from which they were previously taken, having no other place to go. Occasionally a child is placed out by an institution when responsible relatives might have been found willing to give him a home. The elected public officials change frequently; and unless they have the assistance of a children's agent, there is no one to give continuous thought to the conditions on account of which the children supported by the county were separated from their families, or to the desirability or undesirability of their being returned to their own homes. Nevertheless, the public officials alone are responsible for the welfare of those children within the county who are "poor persons" within the meaning of the law. Outdoor relief—that is, relief in the home—can be administered by overseers of the poor, but usually the kind and amount of relief so distributed bear little or no relation to the requirements of the family.

A new element was introduced into this confused situation of public child care in New York State when the mother's allowance law was passed in 1915. This law created county boards of child welfare, each composed of the county superintendent of the poor and six citizens appointed by the county judge. These boards were authorized to grant allowances to widows with young children, under certain restrictions. Thus an entirely new channel of relief was created to deal with a limited group of children in their own homes. Later the law was amended to extend allowances to certain other groups of mothers. In counties having children's agencies, the agents were usually asked to make the investigations for these boards, so that all the child-caring work in these counties was coordinated.

Court facilities for the protection of children in the counties are too widely scattered to produce satisfactory results. Justices of the peace—4 to each town and an average of 75 or more to a county—

have neither the legal training nor the experience necessary for a wise determination of the many intricate questions which come to a juvenile court for decision. Outside the cities, only three counties in the State have juvenile courts.[2] County probation officers handle both adult and juvenile offenders.

County boards of supervisors are viewing with displeasure the necessity for appropriating county money for child care in so many different directions—to an agency for children, to a board of child welfare, to various private institutions for the support of children, and sometimes to a humane society as well.

As the State charities aid association learned more intimately through the county children's agencies just how the needy children really fared, its desire for a better program for child care was greatly stimulated.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in Baltimore in 1915, C. C. Carstens presented his memorable paper, "A community plan in children's work."[3] In considering Mr. Carstens's plan in relation to New York several things were apparent. The county system of child care was so firmly established in New York State that a State board of children's guardians was not practicable. Centralized responsibility for child care within the county, however, was clearly desirable. County boards of child welfare had come into existence, although their activities were limited by law to the children of a restricted group of mothers. Supervision by the New York State Board of Charities was assured by the constitution of the State. These with other considerations led to the belief that a New York county program for child care should include:

1. A county board of children's guardians, which would assume all the powers and duties of all the poor-law officials and of the board of child welfare that grants relief to mothers with young children.

2. A county juvenile court, which should have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases of children and in cases of adults charged with offenses against children, with the power to hold court in any part of the county and to appoint referees to hear cases. At least in the less populous counties this court should be a separate section of the county court. This plan would eliminate the hearing of children's cases by the many justices of the peace.

In 1917 Dutchess County secured the passage of a special law putting into effect the first part of this program. In 1921 Suffolk County secured the passage of a similar law. In 1918 Chautauqua County by special law put into effect the second half of the program, but as yet in no county has the whole program been put into operation.

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[2] Since this was written, the 1922 session of the New York Legislature has passed an act establishing a children's court in each county of the State—with certain exceptions to cover counties in which juvenile-court work had already been organized—and given such courts original, exclusive jurisdiction over children's cases.

[3] Proceedings, p. 92.

Have the needy children in these counties been benefited by the special laws? In this connection it will be of interest to examine somewhat in detail the work in Dutchess County as it developed, first by cooperative effort of private and public agencies, and later under purely public auspices.

## DUTCHESS COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE WORK.

According to the Federal census of 1920, Dutchess County has a population of 91,747. Its only cities are Poughkeepsie, with a population of 35,000, and Beacon, with 10,996. It contains 9 incorporated villages and is divided into 20 towns.

In 1908 a group of 12 interested citizens of Dutchess County were organized as the Dutchess County committee of the New York State Charities Aid Association. In November of that year the committee asked the board of supervisors to enter into an agreement under which the committee would establish an agency for dependent children to assist the superintendent of the poor in looking after the children then supported by the county—all needy children were county charges in this county—and those for whom public support would be asked in the future. The board of supervisors accepted the offer of the committee, appropriating $720 toward the year's expenses. The committee agreed to raise all other money needed to carry on the work. Local opinion strongly favored the appointment of a person resident in the community to draw the local salary. Trained social workers were less known and less appreciated then than now, and a young woman with no professional training or experience in social case work was appointed. The work in the county began on January 1, 1909. Under the guidance of the central office the agent accomplished some desirable results in the first month or two, but as she grasped the nature of the work to be done she realized the needs and resigned, recommending the appointment of a trained and, if possible, experienced social worker. An office in the county courthouse was assigned to the new agent, and soon it became the center of great activity in behalf of Dutchess County's needy children. At the end of nine months the number of children dependent upon the county had been reduced from 126 to 99, although during the period 28 children had been added to the list of dependents. Forty-four children had been returned to responsible relatives, 8 placed in free foster homes, and 3 placed in State institutions for the feeble-minded. In addition, the agent had looked into the circumstances of more than 400 children for whom public support was asked or who were reported as in need of public protection or care.

The children's agent gradually became one of the best-known and busiest persons in the county. By personal report, through letters,

and by telephone, she constantly learned of children in situations which "somebody should do something about." The agent became the "somebody."

The county committee grew to an organization of several hundred members, with an executive committee in active charge of the work. In three or four of the centers of population, case committees were organized, with which the agent met monthly to discuss the needs of children in each neighborhood.

In the first nine months of the work, the private organization raised $294 to supplement the public appropriation of $720. During the first full year—October 1, 1909, to September 30, 1910—the public appropriation was $900, and private funds amounting to $400 were raised, which completed the $1,300 budget. In 1915 (the year of the largest budget), the private funds collected amounted to $1,520, and the public appropriation to $2,600, the total budget being $4,120.

In 1912 an additional agent was employed, and later a stenographer was added to the staff. In the first year the agent collected $100 toward the cost of maintaining children who had become public charges from relatives of the children. In 1916 the two agents collected $1,572.50 for a like purpose. During the period in which the State charities aid association committee was in charge—January, 1909, to March, 1917—about one-third of the children who became public charges did so through court action, principally because of having no proper guardians; the other two-thirds were accepted as public charges by the county superintendent of the poor, as provided by the poor law of the State, the agent arranging for their care in boarding homes or in institutions. Unbelievably bad conditions were found in the county, and the most revolting crimes against childhood were discovered. The agents frequently secured evidence and became prosecuting witnesses in proceedings, both to rescue children and to punish adult offenders.

Less than half the children for whom public care was asked were accepted for public support. By case-work methods other ways of meeting difficult family situations were devised in the cases of the remaining number, so that the families could be kept together.

Of the 105 children dependent at the close of the period, 35 were in boarding homes; 53 were in institutions for destitute children—26 under poor-law commitments and 27 by court order; 17 were in correctional institutions, or in hospitals or other institutions for special care. Individualized treatment of dependent children after diagnosis had taken the place of uniform institutional care. The county superintendent of the poor, the board of supervisors, the district attorney, the city judge, and the town justices of the peace had accepted the children's agents as necessary county officials. Although the agents were officially assistants to the superintendent of the poor,

it was their own judgment which determined where, how, and for how long children should be supported, and what should become of them upon discharge from public support.

When the board of child welfare was created by law in 1915 to grant allowances to destitute widows with young children, several members of the county committee were appointed on it, and the children's agents were asked to make the investigations. The consideration of the children of widows, therefore, was never entirely divorced from the consideration of other needy children in Dutchess County. At the same time it was felt, both by the officials of the county and by the county committee of the State charities aid association, that the time had come for the county to adopt a broader and a centralized child-caring program.

The State charities aid association accordingly presented for consideration a plan for a county board of children's guardians and a county juvenile court to handle between them all the children's cases in the county. The board of supervisors asked the county judge to draft a suitable law establishing the board. After consultation and at the request of the county judge, the State charities aid association drafted the bill which, with one or two changes, was passed by the State legislature in 1917.[4] This created a Dutchess County Board of Child Welfare, to which were assigned all the powers and duties of the poor-law officers as they related to children and all the powers and duties of the then existing board of child welfare (the mothers' allowance board). The law also fixed upon the board other responsibilities not previously recognized as distinct public duties. The board was to consist of 10 members, including the chairman of the board of supervisors, 2 other members of the board of supervisors selected by that body, the county superintendent of the poor, and 6 citizens appointed by the county judge and the county superintendent of the poor.

In brief outline the provisions of the Dutchess County law in relation to needy children are as follows:

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE BOARD

1. As to destitute children:
   - Administer aid to mothers with young children.
   - Receive children as wards of county.
   - Receive children without proper guardianship upon commitment by court.
   - Place in boarding homes or institutions.
   - Place in family homes.
2. As to neglected children:
   - Investigate complaints as to neglect.
   - Advise and warn when court action is not required.

[4] N. Y. Laws, 1917, ch. 354.

2. As to neglected children—Continued.
   Institute proceedings when necessary.
   Receive children as wards of county on court order.
   Place in homes or institutions.
3. As to delinquent children:
   Receive as wards of county on court order.
   Place in institutions or boardiing homes.
4. As to defective children:
   Obtain admission to suitable institutions for defectives when necessary.
   Obtain treatment and care in their own homes when feasible.
   Maintain supervision over those not in State institutions.
5. As to all classes of children:
   Provide for investigations.
   Provide for mental and physical examinations.
   Provide for medical care.
   Collect money from parents found able to pay.
   Collect such sums as parents are ordered by court to pay.
   Administer relief in the homes when necessary.
   Place in homes or institutions of religious faith of parents.
6. As to children discharged from State institutions:
   Upon request, receive as wards of the county.

All moneys appropriated for the children's agency and for the allowances to mothers became by the law available to carry on this work. The agents who had been employed by the Dutchess County committee of the State charities aid association were retained by the newly created board; several members of the county committee were named by the county judge as members of the new county board of child welfare, and the work for children proceeded without the slightest interruption or inconvenience.

The advantage of centralized administration very soon became evident. Within the limits of the public appropriation available the board was able without loss of time or energy to administer home relief; to secure physical or mental examinations; to provide medical, surgical, or dental treatment; and to arrange for children in boarding homes or in institutions.

As time proceeded members of the board became familiar with the requirements and technique of specialized treatment, so that consent for the expenditure of public funds for such purposes as necessary orthopedic hospital care was voted as a matter of course, whereas in former times the agent might only with difficulty have persuaded a public official to authorize a similar expenditure even for treatment urgently needed. Individual case-work treatment of each child became a matter of routine, whereas under the old system the consent of the poor-law official had to be secured in each instance for the expenditure of any money in the child's behalf, while for any extraordinary expense it was necessary to obtain the consent of one or more other officials and frequently even of the town board or

of the county board of supervisors. This made treatment slow and difficult.

Under the public board of child welfare the staff has grown. A director, three investigating agents, and two stenographers or office assistants are employed. In 1921 the total expenditures were as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total cost to the county | | $86,763.86 |
| Administration | | 10,429.85 |
| Salaries | $6,704.97 | |
| All other expenses, including traveling | 3,724.88 | |
| Care of children | | 76,334.01 |
| Mothers' allowances | 26,468.50 | |
| Board of children in family homes | 11,630.57 | |
| Board of children in institutions | 38,234.94 | |

The number of children in the care of the Dutchess County Board of Child Welfare on November 1, 1921, was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total under care | 400 |
| Under 16 years of age in 55 families receiving allowances | 184 |
| In boarding homes | 76 |
| In institutions | 140 |

The amount collected during the year from parents or relatives toward the support of children was $5,500.30.

## CENTRALIZED JUVENILE-COURT WORK IN CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY.

So far, Dutchess County has not organized a county juvenile court, but in 1918 the Chautauqua County children's agents and the local public officials concluded that the time had come for such a court in that county. Chautauqua County has a population of 115,348, and within it are the cities of Jamestown, with about 39,000 people, and Dunkirk, with 19,300. In addition there are 11 incorporated villages. There are 27 towns (called townships in some States), each having four justices of the peace. There were therefore in the county over 100 magistrates before whom a case involving a child's future might be called. Monroe County, with the city of Rochester, and Ontario County, without any large city, already had established county juvenile courts, and the Chautauqua County officials determined to secure a similar law.

With the assistance of the State probation commission and the State charities aid association a bill was drafted, and it was passed by the legislature of 1918.[5] The court was established in May of

[5] N. Y. Laws 1918, ch. 464.

that year as a special session of the county court. A separate court was considered too costly, and there would not have been sufficient business to occupy the full time of a juvenile-court judge. The court was empowered to sit in any part of the county and to appoint referees. The constitution of New York made it impossible to confer chancery powers,[6] but the criminal proceedings were made as simple as possible. Issuance of summonses on petition was provided for, as was the appointment of probation officers. The court was empowered to establish a place of detention, if that was found necessary. Jurisdiction was given over any child [7]—

(*a*) Who violates any penal law or any municipal ordinance or who commits any act or offense for which such child could be dealt with as for juvenile delinquency, or

(*b*) Who engages in any occupation, calling, or exhibition, or is found in any place for permitting which an adult may be punished by law, or who so deports itself or is in such condition or surroundings or under such improper or insufficient guardianship or control as to endanger the morals, health, or general welfare of such child, or

(*c*) Whose custody is the subject of controversy: *Provided*, That when the question of the custody of a child is incidental to the determination of a cause pending before the supreme court or the surrogate's court, such court shall not be deprived of jurisdiction to determine such question but may, in its discretion, refer such question to the county court for hearing and determination.

Jurisdiction over adult offenders against children was also conferred in the following language: [8]

Jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon the county court of Chautauqua County to hear, try, and determine all cases arising in said county under article 44 of the penal law, not otherwise provided for in this act or already included within the jurisdiction of the court. The powers of the court and the procedure in such cases, less than the grade of felony, shall be as now provided by law for the trial of such cases in courts of special sessions and police courts.

The county judge shall have the same jurisdiction and authority as is now conferred upon justices of the peace and police justices to deal with any parent or other person responsible for the maintenance of a child, as a disorderly person, if, in the discretion of the county judge, in view of the facts and circumstances developing in the investigation or hearing of a child's case, the protection and welfare of such child require that the parent be so dealt with. The powers of the county judge and the procedure in such cases shall be as now provided by law for such cases when brought before justices of the peace and police justices.

This centralized consideration of children who need the correction or protection of a court has worked to great advantage. The county judge is a man of wider experience than the majority of justices of

[6] A constitutional amendment permitting the State legislature to confer chancery powers upon juvenile and domestic relations courts was carried in the election of November, 1921.

[7] N. Y. Laws 1918, ch. 464, sec. 1.

[8] Ibid., sec. 20.

the peace in any county. He is a lawyer of standing, while in New York justices of the peace are not required to have legal training. The consideration of a relatively large number of cases develops an expertness in recognizing the difficulties of individual children which can not be expected of a justice hearing only an occasional complaint.

The city judge of Dunkirk has been appointed referee in nearly all cases arising in that city, but the county judge has personally heard practically all other cases.

A small detention home has been opened at the direction of the court. This has not been entirely satisfactory, but its drawbacks are recognized and improvement is expected.

The State charities aid association has directed the attention of its committee and of the public officials in Chautauqua County to the desirability of establishing a county board of child welfare similar to that of Dutchess County and the people of the county seem favorably disposed toward this plan.

Only when the combined experiments of Dutchess and Chautauqua Counties are tried in the same county—which may be hoped for in the near future—can it be discovered just how adequately the program outlined by the State charities aid association will insure the welfare of all needy children in a given section of New York State.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CHILD WELFARE OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK.[1]

RUTH TAYLOR,
*Director, Westchester County Department of Child Welfare.*

Those who are familiar with New York State conditions with reference to the care of the poor in general and of children in particular will understand without preliminaries why various counties of the State—chief among them Dutchess, Suffolk, Oneida, and Westchester—have each begun an experiment in the centralized administration of part or all of their public charities, with the county as the unit of administration. These four experiments all deal with children; two include adults as well. They are all in a sense protests against the old method of caring for dependent children. Westchester County, the first county of the State to secure the passage of special legislation permitting it to undertake such an experiment, is trying a different form of administration from the others, and one covering more branches of work; its experiment is interesting, partly for this reason and partly because of the county's prominence in the State.

## THE DEPARTMENT'S FIELD OF WORK.

Westchester stands second in population among the 57 counties in New York State outside of New York City, its 344,000 being exceeded only by Erie County. Its location makes it possibly the most important of these counties. Its population is very unevenly distributed, the southern part of the county containing all four of its cities—Yonkers with 100,000, Mount Vernon with 43,000, New Rochelle with 36,000, and White Plains with 21,000. In addition to the cities, the county has three villages of over 10,000 population and five of between 5,000 and 10,000. The remainder of its population is scattered through some 72 small villages, in rural hamlets of two or three houses, or on isolated farms, the northeastern hill country being very thinly settled, difficult of access, and exceedingly rural in appearance. In spite of its nearness to New York City and the fact that five railroads run north into it, it has towns untouched by any railroad line, and in certain sections its roads become practically impassable in a bad winter. Like all New York State

[1] This manuscript was completed in February, 1922.

counties, Westchester is divided into the usual city and town subdivisions, having in addition to the 4 cities mentioned 18 towns or townships. Foremost among the causes of the county's social problems may be mentioned its steadily increasing percentage of foreign-born population, a large commuting population, the number of estates within its borders with their large employee class, its very slight farming and large manufacturing interests, and its nearness to New York City and to the States of Connecticut and New Jersey, this latter fact much complicating the administration of its poor law.

