

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

FOSTER-HOME CARE FOR
DEPENDENT CHILDREN



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, November 24, 1925.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a revised edition of the Children's Bureau report on Foster-Home Care for Dependent Children, which now consists of 12 articles by representative people who are at work on the particular aspects of the problem which they discuss.

The plan for the report was worked out by Emma O. Lundberg, director of the social-service division, and the list of references and the selections from reports for the appendix were prepared by Laura Hood, of the division staff. The revised edition includes a new section on Psychoclinical Guidance in Child Adoption, and a number of new references, including several on adoption, which are printed as addenda to the bibliography.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, MAY 10, 1917

TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS

FROM THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ST. LOUIS

RECEIVED

FOSTER-HOME CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD PLACING IN THE UNITED STATES.

HASTINGS H. HART, LL. D.,

Director of the Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation.

DEFINITION OF CHILD PLACING.

The only legal definition known to the writer of child placing in families is to be found in Article 16, section 300, of the State charities law of the State of New York: "The term 'place out' * * * means the placing of a destitute child in a family, other than that of a relative within the second degree, for the purpose of providing a home for such child."¹

Dr. William H. Slingerland offers a working definition, as follows: "Child placing in families is placing destitute and neglected children, temporarily or permanently, in families other than their own, for the purpose of providing care and homes for them."² He thinks that children placed with relatives of the second degree—grandparents, brothers, or sisters—should not be reported as "placed out," but as "placed with kin." Doctor Slingerland's definition of child placing applies to children placed in free family homes without payment of board; children placed in boarding homes, the board being paid either by relatives or by some association; and also children placed in homes at wages.

A child may be placed in a home either (1) directly by the action of one or both parents, or (2) by a physician, a baby-farm matron or some other individual, or (3) by a placing-out society, or (4) by the officers of an institution to which he has been legally committed, or (5) by duly authorized public officials.

EARLY CHILD PLACING.

The use of the family home as a refuge for the dependent and neglected child is not a new plan. From time immemorial generous-hearted people have opened their homes to children who were orphaned or abandoned by their natural protectors.

¹ Fiftieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York, 1916, Vol. III, p. 216.

² Slingerland, William H.: *Child-Placing in Families*, pp. 40 and 41. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919.

The first case mentioned in the Bible is that of Abraham, who adopted his nephew, Lot. The second case is that of Moses, who was adopted by Pharaoh's daughter.

Dr. W. H. Slingerland, in his book, *Child-Placing in Families*, says:

The earliest chronicles of legal child placing are found in the Old Testament scriptures, and in the Talmud * * * From the time the national life began with the giving of the law, immediately after the exodus from Egypt, about 1500 B. C., they placed orphan and fatherless children in selected family homes * * * Psalm LXVIII, 5, 6, declares that God is "A Father of the fatherless," and that He "setteth the solitary in families." * * * In the Talmud is this suggestive statement: "The blessed man, 'that doeth righteousness at all times,' is the man that brings up an orphan boy or girl until marriage has given him or her another home."³

Doctor Slingerland says further:

In the early Christian church the same type of service (the method of providing for dependent children by placing them in foster homes) prevailed for nearly or quite 200 years and never has been wholly displaced * * * After all possible free homes had been utilized, the church began boarding children with worthy widows, paying for the service by collections taken in the various congregations. This was the real genesis of the boarding-out system, not originated in the nineteenth century.³

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM.

In 1562 the English Government legalized an apprentice system, which amounted to child slavery. The indenture system was imported from England to the United States and prevailed extensively in the early days of this country.

In 1660 the Massachusetts Colony passed an act authorizing selectmen who "shall find masters of families negligent of their duty, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn, and unruly * * * take such children or apprentices from them and place them with some master who will more strictly look into and force them to submit unto government." The idea of master and servant was prominent for many years.

Children were placed with farmers, mechanics, or housewives, who utilized them for domestic service and other profitable labor. This apprentice or indenture system was open to abuses which are apt to arise whenever the profit to be had from the labor of the child is uppermost in the mind of the foster parent. The bound boy or girl was often deprived of education and overworked, and in many cases was cruelly treated.

The indenture system in its original form has almost entirely disappeared in the United States. Under the old system, the child was placed under a contract which provided that he should remain

³ Ibid, pp. 27, 28, 29.

in the family so long as the conditions of the contract were observed. Under the modern apprentice system, the right is usually reserved to remove the child at the discretion of the placing agency, for the reason that it may often be manifest that the home is a misfit or that the child is unhappy or retarded in his development, even when no violation of the agreement can be shown.

THE FIRST ORGANIZED CHILD PLACING.

The New York Children's Aid Society.

The pioneer of the organized child-placing movement was Charles Loring Brace, who in 1853 organized the New York Children's Aid Society and began sending dependent children to country homes in different States. Mr. Brace took issue with those who advocated a long course of training in institutions for dependent children. He maintained that institutional care was unnecessary for healthy, normal children, except for very brief periods. He took children from the streets of New York and sent thousands of them to farm and village homes. At first the children were distributed without much formality and without much supervision. The writer was a personal witness to the distribution of a group of these children in an Ohio farming village about 1862 and a similar distribution in a farming village of Minnesota about 1882. In each case the distribution was made by an agent of the society, assisted by a local committee, and in both cases the distribution was made without adequate investigation and without sufficient subsequent supervision.⁴

In later years the society learned to select homes with greater care and to establish closer supervision. In the earlier years of the society children were placed in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; then in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In recent years the wards of the society have gone largely to Oklahoma and Texas. An interesting sidelight on this stage of the work is the fact that it was easier to find homes for dependent and neglected children in a new and primitive community than in a more advanced and wealthy community. This is partly because people of moderate means are more ready to make sacrifices and take trouble than are the wealthy and also because the pioneer community recognized that these children as they grew older would become an asset in the development of the new country.

Other early child-placing societies.

The organization of the New York Children's Aid Society in 1853 was followed by that of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society in Baltimore in 1860; the Boston Children's Aid Society,

⁴ See article by H. H. Hart on "Placing out children in the West," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1884, pp. 143-150.

1864; the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, 1866; the New York State Charities Aid Association, 1872; the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 1882; and the Connecticut Children's Aid Society, 1892.

All these societies in their early days received children with insufficient investigation. Children of unmarried mothers were received with little hesitation. Societies placed children in homes of which they had very limited knowledge. The supervision after the children were placed was inadequate. At first considerable reliance was placed upon volunteer visitors whose work was irresponsible. The paid employees had little or no previous experience and no technical training except such as might be given by the secretary of the society. Records were meager and inadequate.

With experience, standards for the work became established. Experience and training came to be considered essential qualifications of secretaries and field workers. The importance of thorough case work and complete records was recognized. Budgets were increased as the public came to understand and appreciate the work. Schools for social workers grew up in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities. The importance of family ties and the sacredness of family relations were more clearly perceived and more faithfully respected. A wholesome dissatisfaction developed toward careless and imperfect work, with aspiration toward higher and higher standards.

In Massachusetts a remarkable group of child-placing societies came into existence: The Children's Friend Society, the Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute (now known as the Children's Mission), the New England Home for Little Wanderers (which became a placing-out society), the Boston Society for the Care of Girls, the Church Home Society, and the Child-Placing Department of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Under the leadership of Secretary Charles W. Birtwell, of the Boston Children's Aid Society, these independent societies gradually came into closer affiliation until they have now established efficient cooperation.

In 1867 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, under the inspiration of Dr. Samuel J. Howe and Frank W. Sanborn, began systematic placement of State minor wards. Subsequently the city of Boston and other municipalities in Massachusetts organized placing-out departments. Here the Boston Children's Aid Society exercised a potent influence.

The placing-out work of the New York Children's Aid Society was limited mainly to older children, but the society developed large activities in schools for neglected children and homes and sanatoria for handicapped children, confining its activities mainly to children of the borough of Manhattan in the city of New York. The Brook-

lyn Children's Aid Society undertook similar work for the borough of Brooklyn.

THE CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY.

In 1883 there was organized by Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale, in the city of Chicago, the American Educational Aid Association, to assist deserving children in obtaining an education. In the following year the name was changed to the (National) Children's Home Society and the organization became a child-placing agency. The society began operations in the State of Illinois, but soon spread into other States, increasing rapidly until there are now 36 accredited State children's home societies—one for each State of the Union except Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont. (All these States except Arkansas, Louisiana, Rhode Island, Indiana, and Nevada have children's aid societies in their principal cities which do a general child-placing work.)

The children's home society movement began in the Middle West. It differed essentially from the children's aid society movement because it extended its work into rural communities from the start, whereas the children's aid societies were urban societies at the beginning and several of them still continue to be exclusively city organizations. The founder of the children's home society, Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale, began without any financial support. Sometimes he did not collect enough money to pay his expenses; he used to carry small articles for sale in order to meet such emergencies. The early State superintendents and their field workers had to collect money for the support of the work as they went about looking after neglected children. Their salaries were contingent, uncertain, and pitifully small. Many of them were clergymen who were accustomed to such uncertain incomes.

As the movement extended, some strong organizations grew up, while others grew very slowly and failed to develop strength or to accept modern, progressive methods. They have suffered from the fact that no one of them has any pension system and they have been reluctant to discard workers who have become worn out in the service.

For many years, the prosperity and success of a State children's home society was apt to be measured by the number of children received and placed in homes; but in recent years less stress has been put upon numbers and more upon the quality of the work done and upon constructive work to preserve the child's own home. Most of the societies are receiving a much smaller number of children than they were a few years ago.

Thus far the children's home societies have made very little use of the boarding-out system. Their children have been placed almost entirely in free homes, usually with the expectation that the child will remain as a member of the home. A large proportion of their children (in some States as many as one-half) are legally adopted by the foster parents. Another large proportion become permanent members of the foster home but without legal adoption.

In the early days of the children's home society there was very little case study with reference to the acceptance of children, especially with reference to the children of unmarried mothers. It was usually taken as a matter of course that the unmarried mother must give up her child and that it was proper for the society to accept it. A superintendent of one of the most active children's home societies once said to the writer: "I believe that the fact that parents are willing to give up a child establishes a *prima facie* case that the child should be accepted by the society."

All of these societies in their early beginnings were in straits for financial support and were under temptation to accept children if some financial aid was available. Most of them were accustomed to receive children from public authorities. In some cases a State appropriation was made for the support of the society. In Kentucky an annual appropriation of \$40,000 was made. In Kansas a small State appropriation was allowed. In Pennsylvania an annual State appropriation is made to the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society and the Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society to cover the expense of supervising children placed in family homes.

In some States appropriations are made from county treasuries to child-placing societies, sometimes as lump-sum allowance for each child received and sometimes as periodical appropriations to cover the actual expense of caring for the child.

On the whole, there is a steady improvement in the standards and methods of the State children's home societies, though even to this day there is a great diversity in their efficiency. Their national organization, now known as the Children's Home and Welfare Association, meets annually in connection with the National Conference of Social Work.

CATHOLIC CHILD-PLACING AGENCIES.

In 1898, the St. Vincent de Paul Society of New York established a placing-out agency known as the Catholic Home Bureau for Dependent Children, which was organized and developed by William J. Doherty, its executive secretary. This organization became a standard child-placing agency for 18 Catholic institutions for children in the State of New York.

The Catholic Children's Aid Society was organized in New Jersey in 1903, by the late Rev. Father Francis Foy, and has become an active and efficient child-placing agency. The Catholic Humane Bureau of San Francisco was founded in 1907 by the union of the Humane Bureau of St. Vincent de Paul and the Catholic Settlement Society. Well-organized Catholic child-placing organizations now exist in a number of the larger cities, many of them under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and others as departments of diocesan Catholic charities bureaus.

In the city of Cleveland the diocesan bureau has united with the Protestant and other child-welfare organizations in establishing a central bureau for the investigation of applications in behalf of neglected children and for the assignment of children to agencies which are of their own religious faith. The different religious bodies have thus far cooperated with this agency to a very remarkable degree.

THE LUTHERAN KINDERFREUND.

In 1902 the German Lutheran Church organized the Lutheran Kinderfreund in Wisconsin and began placing children in family homes. The work proved popular and speedily developed 14 different societies in as many States. A similar undertaking was started by some of the Scandinavian Lutheran organizations, but has not, apparently, justified the hopes of its founders. It does not appear to have shared in the progressive improvement of the older placing-out societies. It is to be hoped that it will be revised and expanded.

DISCUSSIONS OF PLACING OUT IN THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

For 25 years an earnest discussion was waged in the National Conference of Charities and Correction between the advocates of institutional care for dependent children and the advocates of the placing-out system. Gradually the tide turned in favor of the placing-out plan. In the conference of 1898 indications of agreement appeared. At the conference of 1899 Hon. Thomas M. Mulry, president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society of New York, presented a remarkable report from the committee on the care of neglected and destitute children, which proved to be the final word of this long-continued discussion and which laid down a platform that has been accepted with practical unanimity by Protestants, Jews, and Roman Catholics, trustees of children's institutions, and managers of children's societies. This great report became one of the classics of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL PLACING OUT.

About 25 State agencies with authority to place children in family homes exist in the United States, but no one of them does a placing-out work comparable in numbers or organization with that of Massachusetts. On November 30, 1921, the division of child guardianship of the Massachusetts State Department of Public Welfare had under its care and supervision 12,039 children. Of these children 3,918⁵ were in boarding homes and 1,362 were in free homes, without payment of board, making a total of 5,280 children placed in family homes. The city of Boston has for many years maintained a child-welfare department. On January 31, 1921, this department had under its care 1,387 children, of whom 680 were in boarding homes and 281 were in free homes; thus it has placed in homes a total of 961 children.

In many of the States there are county agencies which have authority to place children in family homes; among them are the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana.

Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut have county children's homes established with a view to making them temporary homes from which children could be placed in family homes. The tendency has always been to accumulate children in county homes and to minimize the placing-out work. In Indiana there has been a very great diminution of the population of the county children's homes owing to the activity and efficiency of the child-welfare department of the board of State charities.

Indiana for many years has had county boards of children's guardians which had a certain degree of responsibility for the care of the dependent and neglected children of the county.

In the State of North Carolina there have been established, by recent legislation, county boards of public welfare whose duty it is to care for all children in the county who are public wards.

Experience has generally proved the work of county officials in placing and supervising children in family homes inefficient and unreliable, but efforts during a number of years to improve their work through State supervision have met with encouraging results.

In the State of New York, the State Charities Aid Association was organized in 1872 to work for improvement in the care of the dependent and defective. The New York State Charities Aid Association has developed a very remarkable cooperative work with the county superintendents of the poor and the county supervisors responsible for children who are public wards. One by one the counties have been induced to establish a department of child welfare

⁵ Including 181 children in homes partly supported by the State.

with a trained worker in charge. This trained worker has been nominated in most cases by the New York State Charities Aid Association and the association has established close cooperation with these county agencies, organizing plans for training of the local workers and assisting the counties in placing children who need to be removed from their original environment.

The county agencies make careful case studies of applicants and provide for their immediate needs—family rehabilitation, medical or surgical treatment, temporary boarding out, and so forth—but when a homeless child is to be provided with a permanent home this is usually done through the central office of the State charities aid association, which maintains a trained staff. In this way a vast improvement has been made in county care of children.

The Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society has established similar cooperative relations with county children's aid societies and county poor directors on behalf of children who are public wards. The result has been a gradual improvement of the public care of dependent children in eastern Pennsylvania.

The bureau of children of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, established in 1921, is working actively and efficiently for the improvement of the child-placing work of the State by the organization of district conferences for the study of improved methods and by efficient and sympathetic supervision of the work.

In Maryland the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, which formerly restricted its work to the city of Baltimore, has extended its range to cover the entire State by the organization of county groups, with a great improvement in the care of neglected children in the outlying counties.

PLACING OUT FROM INSTITUTIONS.

Orphan asylums and children's homes.

Nearly all institutions for dependent children eventually place out a large proportion of their children in family homes. Some institutions of this class are simply boarding places, where parents or public officials send children for temporary care. The institution does not assume their legal guardianship and they are ultimately returned to the parents, to the court, or to the public agency from which they were received.

There are still a few institutions, like the large home at Mooseheart, Ill., which undertake to bring up children to young manhood and womanhood, until they are able to care for themselves. But nearly all of the orphan asylums and children's homes of the United States place children in family homes; in other words, while the child is still under their care, by virtue of their guardianship, they place the child in a home of their own choosing. Usually their

guardianship continues for the time being, and they are supposed to exercise some degree of supervision. Under these conditions they become distinctly placing-out agencies.

Public institutions.

There are a considerable number of public institutions for dependent children which have authority and are expected to place children in family homes. Such are the "State public schools" for dependent children of Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin; the State home of Colorado; the State home and school of Rhode Island; the Montana State orphanage; the "soldiers' orphans' homes" of Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas; and the county children's homes of Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut.

The State public schools of Michigan and Minnesota have adhered steadfastly to the placing-out method, have developed fairly adequate staffs of placing-out agents, and have refused to grow. The soldiers' orphans' homes, so called, have magnified the institutional idea of bringing up children and fitting them for self-support before dismissal. In recent years most of these institutions have endeavored to develop the placing-out method, but usually they have been hampered by their old traditions and it has been difficult for them to develop efficient placing-out work.

The county children's home system, which prevails in Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut, has never been satisfactory in any of these three States, where it has been extensively developed. In each of these States the original law contemplated the early placing of children in family homes; but the number of children in each institution was so small that the temptation to accumulate children, especially in those homes which were fairly efficient, was almost irresistible. The number of wards of each home was so small that the directors did not deem it necessary to employ trained placing agents, and supervision over the foster homes was universally inadequate.

In recent years, children's bureaus have been established in each of these three States, and these bureaus have made strenuous efforts to develop the child-placing method in the county homes and to secure adequate supervision. Much improvement has been made, but to this day the county children's home system is unsatisfactory.

THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

For about 10 years an annual midwinter conference of child-placing agencies has been held, usually in the city of New York. Out of this meeting grew the "Bureau for the Exchange of Information," consisting of child-placing societies which exchanged literature through a central office and finally established cooperative relations to facilitate the care and supervision of placed-out children

whose foster parents might move from one State to another. The Bureau for Exchange of Information grew in interest and usefulness until it included 68 child-placing agencies. The bureau had, however, only a very meager budget.

These agencies gradually came to feel that the bureau should be expanded into a cooperative agency for the improvement of the standards of child-placing work. A committee was appointed to take this matter in hand, and as a result the Bureau for Exchange of Information was reorganized as the Child Welfare League of America. The Commonwealth Fund was induced to make an appropriation of \$25,000 per year for five years to test the usefulness and efficiency of the organization. The league secured the services of Dr. C. C. Carstens, of Boston, as director. His active work began January 1, 1921, and under his leadership the Child Welfare League of America has become a recognized and efficient agency for the improvement of placing-out work throughout the United States.

The membership of the league consists mainly of child-placing organizations. Minimum standards for membership are prescribed, referring to staff, budget, equipment, and methods. The membership has increased in a little over two years from 68 to 98. The admission of a number of applicants has been delayed because they have not yet met the standards.

The membership of the league includes children's aid societies, children's home societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, State and county public agencies for the care of children, and a limited, but increasing, number of institutions which place children in family homes.

In addition to the annual midwinter conference at New York, regional conferences have been held in Chicago and Atlanta, and a regional conference is proposed to be held in Texas for the Southwest. A regional conference was also held for western Canada in Alberta.

The league has recently organized a committee on "group movements in child care" to help "religious, fraternal, civic, and military-veteran organizations to develop their interest in child welfare along lines that will prove valuable to all concerned."

TENDENCIES IN CHILD-PLACING WORK.

The following extracts are quoted from the 1922-23 annual report of Dr. C. C. Carstens, director of the Child Welfare League of America:

1. There is a strong tendency, and one to be wholly welcomed, for both child-placing agencies and children's institutions to come into helpful relations with each other.

Many causes have contributed to this result. The spirit of competition in social work is discredited among honest and intelligent workers. The needs of the child are given more consideration. Cooperation is no longer practiced merely as lip service but is acted upon. To this the development of councils of social agencies and chests has contributed.

In certain States, institutions are adding field-work service for intake and follow-up work. Where formerly the superintendent or an underling took a little time off for the investigation, which was generally not much more than "a lick and a promise," now it is considered an important part of the work of the institution. This is particularly found in some progressive southern States.

In other places, the child-placing agency is being coordinated with the institution so as to have the case carefully looked into. If a home adjustment can be made it is done without the child coming into the institution at all except perhaps for certain professional services. If the child comes in it is given shelter, examination, study, medical and psychological care, and then is later placed where it will have the most advantageous development. In this way the institutions become receiving homes also and serve many more children. A considerable number of institutions are developing such diagnostic receiving homes.

2. The various States are learning the use and value of the boarding home. As one comes to recognize the importance of keeping parents and children together whenever possible, or reuniting them whenever advisable, the adoption and free home fails to meet all the needs. The boarding family home comes into successful use where the free home does not serve. In some places boarding work is done in institutions or by groups in families. But neither provides the full advantages of real family life. There should rarely be more than four children at board in a family, and usually fewer, so that the children may get family home upbringing. No home should be used that does not give the boarded child much more than is paid for by the board money. This provides against commercialization of the work. Such homes can be found but require persistent and careful home finding. * * *

5. There is a noticeable tendency for family-welfare societies to develop child-placing departments and in a few instances to combine children's agencies with their work. This development can generally be traced to the failure of existing children's agencies to meet new situations and new needs that have arisen.

The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work has appointed a committee to study the situation, and the appointment of a committee of the league has been authorized by our executive committee. It is proposed that there should be five persons from each agency; that these separate committees have joint meetings and consider questions relating to the interrelations of the agencies either as they arise theoretically or in the fields of each national agency. The members of the league are requested to send to its office any matters that would have interest for this committee.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE.

On January 25, 1909, only six weeks before his retirement from the presidency, President Theodore Roosevelt convened the White House Conference,⁶ which proved one of the notable events of his

⁶ See Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Sixtieth Congress, second session, Senate Document No. 721, pp. 8-14. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

administration. He invited about 200 people, representing every phase of child-welfare work, to spend two days in discussing the needs of dependent children. They came from nearly every State of the Union and they represented State boards of charities, State and county agencies for the care of children, children's aid societies, children's home societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, orphan asylums, children's homes, and juvenile reformatories; they included Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and people of no religious affiliation.

When the conference met there was considerable doubt as to whether so large and diverse a body would be able to agree upon the fundamental questions of child welfare—especially those with reference to the relative merits of institutional care and placing out in family homes. But after two days of full discussion the conference adopted by unanimous vote a platform of 3,000 words which represented the consensus of opinion of the representatives of every form of child-helping work.

Among the conclusions thus unanimously adopted were the following with reference to the place of the family home in relation to dependent and neglected children:⁷

Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great motive force of mind and character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. * * * Except in unusual circumstances the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality. * * *

As to children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency is essential.

It is recognized that for many children foster homes without payment of board are not practicable immediately after the children become dependent, and that for many children requiring temporary care only the free home is not available. For the temporary, or more or less permanent, care of such children different methods are in use, notably the plan of placing them in families, paying for their board, and the plan of institutional care. * * * Unless and until such homes are found, the use of institutions is necessary * * *

⁷ See pp. 195-200 for complete text of conclusions of the conference.

The proper training of destitute children being essential to the well-being of the State, it is a sound public policy that the State through its duly authorized representative should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, whether by institutional or home-finding methods. * * * The information so secured should be confidential, not to be disclosed unless by competent authority.

REAFFIRMATION OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE.

In the conclusions quoted above, the White House Conference committed itself unanimously and unequivocally in favor of family-home care as the ideal plan of dealing with homeless and neglected children.

In 1919, nearly 10 years later, the Federal Children's Bureau called a conference of representatives of child-welfare work throughout the United States.⁸ This conference appointed committees to formulate minimum standards of child welfare. The committee on minimum standards for the protection of children in need of special care adopted the following resolutions on the principles of child-placing:

The conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909 on the Care of Dependent Children are reaffirmed in all essentials. They have been guides for communities and States in reshaping their plans for children in need of special care. They are recommended for consideration to all communities whose standards do not as yet conform to them, so that they may be translated into practice in the various States.

* * * * *

Before a child is placed in other than a temporary foster home, adequate consideration should be given to his health, mentality, character, and family history and circumstances. Arrangements should be made for correcting remediable physical defects and disease.

Complete records of the child are necessary to a proper understanding of his heredity and personality, and of his development and progress while under the care of the agency.

* * * * *

Careful and wise investigation of foster homes is prerequisite to the placing of children. Adequate standards should be required of the foster families as to character, intelligence, experience, training, ability, income, environment, sympathetic attitude, and their ability to give the child proper moral and spiritual training. When practicable children should be placed in families of the same religious faith as the parents or the last surviving parent.

A complete record should be kept of each foster home, giving the information on which approval was based. The records should show the agency's contracts with the family from time to time, indicating the care given the child intrusted

⁸ Minimum Standards for Child Welfare. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62, Washington, 1920. See pp. 201-204 for complete text of resolutions relating to "children in need of special care."

to it. In this way special abilities in the families will be developed and conserved for children.

Supervision of children placed in foster homes should include adequate visits by properly qualified and well-trained visitors, who should exercise watchfulness over the child's health, education, and moral and spiritual development. Periodic physical examinations should be made. Supervision of children in boarding homes should also involve the careful training of the foster parents in their task. Supervision should not be made a substitute for the responsibilities which properly rest with the foster family.

FRASER BANK OF ST. LOUIS, MO. - 1914

CONSERVING THE CHILD'S PARENTAL HOME.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY,

Executive Secretary, the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.

THEORY VERSUS PRACTICE.

The conservation of home relationships for socially handicapped children has been, on the whole, a rather academic matter for most of us. Partly by reason of the amount of work to be done by any given agency; partly by reason of the lack of coordination between children's welfare agencies and other social agencies in given communities; partly by reason of lack of trained and adequate staffs and of even minimum standards of method and technique, the real significance of child-caring work has not been grasped by specific children's societies and institutions, by some organizations doing family and other specialized work, nor by the general public. There has been a general theoretical agreement that children should preferably grow up with their own parents and in their own homes; that social values of the greatest importance are guarded and enhanced if this relationship between parents and children can be protected and developed. This was very admirably expressed in the conclusions of the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children—"Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons."

Through many National and State conferences called for the consideration of general and special problems affecting family life and child life, there has appeared a constant approval of all methods of work that tend to protect the home. We see, however, a great difference between theories and practice when we survey the mass of child-caring work that is being done in the United States. It is not, therefore, trite and unnecessary to discuss just how far the parental relationship and all that is valuable in family life may be safeguarded in work dealing with children in need.

THE EXTENT OF CHILD DEPENDENCY.

The need for conserving family experiences for the child life of the nation is further borne out by the large number of children in the United States that receive foster care. The number of children cared for in foster homes throughout the country runs into the hun-

dreds of thousands in any given year, and the total annual financial expenditure for the services extended to these children reaches a sum which no one can give with accuracy but which is huge beyond question. The grand total for the country can, in a measure, be estimated from the totals for certain States: Pennsylvania has more than 500 child-caring agencies annually caring for approximately 50,000 children.¹ The State of New York has 233 children's agencies, which in a given year cared for 46,064 children. Massachusetts has 87 child-caring agencies, both public and private, which in 1921 cared for 19,002 children. According to a special report issued by the Boston Council of Social Agencies,² in the city of Boston alone 34 private child-helping agencies in one year gave care to 4,500 children—a service which cost \$1,235,023.

On the basis of reports coming from a few of the States and of data contained in the Federal census reports, it is conservatively estimated that all the public and private child-caring agencies and officials throughout the country have in care at this time approximately 250,000 children. Of course, in any given year there is a considerable turnover, so that the actual number of different children cared for is larger than the average number in care throughout the year. The importance, therefore, of a wise and adequate handling of all those problems that come before a welfare agency in regard to the separation of children from their own people is outstanding. The question is, furthermore, of supreme importance to family and child-welfare agencies, to juvenile courts, and to public officials, as they tend toward a joint consideration of the essential difficulties to be met in handling applications that involve potential foster care for children.

WORK OF CHILD-CARING AND FAMILY AGENCIES INTER-RELATED.

It has been a mistake in policy for the specialized child-caring and the specialized family agencies to act in many instances as though the phases of child-welfare work which each group faced were essentially separate and distinct. Happily these two types of agencies are coming to see that their responsibilities are interrelated. Prospects are thus opened up for a more fundamental type of child-caring work than has hitherto been seen except in very rare instances. Child-caring organizations are not free from family-protection responsibilities, and family agencies are never free from the responsibility for seeing that good standards of work for children are established in their communities. The two groups of agencies named, of

¹ Statement made on authority of Pennsylvania Department of Welfare.
² Bulletin No. 5, May, 1923.

course, include public and private services and every type of agency, whether it be associated charities, a public-welfare department, a juvenile court, a detention home, an institution for children, a society to protect children, or a children's aid society.

THE NECESSITY OF HIGH STANDARDS IN WORK FOR CHILDREN.

It is true of social work, as of every other field of human activity, that quality of service does not come by chance. It is a peculiar criticism of social work that to a very large extent the general public places too low a value upon the qualifications which members of welfare staffs should have in order to do their work. There can be no adequate conservation work with children unless the work is done by people of broad intelligence and education and fundamentally sound character. Staff workers, particularly with children's agencies, are too generally selected without thought as to their special training and their fitness not only to understand children, but to work with them. Good staff workers should therefore be one of the main planks in a child-welfare conservation program.

Executives of experience and devotion.

Certainly no executive of any of the agencies classified above can safely be trusted to do the right kind of work unless he has had a very definite experience, now commonly designated as case-work training. This standard, of course, immediately rules out many present executives of these organizations; but the progress made in the last decade in improving the personnel of social agencies gives cause for the utmost optimism for the future in this matter of executives. No notable or even average piece of work for children has been done by executives who did not bring great native and acquired abilities to their work. The lack of trained leadership has placed a very heavy handicap upon child-welfare work in many communities, and finding the "way out" from numberless unwise manifestations of philanthropy for children will be possible only under a new, highly experienced, and devoted leadership. The time is past for the use in social work of people whose experience can best be described as nondescript. The next decade will see the investment of truly vast sums in a wide variety of new child-welfare projects which will often be initiated out of their proper sequence unless the right leadership is at hand to advise, guide, and direct those who wish to serve through their money and their effort.

Staff workers of the highest type.

Next in importance to executive workers come general staff members. The situation with reference to the rank and file of those who serve on the staffs of children's organizations is most depressing, in

State after State. It requires unusual abilities to render adequate service to children, or to see that such services are rendered by others. Standards in regard to the education, general and technical training, health, experience, and financial compensation of staff members need radical changing. Work for children as done by children's agencies is in far too many instances in exactly the same status as that of the poorest and worst equipped rural schools in the United States. We see beyond question that men and women of the highest type are required in the performance of country-wide health and educational programs. The same restrictions and conditions as to personnel are equally binding in the field of social work and its subdivision of child welfare.

One who visits many different types of child-welfare agencies is too often impressed by great inadequacy on the part of those who are actually in charge of the children. This is a manifold danger, because in almost no other field of welfare work is the appeal to the average layman so great as it is where children are involved. Millions of dollars both for capital and for current use are annually poured out for child-welfare work, and in many instances these funds are unwisely applied because the donor was ill advised by the social workers to whom he intrusted them. Those who prophesied that there would be a marked falling off in gifts for welfare work as a result of the war certainly did not foresee the attitude of the public in regard to children. Various organizations are sweeping the country with truly gigantic projects for aiding children in need, and many of these plans call for care of the children away from their own people. It is not a part of this discussion to consider these specific child-welfare programs, but the essentials of any good child-welfare conservation plan should have general application to them.

Limiting the case load of individual workers.

Social work has suffered severely from having had to run on a quantity, as against a quality, basis. It is of course quite evident that a public agency is less able to limit its work than is a private agency. Yet extraordinary progress has been made in recent years by public agencies in the extent to which the work load per staff member has been reduced, expansion in work of the agency being registered by increasing the staff rather than overloading individual workers. The private agency is in a more favorable position so far as limiting work and thus expressing a definite qualitative service is concerned. The failure to stress the evils going with any attempt to do the utmost amount of work without regard to standards has cost child-welfare work dearly. As agencies improve the methods of work they understand its real meaning better and are more able

in each instance to protect the interests of all the persons involved. It is wise to limit the work of an agency so as to be able to give good care to such children as are received, even though it may be necessary to refuse many applications of great urgency.

Adequate salaries for adequate work.

Hand in hand with the securing of suitable staff members must go a program of adequate remuneration for work done. No successful appeal can be made to men and women of education and character, who are being sought out by every profession and department of production, unless reasonably adequate personal standards of living are assured them. The exception to this rule occurs in the case of the unpaid services which certain great religious orders provide for children of the types under discussion. However, in these same religious circles notable work is being done under the direction of salaried men and women who measure up to the highest standards, and it is clearly evident that in the secular fields the services of properly equipped workers can be secured only on a basis of adequate compensation.

It is a common experience that it is easier to secure money for capital outlay or for the support of children under foster care, than it is to secure funds for the payment of high-grade workers who will see wherein gross disbursements can, with the utmost safeguarding of the children, be very materially reduced.

THE NECESSITY FOR INFORMATION AS A BASIS FOR ACTION.

In any community there arise day by day a myriad of applications of all sorts calling for the removal of children from their own homes and their placement for some kind of care either in an institution or in a family. These children include those whose parents have died, are in prison, or are sick, incompetent, mentally irresponsible, immoral, unmarried, or in poverty. The children themselves present a wide range of mental and character difficulties expressed in various forms of misconduct and delinquency. In these diverse and often complicated situations it is impossible to act with wisdom without knowing a great deal about the child and his family, although the attempt to do so is constantly being made.

If family life is worth saving and developing, if sparing a child the experience of having to grow up with strangers, and having parents train and care for their own children represent the normal and desirable situation, then the methods followed in the reception of children by child-caring agencies will have to be generally re-organized and standardized. It should be realized that in many communities the child-welfare work that is most fundamental and most enduring is not necessarily done by children's organizations,

Whether or not a child need be taken from his own home depends to some extent upon what protective agencies exist in his community; and this information can be brought out only through careful inquiries made at the time of the child's proposed reception by a child-caring agency.

Miss Mary E. Richmond has given an outline of the general requirements in the matter of reception information,³ and this is supplemented in various papers appearing in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work and in statements given in the annual reports of the leading child-welfare agencies in the country. Saving to a child the potential resources in his own family is possible only through a clear and comprehensive understanding of just what it is that makes up the child's history. Because public and private child-welfare workers have been so largely in doubt as to the causes which brought the children to them, they as a group have played a minor part in work looking to the prevention of child neglect, dependency, and delinquency.

REMOVING THE CAUSES OF FAMILY BREAKDOWN.

We have all solemnly agreed that family homes must not be broken up because of poverty, yet many children throughout the United States are removed from their own people simply because of insufficiency of family income and all the immediate ills which follow in the wake of low wages. A general lack of information in the reception department also leads many of these same child-welfare groups to act in ignorance of conditions of ill health, mental disability, parental incompetence, inadequate recreational facilities, bad housing, and improper school adjustments.

Supplementing the family income.

Adequate protection of the relation between parents and children begins with an income sufficient to maintain normal social standards. This is a matter to which very few child-welfare agencies ever refer in their reports. They seem not to know that all too frequently they remove children from their own homes for the purpose of giving foster care when the outstanding lack is sufficient family funds for elementary necessities. The family-welfare agencies have been increasingly concerned with the necessity for supplementing the inadequate income of many of the families with which they are in contact in order thereby to keep the family groups unbroken. The country still awaits, however, the wide expression of the principle that a children's agency must not count it good work to spend money for the foster care of children if the unfitness of the children's own homes is

³ Richmond, Mary E.: *Social Diagnosis*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917.

due entirely to poverty. Many examples can be found the country over of richly endowed children's agencies whose wards must be good children of good mothers who are widows and therefore without support. It surely seems incongruous for us to go on approving of this state of affairs. It would seem as though in the face of such situations we need a new index of values to show what are the truly fundamental forms of child-welfare work.

If the reception of a child is made a matter of serious thought and careful planning, it will become a general practice to discover and bolster up all those family groups which with special and outside assistance, generally costing less than foster care, can be kept intact. Where reputable agencies inquire carefully into all applications, they generally find that disposition other than foster care results in about 75 or 80 per cent of all cases. In general practice, however, most communities, including their many social agencies, seem to have few resources when faced with cases of family need. Among the first plans considered is the breaking up of the family. Child-welfare surveys show a surprisingly large number of children in care who really should have been left with their own parents or whose need for foster care the child-caring agencies are unable to prove. If an agency or institution is spending from \$500 to \$1,200 per year per child under care it should in each case be possible to prove easily and quickly the necessity for such care.

Prevention through health protection.

To function normally one must be well, yet many of the children coming into foster care show physical disabilities. The same can also be said about their parents. It is therefore an important part of the work of both child-welfare and family-welfare agencies to do everything they can to protect and to promote the health interests of those under their care. If every public and private family-welfare agency could give adequate health care to all its clients the number of applications ultimately going to children's agencies would be materially reduced. "Well clinics" need to be organized all over the country for the purpose of dealing with incipient physical difficulties before they reach a serious stage. If this were done fewer and fewer removals of children from their own homes would take place, for ill health is one of the prime factors in the breaking up of families.

It is already demonstrable that prenatal and postnatal clinics have had a most definite effect in improving the health standards of mothers, and this in time will mean that more mothers will live to take care of their children. It is very clear indeed, therefore, that an organization working with families or children which is not

directly and vitally participating in a high-grade health-promotion program is not doing all that it should in the matter of conserving family life for children. This health program should include careful examinations, all necessary laboratory tests, and provision for necessary treatment where such can not be had from existing agencies. A liberal share of the costs of such work is a proper charge in the budgets of both family-welfare and child-welfare agencies.

Better housing.

The existence of much bad housing, with all its effects on home life, means that child-welfare agencies must now care for many children whose families resort to foster care as a means of escape for the children from home conditions. Therefore the solution of the housing situation is another fundamental step in the conservation of parental relationships for children.

Recreation.

In a number of the cases handled by family and child welfare agencies the situation is on the border line between dependency and delinquency, and in these cases there invariably appears the factor of poor or utterly negligible recreational life. This is just as likely to be the case in the strictly rural community as it is in the densely crowded city. Consequently understanding and planning for the recreational needs of children, and also of adults, represents another important method of safeguarding family life.

THE TRAGEDY OF SEPARATION.

It is important that everyone responsible for the well-being of children should have a pretty clear concept of the child. If we had a truer and deeper understanding of the mental and physical life of the child there would be less intentness on the execution of plans which are more likely to injure than to help the children affected. Although it may be unpleasant to realize it is natural for children to view with questionings and criticisms those whom they meet in foster-care agencies. Children suffer far more than we realize when they enter upon a period of foster care; and their sufferings—certainly mental and often physical—should be taken into consideration when plans for the separation of children from their own people are being thought out. We have built up a rather pleasant picture of superperfect children's organizations into which the children slip rather easily and where they are supremely happy. Now for good and clearly convincing reasons this is not generally the case, and when the realization of this fact becomes more general greater and greater safeguards will be thrown about the child as he first comes under consideration.

Dr. Alberta S. Guibord, in a very remarkable paper on "The handicap of the dependent child,"⁴ shows a clear understanding of what passes through the mind of the average child when he enters a children's agency. As she points out, an important factor in dealing with such a child is his predisposition to influences which make for delinquency and social inefficiency. This is so because of the emotional disturbance incident to family breakdown.

No one should be intrusted with the responsibility of separating children from their own people who is unable to get the child's point of view, to weigh what it will mean to him to be separated even for a short period from parents and brothers and sisters, and to understand that for the great mass of children any foster-care program involves insurmountable difficulties. Wherever a reasonable amount of information is secured about any child, the placement of that child under foster care fairly bristles with problems. A child-placing agency must be very definitely conscious of the limitations of its work if it is to execute reasonably careful placements and consequently be able to say that its wards are at least not neglected and not distinctly unhappy.

The staff of any agency called upon to decide whether a child is to remain in his own home will do better work if it is thoroughly permeated with the idea that its plan of help is probably following in the wake of some social tragedy, or that such a tragedy will occur unless a very radical and far-thinking job is done by the agency in question. Barring certain exceptions, children should not come into the care of placing agencies until every effort has been exhausted to keep them within their own family groups, and they must never be considered as detached from their families at the time of the inquiry. Far-seeing workers in the field of child welfare do not consider the type of service they are now giving an ideal one. These leaders do not see that a multiplication of child-caring organizations of the various types now in existence or the doubling of their endowments necessarily would improve the conditions of child life in the United States. Rather are they convinced that if such funds could be placed at the disposal of more immediately protective and preventive agencies a new and higher type of child-welfare work would result, and this work would be for children who in all probability would never have to be removed from their own homes.

THE LIMITATIONS OF FOSTER CARE.

Certain outstanding aspects of children's work can be strikingly presented through an outline of the essential limitations that face those who must be in charge of the children. First is the limitation

⁴The Survey, August 16, 1920, pp. 614-616.

as to the number of good foster homes available. Next, staff workers represent the average folks whom one meets every day and are usually no better equipped to meet the difficulties which children present than are the average run of parents. Third, when an agency tries to obtain for each child in care a reasonably normal home environment it enters upon an outlay of funds which the general public is quite unprepared to meet.

Child-caring work has hitherto been judged on a basis of low per capita costs, but as higher standards have been applied to every department and every person engaged in it the costs have mounted to sums which would have seemed incredible years ago. When an agency spends on one child in a given year the equivalent of the average income for the average family in the United States, there immediately arises the question: Can such an agency justify such expenditure? If there happen to be other children in each of the families from which this agency has selected its wards the further question arises, Would it not be better to allow the special child in each case to remain with his own mother (granting him to be a half-orphan) and give the family the amount of money which would otherwise be spent for foster care, plus the total thought, time, and service which the agency's personnel gives to each of its wards?

SUBSIDIZING THE HOME.

Every observing children's worker knows of many cases in which, if she could have expended on the child's own family life just what she has spent on one member of the family in money and care, the whole family situation would have been immeasurably improved. This fact should have great weight in the consideration of the problems of dependent children. The mothers' assistance or mothers' pension fund movement has kept with their mothers large numbers of children who in the absence of this support would have required the care of social agencies. Nothing could be more anomalous than a situation in which mothers, because of poverty, are forced to give up their children to agencies to receive foster care at an expense far greater than the cost of providing for the children in their own homes and with their own mothers. Yet this process goes on in practically every State in the Union. It would seem to call for radical action everywhere. Moreover, where the resources of the family agency are inadequate to meet the relief demand made upon them, steps should be taken to ascertain to what extent the resources of certain of the children's agencies could be used for general family relief as against special child relief. Large benefactors and promoters of country-wide plans for child welfare should be made to

see that in a vast majority of the communities of the country actual child-welfare work is now many laps ahead of the work of the organized and incorporated children's agencies. This is said without any intention to disparage the work of the children's agencies in any way; but wages, health, good housing, and all the other essentials of normal family life are influenced only slightly by them. Moreover, potential benefactors in the children's field should be urged to leave their money free from narrow and hampering restrictions as to use.

The more liberal grants of public aid to mothers with dependent children, commonly known as mothers' pensions, have tended in many communities to reduce the number of children in the care of children's societies. The report of the Department of Public Welfare of the city of New York shows a steady decrease in the number of children under care at the close of each fiscal year since 1916. For that year the number under care was 22,117; for 1921, in spite of an increase in population and much unemployment, the number under care was given as 15,951. Undoubtedly better methods in the reception of the children accounted in part for this decrease, but the public grants or pensions to many mothers in their own homes also exercised a great influence in keeping children out of the hands of child-caring agencies.

The figures for the Massachusetts child-caring agencies for the last two years also show in many instances a falling-off in percentage of children under care compared with the increase in population.

It is much easier to get money for the work of specialized child-welfare agencies than it is to get money for general family agencies. In Boston⁵ 25 family-helping agencies dealing with 32,500 individuals in their own homes spent last year \$522,573, whereas 34 children's agencies giving complete care to 4,500 children, and supervision and other nonfinancial help to 20,500 additional children, spent in one year \$1,235,023. The situation is even more striking in Philadelphia,⁶ where 90 child-caring organizations, with an average of 20,000 children in care, spent in 1920 approximately \$5,500,000, and 5 family-welfare agencies spent in 1922 approximately \$750,000. Yet a potentially heavier child-welfare load rests on the family agencies, notwithstanding the fact that they have far less to spend in any given year. The interpretation of this situation needs to be taken in hand by the child-welfare leaders in collaboration with the family-welfare leaders, and its significance should have the widest publicity.

⁵ Bulletin No. 5, 1923. Boston Council of Social Agencies.

⁶ Unpublished study, Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS AS PROTECTION FOR THE HOME.

The attention of all students of welfare work should be called to the effect that workmen's compensation laws have had in protecting family life. Through this one movement a great army of families throughout the United States has been lifted out of a condition of dependency on either public or private relief. Twenty years ago children of workers injured or killed in industry filled the institutions while their mothers worked and lived alone, having a hard time to eke out a mere existence. Real compensation for such injury or death of the father represents a great advance in family protection. Moreover, the compensation movement has resulted in means for encouraging accident prevention which are keeping increasing numbers of workers from even being injured.

THE SCHOOL AS A FACTOR IN STRENGTHENING THE HOME.

In some communities the juvenile court has been accurately characterized as the largest and most important child-welfare agency, the largest family-welfare agency being given second place. Yet the public schools represent an organization of child-welfare forces that in volume of work and importance of service easily transcends all other child-caring organizations. The newer psychology, particularly in the studies of experts like Dr. William Healy, Dr. Bernard Glueck, and Dr. Augusta Bronner, has revealed the importance of the early years of childhood. Next to the home in its influence on the young child comes the public school. Hence the necessity for augmenting in every possible way all that the public schools can do in their work for children. It is not sufficient that the teacher know her children as pupils in the classroom. The influences that bear on children outside the school determine to a very large degree just what permanent values they will carry away from their school life. The teachers are doing social work in their particular field, but it is often likely to be futile unless it is brought into close contact with all the other social forces affecting the child.

To meet the need, to give the backgrounds of the children, to reveal accurately just what they have or have not in their own homes, is the serious task of a new group which has come into the schools in Philadelphia. This group, best known as visiting teachers, are teachers with special experience in the field of social case work. They help the whole school staff to understand, and therefore better to teach, the child who for any reason whatsoever is not making a good adjustment through the school activities. If the visiting teacher does good work, she catches up in their very incipency many significant acts and character developments. She treats them as the oc-

casian demands and thereby prevents them from becoming outstanding difficulties which may lead to delinquencies or to bad adjustments with parents or other members of families, with the consequent danger of the child's separation from his own people. The visiting teacher represents an improvement in results over the best work of the best attendance officers.

The children who are misfits in the school are the first responsibility of the visiting teacher. Children of this group—who a few years ago would generally have been thought to need care in parental schools, if not industrial schools—through the visiting teacher or the attendance officer trained as a social worker, have been adjusted satisfactorily while remaining in their own homes. No one can compute what this means to these children. The placement of a child presenting problems of conduct, with many other children facing the same difficulties is a step which should be taken very reluctantly. The more one studies prisons and reformatories and the results of their work, the greater becomes the determination not to introduce an individual to such a life if the means are at hand for preventing it. Understanding the individual is one of the first steps in this prevention.

THE JUVENILE COURT SAFEGUARDING THE HOME.

The juvenile court is too well known to need any interpretation here. However, it must be cited as an important agency which has enormous possibilities for the safeguarding of family relationships. One of the remarkable developments during the last 40 years of the nineteenth century was the breaking away from the habit of punishing adult delinquents by prison commitments. Sifting out the more hopeful and most trustworthy adult delinquents for probation resulted in enormous financial saving to the State in the maintenance of prisoners and also in the sums necessary for prison extension and equipment. Probation also saved for the delinquent's family his financial support and his presence. As the principle has come to be applied to juvenile delinquents it has had an even more beneficial effect.

When one realizes how short is the period of care given in most industrial schools, one can not but believe that careful probation would in the long run produce more lasting results than these short intensive periods of training for large numbers of children of about the same age, brought together because of the commission of various acts of delinquency. Commitment to an industrial school is a shock to most children. Of course, many children enter the industrial school from homes that were broken up before the court came into action, but these represent on the whole the smallest segment of the total group. Child-welfare agencies which desire to be con-

sidered alert and actively to support constructive work will watch their juvenile courts. The juvenile court following good social case work methods and staffed with well-trained probation officers will exert a powerful influence for keeping homes unbroken. It is, of course, still too true that the juvenile court, in the matter of actively taking over the best methods of social case work and covering its specific field throughout the country, is only in its initial stage; yet this beginning represents a great victory over previous conditions, and it is fair to say that the results achieved in the face of great handicaps thoroughly warrant the experiment.

The juvenile court has cut into the field of agencies operating under the general name of "societies to protect children from cruelty," and this is entirely in accord with principles of progress. It is well that private organizations should not exercise quasi police power. The authority has been frequently abused in the past. Where children are to be removed from their own homes for cause which must be reviewed before a court of record, the authority for such action should rest with a public agency such as the juvenile court, in contrast with a private agency. Children are going to be better protected from cruelty and neglect and from thoughtless and wholesale removals through the perfecting of the juvenile court's methods, and it is time that we began to concentrate our energies on achieving this end. Agencies change as do other organizations of mankind and it will be entirely fitting for the child-protective agencies to advance into a new and different field.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CHILDREN.

For certain special classes of children there seems to be no question of the necessity for foster care. Foundlings, in spite of careful efforts to locate parents, continue, in large cities at least, to have small chance of return to relatives. Of deserted children, this is much less true. More information can be found with less difficulty about children of the latter group. Yet the attitude of mind and the mental health of the parent who deserts a child and leaves him to strangers make it very difficult to fasten the responsibility for physical care of the child on such a parent. Such a parent can sometimes be held to his financial responsibility for the child, even over long periods, but success here calls for very careful and very thorough social work.

In regard to children born to unmarried parents, the trend is definitely in the direction of continued care and responsibility for the child by the parents. If good reception methods are followed, if social backgrounds are sought and social causes are looked for, separation of unmarried parents from their children is usually found

to be unwise and undesirable; yet many children's agencies and many organizations working with unmarried mothers countenance such separations as soon after birth as they can safely be effected. If "knowledge is power," if acquaintanceship with the facts is a necessary preliminary to any sound social policy, such would seem to be the case in this field of illegitimacy.

CONCLUSION.

We must dispel the ideas of the general public that most of the children coming to social agencies for care are full orphans, that in general the agencies are dealing with children who have no relatives, and that practically all our dependent children are separate and distinct from those classed as delinquent. It is unquestionably true that relatives are a weak support in the cases of many children, but it is also undeniably true that many good relatives carry a load of child care that is greatly underrated and misunderstood. The best children's workers fully understand that the selection and use of relatives for the care of children whose own families are breaking calls for very careful social work. It is when such work is not done that we strike disaster.

The concluding thoughts are these: That the ultimate good of underprivileged children will best be secured if every effort is put forth to safeguard their own home interests; that more lasting social good will result from conserving family life and relationships than from creating an ever-increasing number of separate caring agencies, to take children out of the circles which they know best and prefer and to which they generally return after their period of foster care is over.

Article I. Name and Purpose. The name of this bank shall be the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, Missouri. Its purpose shall be to conduct the business of the Federal Reserve System in accordance with the laws of the United States.

ARTICLE II. CAPITAL

Section 1. The authorized capital of this bank shall be \$10,000,000.00, divided into 100,000 shares of \$100.00 each. The shares shall be owned by the member banks of the Federal Reserve System in proportion to their respective capital and surplus. The shares shall be non-transferable and shall not be subject to attachment, execution, or any other legal process.

Section 2. The member banks of the Federal Reserve System shall be entitled to elect directors to manage the business of this bank. The number of directors shall be determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. The directors shall hold office for a term of three years and shall be eligible for re-election.

THE ESSENTIALS OF PLACEMENT IN FREE FAMILY HOMES.

EDMOND J. BUTLER,

Executive Secretary, Catholic Home Bureau for Dependent Children, New York.

INTRODUCTION.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century the prevailing method in this country of dealing with orphans and the children of shiftless, poverty-stricken, deserting, sick, or unworthy parents, whose relatives were either unwilling or unable to care for them, was to turn them over to the custodial care of poorhouses, poor farms, or similar places of incarceration. As public institutions these so-called homes for the poor were administered by officials appointed for political reasons. For the most part they were lacking in the qualifications necessary for adequate service to their poor charges, and their principal claim for a continuance in office was based upon a record of economical management.

The evil conditions resulting from this method of child caring grew to such proportions as to induce high-minded citizens to establish private orphanages and homes for children as a means of providing for them in a more humane way. The movement was slow in its development. It required 30 or more years to create the general interest necessary to produce a response commensurate with the needs of the work. From that time on the private institutions grew rapidly. Opposition to the old system grew apace and developed a public opinion which during the latter part of the century forced the passage in many States of laws prohibiting the commitment of children to poorhouses or similar institutions. Thereafter public institutions entered the field to share the task of child caring with those maintained by private agencies.

During the century of administration of private institutions and the early period of State institutions little was done to develop methods approaching the standards of the well-equipped and well-managed children's orphanages and homes of the present time. Lacking these standards the average administration was content to provide housing, food, and clothing of the plainest type and a small amount of education. The directors, managers, and friends of these institutions were actuated by the highest of motives. They gave themselves and their means to the welfare of the children whose

care they assumed. It is not surprising that some of them failed to measure up to the duty and quality of service required.

The publicity given unfortunate results in isolated cases of children poorly cared for in private institutions, the general apathy and ignorance of the public as to the proper methods of institutional care, and the lack of adequate inspection, supervision, and helpful publicity, all combined to make child-caring institutions the object of persistent attack during the last 20 years. The most extreme critics have gone so far as to advocate the abolishment of all child-caring institutions, on the theory that "the worst family home is better than the best institution."

An extract from a recent article on the subject of institutions by Dr. Charles H. Johnson, secretary of the New York State Board of Charities, may be cited as a refreshing contrast to the attacks of these unreasonable, uncharitable critics:

The thousands of earnest people in this State who are giving their lives to institutional service, taking the place of fathers and mothers who have neglected or deserted their children, acting as caretakers for the aged and infirm, many of whom have been abandoned by their own families, watching over the sick and the disabled at the cost of their own leisure and comfort, have little support from the public whenever anyone wishes to attack their respective institutions.

The truth is that the institutions to-day are, as a rule, conducted on a high plane of human interest and that the standards of individual care are being constantly raised.

As a result of the long-continued campaign of criticism many well-intentioned persons, actuated by a sincere desire to be helpful to the dependent child, are obsessed with the idea that the only way to secure the future welfare of such a child is to place him in a free family home or in a boarding home, irrespective of the needs and rights of the child or of his status with respect to parents or other relatives.

That placing out, boarding out, and legal adoption are excellent means to a desirable end requires no argument. In specific cases and under certain conditions this proposition is so generally admitted by all persons engaged in child-caring work that it would seem entirely unnecessary to engage in any controversy with regard to the matter. During a period of more than 40 years in which the writer has been in personal contact with directors of institutions he has never met one who did not hold that a normal family home is the best place for a dependent child. In view of the general attitude with respect to these methods of child caring, it is surprising that any of their advocates should find it necessary to resort to abuse of well-regulated institutions.

Persons who desire to engage in placing out, boarding out, and legal adoption should do so with an open mind, realizing the neces-

sity of dealing with each case on its individual needs and merits rather than as a means of opposition to the child-caring activities of others whose methods and motives in their own field are deserving of the greatest respect and gratitude.

The placing of dependent children in free family homes did not begin as a modern activity. Through all the centuries it has been practiced as part of the methods of all organized charities and among nations and peoples where no such organizations existed. Among many races and groups of people it was carried on, as an act of love of neighbor, to such an extent as to make other means for the care of the orphan unnecessary.

During the last 25 years, however, placing out has been made the subject of special study and development, with the result that it is now recognized as one of the most important factors in any well-devised plan for the welfare of dependent children. This study and development and the experience of those engaged in the work as a specialized activity have made it quite obvious that placing-out service, unless carried on in accordance with approved standards, not only will fail to secure good results but will be responsible for destroying the future welfare of many if not most of those for whom help is intended. This may seem to be an extreme assertion, but its proof may be found in the thousands of human wrecks seeking the aid of charities as the result of bad placing-out work.

The following is an extract from the resolutions adopted by the White House Conference:¹

The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency, is essential.

