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JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN INDENTURED
BY THE WISCONSIN STATE
PUBLIC SCHOOL

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CONTENTS

	Page
Letter of transmittal.....	v
The study—its purpose and method.....	1
Origin and functions of the Wisconsin State Public School.....	4
Provisions of the law creating the school.....	5
Changes in the law.....	6
Placement on indenture.....	7
The terms of the indenture contract.....	7
Field agents.....	8
Difficulties in placement.....	9
Early methods of placement of State wards in Massachusetts.....	9
Record study of "indentured" and "adopted" children.....	11
Types of homes from which indentured and adopted children were removed.....	11
Parental status of indentured and adopted children at commitment.....	15
Ages of indentured and adopted children.....	16
Time in institution before first indenture.....	18
Time under jurisdiction before adoption.....	18
Indenture before adoption.....	19
Mental characteristics of parents of adopted children.....	19
Children of illegitimate birth.....	20
Proportion of time in the institution and in indenture homes.....	21
Field study of indentured children.....	24
Conditions under which children were removed from their homes.....	24
Abnormal family conditions.....	24
Source of petition for commitment.....	26
Agencies dealing with families prior to children's commitment.....	27
Investigation before commitment.....	28
Number of children committed from each family.....	29
Case summaries.....	30
Placement.....	41
Need of study of the child and his history.....	41
Investigations of foster homes.....	44
Fitting the child to the home.....	45
Treatment of behavior problems.....	46
Supervision after placement.....	48
Contact of the child with his own family.....	49
Separation of brothers and sisters.....	50
The indenture homes.....	52
Number and location.....	52
Number of placements.....	52
Length of time in the homes.....	53
Conditions in the indenture homes.....	55
Detrimental foster homes.....	56
Recreational interests.....	58
Discrimination against dependent children.....	58
Case summaries.....	59
Schooling and work of the indentured children.....	68
Opportunities for education.....	68
School-attendance records.....	69
Reasons for leaving school.....	71
Illustrations of irregular school attendance.....	71
Work done by the children.....	74
Case summaries.....	75

	Page
Field study of indentured children—Continued.	
Mentality and conduct.....	78
Placement of mentally defective children.....	78
Children who presented conduct problems.....	81
Case summaries.....	82
Children returned to their own homes.....	84
Policy of indenturing or releasing to parents.....	84
Case summaries.....	87
Family histories subsequent to the commitment of the children.....	91
Need for constructive work with the families.....	91
Case summaries.....	91
After careers of the children.....	95
Ages at release and time under jurisdiction.....	95
Plans for the children's future.....	96
Children who went back to their own homes.....	97
Contact with their former indenture homes.....	98
Employment after release.....	98
Case summaries.....	100
Conclusion.....	106
Standards of care for dependent children.....	106
The State's part in a child-welfare program.....	109
The Wisconsin system of placement of its dependent wards.....	110
Are the existing shortcomings inherent in the indenture system?.....	113
Changes reported as already in progress.....	114
Appendix A.—Movement of the Wisconsin State Public School population.....	119
Appendix B.—Laws and legal decisions.....	120
Appendix C.—Indenture contract used in 1923.....	130
Appendix D.—Items of schedule used in the Children's Bureau study.....	131

ILLUSTRATIONS

Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Whereabouts at commitment to the care of the State.....	13
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Percentages of children coming from specified types of home.....	14
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of ages of adopted children at the time of their commitment to the care of the State.....	17
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of ages of indentured children at the time of their commitment to the care of the State.....	17
Whereabouts of the 841 children who were under the jurisdiction of the Wisconsin State Public School on April 30, 1923.....	22
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of percentages of total time as wards spent in the institution by 684 children.....	23
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Family conditions at time of commitment of the children to the care of the State.....	25
Families of wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Per cent distribution by person or agency making application for child's commitment.....	26
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of length of time spent in indenture homes.....	54
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of days of attendance of 570 school children.....	70
Wards of the Wisconsin State Public School—Distribution of length of time spent by 213 children under the care of the State.....	96

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, May 1, 1925.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on "Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School."
Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

v

CHILDREN INDENTURED BY THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL

THE STUDY—ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD

The study of children indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School for dependent and neglected children was undertaken by the Federal Children's Bureau at the request of the juvenile division of the Wisconsin State Board of Control, acting under authority of the board, and the superintendent of the State public school. In cooperation with these State officials it was decided that an intensive study of the histories of indentured children, involving visits to the children's homes and indenture homes as well as examination of school records, would be the best method of obtaining information that would be of service to the State. As a number of other States have somewhat similar methods of care it is believed that the results of the study will have more than local interest.

The children selected for study were the group of boys and girls indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School for the first time during the five-year period 1913-1917. This period was chosen because about half the children indentured during that period and not later adopted were still under the jurisdiction of the school at the time the study was made, and about half had passed from its jurisdiction on attaining the age limit of 18 years or through earlier release.

Of the total 827 children indentured during the selected period 298 had been legally adopted, 268 were still wards of the institution on April 1, 1923, and 261 had been released from jurisdiction before that date, either because they had become 18 years of age or had been transferred to other institutions or because they had been restored to the legal custody of their parents by order of the State board of control. The records of children who had been legally adopted after being indentured were eliminated from the number to be considered in selecting cases to be visited. Of the 529 other children who had been placed in indenture homes during the five-year period, the histories of 452 (228 who had been released from jurisdiction and 224 who were still wards) were followed up by the bureau agents, the selection being made entirely on the basis of geographical availability and the number that could be covered during the period of the study.

Altogether children in the following 22 counties were included in the investigation: Barron, Buffalo, Chippewa, Columbia, Dane, Dodge, Douglas, Dunn, Juneau, La Crosse, Marathon, Marinette, Marquette, Monroe, Rock, Sauk, Trempealeau, Vernon, Walworth, Washburn, Waukesha, Wood. The field work was begun March 15, 1923, and continued through August of that year. Seven agents, all

experienced in social investigation and family case work, were engaged in the study.

In considering the findings of the study it is important to bear in mind that the inquiry concerned all children who were committed to the school and indentured for the first time during a period from 6 to 10 years back. This fact should be borne in mind especially in connection with the histories of children who were mentally and physically handicapped. The policy of the school for the last five years has been to make no new indentures of mentally handicapped children. The children of this type who had previously been placed out, however, were allowed to remain in the indenture homes unless difficulties arose that made it necessary to bring them back to the institution.

The first step in the study was to obtain information from the records of the State school for the entire group of children indentured during the 1913-1917 period. This information was then tabulated in order that a general background might be obtained regarding the children who had been placed on indenture contracts.

The addresses of all the indenture homes in which the 452 children selected for the special study had lived at any time were secured from the State school, and also data concerning their original homes, the former residence of parents and other relatives, and the sources from which information could be secured. The investigation followed three main lines: (1) All indenture homes (540) in the counties selected were visited. (2) The homes of the children's parents were visited if they could be located. If at the time of the study the parents or other relatives were not living in the community from which the child was committed an effort was made to find them and to obtain information from them. County officials, the committing court, social agencies, and others were interviewed in regard to the conditions in the family at the time of the child's removal and concerning the family's subsequent history. (3) Of the children who had been released from the jurisdiction of the institution a special effort was made to obtain complete histories after they ceased to be State wards. Eighty of these children were interviewed. In addition to specific data on the cases included in the study general information was procured in the communities regarding local dependency problems and the social agencies that were seeking to improve conditions. In all the counties visited, both in the localities from which children had come and in those to which they were indentured, the agents of the bureau sought information from social agencies, judges and other officials of the courts, poor commissioners and county nurses, school superintendents and county superintendents of schools, and individual teachers.

The entire list of indentured children was checked with the records of the following institutions: Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys, State school for the deaf, State school for the blind, Northern Wisconsin Colony and Training School, Southern Wisconsin Colony and Training School, Wisconsin State Reformatory, Wisconsin State Prison, Northern Hospital for the Insane, Wisconsin State Hospital for Insane. This was done to get authentic data concerning the children who had been transferred to these institutions from the State public school or committed

to them after release from its jurisdiction, and information as to members of the families of the State wards who had been inmates of any of these institutions.

When a child is transferred to another institution he is released from the jurisdiction of the State school at Sparta. The transfer is arranged through the State board of control. Of the group of children selected for this study 25 boys had been transferred to the industrial school for boys, 10 girls to the industrial school for girls, and 19 children to the institutions for the feeble-minded. Former wards of the State public school who were in these institutions at the time of the agents' visits were interviewed, and information was obtained in regard to their histories.

The items of the schedule used in the field study are listed in Appendix D, page 13.

ORIGIN AND FUNCTIONS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL

The Wisconsin State Public School for dependent children was opened in November, 1886, in accordance with a law passed in 1885. The law creating the school declared that the institution was to be a temporary home for dependent children until homes could be procured for them in good families. The State board was authorized to place the children in families on written contracts during minority or until 18 years of age.¹ The system of indenture placements inaugurated at the beginning of the State school's activity has continued to be the main method up to the present time.

The Wisconsin State Public School and similar institutions for dependent and neglected children that have been established in other States were intended to combine, or they have combined in practice, three functions in the care of dependent children committed to the State:

1. To provide temporary care for dependent and neglected children pending placement in family homes.
2. To act as a placing agency, finding homes for children and supervising their care.
3. To provide, for longer or shorter periods, custodial care for children who could not be placed successfully, including children for whose care there was no existing institution in the State and children who should be cared for in the institution for the feeble-minded but who could not be received because of lack of accommodations.

Neglected or dependent children are received by the State Public School of Wisconsin only on commitment through the county court or the juvenile court. The major part of the commitments have the effect of removing the child permanently from the custody of the parents, but in a small percentage of cases the children are committed for temporary care. The temporary commitments are usually by special order of the judge, when he desires that a child or a group of children from some one family shall be given care temporarily until a local situation has been adjusted. In 1923 the law relating to juvenile courts provided for temporary commitments to the State public school.

Children who have been made wards of the State public school may be transferred to other institutions by action of the State board of control without court intervention. Most of these transfers are made to the State institutions for the feeble-minded or to the boys' and girls' industrial schools.

¹ See p. 7 for discussion of terms of indenture contract.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, there was expended for the State public school for dependent children (including the special allowances for crippled and deformed children) \$149,535.40; for the same year the per capita cost per week is given as \$9.72.²

PROVISIONS OF THE LAW CREATING THE SCHOOL

As defined in the law passed in 1885³ the object of the Wisconsin State Public School was to receive children declared to be dependent on the public for support, who were over 3 and under 14 years of age and who were in a suitable condition of body and mind to receive instruction. Provision was also made that children confined in the State industrial school for boys or the industrial school for girls might be transferred to the State public school if their condition made such transfer desirable. Dependent and indigent orphans and half orphans of deceased soldiers and sailors of the State were to receive preference as to admission, and arrangement was made for pro rata commitments of children from the various counties, in order that each county might be permitted its just share.

Commitment to the school was provided for through examination before the county judges, the superintendent of the poor, or the town supervisors bringing the children before the court. The law provided for examination by a physician of every child to be committed to the State school, and no commitment was to be made by the judge unless the physician making the examination certified in writing, under oath, that in his opinion the child examined by him was of sound mind, had no chronic or contagious disease, and had not been exposed to any contagious disease for at least 15 days previous to his examination before the county judge. A copy of this certificate was to be attached to other papers accompanying each child to the school.

By the same law the Wisconsin State Board of Supervision was authorized to designate an agent of the State public school whose duties should include visiting all children placed out by the school and reporting to the board as to their condition. This agent was also to investigate all applications for children for adoption or otherwise and in behalf of the board to enter into written contracts with persons taking children from the State school. These contracts were to contain a clause reserving the right of the school to withdraw a child from any person with whom he was placed when in the opinion of the board the welfare of the child required it.

The State board of supervision was also authorized to return any child to the county of his original residence when he became 16 years of age, if no home had been procured for him or if at any time after his commitment it was ascertained that the child was of unsound mind or body at the time of his commitment or if for any reason the board considered the child an improper inmate of the State school.

The law establishing the school declared that the object of the act was to "provide for such children a temporary home only until homes can be procured for them in good families." The board of

² Sixteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Control of Wisconsin, for the biennial period ending June 30, 1922, p. 39. Madison, 1922.

³ Wisconsin, Laws of 1885, ch. 377.

supervision was made legal guardian of all children who became inmates of the school. Each placement was to be made under a written contract for minority or until the child reached 18 years of age, in the discretion of the board. The contract was to provide for education in the public schools, for the teaching of some useful occupation, for kind and proper treatment as a member of the family, and for the payment on the termination of the contract of a sum of money, to be determined by the State board of supervision, which was to be received by the board for the use of the child.

CHANGES IN THE LAW⁴

The original age limitations for admission were 3 to 13 years. In 1901 the lower age limit was changed to permit the school to receive infants; in 1921 the upper age limit was raised to 16 years.⁵ According to the original law children were retained until they reached the age of 16 years, or after, in the discretion of the board. Under the present law the board may retain jurisdiction until the children are 18 years of age, or until a home or other suitable place is provided for them after they have reached that age, in the discretion of the board.

As the result of amendments in 1917, 1919, and 1921 the law no longer states, as did the original act, that the school shall "provide for such children a temporary home only * * * until homes can be procured for them in good families." The present law apparently contemplates that the State public school should provide for some children long-term care and training, and it is specified that the school shall educate the children physically, intellectually, vocationally, and morally until such time as permanent or temporary homes can be procured for those eligible for such placing.

In 1901 legal provision was made for the commitment to the State public school of crippled and deformed children under 14 years of age, the age limit for these children being later raised to 16 years and in 1921 to 21 years. The amendment passed in 1921 provided for the reception of crippled children under 21 years of age, if their defects could be cured or ameliorated by surgical or other means. The 1901 law authorizing the admission of crippled children stated that "existing provisions for the commitment, care, disposition, control, and discharge of inmates of the school" should apply also to the physically handicapped.

During 1921 the legislature removed the provision regarding the return to the counties from which they had been committed of children found to be not sound mentally or physically.⁶ It also passed a provision forbidding the placing for indenture or adoption of any child who is feeble-minded, epileptic, or suffering from syphilis or any other disease that might later handicap him, or who has had a feeble-minded parent or a parent who has suffered from any nervous or mental disease likely to be inherited. (This legal restriction followed a ruling of the State board of control with regard to placement that had been in effect since 1918.) The provision does not

⁴ See Appendix B, p. 120, for text of law in 1923.

⁵ Wisconsin, Laws of 1901, ch. 223; Laws of 1921, ch. 430.

⁶ Wisconsin, Laws of 1921, ch. 444.

apply to "any child 16 years of age or over who, in the opinion of the board, may safely be placed in a home or on a wage contract for a temporary period not to exceed one year."

The legislature of 1921 also added a provision specifying that the records kept at the State public school shall include the results of the physical and laboratory examinations and the test of the mentality of each child by a competent physician versed in psychiatry and mental diseases, and also requiring that a continuous record be kept of the child's history while he is under the guardianship of the board.⁷

The law providing for the establishment of the State public school authorized the State board to designate some officer, teacher, or other employee of the school to act as its agent. An amendment in 1891 authorized the employment of one or more agents, and the present law provides that the board may appoint "one or more agents of the State public school, who shall investigate all applications to take any such children by adoption or otherwise, and the persons who make the same."⁸

The law provides that the State board of control is the legal guardian of all children committed to the school. The board is given the power to consent to the adoption of any such child in the manner provided by law, its written consent having the same force and effect as if given by the parent or parents of the child.⁹

The law relating specifically to the State public school does not provide for receiving children for temporary care. However, a recent superintendent has interpreted as applying to the State school a provision in another part of the statutes which permits a judge to commit temporarily to an institution, and in accordance with this section of the law children have been received on temporary commitment during the last few years. In 1923 amendments to the juvenile court law specifically authorized temporary commitments to the State public school.⁹

PLACEMENT ON INDENTURE

THE TERMS OF THE INDENTURE CONTRACT¹⁰

In accordance with the contract form used by the Wisconsin State Public School in 1923, the State board of control places a child until he is 18, reserving the right to cancel the contract and require the child to be returned to the school whenever the conditions of the contract are not executed or whenever the interest of the child requires. Such a reservation, specifically authorized in the original law,¹¹ was apparently not provided for in the law as amended in 1921, but the the school had wisely continued to include it in the terms of the indenture contract. This practice in Wisconsin is in accord with the legal requirements of Colorado, Michigan, Minne-

⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 392.

⁸ Wisconsin, Laws of 1885, ch. 377, sec. 16; Laws of 1891, ch. 259; Stat. 1923, sec. 48.22 (4).

⁹ See Appendix B, p. 127, "Surrender of parental rights through commitment to the State school," for discussion of adoption provision and juvenile court law concerning temporary commitments to the State school, and p. 125 for text of the law.

¹⁰ See Appendix C, p. 130, for text of contract.

¹¹ Wisconsin, Laws of 1885, ch. 377, sec. 16.

sota, and other States.¹² The person receiving the child also reserves the right to cancel the agreement at any time by returning the child to the school free of cost to the State.

The contract also provides that the person receiving the child agree (a) to keep the child as a member of the family; (b) to have him taught a specified occupation; (c) to have him attend the public schools a specified number of months each year until he is 16 years old; (d) at the expiration of the indenture period to pay to the State board of control or the superintendent of the school, for the benefit of the child, \$50 or pro rata of that amount for the time the child remains in the family after his tenth birthday; (e) in case the contract is canceled, to return the child to the school at his own expense when requested by the agent or the superintendent of the school; (f) whenever requested by the agent or the superintendent to report in writing such facts as may be required about the child and to furnish the child materials and opportunity to correspond with the school authorities.

The contract prohibits the removal of the child from the place where he was originally indentured without the consent of the superintendent of the Wisconsin State Public School.

Under the present system most of the homes secured are on farms because the families there are in constant need of the kind of help that can be given by a boy or girl. The child is expected to earn his maintenance, in part at least, and it is for the service thus rendered that the family pays \$50 to the State school in his behalf when he reaches the age limit, or a portion of this amount if he is released previously. The back of the indenture contract contains the following schedule of pro rata amounts to be paid if the contract is canceled before the child is 18 years of age:

Age	Amount	Age	Amount
11	\$6. 25	15	\$31. 25
12	12. 50	16	37. 50
13	18. 75	17	43. 75
14	25. 00	18	50. 00

The State retains this money until the child is 21 years of age.

FIELD AGENTS

For some years the State school had two field agents. A third agent was added in October, 1907, and the school had the services of three field representatives until 1920, since which time there have been only two. It is obvious that two agents can cover the State very inadequately. According to the annual reports of the school the children placed in indenture homes for the first time have averaged 180 per year. No data are available in regard to the actual number of indenture homes utilized during a year; but in view of the fact that many of the children are placed in several homes in the course of their indenture histories, it is evident that the number of indenture homes to be looked up in a year is very extensive. The original inquiry into the desirability of the home has been

¹² The Colorado law on this point is as follows: "Every such contract shall contain a clause reserving the right to said board to cancel the same whenever they may deem that the interest of the child requires it; and may also contain a clause authorizing the person taking the child to cancel the contract at any time within 60 days from the date of the contract, on returning the child to the home free of expense to said home." Colorado, Compiled Laws 1921, sec. 631 (Laws of 1895, p. 74, sec. 6).

of necessity very superficial. Supervision of the children after placement has also been of a very limited character. It is not to be expected that the two agents of the State public school could give the attention needed for each of about 500 children placed in homes in all parts of the State, many of them very inaccessible.¹³

DIFFICULTIES IN PLACEMENT

The second biennial report of the State public school¹⁴ discusses the difficulty of finding satisfactory homes for the children and the necessity of returning many of the children sent out, either because the home did not prove to be what was anticipated or because the child was unsatisfactory to those to whom he was indentured. It is stated that during the first four years of the school's work (1887-1890) 107 of the 405 children who had been placed in homes—more than one-fourth—were returned to the school, the number remaining in the school on September 30, 1890, being 289. Thus early in the history of the school it became overcrowded, and it was recommended that another cottage be added to the five then existing. The large number of children reported as being difficult to place is especially noteworthy in view of the regulation in the earlier years against receiving children who were not sound physically and mentally. It is probable that the first superintendent of the school stated correctly the reason for the lack of success in placement when he said:

Some of the children have never been placed out, and some have been placed out three or four times. The reasons, real and imaginary, on account of which the children are returned are many. When we consider the former surroundings of most of our children, the short time many of them have remained in the school, and that there is but one man to investigate the homes, to place the children in homes, and to visit them, it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at that about one-third of the children are returned.¹⁵

EARLY METHODS OF PLACEMENT OF STATE WARDS IN MASSACHUSETTS

A feature of child-caring work in Massachusetts was the authorization of payment of board for dependent children placed in family homes. The State primary school at Monson (for dependent children) and the State board of charities were early given authority to board children. With the development of the free-home and boarding-home systems it became increasingly possible to limit the number of children remaining in the institution. By 1894 the State board had placed in family homes so many children from the State primary school that the trustees of State institutions recommended its abolition, which occurred in 1895. Since that time Massachusetts has cared for destitute and neglected children by provision in free family homes or in boarding homes. Children who because of serious physical and mental handicap could not be placed in family homes, even with the payment of board, have been given

¹³ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), a larger appropriation to cover the salary of an additional field agent has been requested of the legislature by the superintendent of the State school, all children in the most inaccessible localities have been replaced within the last few months, and more children have been placed in towns and cities.

¹⁴ In the Fourth Biennial Report of the State Board of Supervision, State of Wisconsin Charitable, Reformatory, and Penal Institutions, for the two fiscal years ending September 30, 1890, pp. 161, 162. Madison, 1891.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

care and treatment in the State infirmary or in other institutions. In October, 1922, Bradford Infirmary at Canton was opened as a hospital for wards of the division of child guardianship of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare.

About 1870 Massachusetts introduced another important innovation in providing for the presence in court of an agent of the State board when consideration was to be given to the commitment of dependent or neglected children. This work, which has continued up to the present time, has undoubtedly prevented commitment to the State of many children who under conditions that exist in most States would have been made State wards without proper consideration of the circumstances or their special needs.

The Massachusetts authorities early reached the conclusion that it was futile to rely on securing homes merely through the applications for children made to the State school. In order to obtain the necessary number and types of homes it was requisite that the State should make a special effort to find them. Undoubtedly this policy accounts in large measure for the difference between the Massachusetts experience and that of States where the number of field agents has been small and placement limited largely to farm homes where conditions were presumed to be safe and much preliminary inquiry or supervision unnecessary. The question arises as to the result that might have been attained if the Massachusetts policy had been followed by Wisconsin from the beginning and special efforts made to find desirable homes instead of awaiting applications for children.

RECORD STUDY OF "INDENTURED" AND "ADOPTED" CHILDREN

As a preliminary to the field study of children indentured into family homes information was obtained from the records of the State public school concerning all children who had been indentured during the years 1913-1917. Explanation has been made of the method of selecting cases for detailed study and of the fact that no children who were adopted were included in the follow-up inquiry. A total of 827 children were placed in indenture homes during the five years. Of this number, 452 were included in the special field study, 298 had been adopted, and 77 were omitted for geographic reasons. The field study thus covered 85 per cent of the entire number of children placed in indenture homes during the five-year period, exclusive of the children who after indenture were legally adopted and whose indenture histories were therefore of comparatively short duration. Data concerning the 77 indentured children not covered in the field study because of the location of the homes in which they had been placed are omitted. But to bring out certain significant points of difference between the two groups referred to for convenience as "indentured" and "adopted" comparison will be made of the 452 indentured children included in the follow-up inquiry and the 298 children who were indentured and later adopted.

The 298 children who had been adopted by April 1, 1923, represented 28 per cent of the 1,059 children received as wards of the State school during the five-year period 1913-1917, as compared with 16 per cent adopted out of the total number of children received by the State school since its opening in 1886. Though the percentage of adoptions was thus considerably greater during the period 1913-1917 than for the entire period of the school's existence the information obtained in regard to the children adopted during the five-year period is probably fairly representative of the whole number of children adopted through the State school.

TYPES OF HOMES FROM WHICH INDENTURED AND ADOPTED CHILDREN WERE REMOVED

Information was obtained as to the type of home (parental or other private home, or institution) in which 372 of the indentured and 135 of the adopted children were living at the time of commit-

ment. A similarity in the percentages of the two groups removed from different types of homes is shown in the following list:

Residence at commitment	Per cent distribution	
	Indentured children	Adopted children
Total	100	100
Parental home:		
With both parents	23	19
With mother	21	21
With father	14	10
Step-parental home	6	(¹)
Relatives' home	14	14
Other private home	9	9
Almshouses	5	10
Institutions for dependent children	5	3
Other institutions	3	9
Abandoned children	(¹)	(¹)

Sixty-four per cent of the indentured children and 50 per cent of the adopted group were living with one or both parents or in a home in which there was a step-parent; 23 per cent of each group were living with relatives or in other private homes; and 13 per cent of the indentured and 25 per cent of the adopted children were in institutions immediately prior to their commitment to the State public school.

The removal of 23 per cent of the indentured and 19 per cent of the adopted children from families in which both parents were living in the home indicates conditions of family degeneration, neglect, or incapacity that call for serious consideration. The case summaries presented later (see p. 30) illustrate the conditions that led to the breaking up of families and assumption by the State of the burden of care and support of the children.

At the time of commitment, 21 per cent of the indentured and the same percentage of the adopted children lived in homes in which the mother was responsible for the maintenance of the family. The Wisconsin law providing aid for dependent children in their own homes requires that the fitness of the home shall be taken into account. It is evident from the stories presented that in many of these families the mother was not a fit custodian of her children. In other instances it is probable that if there had been in the community the necessary provision for constructive social case work the children might have remained with their mothers if the home had been subsidized from the public "mothers' pension" fund or from some other source. It must not be forgotten, however, that the amount of aid provided by certain counties in the administration of the mothers' pension law is inadequate to keep the children with the mother. Frequently a mother receiving it has to earn a considerable part of the family's maintenance, and her employment away from home often means neglect of the children, which in turn leads to delinquencies and other difficulties that directly explain commitment of the children to the State school.

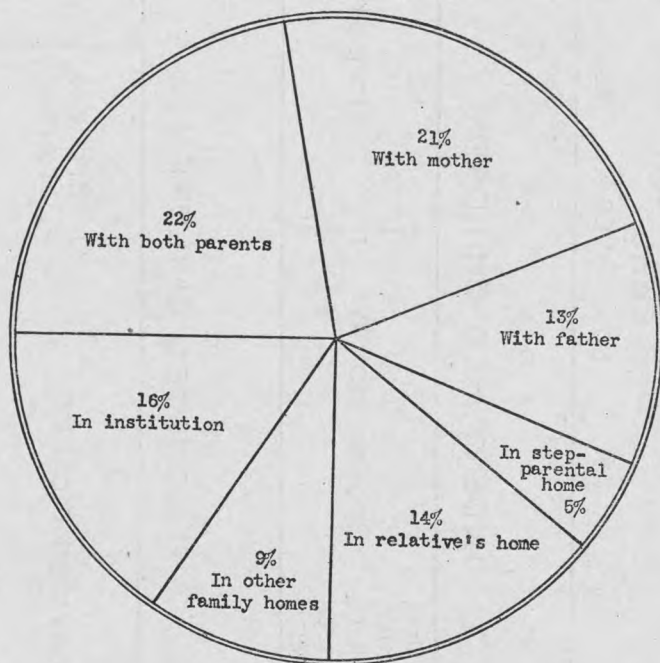
The histories of some of the children indicated that the mother had found it to her advantage to be relieved of the child's care—sometimes for no better reason than that she contemplated remarriage or did not want to be bothered by having the child.

¹ Less than 1 per cent.

One-half of the adopted and one-third of the indentured children were known to have been living elsewhere than in their parental homes when they were committed to the State public school. Of the 133 indentured children in this group only 7 were orphans.² The homes of the others had been broken through the death of one parent and through the desertion, imprisonment, or commitment of parents to hospitals for the insane or to other institutions. Two of the indentured and one of the adopted children were reported as having been abandoned by their parents. Five of the indentured children were received from homes into which they had been adopted. Of

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—WHEREABOUTS AT COMMITMENT TO THE CARE OF THE STATE

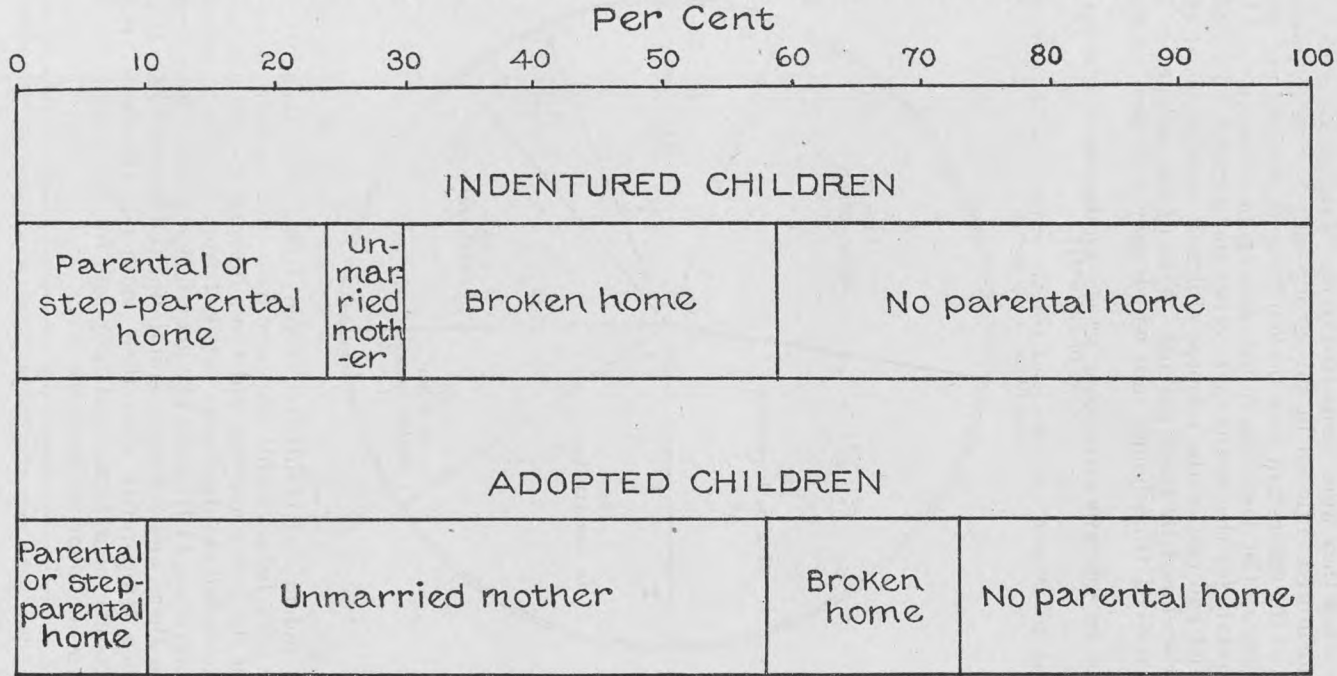
[Based on 507 children (372 indentured and 135 adopted) for whom whereabouts at commitment was reported]



the 45 indentured children received from institutions, 18 were in county poor farms, 2 children were with their mothers in an institution for the feeble-minded, and 1 in a hospital for the insane. Eight of the adopted children were received from children's institutions, 9 from hospitals, 14 from county poor farms where 5 were living with their mothers, and 3 from hospitals for the insane where the infants had been temporarily with their mothers. Of the 17 committed from county poor farms and hospitals for the insane, 15 were the children of unmarried mothers.

² In addition there were two orphans whose whereabouts at commitment was not reported.

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN COMING FROM SPECIFIED TYPES OF HOME



PARENTAL STATUS OF INDENTURED AND ADOPTED CHILDREN
AT COMMITMENT

Both parents were dead in only 2 per cent of the number of children committed to the State school during the five-year period studied. The largest proportion (27 per cent) of the children in the indentured group were half orphans; the number of those whose fathers were dead and of those whose mothers were dead was about the same. In the group of children adopted legally after being placed on indenture only 1 per cent were orphans and 12 per cent were half orphans.

On the other hand, 19 per cent of the indentured group, as against 9 per cent of the adopted children, had both parents living and in the family home at the time of the child's commitment. In addition to the families in which both parents were living in the home, 22 per cent of the indentured group and 16 per cent of the adopted children had living parents, one or both of whom had deserted the family or abandoned the child; 7 per cent of the parents of the former group were divorced or separated, as against 3 per cent of the parents of the adopted children. When the cases in which one or both parents were dead and those in which the mother was unmarried are eliminated, it is found that more than half the indentured children and more than one-fourth of the adopted group were known to have two living parents who had evaded their responsibility for the care and support of the children or whose children had been taken from them because of neglect or bad home conditions. In addition, a number of cases in which the information concerning the parents' whereabouts was insufficient undoubtedly belonged in this class. It is especially significant that so large a proportion of the adopted children had both parents living.

Of the adopted group 49 per cent were the children of unmarried mothers. In the indentured group, on the other hand, only 6 per cent were reported as children of unmarried mothers.

The following table shows the parental status of the adopted and the indentured children at the time of commitment to the Wisconsin State Public School:

Parental status, at time of commitment, of adopted and indentured children and in the families of indentured children

Parental status at time of child's commitment	Adopted children	Indentured children	Families of the 452 indentured children
Total.....	298	452	266
Home maintained by parents.....	72	239	120
Both parents living in home.....	27	87	39
Mother head of family.....	27	77	41
Father dead.....	9	21	11
Father deserting.....	12	41	19
Father in prison.....	4	3	3
Parents divorced or separated.....	10	4
Father in hospital.....	2	2	1
Father's whereabouts unknown.....	3

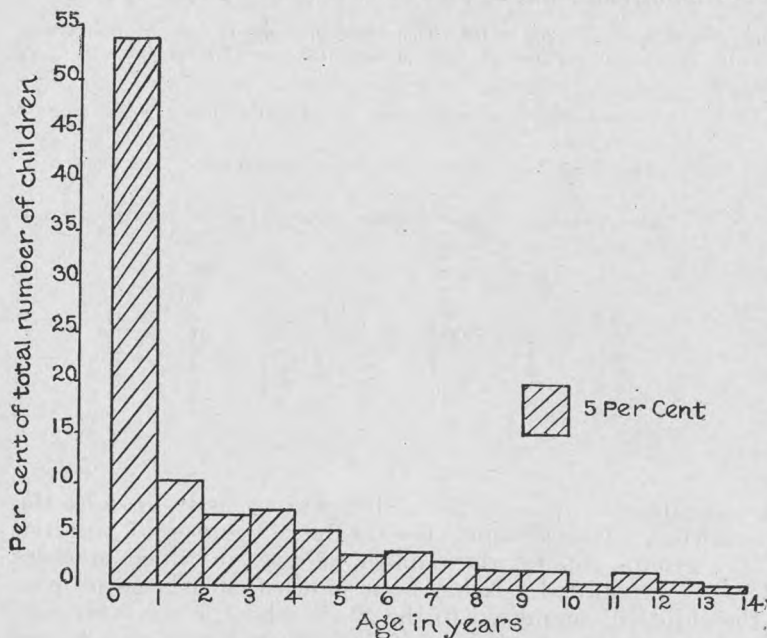
*Parental status, at time of commitment, of adopted and indentured children
and in the families of indentured children—Continued*

Parental status at time of child's commitment	Adopted children	Indentured children	Families of the 452 indentured children
Home maintained by parents—Continued			
Father head of family.....	16	53	24
Mother dead.....	8	25	12
Mother deserting.....	5	18	7
Parents separated.....		8	2
Mother in prison or almshouse.....		2	2
Mother in hospital for insane.....	3		
Mother's whereabouts unknown.....			1
Step-parents.....	2	22	16
Father and stepmother.....	1	8	7
Mother and stepfather.....	1	12	8
Stepfather and wife.....		2	1
Mother unmarried.....	139	27	27
No home maintained by parents.....	75	183	116
Both parents dead.....	4	9	8
Both parents deserting.....	16	8	8
Parents divorced or separated.....	8	18	8
Both parents in hospital for insane.....		8	1
Mother dead (father deserting, in institution, or whereabouts not reported).....	8	31	19
Father dead (mother deserting, in institution, or whereabouts not reported).....	8	42	24
Mother deserting (father in institution, without home, or whereabouts not reported).....	1	8	6
Father deserting (mother in institution, without home, or whereabouts not reported).....	13	26	13
Mother in institution, father without home, or whereabouts not reported.....	10	7	5
Father in institution, mother without home, or whereabouts not reported.....	3	4	4
Both parents in institution.....	2	1	1
Whereabouts of both parents not reported.....	1	15	10
Whereabouts of one parent not reported, other without home.....	1	6	6
Other.....		5	3
Parental status not reported.....	12	3	3

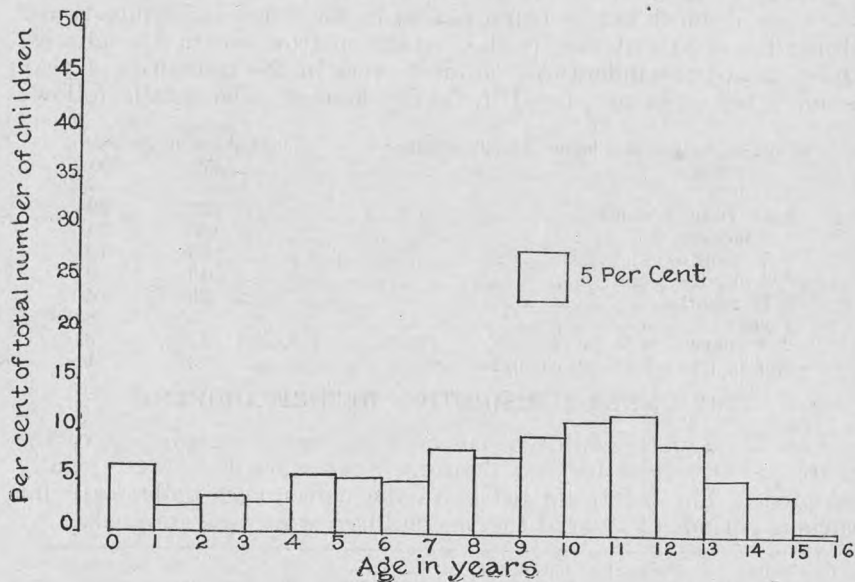
AGES OF INDENTURED AND ADOPTED CHILDREN

Comparison of the ages at which the children became State wards is also significant in connection with their continued placement in indenture homes or later adoption. Only 7 per cent of the children in the indentured group were under 1 year of age when committed to the State school, as compared with 53 per cent of the children who were legally adopted. When comparison is made of the ages at indenture and the ages at adoption it is found that nearly three-fourths of the 452 indentured children who were not later adopted were placed in the first indenture home when they were between the ages of 7 and 16, whereas 82 per cent of the 298 adopted children were under 7 years of age when adopted. Only 10 per cent of the children indentured were placed before they were 3 years old, but 57 per cent of the adopted children were under 3 years of age when adopted. The fact that 47 per cent of the adopted children were of illegitimate birth has an important relation to the age at adoption, since this group of children were committed to the State public school at an earlier age than were children of legitimate birth.

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—DISTRIBUTION OF AGES OF ADOPTED CHILDREN AT THE TIME OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE CARE OF THE STATE



DISTRIBUTION OF AGES OF INDENTURED CHILDREN AT THE TIME OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE CARE OF THE STATE



The following table shows the ages of indentured and adopted children at commitment and at time of indenture or adoption:

Ages of indentured and adopted children at time of commitment to Wisconsin State Public School and at time of indenture or of adoption

Age	Indentured children of specified ages—				Adopted children of specified ages—			
	At commitment		At indenture		At commitment		At adoption	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	452	100	452	100	298	100	298	100
Under 6 months.....	26	6	24	5	137	46	11	4
6-11 months.....	3	1			22	7	42	14
1-2 years.....	27	6	23	5	50	17	116	39
3-4 years.....	39	8	30	7	38	13	45	15
5-6 years.....	49	11	54	12	19	6	31	10
7-9 years.....	116	25	114	25	17	6	23	8
10-13 years.....	171	38	180	40	9	3	19	6
14-15 years.....	21	5	27	6	-----	-----	5	2
16 years.....	-----	-----			-----	-----	-----	-----
Age not reported.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	6	2	5	2

Court commitments of neglected children are usually made to the State institution. This accounts for the large number of children in the older groups and for the number of cases in which brothers and sisters are committed. It has been shown that a large proportion of the children committed to the State school at an early age, including a preponderance of those of illegitimate birth, are adopted into the homes in which they have been indentured.