## CONDITIONS BEFORE THE EXPERIMENT BEGAN.

### Child care in 1914.

Such, briefly, was the field presented for Westchester's experiment in the care of its dependent classes, which may be said to date from January 1, 1914, when a new superintendent of the poor took office in the county. Although the work for dependent children is but one phase of the experiment, it is the only one that can be discussed here. The chaos existing in the care of dependent children in Westchester in 1914 can be understood only by one who has had experience in similar fields. It is possible now to describe it with some accuracy, but at that time most of its factors were unknown to the new official who was attempting to get a basis of data upon which to begin work. The county was following the town and city system of caring for its poor, which is allowed by the New York State poor law. About 700 children under the age of 16 were being supported in institutions at the expense of the various cities and towns. The institutions caring for them were more than 20 in number and were located throughout the county, in New York City, and in adjoining counties as far north as Albany. These children had been committed by poor-law officials on the general charge of destitution, or by courts on the charge of "no proper guardianship," of juvenile delinquency, vagrancy, or truancy, or as disorderly, or ungovernable. Bills for their care were being paid not directly through the officials who committed them and who, therefore, would know whether or not the children were in the institutions and were proper charges but through the office of the county superintendent of the poor. The committing officials were required by law to notify the superintendent of the poor of their commitments in a few types of cases only; even this was rarely done. In addition to the children cared for in institutions, a few of the officials boarded children directly with private families and paid for their care from their own relief funds. One official who did this most frequently kept no record even of the homes in which he had boarded the children, and was

reminded to pay for their care only as the boarding mothers came to his office to collect. No one except himself knew who his wards were or where they were, in spite of attempts of the State board of charities to secure reports from him. There was no system of written records of children anywhere in the county, and there was no one county official, or group of officials, who had any definite knowledge of the county child-caring situation other than that gained from the cases of the children that he himself committed or boarded out.

Family relief existed only in the form of the old-fashioned outdoor relief. There was as yet no "board of child welfare act" providing for allowances to widowed mothers; overseers of the poor and commissioners of charities administered local funds largely in the form of grocery orders, with occasional grants of coal or clothing. Little or no investigating was done; few records were kept; and practically nowhere was any attempt made to work out a constructive plan for the unfortunate family or individual in need, or to estimate what would be adequate relief for a given family and to provide such relief. It was generally considered that $2.50 or $3 was a sufficient weekly grocery order for any family, whether its members numbered 3 or 10. Little or no attention was paid by the public to the workings of the system, and for the most part it was just what similar outdoor relief systems have been in other parts of the country.

**Machinery for handling the problem.**

As equipment for handling its needy children, Westchester had the usual machinery of a New York State county. Many agencies had the authority to break up families. Approximately 94 police justices, justices of the peace, and city court judges had the power to commit children to public support for juvenile delinquency or "no proper guardianship"; at least 32 town overseers of the poor and city commissioners of charities could commit children as public charges for destitution. Thus, there were over 126 agencies in the county empowered to separate children from their parents. These petty officials were all elected or appointed through the workings of a political system, and not because of any special fitness or training for their general duties, much less for the delicate task of planning care for children. Their methods of work were on the whole as good as they knew how to make them, but were entirely inadequate. For the most part, there was no investigation of children's cases and no study of family situations. Children brought into court on charges of delinquency were either committed or discharged on the evidence submitted at the time. The poor-law officials sometimes made a brief effort at investigation, of which the chief result was an interview with the parent of the child or with some interested

neighbor or relative. Rarely was any record kept either of the commitment or of the child's history; the slip of admission to the institution generally constituted the entire written record of the transaction. Since the officials were in many cases men of little education or training, and since they were largely unconscious of the importance of such records to the human beings involved, mistakes in names, ages, and other important facts were the rule rather than the exception. Very seldom was the date of birth entered on a commitment slip, and many hundreds of former Westchester County charges have no definite idea of their exact ages.

Little, if any, intelligence was exercised in the selection of the places to which children were committed. Protestant and Catholic children were usually, but not always, sent to institutions of their own religious faith. Generally a child was committed to the nearest institution willing to receive him, regardless of its fitness for his particular type. Likewise, comparatively little attention was paid to the manner in which a child was made a public charge. Children were committed by courts or poor-law officers with slight regard to the particular circumstances in each case. In case of court commitment, children were charged with lacking proper guardianship or with juvenile delinquency, as seemed most convenient, with little thought of the difference this made in the status and treatment of the child. After commitment most officials paid no further attention to their wards. Here and there an official especially concerned with the tax rate in his district periodically interested himself in reducing the number of its dependents, often with the result that parents were compelled, without investigation as to their fitness or ability, to take back children previously committed or that children were placed in foster homes with no investigation and without the keeping of any record. As a result of this situation and of the general New York State system of paying public funds to private institutions for the care of children, the number of dependent children in Westchester—as elsewhere in New York State—tended constantly to increase. Not only were children unnecessarily committed as public charges, but children once committed were lost sight of and often remained public charges for indefinite periods.

Many years before, in an attempt to fight the increase in bills for child care, the county board of supervisors had appointed two so-called placing-out agents, whose duty it was to secure free foster homes for Westchester County charges, and whose salaries and expenses were paid from county funds. These agents were connected with the office of the county superintendent of the poor; they worked, however, with no supervision and with little relationship to each other. Both were untrained. They had no offices and worked entirely independently, one handling Catholic cases only, the other

Protestant. Each traveled about over the area of the entire county. It often happened, therefore, that both made trips to the same distant part of the territory during the same week, with corresponding loss of time and money. Moreover, their duties were very unevenly divided, one worker having four or five times as many cases to handle as the other. Their actual work consisted largely in trying to place babies or very young children in free foster homes, and in securing working homes or positions at service for older children whom the institutions were ready to discharge. These agents represented the county's single effort to give specialized attention to its child-caring problem.

**County superintendent of the poor.**

Over this decentralized, indefinite, and confused system stood the superintendent of the poor in a position possibly more uncertain and indefinite than any other. His powers were largely negative and contradictory. According to the law he could, apparently, commit children, although he could not make them charges upon any unit except the county. He could discharge children from public care whether they had been committed by himself or by an overseer. He was required by law to pay bills for all children committed as juvenile delinquents, but he had no power whatever over either the commitment or the discharge of such children. Neither had he any power over the commitment of children for "no proper guardianship," though he could refuse to pay bills for their care. In fact, all children committed by the courts passed into the control of the institutions—generally private—to which they were committed, and these institutions alone had power to discharge them. Yet all bills for the care of such children in institutions passed through the office of the superintendent of the poor and were paid by him from funds in his control. Moreover, the poor law[2] stated that the county superintendents of the poor had charge of "the general superintendence and care of poor persons who might be in their respective counties." This responsibility seemed to cover the care of persons under 16 as well as of adults. As a result of the vagueness of the whole situation, superintendents of the poor in Westchester County previous to 1914 had done practically nothing in the child-caring field, merely paying bills when the institutions presented them and leaving all investigation and after care to be done by the local officials or the institutions at will.

**First steps toward improvement.**

The administration which came into power in 1914 saw in the needs of the county's dependent children its greatest responsibility

[2] N. Y. Consol. Laws 1909, Vol. IV, p. 2862 (Art. II, sec. 3).

and opportunity. Although greatly occupied during his first year in office with immediate and pressing problems in the county almshouse and hospitals, the new superintendent of the poor instituted at once some simple and obvious reforms in the children's field. The two placing-out agents were brought directly under the supervision of his office, their work was coordinated and standardized, and its nature changed from that of placing-out agent to much more needed work of a general type. Obviously, the first duty of the office of the superintendent of the poor, with reference to children, was that of auditing bills for the board of children in institutions. There was no list or card index of children duly committed as public charges upon the county and no possible way of checking bills accurately. In order to begin immediately to get this situation under control very simple admission and discharge cards were printed and distributed to all institutions receiving Westchester County charges, with the request that they fill out such cards for all Westchester County children admitted or discharged and mail them immediately to the superintendent's office. Thus the beginning of a record of the work of local officials was secured. Admission cards, when received, were verified, and all new commitments were properly card-indexed and recorded. Up to this time institution bills had been paid in a few instances quarterly, but generally only once a year. Monthly payment of all bills was now begun, and institutions were urged to send in bills promptly in order to secure prompt payment. This and the abolition of the custom of holding unpaid bills over indefinitely from one fiscal year into another greatly encouraged the institutions to cooperate with the new administration in reporting admissions and discharges. A monthly report of all children charged against each poor-law district was instituted, and local supervisors and commissioners of charities were thus kept informed of the status of charges against their localities.

But this activity covered only children newly becoming dependent. The biggest single piece of work immediately undertaken was the preparing of an accurate census of all children who were then public charges upon the county of Westchester. This seemingly obvious need had never been recognized, although bills for children's care had been audited and paid every year. All receipted institution bills for the previous year were studied, and a card index was made of all children still remaining public charges on the date of the latest bills. The children's agents were then directed to visit each institution and to see personally every child reported to be dependent upon Westchester County, verifying upon this visit as many facts as possible regarding him and his commitment. Mistakes without number were discovered. Children dead for some years were still being carried upon the bills, and many New York City charges were found to have

been charged against Westchester County by mistake. Difficulty was encountered in locating some of the institutions having legal claims against the county for the support of children. Six months after the new administration had begun the superintendent received a bill dating back for six years from an institution in which he had not known that any Westchester County wards were being cared for. Investigation showed that the institution actually had at that time children who were charges against the county, and that the bill was a proper one.

It was immediately evident that because of the chaos in the child-caring work and the many needs of this class of dependents more and better trained workers were essential, and that county-wide interest and cooperation must be aroused and maintained in order that the superintendent of the poor might be assured of the opportunity to handle the problem satisfactorily. Private funds were raised by the superintendent to furnish immediately two additional children's workers, and with the help of the county agencies department of the New York State Charities Aid Association a practically defunct subcommittee of that association was galvanized into action. The county official presented the needs of his wards to this little group of private citizens, took them into partnership, and asked their advice and assistance. They organized the Westchester County Children's Committee of the New York State Charities Aid Association, which was enlisted as assistant to the superintendent of the poor in the care of dependent children, and which as a first step guaranteed to furnish the salary and expenses of a children's agent in addition to those already provided for. The best possible trained social workers were secured in the new positions. The old custom of assigning cases on the ground of religious faith was abolished, the county was divided into four districts with a worker in charge of each, and, after a fairly accurate census of the children already dependent had been built up, the beginnings of a case-work system were made. Face sheets and record forms were printed, and a system of records was started.

The only concrete case work to begin on was the investigation of the cases of children who were already public charges. Here only did the superintendent of the poor have a reasonably clear field. The provision of the poor law giving him the "general superintendence and care" of all poor persons within his territory was deemed to be sufficient authorization for him to take an active interest in all dependent children. Some of the 700 children already dependent had been public charges for over 10 years, yet in practically no cases did records exist of them or of their families. Here was challenge enough for anyone. The agents began the difficult task of investigating the histories of these children and, so far as they could, of doing whatever seemed necessary to improve their condition. Actual

case treatment, however, could be accomplished only through cooperation, because of the division of responsibility for dependent children which has already been described. The entire power over juvenile delinquents after commitment rested with the institutions, and it was only with their full consent that such cases could be worked with at all. The problem, therefore, was distinctly complicated. However, almost from the first, the hearty cooperation of all persons concerned was granted to the new department, and thus real progress was made in the work.

**Indications of need for preventive work.**

Complete investigations of the cases of children already separated from their families showed how unsatisfactory much of this treatment was and how essential to adequate care for children is complete investigation, at the beginning, of their need. The inquiries showed that it would be not only more humane but much more economical to prevent the separation of families by thorough case work rather than to try to bring them together again after they had been separated. The investigation of applications for commitment, therefore, was clearly indicated to be the fundamental point of attack for the department. Here nothing but the complete cooperation of local officials was of use, since any one of 126 men could separate children from their parents without any investigation or any previous notice whatever to the county superintendent. The children's agents were instructed to do all in their power to get acquainted with the committing officials in their districts, to offer their services and explain their aims, and, wherever opportunity was given, to investigate for these officials the cases of children coming to their attention. From the first some slight headway in preventing family breakdown and dependency was made in this way; everything gained was an advance, but the method was very slow.

**Separation of child-caring work from work for adults.**

As the child-caring work unfolded from month to month it became increasingly difficult for the superintendent of the poor and his assistant to carry the supervision of this branch of the work, as well as the mass of detail and difficulties of administration of the almshouse and hospitals. By 1915 it was evident that the children's work must be handled separately and that some one especially equipped for the purpose was needed. Through private funds a trained social worker was employed to be the director of a children's department unofficially organized in the office of the superintendent of the poor, and a stenographer was employed to assist her. This department now took on a separate though unofficial existence apart from the almshouse and its problems.

The need for increased attention to the children's work had now been sufficiently demonstrated to make advisable an appeal for additional workers paid from public funds, and the superintendent of the poor urgently requested of the county board of supervisors at their annual meeting an appropriation to cover the salary and expenses of three additional workers. This was granted. Special effort was made to advise the civil service commission of the needs of the position, in order that the right type of examination might be given, and great personal effort was put forth to interest promising social workers in taking it. As a result three satisfactory workers were secured. One agent was assigned to at least half-time work in the main office of the agency to help in developing its system of reports and records, getting its card indexes and files in proper running order, and organizing its business methods generally. As no space was available in any other county building, the parlor of the old almshouse was used as an office. Monthly conferences of the staff were begun, all members of the volunteer children's committee being welcome, at which case problems were carefully discussed. With its increase in staff and the publicity attending it, the work now developed very rapidly. This development revealed more and more the amazing lack in the past of any kind of proper social or business procedure in the management of this branch of the public's affairs. To those who had the opportunity to work in the county at this time it remains a source of wonder that one of the foremost counties in one of the foremost States in the country could have handled an extensive and costly child-caring problem in so crude and inadequate a way.

**New developments in work for children.**

Lines of activity opened up so rapidly that the staff was tempted to undertake too much and to spread its efforts over too wide a field. For a case-work organization its growth for several years was dangerously rapid. After the investigations of the cases of children who had been for some time dependent were well under way, it became obvious that much should be done toward securing free foster homes for those who had no family or friends to whom they could ever return. According to the New York State poor law the county superintendent and the town overseers of the poor have the right to place out children in free family homes within the limits of the State. Former superintendents in Westchester County, aided by the placing-out agents, had exercised this power, and the new administration succeeded in listing 44 children who were still under age and who should have been under its active supervision. In many cases it found that the placement of the children had been unwise; on the whole, adequate records had not been kept, and an occasional

child had been lost track of entirely. So difficult was it for the county agency to place its children wisely and with a sufficient choice of homes, while at the same time keeping them near enough its home territory to make adequate supervision practicable, and so poor did much of its past free-home placement work seem, that the new administration decided to discontinue the practice of placing its children and being directly responsible for their supervision. It determined instead to offer them for free-home placement to well-recognized incorporated organizations which make a specialty of this one type of work, giving these associations service in the finding and investigating of homes and even in the supervision of the children after placement, but leaving with them the responsibility for maintaining high standards for foster homes and for seeing that the children were adequately visited and supervised. The cooperation of various placing-out agencies was asked and that of the Child Placing Agency of the New York State Charities Aid Association was actively enlisted. The county department itself conducted a drive for free homes for its children and actively set about assisting in securing the placement with foster families of as many of its wards as possible.

The work with children who had been previously committed disclosed the fact that little was being done anywhere throughout the country—nothing systematically—toward making parents and relatives pay the board of children for whom they were unable to care in their own homes. It was the custom for a man to be entirely relieved of his children's support when they were committed to institutions, regardless of his income, and even the local officials usually considered that this was a proper procedure and were loath to make any effort to disturb the man's complacency. The children's department realized the great injustice of this, not only to the taxpayers in the added burden it placed upon them, but also to the children in that it made possible the weakening of parental responsibility and family ties. The department adopted the policy of expecting parents, when they were financially able, to support their children in whole or in part, whether or not they could provide homes for them.

Then, too, it was evident that juvenile delinquents who had been supported for several years at the expense of the taxpayers were often returned to the very families and environments in which they had been living when they got into trouble, without thorough investigation and with little or no provision against the recurrence of the difficulty. This often resulted in its repetition and the recommitment of the child, who was thus started on the way to a life of delinquency. Friendly relations were established with the two insti-

tutions receiving most of the county's juvenile delinquents. Their cooperation was secured and, although the power of decision under the law rested with the institutions, the children's agents undertook the investigation of applications for the discharge of juvenile delinquents and submitted to the institutions recommendations as to the disposition of the cases. For the most part these recommendations were followed, and some little gain was made in the proper handling of the children.