This conclusion, which is in harmony with the experience of those who for many years past have been engaged in placing-out work, clearly indicates that only those who are qualified to do the work intelligently and in compliance with the specific requirements for effective service should engage in it. It is not work for individuals who are unable to give the personal investigation and long-continued supervision necessary. Unless they feel assured that they can meet these requirements they should not enter the work.

Bureaus of charity or similar organizations undertaking to establish placing-out activities as special or subsidiary work should realize the necessity for a complete understanding of the work before start-

¹ Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, held at Washington, D. C., January 25, 26, 1909. Sixtieth Congress, second session, Senate Document No. 721, p. 10. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

ing to function in this field. Without such understanding disastrous results are sure to follow.

In the following pages will be found an outline of the knowledge, service, and equipment necessary for successful placing of dependent children in free family homes, arranged in divisions under the following titles: The child, The foster parents, Selection of home and foster parents, Visitation and supervision, Legal adoption, Discharge from supervision, After care, and Administration and records.

THE CHILD.

The following extract from the resolutions adopted by the Conference on Child Welfare held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in May, 1919, may be offered as a proper guide for persons of any creed or without creed who undertake to provide for the future welfare of children:

The fundamental rights of childhood are normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded.

As a general proposition, it may be said that any normal healthy child is a placeable child,² but there are special conditions which may render the placing out of such a child undesirable.

The age of placeable children may be briefly stated as follows: Boys up to and including the age of 14; girls up to and including the age of 10. The placing of girls over 10 years of age does not give promise of good results particularly where there are other children in the family or where adults suffering from the infirmities of old age or physical or mental afflictions are not adequately cared for by members of the family or adult attendants. Under these circumstances flagrant exploitation of child labor and neglect of schooling are apt to occur, especially with girls between the ages of 10 and 15. The experience of placing-out agencies will show that the most successful results occur in the cases of children placed when below the age of 5 years.

It is contrary to the designs of God and nature to separate parent and child because of temporary disability. When poverty, illness, or even improper guardianship makes it necessary to care for a child outside his own home, nothing should be done to cause a definite and continuous separation if there is hope of rehabilitating the parent and restoring the normal relation. As the natural order provides for parental care, based upon love and affection, for the

² NOTE.—The discussion in this paper relates to placement in free homes for adoption and does not refer to boarding-home care.

support and training of the child, it also demands a reciprocal service for the aged based upon filial love and duty. When, therefore, there is possibility of reuniting parent and child, such a child is not placeable in a free foster home. He should receive temporary care in a boarding home or institution.

It is necessary, before undertaking to place out a child, to secure definite information as to his family history, religious affiliation, and physical and mental condition. Lack of such information may later create serious problems detrimental to the interests of the child and his foster parents.

Careful investigation should be made as to the cause of death or of the present mental or physical condition of parents in order to ascertain what, if any, unfavorable inherited tendencies may develop in the child. If there is any probability of such tendencies, the child is not placeable. Such a child should be cared for in an institution or a carefully selected boarding home until experts decide that there is no possibility of such traits developing. The child should then receive, if possible, the advantages of a normal free home.

No child should be placed out who is suffering from any physical or mental defect. All such children should receive the care and attention necessary to bring them up to normal standards before placement.

No child should be placed without sufficient guaranty that he will be kept at school until he reaches the age of 16.

THE FOSTER PARENTS.

In view of the fact that the vast majority of the families of our country consist of persons having a limited amount of wealth, an ordinary education, and little or no social distinction, it would be unwise, if not futile, to set up standards of too exacting a character for foster parents. We should realize that most, if not all, of the children we aim to help do not come from homes where at any time unusual conditions of wealth prevailed. If we can secure homes and foster parents among the wealthy it is well to do so, but it does not necessarily follow that children so placed have better prospects than those placed with families who have been accustomed to making personal sacrifices to maintain their position in life. In fact, the latter type may contribute more to the child's welfare by giving him greater personal attention than could be expected from those who delegate such care to a servant.

The aim should be to secure as foster parents persons who desire a child for the child's sake. They should have an assured income, sufficient to insure proper care of the child. They should not be advanced in years, otherwise the child may lack the continuous care

necessary to enable him to reach manhood under their supervision. They should show a wholesome attitude of appreciation of the needs of the young in matters of companionship, recreation, and reasonable freedom from restraint, to guard against making the home a virtual prison for the child. They ought to be persons of good physical and mental health, industrious and thrifty, with at least average education and intelligence. And they should enjoy the respect and indorsement of their pastor and neighbors as law-abiding and respected citizens.

They should be of the same religion as the child to be placed with them and should be vouched for by their pastor as persons who are regular in the performance of their religious duties and as persons who will provide proper religious training for the child assigned to them.

SELECTION OF HOME AND FOSTER PARENTS.

The methods to be adopted for finding homes will vary according to the experience of those engaged in the work. "Sob stories" may develop appeals for children, but most of these will be from persons who demand impossibilities. Well-planned advertising through good mediums is expensive. Considering the results, there is a serious question as to whether the money thus expended might not be used to better advantage in other directions. Some publicity, however, is necessary. Interesting and appealing press items and stories will play an important part in preparing the way for other methods.

A careful, conscientious agent can produce more satisfactory results than can be secured by any other method. In making his appeal to prospective parents he has the opportunity to prevent much waste of time and money which is needed for investigation, by selecting approved sections and neighborhoods and desirable families, and by choosing certain localities so as to minimize the cost of supervision after placements are made. He will also learn of the local opportunities which may offer helpful assistance to the family in matters of education, religious training, recreation, companions for the child, etc. This method of securing homes will be found the most satisfactory.

Application for children should be made upon a blank form prepared to secure sufficient information to enable the agency at once to decide whether it is advisable to proceed further and to guide the agent in making an investigation concerning the applicants and their home. The blank should also contain an outline of the specific terms upon which the placement is to be made and an agreement to comply with these requirements, which should be signed by both husband and wife.

Following the receipt of an acceptable application for a child the most thorough investigation should be made concerning the applicants, the members of their family, the home and its equipment, and its environment. This investigation to be complete should be made by a duly qualified agent, and the report of the agent should include definite information on the following lines:

The foster parents.—Definite information should be secured as to age, nationality, personality, obvious physical and mental condition, education, intelligence, religious and general character, probable attitude toward children, atmosphere of the home; how long parents have been married, where and by whom the ceremony was performed; previous experience, if any, in the care of children; the occupation and earning power of the foster father and of any other members of his family in the home contributing to the support of the home and family; whether the home or other property is owned, and if so, whether title is clear and unencumbered; and whether the family has a savings account or other assets indicating thrift and ability to meet and deal with ordinary reverses. If the family has heretofore had a placed child, where did the child come from, what was his age, how was he treated, is he still in the home? If not, how long did he remain, why did he leave the home, where did he go, and what is known concerning him? In all cases both husband and wife should be interviewed to guard against a possible unwilling submission of either to the coercion or objection of the other in the taking of a child into the home.

Other members of family.—If there are children of the foster parents in the home, a record should be taken of their age, sex, character, health, and (if of working age) occupation and income. If any such children are not in the home the reasons for their absence should be stated. If any persons other than the husband, wife, and children are in the home, details should be given concerning them and their relationship to the family. Definite information should be procured concerning all hired help in the home, their age, character, habits, etc., in order to safeguard the placed child from any unfortunate results due to intimate association with such persons of an undesirable age or type.

Neighbors.—Inquiry should be made as to the character of the immediate neighbors of the family and the probable companions of the child.

Type of child desired and treatment contemplated.—Definite information should be obtained as to the type of child desired, sex, age, temperament, other requirements and motive for procuring the child. Inquiry should be made in regard to provision for child's attendance at church and school, sleeping accommodations, oppor-

tunities for social life and recreation, and foster parents' probable methods of discipline. In the case of boys desired for farm homes, it is important that in addition to the foregoing details the reports should clearly show size and character of farm; acreage under cultivation; whether it is what is known as a milk farm; if so, the number of cows and other cattle and the methods of disposing of the milk; the number and character of hired help; work or chores, if any, expected of child; willingness to provide for regular attendance at school until the age of 16; and the prospect of some compensation within a reasonable time after the end of the school period.

References.—In addition to interviewing the persons named by the applicants as references, the agent should call upon some persons of good standing in the home section who are not related to the applicants for an impersonal and discriminating opinion of them. As children should be placed with families of their own faith, it is necessary that the agent should interview the pastor of the applicants to secure definite information as to the performance of their religious duties and the probability of the child's receiving the attention needed for his spiritual welfare.

The home.—The exact location of the home should be stated and in country sections its local name and post-office address; its distance from church and school should be ascertained. The type of dwelling—entire house or apartment—number of rooms, sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilation, and furnishings should be noted, and also, in a farming section, the number, kind, and condition of outbuildings. In all cases the upkeep of the buildings, the care of the rooms in the home, and the adequacy of the sleeping-room accommodations of the family should be described.

Environment.—It should be stated whether the home is located in a residential, business, or slum district, or in a farming or sparsely settled country, etc. The general type of the surrounding buildings, by whom they are occupied, their state of upkeep, the community conditions maintained by the public officials, and facilities for recreation and outdoor life should be noted.

Travel to and from home.—The lines of transportation to the location of the home, and, if in a country district, the distance of the home from the railroad station and the facilities available for traveling to the home, telephone number, and any other information which may prove a convenience and timesaver in the event of placement and subsequent visits of supervision, should be mentioned.

If the home is located in a section where families are separated by great distances and there is no opportunity for the child's association with desirable companions of his own age that fact should be stated with details concerning the situation.

If the agent should discover any facts not called for by this outline which tend more fully to place the aspect of the case before the agency prior to decision or action he should include them in his report.

It may be thought by some persons that an agent would have difficulty in getting responsive replies to the numerous inquiries set forth and that the applicants might resent such an extensive investigation as too inquisitorial; but if the agent is trained in his work and knows what facts and information he should get he will be able, by engaging the foster parents and others in a general and friendly conversation, to secure the needed replies to most of the questions without direct or specific questioning.

VISITATION AND SUPERVISION.

Placing out and supervision are not and can not be looked upon as separate pieces of work. From the time the agency begins the search for a free foster home, procures one, and places the child in it, transferring the child as necessity requires, up to the time when the agency is able reasonably to declare that the child no longer needs supervision, all the work done in connection with the care of that child is a continuing act, which is not complete nor well done if supervision is discontinued prior to the legal adoption of the child or his proper discharge from further oversight by the agency.

Within a month after a child has been placed an agent of the placing-out agency should visit him with a view to learning whether the home fits the child and whether the child fits the home and is a welcome member of it. Thereafter the child should be visited regularly by the visiting and supervising agent not less than twice each year and as much oftener as the necessities of the case demand. No person or agency should engage in placing-out work unless prepared to follow this method and provide adequate supervision for the period necessary to insure good results. To place out without such supervision is a most serious and culpable neglect of the child's welfare.

Before agents start on a tour of visitation they should consult the case records of the children to be visited and should take with them complete memoranda concerning the personnel of the family, the important matters disclosed by preceding visits which call for special attention, suggestions previously made as to needful changes or improvements and promises of compliance therewith, and correspondence conducted in the interim with regard to the cases.

While the supervising visit does not call for as wide a scope of information as is required for the original investigation of the home and family, it is of equal importance, since assurance that the con-

ditions upon which the approval of the placement was based are maintained is absolutely necessary.

When a child is visited the agent should inquire carefully into all the matters described in the following divisions of the subject and make a complete report of his findings, together with such recommendations as he may consider desirable.

The home.

If the agent discovers that the foster family is living at an address other than the one stated in the case record he should record the old and new addresses and make a comprehensive report of the new home, its location, etc., on the lines followed for first investigations.

He should note any addition to the family. If hired persons or others are introduced into the home, some information should be secured concerning them and the effect that their presence in the home may have upon the child.

All changes indicating deterioration in the approved conditions of the home or its neighborhood should be noted by the agent, who should keep in mind the requirements as to sanitary conditions, adequate light and ventilation of living and sleeping rooms, cleanliness and comfort, and the maintenance of outbuildings, if any, in sanitary condition.

The foster parents.

The agent should learn whether the foster parents' interest in and affection for the child are well established and likely to continue. If there is any dissatisfaction with the child the agent should find out its cause, and if there is any possibility of adjustment the agent should give the matter immediate attention and not await action by the agency. (The agent should not limit his service to gathering information; he should be able and willing to contribute helpful and constructive advice to both foster parents and child.) If the situation indicates that adjustment is impossible the welfare of the child demands immediate removal and a new home.

Other items that should be noted are methods of discipline; attention and care in illness; interest and helpful assistance in religious and scholastic training; in the case of older children willingness to give some financial recompense for services and to train and encourage in habits of thrift; and any changes in the religious, social, or financial status of the foster parents.

If the foster mother, from either choice or necessity, engages in any regular or continuous occupation outside the home, thus depriving the child of his most pressing need, constant motherly care and attention, the child should be removed.

The child.

The agent should carefully ascertain and record all the facts bearing upon the health, contentment, happiness, and proper training and general welfare of the child, particularly with respect to the following:

Health.—If the physical or mental condition of the child is found to be impaired, it is the duty of the agent to discover the nature of the trouble, whether the child is receiving medical care, and, if so, the opinion of the physician as to the possible outcome of his treatment. If the family is unable or not disposed to furnish the medical care and attention necessary, the child should be removed at once.

Bodily comfort.—If the child lacks a proper sleeping room and equipment and he has not a sufficient supply of underwear and outside clothing and shoes, or if his bodily comfort is neglected in any manner, arrangement must be made by the agent to correct such conditions; and if this is found impossible the child should be removed.

Contentment and happiness of child.—If the child is in a good home with affectionate foster parents there is no reason why he should be unhappy or discontented. If, therefore, the agent learns or feels from contact with the child that he is unhappy or discontented it is absolutely necessary to take immediate action to remove the cause of his being so; and if this can not be done the child should be transferred to another home.

Conduct, reports, complaints.—If reports or complaints are received concerning the conduct of the child they should be thoroughly investigated. It is quite conceivable that the act complained of may in some instances be a reaction against unreasonable and extreme methods of discipline, inability to guide and direct, laxity or entire neglect of proper discipline on the part of the foster parents, or deprivation of recreation and of a reasonable amount of outdoor life and pleasure. Whatever the cause may be it should be discovered and adjusted by the agent.

Scholastic training.—The agent should exercise great care when visiting a school and interviewing the teacher with regard to the child not to provoke neighborhood or school gossip or disturb the relations between the foster parents and child, particularly where the latter believes that his foster parents are his real parents. In such cases, the agent should refrain from identifying himself as a representative of the agency to any person outside the immediate family of the child, and from doing or saying anything in the presence of the child which might cause the latter to learn his true relation to the family.

Complete details should be secured, for the use of the office force, as to the location and character of the school, with information as to the school period, name of teacher, attendance officer, grade progress, attendance, and home assistance. Special care should be taken to note any failure to send children to school for the opening sessions, as the habit of entering school a month or six weeks after the beginning of the term can not fail to prove detrimental to the progress of the pupil. It is not sufficient to say in the report that the child's attendance at school is regular. The report must state whether the child attends every day during the school session. If the child does not do so, an explanation must be made as to the absence and the cause for it. If the cause is one that is inexcusable, provision should be made to change conditions at once. When making a report concerning the fact that the agency's ward has ceased going to school the agent should not use an indefinite term such as "finished," as this is meaningless, but should state definitely why the ward no longer goes to school and give his class standing or grade when he left. Foster parents and wards should be induced to extend the educational period as far as possible, as a means to their mutual advantage.

It would be difficult to establish any standard by which every child may be judged as to his proper grade in school. It is also difficult at times to discover the cause of retardation, many children develop slowly, others slowly up to a certain age and then quickly. The agent can not be expected to be a wizard in dealing with this subject, but he should resort to every means available to discover whether the child's retardation is due to any physical or mental condition which may be cured. In coming to a conclusion in regard to what appears to be retardation, he should bear in mind that many if not most of the children placed out have been neglected or deprived of the training they would have received in normal homes and that in many such cases what may appear to be retardation, as it is commonly understood, is nothing more than the result of neglect and lack of training before they came under the care of the agency.

As the agent should have some guide for his inquiries and investigations with regard to ages and grades the following table, prepared on lines recognized by the Board of Education of the city of New York as representing average conditions in the schools of that city, is submitted for guidance:

School Grade Table.

6-7 years.....	1A, 1B, 2A, 2B.
7-8 years.....	1A, 1B, 2A, 2B.
8-9 years.....	2A, 2B, 3A, 3B.
9-10 years.....	3A, 3B, 4A, 4B.
10-11 years.....	4A, 4B, 5A, 5B.

11-12 years	-----	5A, 5B, 6A, 6B.
12-13 years	-----	6A, 6B, 7A, 7B.
13-14 years	-----	7A, 7B, 8A, 8B.
14-15 years	-----	8A, 8B, first-year high school.

Instructions issued in 1912 by Dr. William H. Maxwell, city superintendent of public schools of the city of New York, showed the upper limits of the normal age in regular grades as follows:

	Ages.		Ages.
First year	8	Fourth year	11
Second year	9	Fifth year	12
Third year	10	Sixth year	13

As the standards are not alike in all States or cities, agents using this table may have to adapt it to local terms, but in reporting on and dealing with conditions found in such cases they should refer to them in such manner as will identify them with the corresponding period or grade of the foregoing table.

Religious training.—If it is important that the child's bodily comfort, schooling, and general material welfare be carefully conserved, how much more important to conserve his spiritual welfare. In order that the child may receive proper spiritual training the agent should carefully inquire into the attention given to such training by the foster parents and to the foster parents' observance of their religious duty; example is more effective than preaching. Conditions of neglect or indifference as to religious training should not be allowed to continue. In adjusting difficulties arising under such conditions the agent should approach the task prudently and tactfully and if necessary secure the cooperation of the pastor of the family in doing so. If all efforts fail to secure the necessary result the child should be transferred to another home.

Labor and compensation.—The future welfare and interests of children who are placed out demand that serious consideration be given to the question of work by the children.

In arriving at a conclusion as to what action should be taken with regard to procuring reasonable compensation for the labor of the child the agent should be guided by the following suggestions:

If the foster parents give to the child the same consideration that they would give to a child of their own, keeping him at school indefinitely, providing him with all the advantages of a high-school or college education, and expecting of him only such household duties as would fall to the lot of any young person growing up in a family, the question of wages should not be raised.

If, however, the child is removed from school as soon as the law allows, and all his time thereafter is taken up by labor in behalf of or for the material benefit of the foster parents, some provision should be made to secure for him a compensation for his services.

The amount of the initial or progressive compensation will have to be regulated by the circumstances in each case; the age of the child, the length of time he has been in the home, the care and affection bestowed upon him, the amount and character of the services or labor, are all important factors in arriving at a decision. The time when such compensation should begin is another matter which will have to be regulated by the circumstances in each case. It seems fair to assume, however, that the child should begin to receive wages not more than one year after he leaves school and begins to devote his entire time to his foster parents, doing work which otherwise they would have to pay for.

The matter of vocational guidance should also receive attention, especially in cases in which the child, though remaining in the home, secures outside employment.

Savings.—If the child is encouraged to be industrious and secures compensation for his labor, the agency has not completed its work unless it develops in him a desire to save a reasonable proportion of his earnings. The surest and most dependable method of developing the saving habit is the opening of a personal account in a savings bank. Substitutes for this method should not be accepted. Foster parents may say that they will care for the child's money and that it may be drawn as desired. It is bad policy to make the foster parents the banker and debtor of the child. The growth of such an indebtedness is sure to breed trouble. The child lacking possession of his money or the bank book may never really acquire the sense of ownership. The agent should make the foster parents realize, in a manner which will not give offense, the necessity for the adoption of the savings-bank method. After the bank account has been started the agent when visiting the home should question the child concerning the matter, giving such advice and encouragement as may be necessary to keep his interest and desires centered in a successful growth and continuance of his funds in the bank.

The agent should not accept promises of future compensation or remembrance in wills in lieu of adequate or satisfactory wage for service; nor should he accept the now generally discredited promise of generous compensation when the child attains his majority. Without question of the honesty or motives of those who make such offers, the fact remains that promises to pay and to provide compensation by will are dependent for fulfillment upon the integrity and the ability of those who make them and are often ignored for slight cause; in some cases a reason for breaking them is provoked. The further fact that there is no certainty as to the continuation of the child in the home or that the home will remain intact or desirable for the period covered by the promises makes it quite obvious that

these methods of meeting the financial needs and rights of the child should not be accepted.

General observations.

If the agent discovers when visiting a home that the child has run away, it is his duty to use every means possible to discover why the child left and where he went. It is much easier for him to secure such information by local inquiries and interviews with the companions of the child, and he is more likely to succeed by this plan of investigation than by depending on correspondence. He should exhaust every local opportunity of locating the truant and discovering the cause of his departure before leaving the neighborhood of the home the child has abandoned.

If a child has been in an ideal home with excellent foster parents for a period of five or more years and conditions indicate a continuance of such favorable conditions, the number of visits may reasonably be reduced to one in each year, to be supplemented by a system of correspondence which may satisfy the necessities of the case.

The agent should never leave unadjusted conditions in the home on the assumption that the agency can settle them. Since he is on the ground and has the opportunity personally to get all of the facts available and necessary, it is his duty to exhaust every possible means to settle such matters.

LEGAL ADOPTION.

It has recently become quite a fad among a large number of enthusiastic and well-meaning persons who lack accurate knowledge concerning the subject of legal adoption, to look upon that method as the best one for adjusting any and every problem arising in connection with dependent children. But the possibility—it might reasonably be said the certainty—exists of disastrous results, not only to the foster parents but more particularly to the child, if the caution necessary in the procedure is ignored.

It is nothing short of a crime to prey upon the distress and despair of a parent suffering from extreme poverty or serious illness for the purpose of securing the surrender of a child for legal adoption. The proper procedure in such circumstances is to exert all possible means to help the parents to secure a return to normal conditions where the relations of parent and child may be maintained in the manner intended by God and nature.

Another activity in this line is the increasing policy of separation from his mother, by legal surrender, of the child born out of wedlock, the surrender in many cases being planned before the birth of the child, who is thus deliberately and criminally robbed of his

birthright—a mother's nurture, care, and love. There should be a law in every State in the Union prohibiting the legal separation of a child from his mother for at least six months after his birth.

Persons undertaking to arrange for the legal adoption of a child should realize the necessity for giving due consideration to all aspects of the rights of parent and child before taking any steps in the matter. They should know that mere surrender of the child, even if such surrender is properly executed (which is not always the case), does not carry with it the right to consent to legal adoption; that the adoption may be legally and successfully attacked if the requirements of the law are not observed; that the so-called abandonment of the child as a basis for the right to proceed with legal adoption is subject to review; that the parent is entitled to his day in court and, if he can show that he did not intend or deliberately plan to abandon his child and that his doing so was the result of poverty or illness and consequent inability to meet his obligation at the time, it is more than likely that his right to his child will prevail.

The foregoing reasons, and many others which might be cited, are sufficient to show that only those well trained in the procedure of adoption and possessing a broad, sympathetic view of the natural needs and rights of parent and child should engage in the work.

In any event there is absolute necessity for avoiding precipitate action. If it be deemed necessary to safeguard the interests of the placed-out child by careful investigation of the character of the foster parents and their home, and long-continued supervision of the interests of the child after placement, is it not equally necessary to make the same type of investigation and conduct the same kind of supervision for a probationary period of at least one year before permitting legal adoption?

DISCHARGE FROM SUPERVISION.

As a general proposition, supervision should not cease until the child has attained the age of 20 years.

This standard does not apply to cases disposed of by adoption; the agency's jurisdiction automatically ends upon completion of the legal formalities of adoption. Nor does it apply to such exceptional cases as may arise from time to time in which it becomes desirable, because of unusual conditions, to cease visitation in the interest of the future welfare of a child. Such conditions might exist when the child has been living for a number of years in an ideal home, under the most favorable conditions, believing that his foster parents are his real parents, and a strong bond of affection exists. The necessary publicity of visitation by the agent might in such a case result in breaking up existing relations. These

cases, however, will always be small in number as compared with the whole, and can not be used in fixing the period for necessary supervision.

It has been found by experience in dealing with children who are not in their natural homes—those of their parents—that the most critical period in the lives of such children lies between the ages of 16 and 20 in the case of boys and between the ages of 14 and 20 in the case of girls. It is during this period that the child begins definitely to manifest that spirit of youthful independence and disregard for authority which results so disastrously in some foster homes which lack the tempering affection of father and mother found in the normal home. In such cases the aid and advice of the agent are needed to adjust the difficulties and restore harmony. It is during the same period that the boy and girl develop an earning capacity which should be properly directed, and for which recognition should be secured by procuring for them a wage commensurate with their services and with home conditions. Such a wage will give the child an opportunity to put something aside for a possible break in home conditions or for some other adversity. Where such recognition is denied, children should be removed and placed in other homes where they will receive adequate recognition and compensation.

Foster homes are subject to the same fatalities as befall those of normal type. Death, sickness, adversity, or other causes may lead to the breaking up of the home, and as a result the child placed in the home may be forced out into the battle for existence at an age when a boy or girl is unable to make the struggle unaided. Again, intemperance or other adverse influences may enter the home and cause it to become so disorganized and unsafe as a shelter for the young that a child previously placed in it should be removed. It surely can not be claimed that boys or girls of immature age are competent to meet these adverse conditions and make proper provision for themselves unaided. It should be and is the duty of child-placing agencies to anticipate such results by a continuous supervision up to a time in the life of the child when they may feel certain that the work they undertook in placing the child in the home of strangers is completed.

AFTERCARE.

Complete service in placing-out work requires that at the closing of a case and the discontinuance of supervision the agency should send to the foster parents an acknowledgment of its appreciation and thanks for their cooperation and assistance in the support and training of its ward, and to the ward a friendly announcement of the

closing of the case and the statement that this procedure should not be looked upon as the act of bidding him farewell. He should be advised to remember with gratitude the care and affection bestowed upon him by his foster parents and should be encouraged to continue to look upon the administrators of the agency as friends to whom he may appeal at all times when the service of a friend is needed. The agency should be willing to assist its former wards whenever adversity or trouble of any kind prompts them to appeal for advice or aid.

ADMINISTRATION AND RECORDS.

Since the work in which the placing-out agency is engaged is of such vital importance to the complete welfare of its wards, it is necessary that it should be administered by persons carefully trained in the service and under methods and systems of records which will insure an adequate source of information and guidance.

The executive and agents of the society are the persons upon whom the success of its work depends. While college education adds to their equipment, for persons possessing good judgment and intelligence, special training in social service, and a fairly good knowledge of human nature, and broad-minded enough to enable them successfully to deal with the many types of people they will meet, a good general education may suffice.

As the details of the history of the child and his parents and the results of the investigation of the foster parents and their homes and of the visits by the agents for the supervision of the child in the home are constantly necessary to meet legitimate inquiries concerning the child and his care or to solve problems or shape methods during the period of supervision, a complete system of records is necessary.

When children are legally adopted certified copies of the court orders of adoption should be procured and filed with the records of such children.

The records should be kept in such form as to make it possible to secure promptly complete information concerning all the children placed by the agency, their foster parents, existing conditions in the homes under supervision, and details as to discharges from supervision and after care.

The work of the agency is confidential in character, and great care should be exercised in giving information concerning its wards or foster parents.

THE CHILD IN THE BOARDING HOME.

MARY E. BORETZ,

Head worker, Home Bureau, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, New York.

Success in dealing with dependent children depends upon the attitude of many beside the child himself and his caretakers. What good to try to impress upon the child that dependency is not in itself a stigma, if the attitude of the community implants in him a sense of social inferiority?

No child should be considered dependent except in the sense that all children are dependent. Is not the rich man's child also dependent? If the idea that all children are on an equal footing so far as dependency is concerned could be made general it would go a long way toward eradicating that feeling of inferiority which is the curse of the charity-bred child. Taking children out of institutions and caring for them in family homes will only partially solve the problem.

Aside from what can be done in changing the community point of view, the agency caring for children must get away from the old idea of alms and personal philanthropy. Never mind whether the child is grateful. The child is entitled to all that can be done for him. It is his birthright, and the child-caring agency merely acts in *loco parentis*. But teach the child that he is expected to make the most of his abilities and expect him to take as large a share of social responsibility as he can when he grows older.

THE AGENCY'S SERVICES TO PARENTS.

With the hope of helping children in such a way that no feeling of inferiority may develop in them, the Home Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society has offered its service at cost to self-respecting wage-earning parents. Labor groups and benevolent orders have been rather impatient with private philanthropy and have frequently started their own social service. They are the in-between group who suffer through their very self-respect; they are not rich enough to hire specialists nor yet poor enough to accept their services gratis. The labor groups have, therefore, taxed themselves in order to provide at cost medical service, convalescent service, and recreation, and more than one labor group and benevolent order are planning national orphan asylums. The labor group has

a rich field available among its own membership for the placement of children of workingmen in the homes of brother workingmen. The home of a mechanic is a very satisfactory place for children. His work is likely to be continuous, his wage is steady, his standard of living is regular. He rarely looks for relief of any sort, and he makes the backbone of society. His home is a simple, healthful, normal environment, and his children can go as far as their own abilities and the opportunities available in the community will take them.

Children's agencies should help educate self-respecting workers to take care of the dependents of their own group; to show them that high-grade supervision of children in foster homes is worth paying for; and until they are ready to do it for themselves, using modern methods, to offer such service to them at cost. Show the working father that placement of his children in a supervised home is a form of protection for the children as well as for himself. The fact that this service is supplied at cost for the child whose parent can support him will react favorably both upon the parent and upon the so-called dependent child, for no distinction should be made between the types of homes offered to the children who are charges of the agency and to those paid for by their parents. Neither should there be any difference in the kind of clothing supplied them, even though the parents' rate include the cost of clothing.

FOSTERING THE CHILD'S SELF-RESPECT.

How many child-caring agencies realize how much a child's appearance means to him in the fostering of his self-respect and individuality? The old method was to bring the child, ragged and dirty, to the foster home, in the hope of arousing the pity of the foster mother for the "poor orphan" and so persuading her to keep him. That is psychologically wrong. It breeds the idea that "anything is good enough for the poor orphan." If instead, the child is bathed and clothed from head to foot in new clothing which he, himself, approves and is proud of, before he is taken into his foster home, the agency has gone a long way toward engendering respect for the child on the part of the foster mother.

It is not an unnecessary and foolish thing to spend time and money on trifles for birthday presents. The little gift from the office of the agency means much to the foster child, and it is well repaid. It calls the attention of the foster parents to the important fact that another year has passed in the life of the child, and they can hardly help taking some cognizance of that fact themselves. It brings the same message to the child's own parents, who in their misery may have overlooked this seemingly unimportant event.

Workers with dependent groups frequently lack the ability to make the "dependent" retain something of the feeling of independence and ownership which every human being is entitled to have. The relationship between the agency and the child is artificial at best; but the child-placing agency can come nearer to offering the child a normal environment than can the institution, and can more easily avoid the danger of total pauperization of the individual. In the home children learn, as children should, the value and cost of things, the facts of life and death, joy and sorrow. Even private schools are introducing make-believe stores and letting little children wash dishes, cook, set the table, and so on. Is it not more healthful for the children to get this experience in a natural rather than an artificial way? In a foster home where the mother usually does all her own housework, Irene is sent to the store knowing that she must get from the butcher a chicken weighing just 3 pounds for Friday night's supper and how much Auntie can afford to spend on it. "She has seen tired eyes bent over the mending basket. She knows where the patches and buttons come from, and she has seen Auntie's old skirt suddenly changed into a beautiful new middy blouse for herself. She has seen Uncle make a cover for a chair that was worn out, from a remnant that cost only thirty-nine cents." Adele and Ethel learn all the nice little amenities that are expected in the family. They go visiting with grandma and are sure that her daughter has the "cunningest baby in the world." They know when to send New Year's greetings, how to go visiting alone, and how to save and spend money. Also, when grandma's back aches after a particularly trying wash day each tries to get there first and spare her from bending over to unlace her shoes. No matter how short a child's stay is in a foster home, for that period he or she must be a recognized member of the family.

THE CHILD'S PARENTS AND THE FOSTER HOME.

The supreme importance of the natural tie between parent and child is often overlooked in work for dependent children. The worker earnestly interested in helping the child may see as a neurotic or apparently worthless individual the parent whom the child reveres as the wisest and best person in the world. This reverence for parents is in a sense an egotistic instinct; if a child's parents are worthless, so, he may feel, is he. His own self-respect is tied up with the feeling that his parents are "all right"; and disregard of the child's attitude may do him an irreparable injury. A special effort should therefore be made to maintain close connection between the child, the foster parents, and the child's own parents.

Rose, an attractive child, was placed in the home of a childless woman. No one could have received better care than did Rose in this home, yet the arrangement did not work. The foster mother, with no children of her own, yearned for the love of a child. She knew that Rose had no mother, and took her for that reason. But Rose had given to her father the love due both parents. She appreciated her new home and tried to respond to the foster mother. Her father, in an effort to cooperate, visited her less frequently, but instead of matters growing better, they grew worse. A real antagonism developed, and yet Rose herself could not tell the cause. Why not capitalize that love of Rose for her father and make it a real power for good and progress? Place Rose with a woman who has children of her own, who lives very near the father and who is willing to have the father visit her home daily, if he so desires. This was done, and the child not only showed the same affection for her father but in her great joy had more than enough to share with the foster family.

An agency must make a special effort to counteract the natural tendency of the foster mother to belittle the parent who has failed. The worker may attempt to interest the foster mother in a child's neurotic mother by explaining that perhaps she and the visitor herself would have done no better had they experienced all the strain that this woman had to live through before parting with her child; or she may suggest that a father seems uninterested only because he is ashamed that he can not do the things he would like to do for his child. The agency should strive to make the father realize that what his little girl needs and what no one else can supply is the knowledge that he remembers and cares for her. The agency may tell him: "Your little girl is properly clothed and fed, she receives good medical care and all things needful that money can buy. But it is you that she wants, and a little gift from you costing only a few pennies will make her happy because you have remembered her." The agency will be repaid tenfold for keeping up the interest of the parent in the child and that of the child in the parent. A growing association between parent and visitor, constant interpretation of the parent to the foster mother and of the child to the parent, and above all respect for the natural relationship between parent and child—these are matters of the greatest importance in proper placement.

THE ATYPICAL CHILD.

Most placed-out children have been through tragic experiences; so when one talks of "the normal home for the normal child" it is necessary to stop and ask what constitutes the normal child and the normal home. Certainly almost everybody, and perhaps to a greater

degree than the average every one of the placed-out children, has kinks in his personality that need straightening out. The question, then, is what can the normal home do for the child who is atypical in his social experience and in his physical and mental development?

The normal boarding home can do and has done much for the physically retarded child. The foster mother understands orders in regard to physical care and regulation of diet and habits. In my experience the foster mothers have taken for granted that they themselves will care for the children in all illnesses except contagious diseases and very severe diseases, such as pneumonia. Is it fair to talk about "the commercial foster mother"?

Only a beginning has been made, however, in helping the mentally handicapped child. Yet it can be understood that the emotionally unstable or mentally retarded child would find life even more difficult in a large group than in a family, unless in a highly specialized environment. The psychiatrist who has made a study of about 50 such children formally under the care of the home bureau has been impressed with the "marked physical improvement of these children under foster-home care" but also with "the marked lack of improvement in regard to emotional control under the same care." He says that "it is asking too much of a retarded or unstable child to sit through five hours of mental work a day. After five hours of strain * * * he is bound to be a source of trial and annoyance to foster mother, neighbors, and playmates. If the mental activities of the emotionally unstable child were to be combined with rest periods, manual work, and play, the normal home might do the rest."

But the suggestions of the psychiatrist can not be carried out by an agency without the cooperation of the school system. The schools of New York are doing much to help children with special problems. For "cardiacs" all stair climbing is avoided, and there are rest periods, mid-morning lunch and dinner served at the school, and constant physical examination. For the child of limited vision, sight-conservation classes are provided. These are steps in the right direction. The physical problems are more tangible, but the needs of the emotionally unstable child are none the less serious.

For one group of maladjusted children, help has already been given. Educators are beginning to realize that a child who day after day endures the ignominy of sitting in a class with much younger children, is apt to have "a chip on his shoulder." To-day, in New York City, it is possible to place such a girl or boy in a vocational class that has its headquarters in a high school, where all association will be with girls and boys of the same age. Academic subjects are taught this group for only a short period each day, and their manual work is shared with the high-school children. This program has more than once changed a troublesome girl or boy into an attractive

one. But these facilities for the extremely retarded and the defective child can not help the neurotic or the superbright child, and these children also must have opportunities provided to suit their special needs.

Some time ago Reuben was brought to the agency by his father, a workingman, merely because he was a bad boy and the father could not manage him, although his older brother got along well. Reuben had heart trouble; but in his father's opinion that was only a minor matter, and he had been given treatment at clinics only about once a year. Mr. K was surprised when the agency went out of its way to find a home for Reuben where he would not have stairs to climb and where his diet would be supervised, and to enroll him in a school where he could try out various vocational subjects in addition to his school work. "Why," said he, "do you take so much interest in my child? You are nothing to him, and I, his father, am ignorant of all these things." The boy is now self-supporting in part. Two years ago Mr. K would have looked forward to the time when Reuben could come home and help support the family; but he has been educated to understand that the child, not himself, should have first consideration, and now asks that Reuben be left where he is, despite the fact that he will probably have to help pay the boy's expenses.

It took three foster mothers and one visitor to help George grow up. George came to the agency at the age of 12, having been discharged from a hospital for the tuberculous where he had spent seven years. Through growing up in this abnormal environment he had become a source of annoyance and disturbance, at first overpetted and then disciplined. At 12 he was bright, quick-tempered, cruel to younger boys, and yet almost invariably loved by the adults who knew him. He was handicapped by a glass eye and two shortened fingers, the results of playing with a shell; and he wore a brace because of a tuberculous hip. What wonder that people felt sorry for "poor Georgie" and were inclined to pet him. But his foster mother, though no less sorry for the boy, realized his tendency to self-pity and adopted a different attitude. All through the period that he spent in her home, both she and the visitor of the agency impressed upon him that he could make good like other boys, but he would have to make more effort and show that he had more ability; and if he failed it would not be because he was physically handicapped but because he had not the mental power nor the stamina to make the effort.

Stimulated by this treatment, George showed great improvement and he was then placed in a home where his further special education could be considered. When at the age of 15 he entered high school, so well had he overcome any tendency to self-pity that he

made the baseball team—brace and all. He is now taking a special agricultural course, which seemed the best thing for him and to which he was attracted. Before being entered for the full three-year course he was sent for a six weeks' vocational test and his teachers found him a very apt pupil. Each of the three homes in which he has lived has been a factor in his life, and his foster mothers take the place of a family of his own. He visits each foster home, but does not make comparisons among them. They are all his homes, and for each he has a "soft spot."

THE USE OF A TEMPORARY HOME.

Many replacements might be avoided if the responsible agencies made themselves thoroughly familiar with the children and their families and also placed the children temporarily in observation homes. By observation home is meant not a temporary shelter with a matron in charge but a boarding home with a woman who knows how to receive strange children, who during their stay with her can interpret them to the visitor, and who can explain to the children what is going to happen to them and prepare them for placement.

Temporary placement in an observation boarding home is much more satisfactory than immediate placement in a new home with a woman who very naturally expects from the child an expression of affection which he can not give while the wound of separation from his own home is still fresh. The observation boarding home is far preferable to the shelter or diagnostic cottage in that the child is living in the community, going to a public school, and mingling with other children of the neighborhood, much as he will do when finally placed. And a better opinion can be formed as to the sort of adjustment he is likely to make in any given environment.

From this observation home the child may "go on a visit," ostensibly to spend a week-end with friends of the agency's worker, and if he is returned to the temporary home he is spared the feeling that the new home did not want him. After such a visit, the foster mother is approached and the child is talked with separately. Even when it does not seem advisable to make the placement, the child has almost always enjoyed his visit. The foster mother, though she may decide that the child is not the one she wants, will enter into the spirit of entertaining a guest and will make the few days happy ones. If this method is used the child will not look on changes as terrible experiences, and the foster mother will be quite ready to try again.

THE VISITOR'S FUNCTION.

The importance of the personality of the agency's visitor can not be overemphasized. The visitor has the opportunity to make or mar a child's environment. Is she an "investigator" from whom

the foster mother feels she must hide things, or is she a friend? One visitor had left the staff of the home bureau, and when the new one came to Mrs. X she was greeted with—"We are so glad to see you. Miss R meant so much to us. We could tell her everything, and she brought us news from the outside world—told us of some of the mistakes and successes of the other foster mothers. We hope you will come often and be as good a friend." This is a long way from the old idea of the "snooping investigator."

Close cooperation between foster mother and her visitor is a matter of growth. Giving orders will not bring it to pass. Let the foster mother have a chance to make an idea a part of herself; only so can it be made certain that she will accept suggestions. Does not any one feel better about carrying out an idea when it seems to be all his own, even though it has really originated elsewhere? The tactful visitor drops a suggestion and at her next visit the foster mother tells of a new idea she is working out.

Perhaps the best word to sum up the visitor's function is "interpreter." It is her function to interpret the child to the foster parent, the parent, and the teacher, and to interpret the parent to the foster parent and the child. For this it is necessary, first, to have available detailed information as to the conditions leading to the separation of child and parent, and second, to be amply endowed with human understanding and imagination.

Frequently the visitor makes the mistake of trying to do everything for the child herself. Things should be done for the child through the foster mother as far as possible. If the child is to be brought to the office for examination or taken to the hospital the foster mother should do it, unless she can not possibly leave her home. Suggestions as to the child's care and training can be made sometimes to the foster parents and sometimes to the parents.

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD BOARDING HOMES.

The agency must not diminish its efforts to change the point of view of the community toward boarding out, if the plan of child care in foster homes is to be promoted. The notion is still prevalent that a foster mother who receives pay is either in dire need or so mercenary that she would starve the bodies of the little dependents. Can it be wondered, then, that many a woman who might be interested in becoming a foster mother keeps that fact to herself? One woman said, "I would like to take a child, but my husband says that people will think he can not support me."

One foster mother had lost two babies in the old country. She had always missed them but had never thought of taking a child into her home. She could not adopt one and would not board one

because it was not considered the "nice" thing to do. Yet she was really anxious to care for a child and had much to offer one. Because of this misunderstanding, years passed before a child had the benefit of her home. Recently she saw one of the boarded children in the home of a friend whom she respected very much. She has now taken a little boy. How she wishes she had done it years ago! Another foster mother exclaimed: "Why didn't the home bureau make me understand it 15 years ago?"

Much has been said about the difference between free homes and boarding homes. The popular idea that all boarding mothers are commercial and all mothers who offer free homes angelic, is a grave hindrance to child-placing agencies. The plan of placing children in boarding homes suffers because this wrong idea in the community makes it more difficult to attract the right sort of foster mother. On the other hand, the easy acceptance of a free home because it is a free home is more likely to be detrimental to the child. After all, motives are mixed. The foster mother who frankly says that she can use the money may realize the obligation she has assumed as clearly as the one who offers a free home, and may be just as much interested in the child's welfare and just as kindly. The woman who says she simply wants to give a child a home may also have a measure of self-interest. Whether with free homes or with boarding homes the questions to be decided are: What is the personality of the foster mother? What is the family make-up? What are her own children like? What do the friends and neighbors think of the family? Whether the woman is paid or not is immaterial. The aim must be to secure a good foster home, and then make satisfactory adjustments. But it is undoubtedly a little easier for an agency to supervise and give instructions to the foster mother if she receives some remuneration than if she offers a free home.

The foster mothers should be told that they, as well as the agency's staff, are paid workers; theirs is in a larger sense a voluntary service without which the agency's work would be lost. The foster mothers come to the office of the agency to get things that belong to the children, and the agency serves them on behalf of the children. If they have had any feeling of shame about boarding the children their attitude will change, and they will become willing to interest members of their own families—as well as lodges and sisterhoods—in the matter and thus become the greatest sources of assistance in finding new homes.

The position of foster mother must be recognized as a dignified one. Tell the foster mothers and make them feel that they are, with you, students—coworkers in child care. Organize the foster mothers into a league. Do not be afraid of having them meet

together. You can keep the plane of the meeting high, and there need be little worry as to the danger of petty gossip. Keep them informed of general child-welfare activities. Teach them to be proud, instead of being ashamed, by making them feel that they are among the chosen few. "Just think," says Mrs. R, "out of 300 homes offered they use only 50, and mine is one of the 50!"

Frequently the foster mother remains a factor in the life of the child's family long after the organization has ceased to supervise the case. Mrs. H, who had not visited the agency for three years, returned to ask for a child to care for and told of the two little boys who had been in her care five years before. She had visited them in their home, had explained with great patience to the step-mother things which she had learned about the proper approach to them, and had been a constant go-between for the children and the stepmother. In fact, she had been doing case work of a high type without either pay or recognition. If such interest can be nurtured in foster mothers the agency ceases to do merely a child-placing job and becomes a source of unending helpfulness in the community.

RAISING THE STANDARDS OF THE FOSTER HOME.

To many foster mothers the periodic mental, dental, and physical examinations seem at first unnecessary. One foster mother put it thus: "When my children were young, I took them to a doctor when they were sick, to the dentist when they had a toothache. You tell me to bring these children to the doctor whether they are sick or well. Even if they are not thin, you keep on weighing them. You send them to the dentist whether they have a toothache or not." But in her expression was a respect for the newer method, and she added: "I wish someone had told me to do these things for my own children."

Mrs. B was no longer very young when she took Sylvia into her home. Sylvia's mother was tuberculous and Mrs. B was very glad to take Sylvia to see her regularly and to help make the mother's last days happy. When she realized that the mother's days were numbered, she promised that the child should always have a home with her. Her home offered wholesome food and good outdoor life in a community which had excellent school facilities, but it was so woe-fully old-fashioned that an American child growing up in it would soon become ashamed of it. The visitor began to explain the need of attractive surroundings—rugs, curtains, and the other little things that would help make it more of a home to Sylvia. Now that the foster mother had a little girl—a thing she had never hoped to have—she began to look forward to having her own home instead of simply

putting more of her husband's earnings into the bank, and to-day she has one of the most attractive homes in the suburban community in which she lives. Sylvia has a piano, and on her last birthday she was proud to invite the girls in the neighborhood to her party. So tactfully was this change brought about that the foster mother will probably never suspect that the visitor was in any sense a factor.

It is best that the boarding homes should be homes that have not been wrecked by disease or destitution. Aside from the fact that the payments for board are likely to cover little more than cost and that it would be dangerous to use a home that had not an adequate budget for its own needs, there is the more important objection that the child would be removed from one abnormal situation merely to be injected into another. His stay under the supervision of the agency should be in a home that is intact and has normal relationships.

Child-caring agencies are inclined to overlook the opportunity available to them to become educational factors in the community through their influence over the foster mother and her friends.

THE RIGHT USE OF PUBLICITY.

The right kind of publicity will not stop with the foster mother. Some day, if not to-day, the work of the agency will need the backing of the community; and this will be lacking unless a foundation had been laid by means of the right kind of publicity. One organization running with a deficit felt sure that the churches would come to the rescue. The churches did not come to the rescue—because no one had told them of the work the agency was doing. There seems to be little doubt that social service requires publicity. It would be a pity, however, if all the publicity were centered on the raising of funds. The entire publicity program should center, instead, around the spreading of an idea. Make the stories live so that every newspaper will carry them, and you will awaken the type of interest that can be used later in placing children. An agency that is busy placing children in homes and certain that this is the better method, often fails to realize how very little interest the general public takes in the work it is doing. Almost everyone has known children who had to be taken from their own homes. But few know what becomes of these children, or have given any thought to the question of what would be the best way of caring for them.

The value of publicity should not be measured merely by the amount of money subscribed or the number of homes offered as a result of it. There is another reason for publicity besides spreading the idea of foster-home care. Taking care of a child may be an ordinary boarding job, or it may become a stimulating experience to a woman who as housewife has few contacts with the outside

world; and the agency's publicity work will be a way of adding to that stimulus. Even if the newspaper stories were read by no one outside the agency's own foster-mother group, the effort expended would be well repaid. Such articles give each foster-mother a feeling that she is part of a large program. They should therefore be sent to the local papers, so that the foster mothers will be on the lookout for them and will clip them and show them to friends. The interest aroused will be reflected in a finer attitude in the homes and in better standards of care.

SUCCESSFUL PLACEMENT.

What constitutes a good placement? Does it mean sending a child to a beautiful home with up-to-date physical facilities and foster parents who are socially and economically in better than average circumstances? Not necessarily. A child who is not very bright should be placed in a simple home with good people who do not make many demands on life and will not expect too much of him. It means a great deal to a child of this sort to be with people who think his remarks bright and who will encourage his limited mentality instead of discouraging him by over-stimulation and over-expectation.

The right foster mother and home can be found for almost every type of child, if the agency only has the facilities to look for them. Not every foster mother is waiting to get a blue-eyed golden-haired little girl. Some, if properly approached, will be glad to undertake a difficult task and share in the pride of success with it.

It was not expected that the home of Mrs. S would work so well as it did for Nathan, a boy who came to the bureau at the age of 9 years. He had a tumor of the brain and had never gone to school. After he was placed in a home where he would have individual attention and be sent to school it was found that he suffered from chronic headaches. The home was building him up physically, but he was getting nowhere in his studies. After a thorough examination, it was concluded that the headaches were simply a defense on the part of the child—that the work was too difficult for him. He was taken out of school and placed under the instruction of a private tutor, who made little effort to give him information but taught him to concentrate. After three months she felt this end had been accomplished and suggested that the boy be returned to public school on a part-time basis. The school cooperated and permitted the boy to attend daily from 10 o'clock to 12. All went well until the summer. Nathan was then sent to a suburban foster home where there were two younger children, with the idea that in the fall he was to be returned to the city and to the same school. But the visitor noticed a change in the boy in this vacation home. The foster mother in the city had been so fearful for his safety that

his own natural fears were accentuated and he did not dare to cross the street alone, nor to indulge in any games with other children. The busier foster mother in the country sent him out to play with her two little children, and he soon became interested in joining other boys. Frequently the foster mother would tell him to watch over the little ones. When schooltime came this boy who had been beset by constant fears asked to be permitted to take the little boys to school. He would have to walk a mile a day in all kinds of weather. What should the agency do? After all, he was still a child with a tumor. He was brought back for examination to the hospital where he had had radium treatment for years. The doctor was pleased with the boy's self-confidence. His physical condition was good, and the doctor advised that the chance be taken. A winter of snowstorms has come and gone, and the child still thrives; and best of all, he has a reason for going on, a new faith that he can do the things that other boys do and that he can help a child weaker than himself. This accidental success will become a guidepost of action in similar cases.

Lillian, a little girl of 4, was mentally retarded and, it seemed, almost defective. When told to sit, she sat, and sat until she was told to stand. She neither spoke nor asked for food. She seemed hopeless. She had an insane mother and a feeble-minded father. The psychiatrist thought it hardly fair to class as defective a child who had never had an opportunity in normal environment. The home available afforded no special type of care; but it offered good food and a clean bed, and the foster mother showed a most kindly interest and willingness to cooperate, which were, perhaps, the biggest factors in the situation. To-day the little girl is attractive, alert, bright-eyed, and doing well in school and at home.

The problem of children whose care has fallen upon the State or a private agency can not be solved happily for them until society realizes its obligations to these dependent children. In Dorothy's case, perhaps, has been achieved what is ardently hoped for in every placement but rarely attained. Dorothy is a part of the family, the school, and the town in which she lives. She gives and goes to parties; she is on the programs of entertainments; she knows when the rent is due. She quarrels with her foster sisters and brothers and saves her pennies to buy them presents. And no one tries to hide the fact that Dorothy came "from a society." The visitor is introduced to neighbors and friends as "the lady who comes to see Dorothy." The whole relationship is simple and natural. No attempt is made to cover up Dorothy's past as something out of the way. It is accepted, and so is Dorothy. For her, "no make-believe, society, no make-believe family, no make-believe virtues, but real family, real society, real life."

SPECIAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN FOSTER-HOME CARE.

LEON W. FROST,

Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Detroit.

In this paper it is proposed to confine the discussion definitely to a few essential features of the process involved in placement of children in temporary boarding homes. This will include reference to limiting intake by means of adequate case work, the functions of a case-working department, the selection and preparation of boarding homes, the necessity for adequate records, the basis of the division of work in a large agency, and a few other related matters.

What is applicable as a method of procedure in one locality may not be suitable in another. Child-caring societies are ordinarily found to reflect to a large extent the community in which they operate. Standards are usually only as high as the public demands; an active and intelligent board of directors is therefore of fundamental importance. But the fact that social vision and a high degree of intelligence are lacking in the board of directors is no reason in itself why the standards and methods of an agency should lag, nor is it necessary if the social consciousness of a community is undeveloped or at low ebb that the agency should reflect this attitude.

INTERPRETING CHILD-CARING WORK TO THE COMMUNITY.

The child-caring society is not functioning properly if it does not take into account its own responsibility for molding public opinion. The awakening of the community is entirely possible through a gradual but well thought out and unsensational plan of action extending over the entire period of the life of the individual agency. No reference is now being made to campaigns for raising funds, an immense problem in itself, which must be met by means adapted to the psychology of the people one is attempting to interest. Rather the year-round program of education of the community as to the problems of a child-caring agency should be in mind. The once-a-year campaign of education for fund raising is certainly not sufficient, nor is the occasional story chosen for its melodramatic side lights going to put the child-caring organization in proper touch with the community. The interpretation must be dignified (and by this is not meant "dry"), illuminative, and continuous. The whole problem of interpreting child-caring work rightly and con-

sistently is vital, and comparatively few of the existing agencies make full use of their resources in this field.

The appeal for support is very likely to be sensational in character, and many agencies have been content to allow public opinion to regard their work in such light. This may prove a boomerang, for public confidence gained through emotionalism and untempered by real understanding is difficult to maintain or to reestablish once the emotional appeal diminishes. The loss is tangible and can be prevented. It must be kept in mind that all social work does not center in the child-caring agency. The work of the society is an important part of a social program, it is true, but still only a part, and the publicity program must be of such a nature that the community will see the society in a properly balanced relation and with the right perspective. Child-caring agencies have too frequently sinned in this respect. The society can not interpret its work to the community unless it understands its relation to other forces. Has the staff really assimilated the problems of the society, or is each member just doing his or her specialized job? Does each member of the staff thoroughly know and understand the significance of other social agencies of the community, and their relation to his own society? Has each a real conception of the community and its social resources as a whole and an idea of relative values? Is the staff itself working in circles? Is the organization as a whole able to interpret itself to the community?

NEED FOR CENTRALIZING RESPONSIBILITY.

A society doing child-welfare work from the case-work standpoint usually develops out of local conditions, and consequently all types of organization are extant among such societies. It seems desirable, whenever the work is of great enough scope to warrant it, to have at least two rather distinct departments. The first department should be responsible for all family case work done by the society, and as such should control all intake and all releases, since accepting children for care outside their own families is family case work of a most important type. The second department should specialize in the job of caring for the children that have been accepted by the society for either temporary or "permanent" care. There are numerous advantages in having a society so organized, and there are no serious objections except when the small size of an agency makes such a division of duties impractical.

Any organization or business doing effective work must be able to centralize or place responsibility. Certainly this is the case in child-caring societies, where every detail must be given careful consider-

ation. In order to approximate good results, the organization must be so ordered that an individual is made responsible for each particular phase of the work.

If the two distinct departments mentioned are postulated, all family case work should be handled exclusively in one of them. This is important for a number of reasons. In the first place, child-caring societies having high standards of case work always attempt to make the natural home of the child suitable, rather than remove the child to a temporary new home. This policy is based upon sound and fundamental principles. A child's own home, if conditions can be made safe, is better for him than a boarding home. If good case work seems to warrant a temporary removal, efforts are then directed toward building up the natural home so that the child may be returned to it. This end should be consistently worked toward wherever possible, with careful consideration of the interests of the child himself, the family, and the community. The reestablishment of the child's own home can be accomplished best by a family case worker who is enabled to give her entire time and attention to this sort of work. The danger of narrow specialization can be offset by so organizing the agency that every member of the staff may become acquainted with the duties and functions of every other member.

LIMITING INTAKE THROUGH CASE-WORK METHODS.