TIME IN INSTITUTION BEFORE FIRST INDENTURE

About two-fifths of the indentured children were in the State school less than a month before being placed in their first indenture home. More than one-third were in the institution from one to five months. One-tenth of the indentured children were in the institution a year or more before being placed in family homes. The details follow:

Time in State school before first indenture	Number of children	Per cent
Total.....	452	100
Less than 1 month.....	177	39
1-2 months.....	110	24
3-5 months.....	55	12
6-8 months.....	40	9
9-11 months.....	20	4
1 year.....	35	8
2-9 years.....	12	3
Not in the school before indenture.....	3	1

TIME UNDER JURISDICTION BEFORE ADOPTION

Two-fifths of the children had been under the jurisdiction of the State public school for less than one year when they were legally adopted.³ The following list gives the percentages under care for various periods of time of the 298 children who were adopted:

³ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (Apr. 20, 1925), the State public school since 1924 has followed a ruling of the board that all children should have a trial period of at least six months in the foster family before adoption. Most children are in the foster homes a year before consent to adoption is given.

Time under care before adoption—Continued	Per cent
Less than 6 months-----	14
6-11 months-----	27
1 year-----	35
2-4 years-----	19
5-9 years-----	4

In view of the growing sentiment in favor of State laws requiring placement on trial for six months or a year before the final adoption decree it is of interest to note the large percentages of children adopted through the instrumentality of the State public school when they had been under care of the State for less than six months or less than a year.

INDENTURE BEFORE ADOPTION

Of the 298 adopted children, 149 were boys and 149 girls, out of a total of 750 children indentured—402 boys and 348 girls—for whom the sex was reported. Prior to legal adoption, 266 of the children had been placed in only one indenture home—the one into which they were later adopted. Twenty-seven children had lived in one indenture home prior to placement in the home in which they were adopted, and five children had lived in two homes previously.

Of the 298 adopted children, 12 per cent had lived less than three months in the home when they were legally adopted, and 22 per cent from three to five months. Thus more than one-third of the children adopted while wards of the State had been in the foster home less than half a year. In 1922 the State board of control passed resolutions containing the following statement: "No step shall be taken to have a child legally adopted until it shall have been in the adoptive home at least six months. The responsibility for seeing that a legal adoption is secured through the courts lies with the agency placing the child."⁴

The time spent by the children before legal adoption in the indenture homes into which they were adopted was as follows:

Time in home before adoption	Per cent
Less than 3 months-----	12
3-5 months-----	22
6-11 months-----	26
1-4 years-----	36
5 years and over-----	3

MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS OF ADOPTED CHILDREN

Of the 298 adopted children, 36 children from 31 families were known to have insane or feeble-minded parents. Both parents of 1, the father of 1, and the mothers of 16 were insane. The mothers of 17 children were known to be feeble-minded, and both parents of 1 were said to be "simple-minded" (this family also having children diagnosed as subnormal). The father of two adopted children was epileptic. Three children who were legally adopted had been committed to the school from State hospitals for the insane in which they were living temporarily with their mothers, who were insane inmates. One of the children also had an insane father. All three

⁴ Resolutions of the State Board of Control Governing Placement of Children, June, 1922. (Mimeographed.)

children were of illegitimate birth. One of these infants was committed when 17 days old and was legally adopted, through the instrumentality of the State school, at the age of 5 months and 10 days. The second child was committed at the age of 25 days and was legally adopted when 9 months and 19 days of age. The third child was 12 days old when committed and 1 year and 1 month old when adopted. Of course, when these children were received by the State school they were too young for any mental test, and their stay in the institution was too short to permit any acquaintance with their probable development. The first-mentioned child was in the institution for only 25 days before being placed in an indenture home, the second for 2 months and 16 days, and the third for 3 months.

Full information with regard to the parents is not available for all this group of adopted children, but the known facts about 12 per cent show the wisdom of delaying adoption in cases where the heredity is known to be bad until it can be determined whether the children themselves are likely to be affected. A radical change has resulted, of course, from the policy begun in 1918 and enacted into law in 1921, prohibiting the indenture or adoption of feeble-minded children or those likely to be handicapped by mental disease or defect.

CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH

More than one-fifth (177) of the 827 children who were placed in indenture homes during the five-year period included in this study were known to be of illegitimate birth, and four-fifths of the children born out of wedlock were committed to the State public school when they were under 6 months of age. This situation does not indicate that the other sections of the State are following to any extent the policy of the Milwaukee Health Department in attempting to keep mothers and babies together during the early months of the nursing period. Probably, however, the situation has changed during the last year or two, especially as a result of the activities of the juvenile division of the Wisconsin State Board of Control in connection with enforcing a regulation adopted by the State board in June, 1922, as follows:

An infant must be nursed at the breast for at least the first three months of its life. Every effort must be made to induce a mother to keep her child permanently by notifying her nearest of kin of her condition and her location and by obtaining the name of the father of the child. Weakening of parental responsibility must not be fostered and illegitimacy must not be encouraged by offering monetary, or easy methods of disposing of babies.⁵

The details of the ages at commitment of the children of illegitimate birth follow:

Age at commitment	Number of children
Total	177
Under 6 months.....	142
6-11 months.....	12
1 year	6
2 years	5
3 years	3

⁵ Resolutions of the State Board of Control Governing Placement of Children, June, 1922. (Mimeographed.)

Age at commitment	Number of children
4 years -----	2
5 years -----	1
6 years -----	1
7 years -----	1
11 years -----	2
12 years -----	1
Age not reported -----	1

The birth status is of special interest in connection with the policy of the State school regarding adoptions. Of the 298 children adopted out of the total group indentured during the five-year period 139 (47 per cent) were born out of wedlock. On the other hand, of the children who were indentured and not later adopted only 7 per cent were of illegitimate birth.

Of the 177 children of illegitimate birth 79 per cent were legally adopted through the instrumentality of the State school. These facts point to a more general policy of adoption in the case of children born out of wedlock than in the case of other children. This is explainable partly by the earlier ages at which these children come to the attention of the State school and their greater availability for adoption.

PROPORTION OF TIME IN THE INSTITUTION AND IN INDENTURE HOMES

Of the 688 children placed in indenture homes during the five-year period studied who had been wards of the State for more than one year 11 per cent had been cared for in the institution half or more than half the time they had been under its jurisdiction; 18 per cent, from one-fifth to one-half of their total time as State wards; 28 per cent, from 5 to 19 per cent of the total time. About two-fifths of the children had spent as inmates of the State institution less than 5 per cent of the total time they were under the jurisdiction of the State. The following table shows, for the children under jurisdiction at least one year, the time under jurisdiction and the numbers who had spent in the institution different percentages of their total time as State wards:

Length of time children were under jurisdiction of the Wisconsin State Public School, by percentage of time spent in the institution

Time under jurisdiction	Total children	Children spending in institution specified percentages of their time as State wards											Not reported
		Less than 5	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	
Total -----	1 688	290	93	101	56	46	23	14	17	12	17	15	4
1 year -----	108	22	13	23	14	9	8	3	6	4	5	1	-----
2-4 years -----	136	48	19	17	11	13	5	4	5	5	4	4	1
5-6 years -----	211	119	30	22	14	9	5	2	3	1	2	4	-----
7-9 years -----	202	97	27	31	14	13	5	3	2	1	5	4	-----
10-15 years -----	28	4	4	8	3	2	-----	2	1	1	1	2	-----
Not reported -----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3

¹ Excluding 134 children who were under jurisdiction less than 1 year and 5 who were indentured directly without any residence in the State school.

For the same children the relation between the time in indenture homes and the total period as wards of the State was as follows:

Percentage of time as State wards spent in indenture homes	Number of children	Percentage of time as State wards spent in indenture homes	Number of children
Total.....	693	50-59.....	22
Less than 5.....	5	60-69.....	44
5-9.....	7	70-79.....	57
10-19.....	19	80-89.....	92
20-29.....	9	90-94.....	91
30-39.....	19	95-99.....	305
40-49.....	14	100.....	5
		Not reported.....	4

WHEREABOUTS OF THE 841 CHILDREN WHO WERE UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL ON APRIL 30, 1923



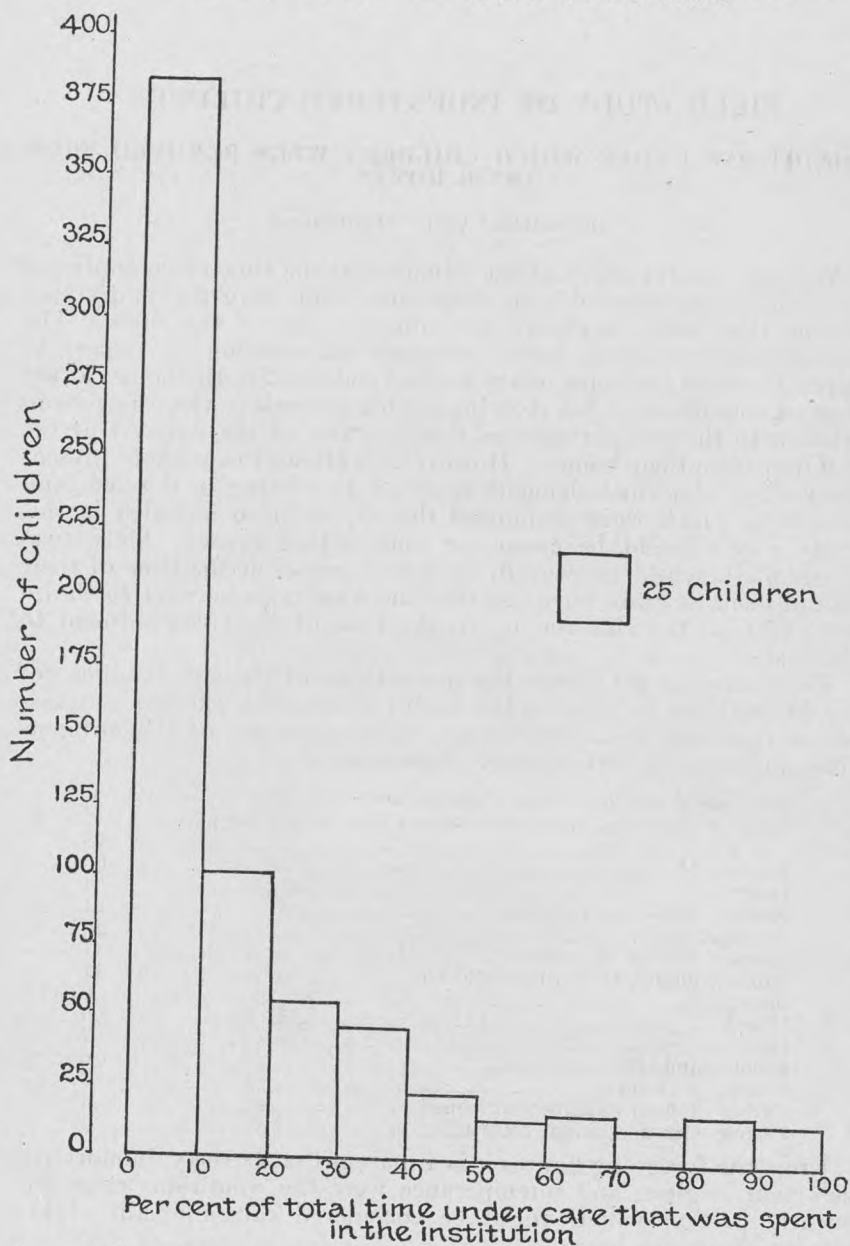
About one-tenth of the children were in family homes less than half the entire time that they were under the jurisdiction of the State school, and about three-fifths of the children were placed in indenture homes for 90 per cent or more of the total time as State wards. Conversely, about one-tenth of the children were kept in the institution half or more than half the entire time they were under jurisdiction of the school. Five per cent (32 children) of those who had been State wards more than one year had been in the institution at least four-fifths of the entire time.

It is interesting to note that of 28 children who had been under jurisdiction of the State school for periods of 10 to 15 years only 8 had spent less than 10 per cent (12 to 18 months) in the institution

⁶ Excluding 134 children who were under jurisdiction less than one year.

and 7 had spent there 50 per cent or more (at least 5 to 7½ years). In the group of 452 indentured children which was made the subject

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—DISTRIBUTION OF PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL TIME AS WARDS SPENT IN THE INSTITUTION BY 684 CHILDREN



of special study it was found that of 21 children who had been wards of the State for 10 to 15 years only 2 had been under indenture as long as 10 years.

FIELD STUDY OF INDENTURED CHILDREN¹

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH CHILDREN WERE REMOVED FROM THEIR HOMES

ABNORMAL FAMILY CONDITIONS

Without careful study of the situation at the time of commitment it is obviously impossible to determine what were the underlying factors that led to a child's becoming a ward of the State. The present study secured fairly adequate information in regard to parental status and some of the major conditions in the homes at the time of commitment, but it is impossible to analyze these factors in relation to their importance as direct causes of the removal of the children from their homes. However, an attempt is made to present the various abnormal elements reported as existing in the 266 families from which were committed the 452 children included in this study which might be causes or contributing causes. Only two-thirds of the children were in their own homes at the time of their commitment as State wards, so that the conditions here set forth did not affect all the children up to the time of their commitment to the State.

The following list shows the percentages of the 266 families (of the 452 children included in the study) which were affected by specified unfavorable home conditions. More than one of the unfavorable conditions existed in many of the homes.

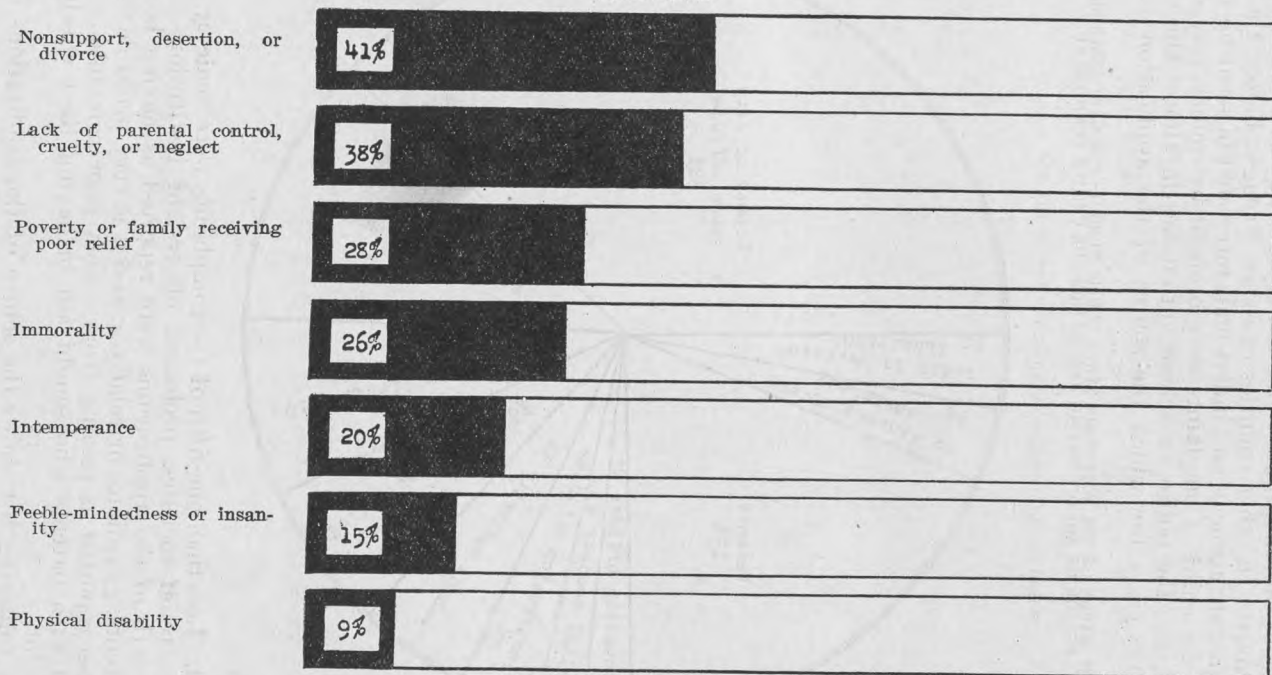
Conditions in families at time of commitment of children	Per cent
Poverty (including families receiving poor relief, 16; parent in almshouse, 3)-----	28
Immorality-----	26
Desertion-----	24
Parents neglecting children-----	21
Intemperance-----	20
Parents' failure to support-----	11
Parents unable to control children-----	11
Insanity-----	9
Illness-----	9
Divorce-----	7
Feeble-mindedness-----	6
Cruelty to children-----	5
Father or both parents imprisoned-----	3
Father with a criminal record-----	3

From the foregoing figures it is apparent that poverty, immorality, desertion, neglect, and intemperance were the conditions most frequently present which might be considered causes of the child's removal from the home.

¹The following agents engaged in the field study have assisted in the preparation of descriptive material and stories in this section: Ruth Bloodgood, Sarah T. Rogers, Irma C. Lonegren, Frances Piekarski, Mildred Rosensteel, Alice Streckewald, Eloise V. Smith.

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—FAMILY CONDITIONS AT THE TIME OF COMMITMENT OF THE CHILDREN TO THE CARE OF THE STATE

266 families



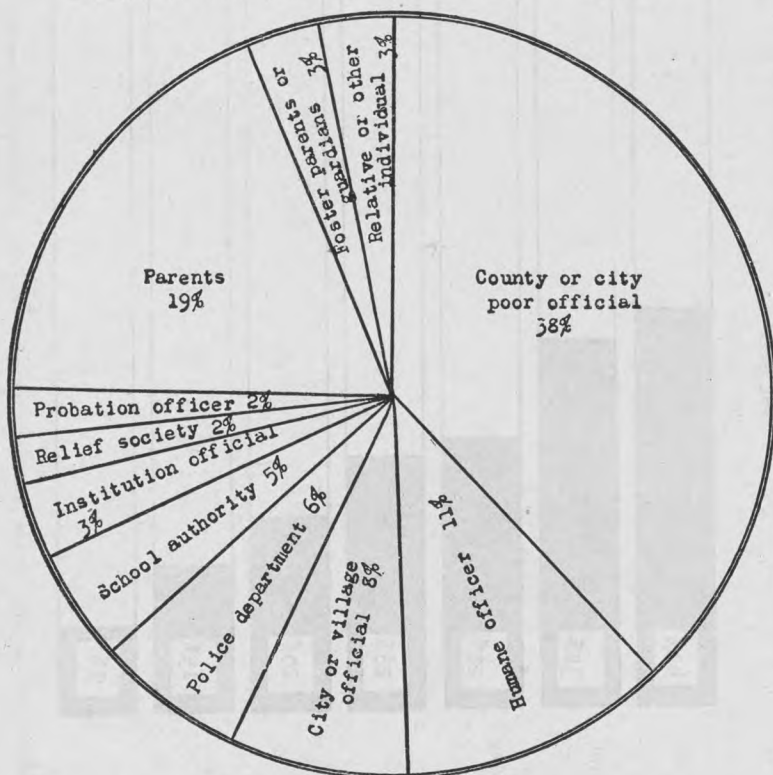
Each complete bar represents 100 per cent of the families; 2 or more of these conditions were reported for a number of families

SOURCE OF PETITION FOR COMMITMENT

In some counties it is the custom for all applications for commitment of children to be handled by the county poor commissioner, who fills out the complaint blank and brings the case to the attention of the court. In other counties cases are brought before the court also by private agencies and individuals interested in securing proper care for the child. Complaints were brought by county, city, or village officials, the police, or school authorities in almost three-fifths of the 188 cases for which the source of the application was re-

FAMILIES OF WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY PERSON OR AGENCY MAKING APPLICATION FOR CHILD'S COMMITMENT

[Based on information obtained for 188 of the 266 families]



ported. Less than one-fifth of the complaints were made by humane officers, relief societies, probation officers, or institutions. Almost one-fourth of the applications were reported as having been made by parents, guardians, or relatives; and it is very probable that some of those reported as coming from county poor commissioners originated with parents who sought aid in having their children provided for.

The following list shows the source of the applications for commitment in the 188 cases for which this information was obtained:

Person or agency applying for child's commitment—Continued	Number of families
Total -----	188
County or city poor official (in 4 cases also a relative, foster parent, school authorities, or humane officer) -----	72
Parents -----	36
Humane officer (in 3 cases also a relief society) -----	20
City or village official, other than poor official -----	15
Police department (in 1 case also other city official) -----	11
School authorities (in 2 cases also a relief society and other individuals) -----	10
Foster parents or guardian -----	6
Institution official -----	6
Relief society -----	3
Probation officer (in 1 case also a parent) -----	3
Relative -----	1
Other individual -----	5

The facts just given show that it has been easy for parents to give their children to the care of the State. The unmarried mother could give her child to the State within a very few days of its birth. One divorced mother who was anxious to marry again was able to commit her four children. Another who wished to conceal from her new husband the fact that she had a son in addition to the daughter that he knew about, had the son committed within a few hours after she heard from the school agent that a home had been found for the lad.

AGENCIES DEALING WITH FAMILIES PRIOR TO CHILDREN'S COMMITMENT

One hundred and sixty-seven of the 266 families were reported as having been known to public or private agencies prior to the commitment of the children. Eighty-six families had been known to one agency, 45 to two agencies, 24 to three agencies, 5 to four agencies, and 6 to five agencies. One family was known to six agencies.

The number of families known to each type of agency is given in the following list:

Agencies that dealt with 167 families prior to children's commitment	Number of families
Private relief agencies -----	35
Public relief agencies -----	79
Poor commissioner -----	61
Poor farm -----	11
Poor commissioner and poor farm -----	7
Correctional institutions -----	32
Jail -----	14
State prison -----	5
Girls' industrial school -----	4
Boys' industrial school -----	2
House of Correction; House of the Good Shepherd; home and farm school; reform school; boys' industrial school and girls' industrial school; boys' industrial school and jail; prison and reform school (1 each) -----	7

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Agencies that dealt with 167 families prior to children's commitment—Continued	Number of families
Police.....	21
Court (other than in connection with commitments to State school).....	39
Juvenile.....	15
Circuit, municipal, police, county, or divorce.....	24
Health agencies.....	26
Hospital and dispensary.....	11
Visiting nurse.....	7
Children's infirmary.....	4
Health department.....	4
Institutions for dependents.....	25
Children.....	13
Children and adults.....	10
Adults.....	2
Institutions for insane and feeble-minded.....	23
Insane.....	14
Feeble-minded.....	8
Insane and feeble-minded.....	1
Other agencies.....	24
Humane societies.....	20
Home-finding societies.....	3
Big Sister association.....	1

INVESTIGATION BEFORE COMMITMENT

When a family is called to the attention of the county judge or poor commissioner as in need of aid or because the children are neglected the usual procedure in the rural counties where no relief societies are located is to have an "investigation" by the poor commissioner, or sometimes by the county nurse if there is one. This investigation ordinarily consists of visiting the family and getting what little information can be gleaned from neighbors. On this basis the decision is made as to whether the family is "worthy" of assistance. If "unworthy" or if conditions are patently bad the family may be called into court. The county judges are, as a rule, slow to take action, and they give the families a second or third chance to make good. After the first "investigation" no follow-up is made, and relief is given where there are crying needs for other treatment. Relief was given in the B family for three years or more until conditions were found to be "unspeakable," as the superintendent of the poor farm put it, with "two almost naked children crawling over their aged grandfather, who was fairly eaten up with syphilis."

The county commissioners of the poor, though interested in doing the best they could in situations involving child dependency and neglect, were not equipped for doing family case work, even had it been within the scope of their duties. They gave relief in kind—grocery orders, clothing, shoes, or fuel—when the families applied. If the situation seemed to call for continued relief the entire family might be sent to the poor farm; it was cheaper to support them there,

or at least the money did not come out of the fund assigned for family relief to that particular commissioner. In one county, however, two instances were found where women not eligible for mothers' aid were given relief in their own homes instead of being sent to the poor farm. In one case the woman declared that she would commit suicide if she were sent there, so the county took over the mortgage on her farm and was letting her live on it for the rest of her life. "It is just as cheap and the woman is a little happier," said the commissioner of the poor. In the other case a woman was caring for her epileptic daughter, and the county was looking after the payments on her farm. In this same county, however, there had been 14 children in the county poorhouse, several of whom had been there over five months. Four of the 14 children had left just prior to the agent's visit. One of the families consisted of a woman and eight children, who had been deserted; although there were several clues to the father's whereabouts no serious effort was being made to locate him. The superintendent of the poorhouse was powerless to prevent this family from coming, though he was opposed to having the children in the poorhouse, not only because it had a bad effect upon them but because they disturbed the other inmates.

Commitment of the children to the State school was often resorted to as a means of immediate relief in a critical family situation without the comprehensive investigation that would have accompanied any attempt at rehabilitation. For example, in some instances relatives learned that the family was in distress only after the children had been sent to the State school, and when they wrote to the school they were informed that the children had already been indentured and could not be returned. A few families took legal steps to regain custody of the children, but after the children had been legally adopted they could not be returned to their own relatives. The commitment was usually based on a specific situation, considered from an isolated standpoint. In other words, the court based the commitment on the legal aspects of the case with practically no consideration of social policy.

Physical and mental diagnoses were usually presented with the commitment papers—that is, after the case decision—rather than along with the facts concerning the family for consideration in connection with the question of the child's removal from his home. The mental as well as the physical examination consisted of the filling in of a form by the county doctor, with no added information as to the special physical and mental problems of the child. Standings in school work were never found in the court records, and the grade attended by the child at the time of commitment was seldom mentioned except where the child was outstandingly retarded. In the form that accompanies the commitment papers to the Sparta school the typical entry concerning mental and physical examination was "sound of mind and body."

NUMBER OF CHILDREN COMMITTED FROM EACH FAMILY

The total number of children in each family could be secured for only 233 of the 266 families from which the 452 children included in the field study were removed. In the 233 family groups there were 917 children under 18 years of age at the time the children com-

mitted became wards of the State school. Five hundred and thirty-nine of these children had been committed at some time to the State public school, and 392 were included in the Children's Bureau study.

Following is the number of families having each specified number of children committed to the State public school:

Number of children committed	Number of families	Number of children committed	Number of families
Total.....	266	Four children.....	28
One child.....	106	Five children.....	21
Two children.....	62	Six children.....	5
Three children.....	38	Seven children.....	4
		Eight children.....	2

It appears from the foregoing that from each of 160 families (about three-fifths of the total number) at least two children were committed to the State school. One of the interesting things revealed by the study was in relation to the commitments of different children from the same family at various times. One child out of three or four was sometimes committed to the school, or three or four committed and one left with the mother. Sometimes one or two children were taken on one date, and some months or years later another child or two were received from the family.

In 53 of the 106 families from which only one child was committed there were no other children; the other 53 families had from 2 to 12 children each, including the child committed. The proportion of families in which the two children committed to the State school represented the entire number in the family group was even smaller—16 of the 62 families. In 15 of the 38 families from which three children were committed there were no other children.

CASE SUMMARIES²

The following case summaries show concretely the home conditions from which children were received as State wards. Some of the stories also describe briefly later experiences of the children and the histories of the families. The conditions described in many of the homes point to the difficulty and complexity of the task of safeguarding the children from degrading influences. In other cases there were opportunities for assistance that could have been utilized so as to allow the children to remain in their own homes.

Life in America has been none too easy for the father of Alma and Alfred. He came from Europe in 1888 at 26 years of age. He had been a peasant farm laborer, but he went directly to a large city of the Middle West. For five years he tried to earn a living in the city; during the hard times of 1893 and the prolonged period of unemployment he went to Wisconsin to visit an aunt. He homesteaded there on land near the Wisconsin River and later married. When the youngest of his four children was 5 months old the mother died. The baby, a girl, was taken by her aunt, with whom she lived until she was 9 years old, but the father kept the three older children with him. He sold the land on which he had homesteaded and purchased for \$600 an 80-acre stretch of sandy, valueless land. Laboriously he got under cultivation 25 acres, which he seemed to believe made a good farm, though he was deriving from it only the barest kind of living. He was trying to pay off the debt on the farm to keep from losing it.

He purchased from the county for \$50 an old schoolhouse, which he planned to move onto the farm and turn into a home. But when he began to move it the plaster fell from the walls on the inside and the clapboards from the out-

² The names of families and children used in the case summaries are fictitious.

side, and he had nothing left to move but an old, one-room log house. He had no assistance in the care of his children, and he did all the work on the farm except for such little help as his children could give him.

In 1916 he was told that the county was giving aid to the people in this poor section who were in need of help, and he petitioned his town chairman for aid. The chairman referred the case to the county poor commissioner, who visited the home once and suggested to the father that it would be much better for him to send his two younger children to the State public school than it would be for him to receive aid in money. The children were delighted with the idea of going to school and with the description of the fine place and the opportunities that would be open to them. The father reported that he understood that the children would be cared for and educated and believed that this would truly be much better than anything he could do for them. He therefore consented to the commitment of Alma, aged 11, and Alfred, aged 9. Philip had passed his fourteenth birthday and remained at home with his father. The father stated that he was amazed when he learned that soon after commitment both Alma and Alfred were sent to work on farms.

Alfred remained at the State public school for only five weeks, when he was placed in a farm home a mile away from any public school. With Alfred, there were seven members in this family; the foster parents had four children under 7 years of age. The house and barn were dirty, and the house was poorly furnished. The children were all dirty. The parents seemed only fairly intelligent. Alfred had been taken to help with the work because he was large for his age and appeared strong. Until shortly before the study the foster father had employed a hired man, but at the time of the bureau agent's visit Alfred, a little over 16, was doing the work of a hired man.

School records could not be obtained for the years preceding 1918. For four consecutive years the child attended 84, 108, 51½, and 93 days, or 337 days out of a possible 720. He never entered earlier than the third month in the fall. In spite of this irregular attendance the boy was able to complete the eighth grade in June, 1922, at the age of 15 years. The teacher said he was a bright lad and could make up the work pretty well, in spite of being kept out of school so much.

Alma was in the State public school for three months and was then sent to a home where, the father reported, she was compelled to work very hard and was often severely punished. She was there eight months, then back at the school for one month, in a second home for six months, and then in the school one year and three months. She was then sent back to her father's home. In the meantime the father's home had apparently not improved. He still lived in the one-room log house. At the request of the school visitor the house was partitioned so that two small bedrooms were made.

Alma did not attend school after she was returned to her father, as she had already completed the eighth grade. There was no one but the father to help guide the child or to advise her in any way. At one time the girl left the father's home with a boy friend and remained away for a week. When she was located by a visitor from the school the girl explained her absence by saying that she was visiting some friends and that it rained so hard she was not able to get home. Alma remained with her father until she passed her eighteenth birthday. She did the housework and worked side by side with her father on the farm. Shortly after her eighteenth birthday she went to a large city, where she lived with relatives and was employed.

Philip, the oldest child, went into the United States Army. Theresa, who was the baby when the mother died, was returned to the father in 1920 to become his "right-hand man." At the time of the agent's visit the house was very untidy and almost bare. The child's body and clothing were dirty, but she was only 12 and had no one to help or advise her. The father tried to help with the housework and cultivated the farm alone. He was anxious for his daughter to go to school, and at his request little Theresa brought from the old trunk, to show to the agent, her reading-circle certificate and honor diploma for perfect attendance. She will enter the seventh grade in the fall and says that she is going to be a teacher.

The father realized that for him life in America was better than it probably would have been in the "old country." He wished he could speak English better. He appeared to be of the type that is eager to learn and to advance and would appreciate any endeavor to assist and guide him. A resourceful social agency or a visiting housekeeper could have been of great help to the family.

The T family—father, mother, and seven children—had been dependent upon public and private charities for several years. The father, a laborer who worked irregularly, was an intemperate man. The mother was a poor house-keeper. The children were neglected, only half fed, and half clothed. The mother was also immoral, and the children frequently saw men callers at the home during the father's absence. At the petition of the county poor commissioner six of the seven children, ranging in age from 1 year to 14 years, were committed to the State public school. Rufus, the oldest, was beyond the age of commitment.

After the commitment of the children the father died, and the mother moved to a larger city where she began to solicit on the streets. She was arrested as a prostitute and was returned for care to her county of residence. She was living at the county poor farm, where the officials planned to keep her until her children were released and could make a home for her, intending that they should bear the burden of her support. At this institution the mother helped with the work when under close supervision. She received no pay for her services.

Rufus, the oldest of the children, at the time of the study a young man of 23, had not forgotten his brothers and sisters and hoped to reestablish a home for them as soon as they were released. With this desire in his heart he had been "fixing up" the old family home. Rose, the baby sister, was in the State public school only one month when she was sent to a home on an indenture contract and within a short time was legally adopted by the foster parents. The other children were still in indenture homes at the time of the study.

When Jessie was but 5 months old, her mother and father, then only 19 and 20 years of age, were divorced. They had been married a little over two years. The divorce was granted the mother on the ground of cruel and inhuman treatment and infidelity, and it gave her the custody of the child. The maternal and paternal grandparents were living at the time of the divorce, and the maternal grandfather was appointed guardian for both mother and child. The mother found a boarding home for Jessie but failed to pay for her care, and when the foster parents asked to be allowed to adopt her the mother consented. The adoptive parents were ignorant and very superstitious; the wife was described as "almost mentally unbalanced" and told Jessie weird tales about witches and ghosts. These the child began to dramatize at night and became "obstreperous" and "wild," tearing her clothing and her hair and breaking the furniture. The maternal grandfather complained of this situation to the county humane officer. Investigation showed that the complaint was well founded and that the child was in a wrong environment, and the adoptive parents were persuaded to send the child to the State school. Thus, at 7 years of age Jessie was given to the custody of the State, while her own parents, grandparents, and adoptive parents were all living.

A month later she was sent on an indenture contract to a home in the country. No facts were obtained concerning this home nor the reason for the child's return three months later. Within three weeks she was sent to her second indenture home, where she remained for four years. These foster parents were good, intelligent people. They lived on an 80-acre farm, which they owned. The house and barns were neat and well kept. The house was comfortably furnished and homelike. The foster parents had one child of their own, a boy a little older than Jessie, and they took her because they wanted a companion for him.

In this home Jessie had soon "calmed down." The foster parents were fond of the child and tried to do everything for her. The school was a mile away, and the child attended when she was well enough to do so. She was in the second grade when she came to the home and had advanced from there to the fourth grade at the time of her return to the State school. She became very ill with appendicitis and an operation was necessary, and the foster parents paid over \$500 for the operation and care. Because she did not improve rapidly and was unable to walk to school she was returned to the State school to remain only until she had regained her strength. She was removed to one of the Madison cottages for treatment. A year ago she was allowed to visit the foster home.

In the meantime the child's mother had married again and had a comfortable home. She died of a heart affection four years before the study. The

father also had remarried. The maternal grandfather had died; he and his wife were separated several times, but during his last sickness there was a final reconciliation and for three months preceding his death he was living with his wife. At the time of the study this grandmother had a comfortable home, was well off financially, and wished to have Jessie live with her. She had had 14 children, and her youngest daughter was about the same age as Jessie.

The paternal grandparents lived in the same community, in a small but comfortable home.

The adoptive father had been dead for two years. The adoptive mother became more and more peculiar; finally she moved from the community when her husband died and had not been heard from since.

Marian, 4 years old, pink-cheeked and husky, lived with her parents, her two big sisters, and her baby brother on an abandoned farm near the edge of town. Her father left to his wife such work as was done on his own farm, while he did an occasional day's work for his more enterprising neighbors, or more frequently lounged around saloons and pool rooms.

Marian's mother loved her children. She tried to work the land herself. With the help of her three little girls she made a garden and cared for the animals. Money came in slowly. The father, instead of adding his earnings to the household budget, often spent on gambling and drink what the mother had earned. The mother and children went without clothing they needed, they were not properly fed, and their health failed. The mother began going out to look for work. She finally drifted to the pool rooms where the father spent his time; she went oftener and stayed later. Four children, cold and hungry, were often left alone at the farmhouse all night.

During this time the county poor commissioner had given food to the family when the little money on hand was needed for rent. After the children were found alone on several successive visits and the house in worse condition each time, an effort was made to discover why the mother spent so much time away from her home and children. She was watched and was taken before the juvenile judge. The three little girls were sent to the State public school, and the baby brother was left with his mother. The parents were forced to give up their home and seek employment on one of the large farms in the neighborhood.

Appeals were made by the mother to have her children returned to her. When the judge refused to grant her request her sister offered to adopt all three little girls. The aunt was not allowed to take the children, for her home was dirty and much overcrowded with her own six children and her husband's earnings were only \$20 a week. The mother then appealed to a bachelor who had been one of her intimates before her children were removed. He had a thriving business, but was known to be immoral and had been in court on a serious charge. His petition to adopt the little girls was also refused.

Marian and her sisters were placed out on indenture. One sister was later legally adopted, and the other was sent to the girls' industrial school.

Marian was taken into the home of a young married woman who had no children of her own. They lived in a tiny three-room cottage, badly in need of paint on the outside and bearing evidence of poverty within but with flowering plants in all the windows and the bare floors and muslin curtains spotlessly clean. Marian soon forgot her own home and the people in it. She took her foster father's name and delighted in the birth of two little "sisters," the second and third year of her life in her new home. When seen by the Children's Bureau agent she was nearly 13 years old, very capable in looking after the younger children, and a great help to her foster mother. She was a frail child and had not been able to keep up with her class at school because of frequent illness, but she was nevertheless doing good work in school. She loves to work in her little garden, and she had taken prizes at local fairs with her flowers and vegetables. The foster father worked in a foundry. His wages had provided for the needs of the family but had not made it possible to move to larger quarters, and the three-room cottage was so small that the three children all slept together in one large bed.

About five years after Marian and her sisters were removed from their own home a visitor from the State school found that their parents had lived in

three different towns during the interim. They took any sort of seasonal work they could get, and then moved on. Three more babies had been born. Since then they had been traced to two more towns and then lost.

In the town of P naughty children were threatened with being given to the Runneys if they did not behave. This family had always lived in the community; the first records of them in the county court dated back to 1899, when an application was made to have one of the children examined as to his sanity. He was found to be feeble-minded and not insane, but in 1900 he was sent to the county hospital, later being transferred to the home for feeble-minded. By 1906 four other children had been committed to the latter institution.

Little was known of the living conditions of the family, but they seemed to have struggled along without public relief. The only record of aid during the 10 years before the bureau's study was a grocery order amounting to \$3.50 given in 1918. In the previous year, however, the family had been brought to the attention of the city officials, probably by the city nurse. The children were found to be neglected and suffering from cold and hunger, the home was insanitary, and the parents were considered unfit custodians. Laura, aged 16, was sent to live with an aunt in another State. Nettie, aged 13, was first committed to the care of a woman living in a near-by community and later to a minister's family. The two younger children, Harrison and Nellie, aged 10 and 8, were committed to Sparta.

During the five and one-half years that Harrison was under the jurisdiction of the State school he was placed in three different homes, the longest indenture period in any of them being eight months. He was sent to his first home less than two weeks after his admission to the school. Little information could be secured at this home except that the child was "queer" and gave a great deal of trouble. He was returned after eight months. He was in his second home only two weeks, being returned by the foster parents because his actions were so "queer" they did not wish to be responsible for him. He played with matches, and just after he left the home a burned patch was discovered back of the barn where he used to play. They said he was stubborn and irresponsible and refused to go to school.

After his return to the school he was examined and found to have an intelligence quotient of 78. About a year later he was given a third trial in an indenture home, which lasted for five months. The foster parents took him to help with the farm work, but he did not prove satisfactory. He was then a little less than 13 years of age. He attended school only 39 out of a possible 80 days and was not bright in his studies. After this last return to the State school Harrison was again examined and was found to be feeble-minded. Two years later he was committed to the home for feeble-minded, making the sixth member of his family at that institution. He was there graded as a high-grade moron, especially defective in morals; he was considered the brightest of the six children of the family who had been in the home for feeble-minded. Two of them had died; they were classified as high-grade imbeciles and "inherent sex perverts."

Nellie Runney was indentured shortly after her commitment. The foster family moved to Wyoming less than a year later, and no further record was on file.

Mrs. P was running a boarding house under the shadow of a large factory. She felt that she had been a failure in bringing up her children, that only the two who were taken under the stricter guardianship of the State would ever amount to anything. Her husband never assumed his share of responsibility for the support of the family, and it was always necessary for the mother to work at least part time outside of the home. Thirteen years ago the man was convicted of attempted rape, but he was not sentenced because he had five children who needed his earnings. Five years later, when there were six children, he deserted his family, and the authorities have never been able to locate him. The mother went to work in a factory all day, leaving the children to shift for themselves.