In the field of new commitments, where the vital interest of the department lay, effort was now increased to secure the cooperation of committing officials. With the larger staff the department felt better able to cope with additional work, and a letter was sent to every committing official in the county, both court and poor law, telling him of the department and its workers, and offering assistance in the investigation of any cases where commitment was sought. The results were immediate and gratifying. In one year officials referred to the agents for investigation the cases of 435 children for whom commitment was sought by parents, relatives, or interested citizens. In only 107 of these cases did the agents after investigation report back recommendations for commitment and hence for the public support of the children. Thus the rate of increase in the number of child dependents in the county was materially checked. All this gave courage to the new administration to press its points.

**Boarding-home and mothers' allowance work begun.**

Most of the institutions available to Westchester County for the care of its children were congregate institutions, many of them with populations of 500 and over. Try as they might, these institutions could not conceivably meet the needs of little children or growing boys and girls, whose problems could be solved only by individual treatment. The urgency for more specialized care was evident, and the department began the search for suitable family boarding homes. These proved difficult to find. However, a start was made, and during the first year of its existence as a separate agency 54 children in need of public support were placed in family boarding homes by the department.

Important as the need for all these changes seemed, the department found that the greatest need for change in its social treatment of children was in the case of children with good mothers. The superintendent of the poor could legally incur bills to the amount of $2 per day for the care of a child in an institution, and this he was doing constantly for children committed to hospitals. He could not, however, spend one cent to give the same children care with their own mothers. A few cases of widows with large families of children, whom it would have been not only humane but actually cheaper to

keep in their own homes, threw this situation into strong relief, and a way was sought out of the difficulty of either breaking up families or leaving them without adequate support. In the poor law[3] was found a provision, which had been inserted at the time when the commitment of children to almshouses in New York State had been prohibited, authorizing county boards of supervisors to take such steps as were necessary to carry out that prohibition. The Westchester Board of Supervisors was persuaded to interpret this section of the law in its broadest sense, and to make a small appropriation to the county superintendent of the poor for the granting of regular monthly allowances to dependent mothers with young children. Fourteen such families were immediately granted allowances, and the beginning[4] of the county mothers' allowance system was made.

**Increase in work made possible by additional staff.**

The second year of the work of this unofficial department was one of continuing rapid growth and development. The county board of supervisors created two new positions upon the staff, and private funds were raised, largely through the Westchester County Children's Committee, for five additional workers. In the creation of these positions and in the selection of the workers two principles were involved which have throughout marked conspicuously the development of the department. In the first place, with the new positions, as with those created formerly, the administration took a firm stand for specialized trained service and for choice of workers on the basis of merit alone. With both publicly and privately paid positions it has always held firmly to this principle, resisting every attempt at political pressure; and, as its policy has become known, it has been increasingly free from any efforts to influence it. Second, this public agency has always encouraged and urged private citizens to share its responsibilities and opportunities. No study of the development of the Westchester County Department of Child Welfare should be made by anyone seriously interested in the Westchester system without a corresponding study of the development of the Westchester County Children's Committee. From the beginning, the county superintendent of the poor did all in his power to stimulate and encourage the growth of the private organization, acting definitely on the belief that dependent children supported by tax money are the responsibility of the taxpayers and private citizens as well as of the elected officials entrusted with their care, and that it is the obligation of the citizens both to help the children directly and to aid and stimulate the officials to do their duty.

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[3] N. Y. Consol. Laws, ch. 42, Art. 4, sec. 56.

[4] On March 1, 1915. See Report of the Children's Department, by the Superintendent of the Poor of Westchester County, for Year Ending October 31, 1915, p. 10.

Indeed, the children's department has from its start developed the private organization almost as a part of itself, the director for several years serving as the unsalaried executive of the Westchester County Children's Committee. Public and private funds were thus combined to furnish a unified plan of child care for the county. While the effect of this cooperation was perhaps most immediately obvious in the increased staff of the public agency, this was only a part of the help given, the less tangible influence of public interest and moral support being a vital asset to the growing work. Much of the value of the work of the department of child welfare and much of the hope for its future rest with the Westchester County Children's Association, which has developed side by side with the public agency.[5]

The additions to the staff of the children's department made possible a redistricting of the county for case-work purposes, and the original four districts were redivided into six. With the added work rapidly placed upon the department, this new division was most advantageous. The acute epidemic of poliomyelitis which affected many of the Eastern States during 1916 was very disastrous in Westchester County, over 600 cases being reported. The department cooperated actively with the State department of health and with a local group that organized for the purpose of providing aftercare for afflicted children, and from that time undertook and carried on all social-service and relief work needed by such cases. In order to make possible the use of the department's staff for work on cases not of public dependents, the "aftercare committee" from its funds furnished the salary and expenses for an additional member of the department's staff.

Despite this new type of work the boarding-out work was doubled during the year, more children thus being given the advantage of

[5] The Westchester County Children's Association is to-day an organization of 3,000 citizens of the county with a paid staff of six workers and with an annual budget of $35,000, of which $15,000 is expended in connection with the work of the department of child welfare. The avowed purpose of the association is "to promote the welfare of children in Westchester County." Its membership is open to any interested person, and the dues for its lowest class of membership are $2 a year. Its constitution provides for a number of standing committees which, among them, aim to cover the entire field of child care. Among these are the committees on education, child labor and school attendance, family and community problems, health and recreation, legislation, and publicity, and the committee on special care and relief, under whose particular charge comes the relation of the association to the department of child welfare. It is the business of each committee to plan, develop, and supervise the work of the association in its particular field. The association aims to interest and to hold its members through a system of district branches covering the territory of the entire county, each branch being an integral part of the association, assisting in all phases of its work and helping to formulate its policies, but being free within itself to carry on any special phase of work in which it has interest, provided only that it remains in harmony with the general interests of the organization. Among the developments of some of the local branches are case committees, which exist for the purpose of aiding the agents of the department of child welfare in their field work. Thus the public department has in this private association a strong right hand without which it could not successfully carry on many of its present activities.

family home life. More striking yet was the growth of the mothers' allowance work. In 1915 the State of New York passed its so-called board of child welfare act, providing in all the counties of the State and in the city of New York for unsalaried boards which should have in charge the administering of allowances to widowed mothers. The Westchester County board was appointed as provided by law, the superintendent of the poor being an ex officio member. As his office had already been granting allowances to needy mothers, and as various cases were being covered by his funds which did not fall within the rather narrow limits of the act, the new county board of child welfare and the county superintendent of the poor agreed to work as one in this field. The director of the child welfare department was made the unsalaried executive of this board, and it was purposed to use the staff of the department of child welfare for the widows' allowance work under the new act. However, the county board of supervisors did not feel the need for a new piece of machinery of a different type to carry on the work already being conducted to their satisfaction by the county superintendent of the poor. As the act did not make appropriations mandatory, they determined to make no appropriation to the board of child welfare, but instead to increase the funds in the control of the superintendent of the poor in order that he might do all the work contemplated for the board under the act. No appropriation, therefore, was made to the county board of child welfare; it has never become active, and the mothers' allowance work in Westchester County has never been carried on under the state-wide plan.

The publicity given to "widows' pension" work by the passage of the act and by the attempt to apply it in Westchester greatly advertised the giving of allowances, and the department of child welfare found itself flooded by applications for this form of relief, its list at times numbering 200. This brought considerable pressure for immediate aid for families, and criticism of the slower and more painstaking methods. The department stood firmly, however, for thorough investigation before allowances were granted, and refused to lower its standards. Nevertheless, with increased funds, its mothers' allowance work increased in one year to over five times the amount of the year before.

## THE CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CHILD WELFARE.

### The passage of the "commissionership act." [6]

The most important single stepping-stone in the development of the public child-caring agency in Westchester was the passage of the so-called commissionership bill in 1916. This act was a piece of special legislation for Westchester County. It was an outgrowth of the

[6] New York Laws 1916, ch. 242.

many difficulties met by the county superintendent of the poor in trying to carry on his work and of the fact that a county so large as Westchester, with its complicated problems, had needs not provided for by the regular New York State laws. The commissionership act, with a few amendments since passed, is still in force in Westchester County and is the law under which the child-caring work is carried on. Attention, therefore, must be given to the theory upon which it is based and to its provisions.

The theory of the act is that, in order to secure a competent person for the work of caring for the dependent and delinquent classes in an area as small as a county, the office must be made an important one. For this reason the act abolished the old office of superintendent of the poor and created in its place a new office, that of county commissioner of charities and corrections, later called county commissioner of public welfare. This official has all the powers of the superintendent of the poor under the New York State law, and many others in addition. He is an elected official, his term of office being three years. As was intended by the framers of the bill, he is one of the higher-salaried officers of the county. To aid the commissioner in the discharge of his numerous duties the law provided for a deputy commissioner to be appointed by the commissioner and to act as directed by him. It created six county departments, all directly responsible to the commissioner and with heads appointed by him. Thus power and responsibility for the conduct of the public-welfare work of the county are definitely centered in the one elected official. The six departments are: The county home (or almshouse) department; the department of corrections, which includes the management of the county penitentiary and workhouse; the department of hospitals and health, which includes the management of the general and tuberculosis hospitals; the farm department, which furnishes food supplies for the institutions and labor for the penitentiary inmates; the steward's department, which is the purchasing agency for the entire organization; and the department of child welfare. The framers of the bill intended that the heads of these six departments should be experts in their particular lines and should furnish to the commissioner—who is the general administrative officer—the specialized knowledge he needs. The powers of the commissioner are very general and are broadly defined. By this act the department of child welfare came into being as an official branch of the county service, the first county department of this nature to be established in the State.

**Sections relating to children.**

Under the law as it stands to-day the powers of the commissioner with regard to child care are liberal, as liberal probably as they can be made so long as the county operates under the city and town sys-

tem of charging for the poor. The following are the specific provisions for child and family relief:

The commissioner may also appoint an advisory board of not more than seven members to assist in the management of the department of child welfare. The members of such advisory board shall also serve without pay and during the pleasure of the commissioner.[7]

Commitments to institutions by overseers of the poor or by commissioners of charities of any city in Westchester County shall hereafter be limited to commitments to almshouses, and all such commitments shall be subject to the approval of the commissioner of charities and corrections, who shall commit to such institutions as to him may seem proper, subject to the general requirements for the commitment of children as now provided by law.[8]

The commissioner shall have the power to make such arrangements for the care of needy children as may be authorized by the board of supervisors, but no child chargeable to any town or city in the county of Westchester shall be committed to any institution or placed in any home, nor shall any expense be incurred in behalf of the care of said child without first having obtained the approval of the supervisor, or overseer of the poor, of the town, or of the commissioner of charities, or deputy or other deputized official of the city chargeable therewith, as the case may be. The commissioner shall perform, under such rules and regulations as the board of supervisors may adopt, all the duties prescribed for local boards of child welfare as provided by the provisions of the general municipal law or any other law, in so far as the same shall apply to the county of Westchester.[9]

To anyone unfamiliar with New York State law these sections do not seem as significant as they really are. Under the State poor law children between the ages of 2 and 16 may not be committed to almshouses, and children under 2 may be committed there only when accompanied by their own mothers. Therefore the restricting of overseers and commissioners of charities to commitments to almshouses deprives these officials of any power to place children in institutions and centers the commitment of all children for destitution in the county commissioner of public welfare. This official is given practically unlimited power to care for needy children, with the one important restriction that no expense may be incurred for any child chargeable to any subdivision of the county unless the consent of the proper local official has first been secured. This restriction is made necessary by the fact that the county still follows the system of charging back the care of its poor upon the localities in which they have legal settlement, and because it is unconstitutional for a county official to fix a charge upon a subdivision of the county. Finally, to the commissioner are given all the duties of a board of child welfare empowered to administer allowances to widowed moth-

[7] New York Laws 1916, ch. 242, sec. 3, as amended by Laws 1921, ch. 457, sec. 3. This is a recent amendment and has not yet been put in operation.

[8] Ibid., sec. 5.

[9] Ibid., sec. 6, as amended by Laws 1921, ch. 458, sec. 6.

ers, and this provision nullifies the effect of the board of child welfare act, so far as it applied to Westchester County.

**Powers, duties, and methods of work of county department of child welfare.**

The powers and duties of the newly created county department of child welfare can best be described by a statement of its methods of work under the act in the various types of cases handled. In general, however, it may be said that the immediate effects of the act were official recognition on the part of the county of its child-welfare work, the establishing of a child-caring and family-relief agency as a part of the county's necessary business, and the centralizing of the commitment of destitute children in one county official. The practical result of the act was to increase at once, and very materially, the work of the department—first, by advertising it among officials and private citizens; second, by placing upon it the duties of investigating the cases of all destitute children before their commitment and of arranging for their commitment. Thanks to the cooperation of local poor-law officials and of members of the county board of supervisors, the restrictive provisions governing commitment have not operated as disastrously as it was at first feared they might, and the passage of the bill immediately improved greatly the handling of children in need of care because of destitution and kindred conditions.

The staff of the department to-day numbers 40 and consists of a director, 3 assistant directors, a supervisor of district work, a supervisor of boarding homes, an office secretary, 16 district and field agents, 6 stenographers, a bookkeeper, a filing clerk, a secretary to the director, and a clinic staff comprised of a psychiatrist, 5 psychiatric social workers, and 2 stenographers. It has 11 offices—a central executive office in the courthouse at White Plains, a separate office for its clinic immediately adjoining the courthouse, and 9 offices at the larger centers of population in its eight case-work districts. The office in the city of Yonkers has a staff of 4 agents and a stenographer, three districts have 2 agents each, and each of the remaining districts has 1 agent in charge. Yonkers is the only district office with a stenographer; the others are given as much stenographic service as possible from the central office—an arrangement which is far from satisfactory. As noted before, private funds give much assistance, and by no means all the staff of the department is furnished from public funds. Since 1914 the county has increased its paid staff from 2 to 17—an admirable increase. The director, 1 assistant director, the secretary to the director, the bookkeeper, 11 field agents, and 2 stenographers are now supported at public ex-

pense. All these positions except that of the director are in the competititve civil service. The 23 other members of the staff are furnished through private funds. The Westchester County Children's Association—the private organization which has grown out of the former Westchester County Children's Committee—pays the salary and expenses of six. The remaining members of the staff are furnished by private individuals, the entire clinic work being a gift to the department from one person. Private funds granted to the department for salaries are given merely by agreement to pay the salary—of a specified amount—and the expenses of any individual chosen and designated by the department. The department makes the selection and has the sole control of the workers, whose only connection with the children's association and private donors is that they receive checks from those sources. Moreover, the department is free to transfer a person from one pay roll to another at any time without notice. In thus expending private funds for its work, the department has kept definite policies in mind and is clearly conscious of certain dangers which should be avoided.

Westchester County needed an efficient child-caring agency, and it has seemed proper that private philanthropy and public charity should create one well-equipped, unified organization rather than several scattered ones. Because of the greater flexibility of private philanthropy, it can increase the efficiency of public moneys and render supplementary assistance out of all proportion to their amount of expenditure. Also, the department believes that it is absolutely essential to high standards of public work that the continued interest in it of large numbers of citizens be maintained, and that this interest can be more easily aroused and held when private citizens have a very direct and concrete part in the public work. For this reason, from the beginning of the present administration every effort has been made to encourage this participation of private citizens in the development of the public department. The effect is clearly evident in the penitentiary, hospital, and county home (the three institutional divisions of the commissioner's work), but it is possibly most marked in the relations of the department of child welfare to the Westchester County Children's Association. Much of the rapid growth of the department has been due to the fact that a large number of the county's most philanthropically minded citizens have been watching its work, and have discerned needs that ought to be met, aroused public opinion regarding them, and often raised funds to meet the needs. Most of the positions provided by the Westchester County Children's Association have been contributed because of the desire of some of its members to have the department extend its work in some particular field. As an offset to these advan-

tages the department faces squarely the danger that the private funds may at some time influence its management. It believes that the danger has thus far been avoided by the plan of permitting no personal contact whatever of the association or individual giving funds with the direct use made of the funds. It is also the purpose of the department to secure the transfer of positions from the private to the public pay roll as rapidly as the positions justify their existence and the taxpayers can be brought to understand the need for them.

**Administrative policies.**

In its general administrative policies the department aims to be truly democratic and to have its management one of the entire group rather than of an individual or individuals. In general, the executive staff has the supervision and management of the department. It is the policy to allow every member of the staff as much freedom as is compatible with reasonably efficient team play, and the district agents are left to organize, plan, and develop the work in their own districts according to their own best judgment. No attempt is made to control absolutely their method of work or distribution of time unless they fall markedly below departmental standards. An effort is made to familiarize new workers coming on the staff with the department's general policies and methods by giving them a course of training under the central office staff. Except in unusual instances new workers are attached first to the central office as agents at large and are given a field training of from three to six months in the actual handling of all the various kinds of case work done by the department. In addition, the new worker has a series of discussions with the director covering all phases of the department's work, the various branches of county government, the relation of the department to different public officials and agencies and to other county organizations and outside social agencies, and kindred subjects. These discussions cover two-hour periods, and are given once a week, so far as possible, over a number of months. The department thus aims to equip its workers for the independence of district work and then leaves them practically free to use their own initiative and to contribute the best that is in them in their own way.