These considerations lead logically to a subject which is constantly being more and more emphasized in child-caring societies—namely, regulating intake through case work. It is easy to succumb to the fallacy of judging the importance of a society by the number of children in its care, or to the temptation to reduce per capita costs by swelling the number of charges. This perhaps makes "good" publicity, but what of the child? By intelligent planning, a thoroughly high-grade family case-work department can do much to stop unnecessary infiltration. Divided duties and functions, of course, lead directly to a division of time. A worker who must divide her time between family case work and child-caring work is a specialist in neither, and, in general, expert service can not be expected of her.

INVESTIGATION AND RECORDS.

A discussion of what constitutes good case work with families would be out of place here; information on this subject is available to those who wish to obtain it. But the point of view of the child-caring agency is just a little different from that of the average case-work agency, and it may be of some value to bring out a few of the factors involved.

It is assumed that full face-sheet information will be obtained in every possible case, as well as all information for other essential forms¹ used in child-caring work.

It is more especially the material which goes into the chronological case record that needs to be considered. The steps and general plan employed in working on each family case in a certain child-caring agency are outlined below. It is not intended to offer any extended brief for this particular plan, and very possibly it would not be suitable for all child-caring agencies. From experience it was found that, given a number of case workers, varied points of view would be reflected in the records. Certain workers tended to emphasize one phase, and the records of others were apt to be more complete on other types of information. In order to secure greater uniformity of method it was found advisable to require that the information gathered in all first investigations be dictated, arranged, and numbered after the following plan:

Procedure for Investigation.

1. Brief description of type of family.
2. Brief description of conditions in the home.
3. Statement of man (facts bearing on situation).
4. Statement of woman (facts bearing on situation).
5. Why man or woman really applied for help. (Was pressure brought to bear on them by other agency or individuals?)
6. Health: State, in detail, any physical disability. Name of doctor or hospital caring for man, woman, children. Give reports from doctors, hospitals, clinics, etc.
7. Debts: Dates debts were contracted; dates of payments on same; dates due and amounts of present unpaid balances.
8. Family budget in detail, showing income and approximate normal or necessary expenditures.
9. School reports of children.

The instructions were that if any enumerated point was not covered by the investigation, or if it was impossible or impracticable to make a search at the time for this information, the explanation was to be given under the proper number. In all cases the regular chronological case-history sheets were to show this numbering, so that it would at once be obvious if any point was not covered. The nine points were considered only an irreducible minimum; it was not assumed that the case worker would be satisfied with so simple an investigation as this plan provided for.

Under this system the supervisor of case work is provided, very early in the history of the case, with a concrete statement of the assumptions upon which the representative of the society is working.

¹ An excellent collection of these forms has been prepared by the Child Welfare League of America (130 East 22d Street, New York) and samples are supplied by the league upon request.

As soon as possible after certain other supplementary information has been obtained, the case worker is required to state in the record what plan she is following. In the left-hand margin of the form used the word "plan" appears in capital letters. As this plan is modified on the basis of subsequent information, a statement of the new plan is added, the words "revised plan" being written opposite it in the margin. The purpose of this is obvious. In the first place the supervisor can be sure that the case worker is working toward a definite end; and at any time it can be assumed that the latest plan stated is still being followed. Careful constructive criticism is made with a minimum expenditure of time and effort, and unworkable or ill-advised plans of case workers can be caught early in the history of the case. The fact that a worker must definitely state what her intentions are tends to clarify her thinking, particularly in complicated family problems. All too frequently the young worker believes that she is doing a good piece of work when she is merely piling up in her chronological record a mass of more or less disconnected facts which may or may not have signal bearing on her problem.

This procedure in the case records is followed by summaries made usually at six-month intervals, especially where the case is a "heavy" or complicated one. These summaries are of a simple character and in the following form:

First summary:

1. Problem.
2. Status at first contact.
3. Treatment.

Second summary:

1. Problem.
2. Status at first contact.
3. Later developments.
4. Treatment.

Final summary:

1. Problem.
2. Status at first contact.
3. Diagnosis.
4. Treatment.

The time required for the preliminary study varies, of course, in different types of cases; this point can best be determined by each agency on the basis of the type of cases being handled.

All this work justified itself only if it assists to better knowledge of individual cases. By some such procedure considerable limitation of intake and the return of many children from boarding-home care to their natural homes should be found possible. The return of children to their own homes when conditions permit is perhaps one of the easiest matters to neglect, particularly if the parent or parents make themselves inconspicuous by prompt paying of all bills.

Even with the best theoretical safeguards, through pressure of work errors of omission will occasionally occur. The monthly statistical report required of each case worker seems the best opportunity for the check-up. For this purpose a printed form is used, with a space at the left-hand side to list alphabetically on the first of each month all active cases the individual worker has in hand. At the right are columns to list calls, letters written, and so forth. As each piece of work on a case is done it is checked in the proper column, from the field notebook, as soon as the worker returns for her office work. By totaling at the end of the month, the report may be completed in a very short space of time. On the reverse side of this sheet should be listed all cases which have not been worked on during the month just completed, with the date of the last dictation on each. If because of pressure of work or for any other reason no work has been done on an "active" case during the current month, it is certain that the individual case worker using this system will be fully aware of that fact, as she has to examine the chronological record in order to ascertain the date of last dictation.

In the child-caring department forms which are modifications of those just described are used with equally satisfactory results, to safeguard the children in boarding homes. Each child should be considered by the agency as an individual and should have his own complete separate record. He should be studied and his actions noted in his individual record as carefully as possible. The case worker for children should enter facts in the record and try to keep out her personal feelings. She is not a mental diagnostician and is not supposed to be one, although she must attempt to anticipate the need for mental diagnosis and secure it whenever it seems desirable.

At this point it may be mentioned that the case record of each child bears the same number as does the case record of the child's family. In a large organization this has a certain advantage. For instance, if three children are accepted from one family each child's record bears the family case record number. If one child is released from the boarding home of the agency the contents of this particular child's file are clipped together and placed in the back of the family file. If the child is readmitted, his previous file is then taken from the back of the family file and follows him again, while he is in the agency's boarding home. Thus the child-caring department always has the former record of its experiences with the individual and from the date of the child's readmission can continue his care on the basis of such knowledge of the case. When all children from one family are finally released, the worker in the family case-

work department has this cumulative knowledge of the children involved at her disposal, and she is the one who must now utilize this information.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CASE-WORK DEPARTMENT.

It may prove of some interest to present a list of the services performed by the case-work department, or department of investigation and advice. This is at best simply experimental; from time to time new services and possibilities are noted as being proper functions of this department. Each case worker is supplied with such a list having blank spaces under each general classification. As she discovers new possibilities for helpful work in the community in her regular line of duties she notes them, and new lists, including these additions, are occasionally made and distributed to the case workers. The purpose of this is to furnish new impetus to the individual's work in the field and particularly to answer the question of the new staff member, "What else can I do?" It is also of value in answering the questions of interested people as to what a case-work department of a child-caring society can do other than merely to "investigate" people and their conditions of living. So far, the varied services of this department have been listed under eight general headings, about as follows: (1) Physical treatment: Hospital or sanatorium, dispensary, private physicians, clinic treatment (type), examination (type). (2) Employment secured: Temporary; permanent. (3) Education: Secured special or vocational training; secured instruction in household economics or in sewing; children kept in school beyond working age; home reading encouraged (results). (4) Recreation: Fresh-air care; day outings; cultural opportunities afforded; recreational opportunities afforded. (5) Material relief: Boarding-home care given (free or partially free; terms made); household goods obtained; food obtained; clothing obtained. (6) Legal aid: Nonsupport; search for deserter; support order obtained; juvenile-court action; other court action; reference to Legal Aid Society; special lawyers recommended; advice regarding separate maintenance. (7) Placing of adults and children: Temporary shelter for children; permanent care through the society; children boarded out; day-nursery care secured; institutional care for adults; institutional care for children. (8) General improvement of conditions: Connections with relatives strengthened; church connections strengthened; friendly visitor obtained; sanitary or housing conditions reported for correction; transportation to other localities obtained; removal to better home in city; home reestablished.

WORK WITH THE CHILD IN HIS OWN HOME.

As has been stated, all cases originate and are handled in the case-work department. All children accepted for care in boarding homes are accepted there. The same department is made responsible for the return of children to their own homes, and it is the special job of this department to get the children back into their natural homes just as soon as good case-work principles permit. Therefore, a family case record always remains "active" until the child is released from the boarding-home care of the society. Even after the return of the child to his natural home, the case remains open if further work is to be done either with the child or with the adult. The work with the individual child in his own home is done by the family case worker who had and continues to have charge of the family. No family case should be closed after a child is released to go to his natural home until a definite written report from the child-caring department is in the hands of the family case-work department. If the child-caring department recommends further treatment or supervision of the child after he leaves the boarding home, this is assured. If the recommended treatment is purely medical and can be advantageously handled by some agency specializing in medical work, a letter in the family file must show that the problem has definitely been handed over to and accepted by the proper agency. One can readily see how dangerous would be the practice of proceeding differently, especially when a child in a boarding home has been receiving a series of treatments still uncompleted at the time when he leaves the home.

THE BOARDING HOME.**Selecting the home.**

The child-caring department should keep a careful chronological record of each boarding home, including the full data obtained in the searching preliminary investigation. This record will certainly be of value in making future placements. A detailed outline under the three headings material, personnel, and social has been found of considerable value in pointing out some of the essentials to be considered in choosing and accepting new boarding homes, and it would be of particular value in investigating prospective adoption homes. In this way a picture of the home can be obtained from the three main angles. If such an outline is used, lack of information of an essential character concerning the prospective boarding home can quickly be noted by the supervisor reviewing the field or by the committee having charge of the boarding-home situation.

The chronological record of the boarding home need not be extremely detailed, but it should include such essentials as the names

of the children placed, the terms of placement, date placed, date removed, and reasons for removal. Comments upon the way various children were handled in a boarding home are of value in using the home for subsequent placements. Homes caring for special problem children naturally require fuller records.

Educating the "boarding mother."

Since the success of a child-caring society's work will ultimately be made or destroyed according to the type of work which is done in the boarding homes, the "boarding mothers," as they are called for want of a better term, must be carefully linked up with the society. How to do this most effectively and quickly is worth considering. The educational process should be started as soon as the woman makes application to take a child into her home. At that time she is enthusiastic, and her enthusiasm should be capitalized then and there. If it appears, however, that she is not of the educable type—from the boarding-home point of view—her application should not be accepted.

The boarding mother is really a member of the staff of the society and forms a definite link in the chain of the child-caring work. If this link is weak, it imperils the whole system. Before handing to the prospective boarding mother a formal application blank, which to her will seem to be nothing but red tape, some worker in the organization should sit down and talk with her in a human, friendly manner about the problem of boarding care for children.

When all preliminaries have been completed and the services of the boarding mother accepted, the educational work is carried on by the home visitor of the child-caring department. The home is visited before a child is placed in it and at least every two weeks during the entire period of its use. The advisability of such frequent visits may of course be questioned, but this rule seems to be more than justified by experience.

In addition to the home visitation carried on by the workers, the educational work with the boarding mothers is furthered by sending monthly letters to each. These are written in a personal manner, and are mimeographed and to save expense are sent out with the monthly checks. The cost of this service is very slight; its effectiveness is wholly dependent on the way the letters are written. They should be couched in simple, nontechnical language, and should be stimulating. An obvious advantage in this plan is that a year-round program of education can thus be mapped out in advance. Each letter is so written as to carry one main idea, which can be embellished and illustrated in rather telling and personal ways. The visitors read each letter before it is sent out and then in their contacts with the boarding mothers take up more in detail the points

covered. Thus the personal element is stressed, and the foster mother becomes more closely connected with her organization. It has been found that the foster mothers, especially in the country districts, read or show these letters to their friends and neighbors, and that by this means and through the increased interest of the foster mothers many new and valuable boarding homes are discovered.

The work of writing the boarding-home letters is centered in the home-finding department. Greater interest is stimulated by asking for replies and criticisms, a recital of personal experiences with special problem children, or discussion of other aspects of child care. Frequently when a reply of a boarding mother seems to be of general interest it is quoted in a later letter, proper credit being given. One country boarding mother recently sent in an essay she had written and read before her club on "The relation of the child in the home to the school." This short essay seemed so much to the point that it was used as the next regular letter. Incidentally, this particular boarding mother is now doing a very creditable piece of educational work in her community in interpreting the child-caring organization.

One obvious danger is that the letters may become merely formal, talking at the boarding mothers rather than talking with them. The whole system has to be handled with care and thoughtfulness. "Lectures" will not be found effective. This is one reason why it is valuable to quote the boarding mothers themselves at frequent intervals. They appreciate it, and it makes the service seem more like their own service.

Maximum number of children per home.

Children should not be placed on the basis of the physical capacity of the boarding home. Three or four children per home should be the maximum, and as an individual society obtains a larger number of potential homes this maximum may well be reduced, except for special cases such as those in which it is desirable to keep children of one family together.

PLACING THE PROBLEM CHILD.

To make successful placement of the problem child, all the elements of the situation need even more careful consideration than in the case of the normal child. The problem cases include children who have venereal infections (though in noncontagious stages), those slightly epileptic, crippled and malformed children; those of most unattractive physical appearance (these children easily develop inferiority complexes), enuretics, the deaf, the blind, or those partially blind; those with tubercular tendencies, the undernourished, children of doubtful mentality, the offspring of physically degenerate fam-

ilies, incorrigible children, and those unrestrained in habits and temperaments; those with "immoral" tendencies, habitual truants, both from school and from home; those who are exaggeratedly destructive, the "abnormally" cruel; those having bad sex habits, etc. All these types can be, and are being, well cared for in boarding homes. Extreme patience and understanding are necessary in handling these difficult cases, and an agency should not excuse itself for failures in this field but rather frankly recognize them. Child-caring societies are just coming to a full realization of what can be done for the problem child through careful placement. A large and constantly growing literature on the subject is available.

If much of definite value is to be accomplished for the problem child, it is essential that the case-history picture be fairly complete. The problem child is more than likely to be "elusive." From the standpoint of the child-caring agency it is not enough that the child is "understood" by the individual worker in whose charge he is placed. There must be a central place of record where the worker can be checked up and progress noted occasionally. The agency must be assured that all essential details are being looked into with regard to the care the child is receiving in the boarding home.

THE STUDY OF THE CHILD'S PROGRESS.

The next essential to consider is the study of the child himself. Complete physical examinations are, of course, necessary; mental examinations also should be given where the need is indicated. The best type of work can never be done without a thoroughgoing, practical knowledge by the child-caring agency of the child to be placed and of his individual peculiarities and needs. In many cases this knowledge can be gained only after the child has been placed under care, and through careful observation of the child's reactions to the boarding home selected and to the other new influences to which he has been subjected.

The question of what to include in the study of the child has been receiving constantly increased attention of late, particularly because of the greater use which child-caring organizations are making of the services of psychologists and psychiatrists. Experts will not give opinions without a complete background of essential facts. It is clearly the responsibility of the individual agency, then, properly to note and assemble such information. Merely as an experiment the following outline was given the workers of one society with the idea that it would suggest in a general way the material which might well be incorporated in the individual child's record as the record progressed. It is not supposed to be all-inclusive, and, after all, the

records will be largely a result of the training given by the society. However, the outline offers a basis, and each agency can devise one which will meet its own particular needs.

WHAT IS YOUR CHILD—

1. Physically.
2. Mentally.
3. Morally (socially).

Physical.

- (1) Specific medical attention child has had as to—
 - (a) Examinations and tests made. By whom?
 - (b) Operations advised.
 - (c) Operations completed.
 - (d) Note in record specific results, if any are noticeable.
 - (e) Treatments advised.
 - (f) Were they consistently carried out, and with what effect?
- (2) Physical appearance of child upon admission, during care, and at release.
 - (a) Weight. According to standard table, is child normal?
 - (b) If below standard, check up periodically and note results.
 - (c) Height. According to standard table, is child normal?
 - (d) If below standard, check up periodically and note results.
 - (e) General appearance, attractiveness, etc.
- (3) Personal hygiene.
 - (a) Note bathing facilities, regularity of baths, etc.
 - (b) Keep careful check-up on teeth. If they are in good condition, state this from time to time after you have personally examined them.
 - (c) If teeth are bad, show in your record that you have had them attended to, and whether this has had a marked effect upon general health and conduct of child.
 - (d) Carefully inquire into personal habits of child and make proper notation. Do not neglect to show follow-up work on these points.
- (4) Clothing.
 - (a) Day garments.
 - (b) Night garments.
- (5) Food.
 - (a) Proper diet (milk, etc.).
 - (b) Improper (coffee, tea, etc.).
 - (c) Regularity.
 - (d) Adequate amount.
- (6) Sleeping conditions.
 - (a) Quarters.
 - (b) Ventilation.
 - (c) Air space.
 - (d) Sufficient covering.
 - (e) Amount of sleep.
 - (f) Regularity.
 - (g) Alone, or with whom?
- (7) Development of child on other points than those noted above.

Mental.

- (1) Mental status.
 - (a) General impression.
 - (b) Note "peculiarities" and ability to make adjustments.
 - (c) Does psychologist need to be consulted?
 - (d) Has this service been obtained?
 - (e) Recommendations of psychologist.
 - (f) Show in detail, and frequently, how they are being carried out.
 - (g) Note, in detail, results.
- (2) Formal education.
 - (a) Attendance at school.
 - (b) Progress in school.
 - (c) Contact with teacher. Give names of teachers.
 - (d) Home work—assistance given.
 - (e) Note special ability, if any.
 - (f) Future training in vocational way, etc.
- (3) Recreation.
 - (a) Outdoor play.
 - (b) Indoor play.
 - (c) Time allowed.
 - (d) Type of play.
 - (e) Companions.
- (4) Employment.
 - (a) Kind of work. Detailed information should be furnished.
 - (b) Under what conditions?
 - (c) Amount of time devoted to it?
 - (d) Special training given.
 - (e) Is child in any way imposed upon by the family?
- (5) Development or progress on other related points than those suggested above.

Moral or social.

- (1) General conduct.
 - (a) Relation to playmates.
 - (b) Relation to adults or family.
 - (c) Relation to school.
 - (d) Relation to neighbors or community.
- (2) Discipline.
 - (a) Relation with those having right to expect obedience.
 - (b) Self.
- (3) Problems.
 - (a) Type involved. Make comprehensive and specific notations.
 - (b) Outline of treatment agreed upon.
 - (c) In follow-up notations, indicate progress or lack of it.
- (4) Influence of boarding home.
 - (a) Religious standard.
 - (b) Ethical standard (moral).
 - (c) Opportunities afforded—cultural, etc.
 - (d) Church or Sunday-school activities.

SUMMARY.

To sum up, the factors involved in the placing of children in private family homes, either temporarily or for longer periods, include at least four main points: The child himself, of whom there should

be a thorough understanding and an adequate record; the home where it is proposed to place the child, concerning the possibilities of which there should be an equally comprehensive knowledge and an adequate record; consistent and continuous supervisory, educational, or follow-up work by the society responsible for the placement; and finally, an understanding of and adjustment to the community where the child is being placed. All of these factors must be weighed and given their share of emphasis. Without a most careful and intensive study of each the experiment is almost certainly condemned to failure. Desultory work not only will not do but is highly pernicious.

One further point which should be emphasized is the personnel of the staff of the child-caring agency. Just as it would be unwise for a business man to put inefficient people in places of responsibility, so the child-caring organization can not afford to do it. Because a person has raised a family is not a reason in itself why the individual can do expert child-caring work. Placement work must necessarily mean the application of common sense and of certain more or less fundamental principles arrived at on the basis of both personal and assimilated experience. Training can hardly be overestimated, and neither can the danger of employing poorly qualified workers.

If the staff of a child-caring agency think only in terms of the immediate present their work will be merely palliative. The fact that good work does require imagination must not be lost sight of. Any working basis must always be subject to modification in the face of new facts. However, flexibility is not to be overemphasized so that ideals and methods become wobbly. It must constantly be kept in mind that insufficiency of information is always dangerous, if not disastrous. One side of a story is not enough. The particular point must be viewed from all angles possible, and consequently all of the existent resources should be utilized.

The child-caring society should consistently and thoroughly carry out a year-round program of intensive education with the boarding mothers, for the character of the prospective temporary home is as important a feature as the personality of the child that the organization is attempting to help. Tie up the two on a basis of scientific understanding, and the chances of success are good. Neglect either at the risk of the child.

THE WORK OF A STATE-WIDE CHILD-PLACING ORGANIZATION.

By ALBERT H. STONEMAN,
State Superintendent, Michigan Children's Aid Society.

This will not be an abstract discussion of what a State organization for child placing ought to be, ideally. The principles and methods to be presented are those which have been worked out in practice by the Michigan Children's Aid Society, and which, it is believed, may be useful to all state-wide agencies placing out children. Seven such principles are here stated and will constitute the topics for the different sections of the discussion:

1. Making the organization actually state-wide in activity.
2. Broadening the scope of the work to include the various types of service needed by the different districts and communities of the State.
3. Providing some service for every community, including those best equipped with social agencies.
4. Making the facilities of the best-equipped communities available for the most destitute districts.
5. Developing local responsibility.
6. Developing specialization in service.
7. Reaching beyond the child-placing society into preventive and constructive movements for child welfare.

MAKING THE ORGANIZATION ACTUALLY STATE-WIDE IN ACTIVITY.

A children's society should be incorporated under the laws of the State, with the right to operate throughout the State. The governing body of trustees should include representatives from all sections of the State. Since so large a body can not be expected to meet oftener than quarterly, a smaller executive board should be chosen whose members are near the main office.

In centers of population, so soon as the volume of the work warrants it, branch offices may be established to advantage. In each of these, a trained children's worker should be placed as executive, and in connection with her work a local advisory board of directors should be organized. In order to make the society function most efficiently for such communities, there should be local provision for the temporary care of children pending their future disposition. This can be accomplished most successfully by the establishment of

a local group of family boarding homes, as will be pointed out later. Similar branch organizations can also be worked out to advantage in rural districts which are at a distance from the main office. In such districts a branch office and executive should carry on the work of the society, somewhat as at the branch office in the large city.

It is desirable to link these branch boards of directors with the State board of trustees by choosing the State board largely from the representative persons on the branch boards in all sections of the State.

In the counties not included in the jurisdiction of these branch organizations, local volunteer committees may be appointed, who will stand ready to report cases of neglect and dependency and to secure confidential information concerning cases which may be referred to them. Such a local committee, often the only one of its kind in the community, may prove to be the nucleus from which will develop a more formal organization for the promotion of social service.

Another extension of the work of the organization is practicable through agreements with public and semipublic welfare agents, such as Red Cross secretaries, public-health nurses, juvenile-court officers, and school officials. Cooperation of a helpful kind can also be had from women's and men's clubs which maintain standing committees on child welfare, boys' work, and the like.

Through the districts where local field workers of the State are not available, contact may be made from the main office by traveling representatives whose services will be described in a later section.

Educational publicity as to the work of the State society should be carried on continually in the city and county newspapers, farm journals, and other publications, and also through the medium of the local boards and committees. This is important in order to bring to the attention of people everywhere the practical value to every community of the state-wide organization. In other words, the people of the large and small community should be made "State conscious" in matters of child welfare, since the best-equipped community is frequently self-satisfied and confident that it possesses all advantages locally, while the least-equipped one may not even have heard of the opportunities the state-wide agency offers nor of the generally accepted standards of child welfare. This "State consciousness" will come through the realization, by both the best-equipped communities and those least well organized and equipped, of the value to each of them of the services of a state-wide society.

MAKING THE SCOPE OF THE WORK SUFFICIENTLY BROAD.

Within the boundaries of any State will be found widely varying stages of development in social work and a corresponding variety in the needs for service to children from complex social organizations

down to no organization; from strong and intelligent community spirit down to no community spirit or consciousness. Yet the state-wide society is under obligations to provide service for all; it must be "all things to all men."

This situation presents an opportunity which is both bewildering and fascinating. To a board of directors and an executive with imagination, initiative, and perseverance, such a field holds the most attractive possibilities. It is not to be exchanged for an easier, more circumscribed task, nor one which has been reduced to categorical procedures.

In this interesting variety of situations and cases, however, there is one fundamental requirement as the first step in procedure, namely thorough investigation. The results of the process are summed up in the phrase "family history." In places where the technique of case work is unknown, it will be all too easy for the children's worker to catch the spirit of the locality and neglect this safeguarding of the work. The common request will be: "Here is this child. Will you take him?" With the desire to get on pleasantly with the local authorities, who are apt to bear down impatiently upon her, the agent must still tactfully but firmly postpone the answer until the decision can be based upon a careful investigation and interpretation of the facts.

Based upon this investigation there are at least five possible decisions as to treatment:

1. *That there is no cause for action.*—After the matter has been gone into thoroughly there will seem to be no need in some cases for child care or family assistance. With perhaps some advice on the part of the worker, the case may be closed. Even here, however, a full record should be made of the investigation and conclusions for possible future reference. In the main office of the society should be an index of all such cases, wherever they have been found in the State. This section of the index may be entitled "Investigated and not received," and should be maintained as a confidential exchange for all branches of the society.

2. *That the child needs institutional care.*—There will be other cases where there is definite need of service, but not such as a children's aid society is prepared to give. Perhaps institutional care is needed, such as the State itself provides for certain classes of patients. Here it is the duty of the children's society not to drop the case, but to see that the child in question actually receives the help needed. Such cares also should be recorded in the main-office index.

3. *That the child needs care within its own home.*—A third class includes those cases which really need immediate help and perhaps continued local assistance from some agency. It is found that

the children ought not to be removed from their homes but should be assisted in some way while with their parents. Perhaps the service will be granting a money allowance, or helping the family to secure an allowance provided for by State laws, such as mothers' pension and workmen's compensation. Perhaps the help should be in the form of home supervision or friendly visiting. If such a case is found in a district where there is no active family-welfare organization, then it would seem to be the obligation of the children's society to undertake this family-conservation service. Such children as are actually given substantial service may be counted as "temporary-aid" cases and be so registered in the index at the main office. The folder containing the full record of the case should be kept in the local office of the branch which is dealing with the family.

4. *That the child needs to be temporarily removed from the home.*—In a fourth class are those cases where there is evident need that the children should be removed from their own homes—but only temporarily. The character of the parents is such, mentally and morally, as to warrant the return of the children when circumstances allow it. This indicates the need of the temporary boarding of these children under proper influences during the period in which the natural parents are being helped to get ready to receive back their children. In order to keep the parents' sense of responsibility strong, as well as in the interest of the children's happiness, it is usually best to keep the children in the vicinity of their parents. It is therefore necessary to have available good private family boarding homes in different sections of the State. These may be grouped so as to be supervised by a trained children's worker in each center. The history of the case should be filed in the office of the branch dealing with the family. At the same time it should be recorded as a "temporary-aid" case in the index at the main office.

5. *That the child needs permanent readjustment.*—Finally there is a class of cases in which it is evident, after all the facts are in, that the only safe plan for the children is to have them removed permanently from their natural parents or from their present situations. This usually means that they are to be made permanent wards of the society for the purpose of adoption. If investigation shows their heredity to be such that they are not proper subjects for adoption, or if the physical or mental examination of a child himself points to the same conclusion, then it will be the obligation of the society to see that institutional care or adequately safeguarded foster-family care is provided.

It hardly needs to be said that in the reception of every child, whether for adoption or for temporary care, the greatest pains should be taken to discover just what the child is, as well as his

previous history and circumstances. Only so will it be possible to plan wisely for his future.

With children taken for adoption the policy should be different from that followed when children are received for temporary care. In adoption cases the child, instead of being left in the vicinity of his parents or in his previous environment, should be transferred to another section of the State, away from former associations, and a plan made whereby he can start his life entirely anew. During the period of transfer and preparation each child should be brought into whatever community and given advantage of contact with whatever agencies and specialists he needs in order that his future placement may be most successful.

When children are thus received for permanent care their full history and the legal papers in their cases should be forwarded to the main office of the society instead of being kept in the branch office as in the temporary cases. In the general index such a child is listed as a permanent ward.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the card index at the main office will have three classes of cases, namely: Permanent wards, temporary-aid cases, and those investigated but not received. These cards should, for convenience, be of different colors. The index thus showing the names of all children known to the organization in any section of the State furnishes a complete "confidential exchange" for the different units of the society.

PROVIDING SOME SERVICE FOR EVERY COMMUNITY.

Communities which may be said to be well-equipped with social agencies may be divided into three classes. In the first class may be placed those which have three different types of agencies: First of all, a family-welfare organization, either public or private, operating on the basis of real case work; in addition to this, one or more institutions for the care of children; and finally, one or more case-work societies which board out children in family homes. In the second class belong those with two types of agencies: A family-welfare organization and also provision for the institutional care of children, but no case-work society placing out children. In the third class are the communities having a family-welfare organization but no agency especially interested in the care of dependent and neglected children.

Communities of the first class, as described above, might seem to have all the agencies and facilities needed for the care and disposition of their dependent children. They might seem to be self-sufficient. Usually such a city has this opinion of itself, as expressed by the officials and the representatives of its local welfare agencies. Yet

even here there is service which the state-wide child-placing organization should be prepared to offer, and which none of the local institutions or societies of the city can do so well; and that is the placing out of dependent children for adoption in other parts of the State.

The local agencies are not equipped with a field staff throughout the State, and this is essential to good placing out for adoption. In adoption there is usually need for a complete change of environment. A traveling nurse or other attendant is needed to transfer the child to another part of the State. There, either a receiving home or a private family boarding home is needed for the care of the child while he is being studied and prepared for placement, and while his future is being planned. Meanwhile, there must be traveling workers, or workers stationed in other cities and sections of the State, investigating prospective foster families. Later, the child must be taken to his future home, where he is to be placed on trial for a period of at least one year. During that trial period another representative of the society, or perhaps the same person, will have the supervision of the child and the home, send in to the main office detailed reports on the situation, advise with the foster parents, make adjustments when needed, and finally decide when and whether the privilege of legal adoption shall be granted. All of this is service which the local agencies of even a well-equipped city are not prepared to furnish so well as the state-wide society.

There are likely to be, also, other types of work which the state-wide organization may be needed and requested to do for such a community; and this can be arranged for by working agreements, entered into perhaps with the family welfare agency, or more probably with a local children's society or a group of such agencies. Whether or not this further service is planned, the handling of adoption cases is certainly a specialization in which the state-wide society can be especially helpful. This fact alone entitles the State organization to an important place among the agencies carrying out the program of social work for this class of cities.

In communities of the second class described above—those with a family-welfare organization and with institutions for child care, but with no society boarding out children in family homes—the State society has a larger field clearly open to it. No matter whether a receiving home of the society is located here or not, there is always need in such a city for selected and supervised family boarding homes to supplement the child-caring service which the institutions of the community may be rendering. This boarding-home service can be made available and acceptable even to sectarian and other special child-helping agencies of the city or district. It may be recognized rather slowly by some agencies, because it may seem, at first, like a rival enterprise entering the community; but if the

boarding-home work is well done, it will gradually win the cooperation of practically all of the community forces interested in the welfare of children.

In cities of the third class, where there is a family-welfare agency but no child-caring agency of any kind, not even a local children's home, the opening for the State society is still more clear and simple. Here it may be possible even to prevent the unnecessary building of a local or sectarian institution, by demonstrating the possibility of utilizing an institution already available, viz., the family home.

It is easy to show such a community that the most economical care of the dependent child, as well as the greatest benefits possible at any price, are to be had in a private family of the right quality, where the child is mothered and fathered in an individual way and supervised by a competent children's worker. In this class of community all of the child-caring work except in the very abnormal cases can be done by representatives of the State society through this family-home method. The facilities for any community can easily be expanded or contracted to meet the need, by increasing or decreasing the number of foster mothers thus employed in their own homes. Even defective children and children presenting serious behavior problems can be handled to a surprising extent by choosing and training boarding mothers to specialize with certain of the more difficult types. "Subsidized boarding homes" also can be chosen, in which service is engaged for the care of a certain number of children, and paid for whether or not the full number are actually placed in the homes. This method will provide for emergency care of children.

In making contact with cities of this third class, and in some cases those of the second class, it is often practicable and mutually helpful to enter into special arrangements with the family-welfare organization, which is logically the central social-service agency of the community. In some cases the family-welfare society will encourage the State children's agency to establish a branch of its organization in the community, in order that certain classes of cases coming to the family agency may be referred to the children's worker or that some competent organization may be at hand to take over the immediate care of children.

MAKING THE FACILITIES OF THE BEST-EQUIPPED COMMUNITIES AVAILABLE FOR THE MOST DESTITUTE DISTRICTS.

The districts outside the jurisdiction of the county branch organizations will be largely rural. For such territory two types of service may be made available: A permanent branch organization or periodical visits by traveling representatives of the State society.

Wherever the resources of the state-wide society allow it, a district worker should be placed in charge of a group of counties. The headquarters for the district should be at a place from which the worker can go upon call to any part of the district. In this office will be kept the records of local cases. Clerical assistance should be furnished when practicable so that the field worker can give full attention to children's cases. It will be desirable, and ultimately necessary, to find temporary foster homes for boarding children in or near the locality.

The representative in charge of this branch will be called upon to do pioneer work in her field. She will cover a large territory, though not intensively, since intensive work would be impossible, considering the undeveloped field. She will care for the more obvious needs and seek to develop in the people of her district an understanding of the needs of children, their possibilities, and the methods of helping them. She will do the entire work as outlined in the former section for different types of cases. Perhaps there will not be a single family-welfare organization in her whole territory, and she will have to take the place of such an agency in the reconstruction of family life. In cooperation with the State organization, she will transfer children to other parts of the State and will receive children from other sections to be placed in foster homes in her territory. She will be assisted in her work at times by traveling representatives of the society, sent on special business.

In addition to her child-caring activities this representative will organize a district advisory board of directors. These will be representative persons in the various communities of her section, whom she will educate in the methods and principles of the State organization, in order to gain their loyal and intelligent support for the work that needs to be done. Thus in the course of time this territory, through the branch organization, will be made conscious of the needs of its own children, and also will be made aware of the state-wide plans of the society and the possibilities for underprivileged children.

Wherever there are health facilities and socially minded doctors and nurses the branch representative will gain their cooperation in behalf of children under her care. Through their aid and also through the assistance of the traveling workers of the society, she will have boys and girls taken to hospitals, clinics, sanatoria, and specialists in other parts of the State for examination and treatment when necessary.

There may be parts of the State outside the jurisdiction of any branch organization or where there are too few resources and available leaders to support a branch organization, which very much

need the service of a children's agency. Such territory will be served by traveling workers under the immediate direction of the main office. The different types of traveling workers desirable in such territory will be discussed under the section on "Specialization in service."

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The policy of emphasizing local responsibility is a sound one in the working out of a businesslike financial system for the State organization. The aim should be to make every geographical unit self-supporting as completely and as speedily as possible. This policy must not be insisted on too rigidly, however, especially in the early stages of development. There always will be, undoubtedly, some undeveloped districts whose needs for service far outstrip their ability or their present willingness to pay. There are wealthy communities and sections and there are others which are poverty-stricken. As a start, it will be a practical necessity to draw upon the former for investment in the latter.

It is surprising, on the other hand, how much the poorer district will do toward the financial support of its child-caring work, after it becomes interested in having such work done. This interest comes only through education. To make the great body of people intelligent on child-welfare matters would be too long a process to wait for. Therefore, the obvious procedure is to choose a few socially minded persons and to concentrate efforts to develop intelligent interest in this group. A few persons can be found in almost any district who are sufficiently socially minded to appreciate the needs of the children and the possible benefits to be secured from the state-wide children's society.

Rural districts.

The county unit is usually the most natural and convenient for child-welfare organizations, especially in rural districts, for States are organized in their various departments on the basis of the county. Courts having to do with dependent and neglected children are county-wide in their jurisdiction. In rural counties, an unofficial child-welfare board may well be organized, with a chairman and secretary at the county seat and perhaps one member residing in every township. Such child-welfare boards can perform a certain limited class of service. They do not function to any great extent, however, unless there is frequent contact with them through correspondence or visits made to the members by the representative of the society. She should make it a point to demonstrate to these volunteers the methods of the child-placing society and to keep them interested in the work. The branch representative should become

personally acquainted with the individual members of these boards in order wisely to select the task which each can be trusted to perform, and tactfully to choose the person for the particular case she has in hand. In the organization of such county boards it is often possible to effect close cooperation with other social workers if any are there—such as the public-health nurse or the Red Cross secretary. It is usually wise to include the county school commissioner and such other public officials as have an interest in the children of the community.

This development of local responsibility on the part of the leading people in rural counties is especially important from the point of view of the added service which it will bring to rural handicapped children. The interests of the state-wide organization itself are, however, more prominent in the discussion of the development of local responsibility in the better-organized communities.

In dealing with rural districts which have few centers of population, and in which the people are widely scattered and have as yet no common interests, it has already been suggested that one of the first duties of the representative of the State society is to develop in her territory "community consciousness," then perhaps "county consciousness," and then "State consciousness." Through these stages of social education the State agency brings organized groups—local boards and county boards—to take a more and more intelligent and active part in the program of the State organization.

The better-organized urban communities.

In dealing with the better-organized communities we find a different situation. Here the local community consciousness has often been developed abnormally by local interests. A city, perhaps, adopts a slogan which calls upon its citizens to support local products and local organizations only. The community interests have concentrated upon themselves all attention and all resources. At this point it becomes the task of the representative of the state-wide organization to help local leaders in social work to gain a view of the broader field; in other words, to help them to enlarge their narrow community consciousness into State consciousness. This is necessary, not merely for the self-interest of the State children's society, but fundamentally for the best interests of the dependent children of any city. It is extremely important that the state-wide child-placing society shall find and maintain its appropriate place in the social-service programs of the cities.

The practical problem arises, how to make successful contact with such cities, how to make the self-satisfied community, perhaps rich in its local social equipment, recognize its need for the services of the state-wide organization. Under these circumstances, it is a

case of being "all things to all men," for there will perhaps be no two methods of approach which are exactly alike. In every city there is a situation peculiar to itself in regard to social-service organization and attitude. The stage of development may seem to be just the same in two cities, and yet the attitude of one city may be far different from that of the other. This will necessitate opposite policies of approach by the "outside agency." In one, the executive secretary of the local children's aid society—or whatever the local agency is—may be hostile toward anything that seems to him like competition in his field. In the other, the executive may be broad-minded and able to recognize the advantage of dividing the cases in accordance with a working agreement, so as to give to the State society the type of service to perform which can best be performed under a state-wide system of work.

Where the approach can not be made through the executive of the local agency, it may be made through some socially minded and influential citizens. A state-wide society which has been at work for any considerable time and which has rendered wide service is sure to have gained some friends in the city in question. Perhaps there are foster parents residing there who are deeply interested in the society. They may prefer to work confidentially because of the nature of their connection with the local agency, yet they will find a way of helping the State society to gather and organize a local board to back the work of the society in that city. Here it is supremely important that the representatives of the State society shall do nothing unethical in the matter of seeking cases or promoting their own activities locally. They should take care not to engage in work which duplicates that of the local children's society, if it is possible to avoid it. They should seek to do those particular things which their organization and methods fit them to do peculiarly well. And they should endeavor as soon as possible to have their organization correlated with the other welfare work of the community through a central council of social agencies, by registering cases in a confidential exchange, and by any other means which may be found to make the social service of the community more efficient.

Urban communities with less equipment.

In cities which we have grouped in the second class (those not having local children's aid societies but having a central family-welfare organization and one or more institutions for child care) and in cities of the third class (where there is a family-welfare organization and no agency caring for children, not even an institution), it is easy to make successful contact with the community. As has been suggested earlier in the discussion, the executive secretary of such a

family-welfare organization, if well trained and broad-minded, is very apt to encourage the State children's society to organize a branch of the agency in that community. Frequently cases arise where the principal problem to be solved is "what to do with the child in the situation." Perhaps the thing most desired is to provide some proper care for the child during a certain period, while case work is being done with certain other members of the family. Here the boarding-out service of the children's society is needed. In some cases a further separation of the child from the other members of the family is desired. Here the ability of the State society to transfer the child for placement in some distant home pending future developments is appreciated. Indeed, it sometimes happens that a family-welfare agency will offer free office room to the representative of the children's organization in order to have such a worker available for children's cases. Perhaps the general secretary of the family society will treat the local representative of the State society as a member of his own staff, so as to make the cooperation as perfect as possible, while allowing the children's worker to conform to the policy of the State children's organization, to keep separate files for the children's work, and to report the cases to the State headquarters. When close supervision of the local children's worker is possible by the State society, and a more independent relationship to the children's organization in that particular city is desirable, an adjoining or separate office is secured by the State society's representative while maintaining close cooperation with the local organization in the work. At the start, most of the cases coming to the children's agency in such a city will come by way of the family agency, thus preventing duplication of work in the community.

This spirit of cooperation for mutual advantage and better service to children has even gone so far in one community of this State as to result in the State society's taking over and operating for the family-welfare society a local institution for the temporary care of children, thus putting all the child caring of that community into the hands of the children's agency, on the ground that it is best prepared to administer such service. In another instance a working agreement has been entered into between a local children's agency and the State organization by which the children's work of that city was divided, all the adoption work being given to the state-wide society and temporary boarding cases to the local agency.

It may be seen from the foregoing descriptions that a state-wide child-placing agency, by carefully studying its diversified field and wisely choosing its method of approach to the many different communities, may find itself in an interesting variety of situations. Here are some of the contacts actually made by one such State society in a series of cities: In one an independent office was opened in close

cooperation with the local federation of social agencies; in another offices were shared with the city children's aid society; in a third an office was occupied with the family-welfare society; in a fourth free use of an office was granted in the city hall; in a fifth the society operated in the courthouse; and in still another city it was located with the county organization of the tuberculosis society.

Possibly no two contacts in the whole State will be just alike. Indeed, there is sure to be no exact duplication, because there are no two situations quite the same. Yet with all these differences, great strength may be built up by the State organization. Through widest diversity there may come truest unity.

Local advisory boards.

In every branch there is one element common to all. As soon as possible without straining the situation a local advisory board or committee should be gathered together. The group is to stand behind the local executive with moral support, cooperating with her on the one hand and with the State executive on the other as representatives of their community. These are the persons through whom that city and county are to be informed as to the methods and the local value of the State society and the State agency to be informed as to local needs. Through them the local children's work will finally be put on the basis of self-support and self-administration, closely linked up with the administration of the State organization. Sometimes this group will start as a special children's committee of the board of directors of the family-welfare society. In other cases it will start as an independent board. Very often the subordinate committee will ultimately grow into the autonomous board.

As a help in financing the work these boards are of practical value almost immediately. To illustrate: If the city has adopted the plan of the "community chest" for its social-service agencies, usually one of the first principles laid down is that only "local" agencies may participate. In order not to be classed as an outsider, the State society may show to the budget committee that it is an agency with a local board of directors, a local children's worker, and a group of local boarding mothers taking care of a number of local children. Thus it is demonstrated that this child-placing society is as truly local as though it had built an institution in their midst.

In case there is no community chest funds may be raised by an appeal sent out over the names of the representative citizens on the board. Even if a solicitor has to be sent in to canvass the field the local board can do much by way of personal indorsement and organized publicity to make his efforts successful.

It is possible in certain situations for such committees to approach city councils, city managers, or county boards of supervisors to present the possibilities of service by the State children's agency for the dependent children of the city or county. Sometimes arrangements can be made on a strictly business basis for the city or county to pay for such service, and thus support the child caring of that city or county by taxes, while leaving the agency entirely in the hands of the private citizens.

Financing the poorer districts.

Along with the decided advantages of getting support for such work from city community chests and public funds is the difficulty of providing for the cost of administration of the State society and its unrecompensed services to the more destitute districts. City or county taxes can not be drawn upon to pay for this outside work. Funds from community chests, however, probably can be secured in gradually increasing amounts from year to year, as the socially minded people who contribute to these chests are made acquainted with the valuable character of the state-wide service. Leaders in the city welfare movements can be brought to recognize the responsibility of the centers of wealth to send assistance to the neglected children of the rural and poorer sections. One instance may be cited as an illustration, that of the largest city of the State, where a large lump sum is appropriated each year from the community chest to be used in rural places by the state-wide children's society. In other cities the cost of State administration is provided for in the budgets of the federations by payments toward secretarial service at the headquarters, supervision of children in foster homes, cost of transfer, or other service. The specific expression of this willingness to help support the State society depends largely upon the mental attitude of the executive and of the budget committee of each community organization.

Local self-administration.

One of the last steps in the development of local responsibility is bringing the local board to assume actual administration of affairs. Inasmuch as the State board of trustees is legally responsible for all that the branch executive does, including the debts incurred, it is necessary that close contact be maintained through the State superintendent. He must from the start control the situation, and must maintain this influence by the establishment of mutual confidence between himself, representing the State board, and the local directors and executive. He must see to it that he deserves their confidence by getting their point of view and really caring first for their interests. It is always a mistake for the State executive to think more of

his State organization than he does of the interests of the particular community which that State organization is expected to serve.

The nomination of the local executive should be by the State executive, because of his appreciation of the necessary qualifications; but the confirmation of such nomination should always be the privilege and duty of the local board. No person should be intrusted with the direction of the branch work who is not satisfactory to both parties. The surest way to create interest and maintain it on the part of the branch board is to ask them gradually to assume the responsibility, and finally actually to administer affairs, including the funds. At the start it is usually necessary to have the money pass through the main office of the society. But when it can be worked out, it is best to let the branch become responsible for the support of the work and also for the payment of salaries, board for children, clothing, rent of office, cost of automobile, and other expenses. In addition, they will be expected to have sufficient interest in the State society to make appropriate payments toward State administration. With branch organizations thus developed and with members for the State board of trustees chosen from these widely scattered but loyal local advisory boards, the state-wide society becomes a mighty force for child welfare, an excellent example of unity in diversity.

DEVELOPING SPECIALIZATION IN SERVICE.

The principle of specialization is sound in administrative matters and should be applied to the development of the service of child placing. The details in working it out will depend considerably upon the size of the organization, the number of workers, and the types of territory covered.

Any person can do one thing better than he can do certain other things, and he can do that one thing best if he puts his attention wholly upon it.

It is our experience that the soliciting of money and the doing of case work with families and children belong to different fields. So far as possible, then, the person who is specializing in one should not be expected to do his best work in the other. There is hardly room for argument against this on the ground of economy, for it seems certain that with a staff of, say, two field workers, the sum total of results would be greater and better if each does one kind of work than if both do both kinds. The loss involved in failure to follow up leads in either type of activity in order to do something in the other line has proved in actual practice to be a distinct loss for both departments of the work.

In the subdivision of the children's work different policies must be adopted for different situations. In the branch where one worker

is put in charge at the start, she has the whole job to do. She must investigate cases of neglect and dependency, transfer children, supervise foster homes, and keep her own records. Yet even this one representative of the society in this field often can put into practice the principle of specialization, as she becomes the co-ordinator of the various allied agencies of the city or county, by utilizing in behalf of children under her care specialists in health or recreation or education.

Just as soon as the branch develops sufficiently to make possible two workers specialization begins within the organization. Perhaps the assistant will be given the clerical and record-keeping part, in addition to certain of the simpler interviewing and some of the easier field work; while the executive retains for herself the more important investigations, supervision of certain foster homes, and delicate situations with behavior-problem children, and also keeps office hours for important interviews.

When the number of workers has grown sufficiently to make it practicable two or more distinct departments may well be established. Perhaps the division will be into "investigation" or "intake" and "child-caring." Perhaps there will be one department, or at least one person, doing only "home finding"; that is, looking up and certifying homes to be used for boarding, free, or adoption homes. These details need not be discussed here. But in all cases there should be definite specialization in the work in order to have it done well.

The application of this principle to the state-wide agency is particularly important, since the agency has to deal with the larger territory where traveling workers are depended on to give the service. For such territory there seem to be at least three kinds of service, sufficiently different to offer ground for classification. First, there is the investigator of new cases. Word comes from various directions calling attention to cases of alleged neglect or dependency. There must be one or more persons, depending on the size of the field, ready to go without great delay to investigate the facts and the needs and to respond to emergency calls.

Second, there will be the home visitor. Her work is to go quietly and inconspicuously from home to home to decide whether the children are wisely placed and whether they are developing well, and by personal contact and advice to assist in the adjustment of difficult cases. Such a visitor will usually not hasten from place to place, as the investigator does, but will finish one town and district before she goes to another, although of course emergency cases for this visitor to handle will arise, and she will go here and there to keep in close touch with certain special cases. But there is a difference between

the two types of work, and it will be found that one person can do one of these two kinds of service better than the other.

The third kind of service probably calls for a different sort of preparation and ability from the other two. For this is needed the traveling nurse or attendant, who takes children from one part of the State to another. It is extremely important that this work should be done by the right person. In the case of infants, for example, much depends—sometimes life itself—upon the physical condition of the child at the end of the trip.

The division of the traveling children's workers according to this triple classification is justified in practice by the quality of service resulting, and it is not prohibitive for any society because of any appreciable increase in cost of operation.

A by-product of such specialization in service is the raising of the standard of work in the many social agencies with which contacts are made in the various communities of the State. Some of these local agencies are in the early and cruder stages of development. The State society has the opportunity, either by friendly suggestion or by example, to improve the methods of many such community organizations both in case work and in record keeping. Here, as in other kinds of service, the State organization can make available for the less advanced places the best methods to be found in the most advanced communities. Its influence may reach even further; institutions will imitate the method of boarding out children in homes, and church orphanages will begin to reduce their population by placing out children in approved families of their connection.

EXERTING INFLUENCE BEYOND THE CHILD-PLACING FIELD.

There are possibilities of influencing public opinion, legislation, and administration of State offices with consequent social and economic changes, which would mean more for the future welfare of children than the finest and most elaborate system of placing out in the present generation.

The executive officers and board members must be able to see beyond present situations into future possibilities, and beyond the boundary lines of their own organizations into the larger field of preventive and constructive measures for child and family welfare.

Even in the immediate field of child placing effort should be exerted outside the activities of the particular society, to bring about better State and county organization. One aim should be to make support from State tax funds available for service to special classes of handicapped children. Another, to secure a State law making permissive the establishment in every county of a county child-

welfare board or department. Another, to create a child-welfare department or division of a department of the State, with competent personnel, having supervisory relations with these county boards. Another, to help the State department to do many of the things for children which at present private agencies must do, and thus to allow the private agencies to progress into new or more difficult fields of service.

The most enthusiastic supporter of good child placing surely can not think of this same work going on and on interminably. It is the duty of those engaged in this kind of service so to work and exert their influence that the time will come when child placing shall rarely be needed.

For after all, the placing out of children—whether in adoption or in boarding homes—is an abnormal arrangement. It would be better if the natural parent were competent to keep his child, and if the foster parent could have children of his own. Even in the granting of allowances to parents so as to prevent the separation of the child from his family, the situation is an abnormal one. It would be far better if social and economic conditions and the character of the parents enabled them without extraneous aid to provide a good home. Again, in dealing with cases of illegitimacy one is constantly impressed with the ultimate hopelessness of the problem in the large, unless sometime, somehow, we can get behind the individual cases and deal with the social and economic causes of illegitimacy.

Since legislation and most other movements affecting general conditions are state-wide in character, a peculiar obligation rests upon the state-wide children's agency. The child-placing organization, with its widespread constituency reaching out into every section of the State, should have broader interests than merely its case-work activities. It should be actively influential in bringing the day when—to speak ideally—the care and placing out of homeless children shall belong to the outgrown past.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLACING-OUT WORK BY INSTITUTIONS.

KATHARINE P. HEWINS,

General Secretary, The Church Home Society, Boston.

Placing out by child-caring institutions is no new thing. It is practically as old as the institution idea itself, in spite of a popular notion to the contrary. The very phrase "placing out" probably originated as connoting the opposite of "placing in." In spite of much hesitancy in the formal acceptance of the method and of very great differences in procedure it is none the less true, if the term is used in its broadest and most inclusive sense, that placing out has been resorted to by practically all orphanages.¹ That this has not always been done under the banner of placing out nor according to the most accepted modern standards does not alter the fact that many children have been put into family homes, often for adoption or by indenture and more rarely with the payment of board. The whole history of placing out is so interwoven with that of institutional development that it is difficult to determine which began first.

The by-products of an industry have proved on occasion to be quite as serviceable to mankind as the major products. Some institutions have found this to be true of their placing-out work. Their histories as recorded in annual reports show that seldom, if ever, has placing out been done at the outset in other than a desultory, half-hearted manner and always "on the side." If there is an instance of an orphanage which has entered upon placing out with deliberate intent and equipped itself with a staff of workers for this avowed purpose, its experience is unique.

One agency began work as a missionary society, its representative literally walking the city streets offering good advice to the children whom he encountered. From time to time he placed certain of these children in free homes. Later on the need was felt of a "home" where temporary care could be given, and in consequence one was

¹ The terms "orphanage" and "institution" are used interchangeably in this article. Orphanages, popularly supposed to shelter children bereaved of one or both parents, seldom so limit their intake. The United States Census of 1910 showed that of 111,514 children in institutions at the close of that year 65.4 per cent were orphans, half-orphans, and foundlings. No distinction between these different classifications was possible because of lack of uniformity in record keeping among the various institutions.

established. The emphasis for a time thereafter was on provision for the immediate shelter of abandoned and neglected children, who were later put into family homes. Gradually sentiment swung toward the provision of more permanent care in the institution, and for a decade or more the annual reports of this society were given over largely to a description of this phase of the work, touching only lightly on its placing-out service. Again the emphasis shifted, and for a second time the institution became the minor factor. Finally it was abolished and was superseded by placing out, according to up-to-date methods, for all the children coming under the agency's care.

FACTORS WHICH ACCELERATED THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLACING OUT.

Sooner or later every child in an institution will reach an age at which it will become both impractical and undesirable for him to remain longer within its walls. Even though the most ideal conditions prevail, there comes a day—it may be when he is 3, 7, or 12, or in some instances not until he is 16 or 18 years of age—when the children's institution is no longer equipped to minister to his needs. At this point any one of several things may happen to him. He may go to another institution for education or correction, or, as in the case of the feeble-minded, for custodial care; he may reenter the community by returning to his parents or other relatives; or he may go to a foster home, free or for board. Infant asylums meet the situation by transferring to institutions for older children those babies not claimed by death or placed for adoption who reach a stipulated age, usually 2 years. The institution planned on the congregate system and housing older children of both sexes must cope with the problem of sex segregation.

A practical reason for informal placing out, and one which has operated, even against the will of institutionally predisposed persons, to bring about the substitution of the family home for the more formal care of the orphanage, is the pressure to receive more children, and the consequent necessity to provide accommodations for them. If children remain too long, the institution becomes clogged at the point of entrance. The superintendent of a mid-western orphan asylum, writing of the development of placing-out work, says: "The institution was rapidly filling, so the next step was to find homes in the country for these children. This went on for several years, and our institution family was constantly changing."

A review of the annual reports of a group of societies, covering 50 to 75 years of institutional work, reveals that they made almost no inquiries prior to the reception of children. Had it been otherwise,

hundreds would have been found not to need institutional care in the first place, and in their cases the problem of after-provision would not have arisen. Many should have been kept with their mothers; others should have been given homes with relatives. How large this number is can never be known. It is certain, however, that crimes against the rights of little children have been allowed in the name of charity, and, it must be admitted, continue to be committed at the present day. The decision to separate a child from natural ties should not be made until all reasonable efforts have been exhausted to develop family resources.

In the face of the necessity of relieving the congestion in the orphanage it was but natural to select for other forms of care those children who failed to adjust themselves to its régime. Such misfits include a miscellaneous lot of children who, because of physical handicap, temperamental peculiarity, exceptional mental ability or disability, or other distinctive characteristic, were stamped as undesirable members of the congregate group. Either they themselves did not flourish in the routine of the institution or they did so at the expense of the other children. These were the so-called trouble-makers known to every institutional administrator, and something had to be done with them. Placing out was resorted to for such children as an expedient in a dilemma, and not necessarily because the method was held in high esteem.

Far-fetched as it may appear, the elements of water, wind, and fire have made their contribution to the development of placing out. The destruction of a dormitory wing or a dilapidated cottage has wrought wonders in this respect. Necessity is a compelling motive, and family homes may be used at very short notice, especially when selected without too much regard for the niceties. One orphanage, which ultimately adopted placing out for all its children, began by using foster homes for the boys as they reached the age of nine years. This was not done because the board of managers were unanimous in their approval of the method. Far from it. It was resorted to simply as a practical expedient when the boys' dormitory became uninhabitable. In another instance a society had outgrown its city location and desired to move to the country. Here placing out came as an afterthought, when no suitable site could be found.