Wilmer was 19, but he was lazy and shiftless and did not bring home his money. Perry, aged 15, and Walter, aged 12, ran away from school repeatedly; they annoyed little boys in the neighborhood and they stole whenever they had

an opportunity. These two boys were taken into the juvenile court, and after the court's investigation the mother was urged to allow all the younger children to be committed to the State public school lest they should get into trouble from lack of supervision. She was not willing to do this, feeling that she was able to manage all except Perry and Walter. These boys were committed to the school and were indentured on farms, where they remained until they were 18 years old.

In the meantime Wilmer began to go with a crowd of tough companions. He spent his time at saloons and pool rooms and finally drifted to Milwaukee where he lived among gamblers and law breakers. He was serving a two-year sentence for adultery at the house of correction.

Frank, 21 years old in 1923, had never held a job for more than a few weeks at a time. He was tuberculous and had not worked for over a year. He was a moral degenerate and had attacked several little girls in the neighborhood.

Luella, too, soon slipped beyond her mother's control. When she was 16 she gave birth to a child out of wedlock, who was released for adoption soon after birth. Luella became pregnant again within a year, and before her child was born ran away and married a man who was working with a street carnival, whom she had known for only a week. They left the State, and the mother had lost track of her daughter entirely.

Walter returned home from indenture shortly after his eighteenth birthday, strong, brown, and trained to the discipline of good hard work. He soon became interested in the work of a religious mission and obtained a scholarship in their training school in a large city. He had been there for a year and was making good progress.

Perry was never strong physically, owing to a chest injury resulting from a fall in childhood. He was always very slow to learn and very sensitive to ridicule. When he returned home after his release from his indenture home, a short time before the study, his mother was surprised to find that he had developed much self-reliance. He tried factory work near home but did not like being indoors after his years of outdoor work on farms. He found work on a farm near his home town and sends part of his earnings to his mother regularly.

Austin had reached the age of 14 years. He was living at home under the supervision of the juvenile court. He had stolen 11 bicycles and sold them.

Bernice had almost no happy recollections of her childhood days. Her own mother died while Bernice was still very young. Her father married a divorced woman with two children of her own. That was the beginning of much trouble in the household. The father served a jail sentence for intemperance. Bernice, although only 9 years of age, is said to have caused so much trouble for her stepmother that she was committed to the State public school, where she remained for a little more than a year and then was indentured to her father. The stepmother was evidently no more kindly disposed toward Bernice than she formerly had been, and the child's presence at home made her very angry, especially as the father was wont to take the girl's part. The antagonism between the stepmother and the child caused Bernice to be returned to the State public school. She remained there three years before she was placed in an indenture home.

This foster mother owned and lived in a very modern, comfortable house in the best residence section of a small city. She frankly stated that she took children from the State public school to get help with the work. She and her own mother were the only members of the family, but there were five roomers in the house. Bernice's duties—she was then 13 years of age—were entirely housework. She washed the dishes and helped with the cleaning, the washing and ironing, and the preparation of the meals. The foster mother was giving the girl a good home and was taking the place of a real mother in the child's life. Bernice was receiving the advantages of school and church training, and recreation for her was provided through these two agencies. At the time of the visit to the home she was 15 years of age and was in her second year in high school. She attended school fairly regularly, and although her school work had been gradually improving she was still only a fair pupil. She was determined to be independent and self-supporting when she became 18, and with that purpose in view she was taking a commercial course in high

school. Bernice and the foster mother were friends, and the girl hoped that this would continue to be her home for a long time.

Meanwhile, at her father's home things were going from bad to worse. The stepmother was no longer living with the father but had gone to another town and had started divorce proceedings. The father for two years had been working steadily and earning \$26 a week. With this he had been supporting his wife and two stepchildren and a 4-year-old child. But Bernice had had no place in her father's home solely because she was objectionable to his second wife. Though the child could not have been left in the home with the stepmother an agency might have found a home as good as her last indenture home where the father would have paid board for her, and this arrangement would have strengthened the tie between father and daughter.

The family history of Austin and Christopher was so complicated that the boys themselves were hazy about their various step-parents and grandparents. Their mother had been married at least three times and at the time of the study was living in the South, "probably married again." She "liked to wander around," and the boys seldom had her address. The boys' father was living with his third wife. It was this stepmother who was so cruel to the boys when they were 12 and 14 years old that they asked to be sent away from home. They were made to sleep in an unheated frame carriage house all winter and went to the house only for meals. They were dirty and covered with lice. Besides being subjected to these inhuman living conditions they were knocked around by their father and were finally threatened with a butcher knife by the stepmother for teasing her own son.

The father's home was visited, and from present conditions it was easy to believe the boys' story of their past. The father, stepmother, and four children (the oldest 15 years, the youngest 3 years) were living in a two-room shack on the edge of town, scantily furnished and filthy. The woman and the children were very dirty. The stepmother was an ignorant woman, simple-minded and lazy. Her oldest child—born out of wedlock—was on parole from the boys' industrial school. For about 13 years the father had been employed irregularly at shoveling coal for a railroad, but he was said to be lazy and shiftless.

Austin, the older of the two boys, was not fortunate in his foster home; he was deprived of schooling. He did not go beyond the fourth grade, and one year's school record showed but 77 days' attendance out of 160. He was said to be not very bright, but his absences may have been at least partly responsible for his backwardness. Immediately after his release the boy visited his father and stepmother but remained only a short time. He then visited his mother in "the South" but did not wish to remain there and returned to the neighborhood of his last indenture home. He had worked for various farmers in the neighborhood, earning usually \$1 a day. In the winter he made his home on a farm, where he worked for his board and clothing. The farmer and his wife were fond of the boy and interested in him. They said that he must have his work planned for him, but that he was honest and a good steady worker. He had not been especially strong physically since having influenza about three years before.

Christopher was more fortunate in his foster home, though he too was deprived of schooling. Although he reached the sixth reader he could not do even simple arithmetic. As soon as he had saved a little money after his release he visited his father and stepmother for almost four months. They treated him well enough, but as they wanted all his money, he left and went to visit his mother. He worked his way north again, stopping in various cities on his way back to earn his fare to the next point. He again returned to his father and worked a while with a railroad section gang. When interviewed he was visiting Austin before going to another State to take up farming. He said he was ready to settle down, for he realized that he had wandered around a good deal. However, he seemed to feel that his travels had paid, although he had saved no money. He said of himself, "I don't drink, have clothes enough, and have been in no trouble." He expressed the hope that if he ever married he would make a better home for his family than his father had made for him and his brother.

Gustav was 5 years old when his mother died. His father, a saloon keeper, remarried, and shortly afterwards the boy started to run away frequently. He gave as his reason that his stepmother stripped him and whipped him with a strap "for just little things." The police, who were called into the home several times, investigated rather carefully and found that the stepmother was unreasonable and cruel in her treatment of him. At 9 years of age he was committed to the State school as a delinquent and neglected child, though his father was in good financial standing and maintained a rather comfortable home for himself and his wife and could have contributed to the boy's support.

While under the jurisdiction of the State school the child was indentured to two homes; he remained in the first home only three months and in the second four years. He was in the State school for three periods.

The boy spoke well of both homes, saying of one, "I couldn't be treated any better," and of the other, "It was an awful nice home." But in both homes, it was reported, he showed dishonest traits and was returned on account of them. While in the second home he had articles of clothing and food charged in the town stores to his foster parents and to some of the neighbors, continuing to do this even after correction. Returned to the school from this home, he remained there for one year. Then he and another boy "just got the notion, when we were talking one day, to try and run away. The next day the marshal picked us up and gave us our choice to go back to Sparta or to go to Waukesha, and we told him we would try Waukesha, as we knew all about Sparta." He was in the industrial school for boys for 1½ years. During this period he did school work in grades 4, 5, and 6.

When nearly 17 years of age Gustav was paroled to his father. For one year, until he was released at 18, he worked on a farm near his father's home for 50 cents a day, but his stepmother's continual nagging irritated him so that he left home and persuaded his 16-year-old sister to leave also. He found his way to a neighboring town, went to a farm near by, and offered his services in return for board and room until he could find permanent employment. The house was wretched looking and filthy, the people ignorant, and the children neglected. During the winter before the study he secured work on a farm at \$1 a day. It was then that he wrote to his first indenture home and asked for employment, promising to work for less than \$1 a day. But the farmer had satisfactory help and did not employ him. Since the spring he had been doing the work of a farm hand and earning \$35 a month.

A certain amount of mystery surrounded the death of Melvin's father, but the coroner gave a verdict of suicide. The father had been at the State school when a boy. He seemed to have had a "queer" disposition and a violent temper, and his wife feared him. He was reported to have kept loaded guns and revolvers on the walls of his bedroom.

The mother's family also was known to the State school. She was one of nine children, five of whom were committed to the State school and one to the boys' industrial school. Her father was a heavy drinker and had served a sentence in prison. Several of her brothers also had served prison terms.

After the death of Melvin's father the family was given county aid for a short time until the four children could be placed. Homes were found for all of them, and Melvin was placed with a farmer. After running away several times and giving trouble he was sent to Sparta at the age of 7 years. He was placed less than a month after his commitment, and at the time of the study was still in the same home. Except for the fact that the child was not sent to school regularly, the home was satisfactory, and there seemed to be a very friendly and kindly spirit between the foster parents and the boy. Because of the foster mother's poor health the boy had not attended school for a year, although he was only 15 years old and had just completed the fifth grade. He had missed an average of over 11 weeks a year for the four preceding years.

Melvin's mother had remarried about seven years before and had moved to another State. Her husband was a ne'er-do-well, and they were barely able to make ends meet. The couple had two children, and a daughter of the mother was also living with them. The other daughter was "adopted out" to a near-by farmer, and the fourth child, a boy, had been legally adopted by a "wealthy man" in another State.

The county poor commissioner gave the following meager information regarding the R family: Mrs. R was sent to the county farm in 1914 by the county judge on a charge of adultery; her husband was sent to jail. Mrs. R's five children were committed to the State public school. The mother died of tuberculosis in 1916 and was buried in the county-farm cemetery. Mrs. R's family was notoriously good for nothing. Her mother was often seen drunk on the streets of the small town. The county poor commissioner knew nothing of the five children.

A visit was made to the maternal grandmother, who lived in a small house about a mile out in the country. The front room was simply furnished with an old organ, a cot with a white spread, a stove, and an old-fashioned talking machine. A rag carpet with rugs on top of it covered the floor. Family photographs covered with dust adorned the walls. The woman was bare-footed but dressed in a comparatively clean waist and skirt. She was chewing tobacco.

The grandmother related that when Alice, her third child, was 17 years old she met Hugh R and determined to marry him in spite of the fact that he drank and was "wild" and that her parents opposed the match. They lived with Mrs. R's parents part of the time, and fights were frequent between the father-in-law and Hugh, who was usually drunk. It was into this environment that their five children were born.

In 1913 the R's moved to a larger city, where they lived in a filthy, crowded little flat. They received aid from their church, a private relief agency, and the county. The children were not in school, and frequent visits of the school nurse and the truant officer failed to get them there. The mother was hopelessly ill with tuberculosis. There was no one to make the children ready for school or to wash and mend their clothes or to cook their meals. Every member of the family was undernourished. The father was on probation but not working regularly, and he was wasting his money and drinking.

The mother did not appreciate the danger of infecting her children with tuberculosis and refused to take the precautions suggested by the health department. As a result the children were sent to the State public school. The grandmother was unable to take any of the children at this time, as she and her husband were living in a "little house with two other families" and there was no room. Arrangements were made for the mother to have care in a hospital, but she refused to go or to cooperate in any way with the agencies that were trying to help her.

A few weeks after the removal of the children the father was again arrested for drunkenness. The parents were then ordered to move back to their old home in the neighboring county. There Mrs. R set about establishing a home, so that the children could be returned to her from the school. They secured a house, and she had all the children's clothes washed and ready for them. Then some one gave her husband a pint of alcohol, and he went to a woman's house and began "calling her names," with the result that he was sent to jail and Mrs. R had to give up her cherished plan.

Several months after their return to this county both husband and wife were brought into court charged with adultery. Because of her physical condition Mrs. R was sent to the poor farm, and her husband served another of many sentences in jail.

After his wife's death Mr. R appeared at the grandmother's home, claiming the organ and other furniture. A fight was narrowly avoided, and he finally disappeared without the furniture.

At the time of their commitment to the State public school in 1914 the children were the following ages: Kate, 12 years; Eleanor, 10; Maud, 9; Bella, 8; and Homer, 3.

Fred's mother was very young when she came to America. She found employment as a domestic and later met Fred's father, a bartender. They married and had three children, whom they were quite unable to support. The mother had a friend who cared for the first-born child from the time she was a year old. The second was adopted by a physician in a neighboring town. Fred, the youngest, was placed in a boarding home. Shortly afterwards the father abandoned the mother and children, and about nine years before the study the mother had secured a divorce on the ground of desertion. She continued to do domestic work and finally secured a position as a waitress in a hotel, where she earned \$4 a week; \$2 of this was paid for Fred's board, and

the other \$2 had to provide clothing for the mother and child, school books, and incidentals. A visitor from the State school regularly stopped at the hotel where the mother was a waitress, and the proprietor's wife suggested to the mother that she send the boy to the school. The mother talked with the visitor, who promised to find the boy a good home if the mother decided to have him committed. When she later received a message saying that a home had been found for the boy the mother that very day placed him on a train in charge of the conductor, told him that a kind lady would meet him at the end of his journey to take him to a good home, and bade him "good-bye." She had not seen him since but was happy and contented about him because she had been assured that he had a good home and was getting along well.

The boy remained in his first indenture home two months and then was transferred to a second home not far away because the first foster father had died. He had been in this home less than eight months when he was returned because the foster mother was unable to get hired help and could not do the extra work for this boy. Within the first year and 10 days of his life as a State school child, he was sent to his third home.

Complaint was received by the school authorities that the child was being mistreated in this home and was compelled to work too hard. A visitor was sent to investigate, and as the child seemed to be working too hard the foster parents were given a "warning." A year later, when the agent visited the home, the foster mother said that the boy would not mind. At school the visitor found the boy in overalls and jacket, very dirty, and with his face and hands unwashed. She took him home and had him clean up. The boy was still at this home.

Meanwhile, fortune had been kind to the mother. She had remarried. Her second husband was prosperous and kind, and her home was modern and comfortable. Fred's older sister was living with the mother, and the home was a very happy one. But the mother had never told her husband about the daughter who had been adopted nor about the boy under the care of the State school.

Irving's start in the world was most unpropitious. Not only was he born out of wedlock, but his mother was insane, epileptic, and notoriously "immoral." Some time after his birth his mother married Mr. I, but the stepfather was blind and able to do little or no work. Then they met a Mr. S whose wife had deserted him about a year previous, leaving him with three children to care for. As the I's were "up against" hard luck, too, they came to live with Mr. S in order to care for his children. Mr. I at that time was receiving \$100 a year as a pension on account of his blindness. The two families struggled along for a while, but in 1917 Mr. S applied to the county poor commissioner for relief. After investigation had revealed that the families were destitute, the home was filthy, and the parents were immoral, two children from each family were committed to the State school. At this time Irving's stepfather was sent to the poorhouse because of his blindness and poverty, and the mother was committed to the State hospital for the insane. Five months later she was released and rejoined her husband, who had escaped from the county home and was living in a neighboring county. At the time of the study they were receiving \$4 a month from the county relief fund.

Irving was placed in an indenture home, where he remained a little over a year. The home, from a material point of view, was satisfactory, but there was in it another State school boy, who was overbearing in his attitude toward Irving. The boy's school attendance was poor, and the records indicate that he was kept out to work. Though 12 years old when he was placed in the home he had reached only the third grade. The foster parents returned him to the State school because they had found him dishonest and they considered him not mentally capable of improvement. About two years later, when his chronological age was 15 years, a mental examination showed that he had a mental age of 8 years 8 months, and he was transferred to the home for feeble-minded. There he was described as a "moron—a bright-appearing boy. Gives no trouble and can be trained to become a valuable worker."

The indenture home of Irving's sister Clara was not visited. She had been in it for over six years and at the time of the study was 11 years of age.

In 1918, over a year after the commitment of the children, application was made by the parents for their release. At that time the father and mother

were living with the mother's parents on a rented farm. As the house was found to be disordered and dirty, the farm buildings dilapidated, and the surroundings filthy, the application was refused. The mother and father continued trying to secure the release of the children because they wanted the boys at home to work on the farm.

It is perhaps well that Donald, Ellen, and Raymond were too young to have a very definite recollection of their earliest childhood days. Raymond was but 2 and Donald only 1 year old when their father deserted them and their mother. He had not been heard from since. The mother was pregnant at the time of the desertion in 1912, and Ellen, the youngest of this unfortunate trio, was born a few months later.

The family did not come to the attention of any social agency or official until November, 1913, when complaint was made that the mother was destitute. The juvenile court allowed a mothers' pension of \$14 a month for the support of the three children, but the pension was revoked in the following March when the court learned that the mother was immoral. In August of the same year complaint was again made, this time asserting that the mother was intoxicated most of the time and that the three children were being pitifully neglected. The case was taken to the juvenile court, and the three children were committed to the State school.

The mother, who was considered rather "simple," was placed with her parents, who allowed her to take a position as housekeeper to a bachelor farmer.

Within two years of the time the three children were sent to the State school the mother once more came to the attention of the social agency. One child had been born out of wedlock, and the mother was again pregnant. The bachelor farmer was the alleged father of the children. After an investigation by the social agency the case was reported to the district attorney who, however, took no action. After two years more another complaint was made, stating that the mother was illegitimately pregnant for the third time. Still no action was taken. The third child died, and in the fall of the same year the mother became pregnant again. The father of the children was then arrested and brought into court. He was frank in admitting his responsibility and expressed himself as willing and anxious to marry the mother. A legal marriage was impossible, for the mother had never been divorced from the husband who had deserted her six years earlier. After an examination and jury trial the mother was committed to a home for the feeble-minded, where she gave birth to a stillborn infant.

The two children of the couple were sent to the State school, and the father was ordered to pay \$20 a month for their support. He gave a \$500 bond to his town to guarantee that this obligation would be fulfilled. These two children died at Sparta during an epidemic of influenza, and the father was thus released from further responsibility and obligation. The mother's brothers endeavored to have her released from the home for the feeble-minded but failed in their efforts. Not long afterward she died at the institution.

Of the legitimate family, Raymond was adopted within a year, Ellen had been in a good home for nine years, and Donald had been in three indenture homes, none of which could be considered satisfactory.

During the first five years of her life Catherine's family were known to many social agencies in their city of residence—visiting housekeeper, school nurse, school-attendance department, police matron, humane officer, and public-welfare society. Both her parents were intemperate, shiftless, and lazy, and as a consequence the seven children in the home were neglected. The family received aid periodically from the county. When Catherine was 5 years old the family of nine were found living in a one-room abandoned house, and all seven children were sleeping in one bed. The case was brought up in court, and the parents begged for another chance before their children should be taken away from them. This was granted by the judge, and the family were left under the supervision of the public-welfare society.

The visiting housekeeper helped the family move into better quarters; but in spite of all her efforts at instructing the mother, the home would look as bad the day after her visit as it did before. The mother refused to wash

the children's clothes or to keep them or the house clean and defied anyone to force her to do so. The health department again took the case to court, and once more the parents were given a chance. The mother was pregnant with her sixteenth child, which a few months later was stillborn. Though adequate clothing was supplied through charitable sources, the children continued to be ragged and dirty, and their attendance at school was irregular.

In 1916 the younger children were reported to be stealing at school, and both parents were drinking heavily. A seventeenth child was born and died of neglect. A 16-year-old daughter had taken up with bad associates. She was placed on probation by the juvenile court, but a few months later it was discovered that she was pregnant and infected with syphilis. She was put under treatment at a hospital and was not allowed to marry the father of the baby because he was feeble-minded as well as syphilitic. Her baby did not live. A 15-year-old-girl became incorrigible and began staying out late at night. She was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, and there is no further record of her.

At this time Catherine, then 7 years old, and four of her brothers were sent to the State school at Sparta.

PLACEMENT

NEED OF STUDY OF THE CHILD AND HIS HISTORY

When a child is given to the custody of the State the problem is not merely to find a place where he will be sheltered, fed, and clothed and where he will be sent to school 120 days of the school year. The State has a larger responsibility for its wards. In order to plan for the child's future life its agents must know what the child's life has been, what influences there have been for good and for bad, what habits have been developed, what subnormalities exist, what is his mental capacity, and what is his physical condition.

This study has brought out many instances of placement without regard to the histories of the children. In many cases the child had been surrounded by immoral influences, by ignorance, filth, neglect, intemperance, and quarreling; or the child had been born of parents infected with venereal disease, or feeble-minded, epileptic, or insane; or his early environment had not afforded him the privileges of normal childhood. Sometimes a child had been placed on the day of commitment or only a few days later. Within so short a period there had surely been no opportunity to understand what his problem was, much less to attempt to give him remedial treatment, whether the problem was one of health, of mentality, or of behavior.³

Many children were characterized by the foster parents as "hard to learn," or "queer," or "slow." One 2-year-old boy was taken by foster parents to be brought up as their own son, as they had no children of their own. They discovered that the child was dumb, and the physician to whom they took him said that he would never learn to talk. Another example in which the physical condition was ignored was that of a boy who was placed out on contract to do farm work while convalescing from pneumonia. His foster mother said that he "wheezed" and that he "coughed all night," with the result

³ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), the school's full-time resident physician now gives each child on entrance a careful physical examination and sees that all needed corrective work (through special diets and minor operations) is done for him. All children needing tonsilectomies and major operations are sent to the Wisconsin General Hospital at Madison. No child is placed until he has been in the institution three months or until corrective work has been completed and his mentality and personality traits are known. Each child is given a mental test before he is placed.

that he was worn out when morning came. The record does not show that any examination was made for tuberculosis.

Another boy, who had remained in his foster home for 10 months, was returned because of ill health. His foster mother said that he had weak kidneys and he was "sick all the time," and that for this reason he was unable to attend school during the six school months he was in her home; the foster father, however, said the boy had not been in the home long enough to go to school. They agreed, however, that the boy "took no interest in anything" and that he was inactive. He was considered well enough to do chores. Although 14 years old when placed in this home, he was, according to his foster mother, more like "a wistful, small 9-year-old boy." On his return to the State school he was transferred to a tuberculosis sanitorium, where he died.

Three cases of goiter encountered by one agent had had no medical diagnosis or treatment, either by the State school before placement or by the foster parents. One boy's goiter was so large that it was difficult for him to turn his neck. It sometimes hurt him when he worked. He had been in the home for nine years and at the time of the visit was almost 18 years old. This boy and the man to whom he was indentured were in the office of the superintendent of the school in July, 1923, three days before the boy became 18 years of age, and after talking the matter over with the superintendent the man was convinced that it was his duty to have the goiter removed. After being operated on in a hospital the boy went back to his foster home to recuperate.

Many children placed as normal were below par physically or mentally or both and had been allowed to stay in the foster home to the disadvantage of both home and child. One subnormal child was being kept in the foster home until he should become 18 years old so that he would not have to be sent to the home for feeble-minded, as would be inevitable were he returned to the school. The foster mother felt that the boy was totally unable to care for himself and never would improve. He was happy at the State school and would undoubtedly have been better off in an institution.

One of the bureau agents came in contact with two cases in which placement made without the foster parents' knowing the history of the child was causing sorrow to the foster parents and was not benefiting the child. In each case the foster parents took the child when a baby; in each case the child had had epileptic seizures before it was placed. At the time of the agent's visit one child had not had a day of schooling although he was 10 years of age, because the mother did not feel that she could send him to school safely; the physician who had attended the child stated that he was very much below par mentally. The girl in the other home had attended school but was not making the progress of a normal child; her teachers were frank in saying that she was "foolish." In both cases the parents had become so fond of the child that they had made plans for adoption, but they had delayed action because they realized that a separation might later be necessary.

Two children were ill when they were brought to the foster homes and died soon afterwards. The indenture contract requires that the foster parents shall pay the expenses of sickness and burial. Several

children who were ill when they were sent to indenture homes were soon after returned by the foster parents.

A statement regarding present health only was given for the child who was to be indentured, with no accompanying medical history or data resulting from special study of the child to ascertain his physical or mental habits or nervous tendencies. Sometimes a child was not taken to the school before placement in a home. For instance, the P children, who were removed from unbelievably bad home conditions, were kept for a few weeks in the county home and then placed directly in an indenture home without either physical or mental examination.

Experience has shown that the family which is to have the care of a child should know not only his physical and mental condition but his previous life, the influences that have surrounded him, and the habits that he has formed. Placements should be made only with families intelligent enough to understand the situation and willing to give the child a home and to help him to overcome his difficulties. Encouraging instances were found in which the foster mother did understand the problem and helped the child to a great extent. A woman in one community knew of the commitment to the wardship of the State of a child who had had a very poor home. Being interested in what might happen to the boy, and feeling that she could perhaps give him as favorable a home as anyone, she asked to have him indentured to her. She has children of her own and understands their problems; she knew the circumstances surrounding the previous life of this boy and sincerely desired to help him. Her knowledge of the situation and her understanding of the problem have been her greatest assets in her relationship with her foster child.

This instance, however, was exceptional. Usually if the applicant's home was "recommended" by the State school agent, and a child of the requested sex and age happened to be available in the State school, the child was indentured and the foster parents were given little information concerning his background or habits. In one home the foster parents were surprised when the father came for his son, whose custody had been restored to him. The foster parents reported that they had been informed by the State school that the parents were dead. Sometimes the State school agents themselves possessed no knowledge of the children, but in several instances knowledge of an unfavorable nature was withheld from the foster parents.

Children were frequently transferred from one home to another without being returned to the State school, although the problems presented in the last home were such that some special adjustment was necessary. It is but natural that children who have undergone what these children have in the way of early unfavorable environment, separation from home, various placements, and often cruel treatment, should have more "conflicts" and other difficulties than most children, and for this reason it is all the more essential that there should be physical and mental examinations and a thorough study of the child as soon as he is received by the school and as often as possible or necessary thereafter.

INVESTIGATIONS OF FOSTER HOMES

The investigation of the foster home included usually a personal visit by the State school agent, who also made inquiries of some of the people in the community as to the applicant's general character and standing. The results of these visits were recorded at the State school by placing on the back of the application blank some such terms as "satisfactory home" and "recommended." It was found that little consideration was given to the type of home and the traits of the various members of the indenture-home family in relation to the temperament or special needs of the child.

Two children, a brother and sister, 11 and 9 years of age, were placed with an elderly couple who had had one child of their own. He had been a "model" son, and the foster parents expected the indentured children, who had had a very poor background and training, to have the same qualities that their own son possessed. The foster father "did not like" the girl, and the foster mother "did not like" the boy.

A boy who apparently disliked small children was placed with a foster mother who wished to have some one to watch the two little sons of the family—one about 3 years old and the other a baby—while she did the housework. The boy was discovered by his foster father holding a double-edged ax over the older child's head and threatening to cut his head in two if he did not behave. At another time the foster mother found that the boy had almost smothered the baby in the bedclothes in order to stop the child's crying. Later this boy was placed happily in a second home in which there were no other children.

A 12-year-old girl was placed with a foster mother who had just had a "nervous breakdown." The foster mother had been in poor health for some time and wanted some one to be with her because she did not like to be alone. Some one was also needed to help with the work and to take care of the two boys, who were 4 and 3 years of age. Neither did the foster mother consider herself strong enough to do much of the washing, which was consequently left to the foster daughter. The girl remained in this home for a year and two months, when she was returned to the State school by the foster parents because of "bad sex habits."

Lack of sympathy on the part of another foster mother was evident in the case of a 12-year-old boy who had been in her home for a year and three months, when he was returned to the State school because of theft. When interviewed the foster mother appeared very cold and unsympathetic. She stated that she liked some children who were good but did not have much patience with the others. She confessed she did not pay any attention to the interests of the child. What he did when his work was completed did not seem to matter.

Two girls, who, according to their foster mothers, were "boy crazy," were placed in homes in each of which there was also a State schoolboy with "bad sex habits." The foster parents did not know of any misconduct between the boys and girls, but both girls were returned because of their indiscreet actions and bad habits with other children.

Sometimes a farmer or his wife in poor health might apply to the State public school to get a strong boy or girl to do the work. This happened in numerous instances and resulted in the overworking of the children and in lack of proper recreation.

For six years John C had been in a home helping with the farm work. The foster father was 80 years of age and quite deaf, and the foster mother was 77 and almost blind. The foster father complained that the boy did not do enough work, but the neighbors said that he was a hard-working boy. The foster parents complained also that the boy "ruled the house," and they had no control over him. They did not furnish him with any recreation and objected to that which he found himself.

Martha S was in the L home for two years. Mrs. L became sick, and Martha nursed her for a long period under a severe strain. The night Mrs. L died, Martha, at 1 o'clock in the morning, had to walk about a mile to the next neighbors through the woods to summon help. She declared that Mrs. L's "form" followed her all the way. This experience seems to have been the immediate cause of her breakdown, and two months later she was transferred to the hospital for the insane, where she remained for about eight months suffering from depressive insanity. Her maternal grandmother had been confined in an insane asylum for many years.

Anna C also had to work hard in a home in which the foster mother was a semi-invalid at the time the child went into it. Because Anna had been placed with them on contract the foster parents seemed to feel little responsibility for the girl's recreation, and she was given unlimited freedom. Her history shows that she remained out several times all night and entertained men at home until 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning.

A girl who had been committed to the school because of a nervous affliction that had not received proper attention in her father's home was placed in an indenture home alone with a woman over 70 years old who was infirm and wanted some one to keep her company and take care of her. She became very ill and died while the girl was at her home.

A lad of 8 years, who had been placed in an adoptive home by the State school but was removed from this home and returned to the school because the adoptive parents were not giving him proper care, was then placed in a home where the foster mother was described in the community as "peculiar and an old witch." She is an elderly woman with grown children at home. One of these, a daughter of 40 years, is subject to epileptic fits, has a violent temper, and has fought a great deal with the boy.

FITTING THE CHILD TO THE HOME

Fitting the child and the home together is the most essential thing in placing-out work, and here is the greatest need for keen insight and tactful work. Some real tragedies resulted from haphazard placing, and there were also less serious tales of misfits.

Of 11 children who, at the time of the investigation, had already been released from the school's jurisdiction, 8 told a bureau agent that they had been in homes that they considered poor. Seven of these eight homes were tabulated as detrimental after the agent's personal inspection. These children's experiences had been so vivid that none of them seemed able to get away from the memories, and they still talked excitedly about it all.

Sometimes from the children and sometimes from the foster parents the agents heard of the following methods of fitting the child to the home: One or both of the foster parents would go to the school to choose a child to live with them or more often to help them

with the farm or house work. Sometimes the foster parents were taken through the institution to look over "the supply" and to select the child that appeared to suit their needs. Or three children might be brought into the room where the foster parent was waiting to choose the one that was the most presentable.

TREATMENT OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

Many of the children committed to the State school had been deprived of normal privileges, and many had also been under unwholesome influences. Then, upon separation from their families, they were placed with strangers who only in rare cases understood them and who sometimes took them merely to help with the work of the home or farm. Some children were fortunate enough to be indentured into homes where they fitted in naturally and where they remained during the entire period of their wardship. Other children had as many as four or five different homes, with alternating periods in the institution. Under such circumstances it is not remarkable that the problems presented by the children in the homes were numerous and varied, the most difficult being that of discipline.

Many foster parents who possessed the intelligence and sympathetic understanding to deal with the problems that arose in connection with the children were handicapped by lack of information on the children's history. The situation was especially unhappy, however, where to lack of information about the children were added general ignorance on the part of the foster parents and inability to cope adequately with behavior problems. Some children were indentured who could be handled successfully only by trained people or the very rare individuals who possess the gift of managing difficult children. Many of these children were returned to the State school and later transferred to the home for the feeble-minded or some other institution.

There is little doubt that some boys and girls were transferred to the industrial schools because of misconduct that might have been avoided or bad tendencies that might have been overcome if they had been indentured in the first place to the right kind of homes. Several cases were met in which difficult boys and girls, often in adolescence, were placed with young married couples who had had no experience with children. Some of these remarked to the Children's Bureau agents: "Now that we have children of our own we would do differently." They had come to realize that what they had considered serious misbehavior on the part of the State school children was not really much worse than many of the mistakes of conduct made by their own children.

Enuresis was reported very frequently and probably caused as many children to be returned to the school as any other one thing. Though a number of foster parents were unable to cope with the situation and some did not even try, many of them struggled hard with the children, getting them up at night, setting an alarm clock for them to get up by, or taking them to a doctor. Frequently the bad habit began after the child had been in the home for a time and often seemed an evidence of the maladjustment of the child in the home.

"She was so crazy about the men that we just couldn't keep her" was a frequent reason for returning to the school girls from 11 to 18 years. A few difficult cases of this kind were handled successfully by some of the foster mothers, who went regularly to dances and parties with the girls but did not allow them to go out alone at night. But by far the majority of the foster parents had not the slightest idea how to deal with this problem. The boys' chief sex difficulty was in their attitude toward the younger children of the family or at school.

The best child-placing agencies find that agents of the society can be of great help in connection with such problems. To give such assistance the agent must know behavior problems and understand the peculiarities of both the child and the foster parents and must be a frequent visitor in the home. The necessary facts about the children and the parents were usually not known to the State school agents, and they visited the homes only at intervals many months apart. The foster parents might discover that a child lied, stole, ran away, abused the animals, was destructive of property, wet the bed, or had "bad sex habits," and might need assistance in dealing with these problems. The discovery of such difficulties in the conduct of a child usually resulted, therefore, in his return to the institution or his transfer direct to another home.

A rule of the State public school prohibits the corporal punishment of the child—a prohibition to which many foster parents objected and which, unfortunately, some violated. Several who acknowledged the justice of the rule complained that the agent had told them in the presence of the child that they were not allowed to use bodily punishment, with the result that the child had thereafter refused to obey them. However, it seems that the rule had not always been observed by agents of the school not in the employ of the State at the time the study was made. Instances of severe corporal punishment administered by two former State school agents were reported to the representatives of the Children's Bureau.

On the other hand another State school visitor, in the presence of the 12-year-old girl whom the foster father had whipped, informed the foster parents that the child was not to be so punished. One foster mother had tried by means of whipping to break an 11-year-old boy of the habit of self-abuse. Although she claimed to have succeeded she questioned whether she had used the most advisable means and asked one of the State school visitors what she should have done. The visitor is reported to have replied that it was not within the scope of her work to tell the foster parents how to bring up the children.⁴

Other foster parents reported that they whipped the children for bed wetting, for lying, for not going to school, for not working, for disobedience, etc. One released boy stated that he bore on his back marks which were the results of cruel treatment in his first indenture home. The foster mother of the next home in which he was placed

⁴ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), the board expects the field workers to help the foster parents with the child's adjustment to his new environment and in overcoming any bad habits that the child may have. In many instances this will mean frequent visits to the foster home, many conferences with the foster parents, and confidential visits with the child.

corroborated this statement and said that his shirt was bloodstained and his back raw when he was brought to them direct from the first home.

One intelligent foster mother said she wanted the agent to talk to her foster daughter alone and find out just what her trouble was. Instead, the mother reported, the agent "jumped on the girl," threatening to return her to the State public school unless she behaved, and the situation was as bad as ever or worse. According to reports from the families visited, the agents seldom talked to the children alone, often did not see the foster parents except when the child was present, and sometimes did not see the child when visiting the indenture home.

SUPERVISION AFTER PLACEMENT ⁵

A follow-up system is necessary for successful placement. The work of the placement supervisors should be in the nature of friendly assistance to the families, helping them to solve the various problems that arise in the care of the children and not merely enforcing the child's right to proper treatment. Owing chiefly to the large number of children assigned to each agent, this kind of supervision had not been done. The employment of more agents with experience in child placing would make individualized treatment of the children possible. The usual course in case of trouble seemed to be to remove a child from the home or for the agent to "give the child a good talking to." Visits to the foster parents occurred not oftener than twice a year; because of the large amount of work assigned to each agent more frequent contacts with an indenture family were out of the question. The purpose of even these infrequent visits was not always understood and hence did not produce the maximum value. By many the agents were regarded as inspectors. Thus the Children's Bureau agent when visiting indenture homes was told that other foster families in the region had telephoned them that the State school agent was coming.

One indentured girl told of having waited three years for a chance to tell the agent that she was being overworked. The opportunity never came, but the neighbors at last signed a petition and sent it in to the State school. This girl finally ran away. Another girl described severe punishment that she had received in an indenture home. Two complaints were entered against this home before the girl was removed. One complaint was entered in November, 1914, and investigation followed. The school's agent reported: "Child had not been placed in school; she was unclean and untruthful and a moral degenerate. She needed severe discipline and she liked her home. The family promised to send her to school." In April, 1916, an officer of the Humane Society complained to the State school that the home was unfit and that a boy from the Milwaukee County School had been removed because of overwork and cruel treatment. The State school record reads that the child was ordered back to

⁵ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), the field agents of the State public school have been cooperating during the last few months with the social workers in the communities where the indenture homes are located, and teachers, public-health nurses, Boy Scout leaders, Big Sisters, etc., are helping with the supervision of indentured children.

the school at once, but the date of return is given on the record as April, 1917.

A released child stated that he never had an opportunity to tell the agent alone of the experiences that he was having, and when he tried to say anything before the foster parents his statement was questioned. The pastor of a church said that one of his families who had had State school children for years were not having them attend school regularly, and the children were always withdrawn from school at a very early age. A mother who had had a State school child for more than three years declared that she had never once talked with nor seen an agent from the State school and knew nothing about any regulations concerning the children except those in the contract. This family had been allowed to take the child from another home in the neighborhood. An agent from the school had called once when the mother was not at home, and neither foster parent had ever seen a State agent. These stories indicate that the number of agents was not sufficient to allow proper supervision.

CONTACT OF THE CHILD WITH HIS OWN FAMILY

In a considerable proportion of the situations here dealt with it would clearly be contrary to the best policy to permit contact of the child's family with the home in which he is placed. These children were removed from their own homes because of improper conditions, or they were given up by parents who did not want to meet their responsibilities of care and support. In such cases visits by the parents would be detrimental to the child's interests and would be an unwarranted burden upon the foster home.

The general policy of the school was that families were not to have any contact with their children while they were indentured. Children were placed preferably at a distance from their former homes, and correspondence between parents and children was not approved. This was a necessary restriction in many cases; but in view of the number of children who were ultimately returned to their own families or were permitted to drift back at the expiration of their indentures, the question arises whether it would not have been desirable in many instances to maintain some definite arrangement for keeping the children and the parents in touch with each other.

Many children visited by the bureau's agents asked about their parents or other relatives. If they did not remember their own homes they were continually wondering about them and wishing to see anyone related to them. When they were old enough at the time of commitment to remember their homes they worried about the brothers and sisters whom they had not seen since they left the State school to go to the indenture homes.

On several occasions agents found that though correspondence was forbidden it was being secretly conducted. Sometimes the foster parent tried to prevent it and read the letters of the child. Sometimes the letters of the parents were destroyed before the children saw them. In two homes, from which the boys ran away, the foster mother told about forbidden correspondence with relatives and the efforts she had made to prevent the boys from hearing from their people.

Where there was determination to have intercourse with the family it was bound to occur; if it was not forbidden but allowed to go on in a natural way the situation was sometimes better. A good example of this was found in one home where the foster mother said that she knew nothing about regulations of the State school on this subject. She allowed and encouraged the girl in her charge to keep in touch with her own people and had twice invited the girl's sister to visit at the home. The foster mother thought it very desirable for the girl to keep up this contact with her own family.

SEPARATION OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS

The indenture method of placement obviously offers even greater difficulties than does free-home placement in the matter of providing care in the same foster home for more than one child of a family. One of the most cruel experiences of dependent children who must be provided for outside of their own homes is the separation of brothers and sisters. The children in this group of indentured State wards were removed from their homes—often to save them from degrading influences but sometimes to relieve temporary distress—and were placed with strangers for a brief period of years. Their indenture histories show frequent shifting from one home to another, requiring readjustment to new conditions. Except in unusual circumstances family groups were separated, each child to go his own way, the children of the same family having varied experiences—all tending to break up the natural relationship that should exist between brothers and sisters. No appropriation has been made for boarding-home care, and unless money is available to provide boarding homes for several children from the same family these family separations can not usually be prevented. Sometimes they might have been avoided. For example, a number of the indenture homes visited during this inquiry contained two children from the State school who were not brothers and sisters.