The department has a system of conferences which aim to secure the opinions of the whole group upon different subjects. The entire staff meets regularly once a month in all-day conference. Here practically all the policies of the department and its methods of work of any importance are determined after discussion by a majority vote. In the past these conferences have often done much of their work through subcommittees, which have brought in reports for group action. Recently a representative committee of the staff has considered the entire subject of staff control of the department, and its

report to the staff conference has resulted in the establishment of a permanent committee on staff conference, with full power to determine the subject matter for discussion by the conference, independent of any executive control. This committee, therefore, now has full power to place any matter it wishes before the conference for action. In case of disagreement at any time between the executive and the staff, appeal is open to the commissioner himself. The members of the executive staff meet three or four times a month, or as often as is necessary, for the discussion of matters of immediate concern or of a nature not fitted for discussion in the larger group. The weekly clinic conference, which is described later, forms a means for intensive group discussion of a number of cases. A central office conference of the entire executive and stenographic staff is in process of organization, and will be under way in the near future.

## THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT TO-DAY.

The primary work of the department may be roughly classified as the supervision and care of all children supported in whole or in part by public funds away from their families and the administration of the county mothers' allowance system. However, as its aim is preventive as well as remedial work there is practically no kind of social problem that does not fall within its field. In all its case work its object is to preserve family home life wherever possible, and it always considers the family as the unit even when its members are widely scattered. Where family home life can not be preserved and the family must be broken up it stands for the shortest possible separation of parents and children, for the responsibility of the parent for his child's support at all times whether or not he is able to have the child with him, for the return of children to relatives at the earliest moment consistent with the children's welfare, for boarding-home care whenever possible for children who must be removed from their own homes and are not suitable for free foster homes, for cottage-plan institutional care as against congregate, and for free foster-home care for such physically and mentally normal children as have no family or friends to whom they can ever return. In all aspects of the work the department of child welfare aims to study most carefully the personality of each individual child and to provide for him upon this basis. These general principles govern its case work.

### Mothers' allowances.

Children are always kept with their own mothers provided these mothers are capable, with assistance, of giving them adequate care; hence the mothers' allowance work is perhaps the most important phase of the department's activities. As has been previously mentioned, Westchester is granting allowances not under the general

State law but under the special provisions of the "commissionership act" and resolutions of the county board of supervisors. The original "board of child welfare act" permitted the granting of allowances only to widowed mothers who fulfilled certain residence requirements, and whose husbands had been citizens; it has since been amended but still covers limited classes only. The Westchester system permits the granting of an allowance, at the discretion of the commissioner, to any needy mother with young children who is deprived of the earnings of the breadwinner, whether by death, imprisonment, mental or physical illness, or long-time or permanent disability. Moreover, the former law does not coincide with the poor law in regard to settlement requirements but makes it necessary for a woman to have lived two years in a county before she may receive an allowance. This means that a family may have proper poor-law settlement in a county and be legally entitled to county poor relief, yet may not be eligible for relief in the form of a mother's allowance. Westchester County determines the granting of mothers' allowances on the same basis of settlement as the granting of other forms of relief. Its system allows considerably more freedom in the treatment of individual families than is permitted under the state-wide law. It has the added advantage of combining in one agency the care of needy children with their own mothers and those away from their mothers. Children are often transferred from the technical class of mothers' allowance cases to that of dependent children and back again, sometimes repeatedly, according to family vicissitudes, without any knowledge on the part of the families that their status before the law is changing and that aid is coming from different funds. Moreover, since it is the policy to have the same worker handle the family from its first contact with the department, the family is saved the many new adjustments which the other system requires, and there is no chance of failure to give adequate care because of lack of cooperation between different agencies. In the state-wide system, the decisions on the granting of mothers' allowances are made by an unpaid board. In Westchester County the power and responsibility rest with the commissioner's department, which, however, is required to secure the consent of the proper local official if an allowance is to be granted.

Although the department of child welfare has by law the greatest freedom in the granting of allowances, it has established for itself general principles which it uses as guides in making decisions upon cases. These have been approved by a committee of the county board of supervisors and by an advisory committee of the Westchester County Children's Association. On the whole, they follow closely the general standards of agencies doing similar work, though they have been adapted with the special need of public agencies in mind.

The growth of the mothers' allowance work in Westchester has been exceedingly rapid. In 1915, the year in which it was started, 14 families, with 58 children under 16 years of age, were the recipients of this new form of relief. In 1920, mothers' allowances were granted to a total of 334 families, with 1,132 children under the age of 16 and living at home, and the relief administered amounted to $123,871.21. On December 31, 1920, allowances were being received in the county by 278 families, with 942 children. The increase in the county budget which this has involved has not escaped the notice of the taxpayer.

The initial application for an allowance may be made in practically any way, but before an investigation of her case is made each mother must fill out an application blank furnished by the department and execute an affidavit as to its accuracy. Each case is investigated thoroughly, and a complete written report, including recommendations, is submitted to the central office for review. No decision is made without the concurrence of at least three persons working independently, and whenever disagreement occurs conferences are held upon the case. If it is decided that an allowance should be granted, the signed consent of the local supervisor or the commissioner of charities is required. After the allowance is granted comes the question of the amount of relief to be given. Here the department uses a budget schedule, which is revised from time to time by the staff committee on budget after consideration of the various standard budgets in use by leading public and private agencies. The present budget schedule is a composite of the Chicago Standard Budget and the schedule of the New York State Charity Organization Society, with some ideas of the department's own.

By resolution of the county board of supervisors the department is at present limited to an allowance not to exceed $4.50 per week per child. This amount has proved adequate in the cases of large families, but is often inadequate with smaller ones. Since it is the department's policy to assure each of its wards an adequate income, effort is made to raise private funds where public fail to meet the needs. The amount of allowance to each family is determined in the usual way by a study of its estimated monthly income in relation to the budget estimate of what it should have to maintain a reasonable standard of living. The amount is granted for no fixed period and is changed as often as is advisable—monthly if necessary. Allowances are given in the form of monthly drafts. These are delivered to the department by the county comptroller's office and are taken personally by the agents to the mothers in their own homes.

Supervision of families is on the whole a very regular and friendly matter, agents visiting those in their care at least once a month, and in the more difficult cases much oftener. The health of the mothers

and children is a matter of concern. The school records of the children are watched; a school report blank is used in some cases, but it is not required. Through the aid of private individuals and organizations—notably the Westchester County Children's Association—scholarships are raised to continue older children in school, and vacations, memberships in the Boy and Girl Scouts of America, and other recreation facilities are provided for. At present, with the cooperation of 75 families, a simple study is being made—covering a period of six months—of their actual in relation to their estimated expenditures. The department considers that the money furnished is the smallest part of the service rendered to its families, and it aims in every way to aid them to make the most of their opportunities.

**The child under care away from his mother.**

Not all children, however, are so fortunate as to find care with their own mothers. The year 1920 saw 1,212 children in Westchester County receiving care at public expense away from their own families. Of these, 365 were children newly committed during the year. Since the department of child welfare now has the sole power to commit a child for destitution, it has opportunity to make a thorough investigation before commitment. This is done with the utmost care, and full record is made of each case, so that children are no longer separated from parents and relatives and committed to public support without assurance to the public that this radical action is necessary. Of the 365 children committed in Westchester during 1920, 230, or slightly less than two-thirds, were poor-law commitments, and they therefore received adequate attention before separation from their families was decided upon. In each case, if the child was properly a city or town charge, the consent of the local official was necessary before the child's commitment could be secured. While consent is practically always obtained without difficulty, and the actual power of commitment rests solely with the county commissioner, the necessity for obtaining the local official's sanction often holds up the progress of the case. It is to be hoped that this difficulty will eventually be solved by making all dependent children county charges. This step could easily be taken, if it were not for the slight changes in the tax rates as between cities and rural districts which such an arrangement would involve.

The department still has practically no control over children's cases brought before the courts, and although it is sometimes consulted and given an opportunity to investigate and make recommendations prior to the commitment of a child for "no proper guardianship" or for juvenile delinquency, in a majority of the cases children are committed to institutions by courts without any adequate inquiry into their circumstances. Only an adequate county juvenile court

system, whereby all children's cases are handled by a trained and competent judge, will remedy this situation.[10] As has been previously stated, the department pays from its funds for all children committed by the courts; but it has no control whatever over juvenile delinquency commitments, and only such control over commitments for "no proper guardianship" as is given by the right to disapprove them and to refuse payment of bills for them. In spite of these difficulties, the department, so far as is possible, treats all new commitments in the same way. In all poor-law commitments a thorough investigation of each case is made before the child is actually separated from his family. In court commitments such an investigation is made following the commitment if it can not be made before. In every case, court and poor law alike, and whether or not the department has any form of guardianship over the child, a thorough physical and mental examination through the department's clinic is given each child as soon as possible after he becomes a public charge, and recommendations are made to the proper agency. Thus, in spite of the difficulties of the system, the department is attempting to give the children committed by the court the same opportunities that it is able to furnish to the children who are directly within its control. But at best, and even with all forces working together, the system is very inefficient; children committed by courts, like those who come under the control of the department, should have the advantage of careful study and examination before action is taken upon their cases.

**Reinvestigation of children's cases.**

Once a child has become a public charge, the rules of the State board of charities and corrections require that an annual reinvestigation be made into his family circumstances. The department endeavors to make this reinvestigation something more than a perfunctory procedure to determine whether or not bills for his care should still be paid. It strives to review thoroughly the child's case, in order to determine whether the plan made for him is the best possible one, and whether it is working as was intended. More emphasis is placed upon the thoroughness of the reinvestigation than upon its frequency. As already indicated, the department considers that it is by no means helpful for children to remain public charges for any length of time in a county no better equipped to meet their needs than is Westchester. Many of its children, however, receive care during their period of dependency in large congregate institutions, where despite the efforts of the institution, specialization is practically

[10] Since this was written the 1922 session of the New York Legislature has passed an act establishing a children's court in each county of the State—with certain exceptions to cover counties in which juvenile court work had already been organized—and giving such courts original, exclusive jurisdiction over children's cases.

impossible and little individual education and training can be given to them. In 1920, of nearly 44,000 weeks of care at public expense given to children away from their families, only 14 per cent was furnished in family boarding homes, 12 per cent in cottage-plan institutions, and 4 per cent in hospitals and institutions for defectives, as against 70 per cent in large congregate institutions, several of which had over 1,000 children under care.

**Boarding children in private families.**

The department's boarding-out system has developed very slowly. From its beginning in 1915 it has increased only to the point where boarding-home care is being furnished to about 125 children at a time. Even in 1920 the number of children under such care at times dropped as low as 75. This part of the work has not grown, primarily because the department has been unable to give to it the undivided attention of a sufficient number of its staff, this being partly due to the pressure, for years, of the mothers' allowance work. When through public or private funds enough trained workers can be set at the task, the boarding-home work will undoubtedly increase rapidly, though it is probably more difficult to carry on this work in Westchester County than in some other parts of the State.

Since the department can not board all its children, it aims in general to give preference to babies under 2 years of age, children in need of special attention because of their physical or mental condition, children whom the clinic wishes to keep under observation, children that have been for a long time in institutions, children in preparation for placement in free foster homes, and children who should be kept near their relatives, especially widowed fathers. Since January 1, 1921, special effort has also been made to place in boarding homes all children newly committed, until such time as the clinic has completed its work upon their cases, and a careful plan for their future has been made.

The State department of health requires that all family homes in which children are boarded shall be licensed each year by the local board of health, and such homes are subject to monthly inspection by the local health officer. The prescribed license requires that each child shall sleep in a room having one or more windows opening into the outer air, that ventilation shall be adequate, and that each child shall have a separate bed. In addition to these requirements, the department of child welfare has formulated a number of standards for its boarding homes by which it aims to keep this branch of its work at a high level.

Westchester County is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of boarding-home care to be willing to pay extra amounts to secure it for its children, and the department's boarding-home work is made

possible only through the use of private funds. It uses directly for the board of the children all the weekly per capita amount allowed by the county; and from the Westchester County Children's Association and other private sources it secures clothing and funds for clothing and for the payment of all bills for the medical, dental, and other incidental needs of the children. Private funds are used for relief in connection with the boarding-home work more than in any other branch of the department's activities except the clinic. On the whole, the main difficulties encountered in the boarding-home work—those of home finding, of adequate supervision, and of raising funds with which to finance it—will all, the department believes, be solved when the staff can devote sufficient time to them. Until its boarding-home system is enlarged, Westchester will have little to be proud of in the actual type of care furnished its dependents, and much of the clinic's most valuable work will be of little practical avail.

The department has continued its early policy of placing children in free foster homes through other agencies rather than through its own organization. The technique of placing in foster homes has been highly developed, and the work is already in the hands of experts. It would seem, therefore, that for an agency placing at most only about 30 children a year more expert service can be secured through specialized agencies than through its own staff. Moreover, with the possibility of changing administrations in a public agency, the department feels that the future supervision of children placed at some distance from the county is better safeguarded in the hands of an incorporated and reasonably permanent organization. A much wider choice of homes is secured by a state-wide organization than by one operating chiefly within the limits of one county, and the wider the choice of homes the better may the individual child's peculiarities be met. In the cases of many children, especially those who have been taken from their relatives by court action for cruelty or neglect, placement at a distance, where their histories are not known to the entire community, is much to be desired. And, finally, it is doubtful whether an average county will pay the expenses and furnish the staff for careful enough supervision of children placed far outside its own boundaries. It is the policy of the department, however, to help the private agencies in finding as many free homes as possible, whether for its own or for other children; and it does the actual placing of many of its children, keeping them under its own supervision, in such cases acting rather as agent for the private organization than as its own representative. Thus far, it is reasonably well satisfied with this method. More of Westchester County's children would be placed out in free foster homes, were it not for the difficulty of securing the good Roman Catholic homes which are needed for the placement of most of its wards.

**The clinic.**

The clinic has been from its creation one of the most distinctive and most valuable features of the department's work. Both in its concrete work for individual wards of the public and in its general educational influence upon the community its value can not be estimated. The clinic originated in the effort of the staff of the department to do good case work for dependent children and in the interest of the county commissioner in that work. From the beginning of his administration he had been troubled by the fact that the members of the children's staff usually had to base their plans for the care of their wards on guesswork. Its nearness to New York City had made available to Westchester County more advantages in the way of free clinics than were available to more remote districts; but these clinics were so overcrowded, their staffs so overburdened, they were so difficult to reach, and so much time was wasted in using them that very few of the county's wards were able to secure the advantages seemingly so freely offered. If the department was to do intelligent work with its children, it must surely know a great deal about them. If the community was to spend its money in treating dependent children it should know what they ought to be treated for before setting about the work. Therefore, in March, 1917, through private funds, the commissioner established a clinic for the examination of wards of the department of child welfare, with a specially trained staff consisting of a psychiatrist and two psychiatric social workers. The purpose of the clinic was to give dependent children complete physical and mental examinations based upon careful investigation of their personal and family histories, to diagnose their cases, and to recommend treatment. The clinic was not to treat in any way, but was to furnish the basis for intelligent planning of care and directing methods of treatment. It was especially fitted to study the problems of unadjusted children.

In 1917 the department dealt with 1,214 children away from their own families, and with an additional 506 children supported in their own homes with their own mothers. So inspiring was the opportunity for constructive work presented and so great was the enthusiasm of the clinic's staff, that at first too much was attempted. It was planned that practically every child becoming dependent, whether kept with his own mother or placed away from her, should be given a complete examination. This proved impossible, because of the number of children involved and the clinic's standard of thoroughness. An informal system of selection was therefore followed, and the more pressing cases thought for one reason or another to present the biggest problems were singled out for attention. Examinations based upon two types of investigations were given.

So far as possible, the two specially trained clinic investigators studied and supplemented the regular field agents' investigations of all problem cases, making exhaustive psychiatric studies. Such studies could not be made by two workers rapidly enough to furnish the psychiatrist all the work she could do. Other examinations, therefore, were frequently made upon thorough social-service investigations by the regular field agents. In order to bridge the difference in point of view between agents trained for social service in schools or in fields having no direct contact with psychiatric work and the specialized viewpoint of the clinic workers, it was arranged to send agents, one at a time, from the field staff of the department to the clinic for three months' intensive training in the clinic's methods. It was hoped that these agents would bring back to their regular work a new point of view, which would not only be helpful in the individual cases they handled, but would gradually permeate the staff and improve its entire service. After a time it became perfectly obvious that the original undertaking was entirely too great. The clinic definitely gave up attempting to examine all the mothers' allowance and dependent child cases and devoted itself to as many as possible of the most pressing problem cases presented by the department. For special research purposes a group of 50 cases, taken chronologically, were made the subject of particular study.