FORESHADOWING PRESENT-DAY PLACING METHODS.

How well placed-out children meet the exigencies of their new life depends in part on the training and equipment given in the institution from which they are sent forth, as well as on the safeguards which are placed around them as they enter and continue in their

new environment. In the early days trustees and managers gave marked heed to the first of these conditions, but took little or no responsibility for the adjustments of wards who had left the protection of the institution.

In an annual report of an orphanage for 1859 is recorded the significant fact: "One boy was withdrawn by his mother, who stated that she was able to provide for him." On another page the same report states: "The committee corresponds with all who have been dismissed from the home," and, as if in confirmation, the following letters received from a foster father and his charge are cited:

As James can not write for himself, or but imperfectly, I have taken the liberty to send a line or two merely to let you know that he is well and comfortable, is not homesick, and seems to enjoy himself much. He has attended church and Sunday school punctually since he first came. He tells me to tell you that he has been a good boy and does not wish to go back. He sends his love to his brother and yourself.

[James:] I received Miss M's letter and I received your letter some time ago with the sled and other presents, and I am much obliged to you for sending them. I take this opportunity to write, as Mr. B is going to Boston to-morrow and I thought he would tell you how I got along and what I am doing. I can drive oxen to plow and I have the care of all the hens, and I brought in from the hens 22 eggs to-day, and Mr. B has two men beside me and he says that if I pick stones pretty smart for two days I might go afishing. I drive the cattle to pasture every morning and bring them home at night. I am glad to hear that Frank has got a place.

Such evidence of effort to keep in touch with the children, slight as it may seem in the light of modern follow-up methods, indicates a spirit that in later years expressed itself, through this particular orphanage, in more and more placing out with constantly improved means of supervision.

As early as 1842, an institution which 50 years later formally adopted placing out as its method of child care, made mention in its official report of children dismissed to relatives or placed for adoption. It was not until 1855, however, that this organization made its first casual reference to "hearing occasionally from those given for adoption"—some 15 years after the first child was thus provided for. Three years later the following reference was made: "These children are first received in the institution * * * until they are of a sufficient age and are otherwise prepared to be useful in families, to which they are indentured for a term of years." Again no hint of supervision. One orphanage disposed of the whole question of the afterlife of the children dismissed for a certain year with the short sentence: "Others have become of age and have been provided for elsewhere." Sporadic accounts of how boys and girls progressed after leaving institutions filtered back occasionally through various informal channels. For example, an annual report

of 1881 reads: "About a year ago our matron * * * met a farmer who said: 'I was a boy in that home once and had a sister there whom I have long been trying to find.'" It is worth noting that this matron made such vigorous and well-directed efforts as ultimately effected a reunion between this brother and sister so long lost to each other.

CRUELTY OF WHOLESALE SHIPMENTS OF CHILDREN FOR PLACING OUT.

In any chronicle of the development of placing out reference to a certain dark phase of this work can not be omitted. This relates to the wholesale disposal of children by sending them out by the carload to distant States, there to be distributed among families almost as though they were put upon the auction block and knocked down to the highest bidder. In 1857 such an expedition was made from Boston to Chicago, three days being occupied in the journey. In 11 days homes had been found for 46 children, and applications for 30 more were in hand. An annual report of three years later, referring to an incident of this sort, reads: "A large church was opened the morning after our arrival. * * * Our plea for the children was responded to in the most friendly and satisfactory manner, and in a few hours every child had found a new and, we trust, Christian home." Thousands of children have been lost track of forever by this unspeakably careless and cruel method of placing out, which has prevailed in some parts of the country up to very recent years, if indeed it is altogether abandoned at the present time.

FACTORS WHICH RETARDED DEVELOPMENT OF PLACING OUT.

Opposition of superintendents and matrons.

A militant force in retarding the development of placing out has been the hostile attitude of many, though not all, superintendents and matrons. To guard jealously against what appears to be an invasion of one's own territory is instinctive, and most institutionally minded persons view placing out as an entering wedge destined to pull down the very bricks and mortar around which their interests center. Trained to see things from a particular angle, they naturally hesitate to accept such a radical change as is involved in family placement. They have fought honestly for the retention of the institution, fearing a loss to the placed-out child of an opportunity for his fullest development—placing in their minds being synonymous with exploitation. In view of the methods previously discussed, such a sentiment may well have been based on personal observation and comparison of the best institutional methods with the results of random placing. The weakness of their argument lay in the very

marked difference between the best of one method and the worst of the other.

"If safeguards do not follow every child assigned to foster-family life, the child-placing movement may become the strongest kind of evidence in favor of institution care," says a well-known child-care expert. With no experience as to what these safeguards should be, children have been allowed, not infrequently by these same adverse critics, to go to family homes many of which have not even been visited and about which little is known beyond the general impressions gained through a call at the orphanage by the prospective foster mother or the recommendation of a friend, or perhaps the generally favorable representations of the local clergyman. Small wonder is it that children thus carelessly placed, who later have been returned to the institutions as "unsatisfactory" (that all-inclusive term), should bring back with them such tales of indifferent care, or even actual abuse and neglect, as tended to confirm previously formed prejudices. One who is traditionally rooted and grounded in the belief that the only way to provide for destitute childhood is by the mass method argues that only thus can it be insured that the child will receive three square meals a day and a comfortable bed and that only thus can all his time be accounted for and his activities supervised. The argument may be developed from a wrong premise but at least it indicates a sincere and earnest desire to protect innocent childhood. The more or less sporadic cases of placing out that come to the notice of institution officials, being on the whole of the kind disapproved most of all by advocates of good placing out, tend to strengthen this original belief. Their horizon narrowed by the constant and insistent demands of institutional responsibilities, superintendents and matrons generally lack the interest to pursue inquiries along lines foreign to the training and experience of the average institution head. Only the exceptional superintendent or matron is professionally inquisitive enough to take time to study the technique of foster-home finding and supervision which observation and experiment have slowly evolved for the child's protection.

Attitude of parents.

Another factor in the retardation of the movement is the attitude of the parents themselves. A minority, to be sure, but still one large enough to be given consideration, prefer to have their children in the institution. To these parents the very tangibility of the buildings makes its appeal, as against the vague idea that they have of the foster home; and until they can be shown that the latter is really watched over, they very naturally look upon it with suspicion. Stories of abuse and neglect in family homes are cited in support of their preference. Sometimes consciously, but more often un-

consciously, these objections of the parents are encouraged by officials of the institution, who in turn use them as arguments to support their own contentions.

Absentee trustees.

Boards of trustees, proverbially composed of esteemed and conservative gentlemen well known in their several communities for sagacity and business integrity, took, especially in the early days, only a remote interest in the actual management of the institutions for whose conduct they were accountable. The investment and conservation of funds was their chief concern. This and an annual meeting, at which the report of the lady managers was accepted and an appropriation made for their further use of a sum never in excess of the income from endowment, were generally regarded as the sum total of the trustees' responsibilities. Somehow it never seemed to be any considerable part of the duty of these men to inform themselves personally as to how their respective institutions were being conducted, nor to concern themselves, except very remotely, with inquiries into the aftereffects of institutional life on their wards. The early by-laws of one organization made provision for more activity on the part of its trustees, specifically directing them to assume certain obligations. A later report referred to difficulties encountered in living up to these requirements: "In the original plan of the society it was provided that the gentlemen of the board of trustees should exercise the same care and supervision over the boys that the lady managers did over the girls, but of late years this excellent custom has fallen into disuse."

Subordinate position of women's boards.

The "managers" were a subordinate board of women, usually appointed by the trustees and, except in minor details, given little or no ultimate authority. They had their assignment, however, and it was one that demanded concentrated time and labor. Charged with the management of the internal affairs of the orphanage, they were intrusted only very remotely with the formulation of policies. Subject to the restrictions and regulations imposed on them by the superior board, they were free to run the institution; to engage and dismiss the employees; to make regulations with regard to the admission and dismissal of children; and to minister to the children's needs, both physical and spiritual, during their stay. The yoke of the trustees must have rested heavily in some instances. One annual report relates that "The result was * * * the adoption of a new constitution giving more control to the board of managers as to the internal arrangements of the home, and left the investment of funds and the control of all finances of the society, with the *exception of annual*

subscriptions [the italics are the present writer's] in the hands of the board of council."

The members of the board of managers were selected from the same social group, and frequently from the same families as the trustees. Nevertheless there was a gulf fixed between them in matters relative to the conduct of the affairs of the organization that was hard to bridge. The trustees, with their big business interests, had an attitude of smiling condescension in the making of an allowance to the managers for their "charity." The latter, in turn, showed a patient gratitude. When the two ends did not meet, the ladies supplemented the grant from the trustees with amounts which they contributed or else secured through personal and often valiant solicitation.

FORCES IN THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN PLACING-OUT METHODS.

Personal interest of "managers."

The board of managers usually met once a month. During the interim committees on repairs, dry goods, provisions and groceries, fuel, and admission did yeoman service. The good women knew the children by name as well as by sight; they visited the infirmary, inspected the ice chest, had personal experience with the broken-down rocker, and were choked by the smoke emitted by the defective kitchen flue. On Wednesday—or was it on some other day?—the admission committee met regularly, rain or shine, summer as well as winter. For two or three hours its members listened patiently to pathetic stories of fathers and mothers who appeared in person to plead that their Josephs and Hannahs be given shelter. In the afternoon, taking time only for a hurried lunch, these same managers would storm the offices of busy men of affairs with stirring appeals for help, which seldom failed of response—from the request for \$100 to replace the threadbare stair carpet to \$1 for turkeys to gladden Christmas Day.

Personal, direct, and frequent contacts of such a homely nature could not fail to have their beneficent effect on the understanding of the practical problems connected with the daily lives of the children. The managers knew what was happening in the institution and something of what befell the children when they left it. Managers of one orphanage met those from another and exchanged experiences. They gathered, not by prearrangement nor in formal conference, but socially and accidentally. Common problems have a way of creeping into everyday conversation, and such difficulties encountered in the institution as the age limit, segregation of the sexes, the inciter of mischief, the delicate child, the high mortality rate of infant asy-

lums, all had their turn at fashionable watering places and over the teacups on the cool and shaded verandas among the mountains.

Here and there appeared isolated instances of women dissatisfied with the institutional method as the sole means of caring for dependent and neglected childhood. When a manager took a delicate child into her home and gave him a summer of fresh air and perhaps companionship with her own children, as is chronicled in the early annals of more than one orphanage, her action was prophetic.

Recognition of the need for supervision after placement.

In the earliest examples of placing out, as has been remarked, little or no cognizance was taken of the need for supervision. It was enough that the child was given wholesome care while in the institution. Having arrived at a certain chronological age, he must go forth and thereafter depend upon himself or such chance friends as fortune might send. When suitable homes could not be found near by for two "not bad boys, but full of health and activity," a report relates how they were sent for adoption to a far distant State, "where they are apparently surrounded by helpful Christian influences."

However, occasional rumblings as to the need of aftercare, supervision, or whatever else it may be called, for children leaving institutions were heard even in the very early years of placing out. "Applications have also been made to adopt some of the children, and the board of managers propose to appoint a committee on dismissal. * * * Such children should not be allowed to pass entirely from our protective influences, * * * and the persons who adopt them should be required to keep us advised of their welfare and progress." Thus reads the second annual report, published in 1858, of an orphanage that from its very beginning sensed the need of protective measures for those of its wards who left the shelter of the institution. An annual report for the year 1876, referring to the subject of finding homes for those who had "overstayed their time," states: "When we remember that these children, with few exceptions, are obliged to go forth at 12 years of age with no safeguards of family life around them, * * * it becomes a constantly recurring question what to do with them as they get beyond the benefits of a home constructed only to educate and protect them in their unprotected, helpless years."

The very marked dissimilarity between placing out as practiced in early times and the more modern conception has important implications. It is a distinction in technique, to be sure, and a very marked one. This distinction in turn has its roots in a far more significant difference, due to the growth of a conscious recognition

of responsibility for the child during later years, as well as while he is in the orphanage.

Interlocking directorates.

In more than one instance family-welfare and kindred social agencies have played an important though usually a quiet and frequently an indirect part in the development of placing out by institutions. Interlocking directorates, when not carried to an extreme, may make a good medium for the exchange of ideas between organizations. The manager of a children's orphanage who is at the same time a member of the case committee in a family-welfare society is in a strategic position to accept and pass on views of family life that may vitally influence policies. It takes very little yeast to leaven a whole lump. Not, however, until one has personal knowledge of how strong an influence for careful and intelligent placing out an individual may be, will one realize the full force of this statement. Quietly and tactfully, in instance after instance, such a committee member may bring to bear the argument for an approximation of normal family life for children deprived of their own homes until, often against its own will, even a conservative and institution-favoring body of directors will come to see the advantage of placing out for the majority of these children.

METHOD OF INTRODUCING PLACING-OUT SERVICE.

Given a recognition on the part of a single board member of the value in principle of placing children in carefully selected and as carefully supervised family homes, plus an open-minded matron willing to cooperate in an experiment, and the time is ripe for introducing a placing-out service. Before actual operations may be begun formal consent to the experiment must be secured from the board, and some one equipped to carry it through must be at hand. The former requisite is usually the easier to obtain, particularly if the hypothetical board member who advocates foster-home care has been preparing the others by a tactful and judicious sowing of the seed. If he will submit to training in the threefold art of investigation, homefinding, and supervision and will then devote enough time to making a demonstration, this is the simplest way of beginning, since it involves no additional expense. It is, furthermore, an admirable method of firing the imagination and inspiring the enthusiasm of other board members. If no board member is prepared to take this training and to contribute his time to the cause, some other plan should be devised. For example, a near-by child-welfare agency may be asked to lend a worker. This is defensible cooperation to ask. Courtesies of this nature have been cordially extended from one agency to another on the basis of a mutual interest, but such a re-

quest should be for a limited experimental period only. The third and best plan is to provide for the salary of a trained social worker, either through the budget of the institution or through a special contribution. This person should be made directly responsible to the board, and should investigate applications for admission to care as well as provide foster homes and supervision for children who are ready to leave the institution.

REQUISITES OF APPROVED PRESENT-DAY METHODS OF PLACING OUT.

Careful selection of children to be placed.

The board being at least quiescent, if not enthusiastic, in its attitude and an especially qualified person being available for the undertaking, three essentials of a good program of placing out must be considered. The first is the method of selecting the children to be placed. Not all children are placeable. By maintaining the opposite some advocates of placing out have done great injury to their own cause. If the selection is to be made from the children already in the institution rather than from new applicants, very great care should be exercised not to lay too much stress one way or the other on the child's reactions to the group life. Many children act in quite an opposite manner inside and outside institutions. It is wholly unsafe to predict from institutional experience alone how a child will adapt himself to the less formal life of a family. The child's conduct in the institution, his relations to its inmates—children and staff alike—are exceedingly valuable evidence, but their value as such is greatly enhanced when they are considered in conjunction with facts of heredity and early environment. By themselves they tend to give a distorted impression of character potentialities. The so-called good child of the institution—docile, obedient, and quiet under a formal régime—may prove quite unequal to coping with the emergencies that arise in the everyday experience of ordinary family life. His conformity may be due to retarded mental development or even to feeble-mindedness. At any rate, these are possibilities to be considered. The converse of this is the good adjustment to normal community life that is sometimes very strikingly shown in the case of a placed-out boy or girl formerly rated as abnormal and the terror of the institution.

Careful selection of foster homes.

The second requisite, of equal importance with the selection of the child, is the choice of a foster home. All that has been said about care in selecting the child may be said also with reference to the home. It is obviously futile to choose a child for placement unless at least a fair chance exists that a home of the right sort is open to

him. No one should be intrusted with the delicate task of adjusting a child to a foster home, whether it be free, wage, or boarding, who is not trained and qualified to make a painstaking and sympathetic inquiry into its resources, moral and financial, to study the community setting, and to appraise the character qualifications of each member of the family, all in terms of the need of the particular child under consideration. A general but hazy desire on the part of a man or woman to be of service is of itself no guaranty of the capacity to create a favorable atmosphere for a child's best development. Families eminently qualified to care for some children are totally unfitted to receive others. The boarding home located in an unattractive district and perhaps lacking in educational and recreational opportunities may be the one to give superior care to delicate infants, especially if it is presided over by a woman who not only loves babies but has had experience and training in their care; the home of a couple, however intelligent, with a 16-year-old boy of their own would be wholly unsuitable for the reception of a young girl with irregular sex tendencies. The free home eminently qualified to give permanent care to a young child would be ill adapted to one with relatives to whom he is likely to return in a few months or to a family of children whose parents are unable to provide a home but can and should visit them frequently and help in their support.

Children of working age need as careful placing as younger ones. An institution that keeps its wards up to the age of adolescence has the peculiar obligation of seeing that they go into families that will give them some measure of affection and interest and do not look on the acquisition of "an orphan-asylum charge" merely as a means of solving their own irritating servant problem. The desire to secure cheap help leads many a harassed housewife to turn to an orphanage in quest of "a strong, willing, and capable girl, who will appreciate a good home." The requirement of deference, obedience, and gratitude in return for hard work, an attic room, and a picayune wage forms a sorry outlook for juveniles carefully reared in an institution. It is becoming common knowledge that the transition from a protected, artificial setting to the unaccustomed freedom of community life is a difficult adjustment at best for the adolescent child, who finds himself under a heavy handicap in competing with his peers. Little wonder that many children long for the protection of the institution, with all the attachments that it holds and the opportunities which it offers for congenial social intercourse. Nor is it surprising that kindly matrons who have learned to love and understand these children recoil from their accounts of the bareness of their lives outside of the institution. The fault lies not in the fact of allowing the girls (and the same is true in principle of the boys) to go into family homes on a wage basis; the offense is that

too little is known about these foster homes in the first place, and that too little oversight is provided to insure a continuing knowledge of conditions.

Adequate supervision.

The third fundamental in a right development of placing out from institutions is equipment for adequate supervision after the child is placed. Only through intelligent oversight can placing out reach its maximum possibilities as a system of child care. It is as chimerical to expect success from a method which involves the use of many homes, often in a widely scattered area, without a personnel sufficient to cover the field, as to undertake to run an institution without a staff.

If it is true that the institution's responsibility for its wards reaches beyond its threshold, then it follows that supervision must be given to every type of home. The boarding home which receives compensation from the organization placing the child is the one over which supervision is perhaps easiest to establish and maintain. Here, as elsewhere, the best results are obtained not by the spy and big-stick methods of authority, but through a patient, friendly, and constructive oversight on the part of the visitor with a reciprocally frank, cordial, and receptive attitude on the side of the foster parents. This is a partnership job, the common business being the welfare of the child.

Allusion has already been made to the neglect of the wage home from the standpoint of supervision. Farmers and housewives who receive children on a wage basis have not always been looked upon by the institutions as foster parents. Many of these persons have been led by wise supervision to recognize their obligations and to take a right attitude toward their charges. Once convinced of their responsibilities, these employer foster parents have added to the small wages opportunities for schooling, for companionship, and for ultimate advancement.

The home that has had the least and might seem to need the least supervision is that of the well-to-do and intelligent couple who have adopted a child because they are fond of children and have none of their own. Suppose that the character of the prospective parents is above reproach, as is their motive in adopting; that barring unforeseen circumstances, the financial situation is secure; and that a high degree of intelligence exists on the part of both the adoptive parents. Where, one may argue, is the advantage of imposing on such a situation a follow-up which can only irritate, which hinders the absorption of the child into the normal family life, and which can be of no possible benefit to either side. The child will receive precisely the same care and affection which would have gone to an own child had there been one. Unfortunately, there

is enough evidence on the other side to argue for very careful supervision over an extended period of time for all children placed for adoption. It is more and more conceded to-day by the best child-welfare agencies that supervision should continue in such cases up to the time when the court actually consents to the adoption, and at least a year is insisted upon for the trial period by those who have given the subject most thought. After legal adoption takes place most agencies feel that they have no further right to continue oversight, though a minority are coming to believe that the interests of the child, the family, and the community require something more. Unless this is provided, in thousands of cases, the actual results of adoption can only be conjectured. Some, perhaps many, of the children placed for adoption make a good adjustment, marry, and continue the line of succession without serious difficulties; others, after years of struggle between temperaments which clash, reach the breaking point, often with disastrous results to family and child alike. No one knows what proportion of the total adoptions belong to each group, nor can this be determined except through some method of follow-up that combines great discretion and due regard for the rights of all concerned.

Child-placing agencies get an aftermath of unwise adoptions, unwise sometimes in a way that could not be seen at the time of placement. One such instance is that of a well-to-do young couple who adopted a baby boy about whose heredity little was known. Believing in the strong influence of environment, they were content to receive him when assured by laboratory tests that he was free from venereal infection. As the boy approached the adolescent period he grew wayward and troublesome, and a complaint was finally lodged against him in court as a stubborn child. At this critical moment he was given a psychiatric examination, which showed him to be possessed of unusually superior mentality, far above that of either adoptive parent. Here was a case of maladjustment, quite as extreme as though the child had been feeble-minded in the lower range. A follow-up on the part of the institution responsible for this ill-matched adoption should have disclosed the unusual caliber of this boy's mental equipment in his early youth and averted the subsequent tragedy of unhappiness and disappointment. Even though it had not been thought necessary to remove the boy from the home, he might have been given opportunities for a free development of his faculties and so provided with an outlet for activities. As it was, they were dammed at the source and burst out in undesirable ways.

Intelligent foster parents—boarding, free, wage, or adoptive—usually welcome advice from some one experienced in dealing with

considerable numbers of problems similar to their own and look on a qualified visitor as guide and counselor. There is no thought of espionage in their minds. Supervision holds strictly to account the ignorant but well-meaning and the willfully negligent, who need special treatment, and most of whom probably ought never to have been given children in the first place.

CONCLUSION.

The inclusion of placing out in institution programs has made slow but steady headway. The heavy endowments with which some orphanages are cursed, the "absentee landlord" methods of trustees, and a certain timidity on the part of managers, these, combined with direct opposition from superintendents and matrons, are some of the forces which have tended to delay its introduction. It is important to note that in spite of such handicaps, however insignificant and casual the beginnings and whatever the origin (a manager, a progressive matron, a far-seeing trustee), wherever it has been given a fair trial placing out has won its way and has either been accorded a permanent position in the institutional scheme or superseded it entirely. There are still institutions which maintain a restrictive attitude to any system which goes by the name of placing out, though, curiously enough, all of them are continually putting children into families for indenture or otherwise returning them to the community. The general tendency, however, is toward placing out, and illustrations are numerous.

One orphanage now provides a subsidy to mothers capable of caring for their own children, thus preventing the children from ever reaching the institution stage. Another institution has recently joined hands with a child-placing society, the former to provide immediate shelter and observation facilities for problem cases, the latter to find and supervise family homes for children suitable for placement. In numerous instances children's institutions have been entirely abandoned in favor of child placing, the buildings frequently being made available for homes for the aged, for hospitals, or for kindred useful purposes. The United States census for 1910, which furnishes the most recent figures available on the subject, lists 39,927 children—27 per cent of the 147,997 children then in charge of institutions—as being "outside but under care." "The responsibility of an institution for the well-being of a child committed to its guardianship does not cease with its placement in a family home, except in case of legal adoption. In all other cases the institution is expected, and in some States is required, to keep a careful watch of the conditions in the family where the child is placed, with a view to change, should it seem desirable."²

² U. S. Bureau of Census: Benevolent institutions, 1910, pp. 26 and 31.

SAFEGUARDING THE DEPENDENT CHILD'S PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH.¹

HORACE H. JENKS, M. D.,

Director of Associated Medical Clinic, Philadelphia.

The lot of the dependent child at best is rather an unhappy one compared with that of his more fortunate brothers and sisters. Certainly one of the most important things that can be done for him is to give him the best health possible under the circumstances. The first step toward this goal is a complete and thorough examination of the child as soon as he comes under the care of the supervising agency or society.

But even *before* this physical examination there is a most important step which must be taken by the social worker in charge of the child. She must have ready a social history of the child and his family, which should be as complete as possible. In the examination of the dependent child, as in the examination of any patient, much depends on a thorough and careful history. At the first medical examination, therefore, there should always be submitted an *accurate* family history including information with regard to the parents, the other children, and the previous medical history of the child himself. The parents' history should include especially information regarding tuberculosis, syphilis, nervous disorders, mental diseases, and moral vagaries. Effort should also be made to ascertain whether there has been exposure to any of these diseases from the grandparents or other relatives or from boarders in the home. This point is especially important in regard to tuberculosis. The cause of death of members of the immediate family should also be specified. A history of repeated miscarriages or stillbirths should be noted, as suggestive of syphilis. The ages of the other children in the family should be recorded. Incidentally, this gives information as to whether pregnancies have followed each other too rapidly. It is often helpful to examine the other children in the family, for, as is well known, the stigma of hereditary disease may show in only one or two members of a family.² Of course, the previous history of the child should be given in detail, beginning with the mother during pregnancy and parturition; the condition of

¹The observations contained in this paper are founded largely on the work of the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia.

²Stoll, H. F., M. D.: "The clinical diagnosis of heredosyphilis." *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Sept. 17, 1921, pp. 919-924.

the child at birth, the feeding during infancy, illness, contagious and infectious diseases, and the later diseases of childhood—as chorea, rheumatism, tonsillitis, etc. In cases in which defective mentality is apparent inquiry must also be made as to when the child talked, walked, and first went to school, the history of convulsions, etc. These facts should, if possible, be known and recorded on the history sheet when the child is sent to the physician.

THE GENERAL PHYSICAL EXAMINATION.

Plenty of time should be allowed for the general physical examination, especially for the first examination. The hurry and superficiality of examinations given in the average large hospital dispensary is entirely out of place in this work. It is often well to open the interview with the child by some casual remark as to his interests in play or school, or the ever interesting subject of what he likes to eat. Inquiry should be made as to his grade in school. The weight and height are recorded. Then, beginning at his scalp, the child is examined from head to foot. He should be entirely undressed as the examination proceeds. In summer a small sheet and in winter a small, easily washed blanket is placed about the shoulders. The dryness of the hair, the presence or absence of any disease of the scalp—as ringworm or pediculosis capitis (head lice)—is noted. As a practical point, it should always be recorded in the history whether or not nits are present, for occasionally foster parents (especially if they do not like the child) will assert that he has been sent to them with an unclean head. The nose should be examined for the presence of any nasal discharge, obstruction, or deflected septum; the mouth, for the condition of the teeth and gums, enlargement or disease of the tonsils, general shape and condition of the palate. The neck is felt for the presence of enlarged lymph glands and for examination of the thyroid gland.

The chest, of course, should be most carefully examined. Not only should the lungs be examined for bronchitis or tuberculosis, but the amount of air entering should be roughly considered. It is astonishing how poorly many undernourished children breathe. The breath sounds, even when the chest walls are thin, are sometimes scarcely audible. These children may need deep breathing exercises fully as much as extra milk. The heart must be studied with reference to its size and efficiency, as much as for the detection of murmurs or leakage at the valves.

The abdomen should be examined with the child lying down and relaxed. Enlargement of liver or spleen or the presence of umbilical hernia should be noted.

Boys should be examined for phimosis, undescended testicle and hernia, older boys for varicocele. Girls should be examined especially for the presence of any vaginal discharge, and girls who are to be admitted to institutions or to homes where there will be other girls should have vaginal, or preferably cervical, smears made on the first visit to the clinic. Both sexes should be examined for signs of irritation or inflammation of the genital organs caused by masturbation. Next the child's posture is studied, the condition of the spine, shoulders, legs, ankles, arches of the feet, and general bearing or carriage being recorded.

The child is then dressed, and returns for tests of eyesight and hearing. In babies and young children the eardrums should be examined with the otoscope. Eye and ear examinations in general are not detailed, but if any abnormality is detected the child should be referred to a specialist for more thorough examination.

It is advisable, although it is not always practicable, to secure a specimen of urine at the first visit. It has been the practice at the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia to have blood examination (red and white cells and hemoglobin) if the child is 10 per cent or more underweight or if he is noticeably pale.

The advisability of performing the Wassermann test upon every child is an unsettled question. Many believe that every child should be tested on his first visit. Others, noting that only about 2 per cent of children give a positive blood test, would restrict the test on the younger children, as undoubtedly many young children are considerably frightened by it and their confidence may be difficult to regain. Many of these children have been so frightened by the abuse and so subdued by the hardships to which they have been subjected, that it seems certainly unwise, and possibly unkind, to subject them to a Wassermann test for syphilis—or even a Pirquet test for tuberculosis infection—at the first visit as a necessary routine measure. At this clinic it has been done upon the following indications:

(a) If the child is to be referred to the department of child study for extensive psychiatric examination.

(b) If the child shows clinical evidence of hereditary or acquired syphilis.

(c) If the child shows suspicious signs of hereditary or acquired syphilis.

(d) With foundlings.

(e) If children are to be admitted to certain child-caring institutions which require this test as a preliminary to acceptance.

(f) If the child has suspicious sex history or if his parents have undoubtedly been sexually promiscuous, or when there is a history of miscarriages.

Certainly there can be no question as to the advisability of Schick testing for diphtheria at one of the first visits, and children reacting positively should be immunized with toxin-antitoxin before placement. Children not previously vaccinated should have this done, providing that they are to be placed under competent care.

It is of great advantage to the examining clinic to be closely associated with a hospital. In that case the opinion of consultants can easily be secured and X-ray examinations made, and if a child arrives at the clinic too ill to be sent to a foster home he can be at once transferred to the hospital.

Preferably all girls, and certainly those over 12 years of age, should be examined by a woman physician. She should be a woman skilled not only in gynecological examinations but also in the psychology of girlhood. By her sympathetic questioning she may be able to bring out important facts in a girl's history, and also, her advice may be of inestimable help. This will be dwelt upon later.

The written record of this examination should be made in duplicate, one copy being kept in the office of the physician or the examining clinic and one sent at once to the agency referring the child. If possible, definite statements should be made as to the child's condition, and even more definite statements as to recommendations for the cure of defects. Weight to height ratio (probably the most serviceable for clinic use at the present time, always excepting certain children of unusual size either from nationality or other causes) should be given as "percentage of normal," as well as in pounds above or below the average. A definite time should be noted for the return of the child for subsequent examination.

Of paramount importance at this first examination are the following factors: General appearance, carriage and alertness, general state of growth and nutrition, condition of scalp, skin, and throat, the presence or absence of serious heart or lung disease, postural defects, and a rough estimate of the mental caliber.

THE NEED FOR MENTAL EXAMINATIONS.

The definitely feeble-minded child can usually be recognized at a glance. Unfortunately, all too many of these pass through the care of agencies dealing with dependent children. But there are many children whose mentality at the first visit impresses the examiner only as "peculiar." It was probably to determine the exact mental status of such children that psychiatric clinics originally became connected with clinics examining children.

Should all children coming under the care of child-placing agencies be given mental examination? Theoretically, yes, by all means. We are only on the threshold of understanding the psychology of child-

hood and the mental problems of adolescence. Practically, except in the best-equipped agencies, it is impossible on account of the cost and time involved to examine as a routine. Psychometric examinations (measuring by set standards just how far the child's mind has developed) by the Binet and similar scales have a certain, but very limited, value. They undoubtedly show how far the child has developed (provided there is no language difficulty), but that is not necessarily an indication that the child will continue to develop at the same rate. They give no idea as to the all-important point of the child's reaction to his environment. Examination by a well-trained psychiatrist employing all the methods known to that science, studying a carefully worked out social history which gives the family background of the child's life (and this is even more important here than for the medical examination), and interviewing the parents or other relatives, will yield very interesting results and not only will determine the mental age of the child at the time of the examination but will afford grounds for a very intelligent opinion as to what the child is best fitted for. Any child impressing the medical examiner as dull or unusually backward in his school work, or a child who can "get along" with nobody, or who has developed unfortunate moral failings—as petty thieving, truancy, or sex indiscretions—should certainly have the benefit of mental examination by a competent specialist, preceded, of course, by the physical examination. It is well worth while to give such a child this psychological examination, even if he has to be sent to the nearest city for the purpose. One has only to read the studies by Taft,³ Healy,⁴ and others to realize what valuable insight into the child's life and what information can thus be secured. A whole new province of pediatrics is revealed, and to those who have never ventured in, a most interesting field is opened.

A complete copy of the physical findings should be submitted to the psychiatrist previous to the child's first visit, and conversely, a complete report of the child's mental examination should be sent to the examining physician for filing with the child's record. The main facts to be brought to the mental examiner's attention are: The state of growth and nutrition (normal, above, or below); any gross abnormality of heart or lungs; the history of a long-continued illness; the evidence of any marked abnormality of any of the endocrine or ductless glands; the report of a Wassermann blood

³ Taft, Jessie: "Some problems in delinquency," in *American Sociological Society*, vol. 16. *The Need for Psychological Interpretation in the Placing of Dependent Children*, Publication of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia. "Mental hygiene problems of normal adolescence," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1921.

⁴ Healy, William, M. D.: *The Individual Delinquent*, a text-book of diagnosis and prognosis for all concerned in understanding offenders, and *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*. Both published by Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1915 and 1917.

test for syphilis; any of the so-called stigmata of degeneration (these should be noted, but with much reserve—many high-arched palates are seen in children with perfectly normal mentality, and many a good, honest, healthy boy has a peculiarly shaped head); and any marked over or under development of the sex organs.⁵

The facts, often of the most intimate nature, the self-revelations and confessions, which are placed upon this record should be considered sacred to the child and treated by all (physicians, nurses, and social workers) with the professional secrecy with which a physician keeps inviolate facts told him by his patient. Matters of greatest importance to the child are of course the questions as to whether feeble-mindedness is present, whether or not institutional care is to be advised, and whether the child is being pushed too hard in school or not fast enough, together with the salient points in the examination shedding some light on his probable mental characteristics. Is he observant, has he quick perception, is he impulsive, has he reasoning power, is he forgetful, is he careless and absent-minded, is he quick and dexterous with his fingers? These and many other points of vast importance for the child's future can be clearly and accurately brought out by the trained psychiatrist.

THE CARE OF THE CHILD IN THE FOSTER HOME.

The home.

From the moment when consideration is first given to placing a child in a home until the child is definitely discharged from care, the cooperation of the medical and social workers must be of the closest. Neither must advance far without consulting the other. Nowhere should the interplay of medicine and social work be finer. Children must not be thrown into the first home available and left to survive as best they may. All the physical examinations in the world on a sensitive, delicate little girl are thrown away, wasted, if that child is put into a home where the foster father is coarse, or drunken, or brutal. Conversely, of what use is it to place an overgrown, immoral, noisy boy with a foster mother of the delicate, "shut-in," spineless type? These examples, of course, are extreme, but each move in the placing out of delicate or problem children must be thought out and studied with more than the care of the chess player.

The number of children in each foster home must be restricted. The essence of the placing-out job is to have individual or almost individual care of the child. This is impossible if too many are crowded in any one home. With babies, one child to a family is

⁵ Healy, William, M. D., and Bronner, Augusta F.: Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies. Boston.

the ideal, two at the most, unless skilled help is available as in the "nursing homes" managed by one or more trained nurses. Even here there should be the ratio of only two, or at the most two and one-half, children per trained adult. With older boys and girls two, or at the most three, to a home should be the absolute limit.

We have advanced far from the time when children were committed to the first institution available and left to the more or less tender mercies of the matron in charge. A few of these have been fine, noble women, but many—alas for the children—not so fine. Let us in placing these children in foster homes secure for them healthy, happy homes where the natural development of childhood may take place. Let us then not crowd children in the foster homes. The ideal is one dependent child in a family, at most two. Usually the health and often the character and happiness of dependent children are below those of more fortunate children, and they need all the care and thought that the foster mother can bestow. Children placed in the so-called work homes need the special oversight of visitor or nurse, and often of a physician, to see that they are not compelled to work too hard and that they have sufficient sleep and a reasonable period of recreation.

It is very important to know the hygienic standards of the home into which a child is going. He must, of course, have adequate air space. He must have a bed to himself, and it is far preferable that he have a room to himself. There should be running water in the house and a toilet that is decently private.

The health and character of the foster parents should be inquired into as closely as possible. The ideal condition would theoretically be the medical examination of these foster parents, but at the present time this is obviously impracticable. The family physician should be consulted by the social worker, and it should be held no breach of professional secrecy for him to state at least in general terms whether the condition of either foster parent is such as to endanger the child. Much can be gleaned by the trained visitor through observation of the household, but these inferences should not be too largely relied on and should be checked up wherever possible by more accurate data from the physician or hospital. It has several times happened in the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia, that foster parents who have known the social agencies and the clinic for some time have voluntarily come to the clinic for examination, when they feared the presence of some serious disease, such as tuberculosis. Needless to say, also, an accurate appraisal of the character of the foster parents should be made, but this is essentially a social job.

The child must not be overworked and should have the opportunity for an amount of sleep suitable for his age. The foster mother must see that the younger children have a daily evacuation

of the bowels at a regular time, that they are kept reasonably clean, and that they have sufficient time for their meals. The practice of some foster parents, especially in the country, of demanding a vast amount of physical work from these children in addition to their school work can not be too severely condemned. It indicates lack of observation or carelessness on the part of the social workers responsible for the care of these children. A boy of 12 must not get up at 4 or 4.30, clean the stable, water the stock, milk the cows, and then get a hurried breakfast and go to school, and return in time for the same stable chores in the afternoon.

It is difficult, of course, to find a foster mother sufficiently interested to supervise the hours of recreation of the children. And yet we should be content with nothing less. The burden of this should, however, lie equally on the visitor. She must explain to the foster mother the reason for each step and must herself take the time to see that the children's play hours are properly used. Many foster children are serious problem children, and it is imperative that their hours of play be healthful ones. Especially is this true when moral delinquencies are present. The foster mother must be very clearly informed of the facts in such cases, in order that she may be able to handle the situation with firmness and tact. Children who are underweight, nervous, or anemic must have their hours of rest and play clearly outlined in writing.

The question of food in the foster homes has been too much neglected by both social worker and doctor. To expect the foster mother to have a knowledge of dietetics is, of course, unreasonable, but some accurate knowledge of this subject should be required of all social case workers. They should be acquainted with the basic facts of nutrition and as much more as they can absorb. Every scrap of information on this subject should be eagerly gathered up and applied by the social worker. The great majority of dependent children are undernourished. One of our greatest efforts must be to improve the nutrition.

The visitor must have access to figures showing the proper ratios of weight to height and age for boys and girls. The tables of Dr. W. R. P. Emerson⁶, those of Dr. Thomas D. Wood,⁷ and those published by the Federal Children's Bureau,⁸ are all available. The visitor must have an idea as to what a balanced diet means. Holt and Fales⁹ have clearly, simply, and authoritatively shown that a balanced diet for a child is divided approximately as follows: Fats,

⁶ Table of Average Weight and Height Measurements at Various Ages, etc. Nutrition Clinics for Delicate Children, 44 Dwight St., Boston.

⁷ Height and Weight Tables for Boys and Girls. Child Health Organization, 1918.

⁸ Woodbury, Robert Morse: Statures and Weights of Children under Six Years of Age. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 87. Washington, 1921.

⁹ Holt, L. E., M. D., and Fales, H. L.: "The food requirements of children." *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, October, 1922, pp. 311-319.

35 per cent; protein, 15 per cent; carbohydrates, 50 per cent. This, in a nutshell, is the theory of the balanced diet.

The visitor must know the great classes of foodstuffs (proteids, fats, and carbohydrates) and must know in what class the commonly available foods belong and what their nutritive value is in relation to cost. She should have more than the popular smattering of information in regard to the usefulness of vitamins. And above all she should realize how much actual fuel, expressed as food, is really necessary to give healthy children proper growth, let alone to bring up to normal the undernourished. The table appended is most valuable, stressing as it does the actual caloric needs of growing school children, and one must not be unmindful of the fact that the boy from 14 to 18 years of age needs even more food than the adult man, and that the girl from 14 to 16 needs as many calories in her food as the adult man and much more than the adult woman. The healthy appetite of the growing boy and girl must be respected, but should be encouraged in the proper direction. These facts can not be too emphatically stated. Child-caring agencies, and through them the public, must realize that this food is an absolute necessity, not a luxury, and must be willing to pay adequately for it. It simply can not be provided at the present time (in this part of the country, at least) for the usual weekly payment of \$2.50 or \$3 per child. To the writer's mind such figures are simply an open confession that the child is not receiving sufficient or, possibly, proper food.

Total daily calories.

(Holt and Fales.)

Age. (years).	Boys.					Girls.				
	Average weight.		Calories.		Total daily calories.	Average weight.		Calories.		Total daily calories.
	Kilos.	Pounds.	Per kilo.	Per pound.		Kilos.	Pounds.	Per kilo.	Per pound.	
1.....	9.5	22	100	45	950	9.3	21	101	45	940
2.....	12.2	27	93	42	1,135	11.8	26	94	43	1,110
3.....	14.5	32	88	40	1,275	14.1	31	87	40	1,220
4.....	16.4	36	84	38	1,380	15.9	35	82	37	1,300
5.....	18.2	40	82	37	1,490	18.2	40	78	36	1,410
6.....	20.0	44	80	36	1,600	20.0	44	76	34	1,520
7.....	21.8	48	80	36	1,745	21.8	48	76	34	1,690
8.....	24.0	53	80	36	1,920	23.0	53	76	34	1,815
9.....	26.4	58	80	36	2,110	26.2	58	76	34	1,990
10.....	29.1	64	80	36	2,330	28.5	63	77	35	2,195
11.....	31.4	69	80	36	2,510	31.5	69	80	36	2,520
12.....	34.2	75	80	36	2,735	35.8	79	80	36	2,864
13.....	38.0	84	80	36	3,040	40.6	89	79	34	3,330
14.....	42.5	94	80	36	3,400	45.0	99	74	36	3,210
15.....	48.2	106	80	36	3,855	48.3	106	67	30	3,330
16.....	54.5	120	75	34	4,090	51.0	112	62	28	3,235
17.....	57.5	127	69	31	3,945	52.6	116	58	26	3,160
18.....	59.8	132	62	28	3,730	52.8	117	56	25	3,090
Adult...	68.0	150	48	22	3,265	60.0	132	44	20	2,640

¹ Holt, L. E., M. D., and Fales, H. L.: "The food requirements of children." American Journal of Diseases of Children, January, 1921, p. 21.

Most foster mothers tend to prepare a diet too starchy and too liquid. Soups, unless prepared with plenty of milk and such vegetables as peas or beans, are temporarily filling but not very nourishing. The child, while satisfied during the mealtime, soon feels the pangs of hunger and naturally seeks to quiet these by recourse to the nearest penny shop, where he will acquire probably more calories (as carbohydrates) from candies than he did from his bowl of soup. The distended abdomen frequently found in much-neglected children is often due to a diet high in starches with too much poorly baked bread.

Probably with proper supervision of the diet and helpful suggestions from the visitor most foster children could have at least one pint of milk a day in place of the tea or coffee so often given. The foster mother should be persuaded to have the heaviest meal for the preschool children in the middle of the day. It is astonishing to find out how infrequently this is done. The man of the household has to have his dinner at night and it is so much easier to give the same to all. An understanding on this point should be secured previous to the placement of young children. It is a very important duty of the visitor to help the foster mother with the diet. She must encourage her to persist with the child who does not like, or will not take, milk. Often she can secure the same result by giving milk soups or milk desserts such as rice pudding, or by using plenty of milk on cereals or potatoes, or by giving malted milk.

It takes an accurate and gifted judge of human nature to decide how often foster mothers should be visited. Some do better with not too frequent visiting, being those individuals who do their best work when fully trusted and who are sufficiently competent to be trusted. Foster mothers of this class are few, and the character of each should be fully known before the experiment is tried. As a rule it is far better to have a pretty close follow-up system, and the foster mother will soon cease to regard it as interference. Babies should be seen at least every two weeks by nurse or social worker, and those whose feeding is difficult or who are delicate should be visited once a week. Preschool children should be visited once a month. In the cases of older children, the need for revisitation of the home will vary according to both the child and the home; but the writer agrees thoroughly with Katharine P. Hewins that "as a guide, but not as a rule, any child who has not been seen in his foster home for two months is in danger of being neglected."¹⁰

Visitors and nurses should be on a friendly footing with the foster mothers. It has been very interesting in the experience of the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia to observe a foster mother's

¹⁰ "Supervision of placed-out children." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1921, pp. 112-120.

increasing cooperation with the doctors and nurses, and it is an important function of all concerned in this work to stimulate the foster mothers to continually higher ideals in child care. Most of them are eager to learn. Sufficient interest must be shown by child-caring and child-placing agencies to render this possible. Sufficient money must be paid to the foster mother to insure adequate diet and adequate care for the children placed with her, and adequate compensation must be guaranteed, especially for difficult feeding problems in babies and the care of undernourished or problem children.

The child.

Among the various types of children placed with foster parents, the baby probably presents the most difficult medical problem. Many times the family situation which has precipitated him into foster care has been so sudden that there is no time for gradual weaning. Possibly more difficult, however, is the baby of a dissipated or even dissolute mother, who has neglected her child so that chronic indigestion is present, and the child consequently much undernourished. Many babies have been overfed or wrongly fed, or a child may be referred by the court, the mother being sent to jail, so that nothing is known of the previous feeding history. All of these problems and many more must be met by a clinic or a physician working with child-placing agencies.

Dr. Maynard Ladd,¹¹ of Boston, has clearly indicated the best way of caring for these babies when good nursing and social service are available. After the initial examination the report of the clinic is forwarded or telephoned to the child-placing agency. The home for the baby should already have been tentatively decided upon so that, barring contraindication from the medical examination, the baby can at once be taken to that home. No baby should leave the clinic without a definite milk formula in writing. If the foster mother is new or if the home is in the country, several nursing bottles and the materials, such as sugar or barley flour, for making the mixtures should go with the baby. A nurse trained in a children's or babies' hospital should assist any new foster mother in making the formula and should show the need for cleanliness at every step in the process. Milk mixtures should be as simple as possible. If a child is in such condition that he will need a complicated formula or unusual articles of diet requiring special care in preparation, he had best be referred at once to the nearest children's hospital.

The foster mother for a baby must be selected with the greatest care. She is much more important than the physician. She must

¹¹ Ladd, Maynard, M. D.: "Medical supervision of the destitute child." *New York Medical Journal*, August 17, 1921, pp. 199-204.

love the baby for himself, not merely for the money paid her. She should herself be strong and healthy. She must be loyal to the clinic and the examining physician and willing—preferably eager—to learn and to absorb gradually the ideas of the medical staff, and to cooperate in every detail. She should be of reasonably good mentality; equipped with a mind fairly evenly balanced, so that she will not give way to fits of anger; self-controlled and patient, so that she will be willing to submit her opinions to those of the medical staff; observant, that she may detect the early symptoms of any illness; and conscientious, so that when alone with the baby she will do as she would if the nurse were watching her.

Most foster mothers are too impatient concerning the weight of the baby. To satisfy them he must gain by leaps and bounds. While certainly most important, the weight is by no means the only guide, and foster mothers must often be restrained from overfeeding.

Sufficient clothing must be provided by the agency so that babies may be kept in the fresh air on clear winter days. There is still far too great a tendency, at least in the cities, to keep the younger children huddled in hot, stuffy kitchens. With the increasing use of gas for cooking the danger of carbon monoxide poisoning is added and social workers should bear this fact in mind in the preliminary investigation of homes. It is often advisable, sometimes necessary, for the society to supply a baby coach or gocart to insure a proper amount of fresh air.

The foster mother must be told, if she does not know from experience with other children, what are the ordinary signs of illness, but she must also not assume too great responsibility interpreting these signs. She must be clearly informed upon whom to call in the event of illness. She must know the necessity of absolute cleanliness with regard to every step of bottle feeding. She should be supplied with a good rectal thermometer and be taught how to read it. She must be instructed to reduce or stop the baby's feedings upon the first sign of intestinal disorder and to notify the nurse or doctor at once.

That it is perfectly possible to feed or care for a large number of babies in foster homes from a central clinic has been clearly shown by Doctor Ladd,¹² of Boston, and by the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia,¹³ and doubtless by others. Except in special homes, as those under the care of trained nurses with adequate help, it is never advisable to place more than two babies in a home; and it is far better policy to restrict the number to one. The policy of the Associated Medical Clinic has been as follows:

¹² *Idem.*

¹³ Jenks, Dr. H. H.: "Medical care of dependent children." *Atlantic Medical Journal*, September, 1923, pp. 799-802.

The babies are visited every week or every two weeks by the nurse, who carries with her a pair of light scales. (Ill babies are visited as often as necessary.) Once a week the nurse reports at the clinic for what is called a "baby conference." This is believed to be a most important part of the baby work. At this conference are present the two clinic physicians and the supervisor of case work in the placing-out department of the society. The nurse reports on the weight and general condition of the baby, the weight being recorded on a chart. The condition of the stools, vomiting (if any), appetite, sleep, amount and formula of feedings are recorded on a special sheet. Directions as to changes (if any) in the feedings are given in writing to the nurse.

Of course, if a baby is not doing well a report is made at once to the clinic by the nurse and the child is visited within a very short time by the assistant physician. Most of the boarding homes have a telephone, and the foster mother is directed to call the nurse immediately if the baby is at all indisposed. It has been found advisable for the society to furnish beam balance scales in two of the homes where the more difficult cases are kept.

It has been a revelation to see how well babies may do under these conditions. Many of the babies are not seen in the clinic for months at a time, and yet their weight increases normally and they seem healthy in every way. The success of such a plan as this depends on the intelligence, accuracy, and training of the nurse supervising the foster home. With a careless or incompetent nurse it is doomed to speedy failure. Another very important feature is the training and cooperation of the boarding mother.

No one will deny that, until recently at least, the preschool child has been much neglected. This has been doubly true of the dependent preschool child. The diet of a large proportion of these children has been much too loosely supervised. They have had to conform to the customs of the foster homes as to hours of meals and character of food. Many have their heaviest meal or "dinner" at night. Probably entirely from ignorance or carelessness, they will have an evening meal of the proverbial "stew" and such a heavy vegetable as cabbage. The necessary rest period, also, has often been forgotten.

The teeth of children of this age have been too much neglected, and the influence which diet may have on the condition of the teeth has been until lately an unexplored field. It is most important. These children must be supplied with toothbrushes and powder, and the foster mothers must see that they use them. "No cavity is too small to be disregarded, and the pediatrician should insist on the immediate treatment of caries at any age. It is only by taking care

of the teeth of children of preschool age that the teeth of the school children and adults will be safeguarded. Conditions existing during the period from birth until the sixth year determine the future condition of the teeth. It is not generally recognized * * * that the first years of a child's life are critical ones as far as structure of the permanent teeth are concerned."¹⁴

Unfortunately, even in many good foster homes, the economic stress is such that by no means ideal conditions can be secured, but for the preschool child certain fundamental dietary and hygienic conditions should be required which might be stated rather dogmatically as follows:

The foster mother must be able and willing so to arrange her time that the child may have suitably prepared meals and definite times for play and rest. Each child should have from one to two pints of milk a day. He should have a breakfast of milk (or cocoa), a well-cooked cereal, egg (at least twice a week), occasionally a piece of crisp bacon, bread (not fresh), and butter; a dinner at midday of a thick vegetable soup (pea, bean, spinach, carrot, celery, or potato) or chicken or rice broth, meat (carefully cut up) two or three times a week, vegetables (for the younger children preferably passed through a sieve), milk, bread and butter, and a simple dessert. The evening meal should be more of a supper and should consist of milk, bread and butter, cooked cereal or milk toast, occasionally an egg, and cooked fruit, such as baked apple, apple sauce, stewed prunes (sieved), and stewed peaches. There should be a rest period either before or after the midday meal of at least an hour, and longer for undernourished or unusually active children. Plenty of good drinking water must be supplied between meals. The foster mother must train the child to a daily evacuation of the bowels, preferably immediately after breakfast. He should be tucked in bed for the night by 6 or 7 o'clock, not dragged off to the movies.

Where many children of the preschool age are placed in one locality, it is advisable to assign one worker to that group alone; when a worker is engaged with older problem children she may readily spend too much time on these, neglecting the younger group.

Children of school age require an ample diet. It has been shown on page 121 that these children require much more food than is usually allowed them. These boys and girls should have, if possible, a quart of milk a day, or at least a pint. They will probably require the heavier meal in the evening. Certainly the older ones will. Owing to school hours many children have not the time to return home for a midday meal. Foster mothers should put up a good nutritious lunch for children who must eat at school. This is

¹⁴ Cohen, S. A., M. D.: "Oral disorders in pediatrics." *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, August, 1922, pp. 160-170.

often preferable to a hurried trip and a meal eaten in haste in order to be back in time for school.

Dependent children, unfortunately, do not always cease being dependent children when they outgrow the grammar school, and the problems of adolescence do not lessen the difficulties in their placement. For these older boys and girls especially the foster mother should be a woman who has successfully brought up boys and girls of her own. It is an experience for the lack of which all the books in the world on how to bring up children can not compensate. She must know what the child is (at least as far as it is known) before she accepts him. She must be acquainted with his problems. Above all, with a child of this age she must not nag. She must have a keen insight into boy and girl nature. She must know the peculiarities of boys and girls as they grow into maturity. She must have ample patience and yet be firm. Fortunate is the boy with a foster father who can set forth in a proper manner the great facts of life as a growing boy should know them. It is hard enough for any of us to do this.

PROBLEM CHILDREN.

Almost all dependent children might come under this heading, for practically all have their problems. But the term in this paper is restricted to the three following groups: (a) The physical, (b) the mental, (c) the social.

Under the physical, will be considered briefly only two groups; in the first place, the greatly undernourished child. If a child is found to be greatly undernourished he should preferably be sent to a good country home, out of the dust and noise of the city, but near enough to be able to return as frequently as desired. Health should be placed above education, and until he starts to gain decidedly in weight he should not attend school. The home should have a porch. The child should be treated at the start very much as are the tuberculous, spending almost the entire time in the fresh air—on the porch in the day and with open windows at night. He should have ample rest, with the hours definitely specified, all the well-cooked food that can be taken without upsetting the digestion, milk (at least a quart a day), and butter, eggs, cereals, and vegetables. This extra diet must be compensated for by extra payment to the foster parent, and the visitor must satisfy herself that the child really has what is ordered.

We must not forget, as Emerson,¹⁵ Veeder,¹⁶ and others have shown, that what many of these undernourished children need is not only

¹⁵ Emerson, W. R. P., M. D.: "Malnourished child in the public school." *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 24, 1920. Also "Weight and height in relation to malnutrition." *Archives of Pediatrics*, August, 1920.

¹⁶ Veeder, B. S., M. D.: "Rôle of fatigue in malnutrition of children." *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Sept. 3, 1921.

extra food but more rest, both of mind and body. For a child with no evidence of chronic disease such as syphilis or tuberculosis, the weight record may be a partial check upon the foster mother. It is by no means conclusive but it should at least call for thought and examination, if successive children lose, or fail to gain, in weight in a certain home. We should regard such a home with a questioning eye and should investigate without delay the factors entering into home hygiene, the food, the amount of time out of doors, the night ventilation, the utilization of the milk ordered, the life of the child in his hours of recreation. The food may be ample, but is it properly cooked or floating in grease? Is the child getting candy, that great destroyer of a child's appetite, between meals? Does he have his afternoon rest and then sit with the grown-ups for an evening movie? These are but a few of the factors needing investigation by the social worker—and then correction.

The child with enuresis affords a constant problem to child-placing societies and foster mothers. Many of these children lead a really miserable existence. Battered around from pillar to post, sent to one boarding home after another, often refused by all but those of the poorest class, continually scolded, derided, or punished, always wet at night and often in the day time too, the skin chafed and irritated, usually quite ashamed of themselves and discouraged, these children constitute a pressing problem for the physician and the social agent. Even to them the child is discouraging, but that is no reason for not exhausting every effort to effect a cure. Two factors stand out in the effort to cure the nocturnal bed-wetter. One is the avoidance of all fluid after 4 p. m., and the other the awakening of the child at stated intervals in the night. This demands a truly devoted foster mother. The urine, of course, should be repeatedly examined, thread worms eliminated if possible, the presence of stone in the bladder or defect in the spine ascertained as far as possible by X-ray. Certain drugs ordered by the physician may be of assistance. In persistent cases the bladder should be examined by the cystoscope. Even if no abnormality was found, the passage of the instrument (under an anesthetic for smaller children) has been of benefit to a few of the children coming to the Philadelphia clinic. Every effort should be made to secure the cooperation of the child.