The 452 children came from 266 families; from 113 of these families two or more children were indentured through the State public school. Eighty-six groups of brothers and sisters were separated during the period covered in this study. The following list shows the number of children in each of the 86 groups who were never placed in the same indenture home:

Size of group	Number of groups separated
Total	86
2 children from a family	52
3 children from a family	19
4 children from a family	12
5 children from a family	3

Only 27 instances were found in which brothers and sisters were placed together; in some cases two children were placed in the same home, and one or two other children from the same family were placed in another home. Even when brothers or sisters were placed in the same indenture home the first time, they were rarely placed together when a change in indenture homes became necessary. In only 3 of these 27 cases was the removal from the first indenture home followed by another placement of the two children in the same

home. Three groups of two children each who were placed together lived in only one indenture home during the time covered by the study. Five other groups were separated after a short period of time in the same home, one or both of the children being removed to other homes and many of them having a series of indenture homes.

Each of the 16 remaining groups of which some brothers and sisters were placed in the same home consisted of three or more children. Only one placement of brothers and sisters resulted in giving the same home to more than two children of the same family, so that in effect all but one of the 16 families were broken up. In the one exceptional case two sisters and a brother were placed together in the same home, but after four years one of the girls was removed to another home.

Two groups of four children each were provided for by placing a boy and a girl in one indenture home, and two boys in another indenture home. Three groups having four children each were divided among three indenture homes, and in nine cases groups of three children each were placed in two indenture homes. In one group of five children two—a boy and a girl—were placed together in three different indenture homes; the other three children were placed in different homes and in different counties.

Not only were the children placed in different homes, but in the majority of cases they were placed in widely separated counties. Of the 52 cases in which two brothers and sisters were placed in different homes, only 14 were placed in the same county. The family groups of three children were scattered in three different counties in 10 cases and in two counties in 7 cases; only 2 of these groups of children were placed in homes located in the same county. In the groups of four children there was no instance in which all four were placed in the same county; in two cases the four children were placed in two counties, in four cases in three counties, and in six cases the four children from a family were all placed in different counties. Each of the three groups of five children was scattered in four counties.

The case summaries given in this report tell the experiences of brothers and sisters, and in many cases relate the efforts made by the older children to get in contact with their brothers and sisters who had been separated from them when the home was broken up. Doubtless this separation of the children frequently prevented the reestablishment of homes. The psychological effect of such separations is a matter of very great importance that should be given consideration as well as the immediate physical care of the children. These experiences do not tend to establish self-reliance, the sense of responsibility, and affectionate self-sacrifice, but frequently produce mental conflicts and instability.

Though in some instances these brothers and sisters might have been placed in the same home, it is extremely difficult under the indenture system to keep members of the same family together. Since under this system the children are usually taken for the work they can do, it is difficult to find homes that will take more than one child of the same family and almost impossible to find homes that will take more than two. The solution undoubtedly lies in providing boarding-home care for groups of children who should be kept together.

THE INDENTURE HOMES

NUMBER AND LOCATION

The study included visits to homes in which 452 children indentured during the period from 1913-1917 had lived to April 1, 1923, or to the time when the children were released from the jurisdiction of the State school. Altogether, 768 indenture homes were reported for these 452 children; 540 of these were visited by the bureau agents. Information was available in the records of the State school regarding the period of placement in each home for the whole number of children.

Location was reported for 655 of the homes. Of these, 515 (79 per cent) were farm homes, including 2 cases in which the family had moved from the village to the farm; 22 (3 per cent) were in villages, including 5 cases in which the family had moved from the farm to the village; 118 (18 per cent) were located in cities. In this last group were 2 families that had moved from the village to the city and 11 that had lived previously on farms.

NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS

Of the 452 children, 43 per cent had been indentured into more than 1 home—27 per cent in 2 homes, 10 per cent in 3 homes, 5 per cent in 4 homes, and 1 per cent in 5 homes. Three per cent of the children had been under jurisdiction for less than 2 years, 17 per cent for 2 to 4 years, and 80 per cent from 5 to 15 years. Eleven per cent had been indentured less than 2 years, 23 per cent from 2 to 4 years, and 66 per cent from 5 to 10 years.

The following table shows the number of homes into which the 452 children were indentured, the length of time they were under the jurisdiction of the State school, and the length of time they were under indenture. Since practically no difference was found in the number of homes used for the care of children who were still wards of the school and of those who had been released, figures for the two groups are not shown separately. The number of homes for the former will undoubtedly be increased before they cease being wards.

Number of homes into which children were indentured, by total time under the jurisdiction of the State school and by total time under indenture

Number of homes	Indentured children											
	Total	Years under jurisdiction						Years under indenture				
		Less than 2	2-4	5-6	7-9	10-15	Not re-ported	Less than 2	2-4	5-6	7-9	10
Total.....	452	13	76	167	173	21	2	50	103	169	128	2
1 home.....	256	12	42	90	99	11	2	32	41	97	84	2
2 homes.....	121	1	21	46	47	7	-----	12	31	47	31	-----
3 homes.....	44	-----	6	22	14	1	-----	4	17	13	10	-----
4 homes.....	22	-----	6	4	10	2	-----	1	10	8	3	-----
5 homes.....	6	-----	1	4	1	-----	-----	1	2	3	-----	-----
6 homes.....	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----
7 homes.....	2	-----	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	-----	-----

LENGTH OF TIME IN THE HOMES

In obtaining data as to the time children lived in each indenture home the homes of parents or relatives into which children were placed on indenture contracts were excluded because they represented a very different situation from the homes of strangers. Also excluded were homes in which the children died or from which they ran away.

The figures for the length of time in the first indenture home are of especial interest. Twenty-seven per cent of the children remained in the first indenture home less than six months, and 20 per cent lived in the first home five years or more. Less than one-tenth of the subsequent placements of children who were in more than one home had continued for as much as five years. This is, no doubt, partly explainable on the theory that many of the children who remained in the first home were those who happened to be better placed in the beginning or who were not of a type inclined to give trouble, whereas replacements represent not only failure of the earlier homes selected but difficulties encountered in caring for the children which made subsequent transfers necessary.

Although the time in the "present" homes—those in which the children were living on April 1, 1923—is not a completed period and is therefore not comparable with the time in previous homes it is of interest. Of the 172 children (excluding those indentured into parental homes and homes of relatives) 110 were still in their first indenture home (all of them had been in this home for five years or more), 40 were in their second home, 12 in their third home, 8 in their fourth home, 1 in his fifth home, and 1 in his seventh home.

The following table shows the number and percentage of children who had been in their first, their subsequent, and their "present" indenture homes for specified periods:

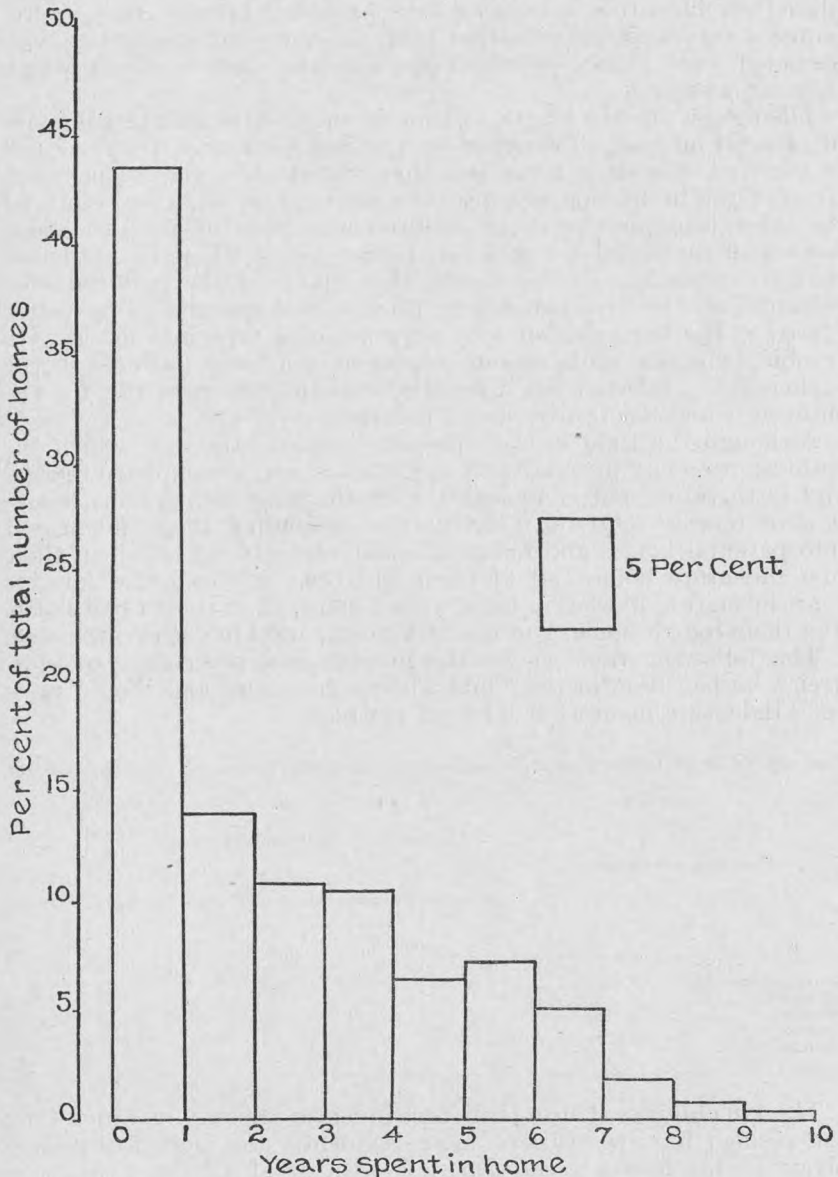
Time spent by children in first, in subsequent, and in "present" indenture homes

Time in indenture home	First homes		Subsequent homes		"Present" homes (Apr. 1, 1923)	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	302	100	216	100	172	100
Less than 6 months.....	82	27	62	29	5	3
6-11 months.....	40	13	42	19	3	2
1-4 years.....	118	39	92	43	28	16
5 years or more.....	61	20	20	9	136	79
Not reported.....	1					

The 110 children still in their first indenture homes, in which they had resided for five years or more—evidently the more fortunately placed children—represent almost two-thirds of all the wards who were in indenture homes April 1, 1923, and who were not placed with their own parents or relatives. The conclusion might be that the children who gave difficulty or whose indenture homes were not suitable passed out of the jurisdiction of the State public school much more rapidly than did the group of presumably well-placed children. The number of children returned to their own homes

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH OF TIME SPENT IN INDENTURE HOMES

[Based on 543 homes for which information was obtained (excluding homes in which children were living April 1, 1923)]



before the expiration of the full term of State guardianship and those transferred to institutions for the feeble-minded and the delinquent should be studied in relation to this conclusion. (See pp. 84, 78, 81.)

CONDITIONS IN THE INDENTURE HOMES

The agents of the Children's Bureau visited 540 homes in which children included in this study had been indentured at any time. It was out of the question to make a thorough and detailed study of the character of the home, which would have involved extended acquaintance with the home over a period of time, observing the treatment of the child, and investigating the family's reputation in the neighborhood. In gauging the quality of the home it was therefore necessary to rely on such characteristics as were evident to the agent in visiting the home and talking with the foster parents or were indicated by information obtained from children who were interviewed (especially children who had been released from the jurisdiction of the school) or volunteered by public officials or other apparently reliable persons in the locality and on the definite records of school attendance. Care was taken by the agents not to risk introducing a disturbing element into the home by discussing conditions with children living in the home at the time of the visit. Moreover, they did not seek specific information from neighbors or other sources that would be used in ascertaining the character of a prospective foster home.

The absence of more thorough investigation, however, far from contributing to the overstatement of detrimental factors, would probably result in the reporting of a higher proportion of homes as satisfactory than was actually the case. For example, one home visited by the bureau agent was reported by the visitor for the State school as being an unusually good foster home, and the visit to the home seemed to bear out this estimate. The Children's Bureau agent found, however, that the indenture girl had a bad school-attendance record and had been tardy many days in succession and that the teacher attributed this to her having to do a great deal of work in the home.

After recording the various characteristics of each indenture home visited the bureau's agents classified the homes, from the point of view of their influence on the welfare of the children, as high grade, satisfactory, or detrimental. Such classification is necessarily somewhat general, and differences of opinion would naturally exist as to whether or not certain homes are desirable and as to what the standard should be, but it would be generally agreed that the home in which the schooling of a child is neglected can not be considered satisfactory. The other conditions considered in classifying homes as detrimental are shown by the list on page 57.

After careful checking of the reports it appears to be a conservative estimate that the conditions in almost half the 540 indenture homes for which there was an apparently adequate basis of information were detrimental to the children placed in them.⁶ The figures are as follows:

Character of homes	Number	Per cent
Total homes classified	540	100
High grade	42	8
Satisfactory	236	44
Detrimental	262	48

⁶ According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), many children who were in poor homes at the time of the study in 1923 have since been replaced.

No information was secured in regard to the indenture homes of 75 of the 452 children included in the study. Of the 377 children concerning whose indenture homes there was definite information, only 41 (11 per cent) had ever been placed in homes classified as "high grade"; 22 of these children had been in only one home up to the time of the study; 9 of the children were known to have been in detrimental homes also. A total of 198 children (53 per cent) had been at some time in homes rated as satisfactory; 81 of these children had been in only the one home, and 18 others had been in two, three, or four satisfactory homes during their indenture history. On the other hand, 63 of the children who had been in satisfactory homes were known to have been also in detrimental homes. Children who had been placed in homes classified as detrimental totaled 215 (57 per cent); 106 of them had never been in any other type of home, 90 had been in one detrimental home, 14 in two such homes, 1 in three homes, and 1 in four homes graded as detrimental.

The following list shows the various types of homes in which the 452 children had been placed:

Character of homes	Number of children
Total	452
High grade	22
Satisfactory	99
Detrimental	106
High grade and satisfactory	5
High grade and detrimental	3
High grade and not reported	5
Satisfactory and detrimental	37
Satisfactory and not reported	31
Detrimental and not reported	41
High grade, satisfactory, and detrimental	2
High grade, detrimental, and not reported	2
Satisfactory, detrimental, and not reported	22
High grade, satisfactory, detrimental, and not reported	2
Not reported	75

It is of interest to note the variety of experiences of some children. The histories of six children, four of whom had been placed in five indenture homes, one in six, and one in seven were as follows:

First child: Three detrimental homes and 2 graded as satisfactory.

Second child: Two high-grade homes; 2 satisfactory; 1 detrimental.

Third child: Two satisfactory; 2 detrimental; 1 not reported.

Fourth child: One high grade; 1 satisfactory; 1 detrimental; 2 not reported.

Fifth child: Two satisfactory; 3 detrimental; 1 not reported.

Sixth child: Four satisfactory; 2 detrimental; 1 not reported.

Of the 377 children concerning whose indenture homes there was definite information only about one-third had had indenture histories that were apparently satisfactory.

DETRIMENTAL FOSTER HOMES

It has already been stated that four-fifths of the homes in which indentured children were living were located on farms. No doubt it has been the thought of the State authorities that a dependent child is better off on a farm than in a city, and in many cases the life on the farms undoubtedly may have been an improvement upon

the conditions from which the children were removed. But if a child is to develop normally, his foster home should offer not only good physical care and schooling but also understanding and training in character. A considerable proportion of the homes into which children were indentured fell far short of providing good training for future citizenship.

The following list shows the detrimental conditions noted by the bureau agents in the homes of children who were at the time of the study wards of the school and children who had been released from its jurisdiction:

Detrimental conditions	Present wards	Released children
Total	115	147
Physical condition of child neglected	1	2
Physical condition and schooling of child neglected		2
Deprived of schooling	19	34
Deprived of schooling, cruelty		2
Deprived of schooling, cruelty, too much work	5	
Deprived of schooling, cruelty, neglect		1
Deprived of schooling, too much work	13	14
Deprived of schooling, home filthy	1	
Deprived of schooling, too much work, home filthy	1	
Deprived of schooling, home insanitary, too much work	1	2
Deprived of schooling, neglect or improper conduct	2	2
Deprived of schooling, foster parents incompetent	2	1
Deprived of schooling, too much work, foster parents incompetent	1	1
Deprived of schooling, foster parents unable to control child	1	2
Deprived of schooling, too much work, morals of home questionable	1	
Deprived of schooling, too much work, immorality		1
Deprived of schooling, child neglected, foster mother ill	1	2
Deprived of schooling, bad influence in home	1	
Deprived of schooling, neglected	2	1
Too much work	5	12
Too much work, cruelty, neglect, drunkenness		1
Too much work, child mistreated	3	2
Too much work, home morally bad	1	1
Too much work, home disorderly or undesirable		2
Too much work, foster home impoverished and dirty	2	
Home morally bad	7	6
Mistreatment or cruelty	5	5
Neglect	3	4
Neglect, abuse or cruelty	2	
Neglect, mother incompetent	5	1
Neglect, morally bad home		3
Neglect, foster mother ill	1	
Neglect, home filthy	3	4
Dissension in foster home	1	1
Bad influence in home	2	7
Bad environment	2	7
Family ignorant and dependent	2	1
Foster parents incompetent		9
Foster parents disliked child (friction or lack of sympathy)	10	9
Lack of control	5	2
Mother ill	3	
Mother unfit	1	
Too much work, cruelty, neglect		1
Foster father ill		1
Mother incompetent		1

Not only were children placed once in such homes, but they were sometimes removed from one detrimental home only to be placed in another in which conditions appeared no better. Illustrations of this practice will be found among the case summaries (see pp. 66-67). If in these cases the actual conditions in the detrimental homes were known to the State school representatives, it might be said that the State did not profit by its experience. But with only two or three State agents responsible for the welfare of about 500 children, it has been impossible, of course, for the school to obtain full information in regard to home conditions. For example, in a large number of cases the school attendance was found to be below the minimum specified by the State in the indenture agreement.

RECREATIONAL INTERESTS

In only a very few instances was the school education of the indentured children supplemented through activities or guidance supplied by the State institution or by the home or school or community. The only organized effort in this direction in any of the rural districts were the "calf clubs," which were under the supervision of the county agricultural agents. As these were comparatively recent organizations, few children who came within the scope of the study had benefited from them.

Comparatively few homes had musical instruments or other means of broadening the child's interests, and in no community visited was there any form of organized recreation. The environment from which many of these children came made the kind of recreation available a matter of special importance. The churches in some of the small communities tried to provide recreation, but they found it hard to compete with the automobile and the dance halls.

The children received little guidance in their reading. Except in a very few homes the reading matter was limited to farm papers. One family received twice a year a box of books from the State library commission, and the school libraries sometimes furnished reading material. One interesting case was that of a boy who had cared nothing for reading until his teacher in the seventh grade became very much interested in him and loaned him books from the traveling library to which she subscribed. He absorbed everything that was given him. Through the granting of certificates for supplementary reading an increased interest in books had been fostered in this school. If the agents of the State public school had the necessary time they could help the schools put the foster families in touch with good books and other reading matter.

Some special effort was also needed to teach these children to appreciate beautiful natural surroundings.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The Children's Bureau agents were impressed with the evidences of discrimination in the treatment of children placed by the State. One agent reported:

In the homes there were some instances where the attitude of the foster parents was: "Well, what more can you expect? He is a State school child." Little faults common to all children were ex-

aggrated when they occurred in a dependent child. This attitude among the families in certain communities was so prevalent that the school children picked it up; in several instances the State school children refused to go to school because other children were rough to them and would not play with them, but only "picked on them" and called them names.

Another agent makes the following statements regarding the stigma attaching to State school children:

Attending one rural school with which the county superintendent was familiar there were, some years ago, five State school children who were "tabooed" in the community, partly through their own actions and partly through the fact that they had come from the State school. In another district which centers around a village of 500 inhabitants a great many State school children had been placed, and at the time of the study four released boys were working on their former foster homes or on other farms within a radius of a few miles. State school children were looked upon in this community as decidedly inferior to other children, but "about as good as you could expect from the State school." Of the four released boys two were considered "very hard to learn," and two had been dishonest. In other communities State school children were often considered "queer." This attitude was generally found where a number of children had been placed close together. The unsatisfactory results were very much more evident in these localities and overshadowed the satisfactory placements.

Frequently a child returned by one indenture home as unsatisfactory or removed by the State school because of mistreatment was placed in another home in the same neighborhood.

CASE SUMMARIES ⁷

There were seven children in the J family, all but one of whom were sent to Sparta. The court commitment stated that the father had deserted, and the mother was unable to care for the children. There were no relatives able to assist. The father was the son of a man spoken of as a "dead beat and a bad egg generally." The mother married Mr. J at the age of 17, much against the wishes of both families. The couple lived together more or less unhappily for several years, aided occasionally by relief agencies and their own parents. They then began associating with a "fast crowd," and trouble resulted.

Amos was 10 years old, and Jane was 8, when they were placed together in their first indenture home, just 12 days after their admission to the State school, with a childless couple considered wealthy by their neighbors. The foster parents owned a well-cared-for 80-acre farm, which the man worked by himself except during the rush season. They did not take a daily newspaper and seldom heard of the outside world. Jane was popular at school and made many friends, but when she had been in the home for 1 year and 10 months she was returned to the State school on the ground that she was dishonest and disobedient and would not help in the house. Amos remained about a year longer and then ran away. He also was returned later to the State school.

Jane's second home was with a middle-aged couple in comfortable circumstances and with no children of their own. The child was well liked at school and active in sports. The foster parents hoped to send her to college. She did well in the home until she accidentally met her father while on a vacation during her second summer in the home. After this she became difficult to manage and wished to go to her father. The foster parents sent her back to the State school. She was then 14 years of age. She begged to be permitted to return to the indenture home, but the foster mother was not willing to take her. At the time of the study Jane was still at the State school, as her own home was not satisfactory.

Amos's second home was with thrifty, hard-working people on a large farm. The home was neat and comfortable, but the boy was unhappy. Amos was popular at school, and his work was good. His teacher believed that he was misplaced; he was a "city type" and hated farm life. There was continued

⁷ The names of families and children used in the case summaries are fictitious.

friction between the boy and his foster parents because he liked to remain in town in the evenings, and they considered that he was too young to do so. He ran away from this home at the age of 13, after having been there about three and one-half years.

He was found in the city and taken to a near-by farm. The family liked the boy, and an indenture was later arranged, but permission for the boy to go to this home was given before the home had been investigated. This third indenture was not satisfactory. The boy had to work too hard and was not allowed sufficient time for recreation, even though the foster parents were fond of Amos and proud of his school record. He ran away from this home after about eight months. He had been in high school but a short time.

Amos then went to the home of his maternal grandparents and was released to them at the request of the county judge. At that time the boy was a few months over 14 years of age. About a year later the judge wrote the school that the grandfather could not control the boy and wished to return him. The school was not able to take him back, and Amos was sent to his father, who put him in high school, where he remained until the end of the term, not quite a year before the study. The boy then wished to return to his first indenture home to work. His former foster parents would not take him, and he secured work with a neighbor, Mr. E. After two weeks he was sent away because he had wantonly destroyed several articles of furniture and had stolen 12 jars of preserves and \$10 in cash which he spent in one evening at a carnival.

He then worked with another farmer for one week. During his employer's absence he broke into the safe and stole money, for which offense he was discharged. The boy then "bummed" around the neighborhood and broke into his first foster home, stealing money and preserves. He then returned to the E's home and stole \$20. Mr. E had him arrested, and he was confined in jail for several days.

Amos next went to a city, where he secured work in a grocery store. When it was found that he was under working age, he was returned to his father. Mr. J outfitted the boy and sent him again to high school until spring. He then worked in the same store with his father until he was discovered stealing. Amos was then sent to his paternal grandfather in another State, where he worked in a store for a short time and earned about \$16 a week. The last time the father heard from the boy he was working in a moving-picture theater. The superintendent of schools in the boy's home town thought that much of Amos's trouble came from lack of understanding at home. The boy had not been given proper clothing and felt there was no real place for him in the home.

Amos's sister, Sarah, was 5 years old at the time of her commitment. Her first home must have been most unsatisfactory unless the home conditions in 1917 were very different from conditions at the time of the bureau agent's visit. The foster parents were "border-line dependents" and received occasional help from the county. The home was slovenly, and the three small children were half dressed and very dirty. The foster mother was barefooted, and her breath smelled of liquor. They complained that Sarah was rude and stubborn and refused to obey. She was returned to the State school at the end of two weeks.

Sarah's second home was on a farm in a poor, sandy section. The foster parents had moved, and the only information that could be secured was that the child was not liked by the foster parents and was not treated as a member of the family. The impression of the neighbors was that the child had to work hard for her age. She was only 8 years old when she left the home after a two and one-half year indenture period.

Since Sarah's return from this last home she had remained at the State school. A recent mental examination classified her as border-line feeble-minded.

Jean was 2 years old at the time of her commitment and was still in the indenture home in which she was first placed.

Nettie was 11 years old when sent to the school. She remained in her first indenture home for a little over two years. The reasons given for her return were increasing disobedience and fondness for boys, which made the responsibility of her care more than the foster parents wished to continue.

Leslie was 3 years old at the time of his admission to the State school and remained at the school for almost five years. He was indentured about a year before the study, but his home was not visited.

The parents of these children were divorced some time after the children's commitment, and the father remarried. His second wife was much younger than he. At the time of the study they had a 3-year-old child and lived in a comfortable five-room flat in a city. The stepmother seemed to be interested in her stepchildren and hoped to have them home as soon as they could afford it. Mr. J appeared to be doing well, considering his early background. The mother of the children was said to be living in Canada with a man to whom she was not married; she had a young baby.

The father of the H family was dead. He had been intemperate and was adjudged insane. He left his widow with five children for whom she was unable to provide. She was assisted by the county to the extent of \$15 a month; but this was not sufficient, and the children were sent to the State school.

Ira, the oldest, was nearly 12 years of age when he was committed. After remaining in the State school two and a half months he was placed in his first indenture home, where he stayed for one year. The foster parents owned a farm of 80 acres; they had 13 cows. The foster mother helped with much of the farm work. Every effort was made to keep Ira away from the foster mother's father, who lived with the family at times, as he had formed a strong dislike for the child and would mistreat him if he got a chance. The foster mother "didn't like" Ira, in part because of his "bad sex habits;" but she said she thought that if he had remained in the home for a longer period, they could "have made a good boy out of him," though no effort was made to help the boy overcome those habits. Ira's disobedience was attributed largely to the influence of neighbors, with one of whom the foster father had had a lawsuit.

After Ira left the foster parents learned that on his way to school "he ate the good food in his lunch and left only a slice of bread." He then begged lunches from other children. The State school visitor reported that Ira was late to school nearly every morning; that he did not have a sufficient amount of dinner in his pail; and that he was required to do a great many chores and did not have the privileges and recreation that he should have had. Around the home Ira was a quiet child. The school record for this child was not available, but the foster mother said that Ira attended regularly except for a few days. He had a fourth of a mile to go to school. "He didn't care so much about school" and cried easily when reproved by his teacher. He was in the third grade when in this home and failed of promotion. Ira and his foster parents were of different religious faiths and attended their respective churches.

Ira was returned to the State school at the mutual desire of the foster parents and the authorities of the school. The foster mother regretted afterward "not giving him another chance."

After being in the State school for six days Ira was placed in his second foster home, where he remained for three years and nine months. These foster parents had a valuable 120-acre farm and were known in the community as owners of fine stock. The home was a large, well-kept, two-story house and was comfortably furnished. The foster parents had three children, the oldest a girl of 9 years. Ira was difficult to manage, refusing to mind his foster mother. For a little over a year another State school boy, between two and three years younger than Ira, was also in the home. Ira was very domineering over this boy, who was later committed to the home for feeble-minded. For a month a State school girl, four years younger than Ira, was also indentured in this home. She was returned because of her "bad sex habits" and was afterward transferred to the girls' industrial school. There was no difficulty with Ira in this home so far as sex habits were concerned.

When Ira's foster parents recovered from a siege of influenza they found that the boy had abused the stock during their illness. The heaviest work on the farm was done by the hired man and the foster father. Ira helped with the chores and other farm work.

The only year for which a complete school record was obtainable was the last during which Ira attended public school, when, at the age of 14, he was in the fourth grade. Out of a total of 177 school days, the boy attended 97; farm work interfered with regular attendance. His foster mother said that he attended parochial school one year, but the record for this was not available.

Ira formed some friendships among the neighbor boys. His brother was placed out on a farm in the neighborhood, but the two displayed no affection

for each other. At the age of 17 Ira was returned to the State school as "incorrigible." Between his second and third placements, he remained in the State school for eight months. Part of this time he was employed as a fireman at the school for \$15 a month and maintenance. He was then placed on a farm where he was to receive wages of \$30 per month. After being in this home for a week, however, he decided that he did not like farming and returned to the State school without notifying his employer. He was in this home such a short time that his employer could remember practically nothing about him.

Five weeks after his last return Ira was released to the county from which he was committed. There he worked for a manufacturing company. No further information concerning him was obtained.

The second child of this family, May, was 9 years old when sent to the State school. She was placed in four homes before being finally indentured to her own mother. In her first home she remained for five months and in the second for two months. Little was known of these homes. She was placed in her third home on the day she was returned to the State school from her second. She was at this time 10 years old. In the third home she remained five months. Her foster parents owned a farm of 120 acres; the surroundings were untidy, and the house was very meagerly furnished and not clean. At the time of May's placement, the foster parents had no children of their own. They were ignorant and uncouth. There was no indication of any home life except for sleeping, eating, and working. The child was taken to be brought up by the foster parents as their own child and "to help." She did such household tasks as dusting and washing dishes. But the foster parents did not like her. She was too dark to please them and was also too much interested in boys.

When Mary came to this home she was in the second grade. Of the 29 school days she was in this school district she was present 23. "Across lots" May had a mile and a half to go to school. By the regular road which she took a few times until she became familiar with the way, the distance was three and one-quarter miles.

In her fourth home May was placed with foster parents who owned a run-down farm of 100 acres and a two-story frame house in poor repair. When seen, the foster mother was dirty and untidy, as was the baby, the only child in the family. The foster parents took May because they wanted a girl to play with their child, but May was so "wild" that they could never leave her alone with the baby nor alone in the house. "She was always doing something she should not do." May attended Sunday school every week with her sister Etta, who lived on the next farm. According to the foster mother May went to school fairly regularly but disliked it and was not good in her studies.

May was returned to her mother on indenture when she was 15 and remained with her mother after being released from jurisdiction. Five years after the children had been committed to the State school the mother married a man with three children.

The fourth child, Wilbur, was 6 years old at the time of his commitment. He was in the school three months before he was placed in a farm home and remained in his first foster home 4 years and 10 months. His foster parents were a young couple who at that time had no children of their own. Although Wilbur had "improved 50 per cent" by the time he left them, his foster parents were unwilling to keep him longer, partly because he had "bad sex habits" and partly because they sold their farm and moved into the city. Wilbur was reported as being very untruthful.

Wilbur was good to the stock and fond of the family dog, but he often killed chickens. Once he wrung the necks of six because in their eagerness to eat they stuck their heads into the pail of feed he was carrying. He sometimes milked one or two cows but was not good at milking. He did chores around the house and barn, but he could not be trusted to drive the team as "his mind went wandering off on everything but his work."

His foster mother did not think Wilbur had attended school before coming to their home. Almost an entire term went by before the teacher discovered that he could not read. He had a very good memory, and through hearing the other children recite he learned the entire reading book by heart and said from memory what the teacher thought he was reading.

The foster mother in Wilbur's second home was an aunt of his first foster mother. Here Wilbur was treated as a member of the family, which consisted of the foster parents and a grown son 28 years of age. He slept in the same room as his foster brother. The foster parents owned a farm of 160 acres,

of which 80 were under cultivation. The home was a small two-story frame building, barely furnished with necessities. The floors in the dining room and kitchen were unpainted, and there were no rugs nor curtains. The foster mother was quiet mannered and seemed very cooperative.

Here Wilbur apparently outgrew his "bad sex habits," which were marked when he first came. This foster mother doubted, however, whether it would be safe to leave him alone with little girls. She was very much interested in and very fond of the boy but did not have much hope that he would ever become very dependable. In his work he was slow and not thorough. Wilbur was the kind of child who had to be "encouraged along." He did chores, fed the stock, cleaned out the barn, and carried water and wood.

In both homes he occasionally attended church with his foster parents when English services were held, which was about once a month. Until the year before the study Wilbur had always had a great deal of difficulty in school, the teachers reporting him as inattentive and hard to manage. His teacher that year believed that Wilbur had in him "the making of a fine man if he had the proper chance," that he was a bright boy and "would make a strong eighth-grade pupil the next year if he had the right kind of teacher." As the school library had only "dull" books she loaned Wilbur books from the traveling library to which she subscribed, and the boy showed great interest in them. According to this teacher, Wilbur was "kind-hearted and honest," but he did not get along well with the other children in school. Both his teacher and his foster mother said he was "picked on" by the others.

Wilbur had repeated the fifth grade but had attended only 102½ days of the 135 days he had been in the district during the school year he had started in this grade. In each of the succeeding years he missed from 20 to 40 school days.

Leslie, the youngest of the H children, was 4 years old when committed. After being in the school for 10 months he was placed in his only foster home with a couple who had no children of their own and had been anxious for him to come to them. The foster parents lived in a well-furnished house on a farm quite a distance from any neighbor. They kept Leslie for a year and four months, and then, finding themselves unable, young as he was, to prevent him from stealing from the neighbors and being stubborn and surly, they returned him to the school.

Leslie remained at the school for six years and four months and was then transferred to the boys' industrial school as incorrigible. He was still in that institution at the time of the bureau agent's visit. At the State school Leslie had the reputation of having a vicious temper and of being disobedient, sly, and dishonest. According to a mental examination he was classified as "superior normal" and as having an "insane temperament."

A business man and his wife in a small town of exceptional civic opportunities decided that they would take a girl from the State school to bring up with their own son, with the idea of adopting her later. The foster parents' home was outstanding in its charm, as well as in the high intellectual attainments of both parents.

The foster parents were spending many evenings in conference with the school superintendent and Isabelle's teacher and hours with the child, trying to get her work up to standard. Nevertheless, the girl's school work went from bad to worse, and in a mental test Isabelle, though 11 years of age, showed a very low mental age. The teacher reported her as being very sensitive and ambitious, and on her good days she joyfully carried home her marks to her foster parents. But the child usually had no concentrative ability.

Isabelle's classmates shunned her, and she therefore chose playmates from the first grade. While sensitive about her work failures, she had a certain boldness of manner and coarseness of voice that made the children shrink from her presence. These characteristics hurt her foster parents very much, and they tried without effect to correct her loud, gossipy outbursts about neighbors.

Through the school nurse, in consultation with a physician, it had been discovered that Isabelle was fast developing crippled feet owing to some spinal

trouble. The child was sent to the Bradley Memorial Hospital, where she was to undergo an operation.

Inquiry into Isabelle's history showed that she was born in a county poor-house. The foster parents had not adopted her, but they were still fond of her and were planning to spend their summer vacation near her while she was in the hospital.

When David was 11 years old he was committed to the State school. A brother 7 years old and a sister 16 months old were committed at the same time. Their home was filthy, the mother was a person of dissolute and immoral habits, and the father had been in jail for drunkenness and for selling intoxicating liquors. During the time that he was imprisoned and at other periods when he was unemployed the family was aided by county funds, by a church organization, and by private individuals. According to the judge of the juvenile court from which the children were committed, "The whole T family is a poor, troublesome stock."

After David had been in the State school for a month he was placed in the foster home in which he had remained up to the time of the study—a period of six years and two months. His foster parents owned a large farm. The home was a small, two-story frame cottage, rather inexpensively furnished but having the necessary comforts. The foster family was composed of the parents and their two children, a boy of David's age and a girl 10 years old. David was taken to be a companion to the boy. The two were "chums." A strong mutual affection existed between David and the members of his foster family, and he was treated exactly as an own son. He was given music lessons on the organ for a year and a half. His foster brother played the violin. There were books and magazines in the home, and a happy family atmosphere prevailed. The foster parents attended church, and the children went to Sunday school.

The foster mother did not wish, however, to take the place of David's own mother. His parents had been informed of his whereabouts through a neighbor of the foster parents, who had formerly lived in the same neighborhood as David's own parents. His mother wrote him regularly every Sunday. They were "nice" letters and contained nothing upsetting to the boy. He was fond of her and of his brother and blamed his father for his commitment to the State school.

David's foster parents wished him to remain with them after he became 18 years old. The boy was undecided, but his foster mother thought he would stay for at least another year until he finished high school. She said that having to give him \$50 and two suits of clothes, according to the indenture contract, made the sending of David to high school for another year difficult, "but if David wants to stay, we will do the best we can."

Felix, aged 14 years, was at the State public school only nine days before he was placed in an indenture home. His foster father was sympathetic with State public school boys because he himself had had an unfortunate youth. The boy was put off the train by the State school visitor, and she continued on her way without giving the father an opportunity to talk with her about the child. They said Felix was a nice little chap, reliable and obedient, but they were not able to break him of bed wetting and so in three weeks they returned him to the State public school.

He was taken directly from this home to another farm home in an adjoining county, where he remained four years. Here he often complained about the mean treatment he had received at the former home. Felix was the second State school child in this home; he was taken to help the foster parents with the farm work and to assist in the care of their little girl. The foster parents found him trustworthy and reliable, and during the period that he was in this home he showed no bad habits whatever. The foster parents became very fond of him, and since leaving the home he had corresponded with them quite regularly. They were anxious to have him return and work for them.

The lad was very fond of reading and usually had library books to read. Other recreation was provided only when he accompanied the parents on visits. The child said that as a little boy he had had "fits." This occurred

only once while he was at this home; the doctor pronounced it an epileptic attack.

From the time the boy came to the family he delivered milk to the customers, brought in wood and water, helped with the chores, cared for the young child while the parents were in the field, and did errands for the family. During the last two years with them he plowed and dragged and did the heavier farm work.

Felix returned to the home of his maternal grandmother in his old home town after he was released. His older brother was living here also. Felix thought that he was tired of farm work, and the older brother secured several jobs for him, such as doing errands for a country store, driving a delivery wagon, and working in a factory. None of these was to his liking, and four months later he got a job on a farm where he was paid \$35 a month and maintenance. At the time of the bureau agent's visit he had been there for nearly two years and was satisfied. He felt that he was well trained during his period of indenture and that he would be able to do his part toward getting his brothers and sisters together again. He had not yet gone to see his mother.

Ella was 8, Horace 11, and Ruth 12 when they were sent to the State public school. Their mother had died, and their father was unable to provide for them. A maternal uncle probably could have cared for the children had he been consulted, but he knew nothing of their commitment until after it had taken place. Ella was indentured within a month of her commitment and less than six months later was legally adopted by her foster parents.

Both of Horace's homes seemed satisfactory, though the school records could not be secured. Ruth was disappointed that the boy had had so little schooling and that he could scarcely read or write. She blamed the foster homes, but the foster parents of both homes stated it was impossible for the boy to learn. His eyesight was poor, and this fact probably had much influence on his progress. Horace had been working on farms in the neighborhood of his indenture homes since his release about two years before the agent's visit. He was easily led, and there was some evidence that the influence on a few of the farms had not been good. He was fond of Ruth and hoped soon to find work near her.

Ruth, a bright, attractive girl, was most fortunate in her indenture home. The foster parents, who had no children of their own, were devoted to her and treated her as their own child even after her release from the State school's jurisdiction. Thus she was enabled to finish her high-school course. She was fond of children and expected to take a course at a normal school and become a teacher. For two summers she had helped to care for the children in a private family in a large city. As soon as school was out she secured a position as clerk in a dry-goods store, where she expected to stay until she left for her summer's work.

At the time of the agent's visit her father and her grandmother had recently died. The summer before, when she and her foster parents were motoring through her home town, she had stopped to see her grandfather. He was overjoyed to see her, and she got in touch with her own people. She was anxious to see her sister and apparently did not know that she had been adopted.

On the back of one of the records concerning the three O'Hearn children are the following entries: "6-9-17. Letter from mother to State public school saying she had left her children with her mother, when commitment occurred. Was sending wages home, knew nothing of commitment until made, now able to provide. Wished children returned. Father in United States Army." "12-3-17. Letter from father to school requesting information re children. Mother took children to maternal grandmother when parents separated." The parents were then living in Texas.

At the time of the study in the summer of 1923 the children were still in their respective foster homes, as all three of them had been indentured before the letter from the mother was received. At the time of commitment Timothy was about 6 years old, Stella 4 years, and Hannah a little over 2 years. The information submitted with the commitment papers stated: "Timothy born out of wedlock, as mother ran away with another man. Par-

ents abandoned children, and maternal grandmother, in whose care they were left, was unable to provide for them."