From the beginning the clinic could not possibly do much work for the general public; in fact, it realized that to do so would retard the development of the public mental clinics, which were so badly needed. But the pressure from schools, courts, private citizens, and private agencies became acute, and in its desire to serve the clinic often found itself going far afield to help with especially difficult problems of maladjustment; a persistent attempt has been made, however, to limit strictly this outside work.

The clinic remains one of the most conspicuous parts of the department's work. Its purpose, as formerly, is to diagnose only, not to treat, and the limitation of its work to wards of the department has been found even more necessary than at first. The type of case examined has changed materially during the past year. A review of the first four years' work has made the department realize that, examining only such children as were thought by the social-service agents to be problem cases, it has passed by many of those most in need of skillful treatment. Moreover, by this hit-or-miss selection, no facts were being collected which were of any permanent value except in relation to individual cases. It seemed clear to the department that the clinic's efforts should be expended primarily on one type of work, and that this should be done with such uniformity over a two-year period that the results would be worthy of careful analysis and study.

As the child in need of public support away from his family seemed to present more of a problem of social maladjustment than the child in need in the home of his own mother who was still able to take physical care of him, it was determined to center the clinic's chief interest from January 1, 1921, upon children becoming public charges away from their families, whether through court or poor-law commitment. Since that date, therefore, a complete investigation of the family and personal history of every child becoming a public dependent away from his own family, regardless of the charge upon which he is committed, is made as quickly as possible by the clinic agents; this is followed by a complete clinical examination of the child. Whenever possible, this entire study precedes his commitment. Wherever boarding-home space permits, the department aims to place children becoming public charges in boarding homes until the clinic examination has been completed, a conference upon the case held, and treatment planned. The child is then transferred to whatever form of available care seems best fitted to his needs. In many instances, because of scarcity of boarding-home space or of the type of children involved, immediate institutional commitment has been necessary, involving great difficulty in arranging for subsequent transfers. The department hopes within the near future to secure sufficient private or public funds to make possible the building up of a system of subsidized boarding homes which may be used as temporary shelters or receiving stations.

Careful records are being made of all work done on new commitments. In order to make possible painstaking, uniform work with all cases, and the maintenance of an adequate system of records for both present and future use, the staff of the clinic has been increased until it now includes a psychiatrist, five psychiatric social workers, two full-time stenographers, and extra stenographic service.

So far as the psychiatrist's time is not fully taken up with her work on the cases of children newly committed, she examines for the department its problem cases, including its oldest commitments under special study and its cases of children about to be placed in free homes or in need of special care because of their mental or physical condition. In the first 11 months of 1921, 275 examinations were made; of the children examined, 132 were newly becoming public charges, 109 were committed in previous years, 18 were wards of the department who were not public charges, and 16 were outside cases.

All cases for examination are referred to the clinic through the central office of the department. A social-service agent makes as complete an investigation of a case as is possible and necessary for the practical and immediate handling of the problem presented. In

the cases of children committed for destitution, these investigations are thorough and complete. In many of the cases of court commitment, however, the department does not know of the commitment until after it has taken place. Because of the pressure of work upon the social-service agents—each of whom has from 54 to 170 families under care, according to the territory covered—they can not conceivably make as complete and exhaustive investigations of certain phases of the child's history as the psychiatrist needs. Moreover, they are not specially trained for personality study. Each social-service investigation, therefore, is studied by a psychiatric worker on the clinic staff, additional work is put upon the case as needed, and special attention is given to interviews with the child's parents and to the study of his personal and developmental history. The study having been completed to the satisfaction of the clinic agent, it is then submitted to the psychiatrist, who schedules the examination and carries it out at the earliest possible time. Whenever possible examinations are given in the clinic's office. In many cases this is not practicable, either because the child has been committed to an institution as a juvenile delinquent and is in the custody of the institution, or because the two weeks' quarantine regulation of institutions makes it inadvisable, or because it would be a serious interruption to a child's school work to remove him even for a few hours. In such cases the psychiatrist, with the hearty cooperation of every institution now receiving Westchester charges, makes her examination at the institution. The time required for an examination varies from a short period for young babies to several hours for older children.

The type of examination given may best be explained in the words of the present psychiatrist, Dr. Elizabeth I. Adamson:

The type of examination given is uniform in character, the purpose being to determine what kind of child we are dealing with and, once knowing our material, to form an opinion regarding his future possibilities. It would be unfair to him and deluding ourselves, therefore, to regard him solely as a physical being or a group of mental reactions. We feel that the child should be studied as a unit, considering all the components that serve to make him what he is, whether they are physical, mental, or social. We try to think of him as an integrated personality. For this reason he must be studied from many angles by various methods.

Practically considered, the study comprises a mental examination (consisting of a psychological and psychiatric) and a physical examination. The psychological includes a complete examination by the Sanford revision of the Binet-Simon scale. The basal age is found in a routine manner, and the tests are continued through the group corresponding to the child's chronological age, even though he has failed on a lower age group. In this way he is given every possible opportunity to show his intellectual capability and perhaps latent aptitudes. This less plastic type of test is always supplemented by various performance tests, such as the Goddard-Seguin form board, and Healy's mare

and foal and pictorial completion tests. The Porteus maze test has been used with partial success. When considered advisable, the foregoing tests are supplemented by the Haggerty school test and by others which serve to test for special functions, such as association, learning ability, or memory. We always try to use those tests which have been satisfactorily standardized by various psychologists and psychiatrists over a long period of time and with large numbers of children.

The other part of the mental examination, though not so easily definable, is oftentimes of much more importance than that testing for intellectual ability alone. By talking with the child and allowing him to say what he wishes without any regard for the time element, we attempt to discover his personality traits and the motive for his actions, thereby uncovering the causes for his emotional conflicts and antisocial behavior, if there are any. If he is disinclined to express his thoughts he is not forced to, and if the examination is considered unsuccessful because of the child's resistiveness he is asked to return at some future time.

The physical examination requires that the child be stripped, except in the case of the older boys. It is a much more thorough examination than that given in the schools; no laboratory tests are made, however, unless symptoms, physical findings, or family or personal history point to a necessity for them. For example, Wassermann tests and smears are taken, or urine analysis recommended, if the history or findings point to syphilis, gonorrhea, or some disturbance of the urinary system. If the chest examination reveals adventitious breath or heart sounds, the child is sent to a suitable clinic for more complete study and necessary treatment. This procedure also applies in the case of other abnormalities, such as sensory defects, skin and orthopedic conditions. In recommendations, advantage is taken of the resources of the county and of New York City.

The clinic conference continues to be a most important part of the work of the clinic, and in fact of the whole department. It is held regularly once a week, oftener if necessary. It is distinctly a case conference, and for the discussion of each case to be submitted there are present the district agent in whose territory the case has arisen, the clinic agent who has been in contact with it, the psychiatrist who has made the examination, a member of the executive staff who is in a position to state to what extent funds—either public or private—may be expended upon the case, and any official or private citizen who may have special and legitimate interest in it. Discussion is most frank and confidential. The cases presented are those that the psychiatrist has examined during the preceding week. The district agent states how the case came to the attention of the department and tells briefly of her initial contact with it; the clinic agent gives a synopsis of the family and personal history of the child; and the psychiatrist reports her findings, concluding with tentative recommendations as to the proper treatment for the child. There is then open discussion upon these recommendations, and a plan is worked out for the treatment of the case. Each point of view—psychiatric, social service, and business—has an opportunity for expression. If the psychiatrist's recommendations seem to the district

agent to be impracticable, she has full opportunity to say so at this time before a plan is made. If the district agent's point of view has conceded too much to pressure of work and conventional methods of case treatment, the psychiatrist and clinic agent have an opportunity to urge more specialized attention for the child. The plan agreed upon, therefore, is a group affair, undertaken after all points of view have been considered. From the beginning the conference has been a most valuable influence. As the staff through its agency became more and more familiar with the psychiatric viewpoint, the plan of having district agents in training with the clinic seemed no longer necessary and was gradually abandoned. The conference is a general forum for discussion of the different points of view on each case and for securing the thoughtful and consistent treatment of each child presented. It is, moreover, generally educative, in that it influences and broadens both sides by giving each the viewpoint of the other. It is also a constant incentive to the whole department to do better case work.

In spite of the conference's careful planning of the treatment to be given each child, the department has had every year a high percentage of failure in carrying out the plans agreed upon. This has been due in large part to lack of sufficient community resources; however, in cases involving especially difficult problems it has been somewhat due to lack of the psychiatric viewpoint on the part of many of the field agents; in other cases the pressure of work upon the field agents—whose duties comprise much more than case work—has made impossible the spending of the necessary time upon certain difficult problems of personal adjustment or family entanglement. To avoid such failures, so far as lies within its power, the department has this year tried the experiment of referring occasional cases to the clinic agents for follow-up treatment. This method assures special attention to individual children and tests out more accurately than the old method the exact resources of this American community for the proper treatment of dependent children. The transfer of this small group of especially chosen cases from one worker to another is not so serious a matter as would at first seem, because the cases thus transferred are those of children newly committed, who in many instances have but recently come to the attention of the district agent, and when committed by the courts may never have been in her hands even for investigation. It is too early yet to give an opinion on the success of this plan.

The practical results of the clinic's work are, of course, most marked in the treatment of individual cases. The department's understanding of its children and its handling of individual prob-

lems of maladjustment—whether physical, mental, or social—have been improved beyond measure by the clinic's work. Moreover, the effect of the clinic's thorough and painstaking analysis of each case has been to improve the entire standard of the department's work, including even its record keeping. The value to the department of contact with the clinic's staff is very great. The psychiatrist gives lectures and informal talks to the staff from time to time and serves as advisor in medical and all other fields connected with her training. Constant use is made throughout the case work of her knowledge and experience, and much has been done toward training the entire staff into a modern, scientific viewpoint with regard to psychology and mental hygiene. There seems no doubt that the influence of the clinic's work has spread beyond the boundaries of the department, and that it is contributing materially to a more intelligent atitude on the part of the general public toward problems of maladjustment in children and adults.

Additional private funds were provided to be spent on the clinic's work in the years 1921 and 1922, in the hope that the material assembled might later on be of some value for research purposes. It would be a great satisfaction to the department if some small part of its labors should prove to yield information of interest to other child-caring agencies. It is also the department's earnest hope that it may be able in the near future to convince the county that the work of such a clinic is essential to the fulfilling of the public's responsibility toward its dependent children, and that as a result the county will assure the permanency of the clinic by taking over the expense of maintaining it.

**Miscellaneous tasks undertaken by the department.**

A department with a large staff working over a whole county, and covering in at least a part of its territory area untouched by any other social-work organization, naturally draws to itself a miscellaneous assortment of problems that no other agency is prepared to handle. This the Westchester County Department of Child Welfare has done. Its social-service exchange, covering more than 5,600 families known to its workers, present and past, throughout the county, is frequently called upon by other organizations. It is on the list of at least two nation-wide associations as a cooperating agency, and it is called upon constantly by outside organizations for investigations or other assistance. It does considerable work of a social-service nature for the county hospital and occasionally for the county penitentiary. It has definite official connections with a number of private organizations, such as the Westchester County Children's Association, the Westchester County Council of Social Agencies, the American Red Cross Home Service, the American Red Cross Disas-

ter Relief Committee, and the Westchester County Council for Public-Health Nursing.

Because it has a psychiatrist on its staff and the only staff of field agents in any of the county offices or departments, the department of child welfare has become a clearing house for mental defectives and epileptics, both children and adults, throughout the county. The passage in 1919 of the mental deficiency act,[11] which made the county superintendent of the poor or his successor a possible petitioner for the bringing of court proceedings in cases of mental deficiency, increased the need for the department's services in this respect. It is now involved in arranging for the examination and commitment of most of the defectives needing care in Westchester County each year. It keeps a card index of all mental defectives known to it within the county, with a brief record of the salient facts about each case. It arranges for examinations and for both poor law and, if necessary, court commitments of defectives. Its agents also make the transfers of most of the defectives, excepting adult males, to the various State institutions. In the course of the year this adds considerably to the department's work. In 1920 alone, it investigated applications for the care of 72 defectives and epileptics, secured the commitment of 31 of these to institutions, and made temporary or other arrangements for many others.

During 1921 the department has ventured also into the field of temporary outdoor relief. According to the New York State poor law, those persons who do not have a city or town settlement within a county's limits become county charges. In Westchester each year a few thousand dollars have been expended for relief for such newly arrived families. This year, because of its field staff, this very difficult bit of family relief work has been taken over by the department, and although the number of cases thus cared for and the amount of money expended in the first 11 months of 1921 were not great, the families generally presented either involved legal questions of settlement, difficult social problems, or both. The department is therefore in many ways more of a general county-wide social welfare agency than its title would necessarily imply.

**Distinctive features and future needs.**

No space is afforded in this discussion for a consideration of the relative value of the Westchester County system and other methods of administering public relief, nor of the strong and weak points in the department's work. The distinctive points in the system, however, would seem to be that the Westchester County Department of Child Welfare furnishes an example of: (1) A unified child-caring and family-relief agency organized on a county basis and under the

[11] N. Y. Laws 1919, ch. 633, sec. 27.

control of one public official; (2) the use of a staff of trained social workers in a public organization; (3) the use of private funds to supplement the work of a public organization; (4) a marked degree of cooperation between public and private agencies, fostered from its inception by the public administration; and (5) an organized effort on the part of a public official to educate taxpayers and private citizens in methods of child care. The future success of the Westchester work obviously depends largely upon the development of a strong public sentiment in favor of keeping the care of dependent children out of politics. And to assure successful case work the department decidedly needs to foster the establishment of a county children's court [12]; to promote the development of an effective central council of social agencies, thereby bringing about a more perfect articulation of all organizations in the county affecting child life; to develop a boarding-out system; and to encourage radical improvements in institutional provision and care for various classes of dependent children.

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[12] See note 10, p. 132, with reference to the "children's court act" passed by the 1922 session of the New York Legislature.

# APPENDIXES.

## APPENDIX A.

# LAWS AND BILLS RELATING TO COUNTY BOARDS OF CHILD WELFARE OR PUBLIC WELFARE.

## ARIZONA.

[Laws 1921, ch. 53.]

### COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS.

SEC. 10. The superior court of each county of this State, within 30 days after this act becomes effective, shall appoint four persons, at least two of whom shall be women, and all of whom shall be experienced as to the requirements for the support and maintenance of children. They shall be appointed for terms of one, two, three, and four years, respectively, so that the terms of no two members shall expire during the same year. In case of death or resignation, the appointment shall be made only for the unexpired term. Records of all appointments so made shall be entered upon the journal of such court. The members so appointed shall serve without compensation other than that each member shall be entitled to his actual necessary traveling expenses incurred by him when acting under the directions of the court, or acting under the directions of the county child welfare board, or of the State child welfare board in the discharge of their duties connected with this act.

SEC. 11. The court, in making the first appointment of members of such board, shall designate a time and place where, within 10 days after such appointment, the persons so appointed shall meet and organize by the election of a chairman and by the election of a secretary of the board. At such meetings the board shall fix and establish days for regular monthly meetings of the board, and in addition to the regular meetings for which provisions are so made, meetings of the board may be called by the chairman or secretary at any time by actual notice to the members. The board shall have power to establish rules and regulations for the conduct of its meetings, for the conduct of its hearings, and shall establish forms upon which to make reports upon any subject referred to it by the State child welfare board, or for applications for relief to mothers for providing support and maintenance for their children, and other forms deemed necessary as a basis for action of the board as to matters referred to in this act. The forms so adopted may be used by such boards, subject to such changes, alterations, and amendments thereto as may be required by the judge of the superior court, or by the State child welfare board.

SEC. 12. It shall be the duty of the members of the county board to provide for the investigation of, and to investigate the conditions surrounding any child within the county reported to it as being an orphan, waif, neglected or abandoned child; and upon the forms adopted for such purpose report the results of each investigation to the judge of the superior court and to the State child welfare board, duplicating the same report to each. Any person within this State may call to the attention of the county child welfare board any case of any orphan, waif, abandoned or neglected child appearing to be a

proper case for further action by the board under the provisions of this law. And it shall be the duty of the county board, or individual members thereof acting under the direction of that board, to investigate such cases and report thereon.

## ARKANSAS.

[Digest of the Statutes (Crawford and Moses) 1921, sec. 1024: Acts of 1917, Act 297, sec. 6.]

### COUNTY BOARDS OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

The [Arkansas] Charities and Correction Commission may appoint five persons from each county, two of whom shall be women, who shall constitute a county board of public welfare for that county. The members of each county board shall serve for terms of five (5) years, the term of one member expiring each year. The initial appointments to such board shall be for terms of one (1), two (2), three (3), four (4), and five (5) years respectively. Vacancies shall be filed [filled] by the said commission. Each county board shall organize according to the instructions of the charities and correction commission. County boards of public welfare shall have similar powers and duties of inspection regarding institutions and agencies within their respective counties to those of the said commission, and they shall work under the direction of the said commission and shall report to said commission as the commission may direct.

## MINNESOTA.

[Statutes Supplement of 1917, secs. 4053–4 to 4053–7, incl.]