Much has been written during the last few years about the mental problems of childhood. They are certainly very real. Repeatedly children are referred to physicians in the hope that a physical basis may be found for their backwardness or peculiarities of mind or behavior. It has been a great disappointment to the parents or child-caring agencies and to the clinics to find in the majority of

these children no curable physical defect to account for the behavior. If syphilis is present treatment is at once instituted, of course, and considerable benefit may ensue. Occasionally the mere relief of a mental worry by analysis and explanation may be successful.¹⁷

There is still another group to which relief in varying degrees may be brought, and that is the children with marked disturbance of the so-called endocrine system (the ductless glands). But in only one of this class are the results really brilliant—in those with the thyroid secretion diminished, the cretins, or those with hypothyroidism. It is well worth while, if it can be done carefully and accurately, to have tests of basal metabolism made on subnormal children showing any signs of glandular deficiency. In those showing symptoms of pituitary disturbance an X-ray examination of the skull and a test for sugar tolerance, by means of blood sugar estimation, are helpful. All of this work is technical and must be done by one trained in it, and with the greatest care; otherwise the results are valueless.

The clinic has been able to help a few of the greatly overfat children by means of glandular therapy, controlled by these laboratory examinations, and also occasionally to assist one of the dwarf children to add a few centimeters to his height. No extensive use should be made of glandular extracts unless the child can have from time to time metabolism examinations and other tests and can be under careful supervision. The drugs are capable of far too much harm unless carefully controlled and at best have been much overrated as to the possibilities of the cure of abnormal children by their use.

Only a word will be said in this paper in regard to the social problems of delinquent children. All those who are engaged in work with dependent children must remember that the social problem may have a physical basis. This latter should always be eliminated before the problem is assumed to be entirely a social one. A child may be doing poorly in school from defective eyesight or hearing or from many other causes. If he is a difficult problem in the home because he is always tired and cross, a physical examination may disclose a chronic kidney condition with albumin or pus in the urine. Such a child will have ample cause to be chronically tired and unhappy. Other examples will doubtless suggest themselves to all readers. Conditions not present in the child at his first examination may develop while he is in a foster home, and a child who at any time is not active and well and happy is entitled to, and should have, a thorough physical examination and the necessary treatment.

¹⁷ See citations in notes 4 and 5, pp. 117, 118.

REEXAMINATIONS.

As stated before, when a child is examined for the first time and malnutrition or other defects are found a definite time for a return visit should be stated on the record. Both the examining clinic and the child-placing agency should keep a dated check list for these reexaminations in order that there may be no slip-up. If the child has been placed in a country home too far away to return to the original examining physician, he should be carefully examined by a local physician and the findings sent in writing to the placing agency, which should at once send a copy to the clinic. If these findings show that the child is not doing so well as was expected the country doctor should be communicated with in regard to treatment, or if necessary the child should be brought to the city. The Philadelphia Associated Medical Clinic has come to believe from experience that it is best to consider the child as actually under the medical care of the society's examining physician, even if the child is at a considerable distance. Except in cases of extreme urgency it is better to have the child return to the city if any operative procedure becomes necessary, and to have a thorough examination and consultation with the surgeon before reference to a hospital for operation.

As a general rule it is advisable to see any child who is 10 per cent or more underweight within from two to four weeks—or sooner if there is a suspicion of pulmonary tuberculosis.

Any child at all underweight or noticeably anemic should be seen by the physician every three months at least. Every child placed in a foster home should be completely reexamined at least once a year regardless of where he is. It is preferable that he return to the examining clinic for this purpose, so that the same person may examine and records may be more uniform. This reexamination should be as thorough as the first examination.

When the time comes for a child to leave the foster home and be discharged from the care of the society he should again have a complete physical examination by the clinic or examining physician.

This is necessary for various reasons, first, for the sake of the child himself. It affords a means of comparison of the weight and general condition on admission and on discharge. If the child has not been seen for some months changes may have occurred, new lenses may be needed for one or both eyes, teeth may show caries or lack of alignment, or faulty posture may have developed, possibly from a poor desk at school. Heart and lungs should always be carefully examined lest any early symptoms of disease escape notice. The condition of skin and scalp should be noted. For the child's sake any defects found even at this final examination should not be left unattended to, but definite arrangements should be made for him to

have competent medical attention, either by a physician or at a hospital. Especially is this true for children with chronic defects of such far-reaching importance as chronic heart or lung disease, rheumatism, nephritis, or congenital syphilis. The last-mentioned should be treated until the blood Wassermann becomes persistently negative.

The written records of the final examination are or should be of value to the child-placing agency and should, of course, be filed with the child's history.

THE ADVISABILITY OF A CENTRAL EXAMINING CLINIC.

Most of the facts in the previous sections of this paper have been written from experience gained at the Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia. This is a medical examining clinic supported by agencies doing child-placing work, and to a less degree by agencies otherwise concerned in child welfare. The Philadelphia Children's Bureau, the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, the Seybert Institution, and the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have been the main societies contributing to the clinic's support.

In addition to examining children from these societies, the clinic examines children from various other organizations and also a few entire families from the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity. Children are examined before placement in several institutions in or near the city.

The advisability of a central examining clinic for these children can scarcely be questioned. It is difficult, if not impossible, in most hospitals to secure the time of the dispensary physician for thorough and complete examination of children who are not ill. The time of the physicians in these clinics is already overtaxed by the large number of sick children needing careful examination and treatment. Also, it is most inadvisable to place these presumably healthy children in contact with children presumably ill. Again, it is a great waste of the foster mother's time to wait in a clinic for a long time, even before her turn for examination will come; and finally the rotating service in the hospital means that upon subsequent visits the children will probably be examined by different doctors who may prescribe entirely different treatment, or, in the case of a baby, different feeding.

In a clinic organized and conducted for the sole purpose of examining dependent children, many of these difficulties can be overcome. The clinic starts at 9 o'clock, when the children from neighboring districts can easily be brought in by caretakers or social workers, and continues until all the children are examined. There are no set hours, although the examinations are usually completed

by 12 or 1 o'clock. The physicians remain the same from month to month, so that they know the previous condition of each child, his social history, and his problems. Children are examined in the order in which they arrive at the clinic unless there is some special emergency, in which case a child may be examined at once. Each child is given ample time for his examination, and there is not the hurry to finish the clinic that there usually is in large hospital clinics.

The organization of such a clinic is of course capable of wide variations. The staff should include first, a physician in charge of the clinic who has had considerable experience in pediatrics, especially in infant feeding. There must be an assistant physician, who should be on a full-time salary basis. Either the physician in charge or his assistant should be a woman, well trained not only in medicine but in gynecology, and if possible in the psychology of girlhood, and with a personality attractive to girls. She should have entire charge of the examination of girls and mothers. Her afternoon time should be given to the examination of children who may be ill in foster homes. She should be provided with an automobile, as most foster homes are far from the center of the city and considerable distances must be traversed. During the morning clinic hours a nurse or a well-trained assistant must be present to assist the doctors, sterilize instruments, and see that children are carefully weighed and measured and that the children and their histories are ready in the proper order. The number of trained nurses should vary with the number of babies under care and the distances to the foster homes. The nurse should be a graduate of a hospital where she will have had a good course in infant feeding, examination of sick children (especially infants), and competent instruction in child-welfare work. She must have an absorbing interest in and enthusiasm for baby-welfare work and must be able to arouse this same feeling in the foster mother. The nurse visiting in the homes and reporting to the clinic and the societies is the connecting link between all three and the child, and it is she who will secure the cooperation of the foster mother.

A stenographer who is capable of taking accurate medical dictation is, of course, necessary. It is advisable in a large clinic to have a half-time worker to take care of filing records, notifying the various agencies of the return dates of children, making appointments for the dentist, supervising the children, and seeing that children who have been examined are returned safely to the proper agencies.

If the volume of work is sufficiently large the dentist should preferably be on full time, or he may be on half time with a half or full-time dental hygienist. Both of these should be selected with

a view to their fondness for and ability to get along with children as well as their technical skill.

It is advisable also to have an oculist on a salary basis. The volume of eye work in such a clinic is large. The work must be carefully done and carefully followed up afterwards. Many children can not attend an afternoon eye clinic, and the number of children referred for eye examination on some days would overwhelm an ordinary clinic. Moreover, the societies must be furnished with written reports of the eye condition and what treatment will be necessary—reports difficult to secure from the average hospital clinic. Finally, workers in charge of these central clinics must not waste time waiting their turn in a large hospital dispensary.

The Associated Medical Clinic of Philadelphia is fortunate in being granted unlimited laboratory service. The physician in charge of this work is connected with various hospitals as pathologist and serologist and is on a part-time salary basis at the clinic. He makes all examinations of blood, urine, sputum, milk, etc., Wassermann tests, metabolism tests, vaginal smears, diphtheria cultures, etc., and renders reports in writing.

The clinic also has the advantage of a consulting pediatricist and a consulting dermatologist and of an X-ray technician who is the technician for the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia. The clinic is advantageously placed in a building on the Children's Hospital grounds, and use may be made of any of the hospital clinics. Children under 12 years of age who are too sick for placement in foster homes are usually admitted at once to the Children's Hospital for bed care. This close association with a hospital is very beneficial to the children.

SUMMARY.

The contents of this paper may be very briefly summarized as follows:

The lot of the dependent child at best is an unfortunate one, and it should be our duty and our privilege to make his life as healthy and as happy as possible.

Every dependent child who is to be placed in a boarding home should have a thorough physical and, if possible, mental examination before placement, and at certain definitely stated intervals thereafter.

Defects found in the physical condition must be remedied as promptly as possible.

Due attention must be paid by child-caring agencies to the physical findings and to recommendations in regard to securing the proper boarding home for the child.

Supervision of the diet, rest and play periods, and the general hygiene of the boarding home should be carried out by the visitor from the child-placing agency.

- Adequate payment must be made for the child's proper care.

With proper nursing supervision babies may safely be cared for in foster homes.

Children with unusual physical, mental, or social handicaps should have these findings and the necessary treatment clearly explained to caretakers before the children's acceptance.

Written records of all the social, physical, and mental facts concerning the child should be made in duplicate, one copy to be kept by the child-placing agency and one by the examining physician or clinic.

Examinations of dependent children from all child-caring or child-placing agencies should be made preferably in one central examining clinic, exclusively for the study of these children and their problems.

There must be the closest relationship and cooperation between the child-caring agency, the clinic, and the foster home. Each one needs the others, and all must work together for the benefit of the child.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL WORK WITH FAMILIES AND CHILD-CARING WORK.

REV. JOHN O'GRADY, PH. D.,

*Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities and Editor,
Catholic Charities Review.*

ATTITUDE OF CHILDREN'S AGENCIES AND THE PUBLIC TOWARD FAMILY CASE WORK.

In their zeal for the welfare of children, children's agencies and institutions have many times overlooked the obligations of parents. They have assumed that they were in a position to provide higher standards of care for children than poor homes could offer. They have been very well aware that when children were referred to them for care there was invariably something wrong in the home—that a situation had arisen in the home which could not be adjusted by any outside agency. Many children's agencies adopted a fatalistic attitude toward home problems. They felt that if parents could not solve their own problems no outsider could help very materially. Hence children's agencies were glad to gather up the children of poor homes and anxious to rescue them from the vicious influences of their home environment.

These earlier attitudes and policies of the children's agencies were very largely a reflex of the conditions in which they found themselves. It is only within recent years that the possibilities of case work for the preservation of family life have been appreciated. In most rural communities and in many small cities there are as yet no family agencies; in many large cities the work of family agencies is poorly organized; in cities with long-established and well-organized family agencies the work of these agencies does not reach all groups in the community. In view of the actual status of work for families the failure of children's agencies to take a family case-work point of view is not surprising.

It must be recognized that work for children is still more highly and more generally appreciated by the general public than work for families. The orphan or the child of the broken home makes a powerful appeal to the sympathy and generosity of the average person. This is undoubtedly due to the old and well-established traditions of work for children. Therefore children's institutions are as a rule in much better financial condition and have a much larger

and more interested clientele than family agencies. Thousands of persons in every large city in the United States are bound to child-caring institutions by the sacred ties of family and religion. Large numbers of families have been associated with these institutions for generations. The members of these families look upon it as a sacred obligation to contribute to their cherished institutions during life and to remember them in their wills.

A large number of the child-caring homes in the United States were established primarily for the preservation of the religious faith of the children. For the founders of these institutions it was not a question of institutional as against home care for the child. It was rather a question as to whether the child should be cared for in an institution of his own faith or in an institution of a different religious faith. In the past many institutions have had to accept without question children who if investigation were made would have been turned over to institutions of a different religious faith. Parents who were anxious to relieve themselves of the obligation of caring for their children seem to have mastered the art of playing off one institution against another. In the daily round of social-work experience are still found parents who are ready to practice the same tactics and institutions which are ready and willing to co-operate with them.

CITY-WIDE FAMILY AGENCIES AND CHILDREN'S WORK.

Child-caring homes operating on a religious basis will naturally be unwilling to deny admission to children until they are assured that the religious faith of the children can be cared for just as effectively elsewhere. They will be opposed to surrendering the control of their intake to agencies in whose religious work they do not have confidence. This is a serious difficulty in the way of having city-wide family agencies take charge of the intake of all children's homes. But the difficulty is by no means universal. The writer knows of at least one city in which a community-wide case-work agency has entered into an agreement with all the children's homes of the community in regard to their intake problems. All applications for the admission of children to homes are referred to the city-wide agency, which in this instance happens to be a children's agency. If on investigation it is found that the family can be rehabilitated and the children cared for in their own home, the case is turned over to a family agency. If the children are removed from the home the agency does not lose all contact with the family, but endeavors to establish friendly relations with the parents so that they may be ready at as early a date as possible to receive their children back into their own homes. If this policy of turning over the intake of all

children's agencies and institutions to one city-wide case-work agency has been successful in one city it should also be successful in every city in which all the important religious groups can unite on one case-work agency. In cities where religious charities are not well developed and where there is no hope of their being developed in the near future, the city-wide agency offers the only practicable means of applying the principles of case work to the work of child-caring homes.

The city-wide agency which endeavors to deal with child-caring homes must proceed with the greatest circumspection. It must not attempt to dictate policies to the institutions. It must be satisfied with presenting the facts in each case to the institutional authorities, with such suggestions or plans as it may have to offer, and must permit them to draw their own conclusions. It must have a sympathetic appreciation of the ideals and traditions of the institutions if it would influence their work; if it is cynical and unappreciative it will never win the necessary confidence. The children's institution, like the family, is essentially a case-work problem.

INTAKE OF CHILDREN'S HOMES AND FAMILY CASE-WORK PROBLEMS.

The intake problem of children's homes is essentially one of family case work. No normal parent is anxious to separate himself from his children. When a parent wants to turn over the care of his children to a child-caring home or agency there is generally a need for some adjustment in that parent's life. It may be that the parent does not have a proper appreciation of his obligations toward his children. Families in which the father and mother go out to work and place the children in institutions and day nurseries need the advice and assistance of a family agency, and also need to have their moral obligations interpreted to them by their church. If the father's income is insufficient an effort can be made to secure a better position for him. If the mother has not mastered the art of household management she can be assisted very materially by a visiting housekeeper or a sympathetic and persevering friendly visitor. The problem of insufficient family income is always a serious one for the family agency; but it is by no means so serious as the problem of the mother who has no training or taste for household management and who wants to enjoy the same freedom and the same pleasures after marriage as before.

It is a well-known fact that the presence of children in the home tends to exercise a steadying influence over the parents. Differences of opinion and clashes of temperament which might otherwise lead to the complete disruption of the family are frequently endured for the sake of the children. It is most important that family quarrels

should not be made the occasion for surrendering the children to an agency. Some months ago the writer was called upon to deal with a case in which the mother, as a result of a quarrel with the father, endeavored to place her six children in child-caring homes. The children's homes to which she applied immediately turned the case over to a family agency. The investigation made by the agency showed that the man was dissatisfied with his wife because she insisted on going out to work. The wife stated that it was necessary for her to work in order to buy shoes and clothing for herself and the children. She stated that the husband turned over to her only about half of his weekly income and gambled with the other half. After a long and hard struggle the father and mother were reconciled and their difficulties composed. The mother agreed to give up her position and the father consented to turn over a larger share of his income for the maintenance of the home.

DISTINCTIVE FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY AGENCIES AND CHILD-WELFARE AGENCIES.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the intake problem of the child-caring institution or agency is primarily a family problem, to be cared for by a family agency. But should the family agency lose all contact with family and child after the latter has been turned over to a children's agency? Here it will be necessary to make a distinction between children's institutions that employ full-time, trained case workers and institutions that do not. If the children's institution does not employ full-time workers it is necessary for the family agency to keep in touch with both the child and the family. The family agency should never lose sight of the possibility of having the children returned to their own homes or to the homes of relatives and should also see to it that the family fulfills its contract with the institution in regard to payment for the children.

In its case work for children's institutions the family agency will be called upon to deal with foundlings and also with a number of children who can never be returned to their own homes. The question will therefore arise as to whether the family agency should undertake the work of placing these children in foster homes. The writer believes that it would be a desirable policy for the family agency to take care of the child-placing work until such time as the institution is prepared to undertake its own child placing in an organized way.

A children's agency or institution which is employing a trained case-working personnel should assume full responsibility for all case work directly affecting the children under its care. With the

proper safeguards it should have all the authority necessary to plan intelligently for the welfare of the child. Whether or not it should have complete jurisdiction over the child committed by the court is a moot point. Social workers, generally speaking, are inclined to the view that the court should exercise continuing jurisdiction over children committed to private agencies, but in regard to children committed to public agencies there is a marked difference of opinion. The writer does not see any good reason for distinguishing between public and private agencies in this matter, particularly when the latter are operating under public supervision. The really important point is that any child-caring agency, whether public or private, should not return the child to his own home without reckoning with the experience of agencies that have previously dealt with the family.

Where the work of children's institutions has been closely inter-related with that of city-wide family agencies, or where it has been made an integral part of a unit system of social work under religious auspices, there is a question in regard to the advisability of having the institutions undertake case work on their own behalf. Institutions which are already engaged in case work will naturally want to continue it and should in general be encouraged to do so. It would be desirable, however, to have them confine themselves to certain specific types of work, such as the foster-home placement of children, and, possibly, the aftercare of children discharged to their own homes. Since the latter type of work is primarily the work of a family agency it should be retained by the institution only in exceptional circumstances, when the family agency is unable to render satisfactory service.

There is every reason for believing that comparatively little work is being done for families whose children have been taken over by children's agencies. It is too often assumed that conditions in these families will somehow or other right themselves after the children have been removed. Family agencies no longer feel any responsibility toward them and the children's agencies are satisfied with a periodical reinvestigation. It should be very evident that a periodical reinvestigation will not remedy the conditions which necessitated the removal of the children. Constructive family work is the only means of remedying these conditions. The family agency should, therefore, continue its work with families from which the children have been removed. It should spare no pains to change the family situation so that the children may some day be returned to their own homes. There is no parent, with the exception of the low-grade mental defective, whose attitude and habits of life may not be expected to change so that he will provide the proper

care for his own children, and there is always the possibility of finding a relative willing to provide a home for the children.

When children are returned to their own homes their care should become a part of the work of the family agency. It will not be necessary for the children's agency to continue its supervision except in cases in which its legal guardianship is continued.

In an increasing number of rural communities which have no family agencies, well-organized children's societies are being formed. There are a number of state-wide public and private children's societies, and a number of States have county child-welfare boards. These state-wide children's societies and county child-welfare boards must of necessity undertake family work as well as child-welfare work. Their family work is, in fact, of much greater importance than their work specifically for children. The standard by which their efficiency is measured is not the number of children they place but the number of families they rehabilitate. One of the wholesome signs of the times in rural work is that it is beginning to be thought of in terms of the family rather than of the individual child, and that boards of public welfare are being substituted for child-welfare boards.

NEED OF COORDINATION IN THE WORK OF FAMILY-WELFARE AND CHILD-WELFARE AGENCIES.

A great part of the social work for children in the United States has developed without regard to the work of family agencies or the principles of family case work. This has been due in part to the lack of family organizations and to the fact that many of the children's societies and institutions did not have confidence in existing family societies. Every social worker now feels the need of bridging this gulf between family and children's organizations. The social worker realizes that so long as children's agencies accept large numbers of children without any effort at family rehabilitation social work will remain very incomplete and imperfect. Those who have thought much about the problem feel that they can find a solution for it in a unified system of social case work under which no child will be separated from his own home until all the possibilities of family case work have been exhausted. This would mean, of course, that children's agencies would be excluded from the field of family work, that they would no longer accept children directly from their families, and that the work of children's and family agencies would be more closely coordinated than at the present time.

This coordination of children's and family work is by no means an easy task, nor can it be secured by any rule-of-thumb methods. Children's agencies and institutions have their own policies and tra-

ditions. They are genuinely interested in both the material and the religious welfare of the child. Many of the institutions date from the time when the reception of the child in an institution was essential for the preservation of his religious faith. Those who know something of the social work of the present time recognize that a great change has taken place in this regard. Social workers as a whole are now genuinely respectful of religious beliefs and make every effort to conserve them.

How is the work of family and children's agencies to be coordinated so as to insure constructive family work before children are removed from their own homes and after they are returned to their homes? This question has already been answered in part. In cities with one city-wide family agency it should be possible to institute a close working relationship between the family society and the various children's agencies and institutions. It should be possible to get the various children's groups to see the need of referring all their applications to the family society. The writer believes that while this plan is the only one that is immediately feasible in a large number of cities it is by no means an ideal plan. He believes that in the long run much greater progress will result if the different religious groups undertake their own case work, provided they are willing to adopt standard case-work methods and to work cooperatively with the other agencies of the community.

It is assumed, of course, that the different groups will confine their work to their own group members. It would be a very poor policy for any group which represents merely a section of the community to undertake a community-wide work.

For the religious institution of any denomination the religious welfare of the child is paramount. Such an institution will not be willing to turn a child over to any agency until it is assured that his religious faith will be properly safeguarded and developed. Therefore the religious institution has far greater confidence in the work of an agency of the same faith than in a city-wide agency. For this reason the family agency operating on a religious basis is the best means and in most large cities the only means of developing the proper correlation between the large volume of work done by denominational child-caring institutions and organized family-welfare work.

While the denominational family agency is the best means of applying case-work principles to children's institutions of the same religious faith, it must be remembered that in many cities there is little hope of organizing denominational family agencies. Many religious denominations feel that the community-wide agency can satisfy all their needs; and no religious agency recognizes the need

or has the necessary equipment for the organization of family-welfare work on the same extensive basis as its children's work. Over a large section of the field, therefore, dependence must be placed on city-wide, county, or State agencies. This means that the nonsectarian agency must develop a close working cooperation with denominational child-caring institutions. It means that the community-wide agency must convince the superintendents and boards of directors of the institutions that it is prepared to care properly for the religious welfare of children referred to it by the institutions. Many social workers feel that the efforts of the different religious groups to establish their own case-working agencies will develop endless confusion and antagonism among the different religious groups themselves. But it must be remembered that the religious organizations are already engaged in social work. At the present time they look upon social work among their own members as one of their essential functions. The larger religious groups in the United States have never surrendered to community-wide agencies their right to engage in constructive service for their own members.

In all probability, more than 60 per cent of all the work for children needing special care in the United States is done by the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups. What the Catholic Church has in mind in the organization of case-work agencies is the coordination, development, and standardization of the various charitable activities in which it has been engaged from the beginning. The writer does not have any first-hand knowledge of the work of the other religious groups but assumes that the same is true of them.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CATHOLIC CHILD CARE IN THE UNITED STATES.

There are four ways through which the Catholic Church in the United States has endeavored to apply case-work principles to the work of its child-caring homes. In a few places the church has entered into a working agreement with city-wide agencies. Beginning about 1890, a number of Catholic institutions employed special agents to assist them in the reception and discharge of children. The important functions of these agents were the protection of the interests of Catholic children in the criminal courts and the supervision of children discharged from institutions. Some Catholic dioceses with a large institutional population employed one worker who was supposed to attend to all court cases involving children and to supervise all children discharged from institutions.

About 1895 a number of leaders in Catholic charity work began to realize that the problems of intake and discharge could not be solved by the individual institutions. They felt the need of organizing the Catholic children's work in every city in the United States according

to a unit plan. Hence they advocated the establishment of central Catholic child-caring agencies with trained personnel which should be clearing houses for all the children's institutions, have general supervision over the intake and discharge of children, and also accept children directly for placement in family homes. The ideas of these pioneers in Catholic case work for children in the United States did not take hold very rapidly. At that time Catholic organizations in the different cities were isolated one from the other. There was no literature of Catholic charities and no Catholic charities conference. Between 1895 and 1912 beginnings were made in the organization of six central Catholic child-caring agencies in six cities in the United States. With the organization of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1910 it became evident that Catholic children's work could not be dealt with as an isolated unit but must be made a part of a complete and coordinated system which would include family-welfare work, health work, protective care, and recreation. The proponents of this unit plan of organization were well aware that its application to the work of Catholic charities in the different cities in the United States would necessarily be a rather slow process. It meant the bringing together in one organization of a multitude of institutions and organizations which for years had regarded themselves as completely autonomous and self-sufficient. It involved some very important changes in the methods and policies of the church in dealing with the poor and the handicapped. Prior to that time the church had depended on its parish organization to care for the poor in their own homes. The new plan for the organization of Catholic charities called for city-wide family-welfare societies with full-time trained personnel which would improve and supplement the work of the different parish units. It proposed a rather complete coordination and standardization of the work of Catholic children's institutions and a close correlation of the work of these institutions with Catholic work for families, and it also provided for the standardization and development of Catholic hospital dispensaries and social-service departments and Catholic protective and recreational work.

It could not be expected that this unit plan of organization would be adopted by the Catholic charities in every city in the United States in the short period of 13 years. The extent to which the plan has been adopted, however, is encouraging. In at least 25 cities the various Catholic charitable institutions and organizations have been brought together under the direction of a central "bureau of Catholic charities." These bureaus are in reality central case-work agencies with special departments devoted to family welfare, child welfare, health, and protective care.

The writer has referred to the movement in the Catholic Church for the organization of bureaus of Catholic charities, or bureaus

of social service, as they are sometimes known, in order to emphasize their significance in the field of child welfare. Their most important contribution has been their influence on Catholic child-caring institutions. One of the first tasks which most of the bureaus set before themselves was the regulation of the intake and discharge of the child-caring institutions. They have also brought the institution superintendents together for the purpose of discussing and formulating common standards.

In connection with Catholic children's work in the United States there is another movement to which reference should be made in this paper. In 1920 the various Catholic sisterhoods engaged in child-welfare work in the United States formed a national organization for the purpose of exchanging opinions in regard to their work and developing their own literature and standards. This organization has already held three annual meetings and has recently published a set of standards under the title, "A program for Catholic child-caring homes." The annual meetings of the Catholic sisterhoods and their program for child care are bound to exercise a profound influence on Catholic child-welfare work in the United States. They will give Catholic institutions an opportunity of profiting by the best experience in child care. Heretofore those in charge of Catholic child-caring institutions have been loath to write or talk about their work. This traditional attitude is now fast disappearing. The sisterhoods as a whole are showing a great willingness to discuss their work and to study and profit by the experience of other agencies and institutions.

As a result of the work of the recently organized bureaus of Catholic charities and the National Conference of Catholic Sisterhoods, Catholic children's homes are coming to think of the child in terms of the family; they are coming to recognize that effective work for children presupposes good family-welfare work and are therefore willing to make themselves a part of a unified system of social case work which assumes as one of its fundamental postulates that no child should be removed from his own home until every effort toward preserving the family unit has been made and which assumes further that efforts toward family rehabilitation should be continued after the child has been turned over to the institution with the hope of returning him to his own family at as early a date as possible.

CONSTRUCTIVE FAMILY SERVICE THE BEST MEANS OF INFLUENCING CHILDREN'S AGENCIES.

No matter what method of correlating family with children's work is adopted, its success will depend on the service rendered by the family agency. Many children's workers are genuinely skeptical as

to the claims of family agencies. They feel that the actual results secured by family agencies bear no proportion to their claims. This attitude is common among institutional workers and is by no means confined to them. It can not be changed simply by pointing out that much of the work which the children's workers are doing at the present time belongs to family agencies or simply by developing new agencies or developing a higher type of cooperation between existing agencies. The work of the family agency will continue to be judged by deeds and not by plans and programs. It will be looked on as an experiment the value of which remains to be demonstrated. The agencies will not make much progress with the children's institutions simply by stating that under ordinary circumstances the child is better off in his own home than in an institution. The workers in the institution feel that the child receives fairly good care under their direction. They know that there is something wrong with his home. The family case worker must show the workers in the institution that he is capable of righting whatever may be wrong in the home so that the child can be properly cared for there.

The application of case-work principles to the intake of children's agencies and institutions is, therefore, a real challenge to the family case worker; and it is not a challenge that can be met merely by pensioning mothers with dependent children or by pouring out relief in any form. It must be met by changing the attitude and habits of life of large numbers of parents, and if the family worker is to change the attitude and habits of life of parents he must be prepared to interpret for them the meaning and purposes of life; he must hold up before them proper standards of behavior and he must be able to explain the motives for observing these standards. Every time he changes the attitude of the careless and shiftless parent toward his family responsibilities, every time he gets a nagging wife or a brutal husband to adopt a more kindly and sympathetic attitude, every time he induces a gambler to change his manner of life and turn his earnings over to his family, every time he gets quarrelsome parents to solve their difference for the sake of their children, every time he induces one or both parents to give up vicious sex relations, he is extending the sphere of family work and narrowing the sphere of children's work.

NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESERVATION OF FAMILY LIFE.

Institutional care has been the traditional method of providing for children deprived of the support of one of their parents by death, desertion, or permanent disablement. When the father died or deserted while his children were in their minority the mother usually

felt that her only course was to place the children in institutions and go out to work. Within recent years it has come to be recognized that the loss of one parent should not necessarily mean the break-up of the family. Family agencies have accepted as a part of their responsibility the care of families deprived of one of the parents. The enactment of mothers' pension legislation by the various States has relieved family agencies of a large part of this burden. Mothers' pension legislation has also reached a large number of families who could not be reached by the ordinary family agencies. A survey of the population of children's agencies and institutions would show, however, that family case-work agencies and mothers' pension legislation are not reaching all the cases that should be reached. Such a survey would undoubtedly show that large numbers of children are being cared for by children's agencies who with the application of proper case-work methods might be taken care of in their own homes.

With the morally delinquent parent social workers tend to give up hope prematurely. Such parents should be given every opportunity for reformation before their children are removed. Social workers should beware of the Pharisaical attitude. They should be slow to condemn the careless and delinquent parent even after he has fallen seventy times seven. They should model their actions after those of Christ, whose great heart went out in sympathy and compassion even to the greatest wrongdoers.

Even in the best families there is sometimes found the proverbial "black sheep," a boy or a girl—most frequently a boy—of whose training the parents have made a complete failure. When the parents of such a child appeal to a social agency it is usually for the purpose of securing institutional care for the child. In four years' experience with cases of this type the writer has found that it is usually a better plan to give the boy another chance of making good in his own home. The cooperation of an outside agency with proper understanding and sympathy as a rule has a good effect on the boy. At least it has the effect of giving the parents a better understanding of the child. All educators, as well as all social workers, recognize that no agency can take the place of the parents in the training of the child. The best institution and the best foster home are after all only makeshifts. No person can give the child the same whole-hearted sympathy, can develop that same self-sacrificing love for the child as his own parent; and the child must have sympathy and love if he is to develop these same virtues in his own life—these virtues which are the basis of family life and of the highest ideals and noblest institutions of the race.

TYPES OF CHILDREN TO BE CARED FOR BY CHILDREN'S AGENCIES.

No matter what social arrangements may be devised to protect families from the economic hazards due to the premature death of the breadwinner or to industrial accidents, sickness, or unemployment, it will still be necessary that some children be taken care of by others than their own kith and kin. The attack on breaking up the home for economic reasons is meeting with considerable success, and one is fully justified in looking forward to the day when parents will not longer be compelled by the stress of poverty to turn their children over to others. But even after the economic factors in broken homes have been eliminated or at least greatly minimized there will remain the moral factors in home destruction. It will still be necessary to deal with the parent who has not acquired the virtues of self-sacrifice and of self-effacement necessary for family life and the parent who is anxious to be rid of his children in order that he may be freed from the cares and the obligations of parenthood. It is the duty of the church and of social work to do everything possible to prevent such shirking of parental responsibilities. But no matter what social or religious influence may be brought to bear on parents there will be some who by reason of mental or moral defects will be unable or unwilling to provide reasonably adequate care for their children. With the low-grade mental defectives no headway can be made. They should be segregated in farm colonies and not permitted to bring children into the world. When they do have children there is nothing to do except to take the children from them.

CONCLUSION.

The fundamental purpose of this paper was to consider ways and means of making the separation of children from their own homes increasingly difficult by a more intelligent and systematic cooperation between children's and family agencies. The writer has endeavored as far as possible to take situations as he found them and to discuss the various drifts and tendencies that are pointing the way toward a solution of the problem. Two important methods of developing a closer alignment between children's and family agencies have been treated at some length: First, the possibility of a close working agreement between children's agencies and institutions and city-wide family agencies under which the latter will assume complete charge of the intake of the children's agencies and institutions and also of all children discharged to their own homes; second, the unit plan of organizing social work under religious auspices as illustrated by the bureaus of Catholic charities. It has not been assumed, however, that the work of family agencies can

by either of these programs be made to parallel the whole field of children's work. Many children's institutions will in all probability follow the same lines of development as children's aid societies. They will want to undertake their own case work. While this would by no means be an ideal social policy, it would at least insure the application of social case-work methods to institutional work; and when the children's institutions apply case-work methods there is every reason for believing that they will develop wholesome, co-operative relationships with the family and other agencies of their communities.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CHILDREN'S AGENCY AND OTHER COMMUNITY RESOURCES.

C. V. WILLIAMS,

Superintendent, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society.

Child neglect had been widely tolerated in one of the great industrial States. Children were born and allowed to grow up amid vicious influences. Many of them suffered great physical neglect. There were a few children's homes caring for a relatively small group of children, but this service was very limited. Nearly every almshouse in the State was used as a shelter for some neglected and dependent children; others were sent to county jails.

A small group of persons organized a state-wide program for the placing of dependent children in family homes. They developed strong local advisory committees in many sections of the State. They removed from most of the almshouses the children who were not mentally defective, provided wholesome home life for large numbers of children who had been living in unfit homes, and also carried on extensive educational propaganda in behalf of the State's neglected children. Then, after several years of this service, the State woke up and began to recognize its responsibility for the care of these children.

At this time a most surprising thing happened. Another small group of citizens genuinely concerned for the welfare of the neglected and homeless children of the State, believing that the voluntary organization had outlived its usefulness and that the State should henceforth undertake to care for such children, sought legislation by which the State would take this work entirely out of the hands of private organizations.

The result was a bitter fight which lasted for several years. A large group of persons who had given their service and their money for the development of a work which was already demonstrating its effectiveness, demanded its conservation. Another influential group, with just as great zeal, insisted that the care of neglected children demanded service of such character and permanency as could not be achieved by private organizations.

Each group was in error, each lacked perspective. The tragedy of the situation lay in the fact that the penalty for the misunderstanding, and for the lack of cooperation—then as now—was borne by the very children whom each group honestly sought to serve. The serv-

ice that was given by the private agency was pathetically inadequate and at times crude. Its standards of service had not been well developed. The financial limitations of the organization permitted the care of only a small group of neglected children, leaving the great State problem unsolved. The group which demanded State care for dependent children and the abolition of much private initiative was as greatly in error. It failed to appreciate the unlimited possibilities of service through the development and utilization of machinery already brought into being by the private agencies, and the value of conserving their initiative for further work. And so while these two groups opposed each other and succeeded to a large degree in blocking each other's plans, little children suffered.

Certain conditions existing in the field of child caring seem to demand an examination and explanation of the motives or the intelligence of the individuals responsible for movements in this field. Though not always manifested as in the above incident there appears in the conduct of some agencies a greatly distorted idea as to the character and the volume of service they should render, and a greater interest in the perpetuation of the organization than in the solution of the community problems pertaining to children. The struggle by an organization for its maintenance as a separate entity is frequently out of proportion to the efforts it puts forth to provide the best possible service for its children—a service that can not be rendered adequately without the closest possible cooperation with every other social force in the community.

COOPERATION AS A SOLUTION OF CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEMS.

The cooperation of existing agencies would solve the child-welfare problems of many communities. The development of child-caring agencies throughout the country has been rapid, and in every State a vast amount of service is available to children in need, but the ramifications of this work suggest enormous and undeveloped cooperative possibilities.

Some States have succeeded in developing public departments for child caring which not only maintain a high degree of service but set standards that are followed by other organizations. In many States the conditions are reversed, and it is left to the voluntary organizations not only to develop methods and set standards but also to carry the great burden of providing for the State's dependent children.

There are public and private home-finding agencies occupying the same territory, caring for the same types of children, and at times competing with each other. There are State, county, and municipal institutions for the care of dependent and delinquent children. There are institutions for the care of handicapped children—the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the feeble-minded. There are

detention homes, receiving homes, orphanages, shelters, and day nurseries. There are protective and children's aid organizations with state-wide activities, and in addition to these and many others there are numerous public and private State and national organizations designed to render highly specialized service to needy children. And yet in no State has the full coordination of these agencies functioning in behalf of children been accomplished.

The types of service now available through these agencies are so varied and the volume is so enormous that in many communities the child-welfare problems could be practically and economically solved through their concerted action. The establishment of additional agencies would not be necessary.

It is fitting that the social workers of the country should honestly face these facts. The terms "coordination" and "cooperation" are used with complacency in our State and national conferences; yet the surprising and pathetic fact is that with a few outstanding exceptions child-caring agencies have not yet learned how to cooperate, and the greatest general criticism that can be made concerning social organizations is their failure to render reciprocal service to each other.

REASONS FOR FAILURE TO COOPERATE.

Some of the reasons why social agencies do not cooperate are: (a) Executives lack information; (b) competition of agencies to secure money from the same territory frequently prevents friendly relations; (c) some agencies are satisfied with their work and consider any interruption of present plans of organization and administration an intrusion.

(a) The technique of social service for children has had tardy development. The courses of training offered have been available to but a small proportion of the men and women in the country who are actually engaged in children's service; consequently only a comparatively small percentage of these persons, including many executives, have had any special training. In hundreds of institutions splendid men and women, technically untrained, are rendering a heroic and a faithful service to their charges. Some of them never attend a State or a National conference, and do not inform themselves concerning other community resources. Their entire time is given up to what seems to be the immediate problem—the care of their children. Because of their lack of specialized training many of these overworked and underpaid persons will never be able to appreciate properly the inadequacy of their work, and in consequence of this absence of information children are sadly neglected. This is especially tragic because some of these devoted workers are prac-

ting great self-denial in their effort to serve the children. How long shall the sacrifice of helpless children, due to the ignorance of well-meaning but uninformed persons, continue?

(b) Possibly a more obvious cause for lack of cooperation among child-caring agencies is the struggle for financial assistance. In the effort to attract the attention of possible givers, the agency must, at times, advertise itself to the exclusion of other organizations. In the economic struggle a sense of values is lost and the competition of kindred child-caring agencies to secure money from the community leads to unfriendliness or even actual hostility. The average annual report of a child-caring agency would hardly invite the friendly cooperation of kindred organizations in the same locality. The experience of a number of community "financial federations" has demonstrated the ease with which the functional activities of child-caring agencies may be coordinated when the competition to secure financial aid is removed.

(c) Other causes are more subtle and intangible but quite as vicious as those already cited. There are agencies—both public and private—that are steeped in complacency. They will not cooperate with other organizations because they are self-sufficient and quite satisfied with their work. They maintain the standards of a generation ago. The rules and regulations of some of these agencies are "sacred institutions;" they are not altered to meet progressive social ideals, and in their application the changing needs of the children are given only secondary consideration.

WASTEFULNESS OF INDIVIDUALISTIC EFFORT.

Consequences of lack of cooperation are: (a) Duplication of effort; (b) lack of service for certain needy types; (c) low standards of service; and (d) inadequate and incomplete service to the children.

(a) The lack of cooperation on the part of child-caring agencies is costly both in effort and in money. New agencies are created for the care of children which duplicate work already accomplished, and their maintenance becomes a needless burden. Lofty motives sometimes accompany lack of information. Persons who spend vast sums of money for buildings to house alleged dependent children without engaging in a suitable inquiry to find out why the children should be thus cared for, may be not only committing a needless extravagance but doing an injury to the community. The erection of an orphanage or the creation of a new agency is not the one answer to the big problem of child welfare.

A group of persons connected with a certain state-wide organization, desiring to engage in some form of social service, decided to establish a "children's home," and were able to secure funds suffi-

cient to buy a building for this purpose. They were without information as to the need for this particular kind of institution, but following the example of many other groups adopted their program and then went out to find the children whom their program would fit. The children whom they selected could have been better cared for through existing agencies. This incident is mentioned to show the manner in which needless agencies are foisted upon the community.

Lack of cooperation is not confined to private agencies. In one of the large States, which has much social legislation, numerous departments of the State had been given duties of inspection. Though they dealt with the same institutions their work was not at all coordinated. Agents from the board of health, the department of charities, the fire marshal's department, the bureau of uniform accounting, the building-inspection department, and sundry other departments of the State, might travel to the same institution on the same day. The duplication of travel expenses alone was enormous, and there was repeated overlapping of service. One of the ridiculous features of the situation was the failure of the departments to coordinate their findings, which in some cases were contradictory and brought the inspection service into contempt. For example, a child-caring institution which operated with impossible standards and was criticized by the charities board was commended and favorably referred to by the accounting bureau, because of its low per capita cost.

In the same State a strong department of public instruction dictated the standards for the public educational institutions throughout the State but exercised no authority over the education of children in the State child-caring institutions; and in some of these institutions mediocre or inferior educational standards prevailed.

Through cooperation the social forces of the community could, without doubt, meet existing needs. A knowledge of existing resources would result in the abolition of the foolish, shameful, and extravagant duplication of effort, and there would be substituted a development of activities which would be of actual constructive service to needy children.

(b) The practice of establishing additional agencies for the care of children without a knowledge of actual needs not only results in frequent duplication and consequent extravagance but—of even greater importance—leaves large groups of children without care. Either there is no plan of treatment for these children, who are not eligible for care by the existing agencies, or such agencies are without sufficient resources. It often happens that institutions can not function in behalf of really needy children because they are filled with children some of whom have been needlessly removed from their

homes. In numerous communities with abundant facilities for the care of normal needy children no provision whatever has been made for certain types of difficult but misunderstood children, who because of that lack are sent to penal or custodial institutions. For example, not many communities make provision for the care and education of children suffering from syphilis and gonorrhoea, though in every State there are such children in dire need of attention.

One of the first advantages of a cooperative movement would be the development of a program taking into consideration the needs of every child and not confined to activities in behalf of special groups.

(c) The self-satisfied, individualistic child-caring agency which does not cooperate with other organizations generally maintains low standards of service. It may be unconscious of this fact, but the most casual study of such agencies throughout the country reveals primitive customs and practices that are generally due to ignorance growing out of their isolation from other agencies. No child-caring organization "can live unto itself." The things that happen to children in the care of these agencies do not make pleasant reading.

Some juvenile-court judges prefer to confine their wards for prolonged custodial care in detention homes which lack facilities for separating the dependent from the delinquent children, rather than accept the service of standardized agencies which would seek family homes for these children. Many children who should not have been removed from their own homes are kept at great expense for many years and then returned to the same environment from which they came. Other children are placed by agencies in unfit foster homes where they are subjected to harmful influences; some of them are practically abandoned by the organizations that assumed their guardianship. In many institutions unfortunate mothers, at the time neither physically nor mentally in a condition to know their own minds, are persuaded to surrender their children for adoption. This cruel practice—robbing mothers of their children in the name of charity—still needs to be abolished in many localities. In some children's institutions the children are physically neglected; they are crowded together in cheerless rooms; they are subjected to that invention of the devil—a silence régime that crushes out their individuality. Their wistful eyes tell the story of their great hunger for the individual care which they will not receive.

(d) Lack of cooperation is further costly to the child because no one agency in a community is equipped to meet all his needs and practically every specialized welfare activity, directly or indirectly, affects child life. The agency that is satisfied with its exclusive service of detention or foster-home care, and neglects to avail itself of resources of service through other kindred organizations is not meeting fully its obligations.

In some of the most highly specialized services there is danger that the agency will lose its perspective. The agency may succeed admirably in providing a superior foster home for a child, but if it has failed to see the needs of that child in the light of the needs of his entire family it may rob him of his birthright. For it is sometimes better that brothers and sisters be left together under supervision in their own home, even though that home be inferior, than that the fragments of a broken family be scattered in many excellent institutions.

The problems of the neglected child are much broader than those involved in his immediate care. What facts concerning his family are sought? What is known of his parents, his brothers and sisters, and his other relatives? What are the peculiar environmental conditions that have brought him to the attention of the agency? What has been done, or will be done, to correct the conditions which have been responsible for the family breakdown?

Children's agencies have almost universally failed to take the family of the neglected child seriously. Case investigations have been made; they have revealed causes and results, and physical and mental conditions that are of value in planning for the child. But the conditions responsible for the vermin, the neglect, the immorality, and the obviously unfit home life have not always been remedied. It may be rather interesting for the agency to tell the story of the rescue of the poor children from the "impossible" parents. In their great zeal to serve neglected children they have lost sight of the spiritual values which demand the conservation, if possible, of the child's home. This fatal blunder has affected the lives of thousands of children. No physical condition which may later be brought into their lives will quite satisfy the infinite longing they have for association with their own kin; and many of them will ask in vain for information concerning the scattered members of their family.

No agency can successfully treat the child under its care without knowing his family background and the conditions that have destroyed his home or rendered it unfit. No agency in the country is sufficiently well equipped to meet adequately all the needs of all the children whom it serves. And no agency can function with maximum success without an understanding of, and a cooperation with, the forces affecting the health and happiness and general welfare of the children of the community. An appreciation of this fact places upon children's agencies everywhere the imperative obligation to enlist the service and secure the assistance of as many other organizations and as many individuals as possible. Children's agencies may be able to exist without this cooperation, but the result is costly. It is costly to the groups especially concerned, and to the

children who, in this way, are deprived of the most constructive service. The children always pay the bill.

SOME METHODS OF COOPERATION.

It is the purpose of this discussion to consider fundamental principles and some of the methods adopted by agencies that seek to do their full duty by their charges. Methods which have met with success in one community may fail elsewhere. The question as to how child-caring agencies of any State may be welded into a real unit still offers a challenge to the social architect. Though little is known of any form of coordination which organizes the community forces so as to secure the most thorough service, attempts to federate agencies having a common purpose have been made and have met with substantial success. Councils of social agencies, or similar organizations, are effecting group movements in welfare activities. In some communities agencies are now getting a vision of the service that should be available to every child. With the growing recognition of its own limitations, an agency eagerly seeks the assistance of others.

Cooperation in various cities.

In one of the large cities there were a large number of children's institutions with standards of the ordinary variety. Each carried on its own program in most cases with little concern for community needs. The executives of some of these agencies hardly knew one another. A series of conferences to bring them together was arranged at different institutions. These conferences were well attended by persons connected with the children's organizations, who in this way began to get acquainted with one another. This acquaintance developed into good fellowship and confidence, and soon the group began to plan for the care of children whom none of them had been able to reach. Then followed a survey of the child-caring activities of the entire city—a study which, though directed by experts, was participated in by the agencies themselves. This revealed much waste and numerous misdirected activities. The wards of one large institution, with few exceptions, were found to be needlessly detained, having parents or relatives able to care for them. These children were removed, and the institution became available for the reception and study of difficult children who previously had not been reached. For the first time this institution was placed in a position to render its greatest service not only to the coordinating agencies but also to the children of the city who were most in need of it.

In another large city six well-equipped and highly standardized private children's agencies were engaged in the same general type of work. Many years ago these agencies prevented duplication of effort

through their reference to a confidential exchange. In order to give better service to the community, they later agreed among themselves as to the geographical district for which each of them would assume a major responsibility, and furthermore developed phases of intensive service made possible by the existence of so many agencies. Obviously this refinement of specialized service, as well as the district to be occupied by each agency, could not be generally known to applicants for aid. To meet this situation each of the six agencies agreed that when approached with a request for relief for a child it would take the responsibility of locating the case with the proper organization. Through this close cooperation service of high quality has been developed and duplications of effort have been reduced to a minimum.

An old, well-established, and influential children's home had for many years been placing children in foster families. The investigations by the institution had been casual. Beyond written indorsements, which could be secured by any person, little was known of the fitness of many of the homes. The visitation of the placed-out children was delegated to the haphazard volunteer service of board members. Some of the children were visited, others were not. Several of the directors were led to examine into the history and development of foster-home placements and the dangers incident to them. They suddenly awakened to the fact that they had practically ignored one of their greatest responsibilities, and that in consequence of their failure adequately to supervise their wards in foster homes, some of the children had been neglected. They did not possess the resources for the development of a comprehensive home-finding and placing-out program. Instead of going to the expense of building up machinery for this purpose within their own institution, they accepted the services of a state-wide home-finding agency. This organization employed trained workers who were experienced in developing foster homes and in determining their fitness to receive children, and who knew something of the technique of adjusting children to adaptable homes and of exercising supervision over these children after placement. Through an arrangement by which this society assumed the responsibility for placement and supervision high-grade service was secured and economies were effected. It is much more satisfactory for a properly standardized state-wide agency, employing workers who are trained in this type of service and having the entire State as a field for home finding, to assume such an additional task than for the small agency to set up makeshift machinery to accomplish, at a great cost, a lesser result.

In still another city there are a large number of children's organizations. The enormous resources of these agencies are not generally known, with the result that a limited number of them have been

carrying most of the burden. These agencies are now forming a joint application bureau, which will be maintained in a separate office by the participating organizations. It will inform itself concerning all the community's resources for service to needy children and will classify cases and distribute them to the appropriate agencies for care. In its investigations the bureau will seek primarily to establish the need and to ascertain to what agency the case should be sent. The development of the plan for the full treatment of the case will be left to the agency. Any person may refer to this bureau any child in trouble. This will save many a poor parent from being sent from one agency to another without finding help. The development of this plan not merely will secure a more systematic service in behalf of children in need, but will permit the obtaining of specific information concerning groups of children for whom no resources are available. As a further aid to cooperative service one of the large children's institutions associated with the bureau will operate as a receiving home, giving emergency and short-time care to children pending their acceptance by other agencies.

The child-caring agencies of several of the large cities have been able to effect functional combination. Through joint application bureaus, joint purchasing, and joint home-finding and medical services a much improved and increased volume of service has been secured, with a commensurate reduction of administrative costs. In many communities, in order to facilitate further cooperative movements, different social agencies are taking offices in the same building.

The subcommittee on dependent children of the National Conference of Social Work outlines as follows a tentative program for child-caring agencies located in the same city:

Following an establishment of an accurate understanding between the agencies of work plans, the council should turn its attention to the "fundamentals and elements in case work," which will include:

- (a) Social investigation of problems or cases.
- (b) A case diagnostician.
- (c) The reference of cases or problems by one agency to another.
- (d) Interagency case conferences, when more than one agency is interested.
- (e) Uniformity and standards of records and their making.
- (f) Working out and understanding by all agencies the specific character of case treatment necessary to be followed by certain individual or kindred groups of agencies.
- (g) An arrangement to administer cooperatively, and it may be centrally, such service as may be common to all agencies, or to agencies in kindred groups. In this arrangement may be worked out plans such as represented by children's bureaus in joint investigation of cases for care, decision as to their final disposition, medical examination, etc.; central registration schemes, central purchasing of supplies for institutions, joint bureaus of volunteer service are suggestions of common activities vital to many agencies.

Cooperation through State agencies.

In one community a state-wide home-finding agency took an active part in organizing a local children's service bureau. The State agency had been "covering" this city and had rendered some valuable aid in behalf of children who needed temporary care. It was obvious that this service could not be commensurate with the need. The State agency therefore helped to develop a local organization, which had a much stronger financial appeal in the community than the State society. This made possible the setting up of special machinery for the treatment of local cases and the employment of persons to devote their entire time to it. All the ordinary protective, diagnostic, supervisory, and general aid service in behalf of children in their own homes is now under the direction of the local bureau. The State organization confines its service in this city to the care of children who are removed by court order from their parents and are in need of permanent or adoptive homes. The local organization lacks the machinery for this type of service. The case investigations concerning the children who need permanent care and the supervision of the State agency's wards in foster homes in that community are supplied by the local agent, who is compensated for her service by the State agency. Thus the cooperation is made effective, and the community receives a vast amount of service which the State agency could not give.

One State department, in addition to its inspectional responsibilities, is required by statute to develop throughout the Commonwealth a placing-out plan for dependent children. It has aroused complacent trustees and directors to a sense of the inadequacy of their service by visiting their wards and then presenting to them specific facts. Some of these trustees and directors have been amazed to learn in what pitiable condition some of the children for whom they are responsible have been found. This State department, recognizing the financial limitations and the difficulties under which many institutions are operating, has made a practice of offering its highly specialized home-finding and supervisory service to such agencies as care to accept it. Owing to this constructive cooperation the work for children in some of the counties of the State has been literally transformed. Children detained for years in institutions have been given physical examinations and corrective treatment, have been mentally studied, and have then been placed in carefully selected homes under constructive supervision. Space has thus been released in the institutions for the care of other children.

Cooperation in rural communities.

The rural problem presents different aspects. The first problem of the city is to bring together and to cause to operate as an entity

a large group of children's agencies. The rural problem is not less complicated. It entails the bringing together of all available social-welfare activities, and the physical difficulties of this task are not readily overcome.

In many States the county is proving the logical unit for this type of service. In effecting an organization of the community's resources the following groups should be considered: (a) The religious; (b) the civic and fraternal; (c) the social and educational; and (d) the medical.

The governing board, to be democratic, must include representatives of each of these groups. The religious organizations should everywhere be called upon to participate in social programs. The greatest forces that can be found for accomplishing family reconstruction are too frequently ignored. In some localities superb service is being rendered by the civic and the fraternal organizations. These organizations can readily be interested in the community needs. The public schools and other educational activities will function increasingly in the program of the future for neglected children. All the social-welfare agencies, both public and private, that operate in a county should have a place in the county organization. The medical resources of many rural communities have yet to be socialized, but in order to protect the community health—a social problem—the cooperation of the medical profession is needed.

The outstanding need everywhere is for information—information concerning all the children in the community who are in distress; and, of even greater importance, information concerning the needy families who have not yet reached the breaking point.

A survey of all the available welfare forces of the community should be followed by their organization for the carrying out of one definite program in which the responsibilities of each unit will be clearly defined and the activities of the entire group coordinated. The organization of these forces under suitable leadership would establish a superb form of service meeting the need of every member of the community. With an organization like this, the children's agencies could render their service with a directness not heretofore known, for one of the results growing out of such organization would be the rehabilitation of homes and the saving of parents to their own children. In a community with such an organization homes would not be needlessly destroyed.

RESULTS TO BE OBTAINED THROUGH COOPERATION.

Every community has unused resources. The needless admission of children to children's homes and day nurseries could be prevented through cooperation with case-working social agencies now exist-

ing in nearly every urban, and even in most rural, communities. The hideous consequences of placing children in unfit homes could be avoided through the use of proper agencies that specialize in home finding. The physical treatment of children who have remediable defects could generally be accomplished through the use of existing medical organizations.

Only when the children's agencies actually cooperate, will there be an approach to the meeting of the communities' real needs. Then there will be emergency receiving-home service available for immediate use. Institutions will no longer be "dumping grounds," but each will accept for care children whom it can best serve. Provision will be made for neglected groups, such as the venerably infected and the psychopathic. Special vocational training will be given to children who need it. Family-home care for children who may properly be placed at board will be developed. The protective agency will have cooperation in seeking to compel parents to protect their own children, and the agency that places children in family homes for adoption will serve all the others.

The unmarried mother and her child will no longer be shunted from one agency to another, but will be given such service as the circumstances justify. The institutions that seek to give special industrial and educational opportunities to children will not be impeded in this work by a large feeble-minded population. Mothers in maternity hospitals will not surrender their children to irresponsible guardians. Infants in need of special pediatric service will receive it. An understanding service will be rendered to children physically or mentally sick, and the days will have come to an end when delinquent, dependent, defective, and venerably infected children can be herded together in the same building, the treatment of each class interfering with service to the others.

THE RELATION BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHILD-CARING AGENCIES.