Hannah was the only one of these children visited by the Children's Bureau. She was found to be a most attractive girl of 9 years with light curly hair and blue eyes and a pleasing manner. The foster parents, Mr. and Mrs. V, having no children of their own, had decided to take two boys to raise. These two boys came from Milwaukee when they were small. They were brothers and were 16 and 18 years of age at the time of the bureau agent's visit. Six or seven years before the foster parents had put in an application for a baby girl both at the State school and at an institution in Milwaukee. They secured an orphan baby less than a year of age from the Milwaukee institution. A short time later the State school agent wrote about Hannah, and they decided to take her also. The little girls go to school together, play together, and seem very happy. Hannah attended school regularly and was doing well in her studies.

Little is known of Sidney's own home. His parents had been separated about a year before their children were committed to the State school as "unruly and insubordinate"—the result of improper supervision. He had but one placement—in a farm home where he was the only child. He had been there about five and one-half years and had been released from indenture only a month when visited. The foster parents were very fond of the boy, and he had agreed to remain with them for at least one year. He had been corresponding with his father and a released brother but had shown no inclination to return to his own people.

Sidney did the work of a regular hired man, but no definite wages had been agreed upon. The foster father expected to give him "some money" in the fall. The family were reputed to be wealthy, and it was rumored in the community that Sidney, if he remained in the home, would be the only heir. He was a big, strong, healthy lad and apparently quite satisfied and happy. The baseballs and bats, boxing gloves, and musical instruments around the house testified to his having opportunities for varied recreation.

Besides the most common faults of neglect of the children's schooling and lack of desirable training, cruelty and neglect of the children's physical and moral welfare were reported.

Martin, a quiet, serious boy, said he was treated "like a dog" in his first indenture home, to which he went at the age of 12½ years. He had hardly enough to eat and wear, was worked very hard, and was allowed to attend school only the required time. A visit to the indenture home confirmed these statements. The boy was placed in another home when he was 15 years old but ran away from it because he was worked too hard and could not get along with his foster mother.

Not long before he was interviewed Martin had returned to his foster home to get his little brother Bernard, who was still indentured there. He tried to frighten the boy into coming with him by threatening to shoot him if he did not. The ruse did not succeed, but Martin told the bureau agent that he was determined to "rescue his little brother from all that he had suffered."

One boy not quite 10 years of age was placed in a home rated as satisfactory. He was then moved to a home in which it was reported that he was given too much work and was treated cruelly, and that the foster parents were intemperate. After a year in this home he was indentured in a home in which he was deprived of schooling and in which the foster father had a bad reputation; he remained in this home three months. The next home, in which he remained five months, was rated as satisfactory. Another five months was spent in a home on which no report was secured. At the age of 13 years he was placed in another home classed as detrimental; here he was deprived of schooling and was given too much work. In this last home he remained for four years until his release from the jurisdiction of the school. This information was obtained by visits to the homes and from the statements of the boy himself.

Another boy, 12 years of age, lived for two months in a home considered satisfactory. His next home, also considered satisfactory, cared for him for two months. The third home, in which he remained for seven months, was rated as detrimental. In this home the boy was underfed, and the foster parents showed an obvious lack of understanding and sympathy. In the fourth home he was deprived of schooling, and the foster parents were reported as finding the boy too difficult to cope with; he remained in this home a year and three months. The fifth and last placement was also considered detrimental, especially because the boy was deprived of schooling. He remained in this home from the age of 14 years until his release from jurisdiction.

A third boy, also 12 years of age, was placed in a home in which he was treated cruelly and deprived of proper schooling. After remaining there a year and one month he was placed in a second home in which he remained five years and which was considered detrimental because of his failure in school attendance.

A girl of 15 years remained for one month in a home considered detrimental because there was also in the home a boy from the State school whose influence was not thought to be good. In her second home she remained two months. Here she was required to do too much work and was deprived of schooling; the foster mother was considered unfit. At the age of 16 years she was indentured to her parental home, which was also considered detrimental because the mother was mentally defective.

A boy of 9 years was placed in a home in which he was treated cruelly, deprived of schooling, and given too much work. He remained there two years and two months. In his second home this experience was repeated—for four years and two months; and in the third home, in which he lived a year and one month, he was also given too much work and did not receive the schooling required.

A girl, 12 years of age, lived for two years in a home in which she was deprived of schooling, given too much work, and treated cruelly. At the age of 15 years she was placed in a home in which she had lived for two years at the time of the study. This home was not considered satisfactory for a girl of her age and character, because a boy from the State industrial school was paroled to it.

A 5-year old boy was twice placed in a home in which there were intemperance and other bad influences. After living in the home for two and a half years he was returned to the State public school for about half a year. His second indenture to the same home lasted almost two years. It was reported that the child received no supervision nor training. At the age of 11 he was placed in another home, which was considered detrimental because the foster mother disliked the child. He had been living there a year and eight months at the time of the visit of the bureau's agent.

A sister of this boy was also placed in the same homes. She began her career as a State ward at the age of 7 and remained in the State public school longer than her brother, so that she spent only four months in the second indenture home, where she also was under the handicap of being disliked by the foster mother.

A girl 10 years of age lived for four months in a home classed as satisfactory. The next five months were spent in a home on which no report was obtained. At the age of 11 she was placed in a home in which she was abused and neglected. After remaining there nine months she was placed in another home where she was deprived of schooling and given too much work. At the time of the study she had lived in this home almost two years.

SCHOOLING AND WORK OF THE INDENTURED CHILDREN

OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION

The indenture contract usually required that the child should be sent to school until he was 16 years of age for six months a year, or about 120 days. The school year, on the other hand, was at least 160 days, and more often 180 days. When the foster parents merely lived up to the terms of the contract the child was deprived of 8 to 12 weeks of school every year. Often, however, the child did not attend even the number of school days required by the contract. As a result he would fall below grade, gradually become older than most of the children in his grade, grow to dislike school, and be glad of any excuse to remain out. That, as the foster parents reported, the child did not like school, did not want to attend, made no progress in school, and preferred to stay at home and work, was to be expected. On these excuses the children were frequently withdrawn from school.

In most of the rural districts there was no provision for education beyond the eighth grade. A high school was sometimes found within 2 miles of the home, but more often it was from 5 to 9 miles away, or even farther. A child might have completed the eighth grade at the age of 13 or 14 years. But since the indenture contract required school attendance until he was 16 years old, in some instances the foster parents continued to send him to the rural school, and in consequence he repeated the eighth grade two or three times. It is not surprising that such children hated school, presented behavior problems, were absent frequently, and gained little advantage from attendance.

Many of the children came from bad social environments and had not attended school regularly before indenture. The schools were often so overcrowded that the teacher could not give the necessary special time and attention to these backward children, and they spent most of their time in recess or in just "sitting." Some of the country schools had over 50 children and only one teacher, with grades ranging from primary through the eighth. The distances in the rural communities were considered too great to make practicable the establishment of special classes for backward pupils, although one county superintendent was planning to try one in an especially backward community.

Comparatively few of the indentured children included in this study finished the eighth grade in school, and a much smaller number attended high school. Many of the capable children were not allowed to go to high school chiefly because they could not finish before time for their release from the State school's jurisdiction, and the foster parents would practically be deprived of the services of the children when they were grown, and would thus get very little return on their investment in the child's upbringing. In some instances, where the foster home was too far from a high school for the child to attend, no effort was made by the State school authorities to find a place for the child nearer the school or to help get him a scholarship.

The table on page 69 shows the ages of children under jurisdiction of the Wisconsin State Public School and their grades in school on April 1, 1923, so far as this information was available.

Ages of children under jurisdiction of the Wisconsin State Public School and grades in school on April 1, 1923

Grade in school	Number of children of specified ages												
	Total	6 years	7 years	8 years	9 years	10 years	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
Total.....	183	1	2	4	4	9	9	6	9	12	17	5	5
First grade.....	3	1		2									
Second grade.....	5		2	1	1		1						
Third grade.....	8				2	5	1						
Fourth grade.....	10			1	1	3	3	1	1				
Fifth grade.....	8					1	4	1		2			
Sixth grade.....	14						1	3	3	4	2	1	
Seventh grade.....	15								3	3	8	1	
Eighth grade.....	11								2	2	5	2	
First year high school	2									1	1		
Second year high school	3										1		2
Third year high school	1												
Continuation school	3											1	2

¹ The children not included were out of school or not reported.

SCHOOL-ATTENDANCE RECORDS

Special attention was paid by the Children's Bureau agents to securing school records of the children while indentured. For a considerable number it was not possible to obtain adequate reports of school attendance, because the school registers could not be found, the families had moved, the records were imperfect, or the homes were not visited. In some of these homes the children were over or under school age, or they were under care for a very short time or during vacation. More or less complete information was obtained in regard to the attendance of children placed in 246 of the indenture homes studied. In 98 (40 per cent) of these homes the children had attended school less than the required minimum of 120 days a year.

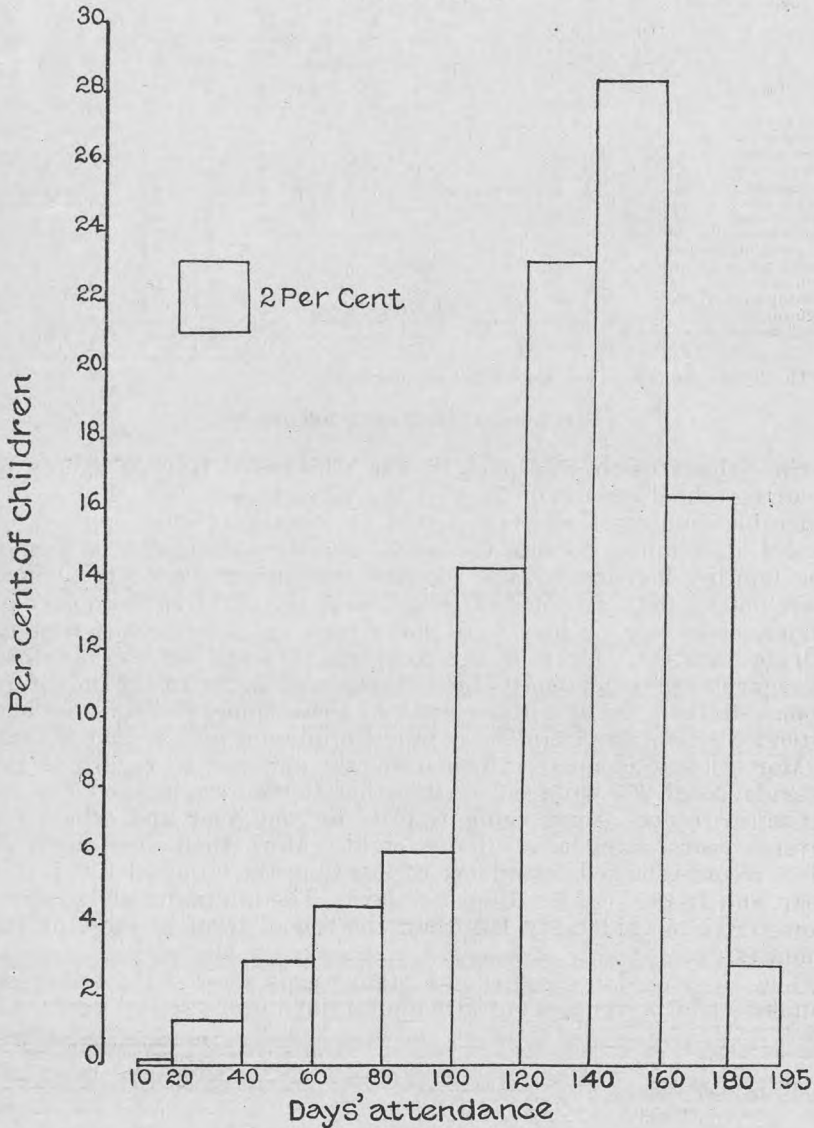
More or less adequate information was obtained in regard to the attendance of 205 children. Altogether there were secured 570 attendance records, some being records for one year and others for several years' attendance of one child. More than one-fourth of these records showed attendance of less than the required 120 days a year, and 15 per cent less than 100 days. The minimum of 120 days, however, is considerably less than the school term in most of the counties.

The 570 attendance records of State wards showed the following numbers and percentages of attendance during one school year:

Days of attendance	Number of annual attendance records	Per cent distribution
Total.....	570	100
Less than 60.....	25	4
60-79.....	26	5
80-99.....	35	6
100-119.....	81	14
120-139.....	133	23
140-159.....	161	28
160 days and more.....	109	19

Of the 192 children 14 years or over for whom grades in school were reported 23 were known to have attended high school. Three

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—DISTRIBUTION OF DAYS OF ATTENDANCE OF 570 SCHOOL CHILDREN*



* Each child was counted as many times as there were complete school records available for him. The 570 "school children" really represented 570 records of 205 school children.

children were 14 years of age, 4 were 15, 7 were 16, 7 were 17, 1 was 18, and 1 was 20 years of age. It should be noted that seven-tenths of these children were beyond the ages to which the families were

required to send them to school. Eleven children were in the first year high school, 9 were in the second, 2 were in the third, and 1 was in the fourth.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

Of the children 16 years of age or over who were in the indenture homes on April 1, 1923, information as to school attendance was secured for 47; 10 were still in school, 30 had left school before reaching 16 years, and 7 had left school after they were 16. Eighteen had left school when they were 15, 7 when they were 14, and 4 when they were 13. Only 3 (15, 16, and 17 years old respectively) were in high school. Of the 19 in the eighth grade 9 were 15 years old, 3 were 16, and 1 was 18. Eight were in the seventh grade (3 being 14 and 5, 15 years old). Of 88 children who had been released from jurisdiction, 40 had left school when under 16 years and 45 when over 16, and 3 over 16 years were still in school.

The following reasons for withdrawal from school were obtained for 113 children of 16 years or over, 38 of whom were still wards of the State school and 75 released:

Reasons for withdrawal from school	Number of children 16 years and over
Total	113
Total wards	38
Kept out of school to work on farm or at home.....	18
Completed eighth grade and no advanced school near by.....	6
Expelled from school or left on account of bad behavior.....	5
Attained required school age.....	3
Disliked school.....	3
Ran away.....	2
Failed in school work.....	1
Total released children.....	75
Attained required school age.....	26
Kept out of school on account of work.....	16
Completed eighth grade (includes 4 children for whom there was no advanced school near by).....	14
Disliked school.....	7
Left school on account of bad behavior.....	3
Ran away.....	3
Child backward in school.....	3
Family moved, and child did not want to enter new school.....	2
State public school agent satisfied to have child stop school.....	1

ILLUSTRATIONS OF IRREGULAR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The following brief summaries show school-attendance conditions for some of the children included in this study, as reported by their teachers:

Boy, three-year period from 13-15 years of age: School attendance 109, 83, and 69 days out of 160-day school year. Grades 4-6. Kept out for work. Boy did not like school and would not study.

Boy, three-year period from 13-15 years of age: Attendance, 105, 35, and 29 days, respectively; school terms, 156, 149, and 180 days. Grades 4-6. "Needed to help" because father of foster mother ill.

- Boy, two-year period from 13-14 years of age: Second grade. Attended 121 and 96 days out of 180. Child "dumb" in school, and foster parents did not think it worth while to send him.
- Girl, two-year period from 10-11 years of age: Attended 140 and 154 days out of 180. Kept home to help with younger children.
- Girl, 12 years: Grade 6. Attended 84 days out of 119. Illness and death of foster mother and transfer to another home interfered with attendance.
- Boy, four-year period from 13-16 years of age: Attendance reported for three years as 62, 82, and 75 days out of 160 days each year. When 14 years missed seventh and eighth months because "hard at work." At 15 years was out for three months because of work and absent also because of influenza.
- Girl, first indenture home, age 11-12 years: Attendance irregular because of work. Second indenture home, age 16-17 years: Kept out of school all year. Foster mother considered books too expensive. During second year in this home attended continuation school and high school. Attendance irregular because of illness of foster mother.
- Boy, 9 years: Attended 39 out of possible 59 days, after being placed in home. Boy presented behavior problems and was also kept out for work. Fourth home, 12-15 years of age: Attendance 101, 37, 30, and 21 days out of school years of 160 and 138 days. Boy was disturbing element in school, and it seemed impossible for him to learn.
- Girl, 13 years: Grade 4. Attended 99 out of 160 days. Child had "poor memory." Kept out to work.
- Boy, 14 years: Grade 8. Attended 113 out of 155 days. Sickness.
- Boy, four-year period from 13-16 years of age: Attended 64, 54, 45, and 48 days out of 160-day school year. First year kept out for work. For three years attended only second term because of work.
- Boy, 13 years: Attended only 6 out of possible 20 days after being placed in home. Illness—"running ear."
- Boy, 14 years: Not in school because of tuberculosis.
- Girl, 10 years: Irregular attendance due to tuberculosis.
- Girl, 12 years: Not in school because of scarlet fever in district and illness of foster mother.
- Boy, 14 years: Grade 3. Attended 47 out of 180 days. Four weeks late entering in fall, and other absences due to work.
- Boy, three-year period from 11-13 years of age: Attended 101, 106, and 80 out of 180 days each year. Kept out to work.
- Boy, 11 years: Second indenture home. Attended 104 out of 180 days. Absence due to ill health and work. Third indenture home, 12 years of age: Irregular attendance. Kept out to work.
- Boy, two-year period from 13-14 years of age: Attended 101 and 128 days out of 160 each year. Absences first and last of year indicate work. Age 15 years: Attended 42 out of 160 days. Illness (sciatica). Age 16 years: Attended 14 days out of 154. Boy disliked teacher and was old for his grade.
- Girl, 7 years: Not in school because of illness.
- Girl, 13-16 years: Irregular attendance. Teacher reported that the girl was always tired and that she did poor work. She believed the girl worked so hard that she did not have time to prepare her lessons.
- Girl, 14-15 years of age: Grade 5. Attended 37 out of 160 days. Left school because boys teased her.
- Girl, 8-11 years: Attendance irregular. Child did not like school nor get along with teachers; probably out because of work. Out of school entirely from 12-14 years of age, probably at work.
- Girl, 15 years: Grade 7. Attended 11 out of possible 45 days. In home only two months. Poor health; transferred to hospital for insane.
- Boy, 11 years: Third grade. Attended 103 out of 158 days. Kept out to work.
- Girl, 15 years: Grade 7. Attendance only 60 days because of work and bad weather.

- Girl, 14 years: Grade 8. Missed one month of school and was tardy 16 times, sometimes several hours. Cause, work; child tired from work when she reached school; lived next door to school.
- Boy, 15 years: Grade 6. Attended $73\frac{1}{2}$ days out of 150. Kept out to work; distance to school $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The following year repeated grade 6 and attended only 28 days.
- Child, 15 years: Grade 8. Attended $109\frac{1}{2}$ days out of 157. Withdrew—lack of interest.
- Boy, 14 years: Grade 7. Attended 97 out of 160 days. Disliked teacher and gave trouble. The next year, apparently under a new teacher, attendance much improved.
- Boy, 7-14 years: Remained in same home during this period, school attendance averaging 110 days a year. Repeated second and third grades. Was tardy 55 times in one year and entered from four to seven weeks late each year. Kept out to work. At 15, when in grade 8, refused to go longer and withdrew as foster parents wanted him at home to work anyway. Attended only 56 days the last year.
- Boy, 7 years: Attended only 94 days out of 174. Absences in January and February; he had a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -mile walk to school. Age 13-14: Attended 58 and 34 days out of 180 days; repeated grade 6. Boy was mischievous in school, and other boys had bad influence on him. Foster parents had to struggle with stealing tendency, which they finally seem to have conquered.
- Boy, 11-14 years: Attended an average of 65 days out of 136 days each year for four-year period. Kept out to work. Withdrew at age of 14 years, in grade 7.
- Boy, 13 years: Grade 5. Attended 65 days out of 180. Kept out for work. After change of homes attendance became almost perfect, child attending high school.
- Boy, 11-17 years, seven-year period: During this time child was placed in three different homes, all of which were classed as detrimental—one because of cruelty as well as too much work and deprivation of school. Average attendance, 90 days a year. A few absences were due to illness. The fourth and last home was satisfactory, but the boy was beyond school age.
- Boy, 9-14 years: Attendance averaged 95 days a year for six years. Absences due to work. Spent four years in the sixth and seventh grades and withdrew at the age of 14. (Foster parents stated that boy withdrew because he lost interest, but they did not allow him to return when he later wished to do so.)
- Girl, 7-12 years: During six-year period attended 126, 53, 65, 26, 52, and 75 days. Kept out to care for children in the foster family.
- Girl, 14 years: Attendance, 40 out of the 70 school days she was in one home. She left school in December, waiting to be returned to State public school but was not returned until February 26. In the next home she attended 12 days from April to June, and during the following year she attended 70 days. She disliked school and refused to go because she was much larger than the other girls.
- Girl, 6 years; boy, 8 years: Were habitual truants. Attendance, 67 and 80 days, respectively, out of 187. The next year, however, both attended school for more than required 120 days.
- Boy, 12-15 years: Attendance averaged 84 days out of 180 during four-year period; entered three or four months late each year because of work. Completed grade 8.
- Boy: Attendance averaged 79 days a year during three-year period; 45 "tardies" one year. Boy did not like to attend school and presented behavior problems in the home.
- Girl, 11 years: Grade 2. Attendance, 71 days out of 160. Fifteen days' absence due to illness, the rest to work. Age 12-14: Kept out to work. Then apparently was made to return to school and attended 97 days out of 200. Withdrew at age of 16 to work, when in grades 3 and 4.

Girl, 15 years: Missed some time because of work. Completed grade 8 at 13 years and at age of 15 was repeating same grade for third time, the high school being 6 miles away.

Girl, 12 years: Attendance, 30 out of 160 days. The next year she attended 74 days and withdrew from eighth grade. Lived $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from school and was kept out to work.

Boy, 9-15 years: Attendance during seven years averaged about 118 days a year. Repeated third grade twice and finally withdrew from fifth grade at age of 15 years. Home superior in every way, but boy disliked school and made such slow progress he probably could have gone little further.

Boy, 7-15 years: Attendance quite regular for three years. During next three years attendance at public school was 108, 84, and 110 days, respectively, but boy finished spring term at the German parochial school. At 15 years of age he withdrew permanently.

The irregular attendance of other children was attributed to their having been kept out for work. In many of these cases definite records of attendance could not be obtained; only such statements as the following were found: "Lost schooling at beginning and end of year because of work"; "work on farm"; "attended irregularly, weather bad, and needed for work"; "work, late registration—withdrawn in spring"; "probably work—absence in fall and spring"; "placed in home in March—out for work, probably"; "frequently kept home for work"; "most of absences in spring—work."

WORK DONE BY THE CHILDREN

As the idea of service by the children underlies the indenture contract, it was not surprising that the Children's Bureau agents were frequently asked whether there was a strong boy or a good worker at the State school, and this would be followed by the remark that "hired help costs so much" or "I could use a good girl now."

The payment of \$50 to the State public school when a child became 18 years of age, or a proportionate payment when he left an indenture home earlier, was complained of by the foster parents and appeared to affect their attitude toward the children in respect to the work required of them. Many felt that they had to get at least the equivalent of the \$50 in work. Several parents complained that the children had been returned to State public school just as they were beginning to be of some value to them.

Many of the families wanted boys or girls to "help with the work," sometimes to relieve their own children. The happiest placements were those with foster parents who had no other children and wanted a child to treat as their own.

Several children had been sent to work out before they were 18 years old, although the indenture contract expressly prohibited it. Boys had worked for other farmers, and in a few instances girls had worked for other families.

In one case a 16-year-old girl was allowed by the foster parents to go into the home of a blind man and stay nine weeks with his wife following confinement, so that the \$25 promised for this service might be used to pay part of the indenture money to the State public school. The money was not paid; and when the insistence of the foster mother that the blind man pay her called the matter to the attention of the State school the girl was returned to the institution at once.

According to the contract the foster parents are required to furnish all medical and surgical treatment necessary, but many families were in no position to afford such expenditures, although the homes were often satisfactory in other respects. If the child needed an operation, either he had to be returned to the school, in which case it was not certain that he would be sent back to the same indenture home, or the foster parents had to pay for the operation. The foster parents of one boy paid \$40 for an operation on his foot and felt it was unjust for the State public school to demand the indenture money when the boy was returned to it. In many instances necessary but not urgent medical work was left undone. Inattention to teeth was very general, and eyes, tonsils, adenoids, etc., were neglected.

CASE SUMMARIES ^s

In a large number of instances young indentured children were expected to do a great deal of work, with the result that their schooling was seriously interfered with, because they were compelled to be frequently tardy or absent or they were so weary and dulled by the work that they profited little from attendance at school. The case summaries that follow will make these conditions concrete. Other illustrations of work and loss of schooling have already been given in the section relating to indenture homes.

The G's owned a farm of 480 acres and 50 head of cattle. Mr. G was said to have plenty of money, but he employed no help. Into this family Christina, 11 years old, and her twin brother, Oscar, were indentured over five years before the study. The school was 2½ miles away, and the children had an average attendance of only 55 and 62 days a year for three years. But they passed their eighth-grade examinations except arithmetic, and they were to have returned to school to complete that subject but had never done so. The Children's Bureau agent found Christina working in the barn—at the time, 16 years of age, undersized and underweight, and shabbily dressed. Mrs. G said Christina did a great deal of the cooking and cleaning and also helped with the milking. Christina liked to read, but she had no time to do so. Oscar was not seen by the agent, but he was said also to be below average weight and height.

A neighbor stated that Mrs. G was in poor health and went away every month or so for treatments. At these times Christina did all the housework. The neighbors felt that the foster parents expected an endless amount of work from the two children.

Except for about two months Paul had been in the home of Mr. D or his brother for over seven years. School records obtained for three of the six years he was supposed to attend show an attendance of 89 days out of a total of 151, 43 out of 140 (term was shortened because of influenza epidemic), and 10 out of 163 days. He was in the fifth grade for two years and withdrew from school at the age of 14, still in the fifth grade.

He worked as an apprentice in a bakery shop for \$3 or \$4 a week but left because he could not stand the gas ovens. After that he worked on a farm in the vicinity of his foster home, earning \$30 a month. Permission had not been secured from the State school. Paul was allowed to keep the wages he earned.

The well-educated mother in Martha's indenture home declared that she was willing that the girl should have all the education she wished provided she did her work satisfactorily. The home was an attractive bungalow with all mod-

^s The names of families and children used in case summaries are fictitious.

ern conveniences, for the W's were well to do. Martha was taken at the age of 14 "to help with the work." She went almost everywhere with the W's in the capacity of a nurse girl.

Martha's school attendance for the one complete school year while in this home was 157 days out of 177. She was tardy 16 times during the year, although she lived very near the school. She was not sent to church or Sunday school, because, the foster mother said, "her mind was distracted from her work enough at school as it was."

According to Mrs. W, the girl's duties were as follows: In the morning she dressed the children, washed the breakfast dishes, did the upstairs work, and often prepared vegetables for dinner before going to school. After school she washed the dinner dishes and helped get supper, and then she washed the supper dishes and sometimes helped with the ironing. On wash days she was sometimes kept home from school to help hang up clothes.

The statement of her teacher in the school record book is as follows: "Martha let out to work by State. Is so overworked before and after school that she does not do as good work as she is capable of doing. Attendance irregular. Tardiness of several hours due to work not unusual."

After a time Martha began to be dissatisfied on account of the work she had to do, and after one year and four months in this home she was returned to the State school.

Bertha, less than 12 years of age, was sent to live with a coarse, uneducated couple, whose home was a small five-room house, crudely constructed and having little furniture. Mr. P admitted that they had taken the child to work because their own children were too small. He said: "I will never take another child unless I can get one young enough, so I can break 'em in to work." The P's attitude was that the child was their property, and they resented the fact that she wrote to her own mother while there. Bertha told the superintendent of the State school the following facts regarding the home: She was kept from school sometimes two or three weeks at a time (the school record confirms this statement); she did a great deal of the housework and helped care for the three young children, prepared breakfast for the family, milked five or six cows every evening, and helped do other farm work. She had received two whippings with a strap and had been cuffed. The child was in this home two years and two months.

The family to whom the girl was indentured at the time of the study had two children of their own, 8 and 4 years of age. Bertha was 17 years of age when the bureau agent saw her, and there was in the home a 17-year-old boy paroled from the State industrial school. There was little recreation, as everyone was too busy. The foster parents and the children in the neighborhood were fond of Bertha. She was a willing worker and had a pleasant disposition. She helped with the housework and cooking and did all the work in the absence of the foster mother.

Information was accidentally secured that the foster mother often went to visit her mother for several days at a time, leaving Bertha alone with the foster father and the industrial-school boy, to do the housework and care for the children. At 17 she was a frail-looking girl, quite childish in appearance. She had always disliked school and refused to go for weeks at a time. She was so much older and larger than the other girls of the sixth grade that she was ashamed to go. Between April, 1921, and April, 1922, she attended school just 82 days, and she stopped the day she was 16 years old. Her school work was reported to be as good as that of the average student.

Elbert was 9 years of age when he was placed in his first indenture home, the family consisting only of the foster parents, who were living on a rented farm. He was taken to work, and he seems to have done little else, for the neighbors used to see him hoeing corn and potatoes all day, even on Sundays. Besides this he did chores, pulled weeds, gathered eggs, and carried wood.

Of the 135 school days he was in this home he attended 100 days, being kept out 25 days at one time to help with the farm work. Although 9 years of age he was only in the first grade. The nearest church was 10 miles away. The home was 2 miles from the school.

One day Elbert left a gate open and was whipped so severely that he ran away. Neighbors joined in the search, not to return the child, but to protect him from his foster father. He was discovered in an apple tree, and his body was found to be black and blue. Seven of the neighbors went to the home and accused the farmer of cruelty and abuse, and he acknowledged having whipped the boy.

His next home was on a fine 120-acre farm. There were four children in the family. The foster parents were refined, well-educated people, the mother treated the boy as one of her own children, and when he was seen by the bureau agent he seemed to be quite happy there. He was then about 16 years old, and he was milking two to four cows daily, doing chores, hoeing, and helping with other farm work. The one detrimental feature of his home was the boy's lack of schooling, as he had attended an average of only 115 days out of an average school year of 155 days. He withdrew in February, 1923, in the fifth grade. The foster parents reported that he was needed on the farm and seemed to make so little progress in school that they kept him at home.

Sophie's home for six years—she was 17 when the bureau agent saw her—had been with Mr. and Mrs. F and their four children, all of whom were under 8 years of age. They lived on a large farm in a good farming district, but the buildings were somewhat run down. Most of the people in the community considered the F's a fine family and thought they had given the State public school children a good home. The F's admitted that Sophie was taken to help with the work and was considered a maid. She cared for the children and did much of the housework. A released child, formerly at this home, said of the foster parents: "They always treat you rough in that place and expect you to work."

The foster parents said that Sophie visited the neighbors and went to school socially and picnics for recreation. They declared that the child attended church regularly; the priest said that she hardly ever came to church.

Her school record throws an interesting light upon the interference of her work with school. The first year Sophie was in the home she was 11 years of age. During the 160-day term she attended but 71 days. Fifteen days' absence were due to illness; the other 74 (almost 16 weeks) were due to work. She was promoted to the third grade on trial. The following three years she was not enrolled in the village, the rural, or the parochial school. Then in 1921, at the age of 15, she entered school during the third month and withdrew the following May, having attended 97 days out of a possible 200. She was doing third and fourth grade work but was not promoted to the fifth grade.

Mamie, at the age of 10 years, helped an expectant mother and later acted as a nursemaid to the baby. She said: "I had to sweep, wash the dishes, tend the baby, scrub floors. Yes, I had to stay out of school sometimes for work." Of her second home she reported: "I had to help do housework. I did ironing and helped with the washing and baking. I cleaned barns and toward the last year milked four or five cows a day and sometimes drove the team on the hayfork and hay loader." The school record indicates that the child was kept out of school 41 days during one year. Mamie explained: "I went to school quite regular but not any too regular. The first month they kept me out to work on the farm and sometimes on wash days."

Stella, at 10 years of age, was placed in her second indenture home and remained there for almost four years. She did the heaviest kind of work on the farm, even plowing. The foster mother said that Stella did not do housework nor care for the children because she disliked such work. The school authorities stated that Stella had no chance to show what she could do in school because she was kept at home so much and was worked so hard that when she did attend she was too tired to study. One year she attended school 3 days, and another year her attendance was 29 days. At 15 years of age she was only in the third grade.

At the request of the associated charities the humane officer investigated the home and reported the child overworked and abused. The conditions were

reported to the State school. The State school visitor reported that the child was not in school but that her stories of mistreatment were not dependable. She was returned to the State school because the foster mother was nervous and in poor health.

Flora, aged 13½, was "considered as a member of the family." Her duties were as follows: She got up early every morning and put up lunch for a young man boarder, prepared breakfast, and did what other work she could before school. At noon she came home and got lunch for the family. After school she sewed and helped with the housework and ended the day by washing all the supper dishes. She frequently missed school to do the washing and ironing or cleaning. The foster mother said that if Flora would just get up early enough she could also have had all the beds made and the breakfast dishes washed before school.

The foster mother regretted that Flora went to the regular school, for if she had attended vocational school one or two days a week she could have stayed at home and sewed the rest of the time. The child could then have helped her a great deal more and could have learned dressmaking. The foster mother was making her living by dressmaking and had one assistant. She claimed that Flora did not like school because she was large and overgrown and felt awkward and ill at ease there.

Flora, however, told a different story on this point. She declared that she really liked school and wished she could attend more regularly. She found it very hard to keep up with her lessons when she missed so much time. Both the truant officer and her teacher complained of her absences and the work the child had to do. The teachers had taken an interest in Flora and helped her make up her work after school. The truant officer could not understand why the child was indentured in this home. He said: "All the woman wants Flora for is to do the work. She has no idea of giving the child a home."

Even good clothes, the movies, and all-day automobile trips on Sunday could not compensate for the drudgery demanded of her.

MENTALITY AND CONDUCT^o

PLACEMENT OF MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

Of the 452 children included in this study 19 were transferred to institutions for the feeble-minded while they were wards of the State public school. The following diagnoses were entered for these children in the records of the institutions for the feeble-minded:

Mental diagnosis	Number of children	Mental diagnosis	Number of children
Total	19	Low-grade moron	2
Imbecile	1	Middle-grade moron	3
High-grade imbecile	2	High-grade moron	5
Moron	2	Epileptic and feeble-minded	1
		Not reported	3

It should be remembered in this connection that the selection for the bureau's study was on the basis of children who had been placed in indenture homes during a certain period of years. No effort was made to discover how many of the total number of children received by the school during that period were considered to need custodial care in the institution for the feeble-minded. Undoubtedly the proportion of mentally defective children would be considerably augmented if there were added to the list the children whose mental condition prevented their placement in indenture homes, though they were not sent to the State institution for the feeble-minded.

^o According to information received from the director of the juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control (April 20, 1925), all children are now given mental tests before placement, children found to be feeble-minded or subnormal are not placed, and border-line cases are given special supervision and protection.

In Wisconsin, as in most other States, the custodial care provided for the feeble-minded has been inadequate, but the addition of a second State institution within the last year or two has made better care possible. The need for such care by the State is shown very strikingly in the results of a study made by psychologists attached to the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction, who in August, 1922, examined all the children then in the State public school for dependent children. A county institution having been made available for the care of the feeble-minded, 88 mentally handicapped children were transferred from the State school to this home for the feeble-minded in September, 1922. Among them were a number of the children reported on in this study, who were thus finally given the opportunity to receive the proper kind of care after having been vainly tried in indenture homes or kept in the institution for dependent children for several years.

The facts here presented do not indicate the policy of the State school, but they do picture the result of inadequate provision for the feeble-minded, which has necessitated the care of such children in an institution not equipped for it where their presence could not help being detrimental to the other children.

Within the last few years there has been fairly adequate attention to examination of children when they were received by the school. Mention has been made (see p. 6) of a law passed in 1921 which forbade the placing out of children who were feeble-minded, epileptic, or diseased, or one or both of whose parents were insane or feeble-minded. Obviously the strict application of this rule must result, to some extent, in turning the school into a custodial institution for handicapped children, at least until adequate provision is made for them in other institutions.

The stories of children indentured into farm homes and later found to be suffering under mental disabilities should prove the social wisdom of not placing such children in homes where they can not receive the necessary supervision and protection. Many sub-normal children can undoubtedly profit by life in farm homes, but the foster parents should have full knowledge of the child's disabilities. Moreover, in finding the home and supervising the child, a degree of care would have to be exercised that is impossible with the present small staff of the State school. The section of this report that deals with adoption cases (see p. 11) brings out the special danger of permanent placement without adequate investigation as to the mental condition of the child.

On the 19 indentured children who were later transferred to the State home for feeble-minded only 8 were under 6 years of age when committed to the State school. The other 11 children ranged from 6 to 15 years, and mental diagnoses should have been practicable. The histories of a number of these children disclose mental defect or disorder in the parents.

The child of a mother in a hospital for the insane was committed to the State public school at the age of 6 years. After being indentured to two different homes for a total period of a year and eight months and spending five years and two months in the institution he was transferred at the age of 13 years to the State home for feeble-minded. The records of the institution for the feeble-minded classify him as a middle-grade moron.

Another child, whose mother was epileptic as well as insane and who had been committed to a hospital for the insane, was received into the institution when he was almost 12 years of age. He had lived in one indenture home for a year and two months and in the school for dependent children for two years and five months and had spent three months as a runaway before he was transferred to the State custodial institution. There he was classed as a moron.

The daughter of a woman who had been committed to a hospital for the insane five times was transferred to the school for the feeble-minded when she was 12 years old, after being under the care of the school for dependent children for over five years, eight months of which she spent in indenture homes.

A girl whose mother was in a hospital for the insane was transferred to the school for the feeble-minded at the age of 13 years after having been under care of the school for dependent children for six years. Six months of this period were spent in an indenture home and the rest in the institution.

A child who was a year old when committed to the school for dependent children was transferred at the age of 10 years to the home for the feeble-minded. The child's mother had been committed as feeble-minded, ranking as a middle-grade imbecile. The baby had been placed in two indenture homes, remaining in them for one year altogether.

The mother of a State ward was committed to the institution for the feeble-minded some time after he himself—at nearly 3 years of age—was received into the State public school. After living in one indenture home for five and a half years and in the State school for over nine years, at the age of almost 18 years he was transferred to the institution for the feeble-minded, where he was diagnosed as epileptic and feeble-minded and as having a mental age of 6 years. A brother of this boy, also a State ward, was transferred to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys.

One of the former wards of the State school—a girl who had been received there when almost 16 years of age—was committed to the State home for the feeble-minded some time after her release from the jurisdiction of the State public school. She had given birth to an illegitimate child, which was placed for adoption.

In several of the cases reported, more than one child from a family were committed to the Wisconsin Home for the Feeble-minded. From one family of 11 children, 6 were committed to that institution. One of them, who was first committed to the State public school, was in indenture homes for 13 years. Another of these children, who was transferred to the institution for the feeble-minded at the age of 9 years, classed as a high-grade moron, was received at the State school at the age of 4 years and placed in an indenture home 14 days after admission. He remained there only six months, spending the other four years and nine months in the institution.

Undoubtedly part of the reported lack of schooling, which was discussed in a previous section, was due to the fact that the children were subnormal and did not profit by the instruction given in the ordinary ungraded country schools, unfitted to cope with this type of problem. Children who are subnormal mentally, though not actually feeble-minded, can be trained if given proper opportunities.

But in the school suited only to the normal child they get into difficulties, are apt to become insubordinate, give cause for concern because they are easily led, or show bad traits that the foster parents are unable to deal with wisely.

All this is evidence of the necessity for mental examinations such as have been given during the last few years of the history of the State school, and an inquiry into the social histories of the parents including thorough study of the child when he is admitted.

CHILDREN WHO PRESENTED CONDUCT PROBLEMS

The inquiry revealed the fact that 25 boys and 9 girls of the 253 boys and 199 girls included in the study were transferred to the State industrial schools while they were wards of the State public school. The ages of these children at the time of transfer ranged from 11 to 17 years. The reasons given for the transfer were as follows:

Reason for transfer to industrial school	Number of children	Reason for transfer to industrial school	Number of children
Total	34	Ran away and incorrigible	3
Incorrigible	12	Burglary	1
Ran away	10	Sex delinquency	1
Ran away and stole	6	Theft and breaking into houses	1

Under the Wisconsin law the commitment of children to the State school made possible their transfer to the industrial schools by the board of control without court hearings on the question of delinquency. Running away from the State public school or the indenture homes was the most common cause of transfer to the industrial school. The children reported as incorrigible apparently presented problems of management and showed the need for special care in the selection of foster homes for adolescent children, rather than serious delinquency.

The indenture history of many of these children showed that they had given difficulty in the foster homes. These children had been placed in a total of 58 indenture homes during the time they were wards of the State public school. Nineteen of them had been in only one indenture home, nine in two homes, four in three homes, one in four homes, and one in five homes.