### COUNTY CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS.

SEC. 4. *County child welfare boards—Appointment of agents.*—The State Board of Control may, when requested so to do by the county board, appoint in each county three persons resident therein, at least two of whom shall be women, who shall serve without compensation and hold office during the pleasure of the board, and who, together with a member to be designated by the county board from their own number and the county superintendent of schools, shall constitute a child-welfare board for the county, which shall select its own chairman: *Provided*, That in any county containing a city of the first class five members shall be appointed by the State Board of Control. The child-welfare board shall perform such duties as may be required of it by the said board of control in furtherance of the purposes of this act, and may appoint a secretary and all necessary assistants, who shall receive from the county such salaries as may be fixed by the child welfare board with the approval of the county board. Persons thus appointed shall be the executive agents of the child-welfare board. [1917, ch. 194, sec. 4.]

SEC. 5. *Agents where no child welfare board.*—In counties where no child-welfare board exists the judge of the juvenile court may appoint a local agent to cooperate with the State board of control in furtherance of the purpose of this act, who shall receive from the county such salary as may be fixed by the judge with the approval of the county board. [1917, ch. 194, sec. 5.]

SEC. 6. *Additional duties of agents.*—Agents appointed pursuant to sections 4 and 5 may also, when so directed by the county board, perform the duties of probation and school attendance officers and may aid in the investigation and supervision of county allowances to mothers. [1917, ch. 194, sec. 6.]

SEC. 7. *Expenses of members and agents.*—The traveling and other necessary expense of the several members of the child-welfare board, while acting officially as members of such board, and of the executive agents while exclusively employed in the business of the board, shall be paid, so far as approved by the county board, out of the general revenue fund of the county in the same manner as other claims against the county. [1917, ch. 194, sec. 7.]

SEC. 8. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after the 1st day of January, 1918. [1917, ch. 194, sec. 8.]

## MISSOURI.

[Laws 1921, pp. 586–589.]

### COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

*Public Welfare, Superintendent of.*—Authorizing county courts in counties of less than fifty thousand to appoint superintendent and assistants.

AN ACT to authorize the county courts of the several counties having a population of less than 50,000 to appoint a superintendent of public welfare and assistants thereto, prescribing the qualifications thereof and fixing the salary of such superintendent, and prescribing the powers and duties of such officers, and repealing conflicting acts and parts of acts.

SEC. 1. *County court may appoint county superintendent of public welfare and assistants.*—The county court in each county may in its discretion appoint a county superintendent of public welfare and such assistants as it may deem necessary. Whenever the county court of any county has appointed a superintendent of public welfare such officer shall assume all the powers and duties now conferred by law upon the probation or parole officer of such county and shall assume all the powers and duties of the attendance officer in said county and all the powers and duties of the attendance officer in any incorporated town or village having a population of more than 1,000 inhabitants, and no other or different probation or parole officer or attendance officer or officers shall be appointed by the judge of the juvenile court, by the county superintendent of public schools, or by the school board or any incorporated city, town, or village school district or consolidated school district, providing, however, that the provision of this section shall not apply to counties which now have or which shall hereafter have a population of more than 50,000 inhabitants.

SEC. 2. *Compensation to be fixed by county court.*—The county court shall fix the salary of the county superintendent of public welfare and of his assistants in its county.

SEC. 3. *Shall administer funds devoted to outdoor relief and allowances to needy mothers.*—It shall be the duty of the county superintendent of public welfare to administer all of the funds of the county devoted to outdoor relief and allowances to needy mothers. He shall seek to discover any cases of neglect, dependent, defective, or delinquent children in the county and take all reasonable action in his power to secure for them the full benefit of the laws enacted for their benefit. Assistants to the county superintendents of public welfare shall perform such of the duties of the county superintendent of public welfare as he may assign to them.

SEC. 4. *May be authorized and required to act as agent.*—The county superintendents of public welfare may be deputized or authorized and required by the State board of charities and corrections to act as its agent in relation to any

work to be done by said board within the county, and when said county superintendent is so authorized as the agent of the State board of charities and corrections, he shall have the same powers and authority as are given to the State board of charities and corrections. The county superintendent of public welfare may at any time call on the State board of charities and corrections for advice and assistance in the performance of his duties.

SEC. 5. *County superintendent to give special attention—When—To whom.*—The county superintendent of public welfare in each county shall, upon the request of the State board of charities and corrections, and in accordance with its direction, give special care and attention to the needs of any patient recently discharged from the State hospital for the insane who resides in his county, either on parole or permanent discharge, to the end that such patients may be established in such favorable circumstances as shall tend to prevent their relapse into insanity, and shall report on the progress of such former patients to the State board of charities and corrections, and under its direction, to the institution from which they have been paroled or discharged.

SEC. 6. *Shall give oversight and supervision to paroled persons.*—The county superintendent of public welfare shall give such oversight and supervision to prisoners who are on parole from the State penitentiary and are residing in his county, and to persons who are on parole from the Missouri reformatory, and Missouri training school for boys and to girls on parole from the State industrial home for girls, or from the State industrial home for negro girls, as may be requested by the State prison board, and shall report upon the progress of said paroled prisoners to the State prison board as often as it may request. The county superintendent of public welfare in each county shall give oversight and supervision to prisoners on parole or probation by any court in the State of Missouri, and shall investigate applications for clemency when requested to do so by said courts, and shall report in regard to each person placed under his supervision to the court placing said persons under his supervision. The county superintendent of public welfare shall also give oversight and supervision to children placed on parole or probation by the juvenile court or the court having jurisdiction of children's cases in his county when requested to do so by said court, and shall report to said court upon progress of persons thus placed on parole or probation.

SEC. 7. *Shall act as representative of children's bureau—Required to report.*—The county superintendent of public welfare in each county shall act as local representative of the children's bureau of the State board of charities and corrections, and shall, upon the request of said bureau, assist in finding suitable foster homes and shall report to said State board of charities and corrections upon the progress and welfare of children who have been placed in foster homes by said bureau.

SEC. 8. *Shall cooperate with State employment bureaus.*—The county superintendent of public welfare in each county shall cooperate with the State employment bureaus and shall, upon request of the head of such bureaus, furnish data with regard to the opportunities for employment in their respective counties and shall aid and assist in any practical way in securing employment for the unemployed in his county.

SEC. 9. *May be deputized by State factory inspector as agent—powers, authority.*—The county superintendent of public welfare and his assistants may be deputized by the State factory inspector as his agent or agents, and when they are so deputized by the State factory inspector they shall have the same powers and authority as deputy factory inspectors.

SEC. 10. *Duty to investigate condition of poor, sick, and delinquent in county.*—It shall be the duty of the county superintendent of public welfare to investigate the conditions of living among the poor, sick, and delinquent in the county and to examine thoroughly into causes of crime and poverty in the county and to make recommendations from time to time to the State board of charities and corrections and to proper local authorities as to any change in conditions or in legislation necessary to prevent or reduce poverty, crime, or distress in the State. The superintendent of public welfare and his assistants may be deputized as agents of the State bureau of labor statistics, and when they are so deputized as agents of the State bureau of labor statistics they shall exercise all the authority to make investigations which is granted the State bureau of labor statistics.

SEC. 11. *Shall have powers and duties of an attendance officer.*—The county superintendent of public welfare, upon the request of any board having charge of a public school in any district in the county, shall act as attendance officer to enforce the provisions of sections 11323 to 11331, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919, and in any such case shall have all the powers and duties of an attendance officer, as provided by the aforesaid sections or other similar acts.

SEC. 12. *Shall act as probation officer of his county.*—The county superintendent of public welfare shall act as probation officer for his county without additional compensation.

SEC. 13. *Shall investigate requests for charity and applications for blind persons.*—The county superintendent of public welfare shall be agent of the county court in his county in investigating all requests for charity and applications of blind persons for pensions in his county.

SEC. 14. *Records of cases handled to be kept.*—The records of cases handled and business transacted by the county superintendent of public welfare shall be kept in such manner and form as may be prescribed by the State board of charities and corrections.

SEC. 15. *Record of work and proceedings to be kept.*—The county superintendent of public welfare shall each year prepare and keep on file a full report of his work and proceedings during the year and shall file a copy with the county court and with the secretary of the State board of charities and corrections.

SEC. 16. *Repealing acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act.*—All acts and parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby repealed, provided that this act shall not be construed to repeal or amend Chapter III, article 2, Revised Statutes, 1919, which provides for social welfare boards in certain counties.

Approved March 31, 1921.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

[Consolidated Statutes 1919, ch. 88, Art 2, secs. 5014–5018, as amended by Laws 1921, ch. 128.]

### COUNTY BOARDS OF CHARITIES AND PUBLIC WELFARE.

SEC. 5014. *County board of charities, etc.; Appointment; Duty.*—The State board shall appoint in each county three persons to be known as the county board of charities and public welfare, whose duty shall be to advise with and assist the State board in the work in the county, to make such visitations and

reports as the State board may request, and to act in a general advisory capacity to the county and municipal authorities in dealing with questions of dependency and delinquency, distribution of the poor funds, and social conditions generally. The members of the county board of charities and public welfare shall serve without pay. The State board shall have the power at any time to remove any member of the county board. [1917, ch. 170, sec. 1; 1919, ch. 46, sec. 3.]

SEC. 5015. *Term of office and meetings of board.*—The county board of charities and public welfare shall be appointed one for one year, one for two years, and one for three years, and subsequent appointments shall be for a term of three years. The persons so appointed shall meet immediately after their appointment and organize by electing a chairman, and the county superintendent of public welfare shall act as secretary. The county board shall meet at least once a month with the county superintendent of public welfare, and advise with him in regard to problems pertaining to his office. [1917, ch. 170, sec. 1; 1919, ch. 46, sec. 4.]

SEC. 5016. *County superintendents of public welfare.*—On the second Monday in July, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, and on the second Monday in July every two years thereafter, the county board of education and the board of county commissioners of every county in North Carolina shall meet in joint session for the purpose of electing a county superintendent of public welfare, who shall serve for the ensuing two years, and until his successor is elected and qualified. The county superintendent of public instruction shall serve as secretary of the joint meeting, make permanent record of the proceedings, and issue all notices and reports necessary previous and subsequent to the meeting. The person elected county superintendent of public welfare shall be qualified by character, fitness, and experience to well discharge the duties thereof. No one so elected shall begin the work of this position until he shall have received a certificate of approval of his fitness from the State board of charities and public welfare; and in case such approval is not received, the two boards shall, upon receiving notice thereof, proceed immediately in like manner to elect another person. In case of a tie vote, the matter may be referred for decision to the State commissioner of public welfare. A joint session of the two boards may be held at any time on the call of the chairman of either board for the purpose of discussing the work relating to the office; and a superintendent may be dismissed by joint action for proven unfitness or failure in the performance of duty, and his successor elected. It is hereby declared to be the purpose of this section that the board of education and the board of county commissioners shall act in a spirit of mutual cooperation for the purpose of obtaining the best possible results in carrying out the intention of this act. The joint meeting shall fix the salary of the county superintendent of public welfare, which sum shall be sufficient to secure the services of a well-qualified person, and one-half of which shall be paid from the funds of each board, and a reasonable expense fund shall be provided by each board for carrying on the work, which sum shall be separate from that allowed as salary for the county superintendent. In counties having a population of less than thirty-two thousand (32,000), by the census of nineteen hundred and twenty, and in counties where, on January first, nineteen hundred and twenty-one, the superintendent of education was performing the functions of county superintendent of public welfare, the board of county commissioners shall have the option of taking part or of not taking part in the election of a county superintendent of public welfare as provided above. In any county of less than thirty-two

thousand (32,000) population, where the county commissioners do not desire to so participate, the county superintendent of public instruction shall become ex officio county superintendent of public welfare. Whenever by such action a county superintendent of public instruction becomes ex officio county superintendent of public welfare, he shall receive no salary in addition to that received as county superintendent of schools, but the board of education, by and with the approval of the board of commissioners, shall furnish him such clerical or other assistance as it deems necessary to have the compulsory school attendance law fully enforced in accordance with the rules and policy laid down by the State board of education, and the board of county commissioners shall furnish a reasonable expense fund for carrying out the other duties attached by law to the office of county superintendent of public welfare. All such duties shall be as binding upon the county superintendent of public welfare as they would be in case he were not county superintendent of schools. Every county superintendent of public welfare shall make such reports of his work to the county board of education and the board of county commissioners as said boards may require. [1917, ch. 170, sec. 1; 1919, ch. 46, secs. 3 and 4; 1921, ch. 128.]

SEC. 5017. *Powers and duties of county superintendent.*—The county superintendent of public welfare shall be the chief school attendance officer of the county, and shall have other duties and powers, as follows:

1. To have, under control of the county commissioners, the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the poor funds.

2. To act as agent of the State board in relation to any work to be done by the State board within the county.

3. Under the direction of the State board, to look after and keep up with the condition of persons discharged from hospitals for the insane and from other State institutions.

4. To have oversight of prisoners in the county on parole from penitentiaries, reformatories, and all parole prisoners in the county.

5. To have oversight of dependent and delinquent children, and especially those on parole or probation.

6. To have oversight of all prisoners in the county on probation.

7. To promote wholesome recreation in the county and to enforce such laws as regulate commercial amusement.

8. Under the direction of the State board, to have oversight of dependent children placed in the county by the State board.

9. To assist the State board in finding employment for the unemployed.

10. To investigate into the cause of distress, under the direction of the State board, and to make such other investigations in the interest of social welfare as the State board may direct. [1917, ch. 170, sec. 1; 1919, ch. 46, sec. 3.]

SEC. 5018. *Joint city and county welfare work.*—In counties where there are cities which already have a local board of welfare or other social agencies, or which may wish to establish such, the governing bodies of such cities may make such arrangements with the county commissioners to consolidate the work under the authority and supervision of the county board of charities and public welfare as may be mutually agreed upon with such division of expenses as may be equitable. The governing bodies of such cities and the county commissioners are authorized to make such provision for the expense of carrying on the work as they may deem advisable, and may delegate to the county board of charities and public welfare all necessary power. [1919, ch. 46, sec. 4.]

## OHIO.

[Laws 1919, p. 533.]

An Act to amend sections 3092, 3109, 3112, 3113, 3118, and 3119 of the General Code, and to enact supplemental section 3092–1, relative to the abandonment and sale of children's homes and the custody of dependent children in such cases and authorizing the use of such homes by adjoining counties.

SEC. 1. That sections 3092, 3109, 3112, 3113, 3118, and 3119 of the General Code be amended and supplemental section 3092–1 be enacted, to read as follows:

SEC. 3092. *Commissioners may contract for care of dependent children in certain institutions, when; when county welfare board may be appointed; powers and duties of such board.*—In any county where such home has not already been provided, or where such home has been abandoned by the county commissioners as provided by law, the board of county commissioners may enter into a contract for the care of its neglected or dependendent children with a county children's home in another county, or with any institution or association in the State which has for one of its objects the care of dependent or neglected children, provided such institution or association has been duly certified by the board of State charities; or the board of county commissioners may pay reasonable board and provide suitable clothing and personal necessities as well as medical, dental, and optical examination and treatment of dependent or neglected children who may be placed in the care of private families within the county. *Provided*, That in any such case such dependent or neglected children shall be duly committed to the aforesaid institution or association or placed in the care of a private family by the juvenile court as provided by law. *Provided*, That with the approval of the board of State charities, when in the judgment of the county commissioners the best interests of the dependent wards of the county will be subserved thereby, they may appoint a county child-welfare board of four, two members of which shall be women, to serve without compensation, such appointments to be subject, as far as applicable, to the provisions of sections 3081 and 3082 of the General Code. Such board shall have the same powers and duties relative to dependent children as are now given to trustees of county children's homes, so far as applicable, particularly relating to the appointment of a visitor for the finding and supervision of family homes for such children.

## VIRGINIA.

[Acts 1922.]

### COUNTY AND CITY BOARDS OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

SEC. 12. The circuit court of each county of the State, or the judge thereof in vacation, shall, and the corporation or hustings court, or the judge thereof in vacation, of each city of the first class, may, appoint, from a list of eligibles submitted by the State board of public welfare, a county or city board of public welfare consisting of not less than three nor more than seven members, preferably the latter number. The first appointments under this section, except in cities of the first class, shall be made not later than two years from the date of the passage of this act. Each member of a county or city board of public welfare shall be a resident of the county or city for which the particular board is appointed, and the terms of the members of each board shall be so arranged that one or more (but not all) shall expire annually. No appointments shall be

made for a term longer than four years. Upon the expiration of the term of a member his successor shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the State board of public welfare for a term of four years. Any member of a county or city board may be removed at any time for cause by the State board of public welfare, by and with the approval, entered of record, of the court or judge making the appointment. But this section is subject to the following qualification: In cities of the first class having departments of public welfare or like departments, at the passage of this act, [a] city board of welfare shall not be appointed; but the councils or other governing bodies of such cities shall, by ordinance, apportion the powers and duties by this act conferred and imposed upon county and city boards and superintendents of public welfare among the officers or departments of the particular city government in such manner as they may deem wise. For the purposes of this act cities of the second class shall in all respects be deemed to be parts of the counties in which the same are situated, and residents of any such city shall for the purposes of this act be deemed to be residents of the county in which the city is situated.