In many States a public department, in addition to inspectional and licensing powers, is required to carry on a general child-caring program, accepting the guardianship of children and providing for their care in institutions or family homes. The wisdom of extending supervisory powers to an agency that engages in the same type of work in which it supervises others is questionable. In some States the public child-caring departments do not maintain high standards and need the assistance of a constructive State supervisory body as badly as the private organizations.

The attitude shown by State departments in their relation to private agencies varies in different States. It may be sympathetic

and helpful or it may be unduly critical. In some States the public departments are developing broad, cooperative programs and seeking to conserve the interest and the initiative of the supervised agencies. In others the State agencies tend toward an autocratic régime—an attitude that does not encourage cooperation.

A certain State department charged with the supervision of children placed in family homes visited the wards of a private children's home-finding agency. Following this visitation the superintendent of the society made repeated but futile efforts to secure from the department the report concerning this "service." More than a year later a public report was issued in which the State agent, after exalting the work of his department, severely criticized the private agency and told of finding some of its wards in undesirable homes. If the State agent had been really interested in the welfare of these children, it would appear that he would have taken immediately the logical steps to have the condition corrected, by reporting it to the responsible guardian. State supervision of this nature is not heartening to the supervised agency.

Public child-caring departments, like private agencies, may operate with mediocre standards or may lead in developing high standards. Some State departments of the latter type have rendered a conspicuous service, in placing the State program of child caring on a high plane. The lines of demarkation between the responsibility of the State and that of the voluntary agency in the care of children are not readily drawn and will vary in different States. It is generally conceded that public funds may be sought for that which has been demonstrated to be practicable and economical, the field of experimentation being left to the private organization. There are exceptions to this rule. The establishment within State departments of research bureaus for the psychiatric study of children is a striking illustration of the willingness of some legislatures to undertake new and undeveloped work. The private agency can choose the work it wants to do, but it will always render a limited service to a relatively small group of children. It has a peculiar opportunity to explore new fields. It can blaze trails, discover methods; and when the wisdom of such service is established, it can seek to place upon the public department the responsibility of serving the much larger group through the methods it has proved to be effective.

In one State where public service for children has been developed on a large scale the State accepts for care all cases of ordinary dependency and all types that require long-time custodial care. The private agencies, on the other hand, are called upon to render intensified service of a more costly nature to specialized groups of children and to provide temporary care for children in whose cases there are possibilities of early rehabilitation.

In another State the burden of service is borne by a few private agencies. The State department charged with the task of child caring makes little or no provision for the care of children who can not be helped by the existing private agencies and much of the work of the department is a duplication of service available elsewhere.

Departments charged with the responsibility of developing a State program for children should recognize that their great opportunity lies in rendering constructive aid to all existing agencies, rather than in the exercise of the police power. Some of the agencies now operating with low standards are capable of great development, but they should be given proper assistance. The private child-caring organizations, whether they are working with high or with low standards, represent forces that, properly organized, could insure the welfare of many children. The State can not afford to spoil the initiative of these groups of men and women who are giving both their service and their money.

The State department, through its power to pass upon new incorporations, can prevent the establishment of needless duplicating organizations, and with a knowledge of needs it can direct new agencies to the desired type of service.

A State supervisory department should develop a staff personnel trained in social case work and in institutional administration. They should be able to diagnose and to treat in a constructive manner the ills common to many children's agencies. They should secure uniformity in record keeping by passing upon or by preparing standard forms and by assisting in their installation. They should be able to make population studies, to develop home-finding propoganda, and to assist the agencies in securing suitable supervision for placed-out children. They should know how to assist the agencies in problems affecting the physical, social, religious, educational, and cultural life of children.

Enormous resources are at the command of the State department, which should be available to the agencies it supervises. Some State departments are carrying on special educational work by calling district or regional conferences of representatives of children's organizations. If the geographical district is not large this affords an opportunity to develop friendly contacts—a first step toward cooperation.

When child-caring agencies realize the terrible consequences of the lack of cooperation in welfare activities, the great multitude of unfortunate children who are not reached, and the inadequacy and incompleteness of the work that is accomplished for needy children by the best organizations in the community, their individualistic efforts will give place to a cooperative program. Only then will the rights of neglected children be conserved.

STATE SUPERVISION OF PLACING-OUT AGENCIES.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M. D.,
State Secretary of Welfare, Pennsylvania.

THE REASON FOR STATE SUPERVISION.

Long before organized government recognized that any responsibility devolved upon it for safeguarding the dependent child, men and women as individuals and as religious and fraternal groups had assumed the responsibility, and in many communities the child bereft of parental care was speedily and adequately provided for. Individuals and associations, however, could not keep pace with a problem which, if it had involved the normal child only, would have been difficult, but which, involving the mentally and physically handicapped child as well, became impossible for them to handle. Local governmental units were naturally called upon to take up the task, being impressed by the appeal of the individual helpless child. And to this day there can not be found a director of the poor who will permit a child to lack for bread. All too often, however, this is the beginning and the end of service.

It was inevitable that in its beginnings the work of child-helping should be based upon sentiment, upon religious motive, and upon an abstract philanthropic impulse. It could not therefore be expected that a comprehensive program to include all dependent children would be an early development, neither could it be expected that constructive methods calculated to prevent dependency would be evolved. As a result, the problem of the dependent child became too vast and too intricate to be handled by private philanthropy or local government alone. Pressing with ever-increasing force upon the State, it demanded attention and solution if the burdens of taxation incident to the care of the dependent, the defective, the delinquent, and the criminal were not to become overwhelming.

The modern movement in the field of public welfare indicates that the time has arrived when the State must assume not only its share of the burden of the dependent child but a position of leadership in the development of comprehensive plans, policies, and methods which shall include not alone custodial care for the dependent but prevention of dependency as well—plans which shall insure to all needy children the protection of the State.

State departments concerned with child care enter the field at this time under a definite handicap. They are late in undertaking a task which to many persons has seemed their obvious but neglected duty for many years. They find already in the field private and local governmental workers committed to a great variety of methods and to no method, and accustomed to absolute independence of action in their own territory, with no thought as to the result of their actions upon the plans or actions of others. The State department also finds itself suspected of political motives in all its undertakings and its staff on trial.

Under such circumstances, is it desirable for the State to undertake the supervision of placing-out agencies? Is it possible for it to do so without a miniature revolution? If so, how can this be accomplished?

It is desirable that the State undertake such supervision. Only so can there be an orderly development of an effective program on a state-wide basis which will eliminate overlapping and cover the entire field of child need with a minimum of expense. Only so can minimum standards as to method be arrived at and maintained.

HOW SHALL STATE SUPERVISION BE UNDERTAKEN?

Staff.

There is no field of public service in which it is more necessary that politics should be kept out than in the field of public welfare, if the activities of such a department are to demand and hold the respect and secure the cooperation of the public.

Therefore, to avoid or to minimize friction and revolt on the part of child-placing agencies already in the field, the only safety for a State department lies in the appointment of an absolutely non-political staff, the members of which are in truth trained workers capable of rendering a consultation service in the various problems which are likely to arise in the work of any agency. Not only is training necessary, but the staff must possess personality, maturity, and experience, if their supervision is to be accepted by the agencies already in the field. There must be no sham about what the State has to offer.

The child-placing agencies involved.

In looking over the field from the point of vantage of a State department, one finds child placement in the hands of a great variety of individuals and agencies—the directors of the poor, the courts, the private incorporated agency for child placement, the private incorporated institution for child care, the unincorporated agency and institution—these private incorporated and unincorporated groups being further subdivided into religious, fraternal, and philan-

thropic sections. In addition, there is the large but as yet unknown number of placements made by physicians, nurses, hospitals, maternity homes, and "interested persons" of all sorts; and last, but by no means least, in a few instances the State itself serves through one of its divisions as a board of children's guardians, including child placement as one of its activities.

Added to these individuals, agencies, and institutions within the borders of a State, the State department is beset on every boundary by irresponsible individuals and more or less responsible agencies and institutions which place dependent children over the State line and all too often disappear without trace, leaving the helpless child a charge upon an alien community.

How then is a State department to approach the problem of locating the agencies and individuals placing children; of standardizing placement method and supervision; of eliminating undesirable placements; and of insuring to all the dependent children of the State adequate care?

On the part of a State department there should be frank recognition at the outset that there is much for it to learn from the agencies and individuals already in the field. All knowledge is not suddenly acquired by a State department through its mere creation. Methods in use in a given locality frequently represent the accumulated experience of 50 years and more and are rooted in racial characteristics which can not be overlooked if work is to be successful. Policies and methods which may appear technically correct in theory may prove absolutely unworkable in a given community.

THE KEY TO SUCCESS—PARTNERSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING.

The key to a successful undertaking in this field of governmental endeavor is to be found in a spirit of partnership and mutual dependence between the public and private agencies; between State, county, and municipal governments; and between the State department and the county courts. The initial move toward such a partnership must come from the State.

The survey.

It follows that the first step to be undertaken by any State department created for purposes of child care must be in the direction of a careful survey of the agencies and institutions already existing in the State. The word "survey" has been seriously overworked in the last few years and has fallen into disrepute, so that the word "study," perhaps, may be substituted. This study should not aim to secure "impressions," but rather should assemble and record facts as they exist in relation to institutional and agency equipment,

finance, staff, trustees, method, records, and—most important of all—results as evidenced by the children in care and passed from care.

At the end of such a study there should be on file at the central State office an accurate record and as complete a "picture" as possible of every agency in the State purporting to help children. This provides a point of departure from which can be measured subsequent progress. It will include children's orphanages and homes, child-placing agencies, juvenile courts and their probation service, the work of the poor board as it relates to children, maternity homes and hospitals, and juvenile correctional institutions.

In Pennsylvania it has been found an advantage to have, in addition to the recorded facts, one analysis sheet devoted to incidental "impressions" noted in the field as to certain important elements of equipment and method. Are they "very good," "good," "fair," "poor," or "very poor"? These same factors are also given a numerical rating, based on 1,000 points—a system similar to that used by the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association in its rating of medical colleges.¹ Such a system makes it possible to convey a fairly accurate idea of the quality of work done, and the substantiating facts are at the same time available.

This study of agencies will require a number of months for its completion and the individual contacts made by the staff members during that period with superintendents, matrons, trustees, judges, probation officers, and directors of the poor will make for a friendly understanding of the purposes of the department. Incidentally the personalities of members of the staff, if wisely chosen, will "sell" the department policies to what would otherwise be a skeptical public.

Education of trustees, superintendents, and the public.

It is not sufficient that the study of the individual institution or agency should end with the mere recording of facts. Out of it should come a definite statement to the board of trustees as to points of excellence noted (if any), and specific suggestions as to needed improvements in equipment, method, and staff, and even as to the policy of the trustees themselves. By such a method the leaven of a new spirit in child care will be given an opportunity to begin its work long before the State is in a position to set up definite standards. In addition, an exhaustive study of this kind will bring to light, often in the most unexpected quarters, unusually good bits of work done in this or that field, the example of which can be made immediately available to all agencies doing similar work. Thus the State child-helping department becomes at once a clearing house for good methods and standards of work evolved by the private agencies themselves and not dogmatically imposed by the State.

¹ See forms of rating sheets, p. 185.

It should be thoroughly understood throughout the study that information as to defects found, even though they are glaring, is to be considered confidential and made available only to those who have an official right to it. Newspaper publicity is to be studiously avoided, and the board of trustees of each institution and agency should be given every opportunity to make corrections within a reasonable time.

During the period of the survey a valuable opportunity is presented for crystallizing public sentiment in favor of improved methods, higher standards, and State supervision in the field of child care. The bulletins of the department can be used to broadcast its ideas and plans; the various clubs and other organizations for men and women provide receptive audiences, before which the staff members may speak; the daily press is always a willing carrier of news, especially news involving the welfare of children; and the State conventions of many organizations provide a platform to be coveted by anyone with a program to promote public welfare. If the general public is converted to the need of adequate standards of child care it becomes a relatively simple problem to develop such standards in institutions and agencies, whether public or private, since boards of trustees as well as public officials are amenable to public opinion.

During the months of study of institutions and agencies an opportunity is presented for the education of superintendents and trustees in regard to certain fundamentals of child care—the diet and nutrition of children, methods of record keeping and the reasons for keeping records, the social study of the child and his environment before the breaking up of home ties, and so on. Possibly most important of all, is bringing home to the trustees themselves their great opportunity not only to serve the individual child but to serve the State, and making them aware that the work done by their agency or institution is part of a great whole and not a complete unit in itself. Perhaps one of the most disillusioning facts which a State official faces is the bitter jealousy discovered to exist between certain private agencies supposed to be working for the welfare of children and not for their own glory.

This educational work can be promoted by means of the inter-county institute, held for a day on invitation of the State, which brings together trustees and superintendents of institutions and agencies within a radius of 50 to 100 miles. In Pennsylvania it has been found desirable to arrange institutes at strategic points in relation to transportation facilities, dividing the State into districts and bringing together representatives from agencies in several counties. Admission to these institutes is by certificate issued by the department of public welfare, and so a premium is set upon atten-

dance. A luncheon, at reasonable cost, gives the needed hour for social intercourse.

The program at the first series of conferences strikes at fundamentals: First, the social study of the child and his environment in order to conserve home ties, if possible, and to make certain what is the most satisfactory plan for the child's future; second, the duties and opportunities of trustees, with the spiritual values which attach thereto; third, the vital importance of adequate records, and the contrast too often found between the financial and the social records of an agency. The speakers chosen are the best that the State or country can provide and are persons constantly in touch with the practical problems of administration in the child-caring field.

These institutes not only serve an educational purpose but are actually the first step toward a program of standardization and unification of effort. The mere fact of getting together, seeing the faces of one's fellow-workers, and "speaking one's mind," goes a long way toward ironing out misunderstandings and removing prejudices.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "REASONABLE" STANDARDS.

"Powers are derived from the consent of the governed." The power of the State to erect and enforce standards of child care rests upon the consent and cooperation of the agencies and institutions functioning in that field plus an educated general public sentiment. It is, therefore, suitable that the agencies should share in the formulation of such standards. More will be accomplished if the State approaches the subject of standardization with the assumption that the standards shall be "reasonable," the minimum being such that the child's physical, mental, and spiritual welfare will be secured. It is useless to evolve ideal paper standards, desirable as they may be in every particular, if they are impossible of realization except by a few heavily endowed institutions or agencies. The reaction from such a procedure defeats its purpose, which is to level up to a reasonable height the whole field of work in child care.

One does not class a family home as "poor" and seek to disrupt it just because it lacks money and material equipment. It may be rich in character and love and discipline, which no amount of money could buy. The establishment of minimum standards for child care must be approached with the same sense of discrimination as to values. It is not the things which furnish a home, but the parents, that make the home worth while for the child. It is not the plant and its equipment, but the staff, that makes an institution or agency a constructive force in the life of a child, in the community, or in the State.

How far is it "reasonable" that the State should go in the enforcement of standards of child placement and supervision?

To one who contemplates the situation in a State in which there has been no State supervision and standardization of child-caring agencies for a hundred years and more, it is obvious that certain bed-rock principles must be established before permanence and progress in the work can be assured.

In the first place no charter should be issued to any institution or agency organized for the purpose of child care, whether in institutions, in family homes, or otherwise, without the consent and approval of the State department of public welfare, children's bureau, or similar body, the approval being based upon the "eight points of excellence" enunciated in the laws of Oregon:²

- a. The good character and intentions of the applicant.
- b. The present and prospective need of the service intended by the proposed organization.
- c. The employment of capable trained or experienced workers.
- d. Sufficient financial backing to insure effective work.
- e. The probability of the permanence of the proposed organization or institution.
- f. That the methods used and the disposition made of the children served will be in their best interests and in the interest of society.
- g. Wise and legally drawn articles of incorporation, institutional charters, and related by-laws.
- h. That in the judgment of the said State authority the establishment of such an organization is desirable and for the public welfare.

As a result of the lack of any such check upon the establishment of institutions and agencies for child care in Pennsylvania, institutions for the care of the normal dependent child have been provided in excess for the State as a whole but so badly distributed that there is congestion of institutions of this sort in one or two localities and absolute dearth of such provision in other localities, while provision for the crippled and especially handicapped child remains most inadequate. In many cases an isolated child-placement agency is seeking to operate on a county basis with inadequate funds and no trained supervision, while over the county line an excellent agency is doing placement work with a competent staff, under trained supervision, which could readily be extended to the advantage of both agencies. Still farther afield will be found another child-placement agency rendering what might be called a "light cavalry service," making a foray into a county and departing with the cream of the children for placement—and incidentally with generous contributions—but leaving the day-after-day routine of placement and supervision and the study of the problem child to another agency, to which the field normally belongs.

² Oregon, Laws 1920 (Olson), sec. 9820.

There are, also, numerous institutions and agencies in the State, started in enthusiasm without counting the cost and now without funds or with funds so meager that the children in care actually suffer want or are without adequate supervision if placed in family homes and lack all those things which go to build up healthy bodies, minds, and spirits. Other institutions for children apparently provide an easy living for individuals or even communities.

Frequently large sums of money are tied up to no purpose because the dead hand of the donor has placed so many hampering restrictions about the proposed benefaction. Pennsylvania is most unfortunate in this particular, and in the interests of the children and of the State it is inevitable that the State itself should provide a measure of guidance to those intending to promote child care by bequests. It is reasonable that this should be so.

In the second place, all institutions or agencies engaged in the care of children, whether in institutions or placed out in family homes, should be required to secure an annual license or certificate of approval from the designated commission or bureau, the issuance of the certificate to be based upon the "points of excellence" noted above, with especial reference to the standards of work, and suitable penalties should be imposed for continuance of work without a license or certificate.

Until laws governing these two essentials are on the statute books, a State department is helpless to enforce standards. Such laws are not needed for the control of the high-class institution, but they are essential if the child is to be safeguarded in the institution or agency which is operated with "good intentions" but with lack of knowledge and lack of vision and often lack of funds.

Certification should also apply to public officials doing child-placement work. In the State of Pennsylvania, over 20,000 dependent children pass annually through the hands of the poor boards alone. By no means all these children are subjects for placement; but many hundreds are in such need, and all are potential candidates for such care and should be safeguarded by constructive family case work and by proper methods of child placement.

It is reasonable that such safeguards should be placed about the granting of charters and the annual granting of a license to operate, and when the public and the agencies themselves are assured that the commission or bureau which has the matter in hand is not "in politics," there can be no opposition. The license fee should be so small as to impose no financial burden.

MINIMUM STANDARDS OF ORGANIZATION, EQUIPMENT, AND METHOD.

The sixth of the eight points of excellence provides that the commission or bureau must be satisfied "that the methods used and the disposition made of the children served will be in their best interests and in the interest of society." It is at this point that the State, county, municipal, and private agencies should come together with a view to establishing those "reasonable minimum standards" upon which State supervision is to be based, the conference being called by the State authorities. The precise terms of requirements in any State must be worked out by those concerned. Granting a mutual confidence in the good intentions and concurrent aims of the State and private agencies, there should be no difficulty in arriving at minimum standards.

In the case of the placing-out agency, the points on which agreement needs to be reached include:

- A. Organization: Trustees, superintendent, staff.
- B. Temporary care of children:
 - 1. Receiving home.
 - 2. Temporary boarding home.
- C. Study of child:
 - 1. Social study.
 - 2. Physical examination.
 - 3. Mental examination.
- D. Foster home:
 - 1. Standards.
 - 2. Method of selection.
- E. Supervision of placed-out children as to health, education, morals.
 - 1. In free homes.
 - 2. In boarding homes.
 - 3. Other.
- F. Records:
 - 1. Of children.
 - 2. Of homes.
 - 3. Financial.
- G. Reports:
 - 1. Annual.
 - 2. State.
- H. Adoption.

A. Organization.—It would seem reasonable to reach an agreement, and to require as a minimum, that the board of trustees of a child-caring agency should be composed of not less than five members; that it should be responsible for selecting the superintendent, determining policies, and raising funds for the maintenance of the work; and that it should provide such committee support as the superintendent may need to enable him (or her) to carry out the policies agreed upon. It is the writer's personal belief that there

is a distinct advantage, especially for a child-caring agency, in having a board composed of both men and women. The "father" and "mother" points of view are both needed. An auxiliary of women with no vote on policy is not sufficient. It is premature, however, to include such a provision at first in minimum requirements for agencies already established.

The superintendent (or matron) should be qualified by training or experience for the duties of the office and should sit upon the board *ex officio* but should have no vote. He should not be responsible for raising funds to pay his own salary. He should have authority to engage the staff and employees, subject to the approval of the board, to discharge any member of the staff and any employee, and to initiate action for carrying out the purposes of the board.

The staff should be composed of experienced or trained workers; they should not devote any part of their time to raising funds out of which their salaries are to be paid.

B. Temporary care of children.—If temporary care is provided in a receiving home, the home should fulfill the requirements laid down for any institution for children as to general sanitation, general hygiene, housekeeping, upkeep, etc., and should conform to the requirements of the building code of the State or municipality. If temporary care is provided in a boarding home, this should conform to the standards for foster homes.

C. The study of the child.—Granting that in an emergency a child may of necessity be received for temporary care, it seems reasonable to require that within one week a social investigation shall be initiated with a view to determining the proper disposition to be made of the case in the best interests of the child, and that this study should include, in addition to the father's and mother's history and circumstances, those of the grandparents, the uncles and aunts on both sides of the family, and the child's own brothers and sisters. It should be the primary aim of the study to conserve family ties—to do family case work, in other words. Such a study may be made by a cooperating agency; by a representative whose services are shared jointly by several agencies, if the intake of each is small; or by a properly qualified volunteer worker, under competent direction.

A complete physical examination should be made within the first week after the child is accepted by the agency, and a mental examination within two months, if the child shows mental retardation or behavioristic problems. Facilities are probably as yet too inadequate throughout most States to make it possible to suggest as a minimum standard the mental examination of every child committed to care. Pennsylvania is making plans, through its bureau of mental health in the department of public welfare, to establish mental-health clinics within the reach of all county agencies, so that in this State

such a requirement will not be unreasonable at some time in the not distant future.

If the insane and feeble-minded are legitimate charges upon the State government, then in self-defense a State must establish a mental-health program which will include mental-health clinics, located within reasonable distance of all the people of the State, for purposes of diagnosis and advisory treatment. Until a State makes such provision it is not reasonable to require routine mental examinations of all children coming under care.

D. The foster home.—It is reasonable to require that foster homes used by the agency, whether boarding or free, should conform to certain minimum standards, and that their conformity should be ascertained through personal inspection by the agency staff and through the statement of satisfactory references. These minimum requirements should include suitable location (residential or farming rather than industrial or commercial); restriction of the number of children to be accommodated; conformity to the building and sanitary regulations of the State or municipality; other visible means of support besides the board of children, and exclusive of adult male boarders, who should not be permitted to form part of the household; diet suitable to the growing child, inclusive of at least one pint of milk daily for each; separate beds and sufficient air space (45 square feet per bed) with cross ventilation; proper medical supervision; education in conformity with State requirements; religious education in conformity with the faith of the parent, when possible; proper clothing; individual toilet articles, and training in their daily use; orderly housekeeping in the home; and proper health supervision (the agency holding itself responsible for cooperation with the foster home in this matter).

Unless the home demonstrates those characteristics which will tend to develop, by daily example, a spirit of kindness, helpfulness, orderliness, and thrift in the child it can not be considered satisfactory. It is worth repeating that no home should be accepted until it has been visited by a staff representative and found to be satisfactory.

E. Standards of supervision.—Having agreed upon the minimum standards to be required by the State of all child-placing agencies, relating to administration, temporary care, study of the child, and foster-home standards and selection, we come to the standards which should obtain in the supervision of the placed-out child. Upon this phase of the work depends the vindication of the theory that the child placed in a family home has the best chance for normal development.

Shall the free home receive the same type of supervision as the boarding home? How often shall the homes be visited? What shall be the nature of the visit? These are questions which need consideration and to which a dogmatic answer can not be given. Granting,

however, that the State's only interest is the safety and well-being of the child and that the agency involved is equally concerned for the child, and also because of a desire to protect its own reputation, it would seem reasonable to require at least one visit each month for the first three months, followed by quarterly visits until the agent is absolutely certain that the home and the child are adjusted to each other and that the child's personality and individuality are assured a real opportunity for development. The free home should be visited with the same frequency as the boarding home until the agent is assured of the adjustment of the child to the family, after which the interval between visits may be materially lengthened.

This is not the place to discuss the technique of such visiting. It should be broad enough in its scope to include, not only the home and the child, but the teacher, the pastor, and others in the community who can throw side lights upon the situation. Needless to say, the utmost tact is necessary.

The supervisory visits should continue until the child is adopted, becomes of age, or is returned to his parents or guardians.

What shall be the standard as to the number of children in the care of the individual agent? There can be no arbitrary standard, so far as the State is concerned. Urban and rural conditions vary widely. Transportation difficulties loom as a very large obstruction to frequent visitation in the country, and there must be a great degree of elasticity in this particular in a State program. Pennsylvania has had a very happy experience in the supervision of its families under the care of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare, through unpaid county boards of trustees under skilled supervision. The scope of the work of a children's agent in the rural districts could be materially widened by such an arrangement with an increase in the number of children cared for and in the frequency of visitation. For a city agent it might be reasonable to set as a standard the figures adopted by California—not more than 50 children under 3 years of age and not more than 100 above that age.

A record of the findings at each visit should be filed at the office of the agency, and, as in the case of the State survey of institutions and agencies, these records should be of facts, not of the impressions of the agent. Of special importance to the visitor are the findings which relate to the child himself. Is he happy, is he well, is he properly housed, clothed, and fed, and is he showing the best character development? Answers to these questions are the ultimate test of the agency's work, and it is with this that the State is concerned.

F. Records.—As yet not all people appreciate the importance of records. Many deem it sufficient that the work is done and the child

cared for; or that the money is spent and receipted bills show it. The State and the public at large have a right to accurate knowledge as to what has been done, how it has been done, and what it has cost. The child has a right to all the information which it is possible to gather in regard to his past and also the right to a record of his current development along all lines. It is part of the obligation which rests upon the State to bring to the realization of the trustees and superintendents their duty in this matter.

It would seem reasonable to require that for every child there should be filed at the agency or institution a special history, not less complete than that called for in the blank illustrated in schedule 2 (p. 186), which Pennsylvania supplies without charge to those who will use it. To this should be added the preliminary physical examination blank (schedule 3, p. 189), and a current record of development inclusive of any illness, accident, and operation should be kept up. If a mental examination has been possible its results should be included in the record. In these days of the ubiquitous kodak, it is reasonable to require that a photograph be taken of each child when he first comes into care and every two years thereafter until discharge, these photographs to be part of the history record.

The records of homes, whether approved or disapproved, should be kept on file available for ready reference, with reasons for and against acceptance.

Financial records should be uniform for all agencies, or at least capable of analysis after a uniform method in order to show comparable costs of operation and actual income. The public and the State have a right to this information in order to be guided properly in their benefactions. Individuals and organizations purporting to render a public service are proper subjects for public scrutiny, and any agency or individual doing an honest job welcomes it.

Financial and social records kept with a reasonable degree of uniformity provide much material needed for research purposes and a program of economy, efficiency, and prevention of dependency may prove to be a result of such studies. In the present state of record keeping in Pennsylvania (and, no doubt, in other States), it is impossible to arrive at accurate and comparable per capita costs, and except in a very limited group of agencies no social studies could be undertaken.

G. Reports.—It is reasonable to require that each agency shall publish annually a concise report covering finances and the intake and outgo of children, together with data on supervisory visits. Such a report may be amplified as the finances and the publicity policy of the organization may dictate, but an extensive report should not be required.

The report to the State is discussed under the general heading of State supervision.

H. Adoption.—No agency should give consent for the adoption of any of its wards until the child has been satisfactorily adjusted and under supervision in one home for at least six months. Such a provision places a check upon hasty and possibly unwise adoption proceedings and is a "reasonable" requirement for the sake of both the child and the family.

The law should provide that upon the filing of a petition for adoption, by consent of an agency, of parents, or of a guardian, the court shall notify the State bureau of children (or similar agency), whose duty it shall be to investigate the conditions and submit a report to the court, with recommendations, within a specified time. The requirement of six months of residence in the home should be waived by the court only when good cause is shown.

HOW SHALL THE STATE APPLY THESE STANDARDS?

Private and semipublic agencies.

The minimum reasonable standards having been agreed upon, the State should proceed to issue the annual license, or certificate of approval, to those agencies which already conform to those standards, as evidenced by the study made by the State agents. Such institutions as fail to conform to the minimum requirements should be notified as to their defects and a definite recommendation should be made as to possible steps to be taken to reach the required standard, the services of a member of the staff of the State bureau being placed at the disposal of the agency to assist it. If at the expiration of the probationary period sufficient progress has not been made, the right to care for children should be withdrawn, or a penalty should be imposed by law for continuing to function without a license or certificate.

Annually thereafter, agencies should be visited by the State bureau representatives; records should be checked up, and a certain number of home placements investigated, as a method of sampling the agency's work.

The agency should render to the State bureau, on blanks furnished by the State, a monthly report of all placements and replacements of children, and a live index of all children placed out in the State should be kept at the central office.

Annually, on forms supplied by the State, each agency should render financial and social reports of its activities. Such blank forms should be as simple as possible, but should call for the necessary data from which to compile a summary of the activities of the entire State and on which to base social studies looking to the

prevention of dependency, etc. Reports should be required whether or not the agency receives financial assistance from the State.

Annual regional institutes on various phases of child care will be of service in the development of standards and of methods of work and should be continued under the auspices of the State. Educational and general service bulletins should be issued from time to time.

It is desirable that the visits of the State representatives be not limited to "inspections." If the representatives can come in contact with the officers and staff of an agency in the spirit of friendly consultants, rapid progress will be made in the development of increasingly high standards of service.

The central State office should also serve as a clearing house for information as between agencies and when necessary as the medium for the transfer of a child, unplaceable in one region, to a more promising territory.

Licensing of boarding homes.

It is perhaps necessary to enter further into the question of the practicability of State license for the individual boarding home. For purposes of discussion let us define the "individual boarding home" as one in which not more than five children are received for pay; and a "semi-institutional boarding home" as one receiving more than five children for pay.

It would seem undesirable for a State which has licensed agencies to place children in family homes, and for one which has established standards regarding the type of home and method of selection, to interfere through the licensing of the individual boarding home. The agency itself should stand or fall on its selection of these homes. On the other hand, the semi-institutional boarding home is in need of very definite supervision by the State, as are all institutions caring for children, and should be subject to license by the State, as is any child-caring institution. If desired, the sanitary provisions of the home might be subject to the inspection of the local health authorities; but the social, economic, and moral conditions of the home and the type of training it is equipped to give should be subject to the scrutiny of the State, and actual license (or certificate) to function should be granted or withheld by the State, the licensee being subject to penalty if the conditions of the license are disregarded.

Public agencies.

The vast majority of dependent children pass through the hands of the poor boards (or the equivalent officers). In Pennsylvania in one year more than 20,000 are subjects for "outdoor relief," and many hundreds pass in and out of the doors of the poorhouse. It is not expedient that the State should take out of the hands of the local

authorities their obvious moral and financial responsibilities; but in justice to the child it is necessary that the State should be assured that the type of work done is up to standard and that reconstruction of families and conservation of the child—in an institution or in a family home—should be the policy.

In these days when "centralization of authority" is the battle cry which is raised in almost every State against the effort to bring standards in any field up to a reasonable level, it is a very delicate matter for the State to approach the minor governmental units on such a subject. But the appeal of the dependent child is strong. Public opinion is very easily aroused for his protection, and the economies which can be demonstrated, if the problem of child dependency is handled correctly, make a further strong appeal to the taxpayer.

A concrete example of economy in one county of Pennsylvania may be cited. In a period of four months a trained children's worker reduced from 50 to 20 the population of a semi-institutional boarding home which had been utilized by the directors of the poor as a home for dependent children. This meant an annual saving to the directors in board alone of over \$3,000, plus about \$700 in school tuition, not to mention the saving in clothing, doctors' bills, and overhead expenses. This was accomplished with an expenditure of \$900 (plus transportation), this being one-half the salary of the worker selected and supervised by the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania.

It is therefore reasonable that the State should require public officials in the minor governmental units to make such provision for administering their work for family or child welfare that it shall conform to the minimum standards adopted by the State. Financially, this is easily possible; the poor boards are empowered to employ the number of persons necessary to carry on their work successfully. It is merely a question of convincing them as to the type of individual required.

Shall the worker be trained or not, and shall she (or he), as a prerequisite, be a native of the county? The major consideration should be given to the training. Nothing less than training by experience under competent supervision should be accepted, and if a suitable person can be found who is also a "native son," so much the better, since this disarms local criticism.

In a sparsely settled district with few problems of dependency, a full-time worker may not be needed. Combination of districts may then be possible under one worker, or the public and the private agency may cooperate, sharing expenses and work. When such a combination is effected, if it also includes supervision of the local work by a staff supervisor of the private agency there are numerous

and great advantages, not the least of which is the wider field for help in the placement of children and in solving their problems which can be done through the central office of the private agency. The stimulus which such supervision brings to the local worker insures a high standard of service.

When such supervisory service through private accredited agencies is lacking the conclusion is inevitable that it should be supplied by the State. We have accepted banking regulations and supervision, regulations in the insurance field, weights and measures, drug control, contagious-disease control, and quarantine—sometimes under protest, always to the advantage of all the people. Are the lives and happiness and future usefulness of dependent children to be less carefully watched over?

If the poor board considers neither of the proposed plans favorably (that is, employing its own trained worker or sharing in the employment of such a worker), there is still the alternative of delegating all its work for children to an accredited agency.

It would seem reasonable that the State should make the adoption of one of these three plans, or an equivalent, a condition of the granting of a license to engage in the work of child care.

The same argument may be presented in connection with the juvenile court and its probation officer doing child placement. Unless the probation officer is qualified to undertake this delicate task, the court should delegate it to an accredited agency or should employ on full or part time the type of officer that the State can license. There is no reason why a juvenile probation officer should not be employed in cooperation with other agencies.

Agencies outside the State.

Perhaps one of the most baffling problems confronting a State bureau is that involved in the placement of children over the State line by irresponsible organizations and individuals. The attempt to control these placements, up to this time, has been for the most part ineffectual.

It would appear that a solution may lie in this suggested procedure:

1. No individual or agency should be permitted to bring or send any dependent child into the State for the purpose of placement in an institution or family home without first obtaining a license so to do from the public-welfare department, or similar body, of the State in which it is desired to effect the placement.

2. This license should not be granted unless the application is accompanied by legal evidence that the applicant is licensed (or certified) to undertake child placement in the State from which the child is to be brought.

3. A blanket bond should be furnished the State into which the child is to be brought by the agency or individual, which would be forfeited in case of failure to remove a child who has become dependent or delinquent within a specified time limit.

4. A penalty should be imposed upon any native of the State receiving a dependent child from an unlicensed source either within or without the State.

5. State funds should be made available for the return to his legal residence of any child who may have become a public charge or delinquent within a specified number of years after placement from outside the State.

These provisions should not be so construed as to make it impossible for relatives of the first and second degree to make suitable provision for children of their own blood.

If the checks upon child placement and adoption as previously indicated (namely, license to undertake the activity; penalty for engaging in it without license; penalty for receiving a child from unlicensed source) seem to leave a loophole for irresponsible placements, an additional legal precaution might be added, as in the laws of Oregon, which specifically forbids "private individuals, including midwives, physicians, nurses, hospital officials, and all officers of unauthorized institutions" to engage in child-placing work and exacts a penalty for their so doing.

SUMMARY.

1. It is desirable that there should be State supervision of placing-out agencies (agencies to be interpreted as individuals and organizations).

2. Such supervision should include both public and private agencies.

3. Supervision should be based upon minimum standards of excellence agreed upon in conference between the State bureau and representatives of the private agencies and the minor governmental units engaged in child care.

4. The State should utilize every available educational channel to create on the part of all the agencies concerned a desire for and acquiescence in the highest minimum standards obtainable.

5. The power to license (or certificate) all agencies and individuals engaged in child placing should be vested in the State, and penalties should be imposed by law upon those engaging in placement without license and upon those receiving a child from unlicensed sources.

6. No charters permitting agencies or institutions to engage in child care should be granted without the approval of the State

bureau, that approval being based upon certain enumerated points of excellence.

7. All petitions for adoption should be referred by the court to the State bureau for investigation and report with recommendations before final action is taken.

8. State departments concerned with public welfare should be kept absolutely free from the taint of political control, and the staff of the bureau of children should be composed of individuals with personality, training, experience, and maturity, capable of rendering constructive service to any agency in need and in an emergency to any child in distress.

Only on such a foundation can a successful structure of State supervision of child-caring agencies be erected.

FORMS USED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE.

The child's record and physical-record schedules used by the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, which are printed here, are self-explanatory, but some explanation of the system of numerical rating used in the agency schedule (Schedule 1) may be desirable. It will be noted that the numerical value placed upon the trustees and superintendent is small, though the success or failure of the institution or agency is dependent upon the character and ability of these individuals. It is desired to minimize, by not weighting this factor, the personal reaction of the State representative to the individual superintendent or the trustees. A very favorable personal impression might be made by an individual who was so poor an administrator that the work of the agency would be much below par. Moreover the superintendent and trustees are rated not only on their own numerical count but over and over again on the various factors which go to make up the technique of administration.

The rating "very good" (V. G.) on the first schedule would count as 25 on the numerical basis for factors not weighted (trustees, supervision of staff, adoption proceedings, etc.); "good" (G), as 20; "fair" (F.), as 15; "poor" (P.), as 10; and "very poor" (V. P.), as 5. For "records" and other items for which the total number of points obtainable is 50, any of the above ratings would be multiplied by 2; for "selection of homes" and "supervision," by 5; for "placement methods," by 4. Thus a rating of "fair" in selection of homes would be 75 (15 multiplied by 5); a rating of "poor" in discrimination in intake would be 30 (10 multiplied by 3).

SCHEDULE 1.—AGENCY SCHEDULE.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AGENCY AS A WHOLE.

	V. G.	G.	F.	P.	V. P.	Remarks.
Administration:						
Trustees						
Superintendent and staff						
Finances and bookkeeping						
Records						
Agency technique:						
Discrimination in intake						
Supervision of staff						
Distribution of work						
Investigation of cases—						
Family history						
Personal—Social						
Physical						
Mental						
Temporary care in institu- tion						
Temporary care in detention home						
Supervision in own home						
Other provisions						
Foster-home care:						
Selection of homes						
Placement methods						
Supervision						
Other matters						
Adoption proceedings						
Working homes—indenture						
Community service:						
Relations with other agen- cies						
Influence in community						

SCHEDULE 1.—AGENCY SCHEDULE—Continued.

NUMERICAL EVALUATION OF AGENCY, SCORED ON SCALE OF 1,000.

NAME OF AGENCY.....	DATE.....
Administration.....	Points, 125
Trustees.....	25
Superintendent and staff.....	25
Finances and bookkeeping.....	25
Records.....	50
Agency technique.....	Points, 400
Discrimination in intake.....	75
Supervision of staff.....	25
Distribution of work.....	25
Investigation of cases (175)—	
Family history.....	50
Personal—Social.....	25
Physical.....	50
Mental.....	50
Temporary care in institution.....	25
Temporary care in detention home.....	25
Supervision in own home.....	25
Other provisions.....	25
Foster-home care.....	Points, 425
Selection of homes.....	125
Placement methods.....	100
Supervision.....	125
Other matters.....	25
Adoption proceedings.....	25
Working homes—indenture.....	25
Community service.....	Points, 50
Relation to other agencies.....	25
Influence in community.....	25
Grade.....	

SCHEDULE 2.—CHILD'S RECORD.

(Use separate sheet for each child.)

Name of child..... Sex.....
 Color..... Date admitted.....
 Date of birth..... Place of birth.....
 City..... County..... State.....
 Religion..... Legitimate.....
 Surrendered..... Address at time of admission.....
 Legal settlement..... School district.....
 Committed by { Court officer }
 { Director of poor } (Name.) (Address.) (Title.)
 { Relative }

REASON FOR COMMITMENT.

[Put X before number in proper column.]

Because dependent.	Because neglected.	Because incorrigible.	Because delinquent.
1. Both parents dead.	1. Lacking physical and medical care.	1. Declared by court not to be amenable to control of parents or guardians.	1. Convicted in court for violation of a State law or a local ordinance.
2. Mother dead.			
3. Father dead.	2. Morally neglected.		
4. Parents living; unable to support.	3. Ill treated.		
5. Abandoned.	4. Illegally employed. Ex-hibited.		

	Father of child.	Mother of child.
Full name.....		
Country of birth (if in U. S. A. give place).....		
Last known address.....		
Religion.....		
(1) Time in U. S. A. (2) Time in city or county.....	(1)..... (2).....	(1)..... (2).....
Citizen.....		
Occupation.....		
Weekly wage or other income.....		
Employer.....		
Physical condition (disease or defect).....		
Mental condition.....		
Jail or institutional record.....		
Date and place of marriage.....		
Divorced—deserted—separated.....		
If dead—date and cause of death.....		

SCHEDULE 2.—CHILD'S RECORD—Continued.

OTHER RELATIVES, INCLUDING BROTHERS, SISTERS, STEPFATHER, STEPMOTHER, ETC.

Name.	Address.	Relation- ship to child.	Age.	Occupation or school grade.	Physical or mental defect.
.....
.....
.....
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.....
.....
.....
.....

CHILD'S RECORD AT FIRST ADMISSION TO INSTITUTION.

Family conditions which necessitate commitment of child? What kind of help is asked? What kind of home and family does child come from? If mother is unmarried what court action against father has been taken?

Investigation of home conditions and recommendation for admission was made by:
How was investigation made, by personal visits, letters, or telephone?

What other institutions or agencies have been interested in child or its family? Give dates of previous care by other institutions.

Physical health and habits of child?

Education, mental ability, and school grade of child?

Personality, characteristics, interests, and behavior of child?

SCHEDULE 2.—CHILD'S RECORD—Continued.

RECORD OF ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES.

	First.	Second.	Third.
Date received.....			
Received from.....			
Terms and conditions.....			
Date discharged.....			
Discharged to (name and address).....			
Terms and conditions.....			
Date of adoption (if adopted).....			
If adopted, court record.....			

PLACEMENTS AND REPLACEMENTS IN FREE, BOARDING, WORKING, OR INDENTURE HOMES OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

Placed with.	Address.	Date placed.	Date removed.	Rate of board.	Reason removed.

RECORD OF SUPERVISION.

Date.	Give facts about child's mental and physical development or changes in circumstance.	Visitor.

SCHEDULE 3.—PHYSICAL RECORD.

Date of examination

Name of child.	Sex.	Date birth.	Nationality.	Date admitted.	Date dis charged
Family history (cause of death).	Physical or mental disabilities (mention especially insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, chorea, tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism)				
Father					
Mother					
Children					

CHILD'S PHYSICAL HISTORY.

Birth: Term mo. Delivery: Spontaneous. Operative. Condition: Normal. Abnormal.

Feeding: Breast until mo. Bottle until mo. (Cross out words not applying.)

PREVIOUS ILLNESS. (Check (x) those applying and state accident or operation.)

Accidents	Erysipelas	Operation	Scarlet fever		
	Inf. paralysis		Tonsillitis		
Chicken pox	Malaria	Pneumonia	Tuberculosis		
Chorea	Mumps	Rheumatism	Typhoid		
Convulsions	Measles	Ricketts	Whooping cough		
Diphtheria	Meningitis	Smallpox			

Vaccinations and tests	Wassermann	Schick	Immunization typhoid
	Vac. smallpox	Date. Von Pirquet	Other

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION.

Scalp	Neck	Genito urinary
Eyes, right	Cervical glands	Bladder
left	Thyroid	Urination
Ears, right	Chest	Genitals
left	Lungs	Inguinal glands
Nose	Heart	Skin
Mouth	Murmurs	Orthopedic condition
Lips	Rate	Shoulders
Teeth. No. Upper Lower	Blood pressure	Spine
Cavities. " " "	Abdomen	Hips
Irregular Hutchinson's	Liver	Extremities
Tongue	Gall bladder	Anatomical stigmata
Throat	Spleen	
Right tonsil	Kidneys	
Left tonsil	Stomach	Nervous disorders
Speech	Intestines	

Date..... Height..... Weight.....(10% below average or 7% above needs attention)

In making physical examination child should be stripped to the waist. Height should be measured with shoes off. Weight may be taken with child in regular indoor clothing.

SCHEDULE 3.—PHYSICAL RECORD—Continued.

CONTINUOUS HEIGHT AND WEIGHT RECORD.

Date.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Per cent above or below average.	Date.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Per cent above or below average.
.....									
.....									
.....									
.....									
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.....									

HEIGHT AND WEIGHT TABLE FOR BOYS.

Height, inches.	5 yrs.	6 yrs.	7 yrs.	8 yrs.	9 yrs.	10 yrs.	11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13 yrs.	14 yrs.	15 yrs.	16 yrs.	17 yrs.	18 yrs.
39	35	36	37											
40	37	38	39											
41	39	40	41											
42	41	42	43	44										
43	43	44	45	46										
44	45	46	46	47										
45	47	47	48	48	49									
46	48	49	50	50	51									
47		51	52	52	53	54								
48		53	54	55	55	56	57							
49		55	56	57	58	58	59							
50			58	59	60	60	61	62						
51			60	61	62	63	64	65						
52			62	63	64	65	67	68						
53				66	67	68	69	70	71					
54				69	70	71	72	73	74					
55					73	74	75	76	77	78				
56					77	78	79	80	81	82				
57						81	82	83	84	85	86			
58						84	85	86	87	88	90	91		
59						87	88	89	90	92	94	96	97	
60						91	92	93	94	97	99	101	102	
61							95	97	99	102	104	106	108	110
62							100	102	104	106	109	111	113	116
63							105	107	109	111	114	115	117	119
64								113	115	117	118	119	120	122
65									120	122	123	124	125	126
66									125	126	127	128	129	130
67									130	131	132	133	134	135
68									134	135	136	137	138	139
69									138	139	140	141	142	143
70										142	144	145	146	147
71										147	149	150	151	152
72										152	154	155	156	157
73										157	159	160	161	162
74										162	164	165	166	167
75											169	170	171	172
76											174	175	176	177

Prepared by Dr. Thomas D. Wood.

ABOUT WHAT A BOY SHOULD GAIN EACH MONTH.

Age.		Age.	
5 to 8.....	6 oz.	12 to 16.....	16 oz.
8 to 12.....	8 oz.	16 to 18.....	8 oz.

PSYCHOCLINICAL GUIDANCE IN CHILD ADOPTION.

ARNOLD GESELL, M. D.

Director of Yale Psychoclinic, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

PART I.—THE ADOPTION OF INFANTS.

The general problem.

The problem of child adoption continues to assert its great social importance. Approximately a quarter of a million children deprived of parental care are at this moment under guardianship of public and private child-caring agencies in the United States. There is a constant turnover which greatly augments these figures. Pennsylvania, through some 200 child-caring agencies, annually cares for 25,000 children; Massachusetts, with about 75 agencies, cares for some 15,000 children; New York, with about 200 agencies, cares for 40,000 children. Each year, for the country as a whole probably over 50,000 infants are born out of wedlock. Although large numbers of these children are not available for adoption, because of the existence of family ties which should be preserved or for other reasons, yet in planning for the future of many of them the possibility of adoption is an important factor to be considered. Safeguarding adoptions in every possible way is seen to be an urgent social need.

Moreover, large numbers of men and women who have been denied the privilege of parenthood give serious thought to the possibility of adoption but are deterred by a vague fear of risks involved. To such would-be foster parents careful clinical investigation and guidance will serve as a stimulus and a protection. Policies of painstaking clinical control will therefore increase the number of available foster homes and multiply the instances of fortunate child adoption with its incalculable benefits and rewards.

In the interests of parents and child alike, purely impulsive adoption should be discouraged and the whole procedure should be surrounded with clinical and supervisory safeguards. In all cases of adoption there should be an exhaustive inquiry into the health condition and developmental potentialities of the child. A thorough physical examination is essential, but no less desirable is a psychological estimate which will define in a general way capacity and developmental outlook. A probationary period of a full year, with follow-up examinations, may be utilized to correct this estimate, as well as to test the compatibility of the child and his foster parents.

It will still be necessary, however, even when clinical procedures have become more accurate, to utilize every possible additional safeguard, including sometimes the temporary boarding home where the child can be observed, trained, and prepared for placement. But methods of clinical control may be made to reinforce all other precautionary and investigatory procedures. Even the probation period loses some of its value if it is not preceded and followed by clinical examinations. Such examinations furnish deterrent, confirmatory, or directing information. If, therefore, clinical control is judiciously exercised in relation to other methods of control, it must inevitably increase the yield of happy adoptions.

Infancy is in many respects an ideal period for adoption. There is, however, no basis for the belief that native mental inferiority in a child can be overcome by early adoption; The reverse is true, even in superior homes. The present report will emphasize particularly the importance of psychoclinical safeguards in the adoption of infants.

The Yale Psychoclinic makes mental examinations of dependent children referred to it by the State bureau of child welfare and by private child-placing agencies. Its official mental-examination report form dealing with dependent children calls for answers to the following questions:

(a) What is the child's intelligence? Superior? Normal? Dull normal? Inferior? Feeble-minded?

(b) Educational outlook: Could the child probably complete grammar school? High school? College? Or should he (she) have special class work? Vocational training?

(c) Does the child show any evidence of epilepsy, or is there any history of convulsions?

(d) Would the child be likely to do well if placed in a family home? If so, would you recommend an ordinary home or a superior home?

These questions are exacting enough, even in relation to county home commitment or temporary family-home placement. The questions become very searching when made prior to adoption and doubly difficult when the dependent child is a mere infant.

To what extent can these questions be answered? Fortunately, it is not necessary to answer them categorically and altogether without qualification and interpretation. There are, of course, no diagnostic methods which permit precise prediction. The intelligence quotient must be used with great caution because it may easily lead one astray. The difficulties of prediction become greater, too, the younger the child and the more detailed the specifications of the adoptive parents. These difficulties can not and should not be

evaded, but a carefully considered clinical judgment of mental status, taking into account as many factors as possible, will make the work of child placement more discriminating and prevent gross error.

How foster children turn out.

Significant in this connection are the results of an inquiry made by the New York State Charities Aid Association into the after careers of 910 children placed in foster homes, who are now 18 to 40 years of age.¹ Reference will be made particularly to those findings which relate to the problem of child adoption.

The findings of this study indicate that "the adopted subjects prove to be, for the most part, a capable group who manage their affairs sensibly and honorably". Of the 910 children studied, 269 were legally adopted. Of the adopted group, 145 were foundlings and 45 more came from families about whom very little was known or recorded. The fact that 222 (82.5 per cent) of the adopted children were taken by their adoptive parents when less than 5 years of age doubtless conferred upon these children an environmental advantage. Of 235 (88 per cent) of the total adopted group whose present situation and ability were ascertained, 207 were found "capable;" that is, they are "proving capable of looking after themselves, of supporting themselves and their families if they are married, and of maintaining decent standards of living and morality." The remaining 28 subjects (12 per cent of the group) were classified as incapable, and of these 14 were rated as harmless. This means that in this particular series of adoptions made in New York from 1898 to 1922, every ninth case was disappointing or short of standard expectation. One hesitates to call even these cases "failures," because the human factors in the situation frequently triumph and bring about an adjustment. But the fact remains that ideally there should not be a "miscarriage" of 12 per cent. Every good adoption home must be considered so valuable a social asset that maximum use will be made of it.

There are 217 foundlings in the New York study group. The present ability of the foundlings to "manage themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence" was ascertained in 180 instances. "Of these, 154 were capable of managing their personal and social lives without coming into conflict with accepted standards of ethics, were not a burden in any way upon society, but were for the most part sharing its work and its obligations. Twenty-six were incapable."² Again the picture "on the whole" is favorable; but it

¹ How Foster Children Turn Out; a study by the State Charities Aid Association, under the direction of Sophie van Senden Theis. Publication No. 165, S. C. A. A. New York, 1924. 239 pp.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

means that every seventh foundling may prove to be a disappointment to his foster parents. Must not the risks of such disappointment be reduced?

These figures emphasize the need for clinical control of early adoptions. For although the "general" results were good there was a significant minority of cases in which the outcome was not reasonably satisfactory. The report itself, while recognizing the interacting complexity of the varied factors involved in adoption, grants the possibility of reducing the number of misfits by better facilities for preplacement diagnosis, treatment, and observation. In a task so complicated, we may be certain that there would have been an appreciably larger number of misfits in the period from 1898 to 1922 if the foster homes had not been selected and supervised with great care.

The same general conclusion is reached when the results are studied from the standpoint of the mental status of the child's parents. In 155 instances the investigation showed serious mental limitations in one or both parents. The general level of development of this foster group and their capacity for acquiring formal education were definitely below that of children with more promising background. To be sure, it was found "that more than two-thirds of those who had what seemed to be a most unpromising of all possible starts are rated as capable." But again there is a sizable minority whose lower potentiality might perhaps have been discovered through discriminating clinical preplacement investigation.

One of the most suggestive general findings and impressions which have emerged from the New York study relates to the significance of the age of the child at the time of placement or adoption. "The children less than five years of age when placed with foster families showed a good development in every way in a larger proportion than those who were placed when five years or more."³ This conclusion strengthens the argument that the preschool period of child development is fundamentally the most determining. In this period of swift growth and of ceaseless adaptation the personality make-up of the child is in constant process of formation. The child can not be made over entirely even at this early age, but he responds more profoundly to the influence of home life than he will later.

Psychoclinical diagnosis in infancy.

From the standpoint of child adoption, therefore, the situation involves a paradox which contains an element of hazard as well as of promise. Infancy is the best time for adoption, but in the nature

³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

of things it is also the time when developmental prediction is most difficult. Can the hazard be reduced?

It can, if the development of infancy is essentially lawful; because all lawful phenomena, even the most complex, are theoretically within the scope of scientific formulation and forecast. It will be a long time before astronomical accuracy is attained in this field, because a child's orbit is not so simple as that of the sun and the moon. But that it is necessary to remain indefinitely in the dark would not be admitted even by those students who have gained the most knowledge of the intricacy of living things.

Infancy is the period of most rapid growth in the whole life cycle, except, of course, the intrauterine period of which it is but an extension. This very fact simplifies, more than it encumbers, the task of developmental diagnosis. The infant to be sure is very immature, which tends to make him inscrutable; but, on the other hand, he matures at an extremely rapid rate, and this tide of maturation brings him more repeatedly and more cogently within the purview of systematic observation.

The changes which the infant undergoes from the age of 4 months to 6 months, from 6 to 9 months, from 9 to 12 months occupy chronologically a short span of time; but from the standpoint of developmental economy they may be equivalent to the progress which in later childhood it will take him a whole decade to accomplish. It is assumed, moreover, that the infant is father of the child, just as the child is father of the man; and that the characteristics of the infant during the heyday of growth have some coherent relation to the characteristics which will emerge in later life. The rate and limits of his growth may also be foreshadowed by the manner and the fullness in which he makes the first stage of his developmental journey, say from 4 months to 12, or 18, or 24 months.

In principle, these considerations have a bearing on the question whether in time the adoption of infants may be brought under more adequate clinical control. The greater speed of growth has very practical diagnostic implications. It means that a probationary year prior to adoption may be made to yield more evidence in infancy than at any later period. In the first year of life four periodic developmental examinations may readily be made to determine the increments of mental growth, whereas a few years would be necessary to observe as many comparable increments in later childhood. The older a child is the longer it takes to make a definite developmental advance; and so it follows that the diagnostic values of a probationary year tend to vary inversely with the age of the child.

To a limited extent the Yale Psychoclinic has had an opportunity to test the application of this principle in actual clinical examina-

tions of infants and young children. For several years the clinic has been attempting to determine behavior norms of infancy and to define diagnostic procedures which will permit objective estimates of developmental status in early life. Briefly the investigation has been conducted as follows:

Ten levels of development covering the preschool period from birth to the sixth year were studied. As the embryologist cuts his specimens by serial sections to determine the lines of growth, so has the clinic taken a series of cross-sectional views of individual capacity and behavior at 10 ascending levels—1, 4, 6, 9, 12, and 18 months, and 2, 3, 4, and 5 years. The total investigation embraced some 500 normal children—50 at each level. These children were examined at the psychoclinic, at infant-welfare and health centers, and in their homes. The children were precisely at age.