In 36 of the 58 homes the children remained for less than two years. In only four cases did the children remain in an indenture home for as much as five years; one child was in the first home in which he was indentured for five years, two were in the first home for six years, and one was in the second home for seven years.

One of the nine children who were in two indenture homes was in these homes for eight years and six months—in his first home for one year and one month and in the second home for seven years and five months. The total time spent in the indenture homes by the other eight children was somewhat less, varying from one month and five days to six years and ten months.

One of the four children who were in three indenture homes stayed sixteen days in the first home, five months in the second, and four years and four months in the third. For the other three the total time spent in the indenture homes was one year and one month, one year and four months, and four years and eleven months. The child

who was placed in four indenture homes remained in them ten months, four months, two years and three months, and two years, respectively.

The total time the child who was in five indenture homes remained in these homes was less than four years—eleven days in the first, two months in the second, two years and ten months in the third, seven months in the fourth, and three months in the fifth home.

CASE SUMMARIES¹⁰

In some homes that offered the State wards excellent care and opportunities for training the children were unable to profit by these advantages because of physical, mental, or temperamental handicaps. Sometimes these handicaps were already present when the child was placed, and sometimes they appeared later. A knowledge of the child's history would have indicated that special care in placement and supervision was necessary.

Shortly after Mark was born his mother, the baby boy, and another child of 3 years were sent to a State home for the feeble-minded. Nothing is known of the father except that he was at the time working on a farm and that he had abandoned the mother and the two children.

In June, 1915, Mark, not yet 20 months old, was committed to the State public school. He was kept in the State school just 14 days, and then was sent to live with a family who took him because they were anxious to have a son. There was one child in the family, a girl of 12. Four years before the study a second daughter was born to the foster parents.

At the time of the agent's visit Mark had lived as a member of this family for eight years. The foster parents had often thought of adopting him, but were deterred by his frequent and sudden "epileptic fits," as the attending physician called them, to which he had been subject ever since his indenture. He was not attending school because it was a mile from the home, and the foster mother was afraid to have him go alone. He had gone to school only for a few weeks in 1921, when the family lived nearer to the schoolhouse. The mother said that he was very willing to work; he could bring in water and wood, feed the chickens, and run errands, and he liked especially to wash dishes. In winter he swept and shoveled snow. He was active physically, but his activity was not being directed.

The attending physician did not believe that Mark would outgrow the epileptic attacks and considered him far below par mentally. The foster parents, however, were anxiously waiting for the child to recover, so that they might feel safe in adopting him.

George's mother, who had run away and got married when she was 16, deserted her husband and four children. George was later born out of wedlock and after being in an institution for some time was left with his grandparents. When he was 8 years old he was brought before the juvenile court on a petition signed by the school-attendance officer alleging that the grandparents were unable to control him; that he was a truant from school; and that he took things from the desks of other children. His teacher said that he "made no academic progress," and that he did not "sense things." As a result he was committed to the State school, under whose supervision he remained for 10 years.

After six weeks at the State school George was indentured in his first home, in which he stayed 18 months and about which little is known. From the second home, in which he remained only four months, he was returned on the grounds of disobedience, profanity, and the prospect that he "would not be of much help when he grew older." In the third home he was expected to help with the farm work, but he was treated as a member of the family. The foster parents found him "stubborn and undependable" but kept him for 14 months.

¹⁰ The names of families and children used in case summaries are fictitious.

The foster parents in the fourth home also called him stubborn, but he remained there for four years and five months and was working there as a farm hand at the time of the study, after his indenture period had expired. This foster father doubted whether George would ever be capable of getting along by himself and kept him "out of sympathy."

George did not make friends with boys and girls of his own age but "always played with the little ones." In his last home he was very fond of his foster sisters, 6 and 2 years old, and made and painted a doll bed and chair for the older. He liked to make things, and his foster mother said that in this type of work he learned readily. In academic work the reverse was true. No matter how many times George was shown he could not seem to grasp what was told him. He was removed from one school at the request of the teacher and from another at the request of the teacher and the school board. One of these teachers had tried to control George by whipping him and was reported by the foster mother to have given him "six lickings in one day."

There was no record of the boy's school attendance while he was in his first indenture home. While in his second home he missed 20 days out of a possible 59 days. His attendance record during the next two years while in the third home showed 44 and 111 days present out of 46 and 155 days, respectively. The first year in the fourth home showed 101 days of attendance out of 160, but during the next three years he attended only 37, 30, and 21 days, respectively.

Although the fourth indenture home was visited a number of times by State school agents George saw only one of them and this agent, a man, but once. On this occasion the boy had been disobedient, and the visitor is reported to have "pulled a strap out of his pocket" and whipped him for his misconduct. From this time on, whenever George learned that a State agent was calling at his foster home, he "hid in the hay loft of the barn." It was only after much persuasion that he consented to talk with the Children's Bureau agent. George looked well cared for physically but appeared immature for his years.

Allen was 12 years old when indentured to Mr. and Mrs. R, who lived in an attractive home and had no children of their own. During the two years that he was with them he entered several homes, taking money, food, and other articles. He was said to have had a bad influence over the other boys. The foster mother tried to see that he had good associates. She dressed him well—he was particular about his appearance—and bought him war-savings stamps and started a bank account for him. The foster parents became very fond of him; but after he had run away twice, giving as his reason his dislike of school, they returned him to the institution because the foster mother feared "something serious would happen to him." Two months after his return he again ran away and was transferred to the industrial school, from which he ran away several times. He had been released a short time before the study, and nothing was known of his whereabouts just then, though the foster parents had heard from him occasionally after he left them.

Mr. and Mrs. R greatly regretted that they had seen nothing of Allen's record before he came to them, which was not entirely favorable. They would have been glad to give a permanent home to a child that they were able to control. But their experience with Allen made them unwilling to take another from the State school.

When Ludwig was 11 years old he ran away from home because his step-mother mistreated him, and went to the State school. He was placed with a kindly, middle-aged couple with no children of their own who owned a farm not far from a village of 500 inhabitants. He was in this home for about four years, and when he first came "you couldn't have asked for a nicer boy." He was dependable and honest. All the children in the neighborhood liked him. He pleased his foster parents very much when he learned to speak German, their native language.

When Ludwig had been in the home for about two years he was visited by his two older brothers, who seemed to have a bad influence upon him so that from that time on he became less dependable. About a year and a half later two brothers and a sister visited Ludwig and in a week earned the reputation

in the neighborhood of being "regular toughs." After their departure the foster mother discovered that some jewelry and other articles were missing.

Ludwig's foster parents thought that after this second visit from his family he deliberately tried to be unruly so that he would be sent back to the State school and then perhaps placed with his brothers and sister, with whom he was corresponding. He became disobedient, was unkind to the stock, did not do his chores properly except under supervision, and was expelled from school.

Ludwig was finally returned to the State school when his foster parents found that he had planned to run away. He had taken \$11 from his foster father's purse and hidden it in his clothes, which he had already packed. When he was being returned he tried to mail a postal card to his own family saying that he was going back to the State school and asking his brothers to come and get him. He was transferred instead to the boys' industrial school, from which he was paroled to his father after being in the institution a year and nine months.

CHILDREN RETURNED TO THEIR OWN HOMES

POLICY OF INDENTURING OR RELEASING TO PARENTS

It is the policy of the State to return children to their own homes when this appears to be practicable, the children remaining under the supervision of the State school. When it is considered desirable to do so, legal restoration of the parents' control may be made by action of the State board of control.

Of the 452 indentured children, 78 (17 per cent) were returned to their own families under indenture contracts; 6 of these children were returned twice. Of the 78 children, 23 had been restored to the legal control of their parents at the time of the study, and probably many of the others were restored afterward. Many of the children indentured to their own parents, however, were returned to the institution later.

The 78 children were returned to 53 families. Two or more children were returned to 17 of these families; 11 families had two children, 4 had three children, and 2 had four children. Both parents were living in the homes to which 34 of the 78 children were returned. Nine children were returned to families in which the father was the sole head of the family, the mothers of 5 children being dead and the mothers of 4 in jail. Thirteen children were returned to their mothers; the fathers of 4 of these children were dead, the whereabouts of 5 was not reported, and the parents of 4 were divorced. One of the reasons for return was the remarriage of the mother or father. In six families there were stepmothers, only one of these families having been a "stepmother family" at the time of the child's commitment. In 12 cases the children were returned to homes in which the mother had remarried. No report was obtained as to the status of the parents of 4 children who were returned to the custody of one or both parents.

Thirteen of the 78 children were under 5 years of age when they were returned to their own families; 3 were 1 year or less, 3 were 2 years, 3 were 3 years, and 4 were 4 years of age. Seventeen were 5 to 9 years of age, 22 were from 10 to 13, and 26 were 14 or over.

Analysis of the length of time under care before the return to their own families shows that more than half of the 78 children had been under care of the State for at least one year before they were returned to their parental homes.

Period under care before return to own home	Number of children	Period under care before return to own home	Number of children
Total	78	2 years	8
		3 years	7
Less than 6 months	17	4 years	9
6 months	16	5 years	6
1 year	12	6 years	3

The causes of commitment were given as follows:

Cause of commitment ¹¹	Number of children
Total	78
Abandonment by father, mother unable to support	15
Dependency, and neglect by parents	14
Home unfit	3
Neglect, children delinquent	2
Abandonment by parents	1
Neglect	8
Dependency, neglect by father, mother dead	1
Dependency, neglect by mother, father dead	1
Father unable to provide, mother dead	1
Neglect by father, mother deserting	3
Dependency, child delinquent	1
Improper guardianship, child delinquent	2
Mistreatment	1
Neglect, child delinquent, father dead	1
Parents ill and unable to provide	2
Parents divorced, mother insane	2
Father in jail, mother in hospital	1
Mother unable to support, father dead	2
Father deserting, child delinquent	4
Abandonment by father, mother immoral	3
Mother insane, father unable to provide	2
Dependency, father deserting	3
Mother in jail, father deserting	2
Dependency, mother dead	2
Not reported	1

The table on page 86 shows the parental status at the return of the children as compared with the parental status at the time of commitment for the 53 families for which this information was obtained.

¹¹ Parents living unless otherwise stated.

Parental status at the return of the children, by parental status at the time of commitment to the Wisconsin State Public School

Parental status at return of child	Families of children indentured 1913-1917															
	Total	Both parents living in home	Parental status at commitment													
			Father head of family				Mother head of family				Father and step-mother dead	Mother and step-father dead	Parents divorced or separated	Father in jail, mother in hospital	Both parents deserting	Father deserting, mother ill
			Total	Mother dead	Mother deserting	Mother in insane asylum	Total	Father dead	Father deserting	Father not reported						
Total.....	53	16	9	5	3	1	17	4	12	1	2	1	5	1	1	1
Status the same.....	23	13	4	4			3	3			2	1				
Status different.....	28	2	5	1	3	1	14	1	12	1			4	1	1	1
Both parents living in home.....	8		3		2	1			3				1	1		
Father head of family.....	3		1		1				3				1			1
Mother dead.....	1															
Mother in jail.....	2		1		1								1			1
Mother head of family.....	6						5		5						1	
Father deserting.....	1														1	
Father living ²	1						1		1							
Father not reported.....	3						3		3							
Parents divorced.....	1						1		1							
Father and stepmother.....	3		1	1			1		1				1			
Mother dead.....	1		1	1												
Mother living ²	1												1			
Parents divorced.....	1						1		1							
Mother and stepfather.....	7	1					5	1	3	1			1			
Father dead.....	1						1	1								
Father living ²	2	1											1			
Father not reported.....	4						4		3	1						
Both parents living, whereabouts not reported.....	1	1														
Status not reported.....	2	1											1			

¹ Includes one family whose parental status was different at second return of child; namely, mother and stepfather were living in home, father was dead.
² In cases where one parent is reported as "living," the only information secured was that the parent was alive, but whereabouts was unknown.

CASE SUMMARIES¹²

No child should be removed from his home unless such a step is necessary; he should be removed only temporarily if the conditions which made removal necessary can be and are corrected. Once he is removed the return to the home should be a part of a carefully thought out plan for the child's welfare. Family conditions must be thoroughly understood before such a plan is made. Returns and subsequent removals are difficult experiences for the child. There can be no justification for removing a child from a demoralizing environment by court action and then returning the child later to the same environment.

It is difficult to make a very definite comparison of the home conditions to which children returned and about which the Children's Bureau agents obtained first-hand knowledge with those which existed at the time of commitment—in many cases years before the investigation took place. The facts available from the study, however, seem to indicate that many homes had shown little improvement between the commitment and the return of the children, and many had changed for the worse. One of the bureau agents reported that conditions in only 1 out of 20 homes visited by her seemed better than they were at the time of the commitment of the child, judging by the court records and other information as to the earlier situation. In 4 of the 20 homes the conditions seemed decidedly worse when the child returned than when he was committed.

There were some cases, however, in which the original situation had not involved neglect or bad conditions and some in which the character of the home had changed between the commitment and the return. For children from such homes there is need for temporary care of a type not provided by the State school at the time of the study.

Sometimes children were returned to their own families just before they reached the age limit of 18 years, evidently with the intention of making this definite arrangement for them before they should cease to be under the jurisdiction of the State. The combination of the ages of a number of the children and the length of time they had been wards of the State before their return to their own families points toward the possibility that some families applied for such restorations because the children had become of working age. Many of the stories which follow will suggest to the case worker ways in which the family situation could have been greatly improved if contact with the family could have been maintained after the return of the child to his own home.

In the course of the study 36 of the 53 parental homes to which children had been returned, either on indenture or with full restoration of parental control, were visited by Children's Bureau agents. Of these homes 19 were noted as detrimental to the welfare of the children. Briefly, the situation was as follows:

Boy, 8 years: Father did not provide properly for the child.

Boy, 14 years: Parents dependent and intemperate, home insani-
tary.

Girl, 17 years: Stepmother disliked the girl, no control over her.

¹²The names of families and children used in the case summaries are fictitious.

- Boy, 11 years: Home morally bad, no supervision over child.
 Boy, 11 years: Home morally bad, child neglected.
 Girl, 12 years: Child neglected, mother feeble-minded.
 Boy, 8 years: Mother sent to jail twice, child neglected.
 Boy, 13 years: Mother "profane and treacherous," child mistreated.
 Girl, 13 years: Mother irresponsible, child deprived of schooling.
 Girl, 4 years: Mother's character questionable, mother deserted.
 Girl, 16 years, and boy 8 years: Bad living and health conditions.
 Girl, 15 years: Mother feeble-minded.
 Brother and sister, 2 years and 4 years: Children neglected, mother feeble-minded, family dependent.
 Girl, 10 years: Stepmother mistreated child.
 Girl, 2 years: Abused.
 Girl, 5 years; boy, 8 years: Home morally bad.
 Boys, 6 years and 9 years: Mother insane.
 Boy, 5 years; girls, 8 years and 9 years: Children neglected, mother feeble-minded.
 Boy, 7 years: Neglected.

At the time of Myra's commitment her father was in jail for wife-beating, and her mother was in the hospital recovering from the injuries inflicted upon her by her husband in a drunken row. Myra was cared for by a neighbor until she was sent to the State school. She was a year old at the time, and was dirty, neglected, and covered with sores. The parents were notorious for their immorality and intemperance and frequently had all-night parties at their home often resulting in fights.

Less than three months after her commitment Myra was returned to her parents on an indenture contract. There is no record of conditions in the home at that time.

When the bureau agent visited the family Myra was still under the supervision of the State school. The home life had greatly improved. The father worked steadily, earning \$18 a week, and owned the six-room cottage, dilapidated but neat and clean, in which he and the mother and four young children were living. The children were neatly dressed and well behaved. Both parents were now temperate. The mother had developed serious trouble with her feet and was unable to go out. She did her housework kneeling or crawling, but with Myra's help she kept the home in good condition.

Myra, a frail-looking child of 11 years, was 17 pounds underweight and frequently became ill. She was backward in school and repeated both the first and the third grade. Her teacher felt that the poor progress was due both to her poor physical condition and to too much work at home; the child was always tired. She was shy and did not make friends readily, for she was confined pretty closely at home because of her mother's health and her home duties. She washed dishes, made beds, cared for the chickens, dusted, and swept. Although not kept out of school for work she had little time for recreation.

After the death of her husband in 1914 the mother of six children made a brave struggle to keep the family together but finally broke under the strain and was sent to the hospital for the insane. Linda, the oldest child, aged 13 years, then tried to keep the family together on the \$25 a month pension which the mother had been receiving, but after two months this proved impossible and the children were committed to Sparta. Nine months later, when the mother had recovered, she found that all the children except Linda had been indentured. Linda was returned to her, and the mother gave her a two-year high school and business training course and was anxious to do as much for her other children. She was a hard-working woman and had saved money, but she was induced to see that she could not support all five of the other children and agreed to let them remain in their indenture homes until they were released at 18.

Mr. Y had kept his family of five children together, with some financial help from private charities, but he finally appealed to the juvenile court to have them cared for. The mother was immoral and had abandoned her family.

The father was an irregular worker and a heavy drinker. Four of the children were sent to the State public school, and the fifth was placed with relatives in the country, the board to be paid by the father through a private relief agency.

Two years after her commitment to the State school and at the age of 13 Beatrice was indentured to her father. He never had a home, but for some time she lived with him at cheap hotels. Later he placed her with relatives who were known to be immoral, and she was permitted by the State school to remain in that home, in spite of warnings by the relief society concerning its character. After the mother in the home died the girl was boarded in several families, being shifted from one place to another.

Beatrice had never been able to keep a job long because she was "stupid and did not work well." In 1923 at the age of 18 years she was earning \$3 a week as nurse girl in a place which she had had for six weeks. Her employers, a teacher, and a social worker, all reported her feeble-minded; she had left school at 15 years of age and was then in the fourth grade.

Annette was the only one of a family of seven children committed to the State school. No reason was given for the commitment of only one child. Less than six months later Annette was returned to the parental home. Both parents were shiftless, and the father was an irregular worker and a habitual deserter. The children were undisciplined and mischievous, raced the streets, and took things which did not belong to them. The home was a small cottage, untidy, poorly furnished, and overcrowded. The mother wove rugs at home, leaving the housework to the children, who were inadequately fed and clothed.

In 1917 the father was drowned, and the mother received "mothers' pension" aid until her remarriage four years later. Several times during this period threats were made to withdraw the aid because the mother was thought to be living with the man she later married. Annette remained in the home for three years and was then returned to the State school as "beyond control and endangering the morals of other children." She was then 13 years old.

After an indenture to another home for a little less than two years, Annette was again released to her mother and stepfather, who were then living in an eastern State.

Between 1913 and 1915 the F family were under the supervision of the poor master, the health department, the probation department of the juvenile court, and a relief society of the city in which they lived. The six children were inadequately fed and clothed. Conditions were bad, but the case was in court eight times before the five older children were finally removed. The father then threatened to leave the home, but upon being told that if he did so the children could never be returned, he decided to remain and try to improve conditions.

During the next six months the parents made fair progress, and the home improved to such an extent that Julian, aged 6, was returned on an indenture contract. The father was a good steady man, interested in the home and determined to get his children back. But the mother was untidy, lazy, and dirty and had little real interest in her children.

Two of the boys had been legally adopted and could not be returned. The parents and the two children lived in a four-room cottage, which was very untidy and dirty. The father worked steadily as a day laborer, earning \$21 a week. Julian, now 14 years of age, was in the first year of high school and attended school regularly. His teacher marveled that a boy of such intellectual tendencies should come from such a wretched home. He worked after school hours selling papers, running errands, and picking up odd jobs, all of which brought him enough for his clothing. He received encouragement from his father, who was sympathetic and was proud of him.

August's older brothers were in the State industrial school on charges of stealing and housebreaking, his mother was reported to be a prostitute, and his father neglected August and the two younger children. When the mother left home for a month the children were brought before the juvenile court as

neglected and were to be sent to the State public school, but the mother returned and was allowed to keep them.

About a year later the father was sent to jail for six months for larceny. The mother went out to work, and August, now 11 years old, became the leader of the neighborhood gang of boys. He rarely went to school, and he admitted, not without pride, that he had stolen knives, marbles, candy, perfumes, skates, a gun, a pipe, tobacco, and milk. The principal of his school considered him vicious and incorrigible—a danger to the other children in the school—and petitioned the juvenile court to send him to the industrial school. He was sent instead to the State public school. Within two months the State school agent, after visiting the home, recommended the return of the boy to his parents. At the end of two years, with a record of having broken into six houses, he was sent to the industrial school for boys, where he remained for five years.

When he returned home he joined his brothers in alternately working and loafing. He associated with what was described as "a very tough crowd" and was suspected of illicit liquor dealings.

Howard's mother was in the habit of going to dances at roadhouses, leaving her children alone, while her husband spent the evenings at the saloon. In July, 1913, the mother left home, taking the youngest child, 4 years of age, with her. The father neglected the other children—Howard, aged 8, and Alma, aged 5—and they were sent to the State school. The father was arrested at this time for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. He asked that the children be committed for two months until he could make a home for them. In two weeks, however, the mother returned home, and the children were returned from the State school on indenture contracts, just one month after their commitment.

The following year Howard attended school 80½ days out of 187 and failed in the third grade. The next year he attended 158½ days. Alma attended 67 days and failed in the first grade. The second year she attended 136 days. Her school record was very poor; she was inattentive and apparently unable to concentrate. She would forget overnight all that she had learned the day previous.

The home was an old cottage, always dirty, in a dilapidated section of the city. The father worked irregularly because of drink but could make good wages. The children were allowed to run wild and were always on the streets, for their parents took no interest in their training, recreation, or health.

In 1915 the family left town taking the children with them, and neither the State school officials nor the neighbors or town officials had heard from them since.

Much to his foster parents' surprise Arnold had turned up at their home at Christmas, penniless, ragged, and dirty. He had left them over a year before, but he wanted to come back and work for them again. His sojourn working in a large city had been discouraging to him. He could not remember all the places or the length of his various jobs.

During the year Arnold had been away from the indenture home he lived in three rooms with his parents and five brothers and sisters. Within five years his family had lived in at least 11 different homes, from which they were put out because of the filthy condition of their rooms or which they left owing rent. They had been known to six social agencies since moving to the city in 1918. A brother, 15 years of age, was under the care of the Sparta school; a sister of 23 years was in the State home for feeble-minded. Arnold also showed very limited mental capacity; though he had had average school opportunities he was in the third grade at the age of 15 years when his schooling ceased.

When Arnold first entered his indenture home his habits, physical and mental, were similar to those of the rest of his family. But with patient and kindly help, during a period of five and one-half years, he had developed into a fairly neat boy and a good farm helper. His foster father said that before he was released the farm work could have been intrusted to him for three or four days at a time. But during the year at his own home Arnold had acquired rough language and filthy personal habits. His chief interests

were "movies" and girls. His habits and talk were so vile that his foster parents threatened to discharge him unless there was decided improvement. His work had become very poor, and he was unreliable. The foster parents expected to continue their efforts to help him. They had started a bank account for him and were aiming to teach him clean personal habits and to make him again a good worker.

FAMILY HISTORIES SUBSEQUENT TO THE COMMITMENT OF THE CHILDREN

NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK WITH THE FAMILIES

The report has already touched on the problems incident to the return of children to their own homes, either through indenture by the State school while they were still wards of the State or on their own initiative at the expiration of the State's jurisdiction. Attention has also been called to the importance of social work with families, not only that children may not be committed until everything possible has been done to enable them to remain in their own homes and that responsibility for support by the parents may be enforced, but that the children shall not be returned to homes unfit to receive them. In the absence of such assistance it is to be expected that on return many of the children will be exposed to the environment from which they were taken.

The county officials seemed to consider their responsibility ended when the children had been removed. Unless some other serious problem arose in the family no more attention was paid to it. No effort was made to improve the home while the children were away or to better conditions in any respect. When a child returned home, therefore, he either fell into step with things as he found them or became very unhappy and left, drifting about without a place that he wished to call his home.

From the following brief summaries of family conditions subsequent to the commitments of children it will be noted that the State did not require the parents to contribute to the support of their children, even when they appeared to be financially able to do so. Another policy which these case stories illustrate was the commitment of children "piecemeal." One or more children would be removed from a family; in a year or so, another child or two would be taken by the State. There were also families where parents had separated, giving up the children to the State; later they lived together again, sometimes not interested in the return of the children but in other cases requesting their return and receiving back some or all of the children. In a few instances adoption had occurred by the time the parents applied for the return of the children.

CASE SUMMARIES ¹³

A girl and three boys had been under the care of the State for six years. There were three older children in this family who remained in the family home. When the children were committed both parents were living in the home. They subsequently moved to another State and at the time of the study were living on a small farm.

¹³ The names of families and children used in the case summaries are fictitious.

The younger of two children had been a ward of the State for six years; the older child was released on attaining the age of 18 years after having been a ward for four years. At the time of commitment the children were living with their mother and stepfather, who later moved to another community. The following agencies were reported to have dealt with the family subsequent to the commitment of these children: The State home for the feeble-minded, to which one child was committed; the county poor farm, to which the stepfather was committed; a State hospital for the insane, to which the mother was committed; and the county poor commissioners, who had given aid to the parents.

Of four brothers and sisters who were removed from the home of their parents, one was adopted, two were committed to the home for feeble-minded, and one had been indentured for six years. An older son of working age was left in the home. The parents were still living in the same community in a cottage on the outskirts of town, which the mother inherited from her parents. The father was a day laborer, working on the streets. Two of the three children who had been born since the four children were committed died of convulsions in infancy, and a 4-year-old child in the home could not talk. The mother was again pregnant. The father had been idle all winter. The family was known to the police department. The county poor department gave aid from time to time.

A boy who was committed from a home in which both parents were living remained under care for eight years. Four children were left in the home. During the time since the boy was committed the mother had had two miscarriages, one stillbirth, and at least one live birth, the child dying in infancy. Two other children died—one had pneumonia and the other burned to death. The family had received county aid at intervals for 10 years. The mother had been in poor health and had received free hospital care. At the time of the study a 15-year-old daughter who was venereally diseased was pregnant and had been sent by the municipal court to a maternity home. The mother was filthy and seemed stupid. The father worked in a laundry, earning \$30 a week; he was said to be subnormal mentally. The family lived in a dirty, neglected, four-room cottage, 1 mile outside of town.

At the time of commitment of a boy and a girl their father had deserted, and the mother was reported as being feeble-minded and morally depraved. These children had been under care for eight and one-half years at the time of the study. Another child who was committed at the same time was later adopted. When the children were committed the mother was put under the guardianship of her parents. Within five years she gave birth to three illegitimate children, two of whom were committed to the State school and later died. When she was pregnant for the fourth time she was committed to the State home for feeble-minded, where the child was born dead. The mother died later at the home for the feeble-minded.

A boy, who had been a ward of the State four and one-half years, was committed from a home in which both parents were living. Eight children were left in the home. The year the child was committed the parents moved to another State with the eight children; they returned four years later. Three children had been born since the commitment. The father could not earn enough to support the family, and they were aided by the relief society from 1916 to 1919. They boy was indentured by the State school to his own father in 1913, six months after he was committed, but he was later sent to the State industrial school for boys because of truancy. In 1922 a sister, aged 19 years, eloped with a married man and was sentenced to jail on an adultery charge. At the time of the study the family was living in a six-room flat in poor repair. The home was dirty and untidy, and the building insanitary. The father was unemployed, and three children were working. The mother and two daughters were ardent workers in a religious organization.

Prior to their commitment three boys, who had been State wards for six years, were living in the home of an uncle. The father had deserted, and the mother was ill. Two years before this study was made the father, then living in Oklahoma, made inquiry about the boys. The mother had been in California for six years and was remarried. Her husband was reported to have an income of \$3,000 a year.

Because of the insanity of the mother and the divorce of their parents two girls were committed to the State public school in infancy. They had been living with the mother, who was later committed to the State hospital for the insane. They remained under care for 11 years. Sixteen months after the children were committed the mother was paroled from the hospital to her own mother's care. Arrangements were made with the father to pay \$40 a month to the mother for the support of the children, so that they could be returned to her. To settle the matter the parents were remarried, and the children were returned. Two months later the parents were arrested for disorderly conduct. For six years the parents alternately lived together and apart. Two more children were born to them. Three years before the study the family moved away.

A mother and her six children were living in the county poorhouse, the father having abandoned the family. In December, 1915, five of these children (four girls and one boy) were committed to the State public school and remained under care for three and one-half to seven and one-half years. After commitment of the children the mother and the baby moved to another community, and in 1918 they moved again to a large city. The mother found work cleaning cars in a railroad shop and applied to have her children returned to her. By that time two of the children had been adopted, and two had been released because they had reached the age limit. One was restored to the mother. One released child had to receive treatment for a tubercular hip. While the mother worked out the youngest child was neglected and undernourished. The mother had kept roomers and boarders and had worked hard to provide a home for her children.

The home of three children (two girls and a boy) had been broken by the desertion of the father. The children were living with the mother at the time of commitment. They had been under care for nine years. One child from this family had been adopted previously. About six months after the children's commitment the father tried to gain possession of the children. As he had failed to contribute toward their support for two and one-half years, the application was denied, but the records do not show that any attempt was made to have him make payments toward their maintenance.

Two girls and a boy had been wards of the State for seven years. When committed they were living with the father, the mother having died. Later the father married a woman who had five children of her own; three children were born to this marriage, and all these eight children lived at home. The family had received some county aid. The father asked for the return of the children after his remarriage, but investigation showed that the parents were intemperate and the home was crowded. One child was returned to the home temporarily but was mistreated by the stepmother and was returned to the State school. The father was in poor health and probably had tuberculosis. Neither the father nor the stepmother spoke English. They were living in a poorly furnished but fairly clean rented house near the railroad tracks and were letting rooms to foreign laborers.

The periodic insanity of the mother was responsible for the removal of three boys and a girl from the parental home. Two of these children were wards of the State for five years and three months, and two for almost six years.

Twelve children had been born in this family; no information was secured regarding the other eight. The mother was sent to the hospital for the insane for the fifth time, when the children were committed to the State school. She remained there about one month. Five months after commitment two of the children (aged 6 years and 9 months, respectively) were returned to the home on indenture and remained there. It was reported that the mother sometimes became violent if a stranger talked to her.

A boy who had been a ward of the State seven years and eight months was being cared for in a home other than his own at the time he was committed. The father was dead. The mother remarried a few months after the child's commitment, and the couple moved to another State, where they lived on a farm. The stepfather was said to be a ne'er-do-well. Two children remained with the mother when the boy was committed to the State school. One of these at the time of the study was with the mother and stepfather; the other had been "adopted out" to people living on a near-by farm. Two children had been born since the mother's remarriage and were living with the parents.

Both parents were living in the home from which three boys were committed to the care of the State. They remained under care from five and one-half to six years. One of these boys was later transferred to the Wisconsin Home for Feeble-minded. Three children were left in the home, but two of these (both girls) were committed two years later; after being under care of the State school for some time, one was transferred to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, and the other to the institution for the feeble-minded. When visited the family was living in a one-room shack on a farm. The house was filthy. Both parents were heavy drinkers, though conditions had apparently improved somewhat. The boy who had remained in the home was becoming incorrigible. The family from time to time had been in receipt of public and private aid.

Four children (three boys and a girl) were removed from a home in which both parents were living. They were under the care of the State from one to five and one-half years. Another daughter, committed at the same time, was over 17 years of age; when she was released from jurisdiction on reaching 18 years she returned to her parental home. Five children remained with the family. Two years after commitment of the children to the State school the family moved to a large city. Here they lived in 11 different homes, being evicted again and again either because of filth or because they owed rent. They had received help from neighbors and church societies and sometimes from the county. Two girls were found to have a venereal disease. One of them gave birth to a child out of wedlock and was in the house of correction for a time before being sent to the Wisconsin Home for Feeble-minded. The baby was placed for adoption. The eight people in the family were living in three rooms. The father was earning \$21 a week as a night watchman. The mother was subnormal mentally, and all the members of the family had been in poor health.

Following the death of the father as the result of an industrial accident two boys were committed to the State public school. They were under care four and five years. About a year after the commitment the mother received \$3,000 compensation for her husband's death. With this money she bought a house, and she supported herself by taking in washing. She applied for the return of the children, but the State school refused her request. One of the boys committed to the State school was later transferred to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys because he had run away. Of the children not committed one was legally adopted, one was taken care of by friends in another State, and the oldest boy remained with the mother until he, too, was sent to the boys' industrial school. The mother remarried two years after the father's death, and the family was living in the house she had bought. One child had been born to this couple. The 16-year-old girl, who

was cared for by friends in another State, had returned and was considered to be very immoral. The mother was shiftless and had no control over the children.

Three girls and a boy who were under the care of the State from three and one-half years to eight and one-half years were removed from the home in which both parents were living. A little over a year prior to the commitment of the children five of the children of this family had been placed in an orphanage, and the mother and the youngest child had been sent to the poor farm; the father was serving a sentence in prison for assault. The home was reestablished upon the father's release, but conditions were so bad in a short time that four of the children were committed to the State school. About a year after their commitment application was made to the State board of control for their return to the home, the father being "very much upset mentally" because of the removal of the children. Two of the children were then indentured to the parents, and another was returned to them two and one-half years later. The fourth child had been adopted. The children were neglected, and the mother was committed to the Wisconsin Home for Feeble-minded, from which she escaped and joined the father. About a year later she and the father had a serious fight and were told to leave the county. The mother and one child moved to the city, where the mother tried to get work. She was arrested for adultery, and the child was sent to live with the father, who was maintaining a home in another State. A short time before the study was made the mother began to keep house for a widower and his eight children.

AFTER CAREERS OF THE CHILDREN

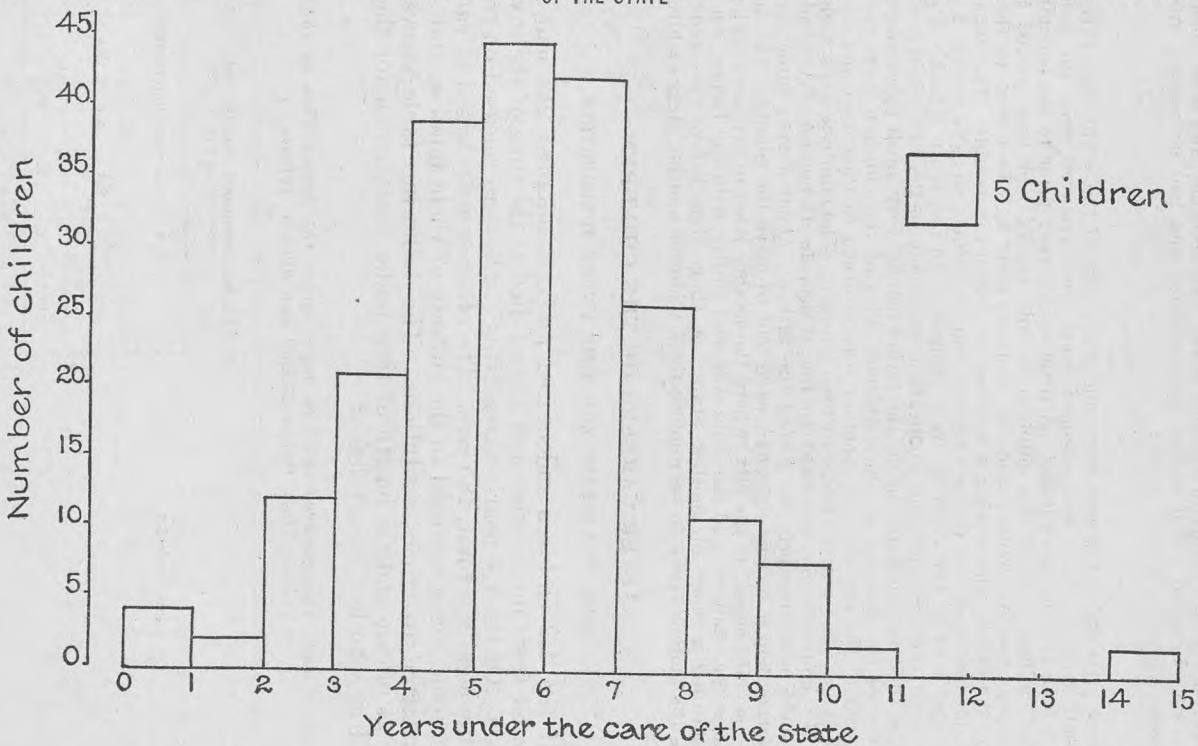
AGES AT RELEASE AND TIME UNDER JURISDICTION

Of the 452 children indentured and not adopted 213 had been released from jurisdiction and 15 had died at the time of the investigation. Of the 213 nearly three-fifths (122) were released on reaching the legal age limit, 18 years. The others were released at various ages, some being returned to the custody of their families and some transferred to other institutions. The following table shows the ages at release and the length of time under jurisdiction for the 213 children who had been released:

Length of time the released children were under the jurisdiction of the Wisconsin State Public School and ages at release

Ages at release	Children indentured 1913-1917 who had been released on Apr. 1, 1923					
	Total	Number of years under jurisdiction				
		Less than 2	2-4	5-6	7-9	10-15
Total.....	213	6	72	86	45	4
1 year.....	1	1				
4 years.....	1		1			
6 years.....	1		1			
8 years.....	1		1			
9 years.....	1			1		
10 years.....	1		1			
11 years.....	9	2	4	1	2	
12 years.....	6		3	2	1	
13 years.....	11	1	4	5	1	
14 years.....	12		7	2	3	
15 years.....	21	2	8	8	2	
16 years.....	11		6	4		1
17 years.....	12		3	5	3	1
18 years.....	122		33	55	33	1
19 years.....	3			3		

WARDS OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL—DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH OF TIME SPENT BY 213 CHILDREN UNDER THE CARE OF THE STATE



PLANS FOR THE CHILDREN'S FUTURE

One of the serious shortcomings of the Wisconsin indenture system as practiced at the time of the Children's Bureau study was the absence of adequate assistance to children when they were released from jurisdiction on reaching their eighteenth birthday. The Children's Bureau agents reported that there had been recent efforts by the agents of the State school to visit the children shortly before

release and to find out what their plans were; but because of the amount of work that had to be done by the two agents it was quite impossible for them to give much help in this way. Several families were reported as being distressed because it was nearing time for the children in their charge to be released and the State agents had not been around to talk over the plans for the children. Both foster parents and children wanted this advice. However, it seems that the agents visit the children ready for release much more frequently than they used to. One instance is mentioned of a girl who remained in the indenture home three months after her time was up, but the agent did not appear. No effort seems to have been made by the school to find suitable work for the children who were released, nor did the school have any means of learning the conditions of the homes into which the children went—very frequently, as has been said, their own homes, from which they had been removed because of bad influences.

One foster mother was worried about the probability that her 18-year-old foster daughter, who had been operated on for tubercular glands, would return to her own home to nurse a sister ill with tuberculosis. The girl's term was almost up, but nothing had been heard from the school and no place had been found for her.

A 17-year-old boy, seen in his indenture home by the bureau agent four months before he was to be released, appeared very eager for guidance, but no one had suggested to him any plans for the future. His foster mother said that they were waiting until the boy became 18 years old to see what he wanted to do. He did not care to continue in farm work.

The children sometimes spoke of being "bound out" and felt that they were by no means free agents, looking forward to their eighteenth birthdays for release from servitude. Guidance after the children are 18 and have left their indenture homes would be difficult.

CHILDREN WHO WENT BACK TO THEIR OWN HOMES

Somewhat detailed information was obtained in regard to the histories of 70 boys and 53 girls after they were released from the jurisdiction of the State; all of them were 18 years or over at the time of the study. One of the most interesting facts is the number of these children who resumed contact with their relatives. Excluding 4 boys and 9 girls who were indentured to their own families at the time of their discharge, 28 boys and 29 girls returned to their parental homes or to brothers and sisters with homes elsewhere.

The return to their original homes or to near relatives of at least three-fifths of the children who were kept under the jurisdiction of the State school until they were 17 or 18 years of age may indicate one of two things. Some children may have been removed from homes to which it was perfectly proper that they should return, the conditions that led to their commitment having been brought about by misfortune and temporary poverty. On the other hand, there was abundant evidence that many returned to conditions that were dangerous. Possibly some separations of parents and children could have been avoided through aid to the mothers or through pressure upon the parents to compel them to fulfill their obligations toward the children.

Many of the children studied apparently gained little through the aid given by the State except maintenance during a period of years. They had not been so trained that without some help they could seek a higher level than their original environment. Sheer helplessness and loneliness doubtless accounted for the return of some. If contact with the families had been maintained, if constructive work had been done with the families, and the return of the child had been carefully planned for, this reuniting of the families would have been the desirable outcome.