SEC. 13. The clerk of the court shall immediately notify the members of the county or city board of their appointment, and such members shall, within 15 days after their notification, meet at some convenient place and organize by electing a chairman from among their number. The county or city board shall thereafter meet bimonthly on the second Tuesday of the month, and on other occasions on call of the chairman or in pursuance of action by the board. Minutes of the attendance and of the transactions of all meetings of the board shall be kept on file by the secretary of the board, and copies thereof shall be transmitted to the State board of public welfare within 3 days after each meeting. The State board may declare the place of any county or city member vacant upon three consecutive absences without reasonable excuse by such member from the meetings of his board, and the court shall appoint a successor upon the request of, and from an eligibility list submitted by, the State board. The county or city superintendent of public welfare, if one has been appointed as hereinafter provided, shall act as secretary of his board. In counties and cities where no such superintendent has been appointed the local board shall elect a secretary from among their number. The secretary shall file a report of such organization signed by himself and the chairman, with the clerk of the circuit court of the county or the corporation court of the city, and with the State board of public welfare. The members of each of the aforesaid county and city boards shall serve without pay. But no member shall enter upon the discharge of his duties unless and until he shall have taken the usual oaths of office before the court or judge which appointed him, or the clerk thereof in vacation. Such court or judge may, in its or his discretion, require each of the members of the board appointed by it or him to enter into a bond, with surety to be approved by the court or judge, in such sum as the court or judge may fix, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties.

SEC. 14. It shall be the duty of each county or city board of public welfare, by personal visitation or otherwise, to keep itself fully advised of the conditions and management of all institutions of a charitable or penal nature in its county or city, and to that end [it] shall have full authority to inspect such institutions and shall be given full access to the accounts and records thereof; to interest itself in all matters pertaining to the social welfare of the people of its county or city and to direct the activities of the superintendent of public welfare, where there is one, and to cooperate with the juvenile and domestic relations' courts and all other agencies operating for the social betterment of the county or city. The county or city board of public welfare shall,

when it may deem it advisable and expedient, elect from a list of eligibles submitted by the State board, a county or city superintendent of public welfare and such assistants as the local board may deem necessary who shall hold office at the pleasure of the local board or until their successors are appointed and qualified. The county or city board shall, upon the request of the State board, officially consider the discharge and replacement of any county or city superintendent. The salaries of the said officer and his assistants shall be fixed by the county board of supervisors, or the governing body of the city, if in their discretion such officers are necessary, and shall be paid out of the county or city treasury. Two or more counties, or a city of the first class and a county, may unite in providing for a local superintendent of public welfare, and the expenses incident to such employment may be divided in such manner as they may agree upon.

SEC. 15. Each county and city superintendent of public welfare shall be the executive officer of the board appointing him. Before entering upon the discharge of his duties every such superintendent shall take the usual oaths of office before the court which appointed his board, or the judge thereof in vacation, and shall also enter into bonds with surety to be approved by the court or judge, in such sum as the court or judge may fix, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties. Every such superintendent is hereby vested with the powers of a police officer or constable. Under the supervision, control, and direction of such local board and in cooperation with other public and private agencies he shall have power and it shall be his duty:

(*a*) To have the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the funds now administered by the overseers of the poor.

(*b*) To administer mothers' aid funds, if any, in accordance with the provisions of State law.

(*c*) Under direction of the State board of public welfare, to look after and supervise the conditions of persons discharged or paroled from hospitals for the insane and colonies for the epileptic and feeble-minded and from other State institutions.

(*d*) To act as the agent of the State board in relation to any work to be done by said board within the county or city.

(*e*) To have oversight of persons in the county or city released on probation or on parole from the penitentiary, reformatories, industrial schools, and all paroled prisoners in the county or city.

(*f*) Under direction of the State board to have supervision of dependent children placed in the county or city by the State board.

(*g*) To assist the State board in finding employment for the unemployed.

(*h*) To investigate the causes of distress, under the direction of the State board, and to make such other investigations as the State board may direct.

(*i*) To act as chief probation officer for the county or city, and as such to enforce and administer the probation laws within the county or city.

(*j*) To foster cooperation and intelligent division of work between all public and private charitable and social agencies in the county or city to the end that public resources and charitable donations may be conserved and the needs of the county or city be adequately cared for.

The records of the cases handled and business transacted by the local superintendent shall be kept in such manner and form as may be prescribed by the State board of public welfare. He shall each year prepare and keep on file a full report of his work and proceedings during the year, and shall file one copy of such report with the county clerk, or the clerk of his corporation or hustings court, and another with the State board of public welfare.

# BILL RECOMMENDED BY THE KANSAS CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSION, 1921.[1]

## COUNTY DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

An Act To authorize a county department of public welfare in each county, composed of a board of public welfare and county superintendent and consolidate under its administration the various humanitarian and social activities of the county.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:*

SEC. 1. That the county commissioners of each county in the State of Kansas are hereby authorized to establish a county department of public welfare, which shall consist of a county board composed of five persons, two or three of whom shall be women, and not more than three shall have the same political affiliation; one of whom shall be designated to serve for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and upon the expiration of the term of each his or her place and that of his or her successor shall in like manner be filled for three years; and the said county commissioners are further authorized to appoint, on the recommendation of the county board of public welfare, a county superintendent of public welfare and such assistants as may be deemed necessary for the carrying out of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the county board of public welfare to recommend to the board of county commissioners the appointment of the county superintendent of public welfare; to inspect all penal and charitable institutions in the county; to visit commercialized amusements, places where children are employed, all playgrounds and parks; and to make a monthly report of the results of observations and inspections to the said board of county commissioners, and an annual report of the operation of the board to the State board of administration for each preceding fiscal year. It shall be the further duty of the county board of the department of public welfare to advise with the county superintendent of public welfare and to direct and support the work of the said superintendent of public welfare.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the county superintendent of public welfare to act as executive secretary of the board of public welfare, and also to perform the services of the county poor commissioner or other agencies for administering public funds voted to the care of the poor in the county, to determine the number and to classify all defective, dependent, and delinquent persons, and to carry on investigations relating to the welfare of all children of the county with the object to determine their social needs. He shall take all reasonable action within his power to secure for the children of the county the full benefits of laws enacted in their behalf, including the child-labor laws, truancy laws, laws aimed to protect the moral standards of the community. He shall investigate and report to the county commissioners all applications for mothers' aid or mothers' pensions, and shall perform all of the services for the public welfare which may be indicated by the county department of public welfare; he shall act as probation and parole officer for the judge of the juvenile court, and in special cases for the judge of the district court whenever he shall request this service of the superintendent of public welfare: he shall be the chief truancy officer for the county.

SEC. 4. That no person shall be eligible to appointment as county superintendent of public welfare or shall be entitled to be paid as such unless the

[1] House Bill No. 311, 1921.

person has a certificate of qualification from the State board of administration. The State board of administration shall devise a method of determining who are properly qualified for the position of county superintendent of public welfare, and may at its discretion cause such certificates to be classified and to expire periodically after the manner of teachers' certificates.

SEC. 5. That the members of the board of public welfare in the county department of public welfare shall serve without compensation, but a reasonable allowance may be made by the county commissioners for expenses for the said board, the same to be paid in manner like other similar bills of expense presented for payment to the said board of county commissioners. The salaries of the county superintendents of public welfare throughout the State shall be on a uniform basis and in proportion to the population of their respective counties, and shall be fixed by the board of county commissioners as follows: Counties with 100,000 population or over, $2,500; 50,000 to 100,000 population, $2,000; 20,000 to 50,000 population, $1,500; under 20,000 population, $1,200.

SEC. 6. That the State board of administration is hereby authorized to appoint a State superintendent of public welfare, who shall serve at the pleasure of the board, at a salary of $3,500 a year and traveling expenses. His duties shall be to assist in the organization of county boards of public welfare and direct and supervise their work. The person appointed to fill the position of State superintendent of public welfare shall have had special training and expert knowledge in all phases of charitable and penal education and all forms of social welfare. No one except a scientific expert of this nature shall be appointed to said office of the State superintendent of public welfare.

SEC. 7. That the county superintendent of public welfare in each county shall report in such manner and form as may be requested by the State board of administration in regard to the nature and extent of his activities in his county and in regard to those social conditions which affect poverty, crime, and distress.

SEC. 8. That all acts and parts of acts which are in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 9. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book.

## BILL RECOMMENDED BY THE NEBRASKA CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSION, 1921.[2]

### COUNTY BOARDS OF CHILD WELFARE.

A Bill for an act to consolidate the child-welfare work in each county of the State; to establish county boards of child welfare; to provide for county superintendents of child welfare, to prescribe their powers and duties, and to fix their compensation.

*Be it enacted by the people of the State of Nebraska:*

SEC. 1. Within thirty days after this act goes into effect, the judge of the juvenile court of each county shall appoint three electors resident therein, at least one of whom shall be a woman, who, together with the county superintendent of schools and one member of the board of county commissioners or county supervisors who shall be designated by such board of commissioners or supervisors for that purpose, shall constitute the county board of child welfare. Upon the appointment of the above-named board and regularly thereafter

[2] Report of the Nebraska Children's Code Commission, pp. 230–234. Department of Public Welfare, Lincoln, Nebr.

the judge shall file the name, address, and dates of term of office with the State bureau of child welfare.

SEC. 2. The members of the county board of child welfare shall serve without compensation. The appointive members shall hold office as follows: The term of one shall expire January 1, 1922; of the second, January 1, 1923; and of the third, January 1, 1924, said term of office to be designated to each appointee by the appointing judge, and all succeeding appointees shall hold office for a regular term of three years. Appointments to fill vacancies shall be for the unexpired term.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the county board of child welfare to advise with and to assist the State child welfare bureau in its work in the county, to make such visitations and reports and to perform such duties as may be required of it by the State child welfare bureau, and to act in a general advisory capacity to the county and municipal authorities in dealing with questions involving the administration of laws relating to children, and the amelioration of conditions affecting children generally. It shall be the duty of the county board of child welfare to cooperate with all social agencies in the county, and upon request of any public social agency it may, in the interests of economy and efficiency, assume the duties of that agency in the county.

SEC. 4. The county board of child welfare shall have power to appoint an executive agent, to be known as the county superintendent of child welfare, who shall serve at the pleasure of the board, and whose salary shall be fixed by said board by and with the consent of the county board of commissioners or supervisors, and paid from the public funds of the county upon warrants signed by the chairman of the county board: *Provided*, That no person shall be appointed to the office of county superintendent of child welfare who has not been duly certified by the State child welfare bureau as qualified by training and character to serve in such capacity.

SEC. 5. The county superintendent of child welfare shall have power and it shall be his duty:

(1) To act as county attendance officer when so ordered by the county board of child welfare and to enforce all laws relating to compulsory education and child labor.

(2) To act as county probation officer upon appointment by the judge of the juvenile court.

(3) To investigate all applicants for mothers' pensions, and for poor relief where children are involved, to make recommendations to the proper authorities for or against such assistance, and to keep complete records of all such investigations and recommendations.

(4) To promote wholesome recreation in the county and to aid in the enforcement of laws for the regulation of commercialized amusements.

(5) To furnish information to and cooperate with all officials in securing the enforcement of the laws relating to children.

(6) To act as the agent of the State child welfare bureau in relation to any work done by the said bureau within the county.

SEC. 6. Within thirty days after their appointment the members of the county board of child welfare shall meet and organize by electing a chairman, who shall serve until the first meeting of the board in January, and thereafter the chairman shall be elected annually at the first meeting in January.

SEC. 7. The county board of child welfare shall meet at least monthly with the county superintendent of child welfare, who shall act as secretary of the board: *Provided*, That in counties in which there is no county superintendent of child welfare one member of the county board of child welfare shall be desig-

nated to serve as secretary. The county board of child welfare shall have general oversight and supervision of all of the work of the county superintendent of child welfare.

SEC. 8. The county board of child welfare shall have power to supervise, regulate, and license or suppress public dance halls, pool halls, motion-picture houses, traveling shows, and all forms of commercialized amusements in the county, outside of incorporated cities and villages, and it may define commercialized amusements and may by rule establish standards for such amusements and provide a process for issuing and revoking licenses.

SEC. 9. The county board of child welfare shall visit at least annually, and as often as may be necessary, all reformatory, correctional, or charitable institutions or agencies within the county caring for, receiving, or handling children. It shall report annually to the board of county commissioners or other officers having jurisdiction over such institutions, and shall make recommendations regarding the improvement of such institutions and regardng any measures to be taken for the relief of distress or the protection of children or the prevention of pauperism. It shall also report annually to the State child welfare bureau upon such blanks and in such form as the bureau shall require.

SEC. 10. The county board of child welfare may appoint assistants as may be necessary, due to the size of the county or the growth of the work; and certain of the duties of the county superintendent of child welfare may be delegated to the assistants of the county superintendent of child welfare. Such assistants shall be paid such salaries as shall be allowed by the county board upon recommendation of the county board of child welfare.

SEC. 11. In counties where there are cities which already have a local board of public or child welfare, or which may wish to establish such, the governing bodies of such cities may make arrangements with the county board of child welfare to consolidate or coordinate the work as may be mutually agreed upon with such division of expenses as may be equitable.

## BILL SUGGESTED BY A GROUP REPRESENTING THE NEW YORK STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION, 1922.[3]

### COUNTY BOARDS OF CHILD WELFARE.

An Act To define certain classes of children eligible for public care and protection; to provide for the establishment of county boards of child welfare and for their support and supervision; to define the powers and duties of such boards; and to make inapplicable to cases arising under this act all provisions of law inconsistent with this act.

*The people of the State of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:*

SEC. 1. *Definition of dependent, defective, neglected, abandoned, and delinquent children, of juvenile delinquency, and of family free and boarding homes.*—A dependent child is a child actually or apparently under the age of 16 years who, through no neglect on the part of its parents, guardian, or person having its custody, is destitute or homeless, or in a state of want or suffering due to lack of sufficient suitable food, clothing, shelter, supervision, or medical or surgical care.

[3] This proposed form of an act for the establishment of county boards of child welfare is included here because of its special interest as the product of much study and experience in promoting the type of county organization recommended.

A defective child is a child under the age of 16 years who is blind; or a deaf-mute; or so physically crippled or deformed as to make advisable special treatment or training; or insane; or epileptic; or feeble-minded or a mental defective as defined by law, or an imbecile or an idiot.

A neglected child is a child under the age of 16 years (1) who is an abandoned child; or (2) whose parents are or whose parent having the right of guardianship, is by reason of improvidence, immorality, depravity, incompetency, mental incapacity, cruelty or gross lack of interest in his welfare, unfit to have such right, whether or not the child be in the custody of such parents or parent; or (3) whose parents, guardian, or lawful custodian fail without good reason to supply him with the necessaries of life or to provide for his proper care and training; or (4) who is suffering from any abnormal physical or mental condition requiring treatment or training in a hospital, institution, or elsewhere and whose parents, guardians, or lawful custodian refuse or fail to provide for such treatment or training; or (5) who wanders about any city, town, village, or elsewhere without proper or lawful occupation; or (6) who lives with or innocently frequents the company of vicious, disreputable, immoral, or criminal person or persons whether related to him or not; or (7) who innocently frequents any resort of questionable character or any place to which the admittance of persons of his age is prohibited, either with or without his parent, guardian, or custodian; or (8) who, without committing juvenile delinquency, forms associations or commits acts for the permitting which a parent, guardian, custodian, or other person may be punishable by law; or (9) who is employed, shown, or used in any task, exhibition, or practice for permitting his engagement in which a person may be guilty of a misdemeanor, or who is disposed of or trained for participation in any such task, exhibition, or practice; or (10) who is in a situation or engages in an occupation where his life or limb is endangered or his health is likely to be injured or his morals are likely to be depraved.

An abandoned child is a child under the age of 16 years who is deserted in any place by both parents or by the parent having his custody; or by other person charged with his care, and left (1) in destitute circumstances; or (2) without adequate means of support; or (3) without reasonable arrangements having been made for supplying him with necessary and proper food, clothing, shelter, education, and medical care until he shall have become 16 years of age; or (4) without being visited or having payments made toward his support by his parent, guardian, or lawful custodian, without good reason, for the period of one year; or (5) in danger of becoming a burden upon the public.

A delinquent child is a child under the age of 16 years who (1) without committing a felony violates any law or any local ordinance; or (2) commits any offense which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment; or (3) engages in any occupation unlawfully; or (4) has in his possession any dangerous weapon or instrument the manufacture or sale of which, or the disposal of which to such child, is forbidden by law; or (5) deserts his home without good and sufficient cause; or (6) keeps company with a vicious, immoral, or criminal person or persons against the commands of his parents, guardians, or custodian; or (7) is not susceptible of proper restraint or control by his parents, guardian, or custodian, or by the public officer or board responsible for his care, and habitually disobeys their reasonable and lawful commands; or (8) habitually uses profane or indecent language; or (9) gambles or knowingly enters any place where gambling is permitted or where his presence is in violation of law; or (10) habitually uses tobacco, intoxicating liquor, injurious or narcotic drugs, or other substance

likely to interfere with his normal growth and development; or (11) so deports himself as to endanger the morals, health, or general welfare of himself or of others.