The method of approach throughout the investigation was of an observational, clinical, naturalistic type. Appropriate test situations were devised to bring out characteristic capacity and behavior at each age level. The psychological examination of the subject was supplemented by an analytic interview with the parent. The purpose of the whole inquiry was to formulate concrete behavior items both characteristic and distinctive of the various age groups.

These behavior items are objective and recordable. They relate to motor control, language, adaptive (or intelligent) behavior, and personal and social behavior. The whole array of items, over 150 in number, has been codified into a set of 10 developmental schedules, 1 for each age level studied.

By means of these schedules it is possible to make a somewhat detailed descriptive and analytic record of the developmental status of a child in terms of capacity and behavior. Purely numerical formulations are avoided. A premium is placed upon descriptive, interpretive diagnosis, and the importance of a unifying comparative approach is emphasized.

In Part II of this report several case studies are assembled to illustrate the clinical aspects of child adoption with special reference to infancy. The reader, however, must not be left with any misconceptions concerning the automatic precision of the diagnostic procedures above outlined. They do not operate automatically at all; their final usefulness hinges upon trained clinical judgment. The normative developmental schedules, however, furnish an objective basis for the construction of a considered estimate and for a comparative evaluation of successive examinations. In this sense they favor verifiable as opposed to intuitive appraisal.

Finally it must be remembered that all diagnosis deals with probabilities and not with absolute prophecy. It is here the aim to

reduce the likelihood of error in such important situations as placing a child in a foster home. In simplified instances there is a positive diagnostic probability of nearly 100 per cent and a corresponding certitude of prediction. Below this 100 per cent standard of certainty there is a diminishing gradation of probability; but here as elsewhere scientific method will steadily increase foresight and make child-placing efforts less erroneous.

There is occasional danger that the demand for prediction will be pushed too far by child-placement agencies. It is also true that certain foster parents are unreasonably detailed and exacting in their specifications for their desired adoptee. Such parents should know that adoption must retain some elements of faith, adventure, and sacrifice.

But neither the faith nor the adventure should be blind. The instinctive and rational safeguards of marital mating are not present. Clinical safeguards must be supplied. When a child is given and taken in adoption the probate law decrees that he shall be "as though born in wedlock." And adoption, like wedlock, should not be lightly entered upon.

PART II.—CHILD-ADOPTION CASE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The clinical aspects of child adoption can be discussed most briefly and concretely by means of a few illustrative cases. These cases, nine in number, were selected because they are instructive and in a sense typical; they are by no means unusual. They have not been invented⁴ but have arisen in natural course. They are representative of those situations in which the importance of clinical control asserts itself most clearly; but it must be remembered that so-called exceptional cases can be discovered only by incorporating clinical safeguards as a regular procedure in all instances of adoption. The cases which seem "perfectly all right" in the eyes of all the well-minded adults concerned may be just the cases which need careful investigation and clinical appraisal. Perhaps the first case presented below will illustrate this point.

A Blind Adoption—Child A (age 6, 9, 12, 24 months).

This child was first examined as a mere infant, at the age of 6 months. She was a foundling and was seen at a child-welfare station. Although she was poorly nourished, her general appearance was relatively normal. She smiled, cooed, followed moving objects with her eyes, gave transient regard to a dangling ring. But she did not reach for the dangling ring; nor could any object entice her to reach. Her developmental status was estimated to be at the three-month level. A diagnosis of mental deficiency was made, and the agency then supervising the child was notified.

⁴ Inconsequential disguise has been introduced into the case reports to prevent any possibility of identification.

Parentetically it should be stated that from the standpoint of developmental diagnosis a retardation of 3 months at the age of 6 months is of serious import. At the age of, say, 3 years this degree of retardation, if measurable, would be quite negligible. Here it denoted nothing less than feeble-mindedness. The subnormality of nutrition did not cause the retardation: time could not overcome nor circumvent it. Indeed, by the age of 2 years the actual developmental retardation increased to 12 months. This, however, was but a lawful lengthening of the shadow, not a deterioration. At the age of 2 the child "looked" more defective; but she was in reality the same child who had been seen at 6 months.

When 9 months old A was reexamined. She approximated the four-month level of development. Nothing would induce her to reach even now. The dangling ring was attended to with more fixed and prolonged gaze, but there was no other reaction toward it. The diagnosis was confirmed.

At the age of 12 months A was again examined. Now the behavior picture changes. She goes out with avidity to every object in her reach. She grasps the dangling ring; she seizes a piece of writing paper and crumbles it with lusty vigor. She is now in good nutritional trim; she looks attractive; she bears no obvious badge of defect anywhere; and she is so reactive to the play material given to her that she makes an excellent impression. The baby is physically well developed; she evidently has a good disposition; she is alert. Surely she is adoptable! In a sense she is a fine baby—but only in the sense or in the equivalence of a 6-month baby. However, she is 12 months old; she is still mentally deficient.

It was at this time that this child was placed under the supervision of a second agency; and it was necessary to make a rather emphatic report concerning her developmental outlook because the plans were to have her adopted.

At 18 months she was reexamined. Her developmental level consistently approximated nine months. The shadow is still lengthening. At 24 months she was examined once more. Her developmental level was clearly 12 months. She behaved very much like a normative 12-month-old baby. The diagnosis of mental deficiency was now confirmed beyond dispute.

And the moral? Well, just before the last examination she went out of the hands of the X Y Z agency, and she was adopted very soon by a very excellent and most affectionate foster mother, who does not know what she has done.

An Attractive Infant, but Subnormal—Child B (age 26 months).

This child was not seen before the age of 2 years. She was born out of wedlock. Concerning the mother there was only the brief annal, "she is untruthful and peculiar." The child was boarded in a high-grade family home where the foster mother became deeply attached to her and made plans for her adoption and education.

Postponement of adoption has been urged, because the child just now seems much brighter and "more acceptable" than she really is. She is in the "cute" stage of development which conceals her limitations.

In physical appearance she is attractive; in demeanor she is smiling, responsive, playful. She waves "bye-bye" very genially and plays gleefully with a ball. She is just the kind of child who would smite the heart of questing adoptive parents. If they yielded to the impulse of affection on first sight, they would then and there resolve to take her into their own home, give her every educational advantage, and rear her as a charming, refined daughter.

These parents would not be entirely disappointed, because the child is not definitely mentally deficient and her personality make-up is relatively favorable. However, the examination proved that she approximates the 18-month level much more consistently than the 2-year level, and the general quality of her attention was far from satisfactory. On the basis of all the clinical evidence it is extremely doubtful that she will ever be able to complete a high-school education. She may have some difficulty in completing the grammar grades. In 10 fleeting years at least the educational limitations of this child will be more palpably revealed; and there may be genuine pangs of regret.

The economic status and educational purpose of the parents are an important factor in this particular adoptive situation. If at the outset the parents are not ready to relinquish their educational expectations, another child should be sought. Some parents are quite content with a favorable, likable personality irrespective of grammar-school success. Clinical safeguards and a probationary period will help to define the issues in advance and protect the interests of both child and parents.

College Educability—Child C (age 6 years).

This case again illustrates the problem of educational specifications. A well-to-do but childless couple, after perhaps too many years of delay, decided to take a child into their home and give this child a good college education. Their preference was a girl, aged 6 months.

College educability is an extremely difficult thing to predict. It depends upon personality as well as intelligence factors, and it may hinge on a motivation which has been built up by years of direct and indirect suggestion in the home.

However, some children are much more likely to possess this degree of capacity than others. We were fortunate in discovering a convincingly promising boy, aged 6 years, alert, spontaneous, of superior mentality, of excellent personality and also of superior inheritance. Here the "chances" of collegiate capacity were unusually favorable.

The adoptive parents met this child and were eager to take him on trial. They relinquished their desire for a younger child in preference for this greater educational certainty.

Defective but Adopted—Child D (age 12 years).

It is possible in certain instances that adoption of a mentally deficient child may be consented to. A girl who was examined at the age of 12 years was very attractive in appearance and made an impression of normality but proved to have a mental age of 8 years and a school ability of less than fourth grade. It was necessary to classify her as a high-grade mental defective. The social agency in charge of this case asked the clinic whether or not this girl was sufficiently promising to justify consent to adoption. The reply was as follows:

"My impression after a long conversation with the mother is that adoption may be quite legitimate inasmuch as your agency has urged and accomplished considerable delay before approving such adoption and is in position to place all the hazards of such a step before the adoptive parents. You have rendered a service in bringing about the delay, and it may even be possible to prolong this delay until D is 18 years of age. However, we can see no ground on which an issue can be made under all circumstances. Mrs. ——— is apparently ready to take all risks that would go with the step. Any other type of solution would not satisfy either Mr. or Mrs. ———; and if their impulse for adoption is as sincere as it seems to be and if they will consent to do all in their power to prevent marriage, the wise course may be to allow adop-

tion. You are justified, however, in view of our reply, in making it clear that we have very grave and well-founded doubts whether this child can ever assume and meet the complex responsibility of making a home of her own."

Normal but Incompatible—Child E (age 7 years).

This was a normal, wholesome youngster found for a very promising foster home. The foster parents were leading people in their community. Although childless, they had done well by several boarding children. And yet this home failed suprisingly and somewhat tragically, for reasons which neither the mental examiner nor the home-placement visitor could have foreseen.

The placement visitor summed up the case as follows:

"For several months E delighted her foster parents. In six months, however, we received a request for immediate removal. The foster father, who dearly loved the little daughter, had tried for several months to cope with a situation which was growing so serious that he finally realized he had to give up the child or allow his home to be broken up. His wife became furiously jealous of his affection for the child and considered that she was coming between them. E has never been able to see why she had to leave this very happy farm home—still talks of it wistfully—and I do not see how we could have anticipated this outcome and prevented her heartbreak."

Exaggerated Affection—Child F (age 14 years).

The foster mother in this case lost two children in early infancy, both of them dying before the age of 1. Last year she passed her menopause. About eight years ago she adopted a boy in whom she is thoroughly wrapped up. Indeed, her fondness is so exaggerated that she has lost her sense of proportion with respect to his behavior. He is an average, well-behaved boy, but she worries about him. This exaggerated fondness is remotely compensatory for her grief over the two lost babies and for her worries over financial conditions. For the sake of the boy as well as the mother, the attitude between them must be normalized. Here is a mental-hygiene problem in the making, which reveals the importance of a wholesome relation between the foster parent and the child.

Hasty Adoption and Antagonism—Child G (age 4 years).

This case presents an interesting contrast. Here again is a kind foster mother, one who impulsively adopted a child of a niece but after one week profoundly regretted this adoption, which had been promptly legalized by probate papers. Although the mother had been acquainted with this child by frequently seeing G play with other children in the yard, the child did not respond to the test of home life and proved to be mentally inferior. The mother has now developed a great antagonism toward the child, which weighs heavily upon them both. The situation is as serious as incompatibility between husband and wife, and annulment of adoption presents problems comparable to those of divorce.

This case illustrates again the folly of ill-considered adoption. The mental examination showed that this girl at the age of 4 years had a high-grade mental defect. This defect was concealed to ordinary observation, because G was only a little child; and did she not play around much like the other children? Yes, but she was and is feeble-minded, and this diagnosis should have been made before rather than after the decree of adoption. Moreover, a probationary period of only six months would have had a very tempering effect upon the impulse to adopt.

Does this case also illustrate the great value of annulment provisions in adoption laws? Not very conclusively. Such annulment proceedings should be very sparingly used. Almost complete reliance should be placed on pre-adoption clinical safeguards and upon a scrupulous utilization of the probationary period.

The Minnesota statute provides that the court may annul adoption and commit the child to State guardianship if within five years after adoption the child develops feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, or venereal infection as a result of unrecognized conditions existing prior to the adoption. The instances in which feeble-mindedness would so develop are very rare. One occasionally hears of "potentially feeble-minded" children, but the term is of doubtful value and of extremely limited application.

The purpose of the preplacement investigation, clinical examination, and probationary test is to uncover all conditions which exist prior to adoption. Placement can not be raised to the *n*th degree through adoption if annulment is made as easy as marital divorce.

Precautionary Probation—Child H (age 8 years).

This child was referred to the clinic by the State bureau of child welfare with the question, "Is she overplaced or underplaced?" With a brother born out of wedlock, she did not have an unclouded family background; she had also spent an interval in a neglectful, dirty home. Her present foster parents had taken her into the home on trial. It proved to be a case of mutual love and compatibility on first sight. In 24 hours the parents decided that she must stay. The bureau, however, was able to prolong the probationary period to 16 months.

The clinical examination showed that the girl had a well-developed average mentality, that she was alert, responsive, amiable, and apparently very favorably constituted from a personality standpoint. Fortunately, too, she is neither underplaced nor overplaced. She is an excellent adoptive prospect in her present foster home.

There are no striking features about this case, and yet it proves a very simple point which sometimes is forgotten. Nothing was lost by the period of probation. "Love at first sight" was well founded here; in other adoption instances it may prove very untrustworthy. Incidentally, something was gained by the period of probation. The slight fear that they might not be permitted to adopt had if anything a wholesome, sobering effect upon the attitude of the foster parents toward the whole adoption situation.

Bad Background but Adoptable—Child J (age 20 months).

It is not the function of preplacement clinical examination solely to discover the deterrents and to define the hazards of adoption, but to emphasize positive, promising constructive possibilities. A great deal is heard about poor family background in child-placement work. Social workers speak in a vague, foreboding way about the bad background of this and that child. What does the background mean? Alcoholism, abuse, shiftlessness, poverty, neglect, insanity, mental deficiency, illegitimacy, and the like. Often it is gratuitously assumed that in some way or other this background is in the inherent constitution of the child.

This does not always follow. To be sure, long residence in an incompetent home may warp a child and leave a deposit which is part and parcel of his acquired personality. On the other hand, a child may have a feeble-minded mother and still be a relatively safe placement or even adoption prospect.

This morning J, a girl of 20 months, was brought to the clinic. Her mother is so mentally deficient that she (the mother) is about to be committed

to a State institution. Her husband does not know the difference between a one-dollar and a five-dollar bill and is thought by the neighbors to be more defective than his wife. The actual paternity of the child is unknown, because the mother has been promiscuous in her sexual relations. It is not known whether the maternal mental defect is definitely transmissible or of a secondary, acquired character. When the child is estimated on her own merits it is necessary to consider her fully normal in her present developmental status. Her personality traits are not only normal but positively favorable. In spite of her forbidding background, she is entitled to more than an indifferent or temporizing placement. She is entitled to a good placement, and she is a safer adoption prospect than many a child with an "excellent background."

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing cases cover some of the more important psychological problems which arise out of the complicated task of child adoption. They demonstrate that this task can not be intrusted altogether to good will or to intuitive impulse, or even to unaided common sense. There are too many opportunities for error and miscarriage. The combined critical judgment of the social investigator, the court, the physician, and the mental examiner should enter into the regulation of adoption.

The greatest universal safeguard is a period of probation, but this can not be wisely used unless supplemented by clinical determinations of health conditions and development outlook. Mental examinations are particularly necessary to forestall serious errors of selection by over-sanguine foster parents. These examinations are also necessary to reduce the number of replacements or uprootings which still figure too frequently in the lives of dependent children.

Adoption is at once a social expedient and a social asset. Like education, it must be adapted to each individual situation if it is to realize the best results. Purely from the standpoint of social economy, if for no other reason, this asset should be constructively conserved. Optimum placement consists in the avoidance of underplacement, overplacement, and misplacement and results in the greatest mutual good for child and foster parent.

Clinical control of child adoption should be closely related to all precautionary and investigatory procedures. It should reinforce and direct rather than displace other methods of control.

Systematic psychoclinical examinations not only will reduce the wastes of error and miscarriage but will serve to reveal children of normal and superior endowment beneath the concealment of neglect, of poverty, or of poor repute.

Clinical safeguards can not solve all the problems of child adoption, but they can steadily improve its methods and make them both more scientific and humane. Most of all in the appealing but undefined period of infancy do we need a clearer light for faith.

APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX A.—CONCLUSIONS OF THE “WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON DEPENDENT CHILDREN.”¹

SPECIAL MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

On January 25-26, 1909, there assembled in this city, on my invitation, a conference on the care of dependent children. To this conference there came from nearly every State in the Union men and women actively engaged in the care of dependent children, and they represented all the leading religious bodies.

The subject considered is one of high importance to the well-being of the Nation. The Census Bureau reported in 1904 that there were in orphanages and children's homes about 93,000 dependent children. There are probably 50,000 more (the precise number never having been ascertained) in private homes, either on board or in adopted homes provided by the generosity of foster parents. In addition to these there were 25,000 children in institutions for juvenile delinquents.

Each of these children represents either a potential addition to the productive capacity and the enlightened citizenship of the Nation, or, if allowed to suffer from neglect, a potential addition to the destructive forces of the community. The ranks of criminals and other enemies of society are recruited in an altogether undue proportion from children bereft of their natural homes and left without sufficient care.

The interests of the nation are involved in the welfare of this army of children no less than in our great material affairs.

Notwithstanding a wide diversity of views and methods represented in the conference and notwithstanding the varying legislative enactments and policies of the States from which the members came, the conference, at the close of its sessions, unanimously adopted a series of declarations expressing the conclusions which they had reached. These constitute a wise, constructive, and progressive program of child-caring work. If given full effect by the proper agencies, existing methods and practices in almost every community would be profoundly and advantageously modified.

More significant even than the contents of the declarations is the fact that they were adopted without dissenting vote and with every demonstration of hearty approval on the part of all present. They constitute a standard of accepted opinion by which each community should measure the adequacy of its existing methods and to which each community should seek to conform its legislation and its practice.

The keynote of the conference was expressed in these words:

“Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons.”

Surely poverty alone should not disrupt the home. Parents of good character suffering from temporary misfortune and above all, deserving mothers fairly well able to work but deprived of the support of the normal breadwinner should be given such aid as may be necessary to enable them to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of their children. The widowed or deserted mother, if a good woman, willing to work and to do her best, should ordinarily be helped in such fashion as will enable her to bring up her children herself in their natural home. Children from unfit homes and children who have no homes, who must be cared for by charitable agencies, should, so far as practicable, be cared for in families.

I transmit herewith for your information a copy of the conclusions reached by the conference, of which the following is a brief summary:

1. *Home care.*—Children of worthy parents or deserving mothers should, as a rule, be kept with their parents at home.

2. *Preventive work.*—The effort should be made to eradicate causes of dependency, such as disease and accident, and to substitute compensation and insurance for relief.

¹ From the Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, held at Washington, D. C., Jan. 25-26, 1909. Sixtieth Congress, second session, Senate Document No. 721, pp. 8-14. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

3. *Home finding.*—Homeless and neglected children, if normal, should be cared for in families, when practicable.

4. *Cottage system.*—Institutions should be on the cottage plan with small units, as far as possible.

5. *Incorporation.*—Agencies caring for dependent children should be incorporated, on approval of a suitable State board.

6. *State inspection.*—The State should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children.

7. *Inspection of educational work.*—Educational work of institutions and agencies caring for dependent children should be supervised by State educational authorities.

8. *Facts and records.*—Complete histories of dependent children and their parents, based upon personal investigation and supervision, should be recorded for guidance of child-caring agencies.

9. *Physical care.*—Every needy child should receive the best medical and surgical attention and be instructed in health and hygiene.

10. *Cooperation.*—Local child-caring agencies should cooperate and establish joint bureaus of information.

11. *Undesirable legislation.*—Prohibitive legislation against transfer of dependent children between States should be repealed.

12. *Permanent organization.*—A permanent organization for work along the lines of these resolutions is desirable.

13. *Federal children's bureau.*—Establishment of a Federal children's bureau is desirable, and enactment of pending bill is earnestly recommended.

14. Suggests special message to Congress favoring Federal children's bureau and other legislation applying above principles to District of Columbia and other Federal territory.

While it is recognized that these conclusions can be given their fullest effect only by the action of the several States or communities concerned, or of their charitable agencies, the conference requested me, in section 14 of the conclusions, to send to you a message recommending Federal action.

There are pending in both Houses of Congress bills for the establishment of a children's bureau, i. e., Senate bill No. 8323 and House bill No. 24148. These provide for a children's bureau in the Department of the Interior, which "shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, desertion and illegitimacy, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children of the working classes, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character, and training of children."

One of the needs felt most acutely by the conference was that of accurate information concerning these questions relating to childhood. The National Government not only has the unquestioned right of research in such vital matters but is the only agency which can effectively conduct such general inquiries as are needed for the benefit of all our citizens. In accordance with the unanimous request of the conference, I therefore most heartily urge your favorable action on these measures.

It is not only discreditable to us as a people that there is now no recognized and authoritative source of information upon these subjects relating to child life, but in the absence of such information as should be supplied by the Federal Government many abuses have gone unchecked; for public sentiment, with its great corrective power, can only be aroused by full knowledge of the facts. In addition to such information as the Census Bureau and other existing agencies of the Federal Government already provide, there remains much to be ascertained through lines of research not now authorized by law; and there should be correlation and dissemination of the knowledge obtained without any duplication of effort or interference with what is already being done. There are few things more vital to the welfare of the Nation than accurate and dependable knowledge of the best methods of dealing with children, especially with those who are in one way or another handicapped by misfortune; and in the absence of such knowledge each community is left to work out its own problem without being able to learn of and profit by the success or failure of other communities along the same lines of endeavor. The bills for the establishment of the children's bureau are advocated not only by this conference but by a large number of national organizations that are disinter-

estedly working for the welfare of children, and also by philanthropic, educational, and religious bodies in all parts of the country.

I further urge that such legislation be enacted as may be necessary in order to bring the laws and practices in regard to the care of dependent children in all Federal territory into harmony with the other conclusions reached by the conference.

* * * * *

I herewith transmit a copy of the full text of the proceedings.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 15, 1909.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, EMBODYING THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN HELD BY INVITATION OF THE PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 25 and 26, 1909.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States.

SIR: Having been invited by you to participate in a conference on the care of dependent children, held at Washington, D. C., January 25-26, 1909, and having considered at the sessions of such conference the various phases of the subject as stated in the memorandum accompanying your letter of invitation, and such others as have been brought before us by the executive committee, we desire to express the very great satisfaction felt by each member of this conference in the deep interest you have taken in the well-being of dependent children. The proper care of destitute children has indeed an important bearing upon the welfare of the Nation. We now know so little about them as not even to know their number, but we know that there are in institutions about 93,000 and that many additional thousands are in foster or boarding homes. As a step, therefore, in the conservation of the productive capacity of the people and the preservation of high standards of citizenship, and also because each of these children is entitled to receive humane treatment, adequate care, and proper education, your action in calling this conference and your participation in its opening and closing sessions will have, we believe, a profound effect upon the well-being of many thousands of children, and upon the Nation as a whole.

Concerning the particular objects to which you call attention in the invitation to this conference, and the additional subjects brought before us by the executive committee, our conclusions are as follows:

Home care.

1. Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity rather than of public relief. Except in unusual circumstances the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency and immorality.

Preventive work.

2. The most important and valuable philanthropic work is not the curative but the preventive; to check dependency by a thorough study of its causes and by effectively remedying or eradicating them should be the constant aim of society. Along these lines we urge upon all friends of children the promotion of effective measures, including legislation to prevent blindness; to check tuberculosis and other diseases in dwellings and work places, and injuries in hazardous occupations; to secure compensation or insurance so as to provide a family income in case of sickness, accident, death, or invalidism of the breadwinner; to promote child-labor reforms, and, generally, to improve the conditions surrounding child life. To secure these ends we urge efficient cooperation with all other agencies for social betterment.

Home finding.

3. As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency, is essential.

It is recognized that for many children foster homes without payment for board are not practicable immediately after the children become dependent, and that for children requiring temporary care only, the free home is not available. For the temporary, or more or less permanent, care of such children different methods are in use, notably the plan of placing them in families, paying for their board, and the plan of institutional care. Contact with family life is preferable for these children, as well as for other normal children. It is necessary, however, that a large number of carefully selected boarding homes be found if these children are to be cared for in families. The extent to which such families can be found should be ascertained by careful inquiry and experiment in each locality. Unless and until such homes are found the use of institutions is necessary.

Cottage system.

4. So far as it may be found necessary temporarily or permanently to care for certain classes of children in institutions, these institutions should be conducted on the cottage plan, in order that routine and impersonal care may not unduly suppress individuality and initiative. The cottage unit should not be larger than will permit effective personal relations between the adult caretaker or caretakers of each cottage and each child therein. Twenty-five is suggested as a desirable cottage unit, subject to revision in the light of further experience in the management of cottage institutions. The cottage plan is probably somewhat more expensive, both in construction and in maintenance, than the congregate system. It is so, however, only because it secures for the children a larger degree of association with adults and a nearer approach to the conditions of family life, which are required for the proper molding of childhood. These results more than justify the increased outlay and are truly economical. Child-caring agencies, whether supported by public or private funds, should by all legitimate means press for adequate financial support. Inferior methods should never be accepted by reason of lack of funds without continuing protest. Cheap care of children is ultimately enormously expensive and is unworthy of a strong community. Existing congregate institutions should so classify their inmates and segregate them into groups as to secure as many of the benefits of the cottage system as possible and should look forward to the adoption of the cottage type when new buildings are constructed.

The sending of children of any age or class to almshouses is an unqualified evil and should be forbidden everywhere by law, with suitable penalty for its violation.

Incorporation.

5. To engage in the work of caring for needy children is to assume a most serious responsibility and should, therefore, be permitted only to those who are definitely organized for the purpose, who are of suitable character, and possess, or have reasonable assurance of securing, the funds needed for their support. The only practicable plan of securing this end is to require the approval, by a State board of charities or other body exercising similar powers, of the incorporation of all child-caring agencies, including the approval of any amendments of the charter of a benevolent corporation, if it is to include child-caring work; and by forbidding other than duly incorporated agencies to engage in the care of needy children.

State inspection.

6. The proper training of destitute children being essential to the well-being of the State, it is a sound public policy that the State, through its duly authorized representative, should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, whether by institutional or by home-finding methods and whether supported by public or private funds. Such inspection should be

made by trained agents, should be thorough, and the results thereof should be reported to the responsible authorities of the institution or agency concerned. The information so secured should be confidential, not to be disclosed except by competent authority.

Inspection of educational work.

7. Destitute children at best labor under many disadvantages and are deprived in greater or less degree of the assistance and guidance which parents afford their own children. It is important, therefore, that such children be given an education which will fit them for self-support and for the duties of citizenship, and the State should provide therefor. In order that this education may be equal to that afforded by the schools attended by the other children of the community, it is desirable that the education of children in orphan asylums and other similar institutions or placed in families should be under the supervision of the educational authorities of the State.

Facts and records.

8. The proper care of a child in the custody of a child-caring agency, as well as the wise decision as to the period of his retention and ultimate disposition to be made of him, involve a knowledge of the character and circumstances of his parents, or surviving parent, and near relatives, both before and at the time the child becomes dependent, and subsequently. One unfortunate feature of child-caring work hitherto is the scanty information available as to the actual careers of children who have been reared under the care of charitable agencies. This applies both to institutions, which too frequently lose sight of the children soon after they leave their doors, and home-finding agencies, which too frequently have failed to exercise supervision adequate to enable them to judge of the real results of their work. It is extremely desirable that, taking all precautions to prevent injury or embarrassment to those who have been the subjects of charitable care, the agencies which have been responsible for the care of children should know to what station in life they attain and what sort of citizens they become. Only in this manner can they form a correct judgment of the results of their efforts.

We believe, therefore, that every child-caring agency should—

(a) Secure full information concerning the character and circumstances of the parents and near relatives of each child in whose behalf application is made, through personal investigation by its own representative, unless adequate information is supplied by some other reliable agency.

(b) Inform itself by personal investigation at least once each year of the circumstances of the parents of children in its charge, unless the parents have been legally deprived of guardianship, and unless this information is supplied by some other responsible agency.

(c) Exercise supervision over children under their care until such children are legally adopted, are returned to their parents, attain their majority, or are clearly beyond the need of further supervision.

(d) Make a permanent record of all information thus secured.

Physical care.

9. The physical condition of children who become the subjects of charitable care has received inadequate consideration. Each child received into the care of such an agency should be carefully examined by a competent physician, especially for the purpose of ascertaining whether such peculiarities, if any, as the child presents may be due to any defect of the sense organs or to other physical defect. Both institutions and placing-out agencies should take every precaution to secure proper medical and surgical care of their children and should see that suitable instruction is given them in matters of health and hygiene.

Cooperation.

10. Great benefit can be derived from a close cooperation between the various child-caring agencies, institutional and otherwise, in each locality. It is especially desirable that harmonious relations be established in regard to the classes of children to be received by each agency, the relations of such agencies to the parents of children received, and the subsequent oversight of children passing from the custody of child-caring agencies. The establishment of a joint bureau of investigation and information by all the child-caring agencies of each locality is highly commended, in the absence of any other suitable central agency through which they may cooperate.

Undesirable legislation.

11. We greatly deprecate the tendency of legislation in some States to place unnecessary obstacles in the way of placing children in family homes in such States by agencies whose headquarters are elsewhere, in view of the fact that we favor the care of destitute children, normal in mind and body, in families, whenever practicable.

We recognize the right of each State to protect itself from vicious, diseased, or defective children from other States by the enactment of reasonable protective legislation; but experience proves that the reception of healthy normal children is not only an act of philanthropy, but also secures a valuable increment to the population of the community and an ultimate increase of its wealth.

The people of the more prosperous and less congested districts owe a debt of hospitality to the older communities from which many of them came.

We earnestly protest, therefore, against such legislation as is prohibitive in form or in effect, and urge that where it exists it be repealed.

Permanent organization.

12. The care of dependent children is a subject about which nearly every session of the legislature of every State in the Union concerns itself; it is a work in which State and local authorities in many States are engaged, and in which private agencies are active in every State. Important decisions are being made constantly by associations, institutions, and public authorities affecting questions of policy, the type of buildings to be constructed, the establishment of an adequate system of investigating homes and visiting children placed in homes, and scores of important matters affecting the well-being of needy children. Each of these decisions should be made with full knowledge of the experience of other States and agencies, and of the trend of opinion among those most actively engaged in the care of children, and able to speak from wide experience and careful observation. One effective means of securing this result would be the establishment of a permanent organization to undertake, in this field, work comparable to that carried on by the National Playground Association, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the National Child Labor Committee, and other similar organizations in their respective fields. It is our judgment that the establishment of such a permanent voluntary organization, under auspices which would insure a careful consideration of all points of view, broad-mindedness, and tolerance, would be desirable and helpful, if reasonably assured of adequate financial support.

Federal children's bureau.

13. A bill is pending in Congress for the establishment of a Federal children's bureau to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children. In our judgment the establishment of such a bureau is desirable, and we earnestly recommend the enactment of the pending measure.

Summary.

14. The preceding suggestions may be almost completely summarized in this—that the particular condition and needs of each destitute child should be carefully studied and that he should receive that care and treatment which his individual needs require, and which should be as nearly as possible like the life of the other children of the community.

15. We respectfully recommend that you send to Congress a message urging favorable action upon the bill for a Federal children's bureau and the enactment of such legislation as will bring the laws and the public administration of the District of Columbia and other Federal territory into harmony with the principles and conclusions herein stated, and we further recommend that you cause to be transmitted to the governor of each State of the Union a copy of the proceedings of this conference for the information of the State board of charities or other body exercising similar powers.

Yours very respectfully,

HASTINGS H. HART,
EDMOND J. BUTLER,
JULIAN W. MACK,
HOMER FOLKS,
JAMES E. WEST,
Committee on resolutions.

APPENDIX B.—RESOLUTIONS ON STANDARDS RELATING TO “CHILDREN IN NEED OF SPECIAL CARE.”¹

1. General statement.

The conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909 on the Care of Dependent Children are reaffirmed in all essentials. They have been guides for communities and States in reshaping their plans for children in need of special care. They are recommended for consideration to all communities whose standards do not as yet conform to them, so that they may be translated into practice in the various States.

The fundamental rights of childhood are normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded.

Upon the state devolves the ultimate responsibility for children who are in need of special care by reason of unfortunate home conditions, physical or mental handicap, or delinquency. Particular legislation is required to insure for such children the nearest possible approach to normal development.

2. Adequate income.

Home life, which is, in the words of the conclusions of the White House Conference, “the highest and finest product of civilization,” can not be provided except upon the basis of an adequate income for each family.

3. Assistance to mothers.

The policy of assistance to mothers who are competent to care for their own children is now well established. It is generally recognized that the amount provided should be sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, without resorting to such outside employment as will necessitate leaving her children without proper care and oversight; but in many States the allowances are still entirely inadequate to secure this result under present living costs. The amount required can be determined only by careful and competent case study, which must be renewed from time to time to meet changing conditions.

4. State supervision.

A State board of charities or a similar supervisory body should be responsible for the regular inspection and licensing of every institution, agency, or association, incorporated or otherwise, which receives or cares for mothers with children or children who suffer from physical or mental handicaps, or who are delinquent, dependent, or without suitable parental care, and should have authority to revoke such licenses for cause and to prescribe forms of registration and report. This State agency should maintain such supervision and visitation of children in institutions and children placed in family homes as will insure their proper care, training, and protection. The incorporation of private organizations caring for children should be required, and should be subject to the approval of the State board of charities or similar body. State supervision should be conceived and exercised in harmony with democratic ideals which invite and encourage the service of efficient, altruistic forces of society in the common welfare.

5. Removal of children from their homes.

Unless unusual conditions exist, the child's welfare is best promoted by keeping him in his own home. No child should be permanently removed from his home unless it is impossible so to reconstruct family conditions or build

¹ From the Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919 (Conference Series No. 2, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62, Washington, 1920), which gives complete text of standards on all subjects considered at the conferences.

and supplement family resources as to make the home safe for the child, or so to supervise the child as to make his continuance in the home safe for the community. In case of removal, separation should not continue beyond the period of reconstruction.

6. Home care.

The aim of all provision for children who must be removed from their own homes should be to secure for each child home life as nearly normal as possible, to safeguard his health, and to insure for him the fundamental rights of childhood. To a much larger degree than at present, family homes may be used to advantage in the care of such children.

7. Principles governing child placing.

Before a child is placed in other than a temporary foster home, adequate consideration should be given to his health, mentality, character, and family history and circumstances. Arrangements should be made for correcting remediable physical defects and disease. Complete records of the child are necessary to a proper understanding of his heredity and personality, and of his development and progress while under the care of the agency.

Particular consideration should be given to children who are difficult to place and who require provision adapted to their peculiar needs.

Careful and wise investigation of foster homes is prerequisite to the placing of children. Adequate standards should be required of the foster families as to character, intelligence, experience, training, ability, income, environment, sympathetic attitude, and their ability to give the child proper moral and spiritual training. When practicable children should be placed in families of the same religious faith as the parents or the last surviving parent.

A complete record should be kept of each foster home, giving the information on which approval was based. The records should show the agency's contacts with the family from time to time indicating the care given the child intrusted to it. In this way special abilities in the families will be developed and conserved for children.

Supervision of children placed in foster homes should include adequate visits by properly qualified and well-trained visitors, who should exercise watchfulness over the child's health, education, and moral and spiritual development. Periodic physical examinations should be made. Supervision of children in boarding homes should also involve the careful training of the foster parents in their task. Supervision should not be made a substitute for the responsibilities which properly rest with the foster family.

The transfer of the legal guardianship of a child should not be permitted, save with the consent of a properly designated State department or a court of proper jurisdiction.

In all cases involving the legal adoption of children, the court should make a full inquiry into all the facts through its own visitor or through some other unbiased agency before awarding the child's custody.

8. Children in institutions.

The stay of children in institutions for dependents should be as brief as possible. The condition of all children in such institutions should be carefully studied at frequent intervals, in order to determine whether they should be restored to their own homes, placed in foster homes, or transferred to institutions better suited to their needs. While they do remain in institutions, their condition should approximate as nearly as possible that of normal family life as to health, recreation, schooling, and spiritual, æsthetic, civic, and vocational training.

9. Care of children born out of wedlock.

The child born out of wedlock constitutes a very serious problem, and for this reason special safeguards should be provided.

Save for unusual reasons both parents should be held responsible for the child during his minority, and especially should the responsibility of the father be emphasized.

Care of the child by his mother is highly desirable, particularly during the nursing months.

No parent of a child born out of wedlock should be permitted to surrender the child outside his own family, save with the consent of a properly designated State department or a court of proper jurisdiction.

Each State should make suitable provision of a humane character for establishing paternity and guaranteeing to children born out of wedlock the rights naturally belonging to children born in wedlock. The fathers of such children should be under the same financial responsibilities and the same legal liabilities toward their children as other fathers. The administration of the courts with reference to such cases should be so regulated as not only to protect the legal rights of the mother and child, but also to avoid unnecessary publicity and humiliation.

The treatment of the unmarried mother and her child should include the best medical supervision, and should be so directed as to afford the widest opportunity for wholesome, normal life.

10. Care of physically defective children.

Special care and educational opportunities for deaf, blind, and crippled children should be provided in the public educational system, local or State.

11. Mental hygiene and care of mentally defective children.

The value of the first seven years of childhood from the point of health, education, and morals and formative habits can not be overestimated. Throughout childhood attention should be given to the mental hygiene of the child—the care of the instincts, emotions, and general personality, and of environmental conditions. Special attention should be given to the need for training teachers and social workers in mental-hygiene principles.

Each State should assume the responsibility for thorough study of the school and general population for the purpose of securing data concerning the extent of the feeble-mindedness and subnormality.

Adequate provision should be made for such mentally defective children as require institutional care. Special schools or classes with qualified teachers and adequate equipment should be provided by educational authorities for such defective children as may be properly cared for outside of institutions. The State should provide for the supervision and aftercare of feeble-minded persons at large in the community, especially those paroled from institutions. Custodial care in institutions for feeble-minded children should not be resorted to until after due consideration of the possibility of adjustment within the community.

12. Juvenile courts.

Every locality should have available a court organization providing for separate hearings of children's cases; a special method of detention for children, entirely apart from adult offenders; adequate investigation for every case; provision for supervision or probation by trained officers, such officers in girls' cases to be women; and a system for recording and filing social as well as legal information.

In dealing with children the procedure should be under chancery jurisdiction, and juvenile records should not stand as criminal records against the children.

Whenever possible such administrative duties as child placing and relief should not be required of the juvenile court, but should be administered by agencies organized for that purpose.

Thorough case study should invariably be made. Provision for mental and physical examinations should be available.

The juvenile victims of sex offenses are without adequate protection against unnecessary publicity and further corruption in our courts. To safeguard them the jurisdiction of the juvenile court should be extended to deal with adult sex offenders against children, and all safeguards of that court be accorded to their victims; or if these cases are dealt with in other courts, the facts revealed in the juvenile court should be made available, and special precautions should be taken for the protection of the children, as here suggested.

13. Rural social work.

Work for children needing special care has been neglected in rural parts of the country. Social conditions in rural communities are often as acute as in urban communities. The principles of child care, as enumerated above, are applicable to rural needs. Agencies for rural service should be encouraged, and should be adapted to the peculiar needs of rural communities. The county is usually the best administrative unit.

14. Scientific information.

There is urgent need of a more adequate body of scientific literature dealing with principles and practice in the children's field of social work, and the meeting of this need is a responsibility resting on those so engaged. Careful interpretation and analysis of methods and results of care and the publishing of these findings must precede the correcting of many present evils in practice. Boards of directors, trustees, and managers should particularly consider participation in the preparation of such a body of facts and experience as being a vital part of the work of their staff members.

* * * * *

Child-welfare legislation.

The child-welfare legislation of every State requires careful reconsideration as a whole at reasonable intervals, in order that necessary revision and co-ordination may be made and that new provisions may be incorporated in harmony with the best experience of the day. In States where children's laws have not had careful revision as a whole within recent years, a child-welfare committee or commission should be created for this purpose. Laws enacted by the several States should be in line with national ideals and uniform so far as desirable in view of diverse conditions in the several States.

Child-welfare legislation should be framed by those who are thoroughly familiar with the conditions and needs of children and with administrative difficulties. It should be drafted by a competent lawyer in such form as to accomplish the end desired by child-welfare experts and at the same time be consistent with existing laws.

APPENDIX C.—SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL AND OTHER REPORTS.

UNITED STATES.¹

[National Conference of Charities and Correction: Proceedings, 1875, pp. 78-79.]
CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENERAL MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, MAY, 1875.

Resolutions presented by William Pryor Letchworth, vice president, New York State Board of Charities, during a general discussion on methods of care for dependent children, and unanimously adopted by the conference, May 13, 1875.

Resolved, That this conference recommend that the various State boards of charities use their influence to bring about such legislation in their respective States as shall cause dependent children to be removed from county poorhouses, city almshouses, and common jails, and from all association with adult paupers and criminals and placed in families, asylums, reformatories, or other appropriate institutions.

Resolved, That this conference also recommend that a systematic plan of visitation of dependent children that have been placed in families be adopted under legal sanction; and that officials having supervision over such children cause periodical reports to be made of them, by guardians, of their physical condition, moral training, educational advantages, and general well-being, and by thus manifesting a sympathy in their welfare strengthen self-respect and awaken a stronger pride of character in this unfortunate class.

[National Conference of Charities and Correction: Proceedings, 1877, pp. 78-79.]
CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENERAL MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, SEPTEMBER, 1877.

Extract from a debate following the report of the committee on dependent and delinquent children on "Children in Institutions in New York State."

* * * * *
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Vice-President, New York State Charities Aid Association: * * * The institution children are not desirable. They are not able to take care of themselves so well as those children brought up in contact with the world. Children should be brought up in the position they are intended to fill in life. * * * Children educated in an institution are more likely to fall back into the dependent classes than children brought up outside in families, not because they are not pure on leaving the institution but because they have not been accustomed to taking care of themselves. I understand that in some counties of the State the dependent children are all placed in families. I think more stress ought to be laid on the matter. Benevolent ladies think that during early years children should be guarded from temptation and that this is best accomplished by keeping them in an institution. The fact is, that they are less able to bear temptation when brought up in an institution. In the event of dependent children being supported by the State, a law should be passed limiting the time when the State should provide for such children in an institution. They should be transferred to families as fast as possible.

REV. J. H. BRADFORD, representing the State Primary School of Massachusetts; report of statement: Mr. Bradford did not know how it was possible to curse children more than by institutionizing them. He thought such a proceeding was

¹ The chronological arrangement of the selections from sources serves, in a measure, to indicate the development of foster-home care.

a very great crime. In his opinion, a child brought up in an institution, and kept there year after year, would not become self-supporting. * * * He spoke of the danger of taking children from the street directly into families without previous preparation and advocated the institution as being, in many cases, a preparation for family life, urging at the same time that the stay in the institution should be as short as possible.

[National Conference of Charities and Correction: Proceedings, 1879, pp. 170-178.]

Extract from a paper by Clara T. Leonard, of Springfield, Mass., through whose activities in connection with the Hampden County Children's Aid Society the passage of a law was secured in 1879 prohibiting the maintenance of children over four years of age in city almshouses, and the experiment of boarding out the children from the Springfield almshouse was undertaken.

Family Homes for Pauper and Dependent Children.

It is not necessary, in a paper of this kind, to enter into a long preliminary dissertation upon dependent children—their increasing number, their condition in almshouses or in private asylums. * * * The exigencies of the time demand some new method of dealing with dependent children, which shall be more effectual in training them to be good citizens than any that we have hitherto practiced. There is a growing conviction among philanthropists that asylums and institutions of all kinds for the reception of children should be only temporary places for their detention, so far as is possible. Children can not be well reared in masses. The gradual acquirement of practical knowledge and of manual dexterity, so essential to future usefulness, is hardly possible where the number of children in a house is largely disproportioned to that of adults. In an ordinarily well-regulated family, there is such a diversity of sex, age, and ability that the younger and less capable are educated by the more experienced, imitate them, and are influenced by them, unconsciously and continually. The affections, and the moral nature also, are cultivated in family life and are suppressed and blighted in institution life. In every way the child has great advantages in an average family over children trained in large masses. In comparing results we find the smaller the institution and the more it is directed by individual and voluntary oversight the better is its work. Large public institutions under official superintendence usually, if not invariably, turn out paupers and criminals by the hundred. Many of these children might have been made good citizens under a more natural form of life. Their failure is not so much from inherited defects as from the fact that moral stamina has been destroyed by a machine life, which creates a spirit of dependence and stultifies the affections and moral qualities.

* * * * *

It is the earnest desire of many good men and women to see the wards of the State removed, before they are permanently disqualified, from the evils of institution life into respectable family homes. To do this at an early age must be chiefly by paying a small sum for board; and to secure proper care there must be, as we have said, frequent and judicious visitation, both official and voluntary. If the State primary school at Monson could be a mere depot for the temporary reception of children, there need never be more than from 50 to 100 inmates at any time, instead of 500 as at present. I believe that it might be, within six months, reduced to the lower number by voluntary and official work combined. The younger children should be placed out first.

* * *

The general sentiment of the more educated portion of the community is against the aggregation of children in large numbers for a long time in institutions and is in favor of family homes under careful restrictions. Many judicious philanthropists also favor the placing out in families of juvenile delinquents of a certain class. I believe that a good number of the latter would improve in an orderly family and find the best training and reformation there. Juvenile delinquents come for the most part from wretched and ill-governed homes. Their aggregation in large numbers only increases their evil propensities. They need dispersion even more than merely dependent children do.

To sum up:

1. Institution life, both public and private, should be recognized only as a temporary makeshift or stepping-stone to a family life.

2. The younger the child when it enters the family, the more hopeful will be its future in life. The longer the child remains in the institution, the greater will be the prospect that it will be a public burden always.

3. In order to bring dependent children at an early age into family life, it will be necessary to pay a small sum for their maintenance for a time in many cases.

4. To prevent the neglect or abuse of children by mercenary or unprincipled persons, who take them only for gain, careful supervision and visitation are indispensable.

* * * * *

8. A small sum may be paid for board; but families who will take children without payment should always be carefully sought. The payment should cease as early as practicable, and the spirit of gain in the whole matter should be carefully guarded against.

9. Religious toleration and concession must be practiced, in order to make the work adequate to the needs of the time.

[National Conference of Charities and Correction: Proceedings, 1899, pp. 166-169.]

Extracts from the report of the committee on neglected and dependent children on "The Care of Destitute and Neglected Children," by Thomas M. Mulry, chairman.

The last conference of charities and correction held in New York City was probably the most representative, as it certainly was the most fruitful, in results upon the subject of child saving. While those taking part in the discussions held positive views, there was a spirit of toleration; and the interchange of ideas and the moderate expression of views proved that the differences of opinion were not so great as had been at first imagined. The preponderance of opinion seemed to be in favor of placing the children in good homes, where such could be found and the circumstances warranted such action being taken.

The good work accomplished by the institutions in the past was fully recognized, as well as the fact that the institution has an important place to fill in the future on the disciplinary and educational lines and the care of those children who are prevented by circumstances from being placed in homes. It was said that many children are kept longer than necessary in the institution because, having no relatives, there were no persons to claim them; and such children, it was thought, might well be placed in good homes, provided the families were of the same religious faith as the child. The earlier they are placed in such families, the better it is for the child, as the motive which induces one to take a child of tender years is apt to be more disinterested than when they are old enough to be utilized as help.

* * * * *

Finding Homes for Children.

The finding of family homes for children has been taken up enthusiastically and with excellent success in many localities. In New York State the Catholic Home Bureau has been recently organized and incorporated. Its object is to place dependent Catholic children in homes. On its board of management are gentlemen connected actively with the different Catholic charitable societies and institutions. The various institutions have shown their interest in the new organization by placing in its possession the names and conditions of the children who are fit subjects for placing in family homes. The cordial support received from them and from the public generally proves the opportuneness of this movement and the material help it will be in solving the problem of how best to care for dependent children.

This assistance and encouragement is by no means confined to Catholics. On the contrary, the help extended and suggestions given by the various societies associated in the same kind of work have been most valuable in advancing the new bureau.

One drawback to the placing-out system in the past was the disregard in frequent cases of the religious belief of those placed, which resulted in chil-

dren being sent to homes of a different religion from that in which they were baptized.

This naturally prevented the unanimous support so essential to the permanent success of every movement, but the difficulty has been overcome in most instances by providing that children be placed in homes of their own religious faith.

The placing-out system needs the most careful supervision; and those interested in the work realize how prone to selfishness people are and that many wish the children only for the work they can obtain from them. There is generally a demand for boys and girls from 12 to 14 years of age. The main difficulty is to find homes for children from 7 to 11 years of age, and in large communities it will be found difficult to secure desirable homes for all dependent children. This does not, however, mean that any effort should be spared to place as many children as possible in good homes; and this committee is strongly in favor of renewed activity in this direction. It is the opinion of some interested in the work that the payment of board in families would facilitate securing good homes for all children to be placed out.

All workers agree that the home is the natural place to properly develop the child. None doubt that there is a growing tendency on the part of many of the poor to shirk the responsibility of the parents, and to transfer to others the duty which is strictly their own, to hand their children to the public care.

* * * * *

Preservation of the Home.

Your committee is emphatically of the opinion that the ounce of prevention is better than the pound of cure, and it strongly urges upon all charitable people the absolute necessity of preserving the home wherever possible.

Do not be in a hurry to send the children to an institution until you are convinced of the hopelessness of preserving the home. Remember that when the home is broken up, even temporarily, it is no easy task to bring it together again and that a few dollars of private charity, a friendly visit, a kind word, and a helping hand will lift up the courage of the deserving poor; and this is half the battle, because discouragement begets carelessness.

Our work should not be done fitfully but should be continuous, and not cease until all danger of falling back into original conditions is effectually removed.

It is often through mistaken kindness that homes are broken up and children scattered. It is as bad for the parent as for the child.

* * * * *

There are homes in abundance throughout our cities, our towns, our farming sections, for every orphan child, if the people will but open their hearts and brighten their homes by studying in what way they may best show their love for their less fortunate fellow-beings.

[Second National Conference of Jewish Charities in the United States, 1902, pp. 107-121.]

Extract from the report of the committee on dependent children, by Lee K. Frankel, chairman.

Your committee on dependent children has deemed it wise to devote its report to the present conference to the consideration of the question of caring for dependent Jewish children through other than institutional means. * * * In order that the report should be representative and, if possible, authoritative, it was deemed inadvisable to make it voice the opinions of any or all of the committee, but rather that it should express the views of the Jewish community at large, and in particular that it should reflect the unprejudiced and impartial conclusions of those who are engaged in child-saving work. To this end, it was decided to make a study of the subject from a historical standpoint and to obtain, where possible, information that might permit of subsequent deductions and generalizations.

[As a basis of study a questionnaire was submitted to Jewish orphan asylums and children's institutions and to Jewish benevolent and relief societies throughout the United States, and from the replies received the committee framed its report.]

Conclusions.

Your committee does not deem it essential for the proper treatment of the subject to introduce any lengthy discussion of the relative merits of the institution and the private home in the care of the dependent child. Both systems have their ardent supporters and detractors, while the results that have been obtained from either could be used to demonstrate its superiority or inferiority to the other. It is begging the question to cite the example of the girl who has been made the common drudge of the family in which she was placed or to speak in unflattering terms of the boy who has become "institutionalized" and bears the institution brand. Like individuals, both institutions and private homes may run the gamut of virtues and vices, may be either models or awful examples. It will suffice to say that the home is a natural product, the institution an artificial one, and that, all other things being equal, the former is to be preferred to the latter. From the standpoint of the conference the important question to consider is the feasibility and advisability of finding proper homes in which Jewish children can be cared for, and not whether the institution is superior to the home or the reverse.

It can not be gainsaid that the problem presents great difficulties. Of the 1,000,000 Jews in the United States the large majority are residents in cities. Probably nearly 50 per cent reside in the city of New York, and no one knowing the conditions of overcrowding and congestion that exist there would advocate any extensive effort being made to find homes in which children could either be adopted or boarded. Again, homes in the country among agriculturalists and farmers are equally impossible, owing to the exceedingly limited number of Jews who are engaged in such industries. On the other hand, the question from the Jewish standpoint is very much simplified by reason of the fact that of the 3,572 children at present in institutions, only 309, less than 10 per cent, are full orphans. It may be assumed that 50 per cent of these are above 3 years of age, and even the strongest adherents of the placing-out system do not advocate placing children over the age of 8 years in private homes, since in rare instances only are they able to overcome earlier tendencies and teachings and to adapt themselves to those intimate relationships which should exist between foster parent and the foster child and which are so necessary to a true home. On the above assumption there are probably between 150 and 200 children at present in institutions throughout the United States who have no natural guardians or parental ties and with whom it might be wise to make the experiment of having them boarded out or placed in free homes. In the face of evidence to the contrary, your committee is of the opinion that such an experiment is worthy of a trial. * * *

While your committee has but few figures upon which to base an opinion, it is nevertheless of the impression that the placing of many children could be obviated, if the earnings of the surviving parent could be supplemented sufficiently to keep the family intact. This is particularly true in the cases where the surviving parent is the mother. It is immediately after her bereavement that the poor widow in her anguish and uncertainty turns to the institution as her only refuge, whereas if she could be properly cared for until the first sharp grief has passed away she would gradually come to a realization of her responsibilities and be willing to assume them if assured of necessary support. There is no doubt that the breaking up of many families could have been prevented if the mother had been subsidized and had been able to give her children the necessaries of life. If greater cooperation could be effected between the institution and the benevolent societies most admirable results would follow. A thorough boarding-out system should first of all consider the possibility of placing children with their own parents, the natural guardians, who have relinquished their proprietary rights through causes that can, in many cases, be readily overcome.

* * * * *

Regarding children in institutions who have both parents living, your committee deem it inadvisable to attempt either placing out or boarding out. The efforts of Jewish institutions with such children have always been and should always be directed toward restoring the family to its normal condition at the first opportunity. If this can be enhanced by any system of subsidy or pension it is worthy of encouragement.

[New York Conference of Charities and Correction: Proceedings, 1915, pp. 277-286.]

Extracts from the report of the special committee of the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction on "Standards of Placing Out, Supervision, and Aftercare of Dependent Children," by Homer Folks, chairman, and Ludwig B. Bernstein, Samuel Ludlow, Charles H. Johnson, Richard W. Wallace, Jacob Basheim, William J. Doherty, Florence A. Grannis, J. L. Reilly, R. R. Reeder, Cecil Wiener, Brother Barnabas, C. Loring Brace, Mary S. Haviland, and M. J. Fitzpatrick.

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Standards of Placing Out.

9. What must we require of the children in the way of:

(a) *Health.*—A placing-out society should be fully informed by a competent physician concerning the physical condition of each child who is to be placed. No child suffering from an infectious or contagious disease, which would endanger others, should be placed. Children suffering from a physical defect, who are not a menace to the community, may be placed in specially chosen homes.

(b) *Mentality.*—No child should be deprived of an opportunity for family life merely because of the fact that he is peculiar, backward, retarded in school, or mentally slower than the ordinary child of his age. If his mental deficiency, however, results in such conduct as to be an actual danger to himself or to others under the usual conditions of family life, he should either be placed in a family home selected for its ability to afford special supervision or in a custodial institution. Border-line and doubtful cases of mental ability should be placed in boarding homes rather than free homes, and under special supervision, pending determination of their mental status. Children pronounced by competent authorities to be definitely feeble-minded should be placed in suitable institutions. In the absence of adequate institutional provision, boarding in carefully selected families may be the next best alternative.

(c) *Character and disposition.*—No child should be deprived of a trial in a family home because of an undesirable disposition or unfortunate habits, unless such disposition and habits constitute a source of actual danger to himself or to others in the community, which can not be overcome by home life under ordinary conditions. A child whose conduct may be an actual danger to others under the ordinary conditions of family life should either be placed in a family home selected for its ability to afford special supervision or in a reformatory institution. Border-line and doubtful cases should be under special supervision both by the family and by the placing-out agency, pending determination of the necessity of commitment.

(d) *Heredity.*—A child both of whose parents are obviously feeble-minded or have been pronounced feeble-minded by competent authorities should not be placed in a free home for adoption but may be boarded in a family under careful supervision until the mental capacity of the child is clearly established. A child, one or both of whose parents are epileptic, insane, of weak or degenerate stock, or of doubtful mentality, or who are reputed to be feeble-minded, should not be placed in a free home for adoption unless the foster parents are fully informed as to the child's history and are able to understand the responsibility they are assuming. If such a child has reached an age at which his mental, moral, and physical status can be reasonably determined, he should be dealt with on the basis of his individual capacity and not on the basis of his heredity.

* * * * *

Standards of Supervision.

1. What should supervision include in the nature of:

(a) *Personal visits by responsible trained agents. How often?*—Personal visits by responsible trained agents should be made as a rule at least twice a year. In cases where there is discontent on either side, or doubt as to the desirability of the home, they should be made as often as necessary.