CONTACT WITH THEIR FORMER INDENTURE HOMES

Though a considerable proportion of the indenture homes failed to come up to the standard that should be demanded it was not unusual to find foster parents who had a very sincere interest in the welfare of the children temporarily in their charge. Of the 127 children whose after careers were followed, 32 boys and 28 girls were known to have kept up some contact with former indenture homes, not always their last homes. Almost half these children had remained in the indenture homes for a longer or shorter period after their release from jurisdiction, several of them working for wages in the home or on the farm. Others—most of them boys—remained in the neighborhood working for farmers who had known of them through the indenture homes. In a number of instances boys and girls returned to their indenture homes for visits, kept up correspondence, brought the future husband or wife to become acquainted with the family, and in other ways showed that many of the indenture homes had taken the place in some measure of the parental homes that these children lacked.

EMPLOYMENT AFTER RELEASE

The State has not as yet assumed the responsibility for vocational training or vocational guidance for these dependent wards. Not a single child was found who, at the time of release, had been trained to do any but housework or farm work. So far as the Children's Bureau agents could learn, every child who had employment in which he was happy and earning his livelihood had found it through his own efforts without assistance from the State. After release there was often a pitiful drifting from one job to another. Three of 12 released children seen by one agent had definite desires for further school training along technical lines, one wanting to be a nurse and the other two wishing to study some mechanical trade. It would be worth the cost for the State to work out a program for discovering the abilities of the children and, so far as practicable, providing the necessary training. Such vocational guidance as is being provided for all children in the more progressive city schools is especially needed for as helpless a group as these State wards.

Definite information was obtained in regard to the occupations of 46 boys and 46 girls out of the 135 children who were released from the school's jurisdiction when they were 17, 18, or 19 years of age. In addition to this number 1 boy and 1 girl had been committed to an institution for the feeble-minded and 1 boy to a correctional institution, and another boy had died.

The following list shows the number of the released boys and girls of the ages mentioned who were engaged in specified occupations on April 1, 1923:

Occupations	Number of girls	Occupations	Number of boys
Total.....	56	Total.....	75
Housewife (married).....	21	Farm laborer.....	26
Housework.....	7	Factory worker.....	8
Clerk in store.....	6	Army or Navy.....	3
Factory worker.....	5	Railroad employee.....	3
Telephone operator.....	2	Lumber-yard worker.....	2
Nurse.....	2	Painter.....	1
Nurse girl.....	1	Mechanic—odd jobs.....	1
Laundry worker.....	1	Student.....	2
Student.....	1	No occupation.....	2
Not reported.....	10	Not reported.....	27

Of the 46 boys whose work histories were known 26 were working on farms on the date specified. However, 8 of the 26 had been on their own resources less than one year, and only 3 had been released from the State's care three years or more. The following table shows the period since release for the boys working on farms and the boys engaged in other occupations:

Period since release for boys working on farms and in other occupations

Period since release	Number of boys—		Period since release	Number of boys—	
	Working on farms	In other occupations		Working on farms	In other occupations
Less than 6 months.....	5	1	4 years.....	1	2
6 months.....	3	1	5 years.....	1	2
1 year.....	7	6	6 years.....		1
2 years.....	8	3	Total.....	26	20
3 years.....	1	4			

Nine boys who were doing farm work were still living in the homes into which they were last indentured. Five of the 9 had been released less than a year, 3 had been out a year, and 1 had been out two years. Nine of the 26 boys were working on farms in the neighborhood of their last indenture homes. One of the other 8 was reported as working in the neighborhood of his own home. One whose parents were dead was working on a farm where he had been placed by a parole officer upon release from a correctional institution. Three had gone to other States, and 1 was working on a wheat farm in Canada.

The greatest number of the girls had married after their release from the State school's jurisdiction and were reported as housewives. Of these 21 girls, 15 had one or two children. Only 7 of the 46 girls whose occupations were reported were doing housework at the time of the study. For these girls the periods since release were as follows: 1, two months; 3, one year; 1, two years; 1, three years; and 1, six years. The last mentioned was living with relatives and doing their housework. Four of the 7 girls doing housework were still in

their last indenture homes. Only 2 girls had secured this type of employment independently of their indenture homes and relatives, though for almost all the girls this was the occupation in which training was supposed to be given in indenture homes. It is to be presumed that the girls who were married after their release—almost half the whole number—would find their experience in household duties of help and that their standards of living might thereby be improved over the conditions from which they were committed to the State school.

CASE SUMMARIES ¹⁴

The following case summaries tell something of the after careers of children released from the jurisdiction of the State school and indicate the difficulties which they met in their first years as their own masters. The need of guidance and help in establishing themselves after release is very evident. The stories of these children show the results of failure to give them training adapted to their inclinations and abilities. Indenture-home experiences and own-home conditions are included in order to give a picture of the "background" of the children when they went out to make their own way in the world.

The mother of Martin and Bernard was found living in an old shack among the hills. She had been supported by the town from the time the father was placed in a State hospital for the insane until the two boys were sent to Sparta by the court because the mother was unable to manage them. Afterwards the mother received county aid for the smallest child. The father died, and four years later the mother married again, the family continuing to live in the little house, for which they paid a small yearly rental.

This is the family background of Martin, who at the time of the study had been released from indenture about six months and was working in a small lumber town. Like many of the released children, Martin had so varied a work record that he could not remember the exact dates or places of his employments, although he mentioned about six different jobs he had held; among them were assistant cook in a lumber camp, piling copper in a copper mine, mill worker, laborer on the roads, and sorting laths for a lath company. He averaged three to five months in each job. He was expecting to take up automobile repair work.

For two months after his release Franklin worked on a farm near his indenture home, earning \$100 during this period. Then he secured work in a factory, where he had been for three years at the time he was interviewed. He was earning 58 cents an hour, and although he was only 21 years old he had been advanced to the position of underforeman in one of the departments. He was a reliable worker and a clean and ambitious young man and was determined to advance. For two winters he had been studying arithmetic and chemistry through correspondence courses and had already enrolled in a course in algebra for the coming winter.

Franklin was one of five children committed to the State school when the mother died. He was 11 years old at the time that he was indentured to a home where he remained for seven years. His foster father had had several children from the State public school, always applying for another when an older child was ready to leave. The boy was very fond of going to school but was permitted to attend only until 14 years of age. During his three and one-half school years he was present only 335 days, or an average of about 96 days a year. Franklin believed that he was taken into the indenture home only for work.

¹⁴ The names of families and children used in the case summaries are fictitious.

When Harriet was sent to the State school at the age of 10 years her mother had been in a hospital for the insane for five years, and the child was living in the home of her father and a woman to whom he was not married. She was placed successively in two unsatisfactory homes. In the first she was overworked. In the second she was deprived of a year of schooling to wait on her foster mother, a woman of about 70, who was too ill to be left alone. The lonely, dull life of the child may easily be imagined.

Harriet's foster mother died just nine days before her release from the school. The girl remained in the home for a few days and then went to see a married sister who lived in the home town. Two days later Harriet secured work as a domestic. She was a very satisfactory worker, was well-behaved, and showed an excellent disposition, but she was discharged because her employer found that her body was covered with scabs, an affliction which she had when first taken under the care of the State school and for which she had never received proper treatment. She was in this home only two weeks.

She next went to live with another sister for a week, helping with the housework and the care of the children. Then through the efforts of the secretary of the relief society she procured work in a shoe factory as a machine operator, earning 16 cents an hour. She was desirous of fitting herself for as high a standard of work as possible and had made arrangements to enter evening classes.

Occasionally the boys and girls, on their release from the jurisdiction of the State, remained quite contentedly with the people with whom they were living at the end of the period of indenture. This was a somewhat reliable sign of a good placement.

Myrta's mother and father were both taken to a hospital for the insane within a period of four months. She lived with her seven brothers in a little house on a farm. The farm was heavily mortgaged. The four older brothers were abusive and mean to the younger children. Myrta gathered wild berries to sell in order to get enough food for them to eat. When the youngest brother became very ill with meningitis Myrta and her three younger brothers were committed to the State public school. Myrta was indentured and has had but one home—not at all a home of culture but one where there was comfort and kindness. She said she loved the home—she was not nagged at nor were any heavy demands made upon her. She continued to live there after her release and was receiving \$5 a week for her work. She expressed a hope that it would always be her home.

When children of a family were reunited after release and combined to make a home, it was very likely to be found that the parent who had given them up was forced to do so by poverty and formed the nucleus for a successful home when the children had fulfilled their indenture period and were in a position to be self-supporting. The F's offer a fine example.

The F's were divorced, and the mother being unable to provide for all her four children, Fanny, Alexander, and Stuart were committed to the State public school. No further details of the home conditions at time of commitment were obtained.

Fanny remained in her first indenture home four years and was then transferred to a second home on a contract to work. This family consisted of four adults and a daughter about Fanny's age.

When she was 18 Fanny returned to her mother, who had moved to G and was supporting herself by doing practical nursing. Because the girl had very few clothes when she came home she did housework for a year to earn enough to buy a complete new outfit. In 1920 she entered the nurse's training class at the G hospital and took the two-year course. Since then she has been employed at the hospital, earning \$80 a month and her maintenance. The hospital is near her home, and she sees her mother daily.

Alexander, a fine-looking, straightforward lad of 20, was earning \$120 a month in a railroad freight office, where he had been employed for a year and

a half. When he came home he attended an automobile school and had been promised employment by a motor company, but because of the industrial depression this promise could not be fulfilled. Alexander spoke very highly of his foster parents, with whom he remained eight years. He considered his indenture experience a valuable asset.

Stuart, the youngest of the three, had been released only a few months. Upon returning home he worked in a store for a while, earning \$60 a month. He became ill, and an operation was necessary. On recovery he entered an electrical course at the technical high school and expected to continue through the two and one-half years of the course. During the summer vacation he had gone to work on a farm near his former indenture home.

Stuart also had a very happy foster home and would have liked to continue working for his foster father, who offered to send him to high school, but his mother wanted him to come home.

The home to which these children returned was a neat, pleasingly furnished flat. All the children contributed to the support of the home and were proud and happy to be together.

Six of the B children had been committed to the State public school in 1916 because of the unfitness of their home. The father was an irregular worker and intemperate. The mother was immoral and neglected her home and children. The home situation did not improve even after the parents were relieved of the responsibility of all but one child, a 14-year-old boy. The father died soon afterwards, and the mother left the community to go to a larger place, where she was soon arrested for soliciting and sent back to her county of residence. She had been cared for at the county farm ever since. She did fairly well as cook there, but could not be trusted in the community and had to be closely watched.

Two of the six children had already returned to their old home community. After release from the jurisdiction of the State Louise remained in her indenture home for three months, but she then went to her maternal grandmother to be near her brothers. Her foster mother thought the true reason to be that the girl craved the companionship of boys and girls of her own age, which was not available in the neighborhood of the indenture home. Her two older brothers—one a young man 23 years of age who had never been committed to the State school and Raymond, a released boy—supported her for a short time, but later she secured work in a factory. She had been unhappy at this work and was learning to be a telephone operator, earning \$9.50 a week. Her supervisor said she was very slow to learn and seemed stupid. She was undersized and pale and was taking treatments for goiter.

Louise had wanted very much to go back to her own people, but after two months with them she wished herself back in her foster home, where she liked her work about the farm and where she was not always getting into trouble because of being slow. This foster home—a large farm—where she had lived for six years, was a very satisfactory one. The family consisted of the foster parents and three grown sons. Louise was treated as a member of the family although she had been taken to help with the work. She was retarded in her school work and disliked going to school because she was older than most of the children in her grade. During her three months' stay after release she was not paid wages, but she was given money and clothing upon leaving.

Raymond was in his first foster home only three weeks, because the foster parents were unable to break him of an unpleasant habit and refused to keep him. He was transferred directly from that home to another farm in an adjoining county, where he remained for four years. His experience there was a happy one. He was taken to help with the farm work and assist in the care of the foster parents' own child, but his tasks were not too hard for him. He also returned to his grandmother's home after his release. His older brother secured several jobs for him—errand boy in a country store, driving a delivery wagon, and working in a factory. He thought he was tired of farm work, but he did not like his new employments, and so four months later he got a place as farm helper, where he was paid \$35 a month and maintenance. He had been there for nearly two years and was content.

At the time of the study the three older children were working toward reuniting the family, and the oldest son had been "fixing up" the old family home for them.

The day Emil was released from his six-year indenture he left his foster home and went to visit at the home of his foster sister for a few days, and then went on to the home of his father and stepmother in a large city outside the State. He secured work at \$14 a week in the shop where his father was employed. He had a disagreement with his father, and as soon as he found another job which paid him a dollar a week more he quit this place. The second job was as clerk in a hardware store; he remained there only three weeks. His third experience was as clerk and delivery boy in a grocery store where he earned \$17 a week. He was no longer living in his father's home and found that practically all his earnings were spent for board and room. After two months in the city he decided to return to his indenture home but had only money enough to take him to the home of his foster sister. His foster parents, who were fond of him but had been a little too easy with him, learned of his plight and paid his expenses to their home. During the week he was with them he annoyed his foster mother by his impudent manner and irregular hours. He remained away until 3 in the morning, and once all night after securing money from the foster parents to go to a show. The foster mother felt that she could not keep the boy at her home under such circumstances, but she and her husband tried to persuade him to remain in the community and do farm work. By this time, however, he was anxious to return to the city and get another job at factory work. The foster parents had given him money for expenses, and he was planning to leave for the city the day after the Children's Bureau agent saw him.

Vincent was committed to the State school when he was 13 years of age. The reasons given for his commitment were "delinquency and incorrigibility." Although the family, in which there were eight children, had been receiving county aid Vincent was the only one of the children sent to the State public school.

Within six months of his commitment the family moved to Iowa to live on a rented farm, and Vincent was permitted to return to his parents on indenture. In 1916 they came back to Wisconsin to the same community and for three years were constantly aided by a relief society. The boy's conduct did not improve; while in Iowa he had been committed to the State industrial school because of truancy.

During the six years before the agent's visit Vincent had never kept the same job more than six months. His employers at one factory, where he had worked about fifteen different times, stated that on a new job he would be interested and do good work for about one month. He continued to live at home and was supposed to pay \$5 a week board, though often he paid none for months at a time. The dwelling, a six-room flat, was in an insanitary condition. There were six other children in the home, and the father was unemployed at time of the agent's visit.

Adolph had been in an indenture home about four months when he was ordered released to his father. The boy spoke well of the foster home and expressed himself as fond of his foster parents. They were prosperous and well-thought-of people. After his release to his father at the age of 13, Adolph lived with relatives on a farm. Nine months later he returned to his father and attended school for a little over a term, completing the seventh grade. Then for a year he worked in a lumber camp. Three years before the study he returned to his former indenture home, and for nine months he worked on the farm for wages; but in the winter he again worked in a logging camp, getting \$40 a month and his board and room. In the summer he went back to farm work, at which he did well if some one worked along with him; otherwise he was shiftless and slow. After that he repeated his seasonal program of working in the woods until spring and farming during the summer.

Six years before the study Adolph's mother had deserted the family, leaving the father with three small boys. The paternal grandparents then cared for the children, assisted by financial contributions from the father. Two years later the father disappeared, and the support he was giving ceased. The grandfather died the next year, and the grandmother had to appeal to public and private charity. One boy, aged 10, had died during the previous summer;

the investigation showed that the two remaining children were not receiving proper care, and they were committed to the State school, for neither parent could be located. Five months later the parents were reunited, and the juvenile court ordered the children's release to the father. The mother soon deserted for the second time. At the time of the bureau agent's visit the grandmother was caring for the father and Adolph's 12-year-old brother. As a timber scaler the father could earn from \$65 to \$85 a month, plus his room and board, if he worked regularly, but for a year he had been running a bar in a "soft-drink" hang out for lumberjacks. He was literally drinking himself to death on "moonshine," and he made little more than enough for his own food.

Adolph, who was only 18 at the time of the study, expressed a keen interest in his younger brother and hoped to be able to give him a good education. He said he did not wish to continue farm work indefinitely. He wanted to study mechanics and was planning to save for a course in that subject.

Elsa's first placement was unsatisfactory both to the child and to the foster parents, and she remained in the home only two weeks. The child's second indenture was to her aunt and uncle, with whom she continued to live for about two years after release. During this time she worked for the most part in a basket factory, where her average wage was about \$10 a week. When work at the factory was scarce she did housework, at which she earned \$3.50 a week and her keep. While she lived with her aunt after release she always helped with the housework and paid \$2 a week for board. She walked to and from the factory, 2½ miles away.

In May, 1920, Elsa was married to a young farmer in the community. At the time of the agent's visit they were living on their own farm—a valuable piece of land. They had a large, well-built house, and good barns. There were two babies, both girls, one 2 years old and the other 3 months. Elsa had a younger sister come to live with her as soon as the latter was released, and she had also made a home for her father.

Minna was fortunate in having lived for almost five years, until her release over a year before the study, in only one indenture home. Immediately after her release she married a man of respectable family, who was proving to be a good husband and "a good provider." They were living in two rooms, which Minna was keeping neat and homelike.

Minna's foster mother was an able woman, who owned and ran a summer boarding house. She had always been kind and helpful to the girl and sent her to school until she was 16 years old, when the girl had completed the first half year of high school at a near-by town. But Minna did not apply herself in school and she ran out nights, so her foster mother was obliged to bring her home where she could watch her. Minna had also made purchases and had them charged to her foster mother without the latter's consent. The foster mother said that Minna's word could not be depended upon, although she tried hard to break the child of her lying habits. The girl had told guests that she was overworked and deprived of schooling, though there was absolutely no foundation for these stories. A former teacher and other people suggested that Minna's lively imagination often accounted for her prevarications.

Minna's early life made her feel that she had just grounds for resentment against her parents. Her father was an old, broken-down man, who drank and was unable to hold any kind of job. Her mother entertained men, among them a colored man who lived on the floor below theirs, and this gave rise to scandalous rumors in the neighborhood. The home was always filthy and the children neglected, and they were often seen in a saloon with their mother and various men. The family had been aided by the county poor superintendent and a local relief organization. When the mother had to go to a hospital for an operation the children were sent to a home for the friendless and later were committed to Sparta. After her release Minna very unwillingly visited her mother in answer to a letter stating that she was ill. The girl seemed to have settled down very satisfactorily in a small community near her foster mother, and she regretted her actions while living in her indenture home.

After he was released from indenture and before he was 20 Morris married a girl who six months later bore him a child. The family was living with the wife's people, and Morris worked as a farm laborer, but last winter he worked very little, and they lived on the wife's folks. His foster father had given him work driving a team, but he wore out the horses on sleigh rides at night. He had also received financial aid from the foster parents, but they refused further assistance, and his visits to them ceased. When his foster mother suggested that he should get work on the city streets he replied that he was "no pick and shovel man."

Morris's after career is quite in line with all that had gone before. He had been committed to the State school at the age of 11 because his father was unable to provide for his children and they were neglected. A sister was committed at the same time and was soon adopted. Over seven years later two children of 6 and 4 years were also committed. Their home was reported as dirty and neglected, and the mother as "lavishly dressed" and in the habit of using profane language. The parents were said to "fight all the time" and to live a "wild life." At the time of the study the father worked in a mill and the mother was employed in hotels and restaurants.

Morris was soon returned from his first indenture home. At the age of 12 years he was indentured to a second home where he lived for nearly four years. These foster parents had a prosperous 200-acre farm $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the county seat, and they owned a sizable herd of fine stock. They had no children and took Morris to be brought up as their own son. "We wanted him to be on an equality with other children," said the foster mother, "and we may have spoiled him." It is certain that his history shows lack of firm control by the foster parents.

The foster mother said that they had given the boy a watch, a pony, good clothes, and a room to himself, but that he was impudent to her, that he was expelled three times from school, and that he often stayed away from home all night, sometimes with a girl. The boy declared that he had been kept out of school to work; there was no hired help on the farm. After being returned to the State school as incorrigible he was taken back by the foster parents because "he cried all the time" and they were "sorry" for him. A few months later, when he was 16 years of age, he again ran away. This time he got jobs in a city and spent part of his time with his own parents. After nearly a year he returned to his indenture home voluntarily.

CONCLUSION

STANDARDS OF CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The adequacy of the Wisconsin system of caring for the State's wards must be measured by the generally recognized standards as to what a State program for dealing with dependency should include. These may be stated briefly as follows:

A. Prevention of dependency, neglect, and degeneracy. This requires sound and healthy community as well as individual life. It is referred to here not because it is completely possible of attainment nor because its accomplishment is the responsibility of a child-caring agency but because agencies that are engaged in the care of the children who become public wards should realize the responsibility of working back to the source of the difficulty and of cooperating with both public and private agencies in the eradication of the causes of dependency.

B. Preventing the unnecessary removal of children from their families by social case work with the families, by "mothers' pensions," etc. It is a generally accepted principle in modern child-caring work, public or private, that children should not be removed from their own homes on account of poverty alone. Conditions which require at least temporary removal of the children but which may be eradicated by family rehabilitation should not be allowed to become permanent.

C. For children who must be taken from their own homes provision in family homes or in institutions according to the needs and characteristics of the individual child. The steps involved in determining what treatment is needed may be summarized as follows:

1. Thorough investigation of the family history, the child's home, and his community environment.

2. Careful study of the child himself—his physical and mental condition, his habits, and his personality.

3. Determination, from this investigation and study, whether a child should be placed in a family home or in an institution, and selection, after investigation, of the home or institution of the type to meet his needs.

4. Except where the welfare of the child clearly dictates the contrary, family relationships should be maintained. Brothers and sisters should be kept together, contributions by the parents toward the support of the children should be required, and interest in the other members of the family should be encouraged.

Most of the children who become State wards are seriously disadvantaged because of their physical and mental condition, either inherited or the result of bad environment or both. Very few of them present only problems of poverty. These neglected children need very specialized training and protection. Since they will be dependent in the future upon their own resources they should be given every possible opportunity to acquire training that will fit

them for definite vocations and should not be placed in homes where they will be given merely shelter and maintenance for a few years. To carry out such a program there must be resources for different types of care. Placement in free homes and in homes for possible adoption should be used especially for those children who are to remain under care for a considerable period of time and whose parents or other relatives are not likely to be able to provide for them in the future. Boarding homes are used for the care of children who require special attention and for whom free care is not available under proper conditions; temporary care is frequently secured in this way, as well as care of physically or mentally handicapped children. It is generally accepted by authorities on child care that children under 5 years of age should not be kept in institutions but should be provided for in boarding homes or free homes. If the child is of legal working age occupations should be selected with a view to their permanent vocational value, and the children should be placed under wage contracts which define the work the child is to do and require a payment that is consistent with his earnings. Such children may be either regularly employed on a full-time basis or working part time while attending school. For children who need special training or who require treatment because of mental difficulties or physical handicaps and for children who present conduct problems institutions in which modern scientific treatment is available may be a necessity. It is, however, the experience of child-caring organizations that many children of this type can be even more successfully cared for in family homes carefully selected because of their special fitness to deal with such children.

The ideal for the children whose care and protection must be assumed by the public is the realization of the principle of equal opportunity. Like other children they must have good physical care, an education, wholesome recreation, and normal family life. Work in the amount that is wholesome and educational for all children should be required of dependent children—and no more. They should not begin to be self-supporting before the age at which the law allows more fortunate children to begin work. In general, because of an unfortunate physical or social inheritance, these children require a longer period of preparation for citizenship than do more fortunate children.

Free homes and boarding homes are increasingly regarded as the best agencies for carrying out such a program.

The necessary boarding or free homes or institutional care or special educational opportunities will not be available for these children unless the resources in the State for such care are systematically developed through education of the public and careful investigation of the homes that are offered. A certain number of free homes can always be found into which children will be taken because the families really want to give homes to the children, but a considerable proportion of the children who must be received as wards of the State are not of the type suited to free-home care. The younger children and those whose parents are not likely ever to claim them can be placed in free homes for adoption, but this is

impossible in the case of many older children, especially handicapped children. If the State arranges for the payment of board for children it is possible to secure special types of homes for those presenting particular needs and requiring an unusual amount of care. Boarding-home care is therefore coming to be accepted as a necessary resource in provision for dependent children.

There has been much difference of opinion as to the desirability of a central State institution giving temporary care to children who do not require special treatment or training before they are eligible for placement in family homes. The weight of opinion would appear to be in favor of the policy of caring for these children in boarding homes or in local institutions, such as detention homes, for the short periods before placement in family homes instead of transporting them to a central State institution, provided the necessary study of the child's mental and physical condition can be locally made.

After the decision has been made as to the type of placement that is needed for a child, and the child has been so placed, it is still necessary for the agency to keep in touch with the child. The foster parents should be informed by the placement agency as to such part of the child's history as is necessary for proper care and training. His present physical and mental condition must be explained to them so that they understand from the beginning the challenge of existing handicaps and are prepared to cooperate with the agency in overcoming them. Contact between the agency and the foster family through a trained and experienced social worker is helpful in connection with various health and behavior problems that may arise at home and at school and in making available community resources for recreation, vocational guidance, and education along special lines. Removal from the foster home will occasionally be necessary even with the most careful preliminary investigation. This can be done promptly with little emotional cost to the child only if the social worker really knows both child and foster parents and is a frequent visitor in the family.

The extent of the placement work by State bureaus caring for dependent children, especially in boarding homes, is shown by the following examples: The division of child guardianship of the Massachusetts State Department of Public Welfare has under its guardianship in the course of a year more than 6,000 dependent children. More than four-fifths of them are placed in family homes; 12 per cent of the whole number are in free homes, 61 per cent in boarding homes, and 11 per cent in wage homes.¹ New Jersey, with almost 3,000 children under care of the State board of children's guardians on June 30, 1922, provided for 36 per cent of them in free homes and 64 per cent in boarding homes.² The Ohio Department of Public Welfare in its report for the year ended June 30, 1922, gives the following statistics for its child-care division for the fiscal year: Number of children in free foster homes, under supervision of children's bureau, 1,415 (71 per cent); number of children at board in private families, 575 (29 per cent).³

¹Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, Massachusetts, for the year ending November 30, 1922, pp. 15-16. Boston, 1923.

²Report of New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians for the Year 1922, p. 7.

³First Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Ohio, for the year ended June 30, 1922, p. 48.

THE STATE'S PART IN A CHILD-WELFARE PROGRAM

From being limited to the administration of State institutions and activities in accordance with definite statutory provisions the work of State boards—whether concerned with health, industry, agriculture, or charities and corrections—has come to include the development of higher standards and the improvement of conditions throughout the State. Such boards have undertaken the task of educating public opinion and helping the local governmental units, private organizations, and individuals in the State so to conduct their activities for the common welfare that the conditions which formerly called for intervention by the State may be prevented or ameliorated.

Wisconsin has furnished a most interesting illustration of this new ideal in the work of its State industrial commission. The aim of this commission has been the education of the people of the State to the end that employers and employed may be united in a common program for improving industrial conditions. The official body in the field of charities and corrections—the Wisconsin State Board of Control—has not yet undertaken activities similarly looking toward prevention and general improvement of conditions. The work of the board of control so far has been concerned in the main with the management of State institutions for the criminal and delinquent, the insane, the feeble-minded, the dependent, and the physically handicapped.

In 1922 there was organized, as a part of the work of the State board of control, a juvenile bureau, which was created in accordance with a law passed during the previous year. This law authorized special activities for children, but the work of the bureau was very much limited during its first year because of a small appropriation. The staff provided consisted only of the director of the division, one field worker, and one stenographer. At the end of the first year the bureau was, in effect, discontinued, because of a drastic decrease in the salary for the director and a change in the policy of the State board of control concerning the work. In July, 1924, a reorganized juvenile department of the Wisconsin State Board of Control began its activities.

In States where the child-caring work is done by a State agency rather than by an institution this agency is a division or bureau of the State board of charities or public welfare, and its duties usually include the supervision of private agencies and institutions and the administration of other work authorized by law. The centralization of all the child-welfare activities of the State in the State board has great advantages over division of responsibility. If the public child-caring work is to be properly related to the general child-welfare program of the State a serious study of community conditions and cooperation in preventing children from becoming wards of the State are essential.

In developing the child-welfare program in a State due attention must be given to the local conditions in that State, particularly to the interrelation between the work of the State department dealing with the care and protection of children and the work that is being carried on by other State and local agencies. In Wisconsin, for example, the activities of the State board of health and the State department of education relating especially to the physical and men-

tal condition of dependent and delinquent children should influence the program of the State board of control. Some State departments have given special attention to the development of juvenile courts and probation. Particular emphasis has been placed on the promotion of this work in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and California. Where the law gives the State welfare department some authority over the administration of aid to dependent children in their own homes one of its important functions is cooperation with the local agencies in the raising of the standards of administration of this aid. New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and North Carolina are doing especially noteworthy work in this field. The organization of local child-welfare or social-welfare activities develops local responsibility for the prevention of dependency and means valuable help in local case work. Among the States that have led the way in developing county welfare boards are North Carolina, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Virginia.

The work that is done by a State agency can not be divorced from the activities of social agencies and institutions in different parts of the State. It is impossible to segregate a section of the problems of dependency, delinquency, or defect for which it shall be the special duty of the State to make provision. Some time in the history of each case the community is usually in a position to control the situation. A large proportion of dependent, delinquent, and defective individuals who become wards of the State do not remain under its control permanently but return to the communities from which they came only to become again the concern of the local authorities and agencies. Because of this interdependence of public and private, State and local agencies in handling social problems State boards dealing with problems of public welfare are recognizing the responsibility for developing means of cooperation.

In the care of its dependent wards a State has an opportunity to develop standards in the scientific treatment of dependency and neglect, calling to its aid all the resources of medicine, psychiatry, orthopedic treatment, habit training, education, and training for future occupations. With this program of treatment must be associated a program of community organization for child care and protection and leadership in the eradication of conditions that breed dependency, crime, and mental and physical incapacity.

THE WISCONSIN SYSTEM OF PLACEMENT OF ITS DEPENDENT WARDS

PREVENTION OF DEPENDENCY

The study of the Wisconsin system of care for the dependent wards of the State showed little evidence of a program of work for the prevention of dependency. Many children were committed to the State school because their parents were poor or were unwilling to support them. Social work with the families was needed in these and in other cases, but the local agencies to do this work were lacking or there was slight cooperation between them and the agencies concerned in the child's commitment—the court and the State school.

INADEQUATE STAFF OF THE STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL

The staff of the school has been inadequate for the placement work that has been necessary. The school has only two field agents, and it is utterly impossible for two persons, however efficient, to give to 500 children in all parts of the State, many of them in very inaccessible localities, the amount of individual attention that is indispensable. This fundamental difficulty must be borne in mind in connection with all the other limitations that may be mentioned.

PLACEMENT WITHOUT ADEQUATE INFORMATION

Many instances were found of placement without regard to the histories of the children. Frequently information which could be secured and which was necessary for scientific social treatment was not known either to the court or to the State school. Examinations of the children were inadequate, so that many were placed as normal who were below par physically or mentally, or both. In these circumstances the foster mothers could not be given the full information that they should have with regard to the children, but there were also cases in which they were not given such information as was available in the institution records.

LACK OF HOME-FINDING SERVICE

The State school has no service by means of which it can find the kind of home suited to the individual child. Instead of being able to utilize free homes, adoption homes, boarding homes, and wage homes according to the needs of the children, the institution has had only one kind of foster home available—the one from which an application for a child was received. Most of these were on farms. A large proportion of the children came from urban homes, and many had no liking for farm life and left for the town as soon as they were released from the school's jurisdiction. Many physically or mentally handicapped children were placed on indenture who should have been placed in an institution for treatment or in boarding homes under arrangement for special care. The Children's Bureau agents found that conditions in almost half the 540 indenture homes for which there was an apparently adequate basis of information were not such as to be of benefit to the children placed in them.

AMOUNT OF SUPERVISION INADEQUATE

Visits to the indenture homes could not be made by the school agents oftener than twice a year. Inadequate preliminary investigation and study of the individual child and the long intervals between visits after placement furnished no basis for preventing some serious maladjustments. The children placed by the school have been taken from unfavorable environments, and thorough study of each of them is necessary not only before placement but at frequent intervals while the child is under care to see that he is surrounded by influences that will offset his early disadvantages.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The indenture contract usually required that the children attend school at least 120 days each year until they were 16 years of age. All the public schools in the communities in which indenture homes were visited had school terms longer than the period required by the contract. Consequently when the foster parents fulfilled the letter of the contract the child was deprived of 8 to 12 weeks of school each year. Seventy-one per cent of the 570 school records available showed an annual attendance of 120 days or more and 19 per cent showed attendance of as much as 160 days, the usual school session. As a result of irregular attendance many of the children fell below grade, grew to dislike school, and were glad of any excuse to remain out. Some children were indentured into homes 3 or 4 miles from the nearest school. The families were supposed to make general reports to the State school concerning the children's school attendance; but the State school agents did not visit the schools, nor was any arrangement made for receiving regular reports from the teachers as to attendance and progress made.

It was also found that the practice of placing the children in farm homes, to most of which high schools were inaccessible, made schooling beyond the grades impossible for most of the children, and for those children who completed the grades before they were 16, the contract requirement that children should attend school until they were 16 was in effect nullified. A few families had arranged for a foster child to attend high school in a neighboring town; but since most of the families in taking a child on indenture had in mind the value of his work, they were not generally interested in making it possible for the children to receive schooling beyond the minimum nor in providing opportunities to develop special abilities and to meet special needs.

It could not be said that these wards of the State were being given the special advantages needed to overcome the handicaps of earlier training or lack of it; a large percentage were not receiving educational opportunities equal to those which the public was providing for other children.

TRAINING FOR WORK

It was expected that in the farm homes the girls would receive training in household duties and the boys in farm work, which they would apply after their release from the school's jurisdiction. It was found, however, that a considerable proportion of the children left the farm homes and went to the towns as soon as they were free to do so, and while the farm work was educational, many of the children were peculiarly in need of definite trade training.

The Wisconsin Industrial Commission has a division of apprenticeship, with a staff consisting of a supervisor and two deputies, and the necessary clerical assistance. In contrast with the limited vocational experience of the dependent wards of the State, children in 68 different trades have received supervision from the apprenticeship division of the industrial commission.⁴

⁴ The Apprenticeship Law with Explanations. Bulletin of Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, issued July 1, 1922.

It is not intended to imply that this apprenticeship for children in industry might be generally used in connection with children indentured by the State school for dependent children. There is a fundamental difference, of course, between the two types of cases in that a majority of the State school children are under working age and the State is concerned with much more than teaching them trades. A consideration of the apprenticeship law becomes apt, however, in connection with State wards who are in the higher age groups and in relation to the help that might be given the children when they are released from the jurisdiction of the school.

LACK OF ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN UPON RELEASE

There has been no provision for any form of vocational guidance or even advice and assistance in securing work for the benefit of those who were released from the school's jurisdiction at the age of 18. This is especially regrettable in view of their meager education, the lack of vocational preparation other than farm work, the unfavorable conditions that many of them had met in their foster homes, and the general lack of helpful connections which these children had.

ARE THE EXISTING SHORTCOMINGS INHERENT IN THE INDENTURE SYSTEM?

In most of the States, including Wisconsin, where the law still permits binding out or indenture of children, the earlier form of apprenticeship has been greatly modified, so that the public official responsible for the placement can withdraw a child from the home into which he has been indentured, if conditions make it desirable, and a family is free to return a child if the arrangement is not satisfactory. Under such a system, with an adequate appropriation for a larger staff it would be possible to place more emphasis upon the preventive side through greater cooperation with other agencies. It would also be possible with an adequate staff to make a careful study of the child and his history and to inform the foster mothers of the results, and to make thorough investigations and arrange for adequate supervision of foster homes. Without the abandonment of the indenture system parents can be made to bear part of the State's financial burden for the support of their children, a higher educational standard can be set up and enforced, and additional facilities can be provided for treatment of physically handicapped children in the institution. But even under the best system of administration indenture would make possible only free-home or wage-home placement. It does not give sufficient range of choice in treatment.

The main difficulties inherent in the indenture system are that it is too apt to supply the home with a child rather than the child with a home and that the variety of methods of care which the best modern child-caring work demands is not available. Only children mentally and physically suitable for placement were supposed to be committed to the school when the Wisconsin indenture system went into effect, and the idea of the system was and is primarily placement for work. When the family expects a child to

earn his "keep" it is likely to be thinking of what it gets out of the child, whereas the modern point of view in dealing with children has come to be the welfare of the child. Even for the normal children who were originally supposed to be committed, therefore, the indenture system was wrong in its approach to the problem and at its best was too rigid, too unvarying to meet individual needs.

This drawback to the indenture system has been intensified in recent years by the change in the types of children committed to the State school. Even in the early days it was not found practicable to limit the intake strictly to normal children; but then the care of the mentally or physically handicapped child was not a part of the regular program of the school. Now the school is authorized by law to receive any child in need of care—even temporary care—and the children received as State wards present many complex problems of mental disorders, physical handicaps, conduct difficulties, etc.—a group very different from that anticipated when the State school was established. With this change in the problem it is still more evident that greater variety in methods of care is required for these State wards—homes in which the children's board is paid in return for special care, wage homes where arrangements could be made to fit special cases, homes in both urban and rural communities, homes where vocational training of definite types would be available, etc. Child-caring agencies with high standards are protecting the interests of their wards after they go to work, in a much more definite way than is done in the application of the indenture method.

Moreover, indenture, even in its modified form, is a direct inheritance from the old form of binding out. The stigma attached to binding out remains as a psychological factor of some importance, even though the terms of the indenture arrangement may have been greatly improved. This psychological factor is of importance in connection with the attitude of mind of the general public, of the families receiving children under this arrangement, and of the children who know that they have been placed under contract. The whole relationship of the State, the foster parents, and the child rests on a false basis.

The interests of the children would seem, from this study, to require not only increased resources for better administration of the present system but a fundamental change in the system and the development of a comprehensive child-welfare program which to be properly coordinated requires centralization in the State board.

CHANGES REPORTED AS ALREADY IN PROGRESS

The Children's Bureau agents have not revisited Wisconsin since this study was completed in 1923, but the director of the juvenile department of the State board of control reports that some changes have been made since that time and others are contemplated which will give better care to the dependent children of the State. Some of these have been noted in footnotes in this report. The following statement received from the director will be of interest to both the general reader and the citizens of Wisconsin:

This survey and the report of its findings by the Federal Children's Bureau, as well as other studies made in the State, convinced those interested in the welfare of children that more appropriate care should be provided for children directly under the guardianship of the board of control and for those coming to the attention of private or public agencies. In order to develop a state-wide program the juvenile department was therefore reestablished in July, 1924, by the board of control. Since that time efforts have been made to create an intelligent, sympathetic interest on the part of the public as to the care dependent, delinquent, and neglected children should receive. One of the first matters to be given consideration was child placing—in boarding homes, homes for adoption, or in homes on indenture by the State public school at Sparta and by the private agencies licensed by the board of control. The board of control desires that through the juvenile department standards for child placing be developed. The same standards are to be carried out at the State public school at Sparta as are being used by the best private child-placing agencies in Wisconsin. Although these standards have not yet been accepted in detail by all the agencies, the underlying principles have been agreed to. It is understood that the child and his family must be studied before placement; that the proposed foster home must be carefully investigated before placement; and that there must be adequate supervision after placement. At present the ultimate responsibility rests upon the juvenile department for seeing that all the placements made by the State school, as well as by the private agencies, are wise ones, as each placement is reported to the juvenile department and reinvestigated by its field worker before the placement is approved by the juvenile department.

The present members of the board of control, the staff of the juvenile department, and the superintendent of the State public school at Sparta have all been appointed since the Children's Bureau study was made. This means that those who are now responsible for the placements at Sparta were not in office at the time the children included in this survey were placed, nor were they in office at the time the study was made. It is true they have not had time to put into operation their entire program. The carrying out of this program is also delayed by the fact that sufficient appropriations have not been made to employ an adequate staff. It is hoped that the present legislature will correct this situation so that at least one well-trained social worker will be added to the staff of field workers at the State school.

Much has been accomplished within the last two years. Every child in an indenture home has been visited several times, and those who were in the most unsatisfactory homes have been replaced. A trained physician is employed on full time at the institution. Thus each child is given careful physical attention; mental tests are given each child before placement and no feeble-minded child is placed. Adoptions are not approved until the child has been in the foster home for at least six months. It is expected that much more will be accomplished in the next few months. The hope is that if funds are available a case worker, well trained in child welfare, may be added to the staff, whose special duty will be to make a careful social investigation of the child upon his admission to Sparta. This will include a study of his home, his family and his relatives, and the community, to ascertain whether it is possible to return the child to his family, or relatives, after the conditions necessitating his commitment have been readjusted either through the efforts of this worker or through the social agencies in the community. In the meantime the child will be studied by the resident physician, by the school principal and teachers, by the house mother, and by the superintendent. This same social worker will make a careful survey of the State for good foster homes. Then with her knowledge of the child's background, and physical, mental, and social traits, she with the superintendent will try to place him in a home suited to his needs. The other field workers will then be held responsible for the continued supervision of the child in the home. Again the social workers in the communities will be asked to help with this supervision.