Juvenile delinquency is the commitment by a child under the age of 16 years of any of the offenses enumerated in the foregoing definition of a delinquent child.

A family free home is the home of a private family or individual wherein a child, not a relative of or within the third degree, is placed for its maintenance and nurture without the payment to such family or individual of any consideration therefor. The words "relatives of or within the third degree" shall, for the purposes of this act, mean parents and children, grandparents, grandchildren, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces.

A family boarding home is the home of a private family or individual in which there reside not more than five children not related to such family or individual, placed therein for maintenance and nurture in return for a consideration periodically paid to such family or individual therefor.

The words "the board" when used in this act shall mean the county board of child welfare whose establishment is hereby authorized. The words "child" or "children" when used in this act, unless otherwise indicated, shall mean, respectively, a person or persons under the age of 16 years.

SEC. 2. *Establishment of county board of child welfare.*—The board of supervisors of any county outside of the city of New York may, by a majority vote of its members, establish under the provisions of this act a county board of child welfare, which shall have the powers and duties hereinafter specified in respect to children dependent for support upon public funds or in need of public care or protection: *Provided, however,* That in any city of the first or second class situated within such county the mayor and common council thereof may jointly determine that the provisions of this act shall be administered in such city by a municipal agency instead of by the county board of child welfare, and in the event of such determination the county board herein provided for shall have no authority within such city except in the case of children whose care is chargeable to the county, and the powers and duties herein conferred upon the county board shall be exercised and discharged within such city by the municipal agency designated for such service by the mayor and common council.

SEC. 3. *Members of the board.*—The county board of child welfare shall consist of seven members, of whom the county official charged with the relief of the poor and either the chairman of the board of supervisors or other member thereof as may be designated by the board of supervisors, shall be ex officio members. If any county has more than one superintendent of the poor, the county judge shall designate the superintendent who shall serve as a member of the board. The five other members, at least two of whom shall be women, shall be residents of the county and shall be appointed by the county judge, one for one year, two for two years, two for three years. Such designation shall be in writing and shall be filed with the county clerk. The first appointments shall be made within 30 days after the board of supervisors has officially notified the county judge that it has established the board. Immediately upon the expiration of the term of office of any appointive member his successor shall be appointed by the county judge for a full term of three years. In case of the failure of an appointive member to attend at least one meeting during a period of three months, it shall be the duty of the secretary of the board at once to certify such fact to the county judge. Unless the county judge shall, in writing addressed to the board within 30 days after receipt of such notice, excuse such absence for illness or other sufficient reason, the term of office of

the member shall terminate at the end of such period. Such excuse shall be filed with and made part of the records of the board. If a vacancy among the appointive members occur otherwise than by expiration of term, it shall within 30 days be filled by the county judge for the unexpired term.

SEC. 4. *Removal of members.*—Members of the board shall be subject to removal by the county judge or by the State board of charities for reasons stated in writing and after having been given an opportunity to be heard.

SEC. 5. *Expenses of members.*—The members of the board shall receive no compensation for their services as members thereof, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for the actual and necessary expense incurred by them in discharging their duties under this act.

SEC. 6. *Organization—Officers and employees—Rules and regulations—Reports and estimates.*—The county board of child welfare shall (*a*) meet within 10 days after appointment at the time and place designated by the county judge, organize, and fix the time of its regular meetings which shall be held at least monthly; (*b*) elect a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members, who shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected; (*c*) establish an office; (*d*) make rules and regulations for the conduct of its business; and duly enter upon the minutes of each meeting all action taken thereat. Four or more members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; (*e*) appoint as secretary a person certified as qualified by the State civil service commission, who shall be the executive officer of the board and who shall perform under its general supervision the functions necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act. Such secretary may be removed by the board of child welfare or by the State board of charities for reasons stated in writing and after having been given an opportunity to be heard; (*f*) authorize the appointment by the secretary of such number of assistants and other employees as it may deem necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act; and their compensations, together with that of the secretary, shall be within the limits of the appropriation made therefor by the board of supervisors. Such assistants and other employees may be removed by the secretary with the approval of the board; (*g*) as soon as it is ready to function, notify in writing the county treasurer, all officials within the county charged with the care and relief of the poor, the local board of child welfare established by article 7a of chapter 228 of the laws of New York, 1915, and all courts in the county authorized to hear children's cases, that it is organized and prepared to exercise its powers and to perform its duties under this act; and give public notice to this effect; (*h*) render to the board of supervisors at such times as it may require, a verified account of all moneys received and expended by it or under its direction; (*i*) submit annually to the proper fiscal authorities of the county an estimate of the funds required to carry out the purposes of this act, such estimate to be furnished at such time before its annual meeting for appropriating moneys and levying taxes as may be specified by the board of supervisors; (*j*) submit annually to the board of supervisors a report of its work during the year.

SEC. 7. *General responsibilities of the board.*—The board shall be responsible, as hereinafter provided, for the welfare of children within the county in need of public care, support, or protection. It shall administer public aid to dependent children living with their mothers in their own homes, as hereinafter provided. It shall be responsible for the control, relief, and care of children received by it as public charges or committed to it by courts or magistrates; and shall administer such control, relief, and care either directly or through child-caring societies or institutions which are duly incorporated and ap-

proved for such service by the State Board of Charities. The responsibility of the board for children so received or committed shall continue during their minority or, until they are discharged to their own parents, to relatives of or within the third degree, or to guardians, or are adopted by foster parents, or, in the case of delinquent children, are returned by it to the court by which they were committed.

SEC. 8. *Powers and duties of the board.*—The county board of child welfare (*a*) shall investigate the family conditions and circumstances of children alleged to be in need of public care or protection, in order to ascertain what care, supervision, treatment, or other attention, if any, they require; (*b*) may administer and supervise such relief for a dependent child as the board deems necessary to enable it to remain in its own home with its mother, when such mother is physically, mentally, or morally fit to care for such child, and is entitled to relief as a poor person: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this section shall be interpreted as limiting the power or duty of any poor law official to administer relief to persons eligible therefor, in their own homes who are not beneficiaries under the provisions of this paragraph; (*c*) shall assume charge of and provide support for all dependent children for whom it is not possible, in the opinion of the board, to provide proper care in their own homes and who are legally entitled to public support in said county; (*d*) shall receive, when committed to it, any child adjudged by a court or magistrate of competent jursdiction to be a neglected child; and such court or magistrate shall have power to commit such child to the board; (*e*) shall receive any child adjudged by a court or magistrate of competent jurisdiction to be a delinquent child, when such child is committed to it by such court or magistrate; and such court or magistrate shall have power to commit such child to the board; (*f*) shall report to the appropriate State agency the presence of every defective child known to be in the county. When in the opinion of the board the welfare of any such child requires it, the board shall take steps in accordance with the provisions of law to obtain his admittance to some State or other suitable school, hospital or other institution if he is in need of institutional care; or to obtain treatment and care in his own home or elsewhere for him if not in need of institutional care, or if institutional care cannot be obtained; (*g*) shall reinvestigate, at least once every year, the circumstances of the parents or of the person having the right of guardianship of each child who is in the care of the board outside its own home, and if advisable inquire into the willingness of relatives to care for it; and reinvestigate, at least once every six months, the family conditions and circumstances of each child who is left in its own home under the care or supervision of the board; (*h*) shall, on order of court or magistrate, collect from parents or guardians whose children have been committed to the board by such court or magistrate, such sums as the parents or guardians are ordered to pay; and in the case of any children who are in the care of the board, collect or, if necessary, bring proceedings against their parents or guardians to collect, such sums for the support, care, examination, or treatment of such children as their parents or guardians are able to pay or as the court shall order; (*i*) shall provide for mental or physical examination of any child under its care or supervision whom the board has reason to suspect of mental or physical defect or disease, such examination to be paid for when necessary from moneys appropriated for the use of the board; (*j*) shall provide for necessary medical or surgical treatment in its own home or in a hospital, institution, or other suitable place, for any child under the care or supervision of the board, such treatment to be paid for when necessary from moneys appropriated for the use of the board; (*k*) may place any child who is in its care in a family boarding

home, or in a family free home, or in an institution or in its own home subject to the supervision of the board, according to the needs of the child, such boarding or free home or such institution to be governed by persons of the religious faith of the child whenever practicable. Placements in family homes may be made either directly or through child-caring societies or institutions duly incorporated and approved for such services by the State Board of Charities; (*l*) may transfer from one place to another any child in its care; (*m*) may discharge to parents, relatives of or within the third degree, or guardians, any child in its care, when such discharge seems to the board to be for the welfare of the child; (*n*) may institute proceedings in a court of competent jurisdiction to have a child declared to be an abandoned child, or a neglected child whenever in its opinion such action would be for the child's best interests: *Provided, however,* that nothing in this act shall be construed as impairing the powers heretofore conferred by law upon any incorporated humane society or society for the prevention of cruelty to children; (*o*) may investigate the alleged neglect or abuse of an apparently neglected child, and when necessary institute proceedings in a court of competent jurisdiction against a parent or other adult for any offense committed against such child; (*p*) may institute proceedings in a court of competent jurisdiction to have a guardian appointed for any child for whose care it is responsible and whose interests in its opinion would be promoted by such action; (*q*) shall act as guardian of the person, or of the person and property, of any child for whose care it is responsible when so appointed by a court authorized by law to appoint guardians for minors; and any such court shall have the power to appoint the board of child welfare as guardian of a child; (*r*) shall give or withhold its consent to the adoption of any child cared for by the board as a public charge apart from its own family; and such consent shall be necessary to such adoption; (*s*) shall exercise supervision over all neglected and delinquent children committed by any court or magistrate within the county to any institution under private management, and may, with the approval of such court or magistrate, make such provision for the care of any such children as the board is herein empowered to make in the case of children committed to its care.

SEC. 9. *State supervision of board.*—The board of child welfare shall be subject to the general supervision and to the rules and regulations of the State board of charities and shall make to the State board of charities such reports and shall keep such records and use such forms as it may require. The State board of charities shall have power to investigate the work of the board of child welfare and to make such orders concerning such work as it may deem just and equitable; and such orders shall be complied with by the county board of child welfare. The State board of charities may visit children for whose care the board of child welfare is responsible, and may order such board to remove any child found to be unsuitably cared for, and such order shall be complied with by such board within 10 days of its issuance.

SEC. 10. *Contracts with private agencies.*—The board of child welfare may enter into contracts with child-caring institutions, associations, or societies duly incorporated and approved for such service by the State board of charities to receive and care for children entrusted to them by said board; and the bills presented by such institutions, associations, or societies for such service, in accordance with the terms of such contracts, shall be paid by the county treasurer when approved by the board of child welfare and audited as in the case of other bills against the county.

SEC. 11. *Appropriation and determination of charges.*—The board of supervisors shall annually appropriate and make available for the board of child welfare such sum as such board of supervisors may deem necessary for car-

rying out the provisions of this act, and shall include the sum so appropriated in fixing the tax levy for the county. Should the sum so appropriated be exhausted during the year by reason of unanticipated conditions, the board of supervisors may appropriate such additional sums as in its judgment may be necessary to meet such conditions, and such additional appropriations shall be paid from available funds in the county treasury; but should there be no funds available therefor, the county treasurer shall, upon order of the board of supervisors, borrow a sufficient sum to pay such appropriation in anticipation of taxes to be collected. No board of child welfare shall expend or contract to expend any public moneys not specifically appropriated as herein provided.

The board of supervisors of any county may determine, as provided in section 138 of the poor law, whether the actual expenses for the relief of dependent and neglected children under this act shall be a charge upon the county or upon the respective towns or cities thereof. Delinquent children committed to the board by any court or magistrate shall be charged upon the county.

SEC. 12. *Fraud and misapplication of funds.*—A person who shall procure or attempt to procure directly or indirectly any allowance for relief or other benefit under this act for or on account of a person not entitled thereto, or who shall knowingly or willfully pay or permit to be paid any relief or other benefit to a person not entitled thereto shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 13. *Transfer of funds.*—As soon as the board shall notify the county treasurer in writing that it is organized he shall transfer to an account subject to its order all unexpended balances of any moneys theretofore appropriated for the fiscal year then current by the board of supervisors for the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, or for the relief of mothers with children; and such moneys so transferred shall be used by the board for the purpose for which they were appropriated.

SEC. 14. *Transfer of powers and duties.*—Upon the establishment of the board and the giving of public notice by it that it is organized and prepared to exercise its powers and to discharge its duties, all the powers and duties in relation to children under 16 years of age theretofore vested in the county superintendent of the poor, in any county official by whatever title known who is charged with the relief of the poor of the county, in town overseers of the poor, or in the city commissioner of charities or other official or agency performing like duties, if any there be, of any city subject to the provisions of this act, shall thereupon be vested solely in the board of child welfare established under the provisions of this act. As soon as the board shall in writing inform the public officials named above in this section that it is organized and prepared to exercise its powers and to discharge its duties, such officials shall thereupon deliver to such County Board of Child Welfare records of children under their care. As soon as the board shall officially inform any board of child welfare existing in the county, established either by article 7a of chapter 228 of the laws of New York, 1915, or by any special act of the legislature, that it is organized and prepared to exercise its powers and to discharge its duties, such board so established shall at once transfer all moneys, books, papers, property and other belongings in its possession to the county board of child welfare established under this act, and shall thereupon cease to exist; and the act creating such board or under which such board performed its functions shall be superseded by the provision of this act.

Upon the giving of public notice by the board that it has begun to exercise the powers and to discharge the duties vested in it by this act, all children then in private institutions or family homes, through commitment or placement by any poor law official, court, or magistrate or other public authority within the jurisdiction of the board, except children who have been committed as juvenile delinquents, shall have the status of children accepted by or committed to the board.

SEC. 15. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with or repugnant to this act or any provision thereof shall be held inapplicable to any case arising under this act. This act shall be construed liberally, and its purpose shall be the conservation and development of the child.

SEC. 16. This act shall take effect on the first day of September, 1922.

## APPENDIX B.

# LIST OF REFERENCES ON COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHILD WELFARE OR PUBLIC WELFARE.


### Alabama.

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### California.

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### Indiana.

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Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction. Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1918. "Board of children's guardians," pp. 55–56. Indianapolis, March, 1919.

——— "The board of children's guardians," by Donald Du Shane, pp. 222–224. June, 1919.

### Kansas.

Kansas Children's Code Commission. Report, January, 1921. "County departments of public welfare," p. 10. Topeka.

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### Minnesota.

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**Minnesota**—Continued.

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State Conference of Social Work. Proceedings, Twenty-eighth Annual Session, 1920 (Special edition, Quarterly Conference Bulletin of the Executive Officers of State Institutions and the State Board of Control). "Publicity for child-welfare work," by E. C. Garrigues, pp. 86–90; "Discussion of child welfare board problems," pp. 91–94; "Cooperation of child welfare boards with educational forces," by Mrs. S. D. Brown, pp. 109–111. St. Paul.

State Conference of Charities and Correction. Proceedings, Twenty-sixth Conference, 1917 (Special edition of the Quarterly Bulletin, State Board of Control, August 5, 1918). "Why each county should have a child welfare board," by Charles E. Vasaly, pp. 99–104; "How can juvenile court make use of county child welfare boards?" pp. 182–191. St. Paul.

———. Proceedings, Twenty-seventh Annual Session, 1919 (Special edition, Quarterly Conference Bulletin of the Executive Officers of State Institutions and the State Board of Control). "County child-welfare work," pp. 155–162. St. Paul.

Children's Bureau, State Board of Control. Report, 1918. "Child welfare boards," p. 15. St. Paul.

——— Directory of County Child Welfare Boards, County Nurses, and Probation Officers in Minnesota, 1921. St. Paul.

Hennepin County Child-Welfare Board. Annual Reports. Minneapolis.

Ramsey County Child-Welfare Board. Annual Reports. St. Paul.

St. Louis County Child-Welfare Board. Annual Reports. Duluth.

**Missouri.**

Children's Code Commission. Report. A complete revision of the laws for the welfare of Missouri children. Second edition, January, 1917. "Methods of administration proposed in the Children's Code," pp. 20–24, 28; "County boards of public welfare," pp. 99–111. Jefferson City.

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April, 1921. Public Welfare Projects for Counties of Missouri; necessary steps to make effective our social legislation. "Act to authorize appointment of county superintendents of public welfare," pp. 13–15.

**Nebraska.**

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## New York.

National Conference of Social Work. Proceedings, 1918. "The county as a unit in charity administration; actual experience," by H. Ida Curry, pp. 241–244.

——— Proceedings, 1919. "Child-welfare work in a rural community [Rockland County]," by Gladys Mendum, pp. 20–26; "Child Welfare in Westchester County," by Ruth Taylor, pp. 36–41.

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——— Community Plan in Children's Work for the Counties in New York State. 8 pp.

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——— County Agencies for Dependent Children. 4 pp.

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