(b) *Correspondence with the foster parents or the child?*—Friendly and, in some cases, instructive correspondence should be carried on with the foster parents. If the child is placed in a home when from 6 to 12 years of age,

friendly correspondence may be useful. In the case of a child placed when 12 years of age or older, correspondence with the child should always be maintained.

(c) *Correspondence with school teachers?*—Correspondence with school teachers of children of school age is desirable, unless in exceptionally good homes where families prefer not to have the teacher know that the child is not their own. The school report should give a record of the child's formal school progress, his attendance, and general position in the community.

(d) *Visits by or correspondence with local volunteers?*—Visits by or correspondence with local volunteers is helpful in special cases, but under ordinary circumstances it is best not to emphasize the fact that the child is not in its natural home.

2. What should be the character of a visit of supervision?

Before visiting a child, the agent should review the child's history, and also the original investigation of the home, noting any points suggesting further inquiry. When a child is visited, the agent should observe carefully the condition of the child, his health, his clothing, his attitude toward the foster parents, whether or not the child is happy, the amount of work he does, his progress in education, where and with whom he sleeps, his opportunities for play and possibilities for social life. The agent should also note the condition of the home, particularly as to cleanliness, order, comfort, the foster parents' attitude toward the child, their method of discipline, their plans for the child's future. Any changes in the home or home life should be noted. Agents should be instructed not only to gather information, but to give constructive advice to the family and child. Any child over eight years of age when placed should be interviewed alone. If any question arises as to the home or the child, some responsible person in the community familiar with conditions in the home should be interviewed.

3. How long should such responsible supervision continue in regard to:

(a) *Children who are not legally adopted?*—Supervision should continue until the children reach the age of 21, unless by reason of the exceptionally satisfactory character of a home and exceptionally close relation between foster parents and the child it becomes evident at an earlier date that further supervision can serve no useful purpose. The form and purpose of supervision gradually changes as the child grows older, involving more and more, as time passes, of friendly advice and counsel to the child in regard to matters of education and occupation. If the supervision is skillfully done, it gradually passes over from control to friendly counsel, as it does between parent and child.

When a child has been in a home for a period of five years or more, and conditions of the home and the development of the child have been satisfactory, an annual visit may be sufficient, or in a few cases in which conditions are similar to legal adoption, the supervision may consist of correspondence only. Supervision in case of older children should always include a consideration of the training of the child in regard to earning and spending money. If the child was placed in the home when 10 or 12 years of age, some compensation for his labor may reasonably be suggested to the foster parents after he reaches the age of 16 or 17, provided he is not attending school. Due allowance should be made for the period of time the child has been in the home and the amount of expenditure the foster parents have necessarily incurred in his behalf. As to children placed out when less than 12 years of age, the wisdom of the foster parent granting a small allowance of spending money to be used by the child in his discretion, with friendly advice, may well be suggested.

(b) *Children who are legally adopted?*—Responsible supervision, of course, stops when legal adoption takes place. It is desirable, however, that placing-out agencies should, when practicable and when it can be done without danger of disturbing the relations between the child and the foster parents or the community, secure information from time to time as to the subsequent careers of children who are legally adopted, both for the practical reason of being able to answer criticisms as to what finally becomes of such children and for the scientific reason of being able to form an increasingly wise judgment, as time passes, as to the operations of heredity and environment. Placing-out agencies should therefore be careful to place on record all information which comes to them in the ordinary course of events concerning children who have been legally adopted and also, in so far as it is practicable for them to do so, with the consent and approval of the foster parents, to

keep informed by correspondence with the foster parents or others, as to the welfare of the child until it reaches majority, or even subsequently. Naturally, very great care must be taken to see that this is not done in such a way as to cause embarrassment either to the child or the foster parents.

4. Standards of adoption.

(a) *How long a time should elapse after placing out before an application for legal adoption will be considered? Should any exception to this standard period be permitted?*—At least a year should elapse before consent for legal adoption be considered. Some agencies require two years. In special circumstances, such as a change of residence or in matters of inheritance, consent may be given sooner if the family is unquestionably a good one.

(b) *What children, if any, should not be legally adopted?*—It is wise to delay permission for legal adoption of children in whose family stock, on one or both sides, there is clear evidence of mental defect. However, if the foster parents, having been fully informed of the child's history and being sufficiently intelligent to realize the responsibility they are assuming, still desire to adopt the child and are willing that the placing-out agency should keep in sufficiently close touch with the child to be able to suggest and assist in securing custodial care for the child should mental deficiency develop, consent for adoption may be given. Special effort should be made in such cases to keep informed as to the welfare of the child during minority.

(c) *What standards should be required as to families to which consent for legal adoption will be given?*—The standards required as to families to which consent for legal adoption should be given are not materially different from those which should be required in case of the original placing out. Consideration of permission for adoption should, however, include careful inquiry as to whether subsequent events have fully confirmed the judgment which approved the home originally. Consent for adoption may appropriately be delayed or withheld if there is lack of sufficient intelligence or income in the family to give reasonable assurance of the maintenance of high standards of training and education without supervision from the placing-out agency.

Standards of Aftercare.

It is assumed that after definite, formal supervision is finished there will be, in some cases at least, an opportunity, and in others, perhaps, a necessity for aftercare. How far should this be carried out by a society which has placed out children in families in the following respects:

(a) *In seeking information as to the subsequent progress of children who have been legally adopted.*—By consent of foster parents, supervision after adoption is desirable for both scientific and practical purposes, as in this way complete records of the child's development can be kept, and a study of these helps in making it possible to revise present methods of work in dealing with children who are placed and those who are to be selected for placing.

(b) *If this should be done at all, how should it be done, how often, and until the child reaches what age?*—It should be done by correspondence and, when convenient, by friendly personal visits, but care should be taken that the fact of the adoption is not disclosed or emphasized. Such visits every second year are sufficient until the child is of age and self-supporting or married. If after adoption is completed there is a radical change in the family life, such as the death of one of the foster parents, or if the child has developed in any way abnormally, regular supervision should be maintained.

(c) *In the case of children who have not been legally adopted, but who are especially promising in some line, how far should the society go in securing opportunities for special education, training, or care in those lines?*—As much as possible should be done in securing opportunities for special training for promising children, even after formal supervision has stopped.

(d) *In the case of children no longer under definite, formal supervision but who have developed weaknesses or tendencies to go wrong, how far should friendly interest and informal supervision continue, and to what age?*—In the case of children who have developed subnormal or abnormal tendencies formal supervision should, if possible, continue until the child has been committed to some special institution, placed in the care of some responsible organization, or until some private individual assumes the responsibility or permanent interest.

[National Children's Home and Welfare Association: Proceedings of the Annual Conference, 1919, pp. 11-21.]

Extracts from "Standards of Child-Placing and Supervision, a Committee Report," presented to the annual conference of the National Children's Home and Welfare Association, by Wilfred S. Reynolds, chairman, A. H. Stoneman, and Mrs. F. B. L. Bailey.

The Children's Home Society movement started out to apply home life, which is in the words of the White House Conference "the highest and finest product of civilization" to every child who was found deprived of it. In its enthusiasm the movement may have sought home life in the foster home rather than the slower process of developing and safeguarding home life for the child's own family or those of its relatives. But it must be remembered that many of these societies were pioneers in their given communities and States. They were compelled to proceed unguided in the more extended methods of child welfare.

A vision, however, of more constructive social work, taking into its purview not only an isolated child but rather the child as a member of its family, of a widening circle of relations and friends, an element in a neighborhood, school, church, and finally its relationship and its rights in the governmental unit of city, county, and State—this vision has become clearer and brighter until to-day any movement in child welfare can not excuse itself if it has failed to see the light and the way. No longer can a child-placing agency maintain a position as rival to the institution but must find with the institution its complementary position; it is folly for a child-placing agency to think its service is in no way related to the service of agencies dealing with families in distress, but rather seek counsel, and many times assistance of such agencies in making it possible for the child to remain in its own family; it is most unwise for the child-placing agency to maintain a critical and aloof attitude toward the particular court organization and operation with which it may have contact, but better assume the position of offering to act as an arm of the court to serve in an administrative capacity in the care of children whose problems may be the court's consideration; and finally it is safe to point out that the most serviceable child-placing agency is that agency which finds its proper place among the other social-work agencies and does its details of work in light of the most improved case-work methods. These observations the committee makes, in view of their bearing upon standards which are later presented.

Standards in Agency's Earliest Contact with Child.

The foundations for the most successful child placing reach into the society's policies in its earliest contacts with its cases. The success with which a child may meet in the foster-home arrangements may depend very largely upon the consideration given the case at the time the agency was asked to make a plan. Standards to be applied in the process of determining upon the acceptance of cases are very important. In this regard the first task is for the society to determine upon the types of cases for which it is equipped to render service.

An adequate inquiry into the social status involves:

1. Investigation of parents and other children of the family, ascertaining facts pertaining to personal history, marital life, physical and mental health, conduct, habits, character, education, industry, income, financial stability, etc.
2. Investigation of maternal and paternal grandparents, aunts and uncles, covering largely the same items of concern as in cases of the parents, with especial regard to ability and fitness to assist in child's care or in a plan therefor.
3. Investigation of all secondary family resources, such as distant relatives, friends, or acquaintances, for the purpose of obtaining resources of care.
4. Investigation of and consultation with community resources, such as the school, church, clubs, legal agencies, public and private family-relief agencies, etc.
5. The social status of children born out of wedlock should be determined by the application of the same standards of investigation as that of children born of legal parents, although the manner and method of approach and inquiry may necessarily change according to the demands of the case.

An adequate inquiry into the personal status of the child involves:

1. The physical and mental health of the child. To determine this all children should have thorough physical examination by a medical person especially qualified to make the kind of examination so necessary in these cases. All infants and children whose parental or social history is such as to indicate specific physical trouble should have the Wassermann test; likewise blood tests for tuberculosis should be given.
2. All children over six years of age, whose conduct or whose parental and social history indicates possible mental defects should be given a psychological examination.
3. In cases of children of school age, there should be an understanding inquiry as to the child's conduct at home, in school, and in the neighborhood, his school experience and record, and the experience of persons who have had a definite contact with the child.

Choosing Method of Care.

It will be readily observed that in an adequate scheme for the selection of cases applying to a society, the type or method of care to be applied to an accepted case in many instances will be quite clearly indicated. Moreover, it is equally apparent that the child-placing society proposing to serve its community adequately must provide more avenues of treatment than the permanent free foster home. As our societies have endeavored to meet this need of adjustment and have adapted their programs to the various types of children in various degrees of distress, there has been a modification of child placing. From the rigid policy of the use of the free foster home for adoption only, there have been developed by some of the societies all of the following:

1. Use of an institutional receiving station for the intensive treatment of children before placement in families.
2. Use of the foster boarding home for temporary or more lengthened period of care.
3. Use of the free foster home for adoption and for a long period without adoption.
4. Use of institutional treatment and training for cases not responding to home care.
5. Rendering assistance to parents enabling them, under the society's supervision, to retain and care for their children.

The importance of the proper application of the foregoing avenues of care and disposition of cases, and the value of accurately determining the child's social and personal status through good case-work methods, as pointed out previously in this report, now become evident.

Time forbids the discussion of the various types of children and the particular phase or combination of phases of the foregoing avenues of care to be applied; but since this discussion is to develop standards of child placing, it is important to point out the classes of children for whom foster-home care seems best suited.

Free and Boarding Foster-Home Care.

The term "free foster home" means a family home in which a dependent or neglected child lives as a member of the family, without compensation to the family for his care.

The free foster home always has some inherent desire for receiving the child, which, if legitimate, is important at this point in its bearing upon the general type of children to be placed in such homes. These legitimate desires may be to satisfy the natural longing of disappointed parenthood; it may be to supply companionship, or it may be to provide reasonable service to the family in return for which the child receives all the necessary elements of life, comfort, and happiness. Children to be suitable for placement in free foster homes, therefore, must have no relationships with their parental sources that will disturb the foster arrangement, and they must be physically and mentally normal or capable of reasonably rapid progress toward a normal condition; and if apparently normal physically and mentally, there should be nothing in their parental or social history that would strongly indicate a later development or appearance of serious abnormality.

The term "foster boarding home" means a family home in which a dependent or neglected child lives and for whose care the family receives compensation. The boarding home should be used for the care of—

1. All infants pending decision as to probable physical and mental conditions and development, as rapidly as this plan can be developed, except where adequate facilities are provided in receiving institutions.
2. All infants with physical defects and those whose histories indicate mental abnormalities.
3. Physically and mentally defective children whose conditions are not so acute as to demand hospital or institutional treatment.
4. Children of temporarily broken families whose rehabilitation is probable in reasonable time.
5. Older children whose conduct indicates mental or moral difficulties but not so acute as to demand institutional care.

Selection of the Foster Family.

* * * * *

It is impossible to set out in detail all the items of information that the visitor should seek, and recommend their application in every foster-home investigation, but it is possible to designate essential elements of personal and family life and their presence in their proper respective relationships in a given family that should constitute the basis for the approval of the family to receive a child. These elements of family life may be designated as follows:

1. *Income or financial support and stability.*—It is impossible to indicate a family budget or income that would be applicable in all parts of the country, but the family income should be sufficient to keep the family in comfort, provide for education, recreation, and all family exigencies without requiring earning efforts on the part of the wife, child or children under 18 years of age, except in agriculture or domestic pursuits of the family, and in addition, there should be assurance of reasonable savings in form of bank accounts, real estate, stock, etc.

2. *Health, physical and mental.*—The exact state of physical and mental health of the members of each prospective foster family should be known, and no family should be accepted as a foster family whose members, or any of them are suffering with disease or defects that to any degree would contribute to the detriment of a child living in the family.

3. *Education.*—No definite amount of formal education should be required further than that the man and wife should have equivalent of at least eighth grade in public schools. The adult members of the family must show a convincingly favorable attitude toward formal educational training and in some manner agree to provide for and encourage school attendance in accordance with the society's requirements for the particular child assigned to the family.

4. *Moral and ethical standards.*—Honesty and uprightness in business and all social relationships must be assured on the part of the family group. A definite indication that the same elements will be instilled in the child must be evident. Any convincing indication that the child's moral, spiritual, and patriotic development will be hampered or not stimulated should constitute cause for rejecting the home.

5. *Temperamental qualities.*—Personal peculiarities of a temperamental character should be observed and followed up to the point of evaluation; those of a neurotic type are likely to have a definite bearing upon the adult's relation to a child. Families in which a member, especially man or wife, possesses neurotic peculiarities which may be exaggerated by the care of a child should be withheld from use as foster homes.

6. *Housekeeping and home making.*—On this point one must be influenced not so much by what the family has in the way of household equipment as how they use it and what is made of it. The general appearance of the house and premises should indicate cleanliness and a reasonable degree of thrift, order, and comfort. The house must present adequate arrangements for living and sleeping, so that a child will be provided with his necessary demands as a member of the household.

7. *Purpose or desire of the foster family.*—The purpose stimulating a family to assume the care of a foreign child must be legitimate; that is to say, whatever may be the underlying motive, the foster family must be capable and ready to give a child all its necessary requirements for life, growth, and satisfactory development. Such capability on the part of foster parents is not inconsistent with the desire to have an older boy or girl in the family to perform light tasks and function with a degree of value to the household; nor is it inconsistent with the ambition of a foster mother to earn for some special reason, by receiving compensation for her care of a child at board. These foster parents may be just the folks to be most helpful to their foster children.

Supervision.

* * * * *

Granting a favorable beginning, there are two qualifications that are primary in supervision: (1) The visitor must be qualified for her task, and (2) her volume of work as to number of families and size of territory must admit of intensive observation and service in terms of each child.

The qualified visitor, after familiarizing herself with all that has gone before as to child and family, must be able to sense the degree in which the foster home is meeting the fundamental needs of its child, and likewise she must be able to measure the degree to which the child responds to the family's offering.

A standard for the volume of work per visitor in terms of number of families and size of territory is difficult to establish for universal application. Each society must work this out according to conditions throughout the various sections constituting their fields of activity. As a general statement it is suggested that, depending upon problems involved, the number of families under supervision should be such as to enable the visitor to establish a real acquaintanceship with her families and reach them on the average once in each quarter—which in practice means that cases in permanent care and well established in the family may be visited once in 12 months; temporary boarding cases, many demanding special attention, once in two weeks or a month; wage-earning and restless older children, from one month to two months; and so on through the various degrees of special demands for supervision.

Some societies have found that in sections containing families with children presenting a rather even distribution of problems, one visitor is able to care for from 50 to 60 families; in other sections, particularly the more rural, in which are families caring for children presenting less difficulty, one visitor may care for from 50 to 100 families; in certain instances where a visitor is specializing on wholly problem cases, such as a group of wage-earning or special training arrangement cases of older boys and girls, one visitor can be responsible for about 25 or 30 children.

Further than the character of suggestions regarding standards of supervision which are here offered, it is possible only to point out that the constant standard by which a society must measure the supervision of its children is that at any given time the responsible direction of the society's service is confident that the children in foster families are receiving their just and reasonable demands and are responding in a satisfactory degree to the families' efforts.

In concluding the discussion of this phase of the report, it may be helpful to enumerate a few points by which the societies may "check up" their schemes of supervision:

1. Each child-placing organization should establish a department of supervision of children in foster homes and assign to that department a qualified personnel.
2. The supervision department should recognize the various types of problems presented and endeavor to understandingly meet them. * * *
3. Visits of supervision should be not less frequent than each 12 months and as frequent as the given case may require. A visit very soon after placement is essential.
4. A memorandum of such information gathered from time to time as may add to or change that already on file.
5. Frequent consultation between visitor and director of supervision regarding cases.

6. Occasional conferences of visitors for discussion of specific cases, review of standards and requirements, and for exchange of experiences, suggestions, and questions are very necessary.
7. Correspondence with the society on the part of the family should be encouraged, and on the part of the child in cases of older children having been placed after 10 years of age.
8. Reports from school teachers should be systematically arranged for.
9. Adoption should not be consummated under six months after child is placed in the family and should be immediately preceded by a visit by the society's visitor.

GREAT BRITAIN.

[Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief in Distress: Report presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. Parliamentary Paper Cd. 4499, pp. 183-185 and 619-620. London, 1909.]

Extracts from the Report of the Royal Commission, Part IV, Chapter 8, "Historical Development and Present Condition of the Various Branches of the Poor Law: The Children," on the boarding-out systems under the local government board.

Boarding Out.

378. Many difficulties in dealing with children are avoided where guardians are able and willing to adopt the system of "boarding out." In this case the expense is comparatively small and involves no capital outlay; when the system is well managed a real home life is secured for the children, and they enter into industrial life upon the same terms as the children of the independent working class. On the other hand, it is more difficult to be certain that they meet with kindly treatment; and they share in none of the special advantages enjoyed in poor-law schools. Moreover, under the present regulations of the local government board, the class which can be dealt with in this way includes only children between the ages of two and ten, and upon whom there will be no rival claims to those of the foster-parent, i. e., the orphans and deserted.

379. In England a sharp distinction is made between "boarding out within the union" and "boarding out without the union." The first system has been of long standing under the form of outrelief. The first order regulating it was that of the local government board, September 10, 1877, entitled "Outrelief within Unions to Orphans and Deserted children." * * *

Boarding out without the union was first sanctioned by the poor-law board in 1870, by an order under which "Committees of ladies and gentlemen, of no less than three in number, all voluntary and unpaid, were authorized to receive and place out in their neighborhood children chargeable to unions other than those in which the places where the children were boarded out were situated." The order contained rules as to the visitation of the children by the committees, as to the character of the homes in which they were to be placed, and the number of children allowed in each home, etc.

380. In 1885 an inspector was appointed to visit and report upon the committees, the children, and their homes. Two more inspectors have been appointed since, and a very complete system of inspection has been elaborated by them. It is this inspection, with the greater security which it affords to the children, which constitutes the main difference between boarding out within and without the union. Within the union committees are optional and there is no inspection by the local government board; without the union both committees and inspectors are compulsory.

381. Our investigators have examined carefully the working of both systems and are of the opinion that boarding out within the union is liable to be very unsatisfactory owing to lack of proper supervision. * * *

384. Our investigators report much more favorably upon boarding out without the union, as carried on under committees and inspectors:

"Taken as a whole the supervision of the boarding-out committees visited in the course of this inquiry was wonderfully good and contrasted very favorably with supervision by guardians and relieving officers."

Again:

"Boarding out, especially in country districts, is certainly the best method of dealing with the small minority of pauper children eligible and suitable for boarding out, and especially for girls. I have never myself seen children from any sort of poor-law home or institution making friends or playing with their schoolmates on terms of equality, though I was told they did so at Ponteland. Boarded-out children, on the other hand, can be just the ordinary children of the place, sharing in all its life.

"Boarding out, when properly supervised and with an active and wise boarding-out committee, is, I believe, the ideal system for both boys and girls, but especially for girls. Suitable homes, however, are not easy to find."

385. Our medical investigator, Doctor McVail, reports to the same effect:

"I am strongly of opinion that as far as possible the rearing of pauper children should be done in the country, not in the town; and the holding of that opinion is partly why I prefer boarding out to scattered homes."

* * * * *

386. Notwithstanding the advantages of boarding out, it is but little adopted in England. The number of children boarded out without the union has diminished during the last 10 years, touching the lowest point three or four years ago, and on 1st January, 1908, stood at 1,876. The number of those within the union, on the other hand, was slowly rising until the year 1907, when there was a slight decline, and on 1st January, 1908, the number stood at 6,689. As compared with the 46,251 orphans and children "relieved without parents" these numbers are very small and contrast sharply with those in Scotland, where 92 per cent of the orphan, deserted, and "separated" children were boarded out on 15th May, 1907. The reason for the difference is not very clear. The chief inspector, Miss Mason, says: "The supply of committees and homes is still quite unequal to the demand, and there is still need for fresh ones in places where none exist at present." In Scotland there seems to be little difficulty in finding suitable homes. The difference is sometimes attributed to the different characteristics of the two nations. Sometimes, again, it is said that there is too much inspection in England and that it is resented by foster parents. * * *

389. We can not say that it is proved that the existing system of supervision adds appreciably to the difficulty of finding suitable homes in England, and whilst strongly advocating the extension of boarding out as far as possible we do not recommend any relaxation in the care exercised. The present supervision within the union we consider to be as a rule quite inadequate.

390. In our opinion it would be right that in all cases the fullest inquiry should be made into the character of the foster parents and the suitability of the home, before rather than after the children are handed over. If this were systematically done it would greatly lighten the subsequent task of supervision and not improbably tend to produce a better class of foster parents than can be found at present. We are of the opinion that the principle followed in the orders which regulate boarding out, whereby it is laid down that no person is eligible as a foster parent who does not profess the same religious belief as is indicated on the creed register of the child, should be applicable in cases in which persons receive poor-law children for adoption.

Extracts from the report of the Royal Commission, Part IX: "Review of Existing Conditions and Proposed Changes: The Children," on the relative places of the existing systems of caring for poor-law children.

82. We may briefly summarize our opinion upon the different systems of dealing with poor-law children now in force.

83. First of all, we are strongly of the opinion that effective steps should be taken to secure that the maintenance of children in the workhouse be no longer recognized as a legitimate way of dealing with them. We put this in the forefront of our recommendations.

84. As to the other systems in force, viz: District schools grouped cottage homes, scattered homes, boarding out, we consider that each system has its merits and its drawbacks and that more depends upon the administrators than upon the system.

85. The district schools, established first in 1844, give an excellent education, and those trained therein do well in after life. We do not indorse the wholesale condemnation of these institutions by the committee on the care of poor-law children in 1896. All large schools have inherent evils connected with the aggregation of children of various ages, and the district schools are not free from such defects. We would not, however, in any case, recommend the multiplication of large institutional schools, as we think there are other methods of education and training, particularly for girls, which are more adaptable and produce better results.

86. Grouped cottage homes, introduced in 1867, give an excellent education and training, but there are grave objections to their elaborate construction and equipment and the growing cost of maintenance in them.

87. The scattered homes, which have the great advantage of involving very little capital expenditure and of securing a kind of home life particularly valuable for girls, have been increasingly adopted by other unions since they were started in Sheffield. Such homes, when closely supervised and under competent foster mothers, promise good results.

88. Boarding out is another method of training children which might and should be greatly extended. Here the expense is comparatively small and involves no capital outlay whatever, and where the system is well managed a real home life is secured for the children, and they enter upon industrial life on the same terms as the children of the independent working classes. In Scotland it is the general system for the upbringing of poor-law children, and there it works exceedingly well; but a most careful and constant supervision over all such children is indispensable, and where such a system of inspection can not be had, boarding out ought not to be attempted. So far as our evidence and special investigations go, the system of boarding out within the union has been liable to be very unsatisfactory owing to lack of proper supervision.

We have recommended that the work of supervision of boarding out within the union by the public-assistance committee should be placed in the hands of competent women officers and that special care should be taken when the boarding out is with relatives.

90. We think also that in all cases there should be systematic records of the after life of children leaving the care of the public-assistance authorities.

[Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief in Distress: Appendix, Volume I A.—Appendices to minutes of evidence. Parliamentary Paper Cd. 4626, p. 398.]

Extracts from the statement of evidence handed in by Miss M. H. Mason, senior inspector of boarding out, local government board. [Inspector of boarding out for 21 years; for 13 years inspector of the whole of boarding out beyond the union in England and Wales.]

Practical Results of Boarding Out.

For many years past I have repeated that boarding out is either the best or the worst of systems. The English system of boarding out beyond the union is the best. Its organization and administration are so complete and satisfactory that I could not offer any further suggestions for its perfection and only hope that it may not be disturbed in any way. * * *

The advantages of the boarding-out system are:

- (a) It is the cheapest. * * * There are no building establishments nor staff expenses. There are besides, only the salaries and traveling expenses of three official inspectors.
- (b) A natural life teaches the children how to mix with the world and take care of themselves. They learn the value of money by errands to the shops, and so on. And though ordinary cottage life does not train girls for domestic service in larger houses, they learn the ordinary domestic cottage life against the time when they become wives of laborers or workmen.
- (c) As to boys, the boarding-out system is to some extent a means of bringing laborers back to the land. * * *

(d) In a certain proportion of cases the foster parents become really attached to the children, who thus gain a real home and sometimes fathers and mothers who could scarcely care or do more for them if they were really their own.

(e) But the greatest advantage of the boarding-out system is one possessed by no other, in that the child has a foothold in the world and friends, or at least acquaintances and a place to return to between situations or on a holiday when in service. In this respect all poor-law and most voluntary institutions are alike. None of them can receive the children back in after life as to a real home. In this respect the cottage home or "scattered home," however small and however home-like it is made to appear, has not the smallest advantage over the largest "barrack" school. But it is almost the universal rule that boarded-out children thus return in after life to their foster parents, and this is equally true whether the home be good or bad, for the child knows no other.* * *

(f) And one of the principal advantages of the system is that committees, whatever their shortcomings in other respects, as a rule take the utmost trouble in finding situations for the children and looking after them when out in the world.

The boarding-out system, properly administered, is undoubtedly best for those children for whom it is suitable; but they are limited in number. Experience has shown that it is not advisable to board out children under 2, as a rule; but if in any special cases it is advisable to do so, the local government board would always consider the exception. Experience has also shown that it is not desirable to board out children over 10, except in order to keep brothers and sisters together, as older children are taken and regarded as servants and drudges.

It is therefore not only quite unfair but quite beside the point to compare the results of the boarding-out system with those of any other; for the boarding-out system takes only picked and selected cases, whereas the poor-law schools, etc., are obliged to deal with all, temporary and permanent, including the rejected and returned from boarding out.

[Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief in Distress: The condition of children who are in receipt of various forms of poor-law relief in certain parishes in Scotland. C. T. Parsons, assisted by Mary Longman and Marion Phillips. Appendix, Volume XXIII. Parliamentary Paper Cd. 5075, pp. 53, 54, 102. London, 1910.]

Extracts from the "Report on the Inquiry into the Condition of Children Boarded out in Scotland."

Date and Scope of Inquiry.

The number of children boarded out by Scottish parishes was 6,617 on May 15th, 1906. One thousand and nine hundred and three of these, or nearly 29 per cent, were boarded with relations and the remaining 4,714 were with strangers. The returns do not show how many were boarded within the area of their own parish and how many outside of it, but broadly speaking, all those boarded with relations and a few of those with strangers belong to the former class, while the great majority of those with strangers belong to the latter. There will, therefore, be less than 4,700 children boarded out in parishes other than the one which is responsible for them, and over 1,900 within such parishes. It may further be said that the former children, un-

less in exceptional cases, are placed in rural parishes, while the latter are most numerous in the large centers of population.

In a large burghal parish such as Glasgow, the policies followed in boarding out children within and without the parish are entirely different. The aim of the authorities is to place the children in their care, whether orphaned, deserted, or separated from their parents, in the healthy surroundings of the country, in homes deliberately selected for them. The children in the city are called exceptional cases and they are not examples, as the officials put it, of "real boarding out." In these cases the parish has not sought for the guardians of the children, but the guardians have sought the help of the parish. The children have been left destitute, and family affection or pride has made their relations desire to keep them in their homes and not let them go completely under the control of the parish in the poorhouse or in a stranger's home, and application has been made to the parish to have help in clothes and money. * * *

The questions to be considered before paying for the child to be kept with a relation or friend are whether the home is a good one in which the money paid for the child will be used for the child and where he will be kept clean, tidy, and well clothed, and be well trained and healthy. The inducements to leave the child with relations are those of preserving family ties, keeping the child in a home which appeals to him as a natural resting place and of not taking him from those who feel that their interests and his are interdependent, and finally the very great difficulty, and often cruelty, of parting children from grandparents or others where there is a strong personal attachment. For this reason children are sometimes boarded out in homes not altogether desirable. Indeed the children are often better off so, for the relations would not give them up and the parish pay and supervision in some parishes undoubtedly keeps the child in better circumstances than he would otherwise enjoy. The guardian enters into the usual boarding-out agreement with the poor-law authority and thus control is kept over the child's well-being.

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Children Boarded Out in Landward Parishes.

All the children, except the one special case already described belong to one of these classes [orphans, deserted, separated]. That is to say, the parish has taken the responsibility for their upbringing in place of the parents who have either died, deserted the children, or shown themselves unfit to have the care of them, and by deliberately selecting the homes in which they are to be placed, it has accepted the responsibility more fully and definitely than it does in the case of children who are boarded out with their own relations.

The homes are found in various ways. Sometimes the inspector of a burghal parish applies to the inspector of a landward parish for the names of suitable guardians, and the latter broaches the subject to any people whom he considers likely to make good foster parents. Sometimes the intending foster parent asks to be supplied with children. In Lanark, however, there are special conditions. It contains a considerable Roman Catholic population, and children of that creed have for many years been boarded in the district. The priests try to find as many suitable homes as they can, and their parishioners are glad to oblige them. By now the rearing of parish children has become almost an industry.

* * * * *

General Summary and Conclusions.

The number of dull children is very high in the institutions. This is undoubtedly in part due to the fact that many feeble-minded children are kept in these institutions, owing to the difficulty of boarding them out; but it is

also due, to a certain extent, to the deadening effect of institutional life, the tendency of which is to deprive children of initiative and of individuality. It will be noticed from the teachers' reports that these institution children do not do so badly in school, but they present a decidedly higher degree of shyness and lack of adaptability than is the case of children living outside.

* * * * *

I formed the opinion that the boarding-out system was in most cases far better for the child than bringing it up in institutions. The poorhouse is a most undesirable environment for a child to grow up in, and it is impossible to condemn too strongly those cases in which the child lives and attends school within the poorhouse and never mixes with children outside. Quite apart from the unnatural conditions under which the child grows up and its lack of knowledge of the world, the staffing of the institutional schools is usually so small that the child must suffer considerably in its ordinary education. Receiving homes should be provided for children whom it is not desirable for any reason to board out or who are not likely to be long chargeable. These receiving homes should be quite separate from the poorhouse, and the children in them should attend the local schools.

[Home-Department Committee on Child Adoption: Report presented to Parliament by command of His Majesty, 9 February, 1921. Parliamentary Paper Cmd. 1254, pp. 4-5.]

Extracts from Part I: "Question of Legal Provision for Adoption in This Country," of the report of the committee appointed to consider the desirability of making legal provision for the adoption of children in England, and, if so, what form such provision should take.

9. * * * The committee are clearly of the opinion that legal provision should be made for the adoption of children in this country. We are further of the opinion that the question is now urgent.

10. Although differences on many points of detail are manifest, there is concurrence amongst the witnesses who have experience in social work that the number of persons desiring to bring up some child or children, who would be treated in law and generally regarded as occupying the position of natural and lawful children, has very much increased. No doubt this is due to various causes, of which the loss that many families have sustained in the war is one. There is also reason for thinking that the interest in child life and child welfare is growing both in this and many other countries. While some of the witnesses having great experience in dealing with children regard with apprehension the possible results of a widespread system of adoption without careful safeguards, all agree that some system of regular legal adoption is desirable.

11. There is no doubt that in any event adoption, whether legally recognized or not, will take place under agreements entered into sometimes unwisely and without due premeditation, though such agreements may not be legally binding. It is generally recognized that in the interests of both the adopting parent and the child, adoption should be regulated by law and definite legal effect given to it. The experience of other countries similar to our own, to which allusion has been made, points in the same direction; and the evidence which we have heard shows that as regards children for whom their natural parents provide no proper home, it is as a rule very much better to place them in some other home as members of a family under the care of a suitable and responsible person, between whom and the children a tie of affection is likely to be established, than that the children should be gathered together in an institution with a number of others. Cases of clearly marked serious physical or moral defects are generally best provided for in institutions, but family life should be the normal condition.

12. Experience has shown that in the case of many children who are placed under the care of foster parents a tie of real affection grows up between the child and the foster parents with whom it is left. This experience of social workers is borne out in a remarkable way by statistics furnished to us by Doctor Menzies, one of the medical advisers of the London County Council, which show that in the case of a large percentage of the children who have been thus placed, the foster parents desire to retain the care of the children, in spite of the trouble and expense to themselves, from genuine love of them and interest in their welfare. * * *

14. Most of those who have practical experience of the subject regard it as of the utmost importance that the tie between the natural parent and the child should not be broken except for some strong reason to secure the welfare of the child, but the next best thing to the care of the natural parent is that of the adopting or foster parent who takes personal interest in the child and brings it up in normal family life. In all cases no doubt the welfare of the child is the question of paramount importance; but it is right also to recognize that if the natural desire of many persons who have no children of their own to have the care and bringing up of some child could have legitimate satisfaction, that too is a proper object to aim at. Such a desire is often one of the strongest feelings of human nature and is in itself the best guaranty for the welfare of the adopted child.

15. Incidentally, it is worth mentioning that the cost of bringing up and suitably maintaining a child at home may be very much less than the sum required for its maintenance in an institution. * * * Of course in different institutions the relative cost of maintenance may vary considerably; but we have no doubt that to bring up children in an institution is both more costly and, except in the case of certain special classes, not so good for the child as residence in a family.

IRELAND.

[Vice-Regal Commission on Poor-Law Reform in Ireland: Report presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. Parliamentary Paper Cd. 3202, pp. 46-47. 1906.]

Extract from Chapter XIII: "Children Between Infancy and Maximum Limit Age," on boarding out as a method of care for children under the poor law in Ireland.

185. As regards children to be supported out of the poor rate, we have received evidence almost universally in favor of empowering the local poor authority to board out all children above the age of infancy, or even during infancy in special cases. These expressions of opinion rather startle those who have been accustomed all their lives to see children supported in large institutions, and we confess that we scrutinized such evidence very closely and considered it most carefully. But we have come to the conclusion that practically all rate-supported children can be boarded out with advantage to the children themselves, to the community at large, to the persons who would receive such children, and to the rate payers. At first we thought it might be necessary to keep an institution here and there for delicate children, but we believe, after full consideration, that such a provision would be unnecessary. Ordinary children when ill are looked after at home or else sent to a hospital, and there does not appear to be any reason why children maintained under the poor law should be treated differently. There will, however, be rare cases of children who for one reason or another (for instance, grown-up children on first application for relief) can not be boarded out immediately, and we suggest that any such cases be paid for at industrial or certified schools pending boarding out. * * *

193. We did not arrive at a decision in favor of boarding out until we made inquiries as to the various kinds of cottage homes and scattered homes that exist in England. The management there seems to be most kindly, but the system is so expensive that it would be quite beyond our resources in Ireland. Apart from expense, however, we prefer boarding out to any institution, either large or small; and we regard these so-called homes not really as homes, but as small institutions—though, no doubt, a great improvement on a "barrack" school. No place is a home which is under the control of an external authority and where the question of ways and means has not to be considered, owing to the fact that a certain or uncertain amount of money is received weekly or periodically and determines the rate of expenditure, thus giving the inmates of the home some knowledge of living according to their means. * * *

194. It is of the greatest importance that boarded-out children should be placed at a very early age with their foster parents, as they in this way grow up almost as members of the family, and the attachment between the children and foster parents is much strengthened. Some unfavorable instances of the boarding-out system mentioned to us were of children who were boarded out at an advanced age—at, say, 12 years old.

AUSTRALIA.

[New South Wales State Children Relief Board: Report of the president for the year ended April 5, 1916, pp. 11-12; 1917, pp. 14 and 16.]

Extract from the report of the president, Alfred William Green, for the year ended April 5, 1916, relative to the results of an inquiry into the operation of the system of boarding out "State children" in New South Wales.

Considerable prominence has been given of late by the press to cases of alleged ill-treatment or neglect of State children. The large majority of these were found, upon inquiry, to be quite baseless. * * * It would be foolish advocacy of any system to contend that it was flawless. Every system has its defects, and the boarding-out system is no exception. The contention is, however, that boarding out, as a system for the bringing up of neglected and dependent children, has fewer defects than any other system established for a similar purpose. Wherever it has been tried under reasonable conditions it has proved successful. Its outstanding merit is that any abuse of it is readily detectable—it is practiced in the light of day; the community as a whole is competent to inspect and criticise it from individual instances; it is not possible for neglect to occur at any time to any large number of children, nor can neglect or ill-treatment occur in any individual instance for any length of time without the whole community conniving at it. The school teacher, the clergy, the police, the neighbors all unite in cooperation with a natural system. Local visitors and salaried inspectors supply specific details. The experience of this State in securing the happiest results from boarding out corresponds to that elsewhere, and at the Congress of Workers among Dependent Children, held at Adelaide, South Australia, in May, 1909, delegates from the six States of the Commonwealth united in passing the following resolutions (amongst other):

"That this congress heartily approves of the system of providing for the children in the care of the State by boarding them out in selected homes.

"That, in the opinion of this congress, the boarding out of children with their mothers, being either widows or deserted wives, should be carried out.

"That, in the opinion of this congress, steps should be taken to provide in all the States of the Commonwealth a system of probation for delinquent children.

"That the supervision of such children should be entrusted to some special authority rather than the courts."

There is no doubt, then, as to the consensus of expert opinion on the value of boarding out. Suggestions made that this system should be replaced by a system of State boarding schools must therefore be regarded as due to general ignorance of the whole question, as well as total disregard as to the results achieved in New South Wales. The agitation in this connection, too, has had some justification and has been productive of certain good. It has accentuated the fact that boarding out for its best results is dependent upon the quality of inspection, and upon the variety of selection of homes, as well as attention to the fact that boarding out in certain instances should be preceded by suitable training.

Extract from the report of the president, Alfred William Green, for the year ended April 5, 1920, on boarding out under the State Children Relief Act.

The State Children Relief Act—Children under Control.

This enactment provides that the children may be boarded out with strangers or relatives until they are 14 years of age, or they may be adopted up to the time they are 8 years of age (with the parents' concurrence); after 14 years of age they may be apprenticed, discharged, or dealt with in any other way the board may determine. The board, subject to the direction of the minister, is the authority for dealing with all matters relating to boarding out. Payments made for the maintenance of State wards are in accordance with the rates stipulated. Special cases of sick or invalid children are specifically considered by the board, which has power to determine necessary rates of

payment. The sanction of the minister can continue the payments after the age of 14 is reached. The general rates now (1920) paid are 10s. per week for children up to 14 years of age.

The total number of children placed out under the State Children Relief Act is now 15,776 (or 2,938 more than were under control during the preceding 12 months). Of the children under control, 4,979 were placed out apart from their mothers and 10,797 with their mothers. The increase in the number in the former section since last year was 398, and in the latter section 2,542.

Inspection.

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The children under departmental supervision are visited periodically by the salaried officers of the board and by honorary visitors. In the metropolitan area, State children are visited quarterly by the salaried staff; children boarded with their own mothers are similarly visited, unless in special instances where circumstances warrant more frequent visitation. * * * In regard to country visitation, all children are visited quarterly as far as practicable by salaried officers of the department, whose visits are supplemented by the honorary officers visiting each month in the metropolitan area and quarterly in the country. Honorary officers do not visit all children—the lady visitors visit boarded-out children only, and the honorary probation officers visit children on probation only. Lady visitors are appointed by the State Children Relief Board in conformity with the State children relief act, and honorary probation officers by His Excellency the Governor, on recommendation of the minister of education. * * * The responsibility of the welfare and treatment of infants rests mainly with the female inspectors of the department, who are charged with the special supervision of the conditions of infant life. It is the duty of these officers to instruct custodians and mothers, where necessary, in the dieting and general treatment of infants, arranging for the medical inspection of children periodically at one or other of the children's hospitals, at a clinic, or by private practitioner.

CANADA.

[Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario: First report of work under the Children's Protection Act, 1898, p. 20. Toronto, 1894.]

Extract from the first report of J. J. Kelso, Superintendent of the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario.

Children's Visiting Committees.

One of the most important features of the act [Children's Protection Act of 1893] is the provision made for the appointment of a children's visiting committee in each electoral district. The act expressly states that all children coming under the guardianship of the Children's Aid Society are to be placed in family homes, and this is in accordance with the prevailing opinion and experience of leading workers in other countries on behalf of dependent children. In Australia the foster-home system is officially recognized in all the colonies as the only satisfactory solution of the problem, and on this continent Massachusetts, Michigan, and other States are in the vanguard of this great reform. Common sense teaches that to have children mingle with the world, take part in the daily strife, and face the problem of true living early is the only way to develop sterling, self-reliant men and women, and it is important to note, from an economical standpoint, that the substitution of the foster home for the institution has had the effect of checking immensely the throwing by parents on the State the maintenance of their children. Numerous authorities might be quoted showing the advantages of family training over institutional life, were this the place to do so. Having adopted this as the most desirable plan, it was necessary to provide machinery for ascertaining suitable homes and for maintaining some degree of oversight when children are placed out. In Australia the appointment of committees of ladies and gentlemen, interested in this cause and desirous of aiding in the alleviation of the misfortunes of the children, proved very effective, and this plan has been incorporated in the Ontario law. When fully organized it is easy to see what a powerful network agency these

committees may become for the placing of the homeless children of the Province in homes where they will be willingly received and lovingly surrounded with good and helpful influences. * * * The children's visiting committee is the most natural, effective, and at the same time economical plan of performing such work, since it enlists the active sympathy and cooperation of people in all parts of the Province, and in a cause that justly claims the sympathy and aid of the whole community. * * *

[Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario: Annual report, 1907, pp. 106-108.]

Extract from a paper read by J. J. Kelso at the annual meeting of the American Humane Association, held in Boston, November 12-14, 1907.

Supervision of Children.

In Ontario, when the children's protection act was passed in 1893, it was recognized that if home-finding work was to be extensively adopted, subsequent supervision of the children placed out would be essential to success. Therefore our system provides that all children's aid societies should be branches of one organization having its center in a government office known as the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children. There are at the present time 60 of these societies covering the different districts of the Province, and each year about 300 children are placed in foster homes in a territory over 500 by 800 miles in extent. Whenever a child goes to a foster home through one of these societies the full particulars are at once reported to the central office on a form provided for the purpose. The child then passes under the supervision of the government office, and I, as a general superintendent, assume its future care. Its name is entered both in a supervision book and on a card index, the latter for division into towns, cities, and counties, so as to facilitate visiting, and from that time on every reasonable effort is made to insure its proper treatment. This plan has been in operation over 14 years and there are about 4,000 children on the books. In addition, two or three of the orphanages report the children placed out by them and they are entered and visited, though this is not compulsory. The local society or institution is expected to keep up a friendly interest in the child, and this can be done without any clashing with the central scheme of visitation. Some societies are faithful in remembering the children once under their immediate care, others inquire about them occasionally, while some organizations are content to leave it all to the central office. The great importance of having all placed-out children promptly reported and recorded has been demonstrated over and over again. The smaller societies pass out of existence, there are frequent changes of secretaries or managers, and if the children were not on record they would in many cases be completely forgotten and lost sight of. State supervision provides for continuity and permanency, and whether the local society exists or not the children are looked after, helped, encouraged, and protected until there is no doubt that they are of age.

The children recorded in the central office are visited once each year, some twice, some several times, according to the special need. Typewritten reports of these visits are furnished without expense to the society holding the guardianship. A very mild supervision is exercised over those children who are adopted in infancy and who have become fully incorporated as members of the family. We have many cases on our books where after the first visit an entry is made "Very little supervision necessary," although we do not entirely give up oversight of any child, owing to the fact already stated that home conditions are liable to change at any time and do as a matter of fact change. Those who require special attention are the boys and girls taken at 8, 10, and 12 years of age, where the consideration of work is likely to enter. Great care is needed to see that they receive a fair amount of schooling and are not overworked.

With a system such as ours there is always some one available to be sent on short notice to visit a child, no matter how great the distance, and once all the circumstances of each child are fully understood this preparation for instant action prevents neglect and carelessness. This point is worth emphasizing. We keep four persons constantly on the road, three gentlemen and a lady, and in addition there are six other persons who have the oversight of certain districts. Catholic children are visited by a Catholic inspector, and this is a wise and reasonable rule to follow. We have also at least 15 or 20 persons who can be called in for special visiting or re-

porting on children in their district, and through these various agencies we believe we are looking fairly well after the young people whose names are on our books. We do not take names off our records. Often a friendly visit is paid to young women long after they have married and settled in life. We are then better able to judge the results of our work and the visits are appreciated and welcomed. * * * It is almost impossible for a small society or institution to follow up its children in later years, owing to the expense and the time involved; it seems an absolute necessity that this work should be done by some parent society or government agency.

[Report of superintendent of neglected and dependent children of the Province of Saskatchewan, 1917, p. 9.]

Foster Homes—Not Institutions.

The greatest work in this department and the essential note in the work carried on under the children's protection act, not only in this Province but all over Canada, is the placing of children in foster homes. Our work is absolutely opposed to keeping children for any length of time in institutions, although we sometimes find it difficult to make people realize this fact. Experience shows that institutional children to a very great degree lose the spirit of self-reliance and independence, and therefore when they are released, instead of making useful citizens are quite unable to make for themselves. The aim is to place every child in a foster home, unless they are mentally or physically unfit, or perhaps for some reason they are being kept in shelters to be returned in due time to their parents.

FRANCE.

[La Revue Philanthropique, vol. 38 (1917), pp. 368-369.]

Translation of an abstract from the Circular of the Minister of the Interior of July 15, 1904, commenting on the law of June 27, 1904, relative to assistance of dependent children.

The traditional rules observed in the bringing up of dependent children are boarding in families and boarding in the country. This system is rational and is sanctioned by experience. It will produce excellent results when the rates of pay for boarding are everywhere sufficiently high, and when the number, salary, and ability of inspectors shall everywhere assure a proper choice of foster parents and efficient supervision.

The natural way for a child to be brought up is in a family, and there can be no satisfactory substitute. If he has no family of his own the best thing that can be done is to give him the chance to establish himself in an adopted family. Even if he finds little affection on the part of the foster parents, he will have a place at their house about which he will say: "At home." Later he will share the labors of those whose studies and play he has shared before; he will belong to a community—the "enlarged family." He will have a place to which he will be attached; he will be bound to the social group by the thousand bonds which are tied so strongly in the first years of life; he will be as little different as possible from his fellow citizens.

[Deuxième Congrès International de la Protection de l'Enfance, Bruxelles, 1921. Tome II, pp. 145-146.]

Extract from the report by Henry Rollet to the International Conference on Child Welfare on general child-welfare measures in France.

Measures for the Protection of War Orphans.

* * * * *
Administrative.—The national office of the wards of the nation in Paris, under the Minister of Public Instruction, directs and coordinates the work of the departmental offices and maintains control of the entire system.

The departmental offices under the direction of the prefects distribute the subsidies appropriated for the maintenance of needy wards, place them in foster homes when necessary, and see to the enforcement of child-welfare and school-attendance laws which apply to the cases in which they are concerned. They also supervise the societies or institutions caring for the nation's wards.

With the departmental offices are connected the cantonal offices, the members of which come in direct contact with the children. These are men and women interested in children—members of the teaching profession, of philanthropic societies, or private citizens. The cantonal sections see to it that the largest possible number of children are benefited by the law; they ascertain the needs of the children and put them in touch with the departmental offices.

Guardianship.—For cases in which the guardian is a member of the family or was appointed by the deceased parent, the law provides an "advisory guardian." The justice of the peace who is chairman of the family council must offer the aid of the advisory guardian to the regular guardians when the latter are relatives of the minor or if they were appointed under a will. This advisory guardian, without interfering with the exercise of parental authority, must see whether laws on school attendance are observed and whether the subsidies are used for a good purpose, and must propose any measures that may be good for the child.

Placing out.—Children who can not be brought up in their own families are placed by the departmental office in orphanages or institutional schools or in private families. The decree of July 3, 1918, specifies very carefully the conditions required for the taking of wards of the nation. The moral life and the health of the wards are supervised very closely, also the location and hygienic condition of the quarters in which the children live.

Quarterly physical examinations are required for children under 16 years old. The results of each examination are noted on a health card, which is considered confidential and is sent to the departmental office. Decisions as to placing of wards whose cases are considered unusual because of the presence of physical or moral defects are made by the prefect or Minister of Public Instruction, with the consent of the guardian.

Even in case the child is placed out, the parents or guardians preserve their entire authority over their children or wards. They may always claim them back from the departmental office, and in any case their will is respected, particularly in matters of religious education.

BELGIUM.

[Deuxième Congrès International de la Protection de l'Enfance, Bruxelles, 1921. Tome I, pp. 617-618.]

Translation of a selection from the report presented by Judge Joseph Diercxsens (of the juvenile court) on the principles and methods of the National Bureau for War Orphans (L'Œuvre Nationale des Orphelins de la Guerre) of Belgium.

The fundamental idea of the National Bureau of War Orphans is that orphans should be aided in the place of their residence, because the bureau is convinced that the maintenance of children in the family and social environment in which they were born is essential to their economic and moral well-being.

It is because the bureau has sought to carry out this conception that it has energetically opposed the emigration of its wards; an emigration which would constitute a national misfortune as well as an obstacle to the normal development of the children concerned.

The child removed from his natural environment is not only deprived of the opportunity of making a career and living a life appropriate to his station but undergoes deep mental suffering because of being unable to see his kindred, the faces that he knew, and the companions who loved him; often he does not even hear his mother tongue.

For this reason the bureau has assisted the child at his mother's home, whenever possible. It is near the mother that the child is surrounded by the deepest affection and it is there that he can develop in the best way and find the greatest opportunities for happiness. The maintenance of the child in his own family is, then, the first concern of the bureau, and fortunately in the great majority of cases it has been possible to follow this principle of bringing up children in a natural way.

If the mother is dead it is necessary to try to give a family to the orphan by placing him with his grandparents or near relatives with whom he will be surrounded by sincere affection.

But in exceptional cases in which bringing up in a family is not possible, it is necessary to accept the cruel necessity of entrusting the orphan to an educational or charitable institution and to leave to the directors of the institution the task of assuring his economic existence and moral development. In cases of necessity the bureau has resorted to this method of bringing up. Undoubtedly there are in Belgium numerous well-managed sectarian or nonsectarian orphanages with directors whose devotion to their work is above all praise, to which the fates of some children may be entrusted without fear.

But the administrative council, following in this matter the principles established by all of the international child-welfare congresses and those stated by the illustrious initiator of this great social-service agency in Belgium, the late Minister LeJeune, maintained that the institution is not the ideal method of bringing up children; particularly as regards the children of the poor, this method entails the great danger of failing to provide a training which would fit the child for the life he will have to lead later; it cuts him off from contact with his fellows, it does not prepare him sufficiently for the struggle for existence, and the child finds himself later thrown into life without having learned all its dangers and pitfalls.

Statistics show that the executive committee of the bureau has always been guided by the principles just described. Thus, of 18,240 orphans who were in the bureau's care on September 30, 1920, 650 (3.57 per cent) were placed in foster homes; 422 (2.25 per cent) in orphanages or charitable institutions; and 94.18 per cent were aided in their own homes and were enjoying family life.

APPENDIX D.—LIST OF REFERENCES ON FOSTER-HOME CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

COMPILED BY LAURA HOOD.

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- Lewis, Herbert W.: Terms on which children should be placed in families, pp. 140-146.

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1922. Theis, Sophie Van Senden: Minimum qualifications of a good child-placing agency, pp. 121-124.

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1916. Felton, Katharine: The place of the boarding-home system in child-caring work, pp. 80-82.

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1912. Thurston, Henry W.: The institution and the family, pp. 57-66.

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1917. Thurston, Henry W.: The placing out and boarding out of dependent children, pp. 234-244.

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1921. Theis, Sophie Van Senden: Adoption and guardianship in New York State; with discussion, pp. 162-180.

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- Brettle, Katharine L.: Needed legislation in reference to placing out and boarding out, pp. 179-190.

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- Warner, Charles H.: Suggested changes in our adoption laws; with discussion, pp. 191-199.

Presents cases arising under adoption laws showing imperative need for revision of legislation relative to investigation, trial period, and appearance before the court of all parties to adoption.

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1917. Hess, Dr. Alfred F.: Institutional care versus boarding-out homes for children under two years, pp. 216-219.

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- Infant Feeding**, by Julius H. Hess, M. D. American Medical Association, Chicago, 1923. 152 pp. Price \$1.
- Infant Care (Revised)**. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 8. Washington, 1921. 118 pp.
- The Preschool Child**, by Arnold Gesell, M. D. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1923. 264 pp. Price \$1.90.
- The Health of the Runabout Child**, by William Palmer Lucas, M. D. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923. 229 pp. Price \$1.75.
- Child Care, The Preschool Age**, by Mrs. Max West. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 30. Washington, 1922. 82 pp.
- Child Training**, by Angelo Patri. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1922. 434 pp. Price \$2.
- Habit Clinics for the Child of Preschool Age; their organization and practical value**, by D. A. Thom, M. D. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 135. Washington, 1924. 71 pp.
- Habit Training for Children**. National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Inc.), 370 Seventh Avenue, New York. Set of 9 leaflets, 10 cents.
- Child Management**, by D. A. Thom, M. D. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 143. Washington, 1925. 36 pp.
- Mental Health for Normal Children**, by W. H. Burnham. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, 18 Tremont Street, Boston. 8 pp.
- Mental Hygiene of Childhood**, by William A. White, M. D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1919. 193 pp. Price \$1.75.
- Safeguarding Children's Nerves**, by James L. Walsh, M. D., and John A. Foote, M. D. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1924. 272 pp. Price \$2.
- The Fate of the First Molar**. United States Public Health Service. Public Health Reprint No. 645. Washington, 1921. 6 pp.
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- Feeding the Family**, by Mrs. M. S. Rose. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1924. 487 pp. Price \$2.40.
- Food for the Family**. New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Publication No. 120. Revised 1922. 31 pp. Price 25 cents.
- Food for Young Children**, by C. L. Hunt. United States Department of Agriculture Farmers' Bulletin 717. Washington, 1920. 26 pp.
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- Nutrition and Growth in Children**, by William R. P. Emerson, M. D. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1922. 342 pp. Price \$2.50.
- American Red Cross Textbook on Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick**, by Jane A. Delano, R. N. Revised and rewritten by Anne Hervey Strong, R. N. P. Blakiston's Son & Co., Philadelphia, 1922. 330 pp. Price 70 cents, paper; \$1.25, cloth.
- A Brief Manual of Games for Organized Play**, adapted from standard sources, by Martha Travilla Speakman. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 113. Revised edition. Washington, 1925. 37 pp.
- Backyard Playgrounds**. United States Children's Bureau Folder No. 2. Washington, 1923. 6 pp.
- Pamphlets of interest to mothers may be obtained from State boards of health and extension divisions of State universities.

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