Because Wisconsin is a rural State there are few social agencies in most of the counties to assist the field agents in readjusting the social problems found in the families these children come from. The juvenile department and the State conference of social work are making an effort to arouse the

social consciousness of the people throughout the State with the hope that more social agencies will develop, having as their purposes the conservation of the family, the enforcement of laws, and close attention to recreation.

But there is much more to be done. The public must be aroused; better community social work will have to be developed; laws will have to be more strictly enforced if the child is to be kept from being permanently committed to the State school and if there is to be social readjustment of his family so that he can be returned by the school to his home. The board of control recognizes that the greatest need is a revision of the laws pertaining to child welfare and is therefore making plans to have appointed a commission to draw up a children's code, with the expectation that much of the present legislation which is harmful to real social work for children will be repealed and that Wisconsin can take its place with the other States having a modern children's code.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A.—MOVEMENT OF THE WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL POPULATION

*Children admitted to the Wisconsin State Public School, children in the institution at the end of the fiscal year, children placed on indenture, children in indenture homes, and children adopted, from 1887 to 1924*¹

Fiscal years ¹	Children admitted	Children in institution at end of fiscal year	Children placed on indenture	Children in indenture homes at end of fiscal year	Children adopted ³
1887	137	97	17	(⁴)	(⁴)
1888	164	184	66	(⁴)	(⁴)
1889	137	232	48	(⁴)	1
1890	128	289	56	(⁴)	3
1891	100	278	96	(⁴)	4
1892	185	210	108	(⁴)	4
1893	155	213	177	367	11
1894	222	206	221	617	16
1895	217	253	262	764	10
1896	159	225	321	950	5
1897	204	159	249	1,199	24
1898	113	141	211	1,340	16
1899	170	156	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1900	130	147	(⁴)	1,038	
1901	114	156	(⁴)	(⁴)	133
1902	85	140	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1903	94	144	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1904	127	146	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1905	120	146	(⁴)	(⁴)	71
1906	160	147	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1907	145	150	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1908	195	180	(⁴)	(⁴)	48
1909	201	168	(⁴)	(⁴)	
1910	122	176	(⁴)	(⁴)	106
1911	153	163	185	(⁴)	
1912	163	144	245	(⁴)	74
1913	164	123	253	(⁴)	
1914	188	167	233	(⁴)	107
1915	213	159	294	(⁴)	
1916	257	172	289	(⁴)	130
1917	237	212	243	(⁴)	
1918	176	215	208	(⁴)	103
1919	153	252	113	(⁴)	
1920	136	256	111	(⁴)	77
1921	124	281	78	(⁴)	
1922	148	332	61	(⁴)	49
1923	209	375	60	⁵ 484	6
1924	199	393	106	(⁴)	8

¹ Figures from printed reports of the State school, from data obtained by Children's Bureau agents in the course of the study, and from correspondence.

² Until 1900 the fiscal year ended September 30; since then it has ended June 30.

³ Available only for periods for which figures are given.

⁴ Not available.

⁵ May 1, 1923.

Appendix B.—LAWS AND LEGAL DECISIONS

LAWS RELATING TO WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF CONTROL

[Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, ch. 46]

46.01. *Organization.*—(1) To secure the just, humane, and economical administration of the laws concerning the charitable, curative, reformatory, and penal institutions of this State there is hereby constituted a board of three members, one of whom shall be a woman, which shall be known as the "State Board of Control of Wisconsin." The board shall be a body corporate, and, in addition to the functions expressly authorized by law, shall have all powers necessary to the full and complete performance thereof. Such board shall have a seal, with the words "State Board of Control of Wisconsin," and such other design as the board may prescribe, engraved thereon, by which it shall authenticate its proceedings, and of which the courts shall take judicial notice.

(2) Immediately after the passage and publication of this act the governor shall, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint such members, but no member so appointed shall be qualified to act until so confirmed. The term of the first appointee shall terminate on the first Monday of February, 1921; the term of second such appointee shall terminate on the first Monday of February, 1923; and the term of the third such appointee shall terminate on the first Monday in February, 1925. In January, 1921, and biennially thereafter there shall be appointed and confirmed in the same manner one member for the term of six years from the first Monday in February of such year. Such member so appointed shall hold his office until his successor is appointed and qualified. Any vacancies shall be filled by appointment by the governor for the unexpired term, subject to confirmation by the senate, but any such appointment shall be in full force until acted upon by the senate. Each member shall receive an annual salary of five thousand dollars and his actual and necessary traveling expenses incurred in the discharge of his official duties.

(3) Each person who accepts such appointment shall take and file the official oath.

(4) Each member of said board shall devote his entire time and attention to the duties of his office.

(5) The governor may at any time remove any member for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Before such removal he shall give such member a copy of the charges against him, and shall fix a time and place when he can be heard in his own defense, which shall be not less than ten days thereafter, and such hearing shall be open to the public. If he shall be removed, the governor shall file in the office of the secretary of state a complete statement of all charges made against him, with a record of all proceedings, and his findings thereon.

(6) The members first appointed under this section shall, within ten days after their appointment and confirmation, meet at the capitol and organize by electing one of their members president, who shall serve until the second Monday in February, 1921. On the second Monday of February in each odd-numbered year the members shall meet at the office of the board and elect one of their members president, who shall serve for two years and until his successor is elected. A majority of said members shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and any vacancy shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the board.

(7) The board shall at their first meeting and at each biennial meeting thereafter appoint a secretary, fix his compensation, and prescribe his duties. [Stat. 1917, secs. 561, 561a, sub. 1-3; 1919, ch. 328, secs. 4, 5; 1919, ch. 403, secs. 1-3.]

46.02. *Board meetings and supplies.*—Said board shall be provided with a room or rooms in the capitol as its office. The board shall be supplied with all necessary furniture, blanks, blank books, and printing. It may subscribe for not more than two hundred copies, in any one year, of the proceedings of the national conference of charities and corrections, and may purchase books or periodicals for its library at a cost not to exceed one hundred dollars per annum. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561b; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 6; 1919, ch. 403, sec. 2.]

46.03. *General functions of the board.*—The said board shall: (1) Maintain and govern the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane, the Wisconsin Psychiatric Institute for the Treatment of Insane Persons, the Northern Hospital for the Insane, the Central State Hospital for the Insane, the State prison, and the State prison farms, the Wisconsin State Reformatory, the Wisconsin Industrial Home for Women, the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys, the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, the Wisconsin School for the Blind, the Wisconsin Institute for Blind Artisans, the Wisconsin School for the Deaf, the State public school, the Wisconsin Home for the Feeble-minded, the Southern Wisconsin Home for the Feeble-minded, the Wisconsin State Tuberculosis Sanatorium, the Northern State Tuberculosis Sanatorium, the State tuberculosis camp, and all other charitable, curative, reformatory, and penal institutions that may be established or maintained by the State.

(2) Supervise and direct the management and affairs and preserve and care for the buildings, grounds, and all other property pertaining to said institutions, and promote the objects for which they are established.

(3) Take and hold in trust, whenever the board may deem the acceptance thereof advantageous, all property, real or personal, transferred in any manner to the State to be applied to any specified purpose, use, or benefit pertaining to any of said institutions or the inmates thereof, and apply the same in accordance with the trust.

(4) On or before July first in each year, make full and complete inventories and appraisals of all the property of each such institution, which shall be recorded and so classified as to show separately the amount, kind, and value of such property.

(5) Make and cause to be printed regulations for its own government, the management of said institutions, and the accomplishment of the purposes for which they are established.

(6) Visit and inspect each of said institutions at least once in each month, either as a body or by some member or members, and ascertain whether the officers, teachers, and employees therein are competent and faithful in the discharge of their duties, all inmates properly cared for and governed, all accounts, books, and vouchers properly kept, and all the business affairs properly conducted.

(7) Establish and maintain a system and prescribe forms for keeping the books, accounts, and records, and for rendering reports of all said institutions, which shall be as nearly uniform as is practicable.

(8) At the close of each fiscal year, cause all the financial transactions and accounts of or relating to said several institutions to be thoroughly examined by an accountant, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 15 of the statutes; and said accountant shall submit a full and detailed report of such examination to the governor as soon as practicable.

(9) All persons committed to any reform school, prison, parental school, industrial school, home for dependent children, or other place of confinement or commitment, shall be allowed spiritual advice and ministrations from any recognized clergyman of the denomination or church to which they may respectively belong or did belong prior to their commitment or confinement, which advice and ministrations shall be given within the place of confinement in such manner as will secure to such persons the free exercise of their religious belief and under such reasonable rules and regulations as the officers in charge of such place shall prescribe.

(10) The State board of control may give such instruction in occupational therapy at such institutions under its control as it shall deem wise; such instruction shall consist of vocational advice and technical training necessary for the proper qualifications of the inmates of such institutions for present and future usefulness. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561j, sub. (1) to (7), (13), (14), 561dn, 4951; 1919, ch. 78, sec. 10; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 7; 1919, ch. 332, sec. 1; 1919, ch. 671, secs. 13a, 15a; 1919, ch. 703, sec. 35; 921, ch. 150.]

46.04. *Officers and employes of the board.*—(1) The board shall appoint a secretary, who shall be a competent and experienced bookkeeper, and shall

keep its books, records, and accounts under such regulations as it may prescribe. He shall keep a separate book account with each department of the several institutions, including all items purchased or sold on account thereof, and the products thereof, with an estimate of their value, in such manner as to show the relative cost and expenditure on account of each department, and the income thereof; and in case the income or profits of any department shall be made to contribute to the income or support of any other department of any such institution the books shall show the fact.

(2) The board may appoint and fix the compensation of such agents and inspectors as may be necessary to inspect and investigate all institutions subject to its inspection and investigation, such agents and inspectors to make a report of such inspection and investigation to the board. Such agents and inspectors shall be exempt from the provisions of chapter 16 of the statutes.

(3) The board shall appoint and employ one or more officers to be known as field officers who shall carefully look after the welfare of all persons paroled from any state penal institution or from the house of correction of Milwaukee county, or placed on probation pursuant to section 57.01 and subject to its control as provided in section 57.02.

(4) The State board of control shall establish a department of that board, which shall be known and designated as the "Juvenile department," which department shall exercise such of the powers and duties delegated by law to the State board of control as such board shall prescribe for the proper care, education, protection or reformation of dependent, neglected, mentally defective or delinquent children. The State board of control shall appoint a director and such assistants as may be needed to perform properly the work of such department. The State board of control shall fix the compensation of such director and of such assistants, who shall be paid for their services in the same manner as other employes of said board are paid, and shall be reimbursed their necessary traveling expenses. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561k, 564 sub. (9), 4734f; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 8; 1921, ch. 531.]

46.05. *Officers and employes of institutions; police powers; complaints.*—(1) The board shall annually appoint for each hospital for the insane a superintendent, one assistant physician, a matron, and a steward; for the State reformatory a superintendent, an assistant superintendent, and a steward; for the central State hospital, the school for the blind, the school for the deaf, and the industrial school for boys, each a superintendent and a steward; for the industrial home for women a superintendent and a steward, who shall be women; for the institute for blind artisans, the industrial school for girls, the State tuberculosis sanatoriums, and the State tuberculosis camp, each a superintendent; for the State public school, and the homes for the feeble-minded, each a superintendent, a steward, and a matron; and for the State prison a warden, a steward, a deputy warden, a chaplain, and a matron. The duties of said officers shall be fixed by said board, except as otherwise provided by law; but the board may combine the functions and duties of superintendent or warden and steward in one person at any of said institutions except the State hospital for the insane.

(2) The salaries of the officers of said institutions, if not otherwise fixed by law, shall be fixed by the board of control; but no salary shall exceed twenty-five hundred dollars per annum, except the salaries of the superintendents of the Northern Hospital for the Insane and the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane, which shall not exceed thirty-five hundred dollars per annum. The steward of each institution shall execute and file an official bond in such sum and with such sureties as said board may prescribe. Said board shall also require any other officer or other person having the possession or custody of any money or property belonging to the State or any institution under its control or supervision to give an official bond, and from time to time to renew the same.

(3) Except as otherwise provided by law, the board shall fix the number and prescribe the duties and compensation of subordinate officers, teachers, and employes in each such institution, who shall be appointed by the officer in charge subject to approval by the board; and may remove or discharge any officer, teacher, or employe who shall be guilty of any malfeasance or misbehavior in his office or employment or of neglect or improper discharge of duty.

(6) Said board shall investigate all complaints against any of the institutions hereinbefore designated by name, or against the officers or employes thereof;

may summon, compel the attendance of and swear witnesses, and compel the production of books and papers; and may at any time, on its own initiative, investigate the affairs of any such institution in such manner as may seem best. Any written communication or complaint addressed to such board or either of its members by any inmate, employe, or subordinate of any such institution shall be forthwith forwarded as addressed without the breaking of the seal or the reading thereof or other interference by any officer or employe of the institution from which it shall be sent. [Stat. 1917, secs. 561g, 561j, sub. (8), (9), (10), 561l, 564, sub. (10), 609; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 9.]

46.11. *Transfer of inmates.*—(1) Whenever any inmate lawfully committed to any State or county penal, reformatory, curative, or charitable institution shall be removed in a case authorized by law from any one of these institutions to any other of them by the State board of control the superintendent of the institution from which any such removal is made shall notify the court or judge who committed such inmate of the fact of such removal.

(2) The board may designate in the order of removal, the superintendent of the institution from which or to which such removal is made or any other discreet citizen, to make such removal. The person so designated shall receive no mileage or per diem for making such removal, but shall be paid his actual and necessary traveling expenses and those of the person removed and of any necessary assistant, to be adjusted by the board and charged to the current expense fund of the institution from which such removal is made; but if some county is chargeable with any portion of the expense of maintaining the person so removed such county shall be charged therewith, and such charge shall be adjusted in the same manner that charges for the maintenance of such inmates are adjusted. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561jj; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 17.]

46.115. *Board of control, patients, applications.*—The board of control of the State of Wisconsin shall make application to the board of regents of the university, for the admission to the State of Wisconsin General Hospital of any inmate of any State institution under the board of control, or of any person committed to or applying for admission thereto, who is afflicted with any disease, malady, deformity or ailment, which can probably be remedied, or which can be advantageously treated by proper medical or surgical care, at the State of Wisconsin General Hospital, in all cases where such person cannot receive proper care at the institution to which he has been committed or to which he has made application for admission. Said application shall be accompanied by the report of the physician of said institution or by a physician appointed by the board of control, in the same form as reports of other physicians for admission of patients to said hospital. The board of control shall pay to the regents of the university for the treatment of such patients at the same rates charged the county for county patients, and the expense of such treatment and of transporting such patient to and from the hospital shall be paid out of the appropriation for operation of the institution from which said patient is sent. Said board may, when necessary, send an attendant with such patient and pay his traveling expenses in like manner. [Spl. S. 1920, ch. 17.]

46.12. *Sterilization of defectives.*—(1) The State board of control is hereby authorized to appoint, from time to time, one surgeon and one alienist, of recognized ability, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the superintendents of the State and county institutions who have charge of criminal, insane, feeble-minded, and epileptic persons, to examine into the mental and physical condition of such persons legally confined in such institutions.

(2) Said board of control shall at such times as it deems advisable submit to such experts and to the superintendent of any of said institutions the names of such inmates of said institution whose mental and physical condition they desire examined, and said experts and the superintendent of said institution shall meet, take evidence and examine into the mental and physical condition of such inmates and report said mental and physical condition to the said State board of control.

(3) If such experts and superintendent unanimously find that procreation is inadvisable it shall be lawful to perform such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective; provided, however, that the operation shall not be performed except in such cases as are authorized by the said board of control.

* * * * *

46.13. *Wassermann tests and other chemical examinations.*—The board of control is hereby authorized to make necessary arrangements with the laboratory of the psychiatric institute of Mendota for the giving of the Wassermann test to any person confined in any State or county institution, and of making such test for any practicing physician of this State who makes application therefor in behalf of any resident of this State, free of charge. Arrangements shall also be made with said institute for the making of chemical examinations of the cerebrospinal fluid for any practicing physician of this State free of charge. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561jn; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 20.]

46.14. *Reports from State institutions.*—(1) The officer in charge of each State institution under the control of said board shall make a monthly report to the board, comprising an itemized statement of all receipts and disbursements, and of the daily number of inmates, officers, teachers, and employes, and the wages paid to each.

(2) On the first day of July in each even-numbered year the officer in charge of each such institution shall make a report to said board, covering the preceding biennial fiscal term, comprising a summarized statement of the management of every department of the institution and of all receipts and disbursements, and such other information as may be required by the board. [Stat. 1917, sec. 562; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 21.]

46.16. *General supervision and inspection.*—(1) The State board of control shall: (a) Investigate and supervise all the charitable, curative, reformatory, and penal institutions of every county and other municipality, and all industrial schools, hospitals, and asylums, organized or existing or which shall be organized under chapter 86 of these statutes, and familiarize itself with all the circumstances affecting their management and usefulness.

(b) Visit the poorhouses in the State, and ascertain how many persons of each sex, how many insane, idiotic, deaf and dumb, or blind persons, and how many children are supported in each, at what cost, and under what circumstances affecting their health, comfort, morals, and education; collect statistics of the number and cost of support, and other important facts, of the poor relieved at public expense outside of poorhouses; and collect such other information as may throw light on the adequacy and efficiency of existing laws for the support and relief of the poor, and the causes operating to increase or diminish pauperism in the State.

(c) Visit the jails, municipal prisons, houses of correction, workhouses, and all other places in which persons convicted or suspected of crime or insane persons are confined, and ascertain their sanitary condition and arrangement for the separation of the hardened criminals from juvenile offenders and persons suspected of crime or detained as witnesses; collect important statistics concerning the inmates, their treatment, employment, and reformation; and collect information of all other important facts and considerations affecting the increase or diminution of crime and insanity.

(d) Visit each of the institutions hereinbefore referred to and inquire into their methods of treatment, instruction, government, and management of their inmates; the official conduct of their trustees, managers, directors, superintendents, and other officers and employes; the condition of the buildings, grounds, and all other property pertaining to said institutions, and all other matters and things pertaining to their usefulness and management; and recommend to the officers in charge such changes and additional provisions as it shall deem proper.

(e) Inspect each such institution annually, or oftener if necessary; and, whenever directed by the governor, make special investigation into their past or present management, or anything connected therewith, and report to him the testimony taken, the facts found, and conclusions thereon.

(f) Inform the governor, and the district attorney of the county in which the institution is located, of any violation of law disclosed in any investigation of any such institution.

(2) All trustees, managers, directors, superintendents, and other officers or employes of the institutions aforesaid shall at all times afford to every member of said board, or its agents, unrestrained facility for inspection of and free access to all parts of the buildings and grounds and to all books and papers of such institutions, and shall give, either verbally or in writing, such information as the board may require; and if any such person shall offend against this requirement he shall forfeit not less than ten nor more than one hundred dollars. Each member of the board is authorized to administer oaths and to take testimony, and may cause depositions to be taken pursuant to law. All

expenses of such investigations, including fees of officers and witnesses, shall be charged to the appropriation for the State board of control. [Stat. 1917, sec. 564, sub. (1), (2), (4) to (8), 565; 1919, ch. 328, sec. 23.]

LAW RELATING TO WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL

[Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, ch. 48]

48.19. *Object.*—The object of the State Public School shall be to care for and educate physically, intellectually, vocationally, and morally such dependent or neglected children as may be placed therein until such times as temporary or permanent homes can be procured in good families for those who are eligible for such placing. [Stat. 1917, sec. 573; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 29; 1921, ch. 540.]

48.20. *Children entitled to admission; return; homes; fees and expenses.*—

(1) The board of control shall admit to said school such children under 18 years of age who shall be found dependent upon the public for support.

(2) Children received into the school, unless sent therefrom as hereinafter provided, may, in the discretion of the board, be retained until they are 18 years of age, and may, in the discretion of the board, be retained after they have reached that age until a home or other suitable place is provided for them. Any child may be returned to the county from which it was sent to said school on its attaining the age of 18 years, or be returned to the custody of its parents, or be declared competent to make its own contracts, or at any time after its admission be transferred by the board to some other more appropriate institution. On the return of any child to the county pursuant to law, the guardianship of the board of control shall cease and the child so returned shall become a charge on the county from which it was sent. Said board shall give the superintendent of the poor of the proper county its reasons in writing for returning such child.

(3) Every three months the superintendent of said State Public School shall report in writing to the board of control the names of the inmates remaining in the school, together with such data as will acquaint the board with the reason why each child has not been placed in a home as well as such additional information as the board may desire regarding the changes occurring during the preceding three months.

(4) The compensation paid to any person for taking any child to the State Public School shall not exceed the sum of two dollars per day and the necessary expenses, and no charge shall be made for more than one person escorting each child; and whenever practical a woman shall be employed as such escort for any child under 3 years of age, and for all girls over 5 years of age. [Stat. 1917, sec. 573a; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 30; 1921, ch. 429, secs. 1, 2, 3; 1921, chs. 430, 444.]

48.21. *Crippled children.*—(1) In addition to the classes of children received at the State Public School pursuant to section 48.20, there shall also be received any children under 21 years of age, residents of this State, who are crippled or deformed in body; provided said crippled or deformed conditions are amenable to cure or amelioration by surgical or other means. All existing provisions of law for the commitment, care, disposition, control, and discharge of the inmates of said school, and all restrictions upon their admission, except as otherwise provided in this section, shall apply to such crippled or deformed children.

(2) The board of control shall engage and fix the salaries of additional physicians, surgeons, nurses, teachers, and other employees necessary to carry out the provisions of this section, and shall equip such school with the necessary appliances, material, equipment, and facilities therefor.

(3) The board shall, whenever suitable and reasonable arrangements can be made, transfer any child designated in subsection (1) of this section, or cause any such child to be committed, to some other appropriate hospital in this State wherein such treatment, surgical assistance, and care may be given. [Stat. 1917, secs. 573aa, 573ab; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 31; 1921, ch. 429, secs. 1, 3.]

48.22. *Instruction; guardianship; binding out; adoption.*—(1) The children in the State Public School shall be educated in the branches usually taught in the common schools and shall have proper physical, vocational, and moral training.

(2) The State board of control is the legal guardian of all said children. It may place them in families and make written contracts with responsible and suitable persons for keeping them during their minority, or, in the dis-

cretion of the board, until they attain the age of 18 years; provide therein for their education in the public schools where they may reside, for teaching them some useful occupation, for their kind and proper treatment as members of the families in which they are placed, and for the payment, on the termination of such contracts, to said board, to the use of the children, of such sum of money as may have been stipulated in the contracts.

(3) The board may consent to the adoption of any such child by any person or persons in the manner provided by law; and such consent given in writing shall have the same force and effect as if given by the parent or parents of such child. Such consent shall be in duplicate, one copy to be filed with the secretary of the board and the other delivered to the county court in which the proceedings for adoption are taken. On the consummation of such proceedings the guardianship of said board over the child shall cease.

(3a) No child who is feeble-minded, epileptic, or suffering from syphilis, or any other disease that may later on cripple such child, or who has had a feeble-minded parent, or one whose parent has suffered from any nervous or mental disease that is likely to be repeated in the child, shall be placed in any home on indenture or for adoption under any of the provisions of this section, except that this subsection shall not apply to any child 16 years of age or older who, in the opinion of the board, may safely be placed in a home on a wage contract for a temporary period not to exceed one year.

(4) Said board may appoint, to serve during its pleasure, one or more agents of the State Public School, who shall investigate all applications to take any such children by adoption or otherwise and the persons who make the same. As often and at such times as shall be directed by the board, each such agent shall visit any or all children placed in charge of any person by said board, inquire into and investigate the condition of such children, and thereupon report to said board. Each such agent, while acting as such, shall be paid his necessary traveling expenses, which shall be charged against the appropriation for said school. [Stat. 1917, secs. 573c, 573d, 573j, 573h; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 33; 1921, ch. 429, secs. 2, 3.]

48.23. *School records.*—The board shall provide and keep in said school a record in which shall be entered the names, residences, and ages of all children received, the names, post-office addresses, business, habits, and character of their parents if living and known, the date of the reception of the children, of the contract of indenture, and the names, occupations, and post-office addresses of the persons with whom children are placed. Such history shall include the results of a physical and laboratory examination and a test of the mentality of such child, by a competent physician known to be well versed in psychiatry and mental diseases. As complete a history as possible of each child shall also be kept and continued during the guardianship of the board. [Stat. 1917, sec. 573g; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 34; 1921, ch. 392.]

LAW RELATING TO COMMITMENT OF DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED, AND HANDICAPPED CHILDREN BY THE JUVENILE COURTS

[Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, ch. 48.]

48.05. *Crippled children.*—(2) The juvenile court may commit any child deformed or physically defective at the time of birth, or cause such child to be committed, to the State Public School, or to such other appropriate hospital as the court may determine, for surgical or other treatment and care whenever in its judgment such child would be benefited thereby and such treatment has not been or is not likely to be otherwise provided. [Stat. 1917, sec. 561j, sub. (13m); 1919, ch. 614, sec. 11.]

48.07.¹ *Disposition of dependent and neglected children.*—(1) When any such child shall be found to be dependent or neglected the court may make an order committing the child to the care, custody, and guardianship of some suitable State or county institution as provided by law, or to the care, custody, and guardianship of some incorporated association willing to receive it, embracing in its objects the purpose of caring for or obtaining homes for dependent or neglected children; *if it shall appear from the evidence in any such case that there has been an actual abandonment of the child by the parents, or by the parent, if there be but one, or such gross neglect or moral unfitness on the part of such parents or parent as shall be deemed on [an] abandonment of the*

¹ Italicized portions added by Laws of 1923, ch. 174.

child, the court shall expressly so find; if it be found that the child has been abandoned by the parents, or by the parent, if there be but one, the court may order the commitment. The disposition of any child under the provisions of this section shall be deemed temporary unless otherwise specified in the order of commitment; or the court may make a temporary disposition of such case by placing such child in the care and custody of the probation officer or of some suitable person or institution for such period of time as the court shall see fit, not exceeding three months at one time, not exceeding, however, a total period of one year, during which the parent or other person from whose custody such child is taken may be put upon probation and required to report to the court.

(2) If it shall appear to the court, during such period of probation, that the conditions have ceased to exist which caused such child to be dependent or neglected, and that it will be for the best interests of the child to be returned to the parent or person from whom he was taken, the court may release such child to the care and custody of such parent or other person and may dismiss the proceeding or extend the period of probation pending final disposition of the case.

(3)² During such period of probation the county shall be liable for the reasonable expense of the maintenance of such child, such expense to be *at the rate of four dollars per week*, but the court may, as a part of the conditions of probation, require any person who is before the court and who is legally liable for such support to pay in the first instance or to refund to the county all or any part of such cost of maintenance. *The superintendent of the State Public School shall charge to each of the several counties, in a book to be provided by him for that purpose, the said sum of four dollars per week for the care and maintenance of each such child in the State school for each of the said counties; and the cost of the original commitment of all persons to said school, which shall not exceed the sum of two dollars per day and necessary expenses, and no charge shall be made for more than one person escorting each child.*

(4)³ The superintendent of the State Public School shall, on the first day of July of each year, report to the State board of control the names of all children in such school during the preceding year, whose support is chargeable to the county, with the date each was received and the date when each ceased to be an inmate thereof, with such other information as may show the extent to which the county is liable; and the said board of control shall collect from each of the said counties the said sums chargeable to each county at the time and in the manner provided for by law for the collection for the care of the insane. [Stat. 1917, secs. 573-5, sub. 3, 4, 5; Laws of 1919, ch. 614, sec. 13; Laws of 1923, chs. 174, 195.]

48.09. *Commitments; transfer of inmates.*—(1) The juvenile court shall, before committing children to industrial schools, asylums, or other institutions for the care of such children, upon application of the parents or guardians thereof, take into consideration, in selecting the institution to which the commitment shall be made, the wishes of such parents or guardians; but if no such application is made, the child, if of proper age and condition, shall be sent to the State Public School. [Stat. 1917, sec. 573b; 1919, ch. 614, sec. 15.]

SURRENDER OF PARENTAL RIGHTS THROUGH COMMITMENT TO THE STATE SCHOOL

Under the law, the State board of control is the legal guardian of children committed to the State public school, and the board may consent to adoption, such written consent having the same effect as if given by the parents of the child. There appears in this respect to be a discrepancy between the law relating to the State public school and the general adoption law, which latter is specific in its requirement for the written consent of the parent or parents, or, if their whereabouts were unknown, publication of notice of application for adoption. The law relating specifically to the State public school does not provide for temporary commitment and makes no exception to the statement that the State board of control acquires legal guardianship to all children committed to the school.

² Originally enacted by Laws of 1913, ch. 481; italicized portions added by Laws of 1923, ch. 195.

³ Added by Laws of 1923, ch. 195.

Under the provision of the law which authorized the board as legal guardian to consent to the adoption of a child committed to the State school the board of control had been arranging for adoptions for many years. In 1921 the legality of this power was challenged, and a decision of vital importance was handed down by the Supreme Court of the State.⁴

The case involved the legality of the adoption through the State public school of a 7-year-old girl who had been adjudged dependent and removed from her parents. The eight children of this family were first committed to the State school at Sparta by the juvenile court of Milwaukee County because of the inability of the parents to provide for them. Later they were returned to the parents, and the family moved to Madison. In November, 1917, proceedings were had in the juvenile court of Dane County, and six of the children were again committed to the State school, the court order adjudging them to be dependent children, the parents being unable to care for them.

The following year a man and wife residing in Monroe County, in which the school is located, petitioned the court of that county for an order of adoption for one of these children, then 4 years of age and in the legal custody of the State school. The petition was indorsed by the superintendent of the school and by the members of the State board of control, who thus consented to the entry of an order of adoption. It is interesting to note, in view of recent efforts to improve adoption laws for the better protection of children, that the petition was entered August 24, 1918, and the adoption was granted only four days later.

In February, 1919, the county court of Dane County, following application made by the parents of the children, made an order finding the father a fit and suitable person to have the care and custody of the six children and appointed him guardian under bond of \$500, authorizing him and his wife to take and receive the children from the State school. The court order required the school and any person having custody of the children to transfer and release them to their father, including the girl who had been adopted. Four or five months later the parents petitioned the county court of Monroe County for an order requiring the adoptive parents of the girl to show cause why the adoption proceedings should not be set aside and vacated. Upon the hearing the order of adoption was declared void and of no effect, and custody and control of the girl were directed to be given to her natural parents and her name changed back to her original one. The adoptive parents appealed from the order to the circuit court, and almost two years later judgment was entered reversing the order of the county court and directing that this court confirm the prior order of adoption. From this judgment the parents appealed to the supreme court, which reversed the decree of the circuit court.

In its decision the supreme court sets forth that no notice of the adoption proceedings was served upon or given to the natural parents and that they did not know of the proceedings for some time. Attention is also called to the fact that although the statutes relating to the State public school contain the statement that the State board of control is authorized to consent to the adoption of any child who is an inmate of the State school, and consent of the board given in writing shall have the same force and effect as if given by the parent or parents of the child,⁵ the chapter of the Wisconsin law entitled "Adoption of children"⁶ provides that no adoption shall be made without the written consent of the living parents of such child unless the court shall find that one of the parents has abandoned the child or gone to parts unknown, when such consent may be given by the parent, if any, having the care of the child.⁷ Provision is made for consent to be given by others where the parents are dead, unknown, or mentally incompetent, or have abandoned the child. It is further provided that unless the living parent or parents of the minor consent to such adoption, "it shall be the duty of the court having jurisdiction of the proceedings, upon the filing of any petition for adoption, by order to appoint a time and place for hearing such petition and cause notice of such time and place to be given to such parent or parents, by personal service of such notice on such parent or parents, at least 10 days before the hearing or by publication thereof in a newspaper at least three weeks successively prior to said hearing, and

⁴ Frances House Lacher and Albert Julius Lacher, petitioners and appellants v. John C. Venus and Wanda Venus, defendants and respondents, 188 N. W. 613.

⁵ Wisconsin, Stat. 1923, sec. 48.22 (3).

⁶ Wisconsin, Stat. 1923, sec. 4021-4024a.

⁷ Wisconsin, Stat. 1923, sec. 4022.

when notice is duly given as herein provided the parent of any minor shall be bound by the order of adoption as fully as though he had consented thereto."

The brief states the question presented for decision, as follows:

"Can a county court acquire jurisdiction so as to make a valid order of adoption as to an infant under 14 years of age, then in the custody of the State board of control, where no written consent thereto has been given by the living natural parents of such child or due notice of such hearing served upon them?"

The court held that—

"The commitment of such child to the State school at Sparta having been made by a juvenile court on findings that the child was dependent and the parents unable then to care for the same, there being no finding to the effect that there has been an abandonment of the child by the natural parents. We are constrained to answer this question as thus stated, not fully appreciating the possible far-reaching effect of such ruling. * * * We base our conclusion in this case upon the following propositions:

"First, the judicial proceedings for the commitment of dependent children to the care of the State under chapter 48 and the judicial proceedings for adoption under chapter 173 are entirely distinct, separate, and independent.

"Second, that except there be an abandonment by the natural parents of the child and that such fact of abandonment be found, the written consent of or actual notice to the living natural parents is an essential to jurisdiction of the county court to make a lawful order of adoption for such child.

"Third, that notice of and participation in the commitment proceedings by the natural parents can not be substituted for their required written consent to or notice of subsequently proposed adoption proceedings.

"Fourth, that the written consent of the State board of control, or any guardian, can not be declared to be a legal and sufficient substitute for the written consent of the living natural parents where required in such adoption proceedings."

The court held that in adoption cases the attempted construction doing away with the necessity of consent or notice to parents of children who have been committed from the juvenile court to the State institution would be a violation of the constitutional rights secured to the individual in his family relationship. It was held that the appearance of the parents in the commitment proceedings could not be held to imply consent to adoption proceedings that might be instituted at another time and place. The decision handed down by the supreme court also contains the following statements in regard to the necessity for protecting the rights of the parents:

"That natural parenthood implies both substantial responsibilities and gives substantial rights needs no discussion. That willful neglect to perform the one may properly result in the forfeiture of the other is also not open to debate and not here for consideration.

"A natural affection between the parents and offspring though it may be naught but a refined animal instinct and stronger from the parent down than from the child up, has always been recognized as an inherent, natural right, for the protection of which, just as much as for the protection of the rights of the individual to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, our Government is formed. * * *"

"Though these statements may perhaps seem trite yet they are of vital importance to those who like the petitioners here humbly assert them as against the seeming legislative declaration to the contrary, and even against the good Samaritan, the State, who entered the home for the benign purpose of relieving the then present want by necessary, immediate and temporary separation of the family and as against the assertion by that same good Samaritan of its claim to have thereby acquired the right to thereafter say, as though it were the parent, that the natural blood ties of the family shall be absolutely dissolved and new relationships established.

"Undoubtedly many children would be better cared for were the State to shift them to other homes than those nature gave them, and to what extent the State can lawfully go in that field we need not now and do not now venture to suggest, but to transform a temporary separation of the family incurred by reason of misfortune into an absolute severance of these ties so interwoven with human hearts should, and can be, done only under due process of law."

The court held that in the case at issue there had been a lack of due process of law and that therefore the attempted adoption proceedings were void.

Appendix C.—INDENTURE CONTRACT USED IN 1923

This agreement, by and between the State Board of Control of Wisconsin, by the authority of an act entitled, "An act to establish a State public school for dependent and neglected children," approved April 9, 1885, and acts amendatory thereof, party of the first part, and _____ of the town of _____ county of _____ State of Wisconsin, post-office address _____ party of the second part:

Witnesseth, that the said board, in consideration of the agreement herein made by said second party, hereby places _____ one of the wards of this board, in the family of said second party to remain until the _____ day of _____, 19—, when said child will be 18 years of age, reserving the right to cancel this contract and require the child to be returned to this school whenever, in the opinion of said board, the conditions of this agreement are not faithfully executed or when otherwise the interest of said child requires it.

That said second party hereby reserves the right to cancel this agreement at any time by returning the child to this school free of cost to the State. Otherwise said agreement to remain in full force.

That said second party hereby receives said child and agrees to keep said child as a member of his family until the said _____ day of _____, 19—, maintaining, educating, and treating _____ properly and kindly as a member of his family. That he will provide the child with suitable and sufficient clothing and with suitable food and other necessaries in health and sickness; that he will assume the responsibility for the payment for all necessary medical and surgical service required and for expense of burial in case of death. That he will have _____ taught the occupation of _____ and the branches usually taught in the common schools, causing _____ to attend the public schools where _____ resides at least _____ months in each year, until 16 years of age. That at the expiration of the indenture period he will furnish said child with two new suits of good clothes, and will pay said board or the superintendent of said State school, for the benefit of said child, the sum of \$50 or pro rata of that amount for the time _____ remains in his family after h— tenth birthday, if not for the full term of _____ indenture.

That in case this contract shall be canceled, as provided by law, the said second party agrees to return said child to this school at his own expense, when requested by the agent or superintendent of this institution.

That whenever requested by said agent or superintendent the said second party agrees to report to him in writing such facts in regard to said child as he shall request, and that he will furnish said child with materials and opportunity to correspond with said superintendent or agent.

Child must not be removed from place where indentured without the consent of the superintendent.

In witness whereof, the said State Board of Control of Wisconsin, by the superintendent or agent of this institution, and said second party, hereby set their names and seals this _____ day of _____ A. D. 19—.

[L. S.]
(Superintendent or agent of the State
public school.)

Appendix D.—ITEMS OF SCHEDULE USED IN THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU STUDY

Name of child; sex; race; date of birth; age April 1, 1923; date committed to school; age when committed; years under care; ward of school April 1, 1923? terms of placement; released from jurisdiction—date; present occupation; child's present address; present address of own family, or any near relative.

(a) Whereabouts of child when committed: Own home, with specified relatives, foster home, adoptive home, specified institution, etc. (b) Parental status: Both parents dead, father dead, mother dead, specify if step-parental home, unmarried mother, either parent deserted, divorced, separated, in hospital, imprisoned, etc. (c) Circumstances under which child was committed. (d) Person or agency making application for commitment or responsible for court action. (Use corresponding letters to designate entry.)

Present conditions of child's own family—parents, brothers and sisters, or other relatives who might have some responsibility for child's care.

Summary of dependency or delinquency records or other social data concerning parents or other near relatives—secured from agencies, officials, etc.

Child's history while under jurisdiction of State school (give chronological outline of each disposition, beginning with date received by the school from the committing court to April 1, 1923, or to date of release from jurisdiction).

Inclusive dates	Type of disposition (with addresses of each new home, etc.)	Reason for change
1.....
2.....
3.....
4.....
5.....
6.....
7.....
8.....
9.....
10.....

School history while under jurisdiction of State school: Age when committed; grade when received under care; grade April 1, 1923—or on last day attending (give date).

Give separately for each indenture home or other placement (using number to identify)—(a) Distance from nearest public school; (b) number of days school attendance during each school year (data from school records when possible; specify if through interviews only); (c) note items of interest in connection with school attendance (employment interfering, backward pupil, etc.).

History of child since released from jurisdiction of school: Chronological record of whereabouts, work history, any items concerning delinquency, etc.

Mental and physical condition of child: if ascertained at commitment or any later time. Give dates and diagnoses and examiners.

HISTORY IN INDENTURE HOMES

[Include only homes into which child was indentured but do not exclude because type changed to adoptive or other form of arrangement; carry each home through to Apr. 1, 1923, or date child left it]

Follow the following outline for each home, using separate sheets where needed:

Home I (change to II, III, IV, when additional sheets are required): Age when placed in home; length of time in this home; type of placement and terms (of indenture).

Character of home.—Concise description of surroundings, composition of family group and their traits, economic status, family's standing in community, nature of home life, etc.

Child's place in the family.—Considered as a member with privileges equal to own children, a farm hand, or household drudge, etc. Treatment given child. Attendance at church and Sunday school; recreation provided or permitted.

Schooling.—(See special place for this, p. 3.)

Work.—Careful statement of work done by child, indicating dates or ages. Did work interfere with schooling? Character of work and its advantages in preparing for future self-support.

LIST OF ADDRESSES AND REFERENCES

[Check sources from which information is secured]

Name of child; present address of child; place from which committed to State school; present and past addresses of parents (give date for each).

Committing court; county poor commissioner; agencies or institutions knowing case; other references.

Homes into which indentured (give name, address, and date for each).

